

**FUNDAÇÃO GETÚLIO VARGAS**

**ESCOLA DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO DE EMPRESAS DE SÃO PAULO**

**SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP PRACTICES AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRAZIL:  
A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN THREE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

SÃO PAULO

2016

MARIA FERNANDA RIOS CAVALCANTI

**SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP PRACTICES AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRAZIL:  
A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN THREE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Tese apresentada à Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de Doutor em Administração de Empresas.

Área de Conhecimento:  
Estudos organizacionais

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Rafael Alcadipani

SÃO PAULO

2016

Cavalcanti, Maria Fernanda Macedo Rios.

Social entrepreneurship practices and social change in Brazil : a qualitative study in three non-governmental organizations / Maria Fernanda Macedo Rios Cavalcanti. - 2016.

227 f.

Orientador: Rafael Alcadipani da Silveira

Tese (doutorado) - Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo.

1. Empreendedorismo social. 2. Problemas sociais. 3. Etnologia. 4. Brasil – Condições sociais. I. Silveira, Rafael Alcadipani da. II. Tese (doutorado) - Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo. III. Título.

CDU 304

MARIA FERNANDA RIOS CAVALCANTI

**SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP PRACTICES AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRAZIL: A  
QUALITATIVE STUDY IN THREE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Tese apresentada à Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo da  
Fundação Getúlio Vargas, como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de  
Doutor em Administração de Empresas.

Área de Conhecimento:  
Estudos organizacionais

**Data da Aprovação** \_\_/\_\_/\_\_

**Banca Examinadora**

---

Prof. Dr. Rafael Alcadipani (orientador)  
FGV-EAESP

---

Prof. Dr. Edson Sadao Iizuka  
FEI

---

Prof. Dr. Eloísio Moulin de Souza  
UFES

---

Prof. Dr. Fernando Burgos  
FGV-EAESP

---

Prof<sup>a</sup>. Dr<sup>a</sup>. Maria José Tonelli  
FGV-EAESP

SÃO PAULO

2016

## DEDICATÓRIA

*To all of the men and women who generously agreed to participate in this research and whose work I have come to admire deeply.*

## AGRADECIMENTOS

Firstly, I'd like to express my most sincere gratefulness to my advisor, Prof. Rafael Alcadipani, for the full and continuous support throughout my master and doctorate studies. I am deeply grateful for his patience, for always encouraging and motivating me to pursue my academic interests and for all of the insights and valuable knowledge he has generously granted me over the years. His mentorship was fundamental for my academic formation.

Besides my advisor, I'd like to express my immense gratitude to Prof. Ann Cunliffe. I will be forever grateful for the support given to me by Prof. Ann during some of the most crucial moments of this study, including during my internship at the University of Bradford, in the UK. Her support, gentleness, expertise and advices were of foremost importance for the development of this thesis and will always remain in my memory.

I'd also like to acknowledge and say thank you to the thesis' committee: Prof. Maria José Tonelli, Prof. Eloisio Moulin de Souza, Prof. Edson Sadao Iizuka and Prof. Fernando Burgos, whose knowledge and insightful comments will contribute greatly to the widen of this research. In particular I am grateful to Prof. Maria José Tonelli, for the fundamental support in my first years in São Paulo. Besides, Prof. Maria José has been an academic and personal role model to me; she has my deepest respect and admiration.

I also thank my classmates, in special Márcia de Freitas Duarte, Nicole Spohr, Rosana Córdova Guimarães and Miriam Vale, for sharing with me some of the joyful and difficult times involved in our doctorate studies. Besides the academic exchanges, their companionship helped put my heart at ease many times during this journey, and for this I am deeply grateful.

My sincere thanks to the participants of this research for generously agreeing to be part of this study. Their generosity, cooperation and patience made this study possible.

Finally, I'd like to say thank you from the bottom of my heart to my family, in special to my parents (Graça and Fernando) and to Mariana, for the love and the full, continuous and unconditional support given to me throughout my life, during my doctorate studies in general and especially during the development of this research.

## ABSTRACT

Social Entrepreneurship (SE) has attracted growing interest from a wide variety of actors over the last 30 years, especially due to a general agreement that it could be an important tool for tackling many of the world's social ills. In the academic sphere, this growing interest did not translate into a matured field of study. Quite the opposite, a quick look at this literature makes it evident that: SE has been consistently subjected to numerous theoretical discussions and disagreements, especially over the definition of the concept of SE which is often based on a taken-for-granted notion of social change; it has been more systematically investigated in restricted contexts, often leaving aside so called developing/emerging countries like Brazil and especially lacking in-depth qualitative studies; SE literature lags behind SE practices and few studies focus on how SE actually occurs in a daily and bottom-up manner. In order to address such gaps, this thesis examines how social entrepreneurship practices accomplish social change in the context of Brazil. In this investigation I conducted an inductive practice-based, qualitative/ethnographic study in three Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) located in different cities in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. Data collection lasted from February 2014 until March 2015 and was mainly done through participant observations and through in-depth unstructured conversations with research participants. Secondary data and documents were also collected whenever available. The participants of this study included a variety of the studied organizations' stakeholders: two founders, volunteers, employees, donors and beneficiaries. Observation data was kept in fieldnotes, conversations were recorded whenever possible and were later transcribed. Data was analyzed through an iterative thematic analysis. Through this I identified eight recurrent themes in the data: (1) structure; (2) relationship with other organizational actors (sub-themes: relationship with state, relationship with businesses and relationship with other NGOs); (3) beliefs, spirituality and moral authority; (4) social position of participants, (5) stakeholders' mobilization and participation; (6) feelings; (7) social purpose; and (8) social change. These findings were later discussed under the lens of practice theory, and in this discussion I argue and show that, in the context studied: (a) even though SE embraces a wide variety of different social purposes, they are intertwined with a common notion of social change based on a general understanding and aspiration for social equality; (b) this social change is accomplished in a processual and ongoing manner as stakeholders from antagonistic social groups felt compelled to and participated in SE practices. In answering the proposed research question the contributions of this thesis are: (i) the elaboration a working definition for SE based on its relationship with social change; (ii) providing in-depth empirical evidence which accounts for and explains this relationship; (iii) characterizing SE in the Brazilian context and reflecting upon its transferability to other contexts. This thesis also makes a methodological contribution, for it demonstrates how thematic analysis can be used in practice-based studies.

**Keywords:** Social Entrepreneurship; Social Practices; Social Change; Practice Theory; Ethnography.

## RESUMO

O Empreendedorismo Social (SE) tem atraído um interesse crescente de uma ampla variedade de atores ao longo dos últimos 30 anos, especialmente devido a um entendimento de que o mesmo seria uma ferramenta importante para lidar com os problemas sociais do mundo. No âmbito acadêmico, este interesse não se traduziu em um campo de estudos maduro. Muito pelo contrário, um rápido olhar para esta literatura torna evidente que: a mesma tem sido constantemente submetida a inúmeras divergências, especialmente sobre a definição do conceito de SE, que é muitas vezes baseada em uma noção não explicada de mudança social; ele foi mais sistematicamente investigado em contextos restritos, muitas vezes deixando de lado os chamados países em desenvolvimento ou emergentes como o Brasil, em especial, nota-se uma falta de estudos qualitativos aprofundados nos mesmos; a literatura sobre SE se encontra defasada em relação às suas práticas, e poucos estudos se concentram em como o SE ocorre de forma diária e *bottom-up*. A fim de mitigar essas lacunas, esta tese examina como práticas de SE realizam mudança social no contexto do Brasil. Nesta investigação realizei um estudo indutivo/qualitativo baseado em práticas em três Organizações Não-Governamentais (ONGs) localizadas em diferentes cidades do estado de São Paulo. A coleta de dados durou de fevereiro 2014 até março de 2015 e foi feita principalmente por meio de observações participantes e de conversas não-estruturadas. Dados e documentos secundários também foram coletados sempre que disponíveis. Os participantes deste estudo incluíram uma variedade de partes interessadas das organizações estudadas: dois fundadores, voluntários, funcionários, doadores e beneficiários. Dados de observações foram mantidos em diários de campo, conversas foram gravadas sempre que possível e foram posteriormente transcritas. Os dados foram analisados por meio de uma análise temática iterativa. Por meio desta, identifiquei oito temas recorrentes nos dados: (1) estrutura; (2) a relação com outros atores organizacionais; (3) crenças, espiritualidade e autoridade moral; (4) a posição social dos participantes, (5) a mobilização e participação das partes interessadas; (6) sentimentos; (7) finalidade social; e (8) a mudança social. Estes resultados foram posteriormente discutidos sob a ótica da teoria de práticas, e nesta discussão argumento e mostro que, no contexto estudado: (a) embora o SE abrace uma ampla variedade de diferentes fins sociais, eles estão interligados com uma noção comum de mudança social baseada em uma compreensão geral e aspiração pela igualdade social; (b) esta mudança social é realizada de forma processual e contínua, enquanto partes interessadas de grupos sociais antagônicos sentiam-se compelidos e participavam das práticas de SE. Ao responder à pergunta de pesquisa proposta, as contribuições desta tese são: (i) a elaboração de uma definição de SE com base em sua relação com a mudança social; (ii) o fornecimento de evidências empíricas que explicam esta relação; (iii) a caracterização do SE no contexto brasileiro e uma reflexão sobre a sua transferência para outros contextos. Esta tese também faz uma contribuição metodológica, pois demonstra como análise temática pode ser usada em estudos baseados em práticas.

**Palavras-Chave:** Empreendedorismo Social; Práticas Sociais; Mudança Social; Teoria de Práticas; Etnografia.



## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ABONG – Associação Brasileira de Organizações Não Governamentais  
BRL – Brazilian Real  
CAQDAS – Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software  
DEC – Developing and Emerging Countries  
EMES – Emergence des Enterprises Sociales en Europe  
EN – English Language  
IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística  
IPEA – Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada  
NGO – Non-Governmental Organizations  
OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development  
OMT – Organization and Management Theory  
PO – Portuguese Language  
SE – Social Entrepreneurship  
SENAI – Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial  
SEr – Social Entrepreneur  
UD – Undisclosed

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1: Set of Actors Interested in Social Entrepreneurship

Figure 2: ‘Social Entrepreneurship and Neighboring Zones’ According to Organizational Mission

Figure 3: Research Design - Activities

Figure 4: Stages and Processes Involved in Iterative Analysis

Figure 5: Example of How Audio Data was Managed in NVivo10

Figure 6: Example of How NVivo10 Sorted the Labeled Data

Figure 7: Hyphen-Spaces of Researcher Reflexivity

Figure 8: Initial Themes Compared by the Number of Labeled Data

Figure 9: Neighborhood with precarious living situation where beneficiaries lived (photo taken by SEr B).

Figure 10: Dimensions of Practice

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1: Definitions of Social Entrepreneurship

Table 2: Amplitude of Social Entrepreneurship Definitions

Table 3: Empirical Research on Social Entrepreneurship

Table 4: Research on Social Entrepreneurship in Brazil

Table 5: Desired Characteristics for Qualitative Research

Table 6: Three Problematics Used in Practice Research

Table 7: Employed Techniques for Facilitating Transferability of Account

Table 8: Relationship Between Found Themes and Dimensions of Practice

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1. CHAPTER 1 – Introduction</b>	<b>01</b>
1. Introduction.....	01
1.1 Theoretical Approach .....	02
1.2 Methodology .....	04
1.3 Research Question.....	05
1.4 Objectives .....	06
1.4.1 Main Objective .....	06
1.4.2 Specific Objectives .....	06
1.5 Thesis Contributions.....	06
1.6 Thesis Structure.....	07
<b>2. CHAPTER 2 – Literature Review</b>	<b>09</b>
2.1 Literature Review: The Emergence of Social Entrepreneurship .....	09
2.1.1 Meanings and Definitions of Social Entrepreneurship .....	12
2.1.2 The Maturation Stage of Social Entrepreneurship Research .....	30
2.1.3 Where and How Has Social Entrepreneurship Been Studied .....	32
2.1.4 Social Entrepreneurship Research in Brazil.....	38
2.2 Conclusion: Theoretical Gaps.....	43
<b>3. CHAPTER 3 – Methodology</b>	<b>44</b>
3. Introduction.....	44
3.1 Ontology and Epistemology .....	45
3.1.1 Practice-Based Studies: Philosophical Assumptions.....	47
3.2 Research Strategy and Design .....	52
3.3 Research Participants and Data Collection.....	56
3.4 Data Treatment and Analysis.....	65
3.5 Researcher Reflexivity .....	71
3.6 Transferability of Research Account.....	76
3.7 Summary of Methodology.....	79
<b>4. CHAPTER 4 – Findings</b>	<b>82</b>
4. Introduction .....	82
4.1 Overview of Themes .....	82
4.2 Structure.....	83
4.3 Relationship with Organizational Actors .....	95
4.3.1 Relationship with the State .....	95
4.3.2 Relationship with Businesses .....	105
4.3.3 Relationship with other NGOs .....	108
4.4 Beliefs, Spirituality and Moral Authority.....	115
4.5 Social Position of Participants .....	123
4.6 Stakeholders’ Mobilization and Participation.....	125
4.7 Feelings.....	137
4.8 Social Purpose.....	143

4.9 Social Change .....	150
4.10 Summary of Main Findings .....	155
<b>5. CHAPTER 5 – Discussion</b>	<b>157</b>
<hr/>	
5. Introduction .....	157
5.1 How do the Findings Relate to Practice Theory? .....	157
5.1.1 Analyzing Findings According to the Three Dimensions of Practice ...	161
5.1.1.1 Cultural/Discursive Dimension .....	161
5.1.1.2 Material/Economic Dimension.....	165
5.1.1.3 Social/Political Dimension.....	169
5.2 How do Practices of SE Accomplish Social Change? .....	174
<b>6. CHAPTER 6 – Conclusions</b>	<b>182</b>
<hr/>	
6.1 Summary.....	182
6.2 Contributions and Implications.....	184
6.3 Limitations and Future Research .....	186
<b>7. REFERENCES.</b> .....	<b>188</b>

## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

---

### 1. Introduction

Over the last 30 years, the topic of Social Entrepreneurship (SE) has both emerged and gained an increasing notoriety within and across a wide variety of fields. This is especially due to (a) a general appreciation of SE as its perceived to have potential to tackle most of the worlds' social ills (Barinaga, 2013) (b) the perception that SE may rapidly improve human life (Cho, 2006; VanSandt, Sud, & Marne, 2009) (c) and to a growing awareness among humans of the social inequalities as well as a growing concern with environmental issues worldwide (Hoogendoorn, Pennings, & Thurik, 2010; Margolis & Walsh, 2003). In fact, my own personal interest in SE came from the shared belief that this is a potentially transforming practice that may address many of today society's problems and challenges.

However, upon the first contact with the rapidly growing academic field of SE I saw that the emergence of SE as an object of scientific inquiry did not translate into the emergence of a well-defined and closely-knit epistemology in OMT (Organization and Management Theory). Quite the opposite, I came to the realization that this field presents some troublesome issues: it has been consistently subjected to numerous theoretical discussions and disagreements among scholars, especially over the definition of the concept of SE and its correlate concepts; it lags behind SE practices; and, also, it has investigated SE in restricted contexts, often leaving aside so called developing/emerging countries like Brazil. It's become clear that purely theoretical inquiry sometimes leads us to dead ends, and this is the moment when one must turn to practice to open up new and fresh paths to reflect upon and to unmake many of the theoretical disagreements that have held back the development of the academic field of SE.

Nonetheless, on one hand, we have to be humble enough to recognize the fact that, as academics are busy trying to resolve theoretical issues, "the band plays on", and the practice

of SE continues to move forward, to happen and to transform itself, in a naturally oblivious manner to such theoretical and epistemological developments. On the other hand, we must be confident enough to claim our role as academics and put trust in the fact that through the development of systematic research we may offer valuable knowledge and insights that may contribute to both theory development on SE and to the practice of SE in general.

Therefore, my belief in SE's potential to address some of society's ills, together with the belief in the relevance of developing its epistemology were the main motivators of this study. My starting point to formulate this thesis' research question was based on the affirmation made by Seymour (2012) who suggested that, given SE potential as a problem solving phenomenon, "social entrepreneurship research should focus on processes rather than just outcomes of activity. Should try to understand how participants see the possibility for change and how they bring that change about" (p. 21). This was a good starting point because SE is intertwined with a notion of change (or social change) that is very often taken for granted and, therefore, left under examined. I claim that this is troublesome both theoretically, as it opens room for tautological and monological definitions of SE (with the implied negative consequences for the development of its epistemology) and also practically since, as highlighted by Phillips (1969), "with effective knowledge of change the potential exists for changing situations to those which society views as more desirable than existing ones" (p. 406). Hence, this study's primordial concern is to examine how SE practices achieve social change.

## **1.1 Theoretical Approach**

The purpose of this study is to examine how SE practices accomplish social change in the Brazilian context. This being an inductive study, it's important to highlight that the focus on practices served only as a general initial guide. The motivation to focus on practices came from the advice given by several that SE should be investigated from the perspective of what

social entrepreneurs actually do, how they behave, or how SE actually occurs (Austin, 2006; Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Dees & Anderson, 2006; Dey & Steyaert, 2014; Newbert & Hill, 2014; Roberts & Woods, 2005; Seymour, 2012). Besides allowing the academic field of SE to catch up with its practice, according to Granados, Hlupic, Coakes, and Mohamed (2011), this approach also benefits the field of SE since “obtaining information and building research based on Social Entrepreneurs’ experiences will reduce ambiguity, conceptual inconsistency, and uncertainty in the data” (p. 213). Besides serving as an initial orientation, I have also relied on an eclectic approach to the literature on practices in order to make sense of this research’s findings.

Nonetheless, the term *practice* is polysemic, commonly used in a day to day basis and thus difficult to grasp (Corradi, Gherardi, & Verzelloni, 2010). Therefore, I must first explain what I mean by *practice* in order to justify why I chose it as a theoretical approach for my analysis. Gherardi (2000) explains that, even though its polysemy may make it sound more like a “buzzword”, the term practice is a powerful concept with a long history in philosophy (stemming from phenomenological, Marxist and linguistic philosophy traditions)(Turner, 1994). According to Gherardi (2009), the inner plurality of the term, which could be seen as a limitation, may also be perceived as an advantage point for scientific inquiry in general, as it is a “malleable term which can be put to numerous uses and employed to denominate many aspects of the phenomenal reality under study” (p. 116). For the purpose of this study, however, practices were initially defined in a broad manner as collective and knowledgeable doings (see Gherardi, 2012: 3). Therefore, to investigate how SE practices accomplish social change is to investigate how collective and knowledgeable doings accomplish social change.

Furthermore, Nicolini (2012) highlights that the heterogeneous literature on practices which compose what I will call here either practice theory (or practice-based approach) tends to preserve a common interest in activities, performances and work, and it is “inherently relational and see the world as a seamless assemblage, nexus, or confederation of practices” (p. 3). Most importantly, practice theory “conceive social investigation as the patient, evidence-based, bottom-up effort of understanding practices and untangling their relationships” (p. 8). Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) add that, in organizations, such



theoretical approach puts emphasis on explaining “the emergent constitution of the sociomaterial world through the micro dynamics of everyday life” (p. 1250). This bottom-up, or “grounded”, aspect of practice theory implies, as highlighted by Miettinen, Samra-Fredericks, and Yanow (2009), that a practice lens brings about not only theoretical agenda, but also a methodological one, as it could serve as an initial orientation precisely for inductive studies.

In other words, it's not possible to talk about a practice approach without talking about how to empirically investigate everyday practices. This point is corroborated by Gherardi (2012), who asserts that the analysis of practices brings the methodological recommendation that researchers should use a bottom-up or emergent approach in its investigation, being evidence of its potential to guide inductive research. Therefore, relying on practice theory was important for this work because it did not only serve as a theoretical lens to discuss this study's findings later on in the research process, it also provided a general methodological orientation that guided the design of its empirical research.

## **1.2 Methodology**

I chose to conduct an inductive, qualitative/ethnographic study in order to answer this study's research question, mainly because of the lack of in-depth qualitative studies in the literature on SE in general and especially in the context of emerging/developing countries. Besides being better suited to answer “how” questions (Gherardi, 2012) qualitative research in general, and ethnographic research in particular, have come a long way from the initial criticisms and rejections they were once subjected to within social sciences in general (Hammersley, 1989). In fact, Hammersley (1992) claims that, over the past thirty years, ethnographic methods and other forms of qualitative research have moved from a marginal to a more central place in the social sciences, and has been recognized for producing rich and in-

depth data in several academic spheres. OMT have also embraced this type of research for, as Cunliffe (2011) explains, it has mirrored the developments in social theories over the years.

Moreover, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) explain that ethnographic research's close resemblance with the daily routines that people engage in in order to make sense of their surroundings (such as, engaging in conversations, observing how other people act in new environments, participating in activities, etc.) can be considered by some this strategy's most powerful strength. I claim that this is precisely what makes this type of research highly compatible with the practice orientation initially adopted in this study and its inductive nature. I must also explain that this study was inductive since it only had a very broad initial orientation to investigate practices, that was only refined after the field work was done. The literature review on SE was also done after the field work, which was in turn used to refine the research question in an iterative manner.

I chose to conduct this empirical research in three (one micro and two small sized) NGOs with varied social purposes located in urban areas of different cities in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. Data collection lasted from February 2014 until March 2015 and was mainly done through participant observations and through in-depth unstructured conversations with participants. The participants of this study included: two founders, directors, volunteers, employees, donors and/or beneficiaries of the studied organizations. Observation data was kept in fieldnotes, conversations were recorded whenever possible and were later transcribed. Documents were collected whenever they were made available by participants or whenever they had open public access. Finally, data was analyzed through an iterative thematic analysis.

### **1.3 The Research Question**

The research question of this study is: "How do SE practices accomplish social change in the context of Brazil?"

In order to answer this question, I have established the following objectives:

## **1.4 Objectives**

### *1.4.1 Main Objective*

To examine the organizing practices of social entrepreneurship in Brazil and how they accomplish social change.

### *1.4.2 Specific Objectives*

- To analyze existent definitions and meanings of SE;
- To examine the current maturation stage of SE literature;
- To examine the particularities of the SE literature in Brazil;
- To present a synthesis of existing research on SE in Brazil;
- To provide a better understanding of the context in which SE happens in Brazil some of its social and political characteristics;
- To describe SE practices in the context of Brazil;
- To define social change in the context of Brazil;
- To provide a working definition of SE.

## **1.5 Thesis' Contributions**

In answering the proposed research question, this thesis will make the following contributions:

- *Theoretical Contribution*: providing a definition of SE which isn't tautological combined with providing in-depth empirical evidence that accounts for the complexities of SE practices in a bottom-up manner will contribute to a further maturation of this field's epistemology;
- *Methodological Contribution*: the demonstration of how an iterative thematic analysis can be used in practice based studies will mitigate the notorious difficulties present in the operationalization of these studies;
- *Empirical Contribution*: the bottom-up and emergent elucidation of how participants in practices of SE bring social change about will be of interest of practitioners due to its potential in enhancing their effectiveness in bringing desired changes about, it will also provide policy implications for more effective support of SE organizations.

## **1.6 Thesis' Structure**

The present thesis is structured as follows:

*Chapter 1* introduces the general problem underlying this thesis, a summary of the theoretical lens, the methodology used in its empirical research, the thesis' research question, its overall objectives and contributions.

*Chapter 2* presents an extensive and detailed literature review of SE, it identifies issues and possible gaps in this literature. Three gaps are identified in this literature: (1) a definitional gap; (2) a maturation gap; and (3) a contextual gap. The main purpose of this chapter is to present evidence of the relevance of the present study's research question by highlighting how it addresses each of these gaps.

*Chapter 3* provides a detailed account of all aspects involved in the research design, data collection and analysis of this study. It starts by justifying why I chose to conduct a qualitative study. I then discuss the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the

study, highlighting its philosophical assumptions found in practice theory and why they are relevant for its purpose. I then proceed to describing how these assumptions affected the research design of the empirical study and justify the overall methodological choices I have made. I also discuss in detail: (1) how the participants of this study were chosen and which constraints drove this selection; (2) how data was collected, treated and analyzed; (3) the relevance of researcher reflexivity during the research process, and more specifically which positions were occupied by me during field work and how this affected this process; (4) the possibility of transferring the research accounts produced by this study to other contexts.

*Chapter 4* presents the findings of the research. Here I present the initial 26 themes identified in the thematic analysis and later on I present in detail the results of the field work in accordance to 8 different themes which were kept after the iterative analysis: (1) structure; (2) relationship with other organizational actors (which contains 3 sub-themes: relationship with state, relationship with businesses and relationship with other NGOs); (3) beliefs, spirituality and moral authority; (4) social position of participants, (5) stakeholders' mobilization and participation; (6) feelings; (7) social purpose; and (8) social change. This merging process was done based on the narrowing and focusing procedures described in data analysis section.

*Chapter 5* presents the discussion of this study's findings. Here I critically examine this study's findings in the light of practice theory and I also conduct an exploration of if and how previous discussions on SE accounted for and/or portrayed these findings. I first explain how the found themes relate to practice theory by locating each theme in a given dimension of practice and then proceed to explaining how these themes account for or contextualize each dimension. This being done, I go back to my research question "How do SE practices accomplish social change?" and provide an answer to it in the form of two main conclusions.

*Chapter 6* summarizes the conclusions presented in the discussion chapter while also reflecting upon the introductory objectives. It also states this study's main contributions and their implications for theory and practice. Finally, it highlights its limitations and some possibilities of future research that remain open in the field of social entrepreneurship, both in Brazil and in the global context.

### 2.1 Literature Review: The Emergence of Social Entrepreneurship

Although the practice of Social Entrepreneurship (SE) is said to exist for centuries (Alvord, 2004; Alvord, Brown, & Letts, 2002; Darabi, Soltani, Nasari, & Emami, 2012; Dees, 2001; Marti, 2006; D. Williams & Knife, 2012), the concept of SE is relatively new. Even though authors disagree as to exactly when this concept started being used, it is widely agreed upon that, in the last 30 years, it has both emerged and gained an increasing an impressive notoriety within and across diverse fields (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Bacq & Lumpkin, 2014; Barinaga, 2013; Bielefeld, 2009; Bloom, 2012; Certo & Miller, 2008; Chell, Nicolopoulou, & Karataş-Özkan, 2010; Cho, 2006; Choi & Majumdar, 2014; Christie & Honig, 2006; Dahles, Dey, & Steyaert, 2010; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Harding, 2004; Lehner & Kansikas, 2013; Mair, 2010; Mueller et al., 2014).

Some evidence of this growing and widespread notoriety of SE are: the emergence of foundations that recognize, promote and support the practice of SE, such as Ashoka (founded in 1980), EMES (founded in 1996) the Schwab Foundation (founded in 1998) and the Skoll Foundation (founded in 1999) that have been operating continuously since their respective foundations (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Haugh, 2005; Hoogendoorn et al., 2010; Partzsch & Ziegler, 2011); the establishment of academic programs and research centers dedicated to SE in business schools in some of the world's most influential universities (e.g. Harvard, Columbia, Yale, New York, Duke and Oxford University) (Defourny, 2010; Nicholls, 2010b); the attraction of scholarly interest from important institutions such as the Academy of Management as well as the attraction of political interest in SE from international organizations such as the World Bank (Christie & Honig, 2006). Policy-makers and governments have also started to pay attention to this phenomenon (Choi & Majumdar, 2014), evidences of this are the establishment of the Office of Social Innovation and Civic Participation by the Obama administration in the US, for example, and also the strong Social Innovation aspect presented by the Europe 2020 flagship (Zeyen et al., 2013).

In the academic sphere, the growing interest in this subject resulted in more than 400 articles being published on SE since the 2000s (Hill, Kothari, & Shea, 2010) by authors from a wide variety of disciplines (Lehner & Kansikas, 2013). Also, it is interesting to note the finding of Robinson (2006) who identified only nine papers published in peer-review journals and five working papers on the topic of SE between 1990 and 2004. If accurate, these findings suggest a massive increase in published papers in more recent years. Furthermore, Short, Moss, and Lumpkin (2009) may warrant this affirmation, by concluding that there was an increase of 750 percent in the publication rate of articles on SE from 1991 to 2009. Lehner and Kansikas (2013) also affirm that this body of literature experienced an exponential increase in recent years, asserting that the amount of articles published on this theme in academic journals in the 2008-2010 period triples the amount published in the 2005-2007 period. Besides, several books and book chapters on SE have been published in recent years (Thompson, 2008) and conferences dedicated to discussing the phenomenon of SE have also been held worldwide (Choi & Majumdar, 2014; Christie & Honig, 2006).

Different authors attribute this blooming interest in SE to different factors, which include: a general appreciation of SE due to its perceived potential to tackle social problems (Barinaga, 2013); the perception that SE may rapidly improve human life (Cho, 2006; VanSandt et al., 2009); a growing awareness among humans of the social inequalities and a growing concern with the environment worldwide (Hoogendoorn et al., 2010; Margolis & Walsh, 2003); another important factor has to do with the decrease in governments' funding to NGOs in face of a more neoliberal approach that began in the 1980s (Hoogendoorn et al., 2010; Lenssen, Roper, & Cheney, 2005; Sharir & Lerner, 2006). This tendency has led to a growing need for refining financial efficiency in NGOs (Jiao, 2011) as well as to a consequent growth in competition for resources among them (Mort, Weerawardena, & Carnegie, 2003; Orhei & Vinke, 2012; Weerawardena & Mort, 2006). Deeply connected to this more neoliberal approach to public services adopted by governments is the need to develop new forms of welfare in face of ill equipped and shrinking public welfare state systems (Leadbetter, 1997; Lenssen et al., 2005; Sharir & Lerner, 2006) which also led to a change in thinking about governments and their traditional role in providing public services (Nicholls, 2006, 2010a). In addition, the explosion in the number of NGOs in the last decades coupled with the

aforementioned growing funding difficulties and the information and technology revolution have also been pointed important factors influencing the emergence of SE (Stecker, 2014).



**Figure 1** – *Set of Actors Interested in Social Entrepreneurship.*

It is evident that such a generally favorable atmosphere for the emergence of SE has led to the embracement of this term by an unusually broad set of actors (see Figure 1). What could be seen as a good thing, however, has had some negative effects on the development of the academic field of SE. First, the general agreement that SE is a good and important thing sets a fertile ground for unproblematic accounts of this phenomenon and also for the consequent establishment of tautological and monological definitions of the term (Cho, 2006). If this is indeed true, it would have devastating effects for the development of an academic field of SE, as a minimum level of conceptual agreement among scholars is an important factor for it. Second, the general embracement of the term, on one hand, and the obvious difficulties of academics to define SE, on the other, has ultimately led to a lag between SE theory and practice, with theory being left way behind and in urgent need of catching up with practice (Kistruck & Beamish, 2010; Murphy & Coombes, 2008; Smith & Stevens, 2010).



In fact, the numerous reference centers and foundations established to support SE have assumed a leading role in defining what SE is. The problem is that they are basically practitioner oriented and have little concern with developing its epistemology. One of the main issues found on the way of this development is the very own definition of SE, with the meaning of SE being still in dispute. In the next topic, I will review and discuss the definition dilemmas around the phenomenon of SE in the academia and set up an initial working definition that was used in the design of the present empirical study.

### **2.1.1 Meanings and Definitions of Social Entrepreneurship**

Extensive discussions on the meaning of SE and its conceptualization have been held among scholars interested in this phenomenon (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Brouard & Larivet, 2010; Certo & Miller, 2008; Darabi et al., 2012; Dees, 2001; Dees & Anderson, 2006; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Hill et al., 2010; Lenssen et al., 2005; Mair, 2010; Mort et al., 2003; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Steyaert & Hjorth, 2006). These discussions are perceived as being important for the development of this academic field (Mort et al., 2003). The establishment of common grounds for the development of research on SE is commonly perceived as an urgent need in this literature (Harding, 2004). In order to build these common grounds and to make sense of what has been written on SE so far, different authors have adopted different strategies.

In this quest for common grounds, some authors explored commonly adopted definitions of SE in various academic articles on the subject in search of coherence among them (Brouard & Larivet, 2010; Dacin, Dacin, & Matear, 2010; Hill et al., 2010; Lenssen et al., 2005; Peredo & McLean, 2006) or the “core” of the SE’s concept (Choi & Majumdar, 2014). Brouard and Larivet (2010), for example, concluded that there is a consensus in the literature at least regarding the multidimensionality of the concept of SE, and the presence of two main components were identified by the authors: entrepreneurship, which refers to the ideas of

creation and innovation; and the social, referring to a social mission or the creation of social value by SE organizations.

Other authors argue that we should look for the meaning of SE as it emerges from practice. These authors argue that these meanings emerging from the practice of SE fit into either two or three major schools of thought that have been explored by academics. Each of these schools would have its own approach to SE (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Dees, 2012; Dees & Anderson, 2006; Defourny, 2010; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). The Social Enterprise School, or the “Earned Income” School, basically refers to SE as the use of any commercial activities by NGOs in support of their mission (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). Defourny and Nyssens (2012) explain that although this School of Thought originally focused solely on NGOs, they later embraced all forms of business activities. The Social Innovation School has a more classical Schumpeterian approach, mainly focusing on the relevance of novelty in the definition of SE (Teasdale & Palmås, 2012). Dees and Anderson (2006) affirm that the main driving force behind this approach has been Ashoka, the first SE support organization, founded in 1980. In fact, Ashoka’s founder, Bill Drayton, a former McKinsey and Company Consultant, is referred to by some as the creator of the term social entrepreneurship (Dees, 2007; Rahim & Mohtar, 2015; Sen, 2007). At last, Defourny and Nyssens (2010) added a third School to the original division of SE approaches proposed by Dees and Anderson (2006): The European EMES approach. Defourny and Nyssens (2006) argue that this is a more recent approach which started to be put together in 1996 through a research project founded by the European Commission. This project was named the EMES Research Network and was formed by scholars who identified and examined social enterprises present in 15 EU countries. The EMES approach also emphasizes NGOs and, differently from the other two (especially from the Schumpeterian approach, which exclusively emphasizes the individual entrepreneur), it gives a great relevance to the collective aspects of SE. However, authors such as Perrini and Vurro (2006) defend a much simpler division of different SE approaches, arguing that that literature on SE can be grouped into two school of thoughts: one that considers SE a phenomenon restricted to NGOs and another one that considers it a multi-sector phenomenon.

It is also interesting to note that, while examining these different schools of thought, Defourny and Nyssens (2010) argue that the geographical locations of these movements have had a major influence on their proposed working definitions of SE. Other authors agree with this affirmation, attributing different definitions of SE to works being developed in different regions of the world (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Comini, Barki, & Aguiar, 2012; Defourny, 2010; Mair, 2010). Comini Barki and Aguiar (2012), for example, argue that there are three different approaches to SE that are merely geographical: an European approach; a North American approach; and an emerging countries' approach. Mair (2010) has a similar view, and explains that SE manifests itself differently in these regions because the capitalist system itself changes among them, with Europe having a more cooperative form of capitalism, the US having a more neoliberal one and the emerging countries having an informal manifestation of capitalism. I agree with this being an interesting and relevant discussion for the purpose of this work, therefore I will come back to it in the topic where I discuss how contexts may affect the phenomenon of SE.

Still, other authors argue in favor of conceptualizing SE in relation to commercial entrepreneurship, by pointing out these concepts' similarities and differences (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2012; Bacq, Hartog, & Hoogendoorn, 2013; Baierl & Grichnik, 2011; Darabi et al., 2012). This comparison is perceived as important since it's supposed to help establish a distinct field of inquiry to SE in the broader field of entrepreneurship.

Even though different strategies have been used to either set common grounds or to define distinct fields for the development of research on SE, little has been achieved in that direction (Dacin et al., 2010). As we can see on Table 1, the adoption of multiple and often conflicting definitions are a constant trait of the academic literature on SE.

In an attempt to put an end to almost endless discussions over dissonant meanings of SE, Choi and Majumdar (2014) argued that SE is an essentially contested concept. The authors affirm that instead of attempting to establish an universal understanding of SE, it would be more fruitful to treat it as a cluster concept. To the authors, SE is made up of five major components, or sub-concepts, which make up its internal complexity: social value creation;

the social entrepreneur; the SE organization; market orientation; and social innovation. Choi and Majumdar (2014) argue that any definition of SE, therefore, should contain these sub-concepts.

Although they didn't use the idea of cluster concept, Brouard and Larivet (2010) also argue that there is a strong link between the concepts of SE, social enterprise, social innovation and social entrepreneur. This may suggest that in order to discuss SE it's useful to analyze how these other concepts, or sub-concepts as proposed by Choi and Majumdar (2014), help to define the phenomenon of SE. I propose to use this idea in order to examine the definitions of SE presented in Table 1. In order to verify if these sub-concepts are present or not in these definitions, I propose using the following approach: the social entrepreneur (SEr) is WHO engages in SE; the SE organization is WHERE SE takes place; social innovation is HOW SE happens; and social value creation is WHAT SE accomplishes.

**Table 1** *Definitions of Social Entrepreneurship*

Author(s)	Definition
Alvord (2004)	SE is the creation of innovative solutions to immediate social problems and the mobilization of ideas, capacities, resources, and social arrangements required for sustainable social transformations.
Austin et al (2012)	SE is an innovative, social value creating activity that can occur within or across the nonprofit, business, or government sectors.
Bacq and Janssen (2011)	SE is the process of identifying, evaluating and exploiting opportunities aiming at social value creation by means of commercial, market-based activities and of the use of a wide range of resources.
Birch and Whittam (2008)	SE is the promotion of linking and motivational social capital through the encouragement of particular visions of social change that cut across organizational and institutional boundaries.
Chell et al. (2010)	SE refers to innovative activity with a social objective in either the for-profit sector, or in the corporate social entrepreneurship or in the non-profit sector
Dees (2010)	SE is the application of entrepreneurial methods to solving social problems or improving social conditions.
Friedman and Desivilya (2010)	SE refers to a range of practices and discourses involving the creation of new and innovative organizations or enterprises to meet human needs and improve services in fields, such as poverty reduction, healthcare, child protection, disability rights and environmental sustainability.
Germak and Singh (2009)	SE comprises innovative ideas for social change executed utilizing sound business strategies and skills.
Granados et al. (2011)	SE is the activity developed by individuals or groups of people to create, sustain, distribute and/or disseminate social or environmental value in innovative ways.
Haugh (2005)	SE refers to activities associated with the perception of opportunities to create social value and the creation of social purpose organizations to pursue them.

Hibbert, Hogg, and Quinn (2002)	SE can be loosely defined as the use of entrepreneurial behavior for social ends rather than for profit objectives.
Hill et al. (2010)	SE is a disciplined, innovative, risk-tolerant entrepreneurial process of opportunity recognition and resource assembly directed toward creating social value by changing underlying social and economic structures through the creation or transformation of an organization.
Korosec and Berman (2006)	SE involves private individuals and organizations taking the initiative to address social challenges in their communities
Lasprogata and Cotten (2003)	SE means nonprofit organizations that apply entrepreneurial strategies to sustain themselves financially while having a greater impact on their social mission.
Mair and Noboa (2006)	SE is a process that involves individuals (social entrepreneurs) engaging in a specific behavior (social entrepreneurial behavior) with tangible outcomes (social ventures or enterprises).
Mair, Battilana, and Cardenas (2012)	SE refers to opportunities and activities that leverage economic activity to pursue a social objective and implement social change. SE initiatives aim primarily to pursue a social mission and to ultimately transform their social environment.
Mort et al. (2003)	SE leads to the establishment of new social organizations or NFPs and the continued innovation in existing ones.
Murphy and Coombes (2008)	SE is the creation and undertaking of a venture intended to promote a specific social purpose or cause in a context of mobilization.
Newbert and Hill (2014)	SE is novel activity intended to generate producer surplus via the creation of positive externalities and/or the reduction of negative externalities.
Newth and Woods (2014)	SE is the process of combining resources in innovative ways for the pursuit of opportunities for the simultaneous creation of both social value and economic value that manifests in new initiatives, products, services, programs, or organizations.
OECD (1999)	SE refers to any private activity conducted in the public interest, organized with an entrepreneurial strategy but whose main purpose isn't the maximization of profit but the attainment of economic and social goals bringing innovative solutions to unemployment and social exclusion.
Parkinson and Howorth (2008)	SE is the use of entrepreneurial processes for social purpose.

Perrini and Vurro (2006)	SE is a composite phenomenon and can initially be explained by the strengthening requests from various stakeholders to the nonprofit sector to enhance its economic efficiency and effectiveness, as well as to the for-profit sector to encourage the adoption of socially responsible behavior.
Rashid (2010)	SE involves innovations that use market-based approaches to solve social problems.
Roberts and Woods (2005)	SE is the construction, evaluation and pursuit of opportunities for social change.
Santos (2012)	SE is an innovation process in the economy that can happen in different institutional contexts, is based on value creation, and operates by its own rules and logic. It is an approach that seems well suited to address some of the most pressing problems in modern society and improve capitalism.
Seelos, Mair, Battilana, and Dacin (2010)	SE is the implementation of entrepreneurial activities with the aim of building organizations that achieve social goals.
Shaw and Carter (2007)	SE has emerged as a new label for describing the work of community, voluntary and public organizations, as well as private firms working for social rather than for-profit objectives.
Stryjan (2006)	SE is a category of entrepreneurship that primarily (1) is engaged in by collective actors, and (2) involves in a central role in the undertaking's resource mix, socially embedded resources.
Tan, Williams, and Tan (2005)	Entrepreneurship, social or otherwise, involves both risk and innovation in the process of making profits.
Tasker, Westberg, and Seymour (2012)	SE is the phenomena associated with the enterprising human action in pursue of the generation of change by creating social, cultural or natural value through the creation or expansion of economic activity.
Vasakarla (2008)	SE involves activities relating to philanthropy and social responsibility. It is a combination of business acumen, innovation, and determination.
Weerawardena and Mort (2006)	SE is a behavioral phenomenon expressed in a NFP organization context aimed at delivering social value through the exploitation of perceived opportunities.

D. Williams and Knife (2012)

SE is the development of activities which are targeted at persons who have a need but are unable to afford to satisfy this need by engaging in the traditional market activities.

Zahra et al (2009)

SE encompasses the activities and processes undertaken to discover, define, and exploit opportunities in order to enhance social wealth by creating new ventures or managing existing organizations in an innovative manner.

---



**Table 2** *Amplitude of Social Entrepreneurship Definitions*

Author(s)	Who	Where	How	What
Alvord (2004)			Innovation	Sustainable Social Transformation
Austin et al (2012)		NGOs; business; government	Innovation	Social Value
Bacq and Janssen (2011)			Commercial and market based strategies	Social Value
Birch and Whittam (2008)			Promotion of linking and motivational social capital	Social Change
Chell et al. (2010)		NGOs; business	Innovation	Social Objective
Dees (2010)			Entrepreneurial Methods	Improvement of Social Conditions
Friedman and Desivilya (2010)			Creation of innovative organizations	Improvement of Social Services
Germak and Singh (2009)			Innovative ideas executed with business skills	Social Change
Granados et al. (2011)	Individuals or groups		Innovation	Social or Environmental Value
Haugh (2005)			Creation of Social Purpose Organization	Social Value
Hibbert et al. (2002)			Entrepreneurial Behavior	Social End
Hill et al. (2010)			Creation or transformation of organizations through an entrepreneurial process	Social Value
Korosec and Berman (2006)	Individuals or organizations		Addressing social challenges in new ways	Mitigation of Social Challenges
Lasprogata and Cotten (2003)		NGOs	Entrepreneurial strategies	Social Mission
Mair and Noboa (2006)	Individuals		Entrepreneurial Behavior	Social Enterprise

Mair et al. (2012)		Economic Activity	Social Change
Mort et al. (2003)	NGOs	Creation of Organization and Innovation	
Murphy and Coombes (2008)		Creation and undertake of venture	Social Purpose
Newbert and Hill (2014)		Novel Activity	Producer surplus
Newth and Woods (2014)		Innovation	Social and Economic Value
Parkinson and Howorth (2008)		Entrepreneurial processes	Social Purpose
Perrini and Vurro (2006)	NGOs OR for-profits	Economic efficiency (NGO) or Social Responsibility	
Rashid (2010)		Innovation and Market-based approach	Solving Social Problems
Roberts and Woods (2005)		Construction, evaluation and pursuit of opportunities	Social Change
Santos (2012)		Innovation process	
Seelos et al. (2010)		Entrepreneurial Activity	Organizations with Social Goals
Shaw and Carter (2007)	NGOs; business; government		Social Objective
Stryjan (2006)	Collective actors	Entrepreneurial Activity	
Tan et al. (2005)		Risk and Innovation	Profit
Tasker et al. (2012)		Creation or expansion of economic activity	Social Change
Vasakarla (2008)		Business acumen and innovation	
Weerawardena and Mort (2006)	NGOs	Exploitation of Perceived Opportunities	Social Value
D. Williams and Knife (2012)		Activities	Satisfaction of personal needs of the poor



As it can be observed in Table 2, the authors who defined *who* engages in SE affirmed that SE could either be engaged in by individuals, groups or organizations or a combination of them. Authors who defined *where* SE takes place affirmed that it takes place in either NGOs, governments or business organizations. It's also evident that almost all definitions mentioned *how* SE happens. The ideas of innovation and creation are strongly present in authors' definition of SE, but this is still far from being consensual. As to *what* are the outcomes of SE, even though this is the closest that we got to a consensus (with social change or social value creation being cited by the majority of the authors) there are still a few authors who disagree that these are or should be the outcomes of SE.

It's interesting to note that none of the examined definitions mentioned all of the four components of SE proposed by Choi and Majumdar (2014). This is evidence that the authors either didn't consider relevant including all four sub-concepts in their definitions of SE, or that they considered these components as unproblematic, or as given, in their proposed definitions. Moreover, when the authors in fact mention "social change", "social value", "social end", "social innovation", or "social purpose", as an outcome of SE, and thus as an important aspect of their definitions, hardly any of them explain what they actually mean by these terms. While examining these definitions, therefore, I'm drawn to agreeing with Cho (2006) on the fact that we are mostly facing monological and tautological definitions of SE in its literature.

In short, Table 2 shows that authors regard most the dimensions of SE earlier proposed, they either impose qualities to each of them or they don't do so, thus producing either narrower or wider definitions of this concept. Some of the broader definitions found were (in short): Alvord (2004), who defined SE as disciplined, innovative processes aimed at achieving sustainable social transformation; Santos (2012) defined SE as an innovative process; Bacq and Janssen (2010) defined it as market based or commercial activities aimed at social change; Zahara et al (2009) defined SE as the process of

finding and exploiting opportunities for the creation of enhancing social wealth; Tan et al. (2009) defined SE as any risk taking innovative activity aimed at generating profit.

I conclude that the broader definitions of SE propose that this concept merely propose a link between entrepreneurial activity and social change, although there are some disagreements as to what can be considered an entrepreneurial activity. This point immediately draws us back to the extensive discussions present in the field of entrepreneurship itself around this subject. So defining how broad these broad concepts really are would require both going back to these discussions in the entrepreneurship literature besides inquiring these authors as to what they mean by social change/social wealth/social transformation. However, there are exceptions to this also, like authors D. Williams and Knife (2012), who never mention the entrepreneurial process to be an essential part of SE, affirming that the development of any activity aimed to improving the lives of the less fortunate could be considered SE.

Besides, also mentioning the entrepreneurial process as a required component of SE, narrower definitions tend to define who engages in SE and where it can happen. These works usually affirm that, in order for SE to exist, it needs an individual, or a social entrepreneur, to be engaged in it (Mair & Noboa, 2006). They may also define that SE can only happen in certain types of organizations, with authors Weerawardena and Mort (2006), Mort et al (2003) and Lasprogata and Cotton (2003) affirming that SE is a phenomenon belonging to the NGOs' sphere. But this point is very far from being a consensus, with most of the authors either choosing not to enclosure this phenomenon within single type of organization or recognizing that it can happen in multiple types of organizations, such as businesses, corporations, or even governments.

There is a substantial amount of authors who defend broad definitions of SE (Cho, 2006; Darabi et al., 2012). However, after examining these broad definitions, I argue that one must be careful with too wide definitions of SE. I advocate for a definition narrow enough to exclude criminal or terrorist organizations, for example (Abdukadirov, 2010) and business organizations that aim mainly at generating profits.

This can be achieved by including ethical and political criteria in the definition of SE. Others have already stressed the necessity of discussing SE's ethical and political aspects. In fact, Cho (2006) pointed out that taking under consideration the relationship of SE with politics may be a way out of monological and tautological definitions that are still persistent in this field.

Besides, while we have a considerable amount of resources available for those interested in better understanding the entrepreneurial process to achieve a better comprehension some of these definitions, for those trying to make sense of what these authors mean by social value or social change, the available resources are much more scarce. This fact has led many to defend that greater focus should be given to the social side of SE instead of its entrepreneurial side, and especially to the social change aspect of SE.

Also having this in mind, Cho (2006) proposes a working definition of SE that brings in elements that can help us understand what this social side of SE actually is. The author proposes the following definition: SE is a "set of institutional practices combining the pursuit of financial objectives with the pursuit and promotion of substantive and terminal values" (p. 36). The author, therefore, chooses a quite broad definition that defines SE as an activity that generates a type of value which extrapolate economical or financial value. It's also interesting to note that the author chooses not to refer to creation or innovation as a defining aspect of this concept, thus moving away from those definitions which emphasize the entrepreneurial side of SE.

Going further while arguing that a greater focus should be given to the social aspects of SE, some authors affirm that the SE literature should challenge the commercial entrepreneurship literature, instead of simply becoming an accessorial branch of it, or an almost twin to it. Firstly, this task would require a re-appropriation of the concept of entrepreneurship itself by challenging the dominance of the economic paradigm present in this field that has subsisted throughout its existence. In other words, a further investigation of what is social in entrepreneurship. There is a call for investigations that

will bring better understandings of how entrepreneurship is a social instead of a sole economic activity. I argue that knowing this will allow us to move away from the tautological and monological definitions of SE we have encountered in this literature so far. Even though it's not exactly clear if social entrepreneurship adds understanding to the concept of entrepreneurship, it is unquestionable that the discussion surrounding the term social entrepreneurship has the merits of, at the very least, raising the question: if entrepreneurship isn't solely about creating economical value, what is it about?

Moreover, Fayolle and Matlay (2010) argue that SE is linked to significant evolutions in the entrepreneurship literature, as it can be perceived as an evidence of this field's growing ability to address changes and to balance economy and social wellbeing. However, Sundin and Tillmar (2010) point out that the strong connection between entrepreneurship and the private/business sector has lead SE to theoretical, political and practical shortcomings. It is important to note that the economic paradigm has had a prevalent role in the definition of entrepreneurship in a broad sense, as it is commonly defined as an individual-based phenomenon aimed towards an economical end (Shane & Ventakamaran, 2000). However, as asserted by Suddaby (2012), there is a general tendency in the field of management and organizations research of broadening its economical spectrum and trying to build understandings of social and natural issues that are embedded in the functioning of today's organizations. To enclosure entrepreneurship solely in economic terms would, therefore, contradict this general tendency, and do a disfavor to the development of SE as plural academic field of inquiry it clearly has the potential to be.

Besides, the application of entrepreneurship in its dominant form (based on an economic paradigm) to the social sphere has been contested conceptually, practically and ideologically (Parkinson & Howorth, 2008). Santos (2012) counterpoints this affirmation, arguing that bringing SE into economic and strategy theory may be helpful these theories by showing their more humane side. Although I don't disagree with Santos (2012), I argue that, at the present moment, it seems more urgent to further mature the field of SE before taking it back to economic theory and strategy. The reason

for this is simple, these latter fields have a much bolder and more developed theoretical body, and thus could easily trap SE inside their own domains.

Many grounds still remain to be broken if SE wants to mature as an independent academic field. The centrality of the human actor commonly observed in the study of entrepreneurship (Bruyat & Julien, 2001), for example, can be seen as an inheritance to SE (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Diochon, Durepos, & Anderson, 2011). This centrality brings with it a paradigmatic complexity to entrepreneurship, and consequently to the SE field, common to the humanities. Foucault (2007) provided a set of insights regarding the somewhat complex position of the humanities in general in relation to neighboring sciences. The author explained that before the humanities came into existence (quite recently, in the XIX century) the human actor was a solely philosophical object of inquiry. This explains in part why it's so difficult to define and explain SE and entrepreneurship itself.

Therefore, this potentially complex position held by entrepreneurship studies in relation to its neighboring sciences reinforces the necessity, already highlighted by authors such as Low and MacMillan (1988) and Gartner (2001), to directly address the issue of the theoretical assumptions held by researchers while approaching the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. This issue will be meticulously discussed in this thesis' methodology chapter. This is also necessary since there are substantial differences in the beliefs entrepreneurship scholars hold about what entrepreneurship itself is (Gartner, 2001).

Specifically in the case of SE, I argue that these assumptions must include what one defines as being the social in SE and, especially, the ethical and political assumptions contained in the idea of social change as an outcome of SE and in the idea of having a social mission as the main purpose of a SE organization. As pointed out by Valeau (2010), once we define and explore these non-economic assumptions located within the entrepreneurial process, it may be possible to change its nature. This potential of SE has already been recognized by authors like Seelos et al. (2010). Seymour (2012) adds to this discussion affirming that, in order to fulfill this potential, research on SE must leave



behind the individualistic inheritance and *homo economicus* paradigm that has been dominating the entrepreneurship field so far. In fact, even though this dominance is still clear in this field, authors like Bygrave (1989) affirmed at a very early stage of this field's development that there was a need to conceive a separate paradigm for entrepreneurship not entirely enclosed in an economic or business paradigm.

Researchers of SE have already started walking towards this direction. In Table 2, for example, 3 authors recognize that other actors besides solely the individual can engage in SE, breaking one important connection with the literature of business entrepreneurship. Actually, even though it is undeniable that the individualistic approach is alive and well in the SE literature, there are authors like Stryjan (2006) that argue that SE is a phenomenon that belongs exclusively to a collective and not to an individual sphere.

I must point out, however, that this advocacy to distance SE from the economic paradigm does not imply that the economic sphere of SE should be excluded completely from this phenomenon. Quite the opposite, I defend that that SE should be seen as a phenomenon that occurs in the intersection of sectors (Defourny, 2010). Or, better yet, it's located in a continuum zone ranging from purely social to purely economic activities (Darabi et al., 2012). I don't agree, therefore, that businesses should be excluded from the concept of SE.

I don't believe that the fact that businesses aim to make profit is necessarily incompatible with SE's social value creation. However, a contradiction may lie on how these profits are distributed: they can either be generated to be accumulated in the hands of one individual (what would contradict the purpose of SE); or they could be generated to be used to further extent the organization's social impact. NGOs, for example, may generate profit by engaging in commercial activities to support their social pursuit. Also, private businesses may generate profits that are solely distributed to support social activities developed by other NGOs. The Social Bite in Scotland is an example of this

type of social business that could be considered a form of social entrepreneurship, in my view.

In short, I don't agree with the exclusion of for profit organizations or even public organizations from a working definition of SE. Quite the opposite, I agree with those who advocate for a broad definition of SE that embraces multiple manifestations of this phenomenon in different organizational settings. Thus, I propose initially using Cho (2006)'s definition that SE is a "set of institutional practices combining the pursuit of financial objectives with the pursuit and promotion of substantive and terminal values" (p. 36)". This preliminary definition, however, is still not fully satisfying, as it does not account for social change, and will be subjected to a revision in the discussion chapter. According to this proposed definition, SE is a phenomenon that happens in an in-between space, it refers to linking practices or to inter-sectorial organizational spaces. In Figure 1, I tried to present a model of this inter-sectorial space suggested by this definition. This model shows that SE can happen in diverse combinations of organizational goals.



**Figure 2** – *'Social Entrepreneurship and Neighboring Zones' According to Organizational Mission.*

This conceptual review shows the existence of important disagreements in the current academic literature on SE. This may suggest the need to further discuss the maturation

stage of the academic field of SE and what its implications for empirical researches on SE are. The following topic will cover this discussion.

### **2.1.2 The Maturation Stage of the Literature on SE**

Even though SE has been present in the academic arena for roughly three decades, it's widely agreed upon that the academic field on SE is still in its infancy (Austin, 2006; Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Cajaiba-Santana, 2010; Chell et al., 2010; Choi & Majumdar, 2014; Christie & Honig, 2006; Diochon et al., 2011; Dorado, 2006; Dufays & Huybrechts, 2014; Hoogendoorn et al., 2010; Lyons & Lichtenstein, 2010; Mair, 2010; Nicholls, 2006; Parkinson & Howorth, 2008; Shockley & Frank, 2011; Short et al., 2009; D. Williams & Knife, 2012). The presence of multiple meanings and often conflicting definitions of SE in the academic literature, which has been previously discussed here, is often mentioned as a symptom of this infancy. Furthermore, some authors point out that the existence of very little critical approaches to SE is another evidence of this field's infancy (Cho, 2006; Mason, Kirkbride, & Bryde, 2007; Mueller, Nazarkina, Volkmann, & Blank, 2011). However, authors like Teasdale, Dey, and Steyaert (2012) observe that the field has progressed over the years.

Some authors call this nascent stage of the SE literature a pre-paradigmatic stage (Lehner & Kansikas, 2013; Newbert, 2014; Nicholls, 2010b). According to Lehner and Kansikas (2013), a pre-paradigmatic field is an academic field that lacks an established epistemology. Even though, as pointed out by Seale (1999), research is a craft skill not dependent on resolved epistemological debates, an established epistemology is an important resource for the development of methodological awareness in the research process. The fact that SE doesn't have an established epistemology can therefore be seen as one more challenge to those interested in researching SE empirically.

Some approach this infancy of SE's academic field with more excitement, arguing that this is an academic field in the making with plenty of room for new ideas and room for making major contributions, both for SE's theoretical body as well as for its practice (Austin, 2006; Zeyen et al., 2013). While others express more concern with this maturation stage, stressing the need for methodological rigor and for the search of validity in SE research (Bloom & Clark, 2011; Granados et al., 2011; Roberts & Woods, 2005)

Even though different authors express more or less concern with methodological rigor and validity in SE research, it's commonly recognized that the maturation of this academic field is directly tied to the amount and rigor of the empirical studies being developed on the phenomenon of SE (Hoogendoorn et al., 2010). The predominance of theoretical papers on SE itself is already an evidence of a field in an early stage of theoretical development (Lehner & Kansikas, 2013; Short et al., 2009). Furthermore, most published empirical studies on SE derive from case studies, storytelling and anecdotal evidence (Bloom & Clark, 2011; Chell, Spence, Perrini, & Harris, 2014; Hill et al., 2010). However, there are authors who still defend that the use of case studies, for example, is still important due to the nascent stage of this field (Kumar & Ormiston, 2012)

In order to better understand and to possibly present more evidence of this nascent maturation stage of the SE field, in the next section I will present an extensive review of published empirical works on SE. I will examine which topics were studied, in which contexts, and which methodologies were used in these researches. This is relevant because, as affirmed by Defourny and Nyssens (2010), there are considerable regional differences in the conception of Social Entrepreneurship in different parts of the world (like in the U.S. and in Europe). To this Mair (2010) added that SE appears to be different in emerging countries as well, as they tend to manifest a more informal form of capitalism. This suggests the need to take a closer look in where the phenomenon of SE has been studied so far if we wish to gain a better understanding of this phenomenon as a whole.

### **2.1.3 Where and How Has Social Entrepreneurship Been Studied**

SE is known to be a context specific phenomenon that varies substantially according to different economic and cultural contexts (Austin, 2006; Chell, 2007; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Mair, 2010; Seelos et al., 2010). This isn't surprising, since it has been widely argued that that even capitalism itself varies in accordance to different cultural and institutional contexts (Mair, 2010). Accepting the thesis that there are different types of capitalism in different parts of the world may be helpful in explaining why and how the phenomenon of SE changes in different countries, as Mair (2010) has already suggested. Besides, it could also help justify why a certain approach to SE may be more or less appropriate in accordance to the context being studied, which may alleviate many of the disagreements surrounding this concept's definition.

**Table 3** *Empirical Research on Social Entrepreneurship*

Author(s)	Country	Theme	Organizations	Participants	Data Collection	Duration Months
Alvord (2004)	USA; India; Kenya; Bangladesh; Mexico; France	SE Success	7	-	Secondary Data	UD
Barinaga (2013)	Sweden	Social Dimension of SE	3	Multiple	Interviews; Ethnographic Field Notes; Documents	UD
Corner and Ho (2010)	New Zealand	Opportunities in SE	1	Multiple	Semi-Structured interviews; Field Notes	UD
T. Curtis, Herbst, and Gumkovska (2010)	UK; Poland	Trust between social enterprises and the public sector	UD	UD	Semi-Structured Interviews	UD
Desa (2012)	10<*	Bricolage in SE	202	UD**	Secondary Data	UD
Foster (2006)	UK	SE and Cultural Modes	1	Vicars	Semi-structured Interviews; Secondary Data	UD
Haugh (2006)	UK	SE outcomes and Impact	6	Multiple	In depth interviews; Participant Observations; Documents	36

Hibbert et al. (2002)	UK	Consumer Response to SE	1	Consumers	Interviews; Questionnaire	UD
Kickul, Griffiths, and Gundry (2010)	UD	Bricolage and Social Change	41	Social Entrepreneurs**	Online Questionnaire	0.5
Kistruck and Beamish (2010)	Kenya; Zimbabwe; Swazilan; El Salvador; Honduras; Bolivia; Brazil	Form and Structure	10	Social Entrepreneurs	Semi-Structured Interviews; Observations; Documents	2
Luke and Chu (2013)	Vietnam	Distinction between social enterprise and SE	10	NGOs Managers	Semi-structured Interviews; Documents	UD
Maclean, Harvet, Shaw, and Gordon (2012)	UK	Social Innovation	1	Multiple	Semi-structured interviews; observation; Documents	24
Mair et al. (2012)	UD	Typology of SE	200	Social Entrepreneurs**	Secondary Data	UD
Nga and Shamuganathan (2010)	Malaysia	Influence of personality and demography in start-ups	181	College Students	Survey	UD
Smith and Stevens (2010)	US	Earned Income Opportunities	27	NGOs' Executive Directors	Telephone and Personal Interviews; Documents	UD
Omoredede (2014)	Nigeria	Motivations to start Social Enterprises	10	Multiple	Telephone Interviews; Documents	UD
Parente, Lopes, and Marcos (2013)	Portugal	SE profiles	89	NGOs' Managers	Survey	2

Parkinson and Howorth (2008)	UK	Entrepreneurship Discourse in SE	20	Social Entrepreneurs**	Interviews	UD
Partzsch and Ziegler (2011)	UD	Governance and Agency in SE	39	Social Entrepreneurs**	Secondary Data***	UD
Perrini, Vurro, and Costanzo (2010)	Italy	Opportunity Identification and Social Change	1	Multiple	Semi-structured Interviews; Documents	UD
Pruthi (2012)	India	Processes of SE	1	Multiple	Semi-structured Interviews; Documents	UD
Robles (2013)	Puerto Rico	Description of Hybrid Model in a NGO	1	-	UD	UD
Schwartz (2011)	Sweden	Interorganizational Interplays	16	Multiple	Interviews; Shadowing	20
Seelos, Ganlin, and Mair (2006)	>10	Social entrepreneurs and global development	74	Social Entrepreneurs**	Interviews; Secondary data	UD
Sharir and Lerner (2006)	Israel	Success factors in SE	33	Multiple	Interviews; Participant Observations	24
Shaw and Carter (2007)	UK	Entrepreneurial process and outcomes	80	Social Entrepreneurs**	Interviews	UD
Spear and Lautermann (2013)	UK	Models for economic and SE	6	Multiple	Semi-structured interviews	UD
Stryjan (2006)	Sweden	Social entrepreneur's mode of action	4	UD	UD	UD



Tan and Yoo (2014)	Singapore	SE intentions in the organizational level	147	UD	Mail Survey	UD
Thompson (2012)	UK	SE environmental improvement and volunteering	1	Multiple	Semi-structured interviews; questionnaires	UD
Urbano, Toledano, and Soriano (2010)	Spain	Institutional Perspective	7	Multiple	Interviews; Observations; Documents	6
Valeau (2010)	France	Dilemmas in SE	30	Social Entrepreneurs	Interviews	UD
Vasakarla (2008)	India	Characteristics of social entrepreneurs	60	Social Entrepreneurs	Structured Questionnaire	UD
Sandra Waddock and Steckler (2014)	US	Vision of Social Entrepreneurs	23	Social Entrepreneurs	Semi-structured Interviews	UD
Wang (2012)	India; China	Human resource development	4	-	UD	UD
Weerawardena and Mort (2006)	Australia	Characteristics of social entrepreneurs	9	Senior Managers and CEOs**	Interviews; Observations; Documents	UD
C. C. Williams and Nadin (2011)	UK	Social and Commercial Entrepreneurship	861	Entrepreneurs	Secondary Data from wider Survey	-
Di Zhang and Swanson (2013)	Canada	Synergy between social and business objectives	200	NGOs managers	Structured telephone interviews	UD

---

\* 45 countries in North America, Southeast Asia and Africa

\*\* Selected from existing databases of social entrepreneurs made by support organizations

\*\*\* 2 field trips were made to 1 organization

Some conclusion can be drawn from Table 3:

- (a) Empirical research on SE has put more emphasis on individual entrepreneurs and/or leaders of SE organizations than to other stakeholders involved in the phenomenon;
- (b) A relevant part of these studies chose their participants from databases provided by SE support organizations. This is an important bias because they relied on another organization to define what SE is and where (which organizations) it can be studied. In my opinion, this restricts and compromises the choosing of participants;
- (c) The majority of empirical studies on SE has been conducted in Europe and in the US;
- (d) The majority of the studies conducted in so called developing/emerging countries relied on surveys/questionnaires, telephone interviews, secondary data or relied upon anecdotal evidence since there was no account on how evidence was collected;
- (e) Overall, there were few empirical studies when compared to the theoretical ones. On top of that, there were even fewer qualitative studies, which are of vital importance for any nascent field in social sciences, due to its potential to develop theory. Besides, out of the existent qualitative studies only six disclosed the amount of time spent in the field, for example. This may suggest that the field of SE in general, as far as empirical evidence goes, has still a long way to go in order to build bold and systematic research.

It's also clear that while SE has been more solidly studied in liberal (especially in the US) and cooperative (European) economies, the occurrence of SE in informal economies present in developing/emerging countries has been relatively less studied (Rashid, 2010). With some exceptions, with studies being mainly developed in China (Wang, 2012), India (Pruthi, 2012; Vasakarla, 2008; Wang, 2012) and some parts of Africa (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Nega & Schneider, 2014) This unevenness of

studies on SE being developed in developing and developed world is understandable since, even though SE as a practice benefits from a long heritage (Bacq & Janssen, 2011), the concept of SE was first used in the US and in the UK. But, as highlighted by Chell et al. (2014), the field of SE, up to this day, still lacks a broader picture and calls for more in-depth studies in Asia, Africa and South America.

#### 2.1.4 Social Entrepreneurship Research in Brazil: What has been done so far?

In this section I will closely examine the existent literature on SE in Brazil. Although I found few studies, and even fewer published studies (since I also looked at unpublished thesis or dissertations), I believe it's still relevant to examine how SE has been examined in Brazil so far, because this may some preliminary insights and contextual tips that could possibly guide some of the discussion of this study's findings.

**Table 4** *Research on Social Entrepreneurship in Brazil*

Author (s)	Lang uage	Theme	Org. Type	N° Org.	Participants	Data Collection	Duration Months
Bose (2012)*	PO	SE impact on local development	NGOs	3**	Multiple	Documents; 28 Interviews	4
Casaqui (2014)	PO	Meanings of SE in Brazil and in Portugal	-	-	-	-	-
Comini et al. (2012)	EN	Different perspectives on SE	Social Businesses	3	UD	UD	UD
Correa and Teixeira (2015)	PO	Social enterprise creation and resource mobilization	NGOs	3	Social Entrepreneur s	3 Interviews	UD

Farfus (2008)*	PO	SE and local development	NGO	1	SE course alumni students	Survey answered by 31 students	UD
Godói-de-Souza and Fisher (2012)	EN	Social enterprises and succession	NGOs***	32****	Directors	Online Survey, Semi-Structured Interviews and Secondary Data	UD
Godói-de-Souza, Gandolfi, and Gandolfi (2011)	PO	Levels of SE and their dimensions	NGOs	21.859	UD	Secondary Survey Data	UD
Godói-de-Souza and Valadão-Júnior (2013)	EN	Social enterprises' produced knowledge and social innovation and local development	NGOs	32*****	Social Entrepreneurs	32 Interviews	UD
Grisi (2008)*	PO	Entrepreneurship and local social development	UD	UD	UD	Secondary Data	UD
Kuyumjian, Souza, and Sant'anna (2014)	PO	SE and local development	NGO	1	Multiple	15 Interviews; Observations ; Documents	3
Lima (2008)*	PO	SE and social citizenship	-	-	-	-	-
Oliveira (2004)	PO	Introduction to SE in Brazil	-	-	-	-	-
Onozato and Teixeira (2010)	PO	Creation of social enterprises	NGOs	3	Social Entrepreneurs	3 Interviews; Documents; Observations	UD
Raufflet and Amaral (2006)	EN	The process of ABRINQ's creation	NGO	1	UD	UD	UD
Rossoni, Onozato, Horoshovski, Greco, and Bastos-Junior (2007)	PO	Demographical aspects of SE	UD	4000	Households	Secondary Survey Data	UD
Siqueira, Mariano, and Moraes (2014)	EN	Social enterprises, innovation ecosystems and local development	Microfinance Organizations	3	Leaders or representatives	11 Interviews	6
Tyzler (2007)	PO	SE, art and social change	UD	UD	Multiple	5 Interviews	UD

Vasconcelos and Lezana (2012)	PO	Social enterprises' Lifecycle	NGOs	10	Founders	10 Interviews	UD
-------------------------------	----	-------------------------------	------	----	----------	---------------	----

\* *Unpublished Thesis or Dissertation*

\*\* *Organizations were selected based on interviews made with members of four SE support organizations that operate in Brazil (ASHOKA, Avina, Artemisia and Potencia Ventures)*

\*\*\* *Only NGOs working in the area of "Solidarity Economy"*

\*\*\*\* *Organizations were selected from the Brazilian Ministry of Labor's National Bureau of Solidarity's database*

\*\*\*\*\* *Organizations selected from support Organization's database*

From looking at Table 4, the first point that catches my attention is the fact that in Brazil the empirical studies on SE actually outnumber the amount of theoretical ones. Only three of the works presented in this table are theoretical studies, with the rest 13 studies having either collected or re-worked some sort of empirical data. This contradicts the tendency in the international literature on SE, where theoretical papers outnumber empirical ones, as it has already been discussed here. However, although one may think that such empirical works could be contributing to the overall development of the literature on SE, a few other observations could put this at stake.

For example, out of the 16 studies found on Brazilian SE, only four of them were published in English language by peer-reviewed journals. The majority of the articles, seven of them, were published in Portuguese language in Brazilian journals. Four of them are unpublished thesis and dissertation works also written in Portuguese. Out of the published studies written in Portuguese, three of them were published in the same A2 journal (RAP) (Kuyumjian et al., 2014; Tyzler, 2007; Vasconcelos & Lezana, 2012) which is dedicated to Public Management; two were published in mid to low impact factor B1 journals REAd (Rossoni et al., 2007) and RAM (Correa & Teixeira, 2015); two were published in the same B2 journal (Onozato & Teixeira, 2010); and two of them were published in journals with no impact factor (Godói-de-Sousa et al., 2011; Oliveira, 2004). The sole fact that these works were either not published or were written in Portuguese restricts their audience and diminishes their capacity to impact the field of SE in an international level.

All of the empirical studies analyzed collected and/or relied on qualitative data. Analyzing the quality of qualitative data has proven to be a challenge (Meyrick, 2006). However, some authors have established criteria for assessing trustworthiness of qualitative work. Some of the criteria defined by Krefting (1991) were: prolonged and varied field experience; dense description; triangulation (or the use of multiple data sources). Collecting data directly is perceived as important to guarantee its reliability, as pointed out by Mays and Pope (1995). Tracy (2010) also points out that revealing the amount of time spent in the field and a rich contextual important for establishing qualitative research rigor.

A quick look over the 13 qualitative studies reveals that six of these studies relied solely upon either interviews or survey (ranging from as little as 3 and up to 32 interviews). This can be perceived as a weak point of these researches, since having multiple data sources is perceived as an important asset to judge data credibility (Krefting, 1991; Tracy, 2010). In fact, only three out of the 13 studies used multiple data sources (interviews, documents and observation). However, only two of these latter studies mentioned the time spent doing field work, which ranged from three to four months in total. It's also worth mentioning that one of these studies made as few as 3 interviews while the other two claimed to have made 15 and 28 interviews respectively. In addition, two of the empirical studies relied solely upon secondary data. Also, two out of the four studies published in English seemed to have relied on anecdotal evidence, since there was no mentioning of if and how data was collected. Another point that catches my attention is that, out of the 13 empirical studies on Brazilian SE, only three disclosed the amount of time researchers spent doing fieldwork, ranging from three, to four or six months. Such evidences lead me to believe that much remains to be investigated in the field of SE practices in Brazil.

Regarding their researched organizations, the analyzed works exhibit a preference for studying NGOs. Therefore, this brings the Brazilian scene closer to a European approach to SE than to an "American" one. This could be explained by the fact that the Brazilian social and cultural context may share more similarities with southern

European countries such as Portugal and Italy than with the United States. According to Defourny and Nyssens (2010) these countries also present a troublesome provision of social services by the state and also a historical background involving a strong church influence in the establishment and operation of third sector organizations. The work of Comini et al. (2012) and Siqueira et al. (2014) are exceptions, and they do reveal that there is an incipient interest in other organizational manifestations of SE in the Brazilian scene. This incipient interest in studying social businesses in Brazil could be considered a more “American” and thus neoliberal approach to SE.

Another point that catches my attention is the recurrence of the “social development” theme in these works, which may suggest its relevance in this context. Five of the examined works had as a main theme the investigation of how SE impacts local social development. Another work was close to this theme, as it proposed an investigation of how SE relates to social citizenship. This suggests that establishing a link between SE and local social development may be a relevant task in the investigation of SE in developing/emerging economies like Brazil.

In short, the analysis of what has been done in the field of SE in Brazil has led to the following conclusions: (1) although the number of empirical works on SE outnumber theoretical ones in the Brazilian context, they are still few and fail to impact the international academic field of SE due to language restrictions; (2) most of the identified empirical works exhibit reliability and rigor issues that may compromise their transferability; (3) the theme of social development seems to interrelated to SE and in this context. These findings suggest that this context’s potential to contribute to the wider literature on SE has yet to be fulfilled.

## **2.2 Conclusion: Theoretical Gaps**

The following gaps were identified in the SE literature:

- i. A definitional gap: this gap concerns especially the issue of tautological and monological definitions of SE based on the taken for granted social change concept;
- ii. A maturation gap: this is a young field without an established epistemology which is still in need of bold, in-depth and systematic empirical research to catch up with its practice and thus build upon insightful and solid empirical evidence;
- iii. A contextual gap: SE has been mainly studied in the US and in the UK, and still with an overall lack of in-depth qualitative studies especially in the context of developing/emerging countries like Brazil aside.

In order to address these gaps, the research question “how do SE practices accomplish social change in the Brazilian context?” was elaborated. In answering this question my contributions are: (1) providing a working definition for SE based on its relationship with social change; (2) providing empirical evidence which accounts for and explains this relationship; (3) characterizing SE in the Brazilian context and reflecting upon its transferability to other contexts. This study also wishes to provide a methodological contribution which will be later laid down.

The methodological discussion accounting for how this study tried to answer this question is of vital importance to reach these contributions. This discussion will be carried out in the following chapter.



### 3. Introduction

Although I have proposed a research question that will address the found gaps in the literature, it's important to explain that this study started as an inductive inquiry with a very broad orientation towards investigating SE practices that was later refined in the research process. In this section I will explain the overall research design, I will justify the methodological choices I have made while conducting this qualitative study and also which measures were taken in order to preserve its methodological coherence.

As affirmed by Amis and Silk (2007), the coherence and transparency of qualitative research can only be discussed and considered once there is a clear establishment of the researcher's ontological, epistemological, political and axiological orientations. Without this positioning, she faces the great danger of falling into relativism, or an "anything goes" logic where methodological choices are obscured and/or unjustified, which is still perceived as being a weakness in some qualitative studies (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). In fact, as pointed out by Hammersley (1992), judgments of the adequacy of the results and knowledge claims made in one's research can only be made once one has revealed the positions or assumptions that guided the inquiry process. In other words, a "solid" qualitative research design must be closely tied to a theoretical framework that drives inquiry and thus justifies a study's methodological choices (Oliver, 2011).

Taking this under consideration and in order to assure this study's coherence, the following section of this chapter will present the philosophical assumptions that guided this inquiry and its overall inductive character. I will then present ethnography as a research strategy that is consistent with this approach. It's important to note that ethnography will provide this research with a posture, a way of seeing the social world and, of course, with the set of basic data collection techniques that were employed during field work. Afterwards, in order to assure transparency, I will proceed with a detailed description and justification of how participants were chosen, and how data was

collected, treated and analyzed. The ethical contours of this research will be discussed in the subsequent part of this methodology chapter, where I will address the matter of reflexivity and discuss how my “self” has affected the inquiry process and thus produced the outcomes of this research. Finally, I will make a few observations regarding the transferability of the research accounts produced by this study to other contexts.

### **3.1 Ontology and Epistemology**

Any research, or any attempt to understand the world and its phenomena in a systematic manner, start from an assumption on the nature of reality. Some authors call this positioning ontology, while others prefer to call it problematic. Building on the previous discussions around the nature of qualitative studies, it can be said that their main ontological assumption is that reality isn't purely objective. Therefore, in the context of qualitative studies, the aim of an ontological elucidation is to account for both the nature of the individuals involved in a research (subjectivity, action, agency, knowledge, etc.) and the nature of social phenomenon under investigation. In other words, ontology accounts for the nature of “who knows” and the nature of “what can be known”. Epistemology is closely tied to ontology, but it refers more specifically to the latter, to “what can be known” and, also, to *how* a given reality can be known (Greco, 1999). Thus, since the production of knowledge lies in the heart of any scientific inquiry (may it be qualitative or otherwise), ontology and epistemology cannot be separated in this realm.

In the present study, since my research question revolved around *practices* from the begging, this was an initial orientation that already contained a series of philosophical assumptions, even though they were initially unrefined. However, in the initial stages of this research this was a very general orientation that still didn't contain a refined ontological nor an epistemological positioning, which supports the inductive nature of

the present inquiry. Furthermore, as affirmed by Cunliffe (2015), three different ontologies or problematics have been used to investigate practices in OMT, which are summarized in Table 6:

**Table 6** *Three Problematics Used in Practice Research*

	Objectivism	Subjectivism	Intersubjectivism
Ontology	A real concrete social reality existing independently from us. Humans as socialized into that reality.	Realities socially constructed in the interactions, discursive practices, language use, and conversations of people. Humans as actors and interpreters, shaping and being shaped by understandings of 'realities'.	Shared, unique and contested understandings of social 'realities' created between people in and across moments of time and space. Humans embedded in relationships with others at many levels
Epistemology	Search for structures, laws, systems, rules, behavioral patterns, categories, processes, roles, generalized identities, and relationships between elements	Knowledge and knowing occurring in mundane and indexical activities of people	Knowing in-situ from within the moment of interaction and conversation. Meanings and understanding created fleeting between people

*Adapted from Cunliffe (2015)*

The close link between ontology and epistemology can be observed in Table 6. As explained by Cunliffe (2015), these different problematics produce and are produced by different conceptions on the nature and definitions of practice, or three different epistemologies. According to an objectivist view, for example, practices are independent objects or phenomenon abstracted from contexts. Subjectivism views practice as embedded in actions, interactions and conversations of people in a context. An intersubjectivist view, finally, regards practice (including the research practice) as interwoven in relationships between people.

These multiple ways to approach practices made clear, later on in my investigation, which I needed to refine what I understood of practices and its assumptions, as this

became a needed guiding point to refine and mold the study's research strategy and design. This discussion will be carried out in the following topic.

### **3.1.1 Practice-Based Studies: Philosophical Assumptions**

Firstly, it's important to highlight that practice theories "conceive social investigation as the patient, evidence-based, bottom-up effort of understanding practices and untangling their relationships" (p. 8). Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) add that, in organizations, practice theories put emphasis on explaining "the emergent constitution of the sociomaterial world through the micro dynamics of everyday life" (p. 1250). This bottom-up, or "grounded", aspect of practice theory implies, as highlighted by Miettinen et al. (2009), that a practice lens brings about not only theoretical agenda, but also a methodological one, as it could serve as an initial orientation precisely for inductive studies. As asserted by Gherardi (2012), the analysis of practices brings the methodological recommendation that researchers should use a bottom-up or emergent approach in its investigation, being evidence for its potential to guide inductive research. Therefore, relying on practice theory was important for this work because it did not only serve as a theoretical lens to discuss this study's findings later on in the research process, it also provided a general methodological orientation that guided the design of its empirical research., which will be explained in this section.

In OMT in general, we've already had both a "turn", in the end of the 1990's, and a "re-turn to practice" approximately ten years later. The latter was marked by the publishing of a special issue on this theme by *Organization Studies*, edited by Miettinen et al. (2009). Gherardi (2012) explains that practice-based studies take up Barley and Kunda (2001) "invitation to 'bring work back in' in organization studies" (p. 6). According to Chia and Mackay (2007), this turn (or re-turn) to practice has occurred in various sub-disciplines of OMT (Clercq & Voronov, 2009) especially in strategy (Bromiley & Rau, 2014; Jarzabkowski, Balogun, & Seidl, 2007; Whittington, 2006), organizational

learning and knowledge (Gherardi, 2000) and entrepreneurship (Clerqc & Voronov, 2009; Johannisson, 2011).

As expected, so called practice-based studies are far from composing a homogeneous body of work (Corradi et al., 2010; Erden, Schneider, & Krogh, 2014; Gherardi, 2009; Miettinen et al., 2009; Reckwitz, 2002; Rouse, 2006; Schatzki, 2001). In order to deal with the inner diversity of practice-based theory, and the methodological issues it raises, I will follow the suggestion made by Nicolini (2010), who argues that practice-based studies should adopt a “programmatically eclectic” which deliberately switches between different theoretical sensitivities during inquiry. According to the author, this is beneficial to such empirical studies, since “it enables us to exploit the strengths of the different theories in order to get a better grasp of the nexus of practices we live in” (Nicolini, 2012: 213).

Nicolini (2012) also suggest that the different practice approaches share the following common features and valuable theoretical insights<sup>1</sup>:

- (1) *“Practices constitute the horizon within which all discursive and material actions are made possible and acquire meaning [...]*
- (2) *Practices are inherently contingent, materially mediated, and cannot be understood without reference to specific time, and concrete historical context [...]*
- (3) *Practices are social accomplishments, even when they are attributed to individuals [...]*

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicolini (2012) points out, however, that no single author supports all five of these tenets, but subscribe to at least one of them.

- (4) *While practices depend on reflexive human carriers to be accomplished and perpetuated, human agent capability always results from taking part in one or more social practices [...]*
- (5) *Practices are mutually connected and constitute a nexus, texture, field or network [...] practices and their association perform different and unequal social and material positions [...]*” (Nicolini, 2012: 214)

Feature number (1) highlights the fact that practices aren't simply activities. Rather, they are where activities in general form a pattern that embraces both a materiality and sense/meaning. In a way, therefore, as asserted by Gherardi (2012), practices are a connection-in-action of these stances, that ultimately constitute the site where human action, institutions and structures can be understood, precisely because this socio-material character of practices carries their intelligibility (Schatzki, 1996). In other words, a practice isn't simply an activity or an action, rather, it governs the way in which people act, thus allowing one to understand human actions and their consequences/achievements. In fact, this directing of attention to socio-material relations, and its power to make actions, institutions and structures intelligible, has been pointed out as one of practice theory's main contributions (Gherardi, 2012). This point, therefore, will allow us to understand what makes SE practices meaningful, without losing sight of the materialities that also compose it, and what distinguishes them from simple actions.

Feature number (2) concerns a very important trait of practice-theory: its contextuality. Although such theories give practices a centrality of analysis, they do not affirm that “all that exists are practices”. Quite the opposite, practices can only be understood if contextualized, they are not conceived as ready-made and as a supreme ontological reference that exist “out there” independently (Schatzki, 1996). This is another relevant point for the purpose of our study, since understanding the context where SE practices takes place (notably that of Brazil) is of key importance, especially if one wants to make it possible for possible appliers or other researcher to analyze the possibility of transferring this study's findings to other contexts.

As highlighted in point (3), to assume that practices are collective and knowledgeable doings is to assume that they aren't individual phenomena. Rather, they are socially sustained and constantly reproduced doings (Gherardi, 2012). Therefore, a practice-based study of SE will put itself beside those who treat SE as a collective and not as an individual phenomenon centered solely on the figure of the social entrepreneur – as it's commonly accepted. This will also help to deconstruct the myth of the “hero” social entrepreneur, which was inherited from the entrepreneurship literature (see Armstrong, 2005), that may be fomenting uncritical and mystified accounts of SE (e.g. Bornstein, 2004). Two other important points to support this shift away from the figure of the individual are: (a) the supposition that individual human beings only acquire their identities, values, sense of what's good, within a community context, as argued by a communitarian approach to the social; (b) and the similar point proposed by poststructuralists that human beings, while inserted in a differential language structure, do not have an “identity” as an internal property. This is relevant for the purpose of this study since there has been a general call for studies that aren't centered entirely on the figure of the individual SEr.

Point (4) highlights that, even though practices are considered to be collective doings, a practice based approach does not intend on erasing the figure of the individual and her agency. Therefore, a practice approach distances itself from relativistic epistemologies that often dissolve or bypass the figure of the individual. This is an important element for adding reflexivity to this study. Besides, it's important to highlight that even though the individual won't occupy a central position in this analysis, she will not be erased from the picture and the role of an individual as agents will be preserved.

We are also reminded, by point (5), that a practice is never an isolated practice, and that the fields of practices inevitably produce and reproduce unequal social and material positions. This is evidence that a practice approach still preserves a critical lens that allows the investigation and explanation of power relations existent among individuals who participate in a given practice, which is another interesting point to be explored by

SE literature, as SE practices are political practices by excellence and thus involve power relation and struggles.

Furthermore, another relevant theoretical insight found in practice theories regards the recursiveness of practices: a practice is such because it is habitual (Gherardi, 2012).

In short, this study has extracted from practice theory the following assumptions that guided this study's research design:

- (a) It's real, concrete and living, individuals who constitute reality through their practices;
- (b) Practices are socially constituted;
- (c) Practices have a context, or a background ("loosely understood as an arena or set of phenomena that surrounds or immerses something and enjoys powers of determination with respect to it" Schatzki, 2005, p. 468);
- (d) An individual acquires practical understanding by participating in practices;
- (e) Practices are recurrent phenomena.

In the methodological realm, these assumptions put practice-based approaches standing together with other anti-naturalist approaches in the social sciences that oppose positivism (see Bhaskar, 1998) and sees practices as both a concrete and a *meaningful* subject-matter for research. Therefore, a practice-based approach adopted by the present study can be located in a continuum between realism and social constructivism. Other approaches in OMT, like critical realism, are also located in this continuum. The latter, however, is located in the realist end of this continuum, since it believes that social reality exists externally and independently from individuals (Ackroyd, 2010). At the other end of this continuum we have postmodernist or poststructuralist epistemic relativism where there's no absolute warrant to any belief or research account.



Since a research strategy is deeply connected to a theoretical framework that justifies it (Oliver, 2011), assumptions found in practice theory translated into the following methodological orientations that were adopted by this study in order to answer its research question:

- i. SE practices are everyday achievements, recurrent phenomenon and, therefore, must be investigated in a bottom-up, emergent and regular manner;
- ii. SE practices are socially constituted, therefore this study must have multiple informants who are involved in them (not only SEs, for example, which is a common approach in the SE field, as we have seen in the literature review chapter);
- iii. SE practices occur against a background. Therefore, the contexts where SE practices occur must be observed in a closed and detailed manner.
- iv. In order to understand SE practices, one must participate in them. In other words, participation is an essential element for the investigation of practices.

These general orientations, therefore, gave birth to this study's research strategy and design, which will be explained in detail in the following topic.

### **3.2 Research Strategy and Design**

In order to investigate how SE practices accomplish social change in the Brazilian context, I chose an ethnographically informed research strategy. As Creswell (2003) puts it, a strategy of research "provides specific directions for procedures in a research design" (p. 13), with ethnography being a common strategy associated with qualitative approaches and often associated with the most basic forms of social investigation.

As Wolcott (1999) explains, ethnography was “only tenuously awarded the status of ‘method’ or ‘a method’” (p. 41). Some researchers still prefer to call it an orientation or, more simply, just “research”. Therefore, it’s understandable that when taken as a research strategy, ethnographic research opens room for a flexible research design which is able to adapt to different contexts as the research unfolds (Bray, 2008; Creswell, 2003). I argue this may be valuable to a study that wishes to investigate SE practices, which are dynamic and context sensitive unities of analysis. However, it’s also important to explain that there’s a clear focus on the concept of *culture* in classical anthropological ethnographies that will not be present in this study.

Since the present study is oriented by general assumptions found in practice theories, and in order to avoid further misunderstandings, it’s important to clear that I do not claim to have made “an ethnography” in its traditional sense (which has been submitted to some harsh criticism, including that of being a “colonialist” and ethnocentric approach). Instead, I claim to have adopted an ethnographically informed research strategy which provided me a posture, or a way of seeing, as proposed by Wolcott (1999), and not necessarily a strict method. This is so because I don’t believe when one decides to do an ethnographic research she is handed a manual with a recipe containing which steps she needs to take. Quite the opposite, ethnographic research is adaptive and subjected to discoveries and improvisations in its nature. This is so since it’s far from being developed in a controlled or predictable environment, what would allow a recipe of “how to do an ethnographic research” to be made. Again, to me, this can be perceived as one of ethnographic research’s main strengths since it gives ethnographic studies a greater power of discovery than that found in studies that employ more traditional methods. As Deleuze (1976) once said about methods in science and their “how to” recipes, they are usually made and employed to avoid unknown or unexpected results, and not the other way around. Therefore, as Cunliffe (2011) explains, the rigor of research design that emerges from such strategy would lie in its careful crafting that is “open and responsive to the possibilities of experiences, ideas, materials and processes” (p.667), and not in its ability to plan, control, predict results and exclude external variables.

Nonetheless, it's commonly understood that any ethnographic research has a few basic characteristics which served as orientation points for this study's research design. Reeves, Kuper, and Hodges (2008) have described some of these basic features: explorative and inductive nature; tendency to work with "unstructured" data; investigation of a single case or a small number of cases; data analysis usually occurs in an inductive thematic manner and involves explicit interpretations, producing as outcomes verbal descriptions and explanations; reflexivity is also considered a central element of ethnographic research.

Another trait of ethnographic research concerns the amount of time the researcher spends doing fieldwork. Authors like Putnam, Bantz, Deets, Mumby, and Van Maanen (1993) go as far as to establish a minimum time period of one year of field immersion in order for a study to be considered an ethnography in its traditional sense. More recently, however, there has been a call for a more flexible approach to this "requirement". Pink and Morgan (2013), for example, argue that research contexts where ethnography has been applied are quite different from the contexts where it was originally applied. Such contexts often involve access limitations, researchers' time constraints, funding demands and pressure to publish. The authors claim, therefore, that one should be allowed to conduct so called short-term ethnographies.

In short, in this study an ethnographic research strategy fosters a research design that is: (1) flexible, as it is adaptable to different situations and contexts where SE practices occur; (2) naturalistic, not in the sense that it accepts the thesis that social sciences must adopt methods from the natural sciences, but because it attempts to work in natural settings with no controlled variables of any sort and also allows the researcher to interact with participants in their own environment; (3) holistic, as it will try to investigate SE practices as a whole and not in an isolated manner; (4) it implies a longer period in the field, allowing a richer understanding of the research settings (5) it helps build empathy with research participants thus facilitating access to data and insights that otherwise would have remained undiscovered; (6) it allows the researcher to encounter and explore different sources of data (such as internal documents); (7) self-reflexive, for

it allows the researcher to experience her different selves throughout the research process and to gain awareness of how they affect it.

These characteristics were considered important for the design of this study because: (1) SE practices occur in varied contexts and organizational settings; (2) evidence emerging from the natural settings where SE practices occurs allows the observation of how they *actually* occur; (3) it’s important to be holistic because practices have a multifaceted nature; (4) a long period in the field is important for the investigation of practices due to their recurrent nature; (5) empathy is also essential because in order to grasp practices one must participate in it and actually become “one of them” with participants; (6) encountering different sources of data is also important for it will allow a degree of triangulation that may bring more reliability to the found data; (7) self-reflexivity is also an important element for the purpose of this research, precisely because it allows me to reflect upon when I’m actually being considered “one of them” in SE and when I’m not warranted this status for this may have a direct consequence in my learning process in the field.

Taking all of these points into consideration, the overall design of the present research is presented in Figure 3:

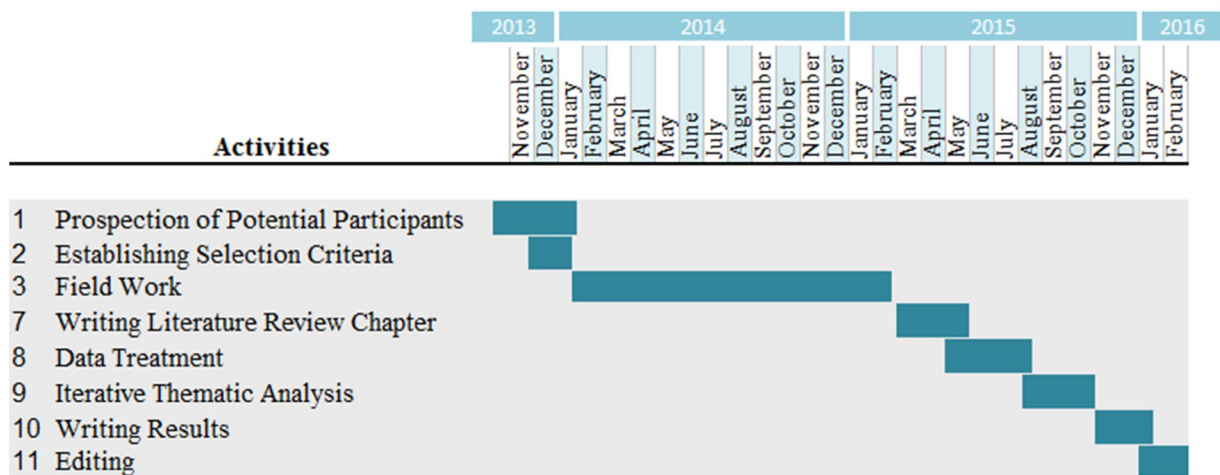


Figure 3 – Research Design: Activities.

In the following sections I will address in detail the specific procedures of data collection that occurred during field work and also the procedures undertaken during data treatment and analysis, which are all essential parts of the present study's design.

### **3.3 Research Participants and Data Collection**

Like the design of all research in general, the design of qualitative studies also involve “sampling” of research participants, that is, the action where the researcher deliberately seeks to conduct her research in one (or more than one) specific location rather than others (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). However, the discussion on how research participants are selected is often given little attention in these studies (S. Curtis, Gesler, Smith, & Washburn, 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Payne & Williams, 2005). The desirability of specifying the criteria on which cases are chosen in qualitative studies and the constraints faced by researchers has been pointed out by some authors, in order to guarantee the credibility of research accounts (Bryman & Burgess, 1999; Devers & Frenkel, 2000; Platt, 1999). Therefore, in this section I will first make it explicit how the research participants of this study were deliberately selected and also which constraints drove this process.

Three NGOs located in different cities in the Brazilian state of São Paulo participated in the present study. They were chosen according to the following criteria:

- a. Organizational mission: Non-profit organizations
- b. Size: micro or small organizations
- c. Social purpose: diverse social purposes
- d. Location: located in different cities in the state of São Paulo

My first decision was to conduct this study in NGOs, although I acknowledge the fact that the notion of social entrepreneurship may include social purpose businesses (i.e. for

profit organizations with social purposes), hybrid non-profit and for-profit organizations and even public organizations (see Vasakarla, 2008; Peredo & Mclean, 2006; Mair & Marti, 2006; Dees, 1998). This choice was made especially because it was considered important for the purpose of this study to focus more the social side of social entrepreneurial practices and less on their entrepreneurial or business side, due to the focus on understanding the relationship between SE and social change. Besides, authors such as Steyaert and Bachmann (2012) have already pointed that the social in SE is often underestimated. In short, I've made this choice for the following reasons: (1) focusing on the entrepreneurial/economical side of SE tend to shape social problems in economic terms and make them solely objects of managerial expertise, thus leaving the matter of social change aside (Barinaga, 2013) consequently also putting aside the importance of this correlate concept for SE; (2) NGOs may help understanding SE since they provide an opportunity to examine the relevance of both voluntary contribution of time/participation and financial resources for the success of SE than their business or public counterparts, since they may rely on both types of resources, unlike their for-profit counterparts (McNabb, 2008); (3) there is an incipient interest in the empirical investigation of SE in the context of NGOs in Brazil, as it was identified in the literature review, making it possible to compare some of the findings of this study with others made in this context. I also point out that this interest may also be evidence that nonprofit organizations in developing/emerging countries have an important and complex role that should be better understood; (4) There has been a massive increase in the number of NGOs globally, reinforcing the idea that relevant research opportunities exist in this sector, including that of researching SE in this context (McNabb, 2008).

The other choice made was to conduct this study in micro or small sized organizations. I considered this relevant since, as noted by McCabe (2010), SE often occurs in “below the radar” micro-organizations. Besides, as pointed out by Weick (1974), small organizations are generally perceived as valuable locations to gather theoretical insights in organization studies. Under the definition of OECD (Organization for Economic Corporation and Development, OECD, 2005), enterprises with less than 10 employees are considered to be micro-sized and those with 10-49 employees are considered small-

sized. Taking this under consideration, I looked for NGOs with a maximum of 49 employees and/or volunteers involved in its daily activities.

Diversity has also been considered as an important element in the process of choosing research participants. Ritchie et al. (2003) point out that having heterogeneous participants in one's research allows the identification of central themes that may be common to a wide variety of cases. Because of this, although I chose to conduct the present study in micro or small sized NGOs located in the state of São Paulo, I felt it was necessary to maintain a certain level of diversity among them. Therefore, I believed that having different social purposes could directly affect the whole functioning of such organizations (from funding possibilities, to community engagement, to the overall social perception of the organization, etc.).

One reason why this study was conducted solely in the state of São Paulo has to do with accessibility issues, as I was unable to collect data outside this state due to distance constraints. However, even though I did not conduct any sort of statistical study or sampling, some evidence may support the claim that São Paulo holds considerable representability of Brazilian NGOs. According to IBGE (2012), for example, São Paulo alone has 20,5% of the total number of NGOs located in Brazil. This state is by far the largest host of NGOs in this country, followed by Minas Gerais (12,6%), Rio de Janeiro (8,9%), and Rio Grande do Sul (8,7%). The other 23 Brazilian states have, in average, 2,14% of the total number of NGOs in Brazil each.

The negotiation of access to the organizations occurred in a relatively easy manner. All of the first contacts were done through email. Upon the first contacts, informants responsible for four different organizations responded quickly to my initial contact and all agreed to meet in person and discuss participating in the research. I sensed that they were very open to me and eager to be heard, which was a good surprise to me. However, I contacted a total of four NGOs and one of them wasn't able to participate in the study. I believe this denial of access had to do with a resistance when I mentioned I would have to participate in the activities of the organization in a regular manner, which

was perceived as being something “hard” to be accomplished. The informant from this NGO felt the need to be cautious, and asked for some time to discuss the possibility of participating in this study with other members of the organization. After this conversation, which was held at the NGO, the informant stopped replying my emails and returning my calls. Despite of this episode, I believe that one of the reasons behind this relative easiness of access was due to the fact that participants believed that I would be able to help them in some aspects, and also because “spreading the word” about their organizations and their social mission may be an important aspect of SE practices.

Moreover, access wasn’t negotiated at the same time with all the participants. As said, the first NGO to be visited was the one that turned down participation in the study. In February, 2014, I successfully negotiated access to another NGO. By May, 2014, I got access to the second NGO and, finally, on September 2014 I got access to the third NGO. This sequential negotiation of access with participants allowed me to aim to gain access to organizations that were both different in sizes (even though they all are micro or small sized) and different regarding their social purpose. Besides, this approach also allowed me to make gradual sense of which NGO it’d be interesting to try to gain access later on in the study as I got more familiarized with the researched context.

Table 6 summarizes the main characteristics of the three organizations that agreed to participate in this study:

**Table 6** *Research Participants*

Organization	Number of Employees/Volunteers	Main Social Purpose
NGO A	5	Providing work opportunities for ex-convicts
NGO B	25	Construction of housing for low income families



Some information on these organizations will not be disclosed in order to guarantee the confidentiality of research participants. For example, since these NGOs are very well known and active members of their communities, disclosing both their social purpose and the city where they are located would make it possible to identify them. Therefore, this information will not be available at any section of this thesis. However, It's possible to inform that the shortest distance among these organizations was 72 kilometers (44,7 miles), between NGO A and NGO B, and the furthest distance was 170 kilometers (105,6 miles), between NGO B and NGO C.

Another interesting difference between these organizations was the fact that, while in NGO A and in NGO B the founder and main leader of the organization (here called the social entrepreneur, or SEr) were present, in NGO C the founder had passed away a couple of years before the field work had begun. After this event, NGO C suffered major transformations in its organizational structure and processes. Although I did not have this information prior to the negotiation of access, I figured this would be an interesting contrast for the purpose of the present study, since it would allow me to analyze in better depth the role of the individual social entrepreneur and how an NGO survives and re-organizes itself after this figure leaves the organization. However, a common characteristic of these NGOs is the fact that they have existed for at least 15 years. This means that they are fairly well established and known in their community.

Data collection lasted 12 months, from March, 2014 until March 2015 and consisted of regular and multiple weekly visits to each of the researched organizations, when I would spend the day having conversations with the informants and also participating in their activities whenever possible. The participants of this study included: Founders (or the SErs, except in NGO C, as the founder had passed away prior to the start of the study);

director, volunteers; employees; family members (of the participant organization's members); donors; and beneficiaries.

It's interesting to note that the possibility of me participating in the activities of the researched NGOs was directly proportional to their sizes and also related to their organizational structure. For example, NGO A was the smallest NGO, therefore they had less structured activities and also a more precarious physical site, which considerably diminished opportunities of participation. In NGO B, since it was larger and better structured than NGO A, I was allowed to help with office and financial tasks, besides participating in events held by the NGO (such as fundraising activities, or meetings with volunteers) and I was also given the chance to visit construction sites and talk to beneficiaries. NGO C was much larger than the other two NGOs, and therefore offered me a wide variety of activities to participate in. This is so because they have a large physical structure, well defined organizational positions, processes and routines. This allowed me to participate intensively in the activities of the NGO and observe various sectors of the NGO (from the back office, to tutoring of children, to working in the kitchen and also with the cleaning staff). They also had weekly meetings with all staff and volunteers and other structured activities (like the reception of visitors to the site of the NGO, science fair, etc.) that I was also granted the opportunity to participate in. Each organization was visited at least 15 times. I also kept contact with research participants through email and telephone during the time they participated in the study.

Following the previously discussed theoretical assumptions and research strategy, data collection during field work was done mainly through participant observations and through the engagement in reflexive conversations with research participants (Watson, 2011). Bryman and Burgess (1999) explain that participant observation has been regarded as the quintessential method associated with qualitative data collection. Participant observation is also closely convergent with the practice orientation, as Schatzki (1996) explains, for example, that one can only learn about a practice by participating in it.

The task of being a participant observer in a practice, however, is quite different from that of being an ordinary participant. Spradley (1980) explains that ordinary participants come to a given situation with the sole purpose to engage in the appropriate activities, while the participant observer, besides sharing this purpose, also wants to observe and record everything that occurs in the social setting. Participant observation, however, besides being difficult to define, is a data collection method often lacks “a sense of structure or perhaps more specifically of guidelines” (Bryman & Burgess, 1999: xvii). Still, the authors explain that participant observation generally involves the following aspects: immersion in the researched scenario, interviews with key informants<sup>2</sup>, recording of data, and the collection of documents. This is, thus, convergent with the ethnographic research design proposed by the present study.

Therefore, during field work I participated in the work of the selected NGOs and during these participations I often engaged in conversations on what is being done and observed with various members of the organizations, I also observed interactions among people, physical spaces and listened to conversations. It’s interesting to note that the choice of engaging in more informal conversation with research participants instead of using structured or semi-structured interviews to collect data was a deliberate one. In fact, I did a couple of experiments with semi-structured interviews but I felt the results weren’t satisfactory. For example, before going to a day in the field in Organization B I decided to prepare a list of questions to I wanted to ask Social Entrepreneur B (SEr B). However, I felt uncomfortable asking these questions even in a semi-structured way even though SEr B agreed to answer them. This made me feel uncomfortable since having that list of questions seemed to imply an artificial movement in our interaction, and that the conversation was being torn into pieces and was constantly being interrupted and starting over again. Once I first felt this, I started to make the questions only if there was an opening to that subject in SEr B’s speech.

---

<sup>2</sup> Gilchrist (1999) explains that key informants are often individuals with whom the researcher manages to get close to or even develops a friendship with, and who also “possess special knowledge, status, or communication skills” (p. 375)

This means that I didn't make all the questions I had prepared and also, in fact, the ones that I didn't make felt to be irrelevant in the context of our conversation. Besides, choosing to have conversations instead of doing semi-structured or structured interviews allowed me to build more empathy with participants in general, as I would often start the conversations asking how they were doing and talking about general subjects. I perceived participants enjoyed this and this helped them in accepting me as one of them.

Another experiment I made during these conversations, in order to try get insights in a more structured manner, was mentioning contrasting cases of other NGOs that weren't participating in this study (regarding their structure, social purpose, resources, etc.) and asking participants what they thought about these differences. For example, I had recently gotten to know the work of an international NGO located in the northeast of the country and noticed it was very different from the NGOs under studied: it was large; it had very well defined processes and organizational structure; it only worked with employees that were very well paid. Talking about this contrasting case brought up very interesting data, and many insights on the participants views and beliefs on each of these different elements.

During the participant observations, data collected mainly through the use of field notes (Sanjek, 1990), documents were collected whenever they were available or when they were of public access, and audio was recorded whenever possible and when agreed with the research participants (which was later transcribed). In ethnographic research in general and in participant observation specifically field notes are considered the "crucial data log out of which the analysis will emerge" (Lofland & Lofland, 1999: 3) . Authors like Burgess (1999) prefer the term "research diary", and highlight that making diaries is an essential task for researchers who wish to provide detailed portraits of the situations they observed. Field notes may also be simply defined as "accounts describing experiences and observations the researcher has made while participating in an intense and involved manner (p. 4-5)

Due to the central character of the field notes in the present study's data collection, I feel it's important to clear out some of its aspects. The first point to be made is that, as warned by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995), taking field notes isn't a very straightforward and transparent process as it might appear. Therefore, it's especially important to explain two main points regarding this task: (1) how these field notes were taken and; (2) what kind of information they contained:

(1) Field notes were made during the conversations and observations and/or immediately afterwards, aiming at preserving as much details as possible from drafts/handwritten notes and researcher's memory. Due to the fact that it was often impossible to write detailed field notes during the participant observation and conversations were often "scratch notes", using the expression suggested by Ottenberg (1990). These "scratch notes" or "jotting notes" as Emerson et al. (1995) would prefer to call it, contained short phrases, paraphrases, notes, general impressions, etc. which would later be used to make the actual field notes.

(2) As suggested by different authors, these field notes included the following types of detailed information: the daily schedule and logistic – a description of what happened that day (Krefting, 1991) or a chronological description of events, and conversations had and heard by the researcher (Lofland & Lofland, 1999); a description of the visited physical spaces (Lofland & Lofland, 1999); and, most importantly, observations containing the researcher's thoughts, ideas, feelings, and hypotheses generated during encounters with research participants (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007). Lofland and Lofland (1999) advise that such descriptions and observations should be concrete and also distinguish what are the researchers' impressions and what is being paraphrased.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Due to these characteristics, it's important to note that field notes are often very sensitive and intimate documents and cannot be shared in their integrity during the communication of the research.

Doing participant observation also granted me the opportunity to gather secondary data and document data (such as documents, books, website content and advertising materials, videos, survey results, whenever they existed and were accessible to the researcher). This data was gathered in order to help the researcher understand the institutional and/or material context in which the participants in this study are immersed and also for data triangulation.

In short, the following material was gathered during fieldwork:

- a) 37 hours of recorded conversations with key informants;
- b) 3 notebooks with field notes containing observation data made during 48 visits to the studied organizations;
- c) A considerably large amount of additional institutional documents such as: legal documents; reports; books; website data; emails; institutional videos; interview videos; newspaper and magazine articles.

In the next section I will describe the procedures taken in order to treat and to analyze this material.

### **3.4 Data Treatment and Data Analysis**

As warned by Miles (1979), the overall research design chosen for the purpose of this study generated an overwhelming quantity of unstructured data. It's not surprising that data treatment and analysis, therefore, posed important difficulties. Spencer, Ritchie, and O'Connor (2003) point out that, in order to deal with the challenge of making sense of this type of data, researchers must use "a mix of creativity and systematic searching, a blend of inspiration and diligent detection" (p. 199). In this section, I will tell how I tried to overcome the difficulties involved in dealing with a large amount of unstructured data because, as one would expect, after data collection no answer to my

research question emerged “*magically*” from the raw collected data. Quite the opposite, inductive modes of inquiry such as the proposed by the present study involve hard systematic work and intellectual effort during the analysis phase in order to *make* answers emerge from data. In this section I will describe how this process occurred.

In this sense, using a practice orientation in my research design was useful. As discussed in the 3.1 section, Nicolini (2012) suggested researchers using a practice lens should adopt a “zooming in and zooming out” approach during data analysis (Nicolini, 2012). Such approach is compatible to what is more broadly known as an “iterative approach” (Tracy, 2013). This is a common approach to data analysis in qualitative studies which is more commonly associated with thematic analysis. According to Ezzy (2002), a thematic analysis requires the development of a process analogous to that which is more broadly known simply as coding, and it has the similar function of providing unstructured data with some structure and, by doing so, it assists the process of making sense of data.

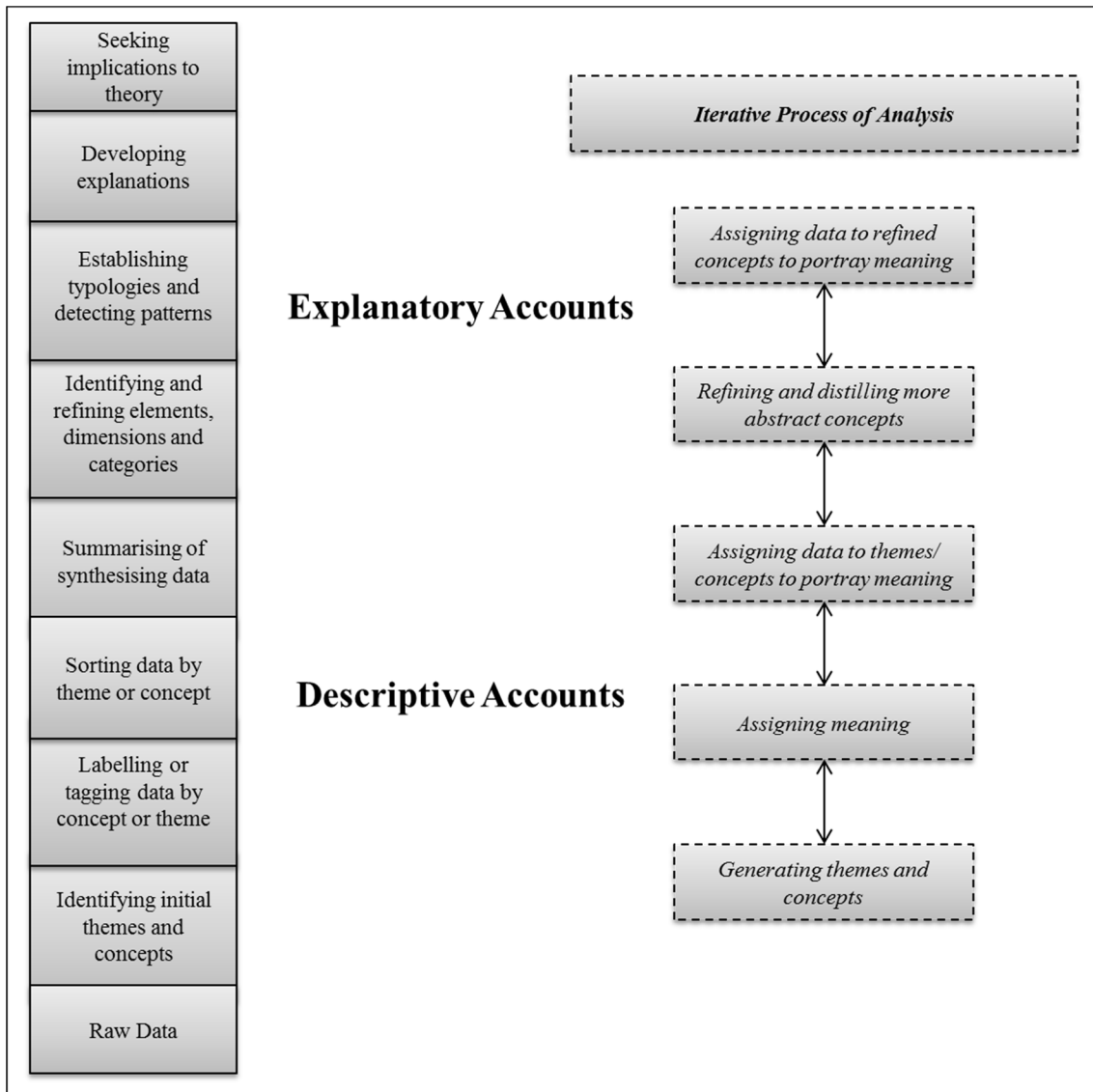
Spencer et al. (2003) refer to this process as “indexing” instead of using the term coding. This process differs from coding especially in four ways: **a)** while doing this type of analysis the researcher specifically identifies themes that emerge from the data, and no other types of codes; **b)** Spencer et al. (2003) also highlight that coding usually refers to the process of capturing dimensions that have already been refined; **c)** this process does not have strict protocols to be followed as those commonly found in the coding literature (e.g. Saldana , 2009); **d)** coding is usually associated with a realist ontology, while thematic analysis is associated with a subjectivist ontology, due to its arbitrary and malleable nature. This type of analysis is still compatible with an inductive mode of inquiry, because the themes are not defined prior to data collection (as a deductive study would do) or during the data collection (as would do an abductive study).

Due to the amount of collected data and its complex variety, my first challenge was to organize it in a way that would facilitate my interaction with it. To this end I decided to

use the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) NVivo 10. I believe that, besides facilitating the interaction with a large amount of unstructured data, CAQDAS software such as NVivo make qualitative research more transparent and explicit (Veal, 2005) for it allows the researcher to effectively organize and label a wide variety of non-linear qualitative data in one single platform. Bazeley and Jackson (2013) explain that this software also helps manage ideas/insights about the data, adding both flexibility and rigor to qualitative studies such as this one. Even though some may fear that using machine technology may threaten the creative process of qualitative research (Hesse-Biber, 2004), I did not feel that this was the case from this experience. It's important to highlight that CAQDAS only facilitated the data approach through its numerous functions of organizing and labeling qualitative data. It did not, however, analyze the data (Ezzy, 2002). Besides, as highlighted by Sinkovics and Alfoldi (2012), using this software also made it possible to turn the collected data into a systematic and "auditable footprint", and thus contributed to this study's transparency. In short, the usage of NVivo in this thesis did not substitute the need for me to learn from the data; nor did it cause any damage to the creative process of this research; rather, I believe it facilitated my interaction with it and thus increased the effectiveness of my gradual learning process.

Even though qualitative research in general does not offer clear-cut rules or protocols of how analysis should be developed (Bryman, 2001), I chose to conduct an iterative thematic analysis. In order to do so, I found it useful to follow the analytical framework proposed by Spencer et al. (2003), since it provides a comprehensive and clear representation of the different levels of analysis of an iterative thematic analysis and its non-linear character.

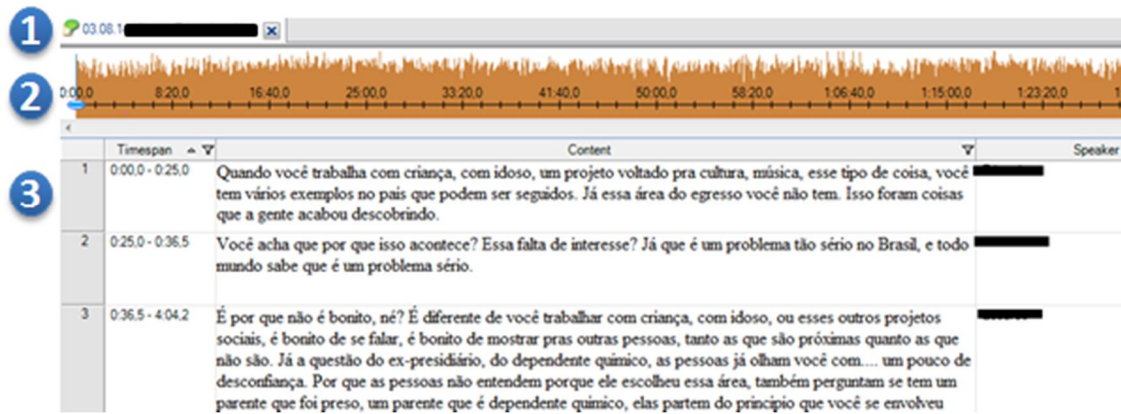




**Figure 4** – *Stages and Processes Involved in Iterative Analysis*. Adapted from Spencer et al. (2003), p. 212.

The first step of the present study’s data analysis consisted of inserting all of the raw collected data in a single NVivo Project. The data was then divided into folders according to their types (for example: audio files, word files, pdf files, documents, emails, you tube videos, website content). This being done, I went through all of the data and identified initial themes emerging from it. Through NVivo’s “node” function, I then started to label the data in accordance to these themes.

Working with the audio files was the most time consuming part of the theme labelling process, since I had to listen to each file and then transcribe. Using the NVivo program was very useful for this task, since it allowed me to transcribe and label the audio files without having to create new documents (a new text or word file, for example).



**Figure 5** – *Example Excerpt of How Audio Data was Managed in NVivo10.* (1) Audio File; (2) Playable Audio\*; (3) Transcribed excerpts of the conversation\*\*.

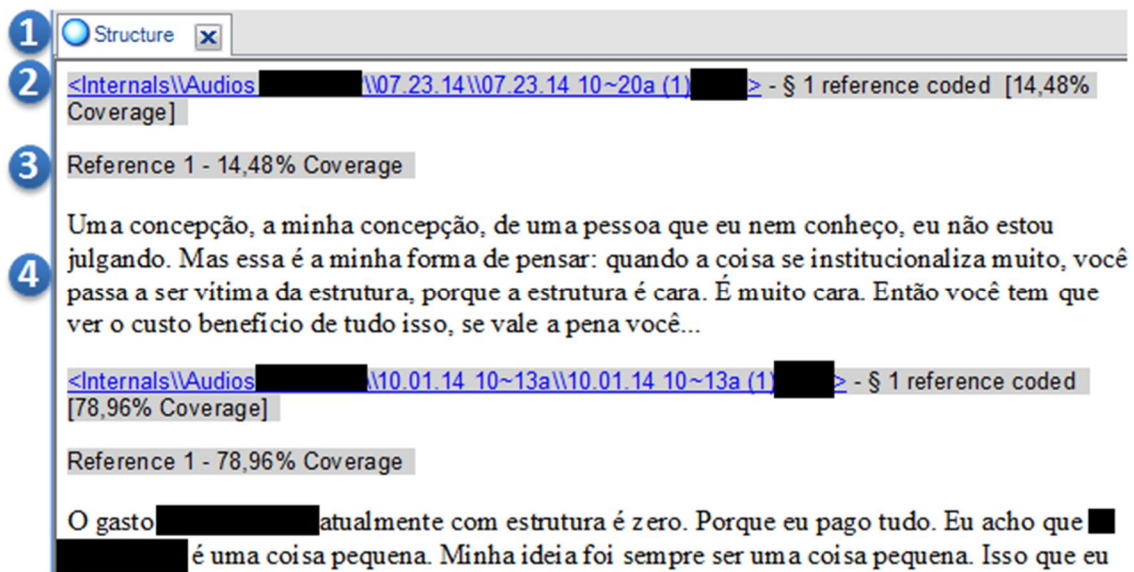
\* The play function is accompanied by a series of “transcription” functions if the researcher wishes to use it, for example: shortcuts for play/pause; automatically insert a line when “stop” is pressed; etc.

\*\* Both the timespan and the speaker can be identified.

I believe that this task was very important for the analysis of the gathered data, since it allowed me to re-live and re-listen to many of the things I had heard during fieldwork, making it possible for me to better give voice to the respondents and even consider insights I hadn’t paid attention to before. This is because, at times during the actual conversations, I may not have paid the same intensive attention I did while listening to the recorded conversations (I simply might have been exhausted from a whole day in the field, or might have been with a tunnel vision at the moment from focusing too much attention on another issue which seemed important).

It’s relevant to note that NVivo has a very useful “drag and drop” function that allows the researcher to select the data and insert it in the “node” that will label it, making the labelling task very quick and easy to do. Also, after the labels (themes) were created and as I inserted into the themes NVivo 10 automatically sorted the data according to the

source of the data (file) and its name. The following excerpt is an example of how the data was sorted inside the “nodes” (themes):



**Figure 6** – *Example of How NVivo10 Sorted the Labeled Data.* (1) theme; (2) data source (Folder, Subfolder and File Name)\*; (3) how many times the data source was labeled in that theme and its coverage of the total source size (4) the labeled excerpt.

\*The reference to the data source is a clickable link directed to the correspondent file to the exact spot of the labeled excerpt, this allows the researcher to review the labeling and its context more efficiently.

As warned by Spencer et al. (2003), this analytic process was far from being linear. After the initial labelling of the data, I identified 26 themes that were gradually refined into 8 as the analysis unfolded. In order to refine the themes, the following questions were asked in an iterative manner: (1) is this a recurrent theme? (2) Is this theme partially or totally contained in another more recurrent theme? (3) Does this theme emerge from data collected in all three organizations? (4) Does this theme satisfactorily represent the issues encountered during field work? (5) Is this theme essential for the comprehension of the researched context? And, finally (6) Does this theme help answer the research question of this study?

After this process was over I ended up with 8 themes, which were then used to present this study’s findings and also in the discussion chapter.

### 3.5 Researcher Reflexivity

As it was explained before, reflexivity was an important element of this study research design, especially due to the general orientation that, in order to learn a practice, one must become “one of them” through an actual participation in the practice (and by “them” I mean the participants in SE practices). The necessity to “become one of them” implies two things: firstly, of course, that I am *not* one of them; and, secondly, that I must reflect on what it means to become one of them and if that is in fact possible for me in the position of a researcher. This discussion is no stranger for qualitative research in general and, given its particular relevance for practice-based studies, I believe that it would be fruitful to take some time and reflect upon what reflexivity is and how this element of the research process impacted the present study.

Reflexivity was first brought into methodological discussions in the early 1970’s, as an reaction to classical approaches to sociological research that have since then sometimes been labeled as an expression of a “colonial” anthropology (Wasserfall, 1997). This theme first emerged in the works of feminist ethnographers who questioned the power and privilege of researchers and claimed for a greater equality among academics and research participants (Alkon, 2011). Since then, reflexivity has outgrown ethnography and has been recognized as an important trait of qualitative research in general (Berger, 2015; Bott, 2010; MacBeth, 2001; Pillow, 2003; Rhodes, 2009). Furthermore, it has been considered an element that permeates every aspect of its process (Hertz, 1997). The essential critique brought up by the reflexivity discussion is the acknowledgement that research is about saying something about and representing an “Other”, which implicates the development of unequal relationships between researchers and participants.

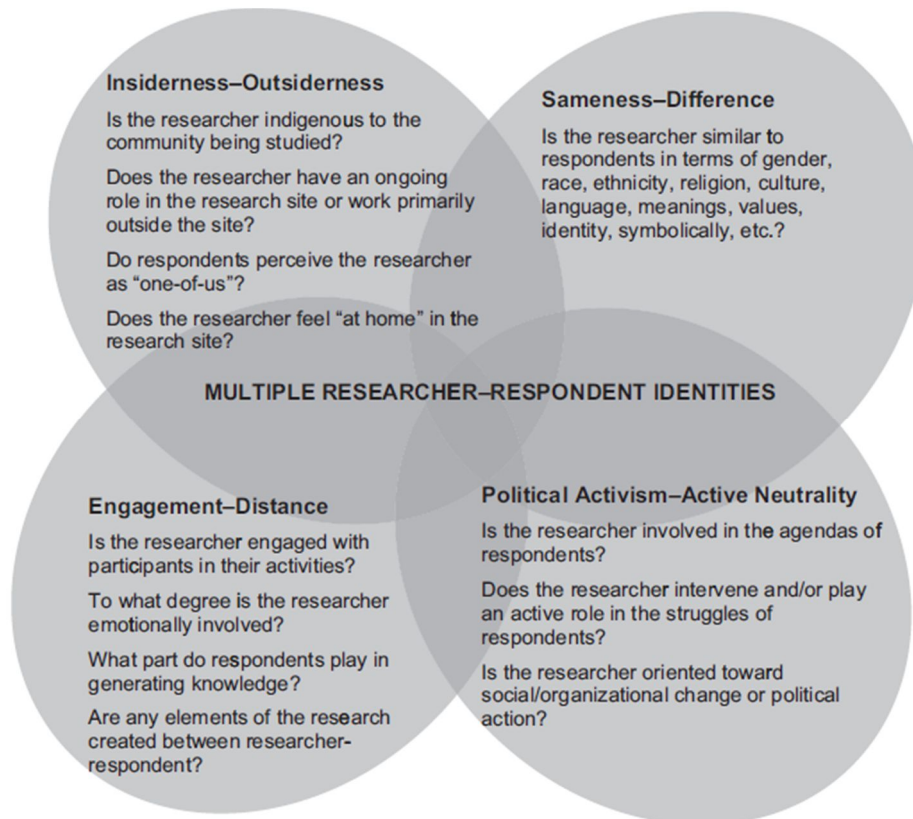
As pointed out by Cunliffe (2003), by bringing the relationship between researchers and participants to the foreground, reflexivity has the role of “unsettling” representation and

its claim of objective truth. Alvesson, Hardy, and Harley (2008) assert that reflexive research cannot support claims of objective truth since it turns back upon itself and reveals the socio-political positions held by researchers and research participants and shows how they affect the research process (see also Ballinger, 2004; Cunliffe, 2003). Therefore, reflexivity is *subjective* in its core, and is thus absent from studies that adopt objectivist problematics. The unsettling of the researcher's power to establish objective truths also reveals reflexivity's ethical concern, as "an implicit part of ethical practice thus involves the acknowledgment and location of the researcher within the research process" (Davies & Dodd, 2002). Another important ethical trait of reflexivity discussions has to do with its concern of separating the researcher's voice from the participant's voice, making it clear that the latter is necessarily filtered and shaped by the first, as the researcher chooses which stories to tell and which stories are to be ignored (Hertz, 1997).

Within the subjectivist and intersubjectivist problematics, reflexivity has thus become an essential part of the research process. Explicitly monitoring how the researcher-self affected the research process and outcomes within such problematics is supposed to provide more reliability (Seale, 1999), plausibility (Buckner, 2005), and validity (Pillow, 2003) to collected qualitative data. Berger (2015) summarizes some examples of how the researcher reflexivity may affect the research process and its outcomes: (1) it may affect the easiness of access to the field (2) it may shape the relationship between researcher and researched this directly affecting the information participants are willing to share (3) worldviews and backgrounds of the researcher directly affect all of her choices (from the questions that are asked to how she uses language, how she selects data and her general meaning making processes) (see also Hertz, 1997).

Bott (2010) argues that the acknowledgement of the researcher reflexivity begins with the researcher constantly locating and relocating herself within her work in a constant dialogue that does not leave space for claims of objective knowledge, and which accounts for the subjectivity of the research process. In order to operationalize this constant locating and relocating process in this research I accepted the suggestion given

by Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013) of using the notion of hyphen-spaces as a way of recognizing and understanding these different positions occupied by the researcher and their impact on the research practice. The authors identified four different hyphen-spaces: insider-outsider, sameness-difference, engaged-distant, and politically active–actively neutral (Figure 6).



**Figure 7** – *Hyphen-Spaces of Researcher Reflexivity*. Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013) p. 372.

Figure 6 also represents the fact that the four hyphen-spaces are interconnected and may be experienced simultaneously and/or in an intertwined manner during fieldwork. I can tell from my experience that during my fieldwork, especially since it was carried out in three different organizations for an extended period of time, I was able to experience all four hyphen-spaces. This shifting of hyphen-spaces became very clear especially while conducting participant observations during field work.

For example, even though I'm native Brazilian, I was sometimes perceived as being different from people in the research site due to my social background and education, even when I participated in certain activities (thus implying an "insider" status) I was also perceived as an outsider, since sometimes I was seen as being "in the wrong place", or "doing something that I shouldn't be doing". This actually compelled me to try to participate in a wide variety of activities to see how perceptions and reactions shifted, for example:

*As I was helping out one of the Organization C genitors and cleaning the boys' toilet a 9 year-old boy, who had a very sweet face and fragile and small built, came running into the bathroom and immediately stopped and froze when he saw me there. He looked surprised in seeing me helping out with the cleaning and said: "I didn't know you did **this** here". I then replied: "Well, I'm trying to help everybody around here. Doesn't everybody need help, including the genitor?" He nodded positively with his head but didn't seem quite satisfied with my answer. After this he still hadn't moved, and kept standing in front of me, staring at me, seeming puzzled. Then he added: "But what do you do, **really**?" I felt compelled to be sincere and simply said "I'm student at a university" he smiled to me as if he was thinking that everything had made sense and ran out of the bathroom. On this day I decided not to wear my glasses in the field any longer and wear clothes that were as informal as possible. However, not even this diminished the shock people expressed seeing me participating in certain activities at Organization C. Still my appearance, my hair, my clothes, my shoes, even my watch (which did, surprisingly for me, receive many comments), were making clear statements on my social identity, especially to the children at Organization C. I think it may be easier to perceive such impact on children because they behave sincerely and spontaneously.*

Participating in cleaning shores at Organization C, as cited in the example, was a very interesting way to experience these shifts, as I perceived that there were certain activities in which my participation was considered to be natural and expected, since many volunteers wish to participate in such activities (like tutoring the children, doing office work, etc.). My wish to participate in other activities, however, seemed to shock even the ones responsible for the activity, even though they appreciated the help and this allowed me build trust and empathy in the relationships I developed in Organization C. Thus, participating in different activities, and even changing the type of clothes and accessories I wore, were practical ways of locating and relocating myself in different hyphen-spaces in the field and lively experience my researcher reflexivity. This process

allowed me to gain an increasing sensitivity to moments of identity differences and their impact in the research process. However, some social codes were impossible for me to soften in order to be more accepted in certain situations, like the way I speak was sometimes picked upon with joke-like remarks such as “*she even sounds smart*”.

Another interesting tool to locate and relocate myself in the field during participant observations was the conversations I would engage in with research participants. I perceived that choosing to have conversations instead of doing semi-structured or structured interviews was a powerful way to make participants see me as one of them. The few times I experienced with semi-structured interviews made me feel as if I was having a type of distant or disengaged conversation with participants, which would exacerbate my outsider status. Sticking to more informal conversations allowed me to build more empathy with research participants and often have conversations that were revelatory (they would often reveal insights I hadn’t foreseen) and even emotionally rich, with participants feeling comfortable talking about and expressing their feelings to me. This was quite the opposite of what happened during semi-structured interviews. The following is an excerpt from my field notes detailing and an example of how these conversations would typically unfold:

*After arriving at Organization A and checking if I wasn’t disturbing Volunteer 2’s work, I didn’t immediately take out my notebook and recorder from my bag. I first engaged in a very informal talk asking how things were with her and saying that I had seen some YouTube videos of her singing (last time I was at Organization A Volunteer 2 had told me that she was also a singer and that she had a couple of videos in YouTube). I felt this was necessary not to create a formal environment to our conversation. Volunteer 1 was also in the room and let me know that she had a sore throat that day. After hearing this, me and Volunteer 2 shared some thoughts and also discussed home recipes to make her feel better. I kept talking to Volunteer 2, proceeding to ask how her day had been so far, and a few minutes into the conversation, as the subject started to seem interesting for the purpose of the research, I took my notebook and recorder out and started to take notes and asked for permission to record the conversation I was having with Volunteer 2.*

This suggests that relying on conversations may be more effective in the study of practices than using structured or semi-structured interviews. This also suggest that



quantitative studies in general, that usually rely upon surveys, may be missing essential points of SE practices that are brought by actual participation in these practices and through the building of empathy with participants.

Furthermore, detailing how these reflexive shifts were experienced in the research process may also help readers make sense of the research findings. Besides, the “grounded” or “empirical” nature of practice-based studies may put this approach under the risk of falling into objectivism, that is, an application of a purely empiricist lens. Reflexivity, therefore, may be especially useful to practice-based studies also because of this aspect. The assertion made by Whittington (2011) may corroborate this point, as the author had already called the attention to the fact that, in order to do better practice-based studies in OMT, researchers’ own self-knowledge and role had to be taken into account. Besides, Erden et al. (2014) highlighted the need of developing more “reflective” research in practice-based studies. This point was perceived as a gap by the authors in their extensive analysis of empirical practice-based studies published in OMT journals, and may reveal the extension of the risk of developing objectivist accounts in practice-based studies.

Nonetheless, although I was able to experience position shifts, what such shifts ultimately reveal was that I was never fully granted the status of insider, or the status of “one of them” in its entirety. Still, my research strategy, data collection methods and reflexivity awareness often helped me in this constant pursuit.

### **3.6 Transferability of Research Account**

Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that instead of worrying about producing *generalizable* research accounts, qualitative research should focus on producing *transferable* ones. That is, the investigator should focus on providing evidence that will allow readers to make comparisons and possibly transfer some of these findings to other

similar contexts if they wish to do so. The authors suggest that the investigator relying on qualitative methods should, then, “provide sufficient descriptive data to make such similarity judgements possible” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 298). However, it’s important to highlight that Lincoln and Guba (1985) also argue that in this type of study an investigator cannot fully guarantee generalizability and thus appliers are nevertheless advised to conduct small verifying studies to be certain that the transferability of accounts is indeed plausible.

Still, authors like Tracy (2013) prefer the term *resonance* to refer to a feature of a text that makes it reverberate and impact an audience that perceives it as meaningful across different contexts. The author explains that generalizability should be seen as only one of the several ways to achieve such resonance. The other two ways to achieve resonance proposed by Tracy (2013) are transferability and aesthetic merit, the latter referring to the capacity of a text to emotionally affect its readers.

Taking this under consideration, the present study followed some of the advices of authors like Lincoln and Guba (1985), Lecompte and Goetz (1982), and Tracy (2013) and focused on providing rich descriptions of the research settings to allow transferability judgments for potential appliers. Besides, the description of the context is perceived as an important asset for evaluating the rigor of qualitative data (Armour, Rivaux, & Bell, 2009). I argue that a practice-based study is especially useful for accounting for contexts because it’s a non-nominalist approach that accepts the existence of contexts.

Cunliffe (2011) and Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993) affirm that qualitative research must be “plausible”; Finlay (2006) and Whitemore et al (2001) use the term “credible”; Tracy (2010) asserts that it must be “meaningfully coherent”. Indeed, what such references have in common is the shared belief that qualitative research accounts must be, foremost, perceived as meaningful by their intended audience. Therefore, discussing validity in qualitative studies is not to claim for objective truth, rather, it reflects a

concern with producing “plausible”, “credible”, or “meaningfully coherent” research accounts to an intended audience.

Several authors have discussed criteria to analyze the credibility or plausibility of qualitative research accounts. I have examined these suggestions and adopted the following in the present study:

**Table 7** *Employed Techniques for Facilitating Transferability of Account*

Phases of the Research Process	Techniques
Research Design	Linking research design to clear ontological and epistemological positions (Denzin, 1996; Tracy, 2010)
	Using Self-Reflexivity or delineating the relationships developed in the field (Bansal & Corley, 2012; Bell, 2013; Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Pillow, 2003; Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001)
	Explicitly justifying sampling criteria and addressing sampling constraints (S. Curtis et al., 2000)
Data Collection	Prolonged engagement and persistent observation, or “being there” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005)
	Collecting and recording as much data as possible (Mays & Pope, 1995) from different collection modes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)
	Identifying the types of data collected and examining the detailed processes of data collection (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993)
	Using various informants (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982)

Data Analysis	Explicating the systematic and iterative movement between data collection and data analysis (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993)
	Using CAQDAS to organize data (Carcary, 2011; Whitemore et al., 2001)
Writing of Thesis	Adopting more orthodox research standards regarding text's format and devices (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993)

---

The overall goal of producing accounts which are detailed enough to allow resonance and transferability is also compatible with expectations found in the SE literature, with authors such as Mair (2010) asserting that we should try to build more mid-range theories on SE and not grand and highly generalizable theories, precisely because research suggests that this is a phenomenon with a high context sensitivity. Still, since this is a topic which has attracted the attention from researchers in many different contexts, I believe it's important to reflect upon issues of transferability.

### **3.7 Summary of Methodology**

In the introduction of this chapter I explained why I chose to conduct a qualitative study. I provided a detailed account of this study's philosophical assumptions and how they shaped its overall research design, including the data collection and analysis of the collected empirical data. Since I conducted an inductive inquiry, this means that the data analysis only begun after data was collected in its entirety, and also that when I went to the field I had a general focus on SE practices (which still hadn't been theoretically refined).

I discussed in detail the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study, highlighting which practice-based approach provided the methodological orientations of this study and what are its philosophical assumptions. The main general assumptions were the following: it's real, concrete and living, individuals who constitute reality through their practices; practices are socially constituted; practices have a context, or a background ("loosely understood as an arena or set of phenomena that surrounds or immerses something and enjoys powers of determination with respect to it" Schatzki, 2005, p. 468); an individual acquires practical understanding by participating in practices; practices are recurrent phenomena. I then explained how these assumptions affected the research design of the empirical study and justified the methodological choices I made.

Taken these assumptions under consideration, I chose to conduct an ethnographic research, here thought of as a research posture, based mainly on participant observations and conversations as means to collect data. I also discussed in detail: (1) how the participants of this study were chosen and which constraints drove this selection; (2) how data was collected, treated and analyzed; (3) the relevance of researcher reflexivity during the research process, and more specifically which positions were occupied by me during field work and how this affected this process; (4) reflections on the transferability of the produced research accounts.

I also concluded that using thematic analysis was congruent with the assumptions of a practice-based study because: (1) like practices, themes may be taken as emergent and recurrent phenomena; (2) it allows for a holistic approach to data analysis, as various different themes may arise from the data, which is an important factor since practice approaches are also holistic in the sense that they try to capture the multifaceted nature of practices. Besides, this approach to data analysis is also coherent with the subjectivist ontological approach of this study, due to its arbitrary nature.

Finally, I'd like to remark that putting practices in the foreground of my inquiry required systematic and hard methodological work, which is per se another practice.

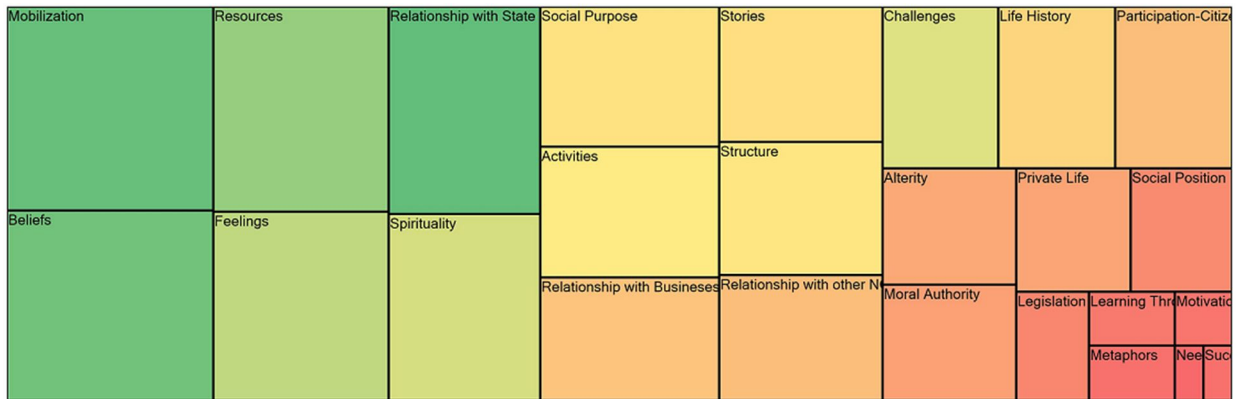
Therefore, we must not forget to highlight the epistemic practice that was described and explained in this section: that of turning practices into an epistemic object that can be investigated and maybe represented in accordance with certain requisites of academic inquiry.

### **4. Introduction**

In this findings section I will resort to the display of the results of the thematic analysis of the collected data. Firstly, I will present an overview of the emergent themes and how these themes were merged to later describe each one of the refined themes in greater detail. Given the inductive nature of this study, only later on these results will be discussed taking under consideration the existent literature on SE and the practice literature, notably in the discussion chapter.

#### **4.1 Overview of Themes**

In the initial stage of the thematic analysis, 26 themes were identified (displayed in alphabetical order): (1) Activities; (2) Alterity; (3) Beliefs; (4) Challenges; (5) Feelings; (6) Learning Through Experience; (7) Legislation; (8) Life History; (9) Meanings (10) Metaphors; (11) Mobilization; (12) Moral Authority; (13) Motivations; (14) Needs; (15) Participation-Citizenship; (16) Private Life; (17) Relationship with Businesses; (18) Relationship with other NGOs; (19) Relationship with State; (20) Resources; (21) Social Position; (22) Social Purpose; (23) Spirituality; (24) Stories; (25) Structure; (26) Succession.



**Figure 8** – *Initial Themes Compared by the Number of Labeled Data.* The size of each square is relative to the frequency in which the theme emerged from the data and the colors refer to the overlapping of themes labelling the same data sets.

These 26 initial themes were then merged into 8 themes: (1) structure; (2) relationship with other organizational actors (which contains 3 sub-themes: relationship with state, relationship with businesses and relationship with other NGOs); (3) beliefs, spirituality and moral authority; (4) social position of participants, (5) stakeholders’ mobilization and participation; (6) feelings; (7) social purpose; and (8) social change. This merging process was done based on the narrowing and focusing procedures described in data analysis section. The findings related to each one of these themes will be presented in depth in the following topics.

## 4.2 Structure

The first theme to be discussed is *structure*. This theme was considered relevant mainly because it will help readers understand the researched contexts, that is, the physical sites where field work occurred and the overall organizational structure of the studied NGOs (i.e. how functions were distributed and coordinated, formal processes and organizational rules/norms). Besides, this theme also reveals some participants’ views on structural issues and how it may or may not help them in achieving their social mission.



As it was earlier pointed in the sampling discussion, the studied NGOs were contrasting regarding their size and overall structure. NGO A was the smallest organization, with fewer volunteers and small physical structure. At the time of the field work, it had about 5 volunteers involved in its routine activities, out of which only one wasn't part of SE A's family (here this volunteer will be called Volunteer 2 NGO A). The physical structure of the organization had experienced some shifts throughout its existence. NGO A started with an office and store that sold cleaning products in the city center of [UD name of city]. The rent and all the costs involved in setting up the store (including the products they would sell) were paid for with SEr A's personal savings. Due to financial difficulties, this store was later closed and then re-opened in the suburban area of the city some time later, where costs to maintain this structure were considerably lower. Besides having a store, NGO A did also recently open, back in 2013 after a deal was signed with the government, an accommodation that houses foreigners who were in prison and are now on probation. Before NGO A signed this agreement, foreigners weren't allowed to leave prison on probation even though they had this right. At the time the study was held, this accommodation was housing 5 foreigners who were in this situation.

During field work, the stores was undergoing renovation and was still quite precarious, as the products, for example, were being displayed on the floor. This store also had a quite small and back office with no natural light where Volunteer 1, SEr A's daughter, had a table and a computer. The other family members of SEr A's, who were also volunteers, were doing the renovation and paying for it themselves. The accommodation for the foreigners was located in the same small suburban commercial building where the rented store was. Its entrance was, however, in the side street, and it was also a rented space. It consisted of two bedrooms (one male and one female dorm), one living room with a TV, one bathroom and one kitchen. NGO A had to pay for the store and the accommodation's rent, their utility bills, and also living expenses of the foreigners (such as: food and cleaning products). This structural cost proved to be a large burden to NGO A. In fact, SEr A, even mentioned a couple of times throughout the field work that they hadn't been able to make ends meet and to pay for all the bills and were undergoing a difficult financial situation.

Regarding its organizational form and processes, NGO A had three people giving full time dedication to it: SEr A, Volunteer 1 and Volunteer 2. Although sometimes organizational processes and roles weren't so clearly defined, a couple of points were observed: SEr was basically responsible for fund raising, looking for cooperation with other people and organizations (including state institutions) and was also a spokesperson for NGO A; Volunteer 1 was responsible for organizing the store and the accommodation (including going shopping for groceries, for example); Volunteer 2 was responsible for opening the store and selling the products, she also offered support and legal advice to the foreigners. The other volunteers (two family members of SEr A) did more intermittent works, which were also constant, such as: giving maintenance to the store and accommodation, building and updating NGO A's website and putting together advertising materials. I did not observe that SEr was regarded as a "boss" or as a superior, and everyone seemed to develop their activities in quite an independent manner (that is, they were all responsible for the decision making processes).

NGO B was peculiar in the sense that its office was located in a room inside the home of SEr B. This office, however, was used essentially by SEr B, with the other 25 volunteers also working from their own homes, and just occasionally dropping by to pick up chores or to deliver them. It was a large and comfortable office, which had in one corner an L shaped table with a computer, scanner and printer, a cordless telephone, video monitoring screens (that showed images of the house's front gate), and an intercom. On the opposite side of the room there was a sofa, and in the back of the room there was a large cabinet used for storing documents (everything was meticulously well organized, and SEr B proudly showed me this a couple of times while I was there). There was also a large window with a lot of sunlight coming in, and framed news articles, prizes certificates and other honors received by NGO B framed and hanging on the office's walls.

As explained by SEr B, NGO B's organization takes the form of a "*mutirão*". *Mutirão* does not have an exact translation to English, but it can be translated as "joint effort". This term is quite usual in Brazil, but it is normally used to designate isolated events

like, for example, the organization of a joint effort to remove the garbage from a certain location in a certain date, or a joint effort to paint a school in the community. It should also be stressed that this term always designates non paid volunteer work where a group of people are involved. A *mutirão* also does not have solid hierarchical relations in it. Etymologically speaking, the word *mutirão* originates from the Tupi word *motyrõ* (Tupi is an extinct language which was spoken by native Brazilians) which basically means something like "working together", or "coworking". So an organization that takes the form of a *mutirão* is essentially a non-hierarchical type of organization, based on volunteerism, mutual help and on community values. However, it also became very clear that SEr B's strong presence worked like a magnet, and drew everyone to organize their work around her and deliver the work to her, making her and the NGO B's office a reference point for everyone. In several of our conversations, SEr B explained to me how the activities were divided, for example:

*This one [a lady who had showed up during our conversation] is a volunteer. She comes every Tuesday and gives me the work she has done. There's another person who will put this in files. She also comes here and files everything, everything that happened. [this work has been done] Since the beginning. This is very important. It's from here that we take the material to make our history. A meeting with all the volunteers only happens once a year. [...] The contracts are written by [name of volunteer], [name of volunteer] comes here and files the contracts, the other one frames the drawings I make [which are given as gifts to the families receiving a house]. All of the office expenses, I pay for them [...] Besides, for example, if a person is in doubt if she has paid for the associate donation, I give the money. Because I don't want to be disturbed thinking: did she make the deposit or not? Did she give me the money instead? Many times this happens, they just come and give me the money [instead of making a deposit]. I can't say for sure, but I think a spend around 300,00 or 400,00 BRL in [name of NGO B]. But it depends. All of [name of NGO B]'s money goes exclusively for the houses. That's it. There's also another person who helps me do the computer work, which is a lot of work, you see? Organizing the computer. At the beginning my children would make the reports using the computer. But he [her son] got sick of it, you see? So he slowly let me walk alone. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*[another volunteer] calculates the costs of the houses, and two other are responsible for the accounting. [name of volunteer] Puts everything together. After this, the books go to [name of volunteer], and [name of volunteer] binds them for free. I write a letter to him, last time I showed him the article that came*

*out [on NGO B] in [name of magazine], saying how much his work as a volunteer helps. It's important to show this article. This is why I like this. Then a person pays about 70,00 or 80,00 BRL. And another person picks up the binded books. I distribute all of the activities. I'm not the one who takes [the letter] to him. I write the letter and leave it on the bed [bedroom's bed], and I have four volunteers, who are very well born [meaning they come from rich families], who make sporadic chores. **I don't even need to call them, they just come by.** I have coffee with them every Tuesday, and I bring all of these chores, and I seize every small opportunity. And these things over here that need to be paid [points to pieces of papers on the table], I have a gentleman who makes the payments, he comes here and picks it up. I can count on these people. This gentleman sends a message boy to pick it up (SEr B, NGO B)*

It's important to highlight that, even though it has a small and inexpensive structure, NGO B has delivered over 400 houses throughout its existence. During the time of the field work, it had 23 simultaneous houses under construction. This means that, even though they have a lean and decentralized structure, one point that may partially explain how with such a small and decentralized structure they can manage to build as many as 23 houses simultaneously is the fact that they encourage beneficiaries to do auto-construction and community "mutirões" to build the houses, with family members and even neighbors working in the constructions. Sometimes, however, they hired workforce to build some of the houses (which was taken as the last and undesired option). These people were not employees of NGO B, but only had a service contract with it that ended once the construction was done.

*I truly do a lot, only with volunteers, 23 houses being built simultaneously....  
(SEr B, NGO B)*

NGO C had, by far, the largest structure among the studied NGOs. It will not be described in all of its details, however, because this may allow its identification (as it is the largest and most well-known out of the three NGOs). I can say, however, that NGO C has a large physical structure, with a complex of more than 10 different buildings (small to medium sized, that included: dormitories for visitors, sports court, administration building, 1 cafeteria with a capacity of serving around 200 meals a day and 1 separate cafeteria for the younger children, different buildings with classrooms, gardens, parking lot, etc.). I was personally amazed by this site upon my first arrival, as

everything seemed very well taken care of.

Besides, NGO C had around 30 full time paid employees, volunteers, and also workers who are paid by the city administration who run the cafeteria for the small children and one who is a tutor. This large structure was quite expensive for the organization, as described by one of the employees:

*We spend 150.000,00 BRL [around 40.000 USD] only to function. The largest bit of this is composed by the payroll, in second place comes the rent and then the food (Employee 3, NGO C)*

Out of the three NGOs, NGO C was the only one who had roles and functions formally assigned, and well-structured organizational processes. However, it's interesting to note that NGO C underwent a major change in its organizational form after the passing away of SEr C (the exact year of SEr C's passing away will not be disclosed due to confidentiality issues). As accounts proved, SEr C was a very hierarchical and centralizing person. He used to make all of the decisions in NGO C and run all of its organizational processes (from garden maintenance to fundraising functions). It's not surprising, therefore, that his passing away proved to be a major turning point to this organization. However, as his passing away wasn't a sudden event, he had some time to prepare the organization to go on without him (concerning legal and financial issues for its survival):

*He headed the organization for 15 years. When [name of SEr C] died we implemented another type of management, not a verticalized management, even though this verticalized management was very well done and left the organization ready [to move on]. The bills were all up to date, everything was very well organized, and we had a very strong name [in the community]. (Director, NGO C)*

Still, accounts show that NGO C's stakeholders were aware that it'd be extremely unlikely, or even impossible, to find someone who could occupy his position. In order for it to survive, NGO C had to make a radical change to its organizational structure: they decided to adopt a flat organizational format, with a decentralized administration

with very weak hierarchical bonds. This transformation seemed to me quite amazing as it was the total opposite of the organizational structure adopted when SEr C was still in charge. I heard many times while I was there that NGO C's "didn't have a boss" or one single person in charge, and that all decisions started to be taken by the collective body of employees and volunteers. In the words of an employee:

*[...] there is no boss [here]. Just so you have an idea, our meetings are like this: we [employees and volunteers] sit down, each one raises his/her hand, and goes ahead and say what he'd like. There's no final word. (Employee 2, NGO C)*

In fact, from participating in these meetings, I could tell that they were putting great effort into making this format work. However, one characteristic that stood out in these meetings was that all of the issues raised took a long time to be resolved. For example, we would discuss the same issue sometimes in four different meetings and still postpone a decision to the following meeting. In some conversations held with me some of the employees, they recognized that it was sometimes hard to work like this, but they felt that especially the sense of respect and justice this format brings made the effort worth it. Besides, respect towards people and justice was perceived as being crucial elements for maintaining a cohesion between the organization's structure and its mission. This does not mean, however, that such format worked smoothly, as some conflicts were still observed. For example, I observed that even though the discourse said that "all of the employees are educators", "we are all the same", "no one is the boss", there was still groups of employees, like the cleaning team, that did not enjoy the same status or had the same voice as the others in NGO C's decisions. Besides observing how this specific team was sometimes silenced during these meetings, I talked with them and I confirmed that they, indeed, felt disrespected and unheard many times. When I question one of the tutors about this, I heard that he had not noticed this, and that they indeed still had a long way to go in order to build and make this organizational format work.

Nonetheless, the radical change in its organizational format of course, raised its own issues, and some of the employees who were used to SEr C style and leadership didn't take it well and eventually left the organization. There was, in fact, a major turnover

during this period, and most of the employees at the time of this study weren't there when SEr C was still alive. Still, I cannot deny that his presence is felt everywhere in the organization, in the stories that are told, in pictures of him which were present in a couple of places in the site, suggesting that this change wasn't an effort to erase SEr C from. Quite the opposite, this change could even be translated as an effort to keep NGO C's and thus honor his memory.

NGO C also stood out for having the most well-structured organizational processes out of the three organizations. For example, they had a structured selection process for employees, and also a structured process to receive and allocate volunteers in their activities, well defined functions and organizational roles. As it was put by one of its employees:

*We started this Project with the people [employees/volunteers] who were here, whether they had an education background or not. Other people then started joining us, and staying. We embraced these people. Of course some people fitted the profile, because we had a profile for the educators which was constructed by the educators themselves. So they go through a selection process, and also through an experience period when we check if they really fit the profile to continue with us. We also evaluate [the educators]. (Employee 4, NGO C)*

I myself went through the process of reception of volunteers, which they called "experience" (*vivência* in Portuguese). During the "experience" I had the chance to get to know all of the different sectors of NGO C. The objective of this experience was twofold: it allowed volunteers to get to know the organization as a whole and thus perceive where they could be of best help (given their own personal abilities and/or interests); it inserted new volunteers in a controlled process that allowed them to be evaluated by NGO C's employees as a whole. For example, if any of the employees saw any volunteers doing something considered to be "inappropriate", he or she could communicate this to the other employees and together they could decide to ask the volunteer to leave. They also had a chart of "values" all people involved with NGO C should have. In fact, I received this chart upon my first arrival at NGO C, and I was quite amazed at how detailed this "code of conduct" was. I believe that this was especially perceived as an important tool for NGO C since they were working directly

with children, who are vulnerable and who tend to mirror the attitudes of the grown-ups. In NGO A and NGO B, this “code of conduct” certainly existed, as it was clear that all stakeholders were expected to behave in a certain way, but it existed in an implicit manner.

Another thing that stood out in NGO C was the amount of rules that were to be followed by the children, employees, volunteers and visitors (who all had to respect the same set of rules). For example, cell phones were not allowed, running (while not doing sports activity or other recreational activity that included running) was not allowed, speaking too loudly wasn’t allowed, taking toys or school material from home wasn’t allowed. However, the interesting fact behind these rules was that they were defined in conventions held at NGO C where the children were the main decision makers. This means that the children, collectively, voted in favor of these rules. Of course, the discussions were guided by a group of tutors but, nonetheless, the children had the final decision in establishing these rules. In fact, I was quite amazed to hear more than one time from tutors that, when having the power to establish the rules, children tended to be stricter than adults.

Although SEr B also highlighted, several times, the importance of evaluating volunteers and their commitment to the purposes of the organization, NGO B did not have any formal processes for evaluation of volunteers. Instead they solely relied upon a subjectivist evaluation, mainly done by SEr B and volunteers who were most active and closest to her (and who had SEr’s B full trust). Still, NGO B had the strictest rules regarding the selection process of the beneficiary families, although they did not have a formal process for making the selection of the family, which often happened when a volunteer, for example, came and asked for a house for someone. There was a couple of rules, however, that were considered un-bendable: (1) the family had to own the land where the house was to be built; (2) the family had to be living in the land for at least 10 years; (2) Families that could commit to auto-construction would receive preference in the selection process; (3) the new house would be registered in the name of the woman heading the family.



I spoke with SEr B a few times about why these strict rules were necessary, she usually gave me some reasons: because there was a great housing shortage in the city, making it impossible to attend everyone who would come forward asking for housing (this shortage of housing is a problem also in the rest of Brazil); because they felt it was necessary to involve the families in the construction process so that they would give more “value” to what they were receiving; in order to lower construction costs, and thus make it possible to build more houses; and because they wanted to avoid that the beneficiaries would sell the house once it was done. She also explained that when they started out they did not have all these rules, but they were created after they went through some negative experiences, which mainly involved newly-built houses being sold.

*[...] people were selling the houses. Some people sold it. And this made me really sad. So what was I going to do to avoid them selling the houses? I will solve this problem by building the houses in the place where they have been living already. We cannot remove them from where they are. So we started building houses all over the city, north, south, east, and west. Wherever it was needed, almost in an osmosis process, where we received indications. (SEr B, NGO B)*

It became evident that the matter of structure raised different issues in the three studied NGOs. NGO A was constantly struggling to pay for the cost of their small physical structure, with SEr A often paying for it from his own personal savings or either failing to pay the bills altogether. SEr B was a big advocate for her home based and lean structure. She had a very strong feeling about this, and felt that it was her duty to keep NGO B in this format since her goal was to apply all of NGO B’s funds in its end activity (building houses). She took pride in saying that she had accomplished this (so much so that, if she had to buy any sort of office material for the NGO, she would buy them with her own money). In fact, she would often affirm that she didn’t think it was correct to ask for donations and other contributions and then use donated resources to pay for an expensive organizational structure (because, after all, “the money was donated to build the houses”). In her words:

*You know what my nephew says? He says: “Aunt, even if you had 100.000 BRL coming in you would make the same amount of houses every month, because you would have to pay for a huge structure. If you professionalize [name of NGO B] you will keep on building the same amount of houses (SEr B, NGO B)*

*[name of NGO B]’ expense in structure is zero. I pay for everything. I think that [name of NGO B] is a small thing. My idea was always to keep it small. I was Always afraid of this. I’m afraid of growing because I’m afraid of losing control. It’s difficult to work with constructions. You go to [name of a construction store] and they can easily deviate money, they could say: ‘you give me this money and I will give you back this percentage, because I know that [name of NGO B] doesn’t have a good control’. People can take advantage of us if we don’t have a good control, a direct control, a primary control. Primary control is what I have today. For example, every time I pay for a bill there, I tell them: ‘if you are giving anyone commission for the sale, you are going to hell’. [name of volunteer] is the one who makes the purchases, and I have total trust on her. So this is a direct control based on trust. For example, what kind of control will I have over an employee, a secretary? What kind of control? (SEr B, NGO B)*

In NGO C, however, its physical structure was perceived as a mean to achieve the NGO’s social purpose, because it was a mean to attract donors and volunteers to their organization. For example, NGO C allegedly receives around 80 visitors every month, who receive a tour of NGO C’s site and get to see their work “with their own eyes”. This also gives them credibility, since people can “see where their money is going to”, which is important in a context where the work of NGOs is often doubted (as it will be discussed in topic 4.3.3). Formalizing the reception process of visitors was also perceived as a necessity, since it allowed NGO C to collect donations and also to keep in touch with visitors after they left in a systematic manner, therefore enhancing their chances to have loyal contributors.

*I recommend donating to [NGO C] because here we know how the resources are used, where see how they are used (Donor 2, NGO C, excerpt from institutional video)*

*We have also organized a process for receiving visitors, because in the old days this wasn’t very well defined. Now, me and [Employee’s name] we organized a team of children who receive and give tours for the visitors, and I also include all of them in our newsletter, and I ask for this donation, which isn’t mandatory, because it needs to be registered as a donation. So they make this contribution*

*and give me their email address, and afterwards they receive a thank you note, and this way we can also keep communicating with them afterwards. I started collecting the visitor's names not very long ago, and I've already made a list with around 450 names. I must have been gathering these names and mail addresses for about 7 months. So we have to establish a process that will allow us to keep in touch with these people, to tell them that [name of NGO C] is here, and you will also ask them to follow you in a social network website, send them e-mails, invite them for events. We need to do a stronger work of marketing, It's what we are trying to do now. (Employee 2, NGO C)*

*A lot of people come here because this is innovator, many businessmen, they come here because they want to help financially. (Employee 4, NGO C)*

I had the chance to participate in one of these guided visits, and during my field work I also witnessed the frequency and the amount of visitors who were in NGO C's facilities every week, which was indeed impressive. By talking to these visitors, I also concluded that most of them were there because they perceived the work of NGO C to be innovator and also to be "beautiful". Most of the people with whom I spoke were interested in children's education and had either heard of NGO C's work in education related events and congresses or in the media.

Even though in NGO C their physical structure was perceived as a mean to gather the community, to enhance its credibility and also to raise funding, I believe that small NGOs shouldn't overlook how demanding it can be to maintain expensive structures. SEr B was the participant who showed the strongest feelings towards this issue. She, however, recognizes that every case must be looked at individually, and no generalizations can be done of whether it's worth it or not to maintain such a structure:

*[...] this is only how I conceive it, I cannot judge the work of someone whom I don't even know. But this is how I think: once you over institutionalize [the NGO], you become a victim of your own structure, because the structure is too expensive. It's way too expensive. At the end you must look at the cost-benefit relation, and see if it's worth it for you. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*The cost of the structure is too high. It's like I told you, if we at least had some help from the government, an office, a support, any kind of help, maybe we could grow. Today, the money that comes in goes entirely to the houses. If we had a*

*structure, part of it would go to the houses and part of it to the structure. Me, before being a professor, I was a consultant. I've worked on Consulting Jobs in small companies that did not want to grow, precisely because of that. You either stay very small, or you have to grow a lot. (Donor 1, NGO B)*

Even though the studied organizations exhibited relevant variations in their operational structures (that is, physical structure and even how well defined organizational processes and roles/functions were), one common trait observed was a flat organizational structure with distributed responsibilities (which could be a formal distribution or an informal one). Finally, it's important to highlight that I concluded that, in all three organizations, adopting a "flat" organizational structure was a mean to encourage the participation of all stakeholders in the organization's activities and was considered an important factor for the success of these organizations.

### **4.3 Relationship with other Organizational Actors**

#### **4.3.1 Relationship with the State**

One of the central themes found in the data collected in all three organizations that participated in this study was the ambiguous, sometimes law bending, and often paradoxical, relationship they developed with State institutions. It was also interesting to note that the relationship developed by the three organizations with State institutions varied significantly according to each organizations' social purpose (and how this purpose was generally perceived by society) and also according to personal relationships participants may or may not have had with individuals inside governmental institutions. However, it was possible to observe that in all three organizations the State was perceived both as a source of financial resources, and as an actor that often imposes difficulties and constraints to their work to (through laws and policies that were often difficult to grasp or to follow). Another point that was observed was that many times the studied organizations felt the need to distance themselves from

the government either as a mean to protect their reputation or as a mean to constitute their individuality as an independent civil organization.

However, it's interesting to note that the larger the structure of the NGO, the more they were dependent on the State's financial resources, with NGO C being the most dependent and NGO B being the less dependent (due to its home-based structure). As it was pointed out by one of the NGO's employees, a least 24% of last year's financial resources came from incentive laws (through which the Brazilian government allows some NGOs to collect part of state taxes from individuals and businesses), and another 24% of its income came from a state company. Besides, part of the workforce of NPO C consists of government workers (however, they are not the majority of the employees). One of the government's incentive law was specifically cited:

*The government has a project that allows people to insert their CPF ID number in purchase receipts and part of the collected tax is destined to the NGO. We get a significant amount of money from this incentive, around 11% of our total income. (Employee 4, NPO C)*

In this conversation, Employee 4, NGO C proceeded to explain how this project works, what are its rules, how the money is transferred to the NGOs, and also the fact that only NGOs working with children are allowed to collect funds through it. In fact, SEr A had expressed his frustration regarding this exclusion of certain types of organizations from government incentive policies. He expressed this frustration by saying that while NGOs working with children have varied means of raising funds through government incentives, concluding that the public he works with gets "zero" support: "*[this public] doesn't get any help. I'm only working with them because it's something that must be done. But no one wants to help. Including the government.*" (SEr B, NGO B).

Another relevant point is that although some formal processes of cooperation existed between the studied NGOs and local governments and other public institutions, sometimes, these relationships are also informal and even rule bending. For example: NGO A had informal agreements with local judges and was doing something (hosting

foreign inmates serving probation time) that was not foreseen by the law (although it wasn't unlawful); Organization B started off using the state structure to do their work, their office was inside the city hall; Organization C notoriously cannot attend to all of the demands from the education committee to function as a school but both sides "work something out" in order for the school to be allowed to exist ("*we receive the forms and we say to them: 'you know we do not have the data to fill this up'. And they say: 'yes, but you have to fill it up anyway'. So we are obliged to make it up, and they know it*") (Employee 6, NGO C).

The state is also many times perceived as an obstacle or as an agent that poses difficulties to the work of the studied organizations because: (1) its legislation regarding NGOs is difficult to grasp, often obscure and subjected to constant changes; (2) red tape is considered to be a generalized problem, with very small things being perceived as almost impossible to be accomplished; (3) it's oblivious to particular social causes and to particular social stratum in need of State assistance; (5) it's perceived as being corrupted, thus not trustable (with also the potential to harm the NGOs' images); (6) it's perceived as being inefficient.

*I think that [Organization B], given its proportions, makes a lot of difference, to its public. Obviously, if it had a larger dimension, it could help more people, but in order to have this dimension we'd have to look for other funding options. The third sector usually has the necessity of being assisted by the government, either through a formal support or by not having so many trammels. Sometimes we even joke saying that, when the government does not get in your way, it is already helping. This is my opinion, and this is also why I don't want to get involved with these people, because it truly is complicated. If I need, for example, any support from the city hall, I have to go through a lot of red tape (SEr B, NGO B).*

*We intend to turn this school into a public school, at the moment it is a private but tuition-free school. We are fighting to make it public, however we wish to maintain our autonomy. We want to be public, but autonomous. This law exists, but nobody has ever looked at this law, so we are fighting to see if we can really do this. If we did this, then we'd be entitled to receive resources from the government's education budget (Director, NGO C)*

Furthermore, the figure of the politician was often repelled in every day conversations. “When we notice that a house request has politics or a politician involved, we discard it” (SEr B, NGO B). And she also explained that “[Organization B] is not involved with politics, because I am [sic] a non-governmental organization. [...] If have faith that I’m not part of the government, and I believe in this, why should I give in? Why am I going to ask the government for money? Even though I know that I would make better use of this money, I also know that this would go against something that I have always believed in.” (SEr B, NGO B). This also reflected a fear among participants that being involved with the government, and especially with very public figures inside it, could negatively affect their reputation in the community. However, this did not exclude entirely the possibility of gaining advantages from having “friends” inside government institutions, for example:

*I have friends [among state Representatives], really friends, who visit my house. Our title of municipal public utility [utilidade pública municipal] was given to [NGO A] because he was my friend. He had never visited the institution, which he should’ve had to investigate the case, but he is my longtime friend... (Volunteer 4, NGO A)*

Once a participant has a personal bond with public representatives, it was perceived as being ok to enjoy certain advantages, like the cited one. I believe this is so because there was a trust bond between these individuals due to their personal relationships which extrapolated the institutional bond:

*The thing is, I have many friends. I need to trust them, and they need to trust me. But they don’t take on this social cause [of helping ex-convicts], they don’t help. The help that they give is something like this... like helping with the law. But if I wasn’t their friend, they wouldn’t help at all. Besides, when I accept their help, I’m immediately attached to them I owe them, I have to tell the people in my church to vote for them. So, working with ex-convicts, they don’t want to help this. Other social causes are much easier. Like working with children, wow... but ex-convicts... it’s really tough (Volunteer 4, NGO A)*

Furthermore, it’s interesting to note that, once this personal bond isn’t present, and once people inside the government have the perception that they have “nothing to gain” from

helping these institutions, this help does not come about. These so called “personal gains” could be either having the opportunity to deviate public funds or associating his or her image with a “beautiful” cause and thus gathering voters for the next election.

*It's complicated [the relationship with the state]. [SEr A] has many contacts, so I always see him speaking with people in the government, in the city hall. And he always complains, sometimes I even hear him screaming on the phone “you have to help! You have to do something!” The Brazilian government is very complicated. In fact, people only want to take care of their own lives, and they only move to do something if they see that ‘the fire will soon reach their houses’, only then they’ll mobilize to do something. So everything is about private interest. The government is moved by private interests (Volunteer 1, NGO A)*

*We don't get help from the powerful men. Once I went to the city hall to participate in a meeting, and meetings irritate me, I don't like meetings, because they never end. You're stuck in these meetings for a month, two months, one year, three years, 22 years in these meetings! And what puts me down especially is that, in these meetings, everyone is worried about their own personal interests, about what they will personally gain from it. All of them. All! ‘If we do this, we will profit from this’ [this is how they think] (Volunteer 4, NGO A)*

Another point that is clearly observable is the latter extract is the uneven power relations between State representatives and the NGOs, with the first holding on to the power to decide which type or organizations will get support and which won't.

*Nobody made you do this [social work], you wanted to do it. And when you ask the government for help, there's always a state representative [deputado] involved, and all of the people involved take a little bit [of the money involved] for themselves. I was outraged when I found out that this happens. They [the state Representatives] say that they want to help the NGOs, but they just want the money for themselves. I have learnt a lot about this over the years (Volunteer 2, NGO A)*

*This person who will come here talk to me works in the city hall of [UD city name]. She told me: ‘It's amazing. Everything in the city hall is ‘stamped’ [expression used in reference to being corrupted]. Groceries for the schools, cleaning products, sheets of paper, pens, everything!’. So, truth is, the real criminals aren't those who are in prison. These people, State representatives, mayors, most of them are criminals (SEr A, NGO A)*



*[politicians] they divert all resources, we're talking about billions. Brazil has a lot of money. We have a lot of money here in Brazil. But they divert it. Money isn't lacking, but it does not come [to who needs it] (SEr A, NGO A)*

Still, this overall negative image of politicians did not translate into the disbelief in politics altogether and its power to positively affect and change society:

*But I also believe that politics is the science of everything, and that a good politician is an amazing being (SEr B, NGO B)*

Another interesting point found in the collected data was the mentioning, by key informants from different organizations, of a struggle to dissociate themselves from the government. A common reasoning found was that “if we are a non-governmental organization” it’s the same as saying “we are not the government” and therefore “we should be independent from the government”. Participants also did express concern with the dubious relationship some NGOs have with the government, this concern was in fact so great that becoming independent from the government was perceived almost an ethical accomplishment, because: (1) then the NGO isn’t a burden to the State (2) its image does not become associated with “corrupted” NGOs.

*In my opinion, NGOs are non-governmental organizations. For example, if the government isn't doing what it is supposed to do in a certain social sector, then a group of people may get together and decide to do something to solve this problem. I think this is the whole idea. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*Everything is about profiting. Even in NGOs. I don't have the power, nor the authority, but if I could take this decision I don't think NGOs should exist at all, not like this. The first problem is that NGOs are non-governmental. Then why do they turn to the government if they are non-governmental? Their argument is that they are doing something that the government should be doing. I agree with this. But, from my experience, I can tell you that I haven't seen, not even one institution, using government funding adequately. This is another reason why I believe NGOs should raise their own funding and not use government funding. If this happened, I have to tell you that I think they [the NGOs] would all shut down, not even 1% would survive. If someone says that he opened an NGO because he is a 'good chap', I say it's a lie. Because they steal public money. They are stealing money from those who have nothing, from the poor people who need it. The majority of the NGOs aren't doing the work they are supposed*

*to be doing. If they were doing their work right, do you think [UD name of the city] would be in this situation? Would Brazil be in this situation if the NGOs were doing their work right? I believe not. If the government has the resources to do the social work that needs to be done, then they should do it, it would be one less way to corrupt the system. Even though the laws exist, they are not followed. We still have to do a lot to change [this situation]* (Volunteer 2, NGO A)

The mistrust in government institutions, and sometimes even deception, is also portrait by a story told by the social entrepreneur from NGO B, who narrated:

*The other day they invited me to join a board, and they had already invited me to join this board last year, it's the Municipal Board of Popular Housing [Conselho Municipal de Habitação Popular], and [in the first invitation] I felt obliged to participate. I tried to turn it down, but the city administration convoked me to this. So they sent me this email again [with another invitation], which I didn't even replied, I just deleted it. And then I told the young lady: 'I've been part of this board for one year, but the board hasn't had a single reunion. You must've taken many decisions with my endorsement without me knowing, many of which I may not even agree with, so I will not in any way participate in this, to me you haven't done anything this year because I haven't been called to do anything. I cannot participate in something with what I don't agree'. After this her boss called me and I repeated: 'No, I will not participate, I won't'.* (SEr B, NGO B)

The belief that the State is inefficient, therefore, was often cited as a reason for the existence of NGOs in the first place. This is even cited, for example, in an institutional video made by NGO C when SEr C was still alive. In fact, SEr C mentioned his belief in the inefficiency of the State to address certain social ills also in TV interviews, he argued that this inefficiency translates into a need for the civil society to work on society's problems: *"Today, the problems of society have to be solved by society itself, we cannot depend on the government and governors."* (SEr C, excerpt from TV interview). This was also a common belief in the other studied NGOs:

*What is the third sector in a general sense? It is a deficiency in the first sector [the government]. So the deficiency exists, and people who try to mitigate this deficiency also exist.* (SEr B, NGO B)

*The State only manages to punish, it doesn't manage to recuperate, to re-*

*educate nor to re-insert the convict in society. The result is that he exists prison worse than when he entered it. And then society condemns him (SEr A, NGO A)*

However, some positive experiences involving the State were also found among the researched NGOs. NGO B had a very positive experience with the municipal government in its first years of existence, as they started their activities within the state structure, their office was there and, in SEr B's words, they learned everything they had to learn from the government. SE B, for example, affirmed that:

*So I told the gentleman: 'Do you know what I wanted to do? I wanted to build houses'. Then he asked me how, and I said: 'Well, I'll start with one. Then I will send to this construction the building materials, I will continue helping, but the person receiving the house must provide the workforce, otherwise it'd be too expensive for us'. Then he said: '[name of SE B], there's a land allotment in [name of city district] that seems to be just right for you. What they [the city administration] did in this neighborhood was literally dump 210 families there, and now they are waiting for the houses to be built. They [the city administration] will give them the bricks and the families will have to work out the rest.' Then I thought: 'this is a great idea [to get involved in this work], let's see if I can be part of this'. So then he took me to the city hall. (SEr B, NGO B)*

What we see narrated here is not only the fact that the public administration offered an opportunity to SEr B to start NGO B, but also that they needed this help. The government had given the land and "dumped" 210 families there, they even had the resource to start the constructions, but for some undisclosed reason these constructions weren't moving forward, due to the complexity of this situation. Once SEr B accepted to enter the picture, she started mobilizing all of her social network and gathering help in order to make this work, even though they did not yet have the technical expertise to do this job:

*So when I arrived home, Sunday afternoon, I started calling my friends. One of them told me: 'Are you crazy? How can you imagine such a thing?' You know? It was like this. She was one of the owners of [name of local company], who was a very close friend, I asked her if she would like to be part of the directing board. So I started gathering people to join me at the meetings in [name of city administration's facility]. So we started having these meetings so we could understand how we could do this work. First I visited the neighborhood. And the mayor at the time was a very good person... So he gave us full support, and they*

*did everything to make our work possible. They gave us all the information, everything we needed. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Another interesting point was that SEr B did experience some resistance from her friends, colleagues and family to start this, but her perseverance was crucial in order to convince her social network to get engaged:

*Then I started gathering people to participant in the meetings with me, and we started having these meetings in the [UD name of city administration's repartition]. So we started having these meetings to understand [the matter]. First I visited the neighborhood, to understand how I could do this. And the mayor was a very nice person, who understood [pause].... your know? He gave full support to us, and the director of [UD name of city administration's repartition] did everything possible for our success. He gave all of the information, everything we needed. Even his accountant from that time started doing our accounting books, and he has been doing this ever since, for 20 years now. I didn't know him back then, but he started coming to these meetings and helping us, he got involved. Even after he left [the city administration] and went on to work in the meat industry [frigorífico] he continued with us, as a volunteer. (SEr B, NGO B)*

However, SEr B also narrated that moving out and distancing themselves from the local government became a necessity, as they had to become independent. One of the reasons for this was precisely the fact that she felt they were being taken advantage of by certain politicians who wanted to promote themselves and gather votes by leaning on their work:

*[in the beginning] I had full support from the city administration. Not only they provided employees, but they also provided guidance and work force for building the houses. But I think that we gradually became independent [...] And I also noticed that some would take advantage of our work, people in the public sphere, because they only wanted to promote themselves and gather votes (SEr B, NGO B)*

However, I believe that this evidence suggests that NGOs working with social causes may establish prolific links with government institutions which, on one hand that have both the information and sometimes even the expertise to help conduct their work. And, on the other hand, in this example we saw that certain actors may have the mobilization

power to involve important stakeholders in the community in order to make social projects work and move forward. That is, even though participants very often tried to distance themselves from the public institutions, the existence of this link or this bond is unavoidable and may be something from which both parts may have important gains.

Besides, I believe that it may be relevant to point out that the constant mentioning of distrust in politicians (the belief that they are “corrupt” and driven by personal interests) reflects an overall feeling which is present in the Brazilian population in general. However, participants also mentioned having grounds or having had experiences that have proved this general feeling to be truthful, due to the nature of the studied NGOs’ work and the proximity it unavoidably implies with State institutions and its representatives.

As we saw, such implied proximity also gives birth to multiple and complex relationships developed among the studied NGOs and multiple public institutions. A common ground of these relationships, however, is the fact that they always seem to be two-way relationships, with both sides giving and gaining. They are not, however, equal relationships, and power relations could be observed. On one hand, state institutions have a clear interest in the work these NGOs can provide, and politicians are especially interested in giving a hand to NGOs that perform a “pretty” social work since associating his or her image to this work will attract potential voters. This may also be reflected in the fact that these same politicians make and approve laws that allow only certain NGOs (i.e. those working with children) to partially collect tax money while other NGOs are not granted this opportunity. On the other hand, the NGOs express interests (in varying degrees, with some being more resistant than others) in the financial and structural support the State may provide them.

### **4.3.2 Relationship with Businesses**

One thing that stands out regarding the relationships established with the studied organizations and businesses in general is the fact that the firsts usually cooperate and raise funds from equally small sized and local organizations, as opposed to large corporations. NGO C has a few exceptions, as it has received a fair amount of resources through grants given by corporations and large foundations. Documents show, for example, that it received a \$100,000 grant in 2002 from a large international foundation associated with an international corporation. In the present days it was also granted a fair amount of resources from a large international company. This is very far from the reality of NGO A and NGO B, partly because of their social purpose (and because of the public it works with) and partly because, as observed during the field work, they don't have knowledge regarding if and how they can participate in grant applications made available by large foundations or corporations, especially if these have to be written in the English language. In the case of NGO C, they have an employee who is experienced and who exercises the specific function of pursuing fundraising opportunities full time.

However, it's important to highlight that such grants are intermittent, thus they do not guarantee the survival of NGO C. Most of the aforementioned grants were invested in the NGO's structure. I could even observe, for example, the existence of plaques throughout the NGO's site mentioning that some of the rooms were donated by UD international foundation or corporations. The grant received from the UD state company was invested in hiring personnel, namely tutors, who were supposed to work in the project submitted as part of the grant application process. Although there were expressions of concern made by several participants regarding the end of this grant, as it was possible that the NGO would have to let go some of the hired tutors, these grants aren't necessarily crucial for the survival of the NGO. Rather, they were invested in structure and/or specific projects, mainly because they are perceived as being "bonuses", and are also perceived as being very difficult to win. For example, the employee responsible for making grant applications said NGO C applied for "maybe 6 or seven" grants in 2014 and still hadn't won one. This leads me to conclude that, in

fact, what guarantees NGO C's existence (and what has guaranteed it over time) are precisely the small donors, both individuals and businesses, and not possible large intermittent grants.

This is also the case of NGO B. And, while on one hand they have a very strong network of donors from local small businesses, on the other hand, large corporations are perceived as being out of their reach. For example, SE B mentioned that she has a very hard time contacting large corporations, even when all she wanted was to simply "bargain" when she needed to make a purchase from them for one of their constructions. In her words:

*For example, [UD name of a large Corporation producing and selling steel materials] we could get donations from it [because they produce and sell something that we need], but it's too difficult. From the local construction store, that sells wood materials, ceramics and floors, we can go there and ask [for donations], but they say: "[name of SE B], you will make me go bankrupt". Because we build almost two houses a month, 1,7 houses. So I believe in him, if he donated everything, he would go bankrupt. Because nowadays, the construction sector, everyone is having a tough time. But companies like [UD name of a large Corporation producing and selling steel materials], we can't even speak with them, you pay everything through electronic transactions. You don't even get a chance to bargain [pechinchar]" (SEr B, NGO B)*

In other words, she still perceived it was easier to cooperate and to possibly get help from small businesses, even though they may go through difficulties and may not have the means to provide a "large" help, than with large and "powerful" corporations which work in the same chain of industry as them and which, supposedly, would have the means to give a more significant help to them.

However, from what could be observed, the donations and cooperation with small businesses happened either because the owners of these businesses are friends with the founder of the NGOs or because they came to know the work of the NGO in their communities. More than once I heard accounts of how this or that business was cooperating with the NGO because they were "friends". SEr A, for example, said mentioned that he managed to get donations from a pasta factory (of small bits and

pieces leftover of spaghettis that could not be commercialized) because he was friends with the responsible person: “they give preference to us because the director is my friend, and what is left they send to other institutions” (SEr A). SEr B also mentioned that NGO B gets a relevant yearly donation from a local company because the owner is friends with her son. The president of NGO C (who is the widower of its founder) also mentioned that starting NGO C was only possible because SEr C was himself a businessman, so he had many friends who owned local businesses and was generally well known in the community.

Even nowadays in NGO C, with the founder not being present any longer, the existence of a previous personal relationship is considered as being crucial in order to get donations or cooperation from businesses. The employee responsible for the fundraising highlighted this point in one of her accounts on her job:

*I think that a lot of the profile involved in fundraising is about a close contact. Even when we raise funding through the taxes Project, it's all about contact. It's too difficult [unlikely] to knock on a company's door, tell them who you are, and they decide to donate to you. You must establish a bond, a link, and this takes time. There are companies with which I've been talking to for a long time, I asked for their tax Money last year, and this year again, and maybe I'll get it only next year. This is also because sometimes they have already donated to another NGO, or to an NGO somehow connected to their own market sector. (Employee 3, NGO C)*

These evidences suggest, in this context, it's also possible to get donations from and establish cooperation with businesses when they don't have a “friend” in charge of them, as long as these NGOs are persistent and take the time and puts an effort into building a bond or a relationship with these companies. An account given by SE B gives an idea of how relevant these cooperation or donations from local businesses are for these NGOs, by mentioning a fundraising event that is organized and held by a specific local businesses once a year that involves another 93 local businesses:

*[UD name of local business] organizes an event ever year when they invite 93 businesses and each one donates 500,00 BRL [about 130,00 USD], and then throughout the year we show how this money was used to build a house, and we*



*send an email to everyone when it's over, so they'll have enthusiasm to join [the event] again the following year. (SEr B, NGO B)*

This also suggests that businessmen who are “friends” with the leaders of these NGOs may, in turn, mobilize their own “friends” to cooperate with the studied NGOs. Besides, the fact that SE B perceives as important to keep in touch with these businesses throughout the year, sending them updates, and a follow up of the donation, also support the point highlighted by an employee from NGO C of the need to develop a bond, or a closer relationship, with both business donors and potential ones.

However, in the specific case of NGO A it was also possible to observe that some cooperation between businesses and NGO A started off not necessarily by an interest supposedly expressed by these businesses to cooperate to their cause. For example, some business owners are interested in using “cheap” workforce (since convicts may receive as little as 3/4 of the minimum wage, and are not entitled to other mandatory benefits) or merely interested in selling their products (like the company, for example, who sell their cleaning products in NGO's A store).

#### **4.3.3 Relationship with other NGOs**

Evidence shows that the studied NGOs perceive other NGOs as either competitors for resources and social recognition, and also as potential cooperators. Another issue encountered was the recurrent perception that “some” NGOs are corrupted and are used by both State Representatives and corporations as a mean to divert resources. There was also a perception that some NGOs may make irresponsible/immoral (although not illegal) use of donated resources. During field-work, I also heard many times the expression “marketing” in a rather negative connotation, and accounts given by participants of how some NGOs adopt marketing strategies to raise funds,.

Participants in the studied NGOs often perceived other NGOs as competitors because: (1) the overall scenario is highly competitive, as there are many other NGOs in their cities; (2) donors and volunteers (both individuals and companies) are the same as their communities were relatively small. “Children NGOs” and “NGOs working with the elderly population” were often cited by participants in NGO A and NGO B as being preferred by both individual and business donors, as well as being benefited by State policies.

*[in my opinion] everyone should work in their own specialties. But the blanket is short, and if I'm saying that I don't get my resources from the government, this means I turn to people, and the same people are donating to all NGOs. If one person can donate to various NGOs, then I'm fighting for a resource that is scarce. We have here many NGOs, but the people who donate are always the same ones, and the people who are receiving the service are the same ones too, so we become a big conglomeration. Besides, if a beneficiary is being assisted by more than one NGO, then we could in the future register these beneficiaries and check who is being assisted by which NGO. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Even though being in the State São Paulo, which has the largest economy in Brazil, could be perceived as being an advantage to these organizations, sometimes this fact wasn't perceived as such precisely because of the quantity of NGOs existent in this State (however participants did recognize that it could be very much harder to raise funding in poorer States):

*If you are in the northeast [of the country] it must be harder to raise funding, because they are poorer. But I'm not sure if being here really helps, because you see one NGO in every corner. Here in [UD name of city] there are plenty of NGOs. (Employee 3, NGO C)*

*There are companies with which I've been talking to for a long time, I asked for their tax Money last year, and this year again, and maybe I'll get it only next year. This is also because sometimes they have already donated to another NGO, or to an NGO somehow connected to their own market sector. (Employee 3, NGO C)*

Once a again, the social perception of the social purpose of the studied NGOs played an important role in the dynamics of the competition among NGOs, with NGO A being in a very disadvantage position, especially in relation to NGO C. It was also in a disadvantage position in relation with NGO B, as the work of the latter organization was perceived as being “beautiful”, and it would get a lot of press coverage because of this, for example. As SEr B narrated, the press was always “eager” to show deliveries of houses, because this was a beautiful event. This overall negative perception on NGO A’s social purpose and the disadvantage it implied in its competition with other NGOs was so striking that SEr A narrated a couple of times about being questioned as to why he didn’t change the purpose of his organization:

*We know that the work that we do benefits all of society. But the anger and the hatred are so great that they say that they want to kill [convicts], that they want to throw a bomb in the prison. So it’s a lot of work, it’s very difficult. There’s a competition for the resources. So if a person has 1,000 BRL to donate, and a NGO that Works with elderly person, the NGO that Works with children, and we ask for the donation, the person will donate to the children’s NGO. I’ve heard this question many times: ‘why don’t you work with children or the elderly?’ But my point is not to do what is easier to get resources, I want to do what needs to be done. I want the financial resource, but not at this price. I won’t pay this price. We are very determined: this is the public [ex-convicts] we work with. What if no one wants to help? That’s their problem. I have to do this. (SEr A, NGO A)*

Besides, this competition isn’t restricted to financial resources. A competition for prizes, and overall social recognition winning them brings, was also observed, as these prizes were considered important assets for strengthening the NGOs image and reputation. They were portrayed as evidence that these NGOs were in fact “different” from the others. And again, NGOs working directly with children and elderly population were perceived as being benefited from these prizes as well. In fact, I did observe that NGO C received greater social recognition than the rest of the studied NGOs and that these prizes were even a source of income (although they were recognizably “not easy” to win).

*The prizes and grants are important, but they are very difficult. This year [2014] I applied for at least 6 or 7 of them, some were big grants, [name of large*

*international corporation], [name of large Brazilian company], [name of large Bank]. You apply, you participate, but you reach a moment, when they pick someone, and then you are not picked. Maybe your application wasn't a good fit... and the competition is enormous. (Employee 4, NGO C)*

*Our Project is truly beautiful, you know? I'm not saying this because it's what I do, and not because I didn't win the solidarity prize, but I've never seen a NGO like this [like NGO B], it's much better [than the other prize contestants]. All of the NGOs who won serve either children or the elderly. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*[I believe that a person's] foundation is the home. This young man who won [the prize], he used to say: "a home doesn't solve anything. It's not the house that will solve [the problems]". Do you want to see? Look at what he said: "to build children is better than to build houses". (SEr B, NGO B)*

It can be observed that NGOs working directly with children and elderly population have such a competitive advantage in relation to other NGOs that it is also perceived that very often participants who were not involved in these NGOs even had to justify themselves and argue that they, too, worked to serve this stratum of the population.

*An ex-convict has a wife and a son. And many ex-convicts' children are in NGOs. So we are connected to all of these NGOs. (SEr A, NGO A)*

*People, companies, they help a lot [UD name of NGO in the health sector], [UD name of NGO in the health sector], institution that take care of children, but they forget that these children's parents are in jail. They forget that these children need to go back home to their parents. So we need to show this link. (SEr A, NGO A)*

Given this scenario, the existent competition among NGOs for both resources and recognition was sometimes viewed as unfair, with other factors besides the social purpose of the NGOs being perceived as important contributors for this "unfairness", like for example: the size of the NGO; how many "friends" in important social positions the participants of the NGOs have; and the adoption of 'marketing strategies'. These factors were often cited as being factors influencing the fairness of the competition for resources. Sometimes, such 'marketing' strategies adopted by certain NGOs, and also the way in which they apply donated resources, are even perceived as

being immoral, although they are recognizably not illegal.

*Sometimes you face a competition that is unfair. Because they have people who are helping them, who indicate them, and you are the small one that gets slain. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*This marketing strategy, using children and elderly, with ex-convicts I can't do this. They even have the possibility of using tax deduction [to convince individuals and companies to donate]. They have many tactics. But this public [ex-convicts] they have zero, no help at all. I only do it because it must be done. It's a public that no one wants to help. (SEr A, NGO A)*

*The very NGOs live are fed as if they were businesses. I see here in [UD name of city] NGOs that serve 22 people, I know of two or three of them who do this. And they have two head-offices, two! But people aren't convinced, they do not believe [that this is happening]. For example, they did a wonderful campaign, I cannot say the name of this NGO because she is my friend [the founder], a wonderful campaign saying that we can deduct donations from income taxes, a high percentage of it, but the only NGOs that can do this are NGOs serving children. This specific NGO serves visually impaired people, so some children are among them. (SEr B, NGO B)*

How certain NGOs apply their resources was also a target for criticism made by certain participants. I perceived that there was a general worry regarding the overall image of NGOs in this country, and how applying resources and a supposedly “irresponsible” manner might directly affect their reputation as a whole, which of course opened way for some rather strong feelings on this subject. For example:

*Do you know [UD name of large national NGO]? One time a friend of mine went there and said: 'I went to the head office of [UD name of NGO] in [UD name of city], you need to see this, it's wonderful! They have Persian rugs imported from i-don't-know-where, the tables are wonderful, and the cocktail was amazing, the meeting... wonderful!' So, the thing is, they do not seem to have the capacity to think about where their money is coming from. They keep calling people the whole day, saying: 'I'm calling from [UD name of NGO], do you want to adopt a child?' You know? And then they use your money like this? They are doing an incredible marketing campaign. You see, my husband is a [UD name of university] man, he tends not to say a lot [...] he used to give money to [UD name of NGO], there was a girl who they said was named Maria, and he 'adopted' this girl behind my back. [he did this] Because they called, and he can't say no, so he 'adopted' this girl, meaning that he send them money*

*every month. After this, they kept calling asking for money to buy bags, school materials, medicines, that they said this girl needed. He did this behind my back, and I would ask if he hadn't stopped, because I would over hear him speaking on the phone sometimes. So I tried to convince him and said: '[name], why don't you give me 100,00 BRL a month? I will make better use of this money than what they are doing. Give it to me. I work very hard to collect money'. And after I heard that story [about his visit to the NGO's head office], I asked my friend to come here and tell my husband it. [,,] I mean, what I'm trying to show you is that sometimes people lose their censorship, and started believing it's normal [to spend donated money like this], and it's not normal! It can be legal, but it's not normal, and it's not moral. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Some participants also expressed mistrust in certain NGOs and the relationship they establish with both the State and with private companies, because these relationships were perceived as being corrupted. In fact, many times I heard that some NGOs are created only as a mean to deviate resources from the State, because the State has created means that allows such deviation to take place. These “fake” NGOs in fact affected greatly the overall image of these organizations in the Brazilian context in general.

*The NGO sends the receipt saying that the money belongs to it. In [UD name of city] they still haven't transferred the money to us. Besides, not 100% of the entitled money comes to us. Out of the total value, they retain 20% and send us 80%. But in a way I think this is good, because in [UD city name] many NGOs have bad Faith agreements [mancomunam] with large organizations, maybe to divert money. So many small NGOs cannot raise funding, so this retained 20% is prorated among these NGOs. (Employee 4, NGO C)*

However, there were also signs of cooperation among different NGOs (especially in NGO C) and even solidarity feelings towards NGOs that are smaller and/or have greater difficulties in raising funds. For example, the employee responsible for the fundraising function at NGO C said to me that she believed it was fair that some of the tax money collected by them was retained and distributed among smaller NGOs which faced great difficulties. I could perceive that she even was saddened by this situation.

*We have a cooperation with [name of the NGO] they give us tutors for skate and kart practices. (Employee 5, NGO C)*

*This Project started growing, then the children started collecting garbage in the*

*community, and they also held a cleaning event, they planted trees, and they want to build a playground. One of the children found out about the existence of this NGO and now they will go on a visit there (Employee 8, NGO C)*

Furthermore, there was also recognition among participants in general that the social purposes of all NGOs are important and relevant for society, and also that they are always connected among themselves, since their beneficiaries are essentially composed by the same public (the poor and socially vulnerable population in their respective cities). In fact, SE B even suggested that, in her opinion, different NGOs working in the same city should get together and create a single registration platform so they would know which family/person is being assisted by each NGO.

*You see, I believe working with ex-convicts is very basic, the person leaves prison and can't get a job anywhere, he/she leaves prison excluded, no one gives them support... I believe that everything [all the works done by NGOs] are important. I know that working with children is important (SEr B, NGO B)*

These evidences point to the fact that NGOs in Brazil still face many credibility and legitimacy issues, especially because of endemic corruption issues which are sometimes present in their relationship with State institutions and even with business organizations. In this context, therefore, NGOs like the ones studied in this thesis must work in order to improve and build a positive image in the community in order to gain trust of stakeholders, in order to prove that they are “different” from the others. By talking to donors and other stakeholders of the studied NGOs, I indeed observed that they regarded them as being “different” from “other NGOs”. For example:

*Do you know [UD name of large national NGO]? One time a friend of mine went there and said: 'I went to the head office of [UD name of NGO] in [UD name of city], you need to see this, it's wonderful! They have Persian rugs imported from I-don't-know-where, the tables are wonderful, and the cocktail was amazing, the meeting... wonderful!' So, the thing is, they do not seem to have the capacity to think about where their money is coming from. They keep calling people the whole day, saying: 'I'm calling from [UD name of NGO], do you want to adopt a child?' You know? And then they use your money like this? They are doing an incredible marketing campaign. You see, my husband is a [UD name of university] man, he tends not to say a lot [...] he used to give money to [UD name of NGO], there was a girl who they said was named Maria,*

*and he 'adopted' this girl behind my back. [he did this] Because they called, and he can't say no, so he 'adopted' this girl, meaning that he send them money every month. After this, they kept calling asking for money to buy bags, school materials, medicines, that they said this girl needed. He did this behind my back, and I would ask if he hadn't stopped, because I would over hear him speaking on the phone sometimes. So I tried to convince him and said: '[name], why don't you give me 100,00 BRL a month? I will make better use of this money than what they are doing. Give it to me. I work very hard to collect money". And after I heard that story [about his visit to the NGO's head office], I asked my friend to come here and tell my husband it. [...] I mean, what I'm trying to show you is that sometimes people lose their censorship, and started believing it's normal [to spend donated money like this], and it's not normal! It can be legal, but it's not normal, and it's not moral. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Although evidence suggests that there is a bold competition for resources and recognition among NGOs, and the fact that the social perception of each NGOs social cause played a major role in defining the success of a NGO in this scenario, with this even defining which NGOs were supported by State policies and which weren't. However, there was still a perception that all social purposes are relevant, and even a sense that they are working for the same public and have the common goal of promoting social equality (may this equality be translated into equality of opportunities or equality in assessing housing conditions, for example).

#### **4.4 Beliefs, Spirituality and Moral Authority**

A very recurrent theme in the collected data was participants' strong overall belief in what they were doing. I identified that these beliefs were, most of the times, deeply connected with their spiritual beliefs. Besides, it was perceived that in the studied context these factors (strong beliefs and spirituality), and especially their conjunction, directly affected their capability to convince others to engage in the work of their organizations, because it provided participants' with a certain moral authority. Another interesting observation was the dialectical, and sometimes paradoxical, facet of participants' spiritual beliefs and overall beliefs regarding their work and purpose, which ranged from a very strong micro optimism (in doing and accomplishing small



things) and a very unstable macro optimism.

Firstly, I must explain that I'm purposefully using the term "spirituality" rather than "religion". This is because, more than once, I heard participants affirming that they did not practice a specific "churched" religion, and that they were not religious in its traditional sense. Rather, they showed strong traces of spirituality by expressing their belief in God and in that all people should be treated equally, often highlighting the importance of this belief to their work. These manifestations were usually spontaneous and I very rarely asked them about their religion. The few times I did this was precisely because the subject had already been brought into the conversation.

*But what motivates me isn't a religion, what really influenced me was the fact that there's something beyond [life]. Religion helped a little, because of the religious foundation. Religion helps, but I understand things better now not because of religion. If we all come from the same place and if seeing someone's misery doesn't make me help, can you imagine how unhappy the one who put us here is? To love the other as if it was yourself. Who is the other? What is to love? It's you helping him. (Volunteer 1, NGO A)*

*I'm Christian and [NGO B] has a lot to do with God. I'm not even talking about religion, I've moved beyond religion (SEr A, NGO A)*

*[are you a catholic?] Sort of, I'm not really religious. Religion to me is the other. Do you understand? (SEr B, NGO B)*

*I always say this: why does [name of NGO A] exist? For two reasons: first because I believe there's a creator [God], so this means that who created me also created him [also created the others]. This is it. If I want God to do good to me, I think God worries about them too. The other reason is that there are people like Jose [an ex-convict helped by NGO A]. It was essential to him, and to us too, that he came here. He has been with us since the beginning (SEr A, NGO A)*

An exception to this generally adopted position which was said to be spiritual rather than religious was Volunteer 2 (NGO A), who very openly and frequently declared herself a religious person. In fact, her strong religious beliefs were the most prominent trait of the conversations I had with Volunteer 2 (NGO A). So much so that I often

found it difficult to appropriately deal with the conversations, since I'm not a religious person myself. However, I must highlight that I never made it clear to her that I was not a religious person and never expressed my personal opinion on the subject, because I felt that sharing my personal views while talking to Volunteer 2 (NGO A) would most likely be harmful to the trust bond I was building with her. I often tried to go "around" the religious subject in our conversations to try and see if she would share with me views and insights on the subject of her work outside the religious discourse. My initial impulse to go "around" the subject, however, did not work, and I was in fact obliged to recognize its importance for the context I was investigating.

Needless to say, these conversations ended up being rather revelatory to me. Volunteer 2 (NGO A) insistence on the religious subject broke down my initial resistance to investigate this trait of their work and ultimately made me more sensitive and helped me become more aware of the strong influence of churches in the periphery where NGO A was located (since I'm not from the periphery myself). That is, after reflecting on these conversations I started noticing that the area where NGO A was located was dominated by churches of all sizes and types (especially protestant churches generally called "evangélicas" by Brazilians). The fact that this study's methodology allowed me to repeatedly go to NGO A, talk freely (and not only about issues chosen by me beforehand), meant that it also allowed me to slowly gain awareness of this unforeseen context and thus become more sensitive to problems and issues I didn't know beforehand and that were considerably distant from my own reality. If it wasn't for the chosen methodological approach, I think it'd be quite difficult to perceive and understand the issue of religion and how it's part of SE practices in Brazil. I make this affirmation because I only noticed this proliferation of churches the third time I went to NGO A, and I had not noticed such surrounding before. Besides, even though this surrounding seems to repeat itself in most suburban areas in Brazil, it is a reality far from my own everyday reality, which might explain in part why I hadn't notice before how strong this issue is in such areas even though it's so "obvious".

Overall, spirituality provided much of these organizations' sense of purpose, as it

contributed immensely in the shaping of participants discourse and in the transmission of strong, coherent beliefs that were respected in their respective communities. Besides, it also specifically provided participants with a sense of purpose on the importance of doing small things and that every single action mattered, a sense that every small accomplishment was fulfillment of their overall purpose.

*It came a time when I understood that it's better to take it slow, in accordance to what God wants from us. Because it's better to do [small things] than to become exhausted and not do things right (SEr B, NGO B)*

*What motivates me is the knowledge that I'm following God's wish. This is the first thing. The second thing that motivates me is, out of 100 we can save at least 5. These 5 [people] they won't be a problem for society, they walk with their head up, they really change. Some of them call me sometimes, even when 10 or 15 years have gone by. 'I've been great! With my daughter, my wife. I've stopped taking drugs'. This is great. It's great for society. The human being asks for help. He asks for help, but he doesn't know to whom to turn. He gets inside a situation and he doesn't know how to get out of it. But other people, and society as well, they also ask for help, because they are afraid. (SEr A, NGO A)*

*You cannot be an accomplice to the small everyday wrong things (SEr B, NGO B)*

*If you kill a life, it's like you're killing the whole world (Volunteer 1, NGO A)*

*Many times you pass as an annoying person. But you have to 'plant' attitudes. It's like the starfishes, you pick up one by one [and throw them back in the sea]. I do my part. **I won't give up under any circumstance, no way. I don't give up because I believe in it truly, I believe this is how things have to be done. I believe in it. And I feel almighty because I believe in it, I think it's the right thing. I really believe in it, I'm sure of it. I have Faith! And so on. I don't believe in big changes, I believe that everyone has to change oneself, and solve the problems. My thinking is obvious, and I'm certain of it. I'm absolutely certain. Everything is very logical to me, and I'm like this ever since I was a small child.** When they started to work on monoculture, I used to have fights with them, and they laughed at me, all of the agronomists. I used to say that they would make the world run out of water. 'You are making the cattlemen move up north and they are tearing down the forests!' [she used to say] 'You have to have the cultures surrounding the city, and every city must have small cultures to supply it.' I think it has to be like this: you buy from the cultures that supply your city, then you pay a minimum amount of taxes, because everything that*

*comes from outside will demand gas, fill up the roads, pollute the air, and you pay three times the amount of taxes. I keep repeating these things. I've been doing it for 20 years. And when we ran out of water [in the state of São Paulo], you know what's like to feel dead, exhausted, finished? (SEr B, NGO B)*

At a very early stage of the fieldwork I became aware of how strong participants' belief in what they were doing actually was, and this to me was what made their discourse sound so powerful. Besides, turning specifically to spiritual beliefs was also a way of dealing with a very unstable scenario, where participants often feel "lost", "exhausted", "finished". Participants often felt that they were operating in such scenario because they do not have the knowledge nor the power to deal with certain barriers, to change certain contexts, or because they may face a difficult time with unexpected or undesired situations in their daily work. Again, the complexity, obscurity or lack of legislation, the lack of support from State institutions, and even the lack of structured organizational processes were important sources for this overall anxiety experienced by certain participants, who then turned to spirituality to cope with this.

*This happened in a hectic day when I was doing a lot of things, and two of them ran away [from the accommodation]. When I came back they had taken their passports, everything, they went through the airport and they left. I was desperate, and I told [name of SE B], and he said: 'I don't know what to do!', because he deals with other things not this. SO I said that I was going to pray to God, to God so he'll give me wisdom to know how I can turn to the Justice [system] and know what I have to do. If I don't do this, how will I have this wisdom? I'm no lawyer, I'm nothing. (Volunteer 2, NGO A)*

Furthermore, I identified that spirituality in these organizations was used as a coping mechanism in dealing with deceptions in the daily routines of participants. Such deceptions were usually caused by two factors: the lack of support of stakeholders; and when beneficiaries failed to live up to certain expectations (i.e. they did not "value" what they were receiving, or they betrayed the trust of participants by robbing from them, they refused to engage in certain activities, just to cite a few examples).

*Deception is only a moment. You get disappointed in that moment. You see? In the moment when I delivered a house, and somehow I thought the family didn't correspond to it, because it seemed like they didn't care to look after the house*

*nor themselves. But this is just a moment. And as times goes by you may visit that same family and you notice that they've listened to you, that thing that you whispered to them when you were disappointed, they listened to it. But now [in the present] this doesn't bother me much, because I don't get to visit the houses so often anymore, I stay busy here [in the office], and other people are doing this [volunteers]. But, you see, this empathy, this love that you feel for people, that you feel for what you believe in, the Faith, make it possible to deal with deceptions. Do I always think like this? Yes, 100% of time. I can get through deceptions. It's so natural to think that there are people who are good, and there are people who need more attention, to be cared for, this is so natural. You know, when a person has received zero her whole life she doesn't know how to give more than zero. [...] So why should I wait for an answer from them? They have zero to give. But I don't believe that people are bad, I only think that they haven't received anything, so they don't have anything to give. [...] Maybe they have suffered a Thousand things. (SEr B, NGO B)*

An example of a situation that causes deception in those working for a social cause was mentioned by a volunteer of NGO B, with whom I talked during a fundraising lunch:

*[the volunteer] mentioned a couple of stories that told about how sometimes the people that they help have no clue about the fact that they [the volunteers] are volunteers and aren't being paid to do the work, and how they sometimes complain about the fact that they are taking too long to finish their work. She said: "I'm at this person's house, at 8 pm on a Saturday working and she complains with me that I'm taking too long to turn on the electricity, that she needs to use the blow dryer to fix her hair, can you imagine?" she said that, in order to do this type of work, you may have no expectations to be well treated by the families and to get recognition from them. But she also says that some families are very grateful, and that this brings a sense of satisfaction. (Field Diary Excerpt)*

This spiritual sense of purpose also worked like a substitute for a material purpose. That is, participants often felt that they were being rewarded for 'fulfilling' God's wish. To fulfill the wish of God usually meant having an ethical orientation towards others, having empathy, and treating people equally.

*I only do it because it needs to be done. It's a public that no one wants to help, but I believe that God wants to help there people, and that there are people there who truly want to change their lives. And we have examples of this, this is what motivates us to go forward. Because of them, and of the other ones, we are here in this battle. I believe that anyone can change, they only need help. The human*

*being is like this, he will learn bad things and also good things. (SEr A, NGO A)*

Relying on spirituality was also a way of coping with an uncertain future, for example:

*We are thinking about buying a mineral spring, so we can pack and sell spring water. I believe that soon, as the work we do becomes more organized, all the work that we do here, we will make a lot of money. We will. I have this hope. I foresee this. In life, of course we have barriers and difficulties, but I believe in the creator of the universe, that he has interest in making this work, he will fix the ways. This is why I don't give up. (SEr A, NGO A)*

In fact, sometimes the present situation was cited as an example of how God always makes things work out somehow, this belief has the power to put participants mind at ease and 'not worry too much' about the extremely unstable environment where they work:

*You see, God gives us everything. Usually things here are like a circus, the phone doesn't stop ringing. When someone comes here, it's like things get calm. It seems like everything is, like... connected. This is why I don't worry much about things, because God has a way to do things. It's not up to you to change it. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*For me, citizenship is what I do in the street market, it's picking up trash on the street, is talking to everybody within my reach to try and change people's head in the sense of what's right. It's to lower consumption. Recycling isn't the heart of the problem, the first thing [that must be done] is to lower consumption, but this affects the economy, so they aren't interested in this. What rules the world is the economic, the economic power. The logics of citizenship is different from the economic logic, it's even conflicting. For example, every time you buy an orange juice in a box, you are producing trash. Imagine this, if you buy 7 boxes you already have an enormous quantity of garbage to recycle. But if you buy an orange, you make a glass of juice for yourself, it's much cheaper, and you don't produce garbage. But is this of the interest of industrial men? No, it isn't. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Relatively often participants attributed their motivation to do social work to God's wish, as a way of serving God:

*Nothing has changed [in my motivation since I founded NGO B]. It's as if I have a compulsion. I have a compulsion for doing social work. I think that what moves me is the Parable of the Talents: if God has given me a talent, I have to multiply it. God has given me intelligence, social formation, so I have to give this back, the talents that I have received. In a way, this is my philosophy of life. (SEr B, NGO B)*

However, it was interesting to note that, in fact, there were cases when participants narrated that they went through a such extremely difficult time while doing their work that this even disturbed their faith. Still, according to these accounts these feelings went away quickly. However, I never heard doubtful comments from the founders themselves, only from volunteers. Here are some examples of accounts made by participants that portray these points:

*Yes [this work has disturbed my Faith] [o trabalho que faço já perturbou minha fé, minha visão religiosa do mundo]. You know those moments that everyone has? Of trying to answer the three questions: where did I come from, why am I here and where am I going to? And you end up questioning God? I think every human being goes through this moment in life. I've had this moment. You get angry with God. You question 'why is this happening'. But you need to think that: what is the reason behind this not working out the way I wanted it to? If my father had not sold the [business' name], if I hadn't had this financial loss, if I hadn't been obliged to go to a public school, maybe I'd be a total different person today, a futile person who doesn't care. If this hadn't happened, that one time when you lose everything – which is something horrible, awful, something that I don't wish to anyone – but now I understand why this happened. I'm able to make sense of this. This is why I'm here helping people (Volunteer 1, NGO A)*

*This disturbed me a lot, when I got to talk with these people, when I got to know their side, and also the side of society. I got to know both sides. I've never had any doubt. Not even when I tried to help someone and he didn't change, he stole from me or did other things to me, not even this has never left me in doubt. (SEr A, NGO A)*

The importance of spirituality was overall so great that I hear a couple of times that, if it wasn't for this, some participants would have given up of their work already, because it's not "humanely possible" to do what they do:

*I did all of this because of my faith. I have suffered a lot with human beings,*

*human beings do not recognize what you do for them. So I could not trust human beings. (Volunteer 2, NGO A)*

*If I was to think, in a human way, we'd have given up already. Because it's like swimming against the river's current, in a very rainy day. Because when it rains the quantity of water triplicates, and its velocity increases a lot, the volume of water raises, and the rain itself gets in the way... It's too difficult. It's like swimming against a river's current in a thunderstorm. You want to move forward, I want to do things, but you can't. And the other people prefer to not even look, so they won't get involved, because if they are afraid to be condemned by their conscious if they look, by God. So they prefer not to look. (SEr A, NGO A)*

I figured that relying on spirituality was both a way developed by participants to cope with the difficulties and deceptions which inherently present in their social work and also as a way to strengthen their arguments and convince others that what they were doing was meaningful and important. In fact, a very strong account was given to me by SEr B who said that, for the beneficiaries family, she is “like God” in the sense that everything that she says is extremely respected by these participants.

#### **4.5 Social Position of Participants**

The founders of the studied NGOs all enjoyed a well-respected and solid social position prior to the founding of the NGOs. They had experienced other types of work and also seemed to have a comfortable financial situation which ended up allowing them to engage with SE. SEr A and SEr C were both businessmen prior to founding their respective NGOs. However, while SEr C founded NGO C after he had retired, SEr A founded NGO A in his middle-age, thus opting for a career shift – he sold his share of the company he had founded and was dedicated full time to NGO A. In this sense, SEr B was an exception, since she was the only one who had a university degree in social work. However, she, like SEr C, founded NGO B later in life, when most people would be planning to retire.



Another point that must be highlighted is the fact that all three SErs founded their respective organizations because they had the financial means to do so, and the time to dedicate themselves for this full time work. SEr A used the money from his business to start NGO A, like did SEr C, and SEr B highlighted herself that:

*I can afford to do this, my husband has a [type of husband's job] job, he earns a good salary because he was lucky to work at [name of institution]. And I think we must give back to society. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Besides, evidence also suggests that there's very little separation between the work SErs do and their private lives. This means that the NGOs prestige and power of influence mirrors the prestige and power of influence of the founder's social position. Even in the case of NGO C, whose founder had passed away, his figure and the mystic created around it, played an important role in the dynamics of the organization, especially in its power to mobilize and aggregate people (more of this point will be discussed in the following topic). This point became especially clear in the case of NGO B, due to the fact that its head-office (and single office) was inside the home of SEr's B. In fact, evidence points that the lean aspect of NGO B's mirrored the lean aspect of SEr's home in general:

*Everything that I have in my life is lean [enxuto]. My closet and my clothes, my purses, souvenirs, all of this is in that bedroom. In the living room, as you can see, it's very simple [...] Everything is very simple. And lean. [...] It has to be like this. (SEr B, NGO B)*

It became evident that there was very little or no separation between participants' personal life and work life. On the contrary, these professionals used their whole social network (including their families) to get the enterprise working, and they also use personal resources, such as their own home and personal savings, for the organization, what helps explain why their previous social position was a key factor of success for their organizations. It seems very difficult, if not impossible, to make such an analysis that would separate their work lives from their personal lives. I found many evidences of it, the strongest of them being how they engage their family and friends in their work.

In a way, it'd be impossible for them to do what they do without this engagement, since I observed that the assistance provided my family members and close friends was vital for the SErs. From what I could perceive during field work, family and friends get involved because they either simply want to help the SE cause or simply because they want to help their dear relative or dear friend, that being because they sense how important that is for them. This takes us to our next theme, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next topic.

Another important issue is that this social position grants them with social recognition and respect among the members of their communities in general, which also directly affect their capacity to convince and mobilize not only the ones who are closer to them, but also an expanded network of people in the community. In the case of SEr A, for example, he accounted having heard many times that "he is a businessman" and therefore he shouldn't be engaged with inmates.

#### **4.6 Stakeholders' Mobilization and Participation**

It was observed that SErs' capacity to mobilize and engage stakeholders in participating in SE practices people was directly related to their moral authority (derived from both their strong beliefs/spirituality and social position) and also to their systematic/persistent, eloquent, and thus effective communication practices. The effectiveness of these communicating practices were closely tied to a capacity of the SEr's to show or portray to potential donors/volunteers (usually starting with their closer friends and family members) a social problem or reality that could be somehow distant from these donors/volunteers own social reality. They did this either by literally showing this reality (e.g. taking potential donors/volunteers to see the difficult housing conditions people live under in certain neighborhoods) or by telling them stories of people being subjected to degrading living or civic situations. The latter action also usually involved showing pictures of the reality that story is portraying. Besides, it's important to highlight that these were recurrent and systematic processes, which also

included follow ups of the stories told (that is, showing what was done with the donated resources, which was also an essential factor to maintain stakeholders mobilized).

*We're back to that thing that I Always say: you sweep your own sidewalk... You must have small objectives. [if you want to help society] start with one person. Get a group together, of three or four [people]. You see? You don't need to take big steps. Small things change the world. You don't need to do large things. You need to coordinate, and send a monthly report saying: 'look, I'm helping this person, I aggregated another person to our group, now we're in five'. Do you get how it works? I always give tips to people who want to start an NGO. They come here and they ask me, but I also say: don't start an NGO, it's a lot of work. I only did it because I have the leadership it takes, and because I made my house available for it. Do you want to do something? Build a house, get 10 of your friends together and do it. Did you manage to build the house? Then be happy. But don't start an NGO. What for? If you managed to build 5 or 6 houses, and the money is coming in, and you are dealing with the money of a lot of people, then you'll need to establish [an NGO], otherwise you can't do this. But when it's just a group of friends, if you have the power of convincing, build one house. One. Now, I Always battle with one thing: you must do [social] work in your area of expertise. [...] And you must do it with conscious, with responsibility, with seriousness, with love, with dedication. You know? (SEr B, NGO B)*

As put by SEr B, the work of the studied NGOs started with the social SEr looking at a social situation and feeling moved by it, feeling that something had to be done, and doing something to change that situation. This involved convincing people, aggregating people, friends, in that work. SEr explained that in order to convince them to join this effort

*[in order to do this work] You must be sensitive, to look at a situation and be moved by it. It's about having sensitivity, wanting to do it, do it, and lead other to do it. It's about believing in it. (SEr B, NGO B)*

I believe that there was a common "situation" from where the work of all three of the studied organizations started off. As a Brazilian, and thus an insider to its general context, I can affirm from personal experience that Brazil lives in a sort of 'social apartheid', where some privileged classes are given actual citizen's rights and others are regarded as a type of 'second class' citizens, and thus deprived from their most basic rights (Souza, 2006) (however I must recognize that this scenario has been subjected to

a slow but constant change, especially throughout the last decade). This aspect of the Brazilian society was a major and integral part of the work carried out by the studied NGOs, because it involved: 'linking' those who have all of the privileges, who usually pertain to the SErs' social group and have the financial means to make the organization work; and those who do not enjoy any privileges and are submitted to degrading life conditions. Besides involving their close and expanded circle of friends, SErs also pressure the State and other organizational actors to act or intervene in favor of those who are being denied their basic rights as citizens. Therefore, this work involves mobilizing a wide set of social actors to join one's efforts.

This 'social apartheid' was very well portrayed during a conversation I had with Volunteer 2 in NGO B. This was a very intense and emotional conversation for me, and which even made me feel guilty for having all of the opportunities Volunteer 2 never had and has always dreamt of having, due to the centrality of this evidence, I will reproduce her speech in its entirety:

*I'm everything that society despises. The first thing is that I'm poor, the second thing, I'm black, and the third thing is that I'm a woman. What does society say about these three things? The woman has to work double to prove that she is capable, the poor is totally discriminated, he doesn't have access to culture, to anything. He can't talk right. The blacks, up to this day, haven't got a place in society. So I have the three worse things that society throws into the world, the three things that turns a person into nothing. She must be a prostitute, a thief, but I was never these things. I have never done drugs, I've never abused alcohol, I was never a prostitute, I was never a thief, I was never a drug dealer. So, as society puts it, someone who has these three qualities that I have, she has a great probability of becoming these things. [...] My dream was to go to school and study a lot, I'd like to be a person who has the time to only study. I have a cousin, because my uncle has better living conditions (he is an engineer and so is his wife), and my cousin when to study abroad. She only studies... and when I arrived there [at the uncle's house], because I've always done housekeeping for them, when I arrived my uncle used to tell me: 'clean the other rooms and leave hers for last, because she will get up at 11 am, and then she will go to her class in university'. And then when she woke up, she came and said hi, gave me a kiss and everything, and sat down in the dining room's table, where all of her books were, and then she studied. Out of my father's Family, only my uncle had the chance to study, my father always wanted to but he couldn't. My brother, he also studies. And I had to get by doing small chores to earn money. So they ask me: do you have a degree? I say that I do, but I didn't finish it, I studied for one*

*year. When you study a lot, you improve your perception. You learn how to act in certain situations. [...] during that year [when she went to university] I used to get a ride to go to class. I stayed until late in the library because I couldn't take the books back home, and I also didn't want to make photocopies of the books because I don't think this is correct. So I spent the whole night studying. And I worked for [name of company] from 3pm until midnight. Because this was how I could afford to pay for my studies. The other people [classmates] had books, expensive ones. So I Always had to study more than them, with the little that I had. I also had to use the dictionary a lot. My support was always the dictionary. My vocabulary was awful, because I live in the periphery, and even there sometimes some people correct me and tell me that I said something wrong. But why do I make mistakes? Because I live in the periphery 24 hours. But I Always lived in an in-between between the periphery and the bourgeoisie. And when I was among bourgeoisie people, I was very afraid to talk say something the wrong way, make mistakes (Volunteer 2, NGO A)*

Even though Volunteer 2 NGO A wasn't an ex-convict, she comes from the same social situation the majority of convicts in Brazil come from: they are poor, usually black, and from the periphery. I must highlight, however, that she was an exception among volunteers, as most volunteers I met in all three NGOs did not share this same social background. In fact it was quite the opposite. I noticed that most volunteers came from privileged social background similar to those enjoyed by the founders of the studied organizations (which is explained by the fact that they first mobilized their close social circles to join their organization). In contrast with Volunteer 2, the other volunteers and donors with whom I spoke to usually became involved in the studied NGOs work either because they were directly influenced by other participants or because they came across a situation where they faced these extreme inequalities and decided to look for a way to help, and ended up finding the studied organizations because of their notoriety in their communities. For example:

*I asked [volunteer 1 name] how long she was working at NGO B and how she got involved. She said that she got to know the work of NGO B because she lived in a rural area and close to her house there were a family with 9 children who lived in a very precarious place. She and her husband then decided to help build them a house. They started building the house but the construction was getting too complicated and expensive, so a friend of hers told her about NGO B, she got in touch with SEr B and then NGO B finished building their house. According to her, SEr B had a conversation with them and asked what they*

*could do for NGO B, she then said that her husband was an electrical technician and that they could do the final electrical work for the constructions, and so they started doing this. (Field Diary Excerpt)*

This is evidence that facing such a reality and being moved by it was a central part of participants' decision to engage in the work of the studied organizations. This explains why key participants realized the importance of showing and/or portraying such situations in order to affect and attract other participants that may not have been affected by it before, because:

*We only feel sorrow for those who are beside us. Those whom our eyes can't see, we don't feel sorrow for them. (Volunteer 1, NGO A)*

*And I needed to argue: 'so-and-so [fulano], look at this, they are people! People!' Ever since last year I haven't received a penny to pay for rent, and I can't pay for it. He [the judge] receives his 30.000, BRL per month, and he doesn't care about the others. He has the money, but he doesn't help me take care [of these people]. Sincerely speaking, I think that when you see these things live... because society is stupid and blind. I know how it works. It could get better... But the real bad guys are in our side [not theirs]. They are the bad guys because they can help, they have the tools that they can use, but they don't do this. (SEr A, NGO A)*

*The ones who have never been deprived, the ones who don't bother to go there and see for themselves.... I say: 'go there and see for yourself!' This way you will understand what depravation is, then something will change in you. But I hear 'No, I don't what to see'. Sometimes they don't care, they don't want to see. But I insist. (SEr A, NGO A)*

However, it becomes evident that even though stakeholders are usually aware of the existent social differences, and that certain social stratum face a reality of deprivation of their basic human rights, participants of the studied organizations had to deal with a certain level of indifference or a social invisibility of those who need assistance, as this "social apartheid" may have become naturalized in the minds of many members of this society. It seems that the best way to cope with this was to develop ways to diminish such "invisibility".

In fact I identified some systematic practices that were used as a mean to attract such participation that relied upon showing or portraying social ills. A good example was found in NGO B as SEr B was also a very keen writer. She regularly published articles and other publications on the work of NGO B where she would expose the social problem they were addressing. Besides sending regular emails, NGO B also sends its stakeholders annual reports of all of the NGO's activities and achievements for every one year period. These publications proved to be effective in attracting participation from stakeholders, for example:

*You know, once, an engineer from [name of city] read one of my articles, and now he is doing the electrical part of some of our houses. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*For those who don't have an email address, we send [the reports] by mail. It's a beautiful bulletin, with a summary of everything that happened. [last years' report] had a picture of me receiving a prize. [...] This is to give them idea [of what we did] so they'll be willing to continue contributing. [after I send them] I receive from 80 to 90 answers [of praising] (SEr B, NGO B)*

Another example found in NGO B was the sharing of hand-written notes or testimonies made by the beneficiaries of their organization. While going through informative reports that have been regularly sent to volunteers and donors of NGO B I found several examples of this practice, like the following testimonies:

*I felt like a runaway car going down a very steep hill [pirambeira], without solution, without hope. [name of NGO] was the winch that pulled me down from down there. (Beneficiary 1, NGO B, excerpt from report)*

*To me I had a gif which I never expected to get. Because of this, if I had the power, I would help many to realize their dreams too because many don't even have the conditions to eat. Through you they expect to have a decent life and a house. Now I can say that I live in a house. (Beneficiary 2, NGO B, hand-written note)*

Therefore, it also became clear that these stories, these communications, were essential

to keep donors, volunteers and other cooperators involved. Out of the three NGOs, NGO A was the only one which didn't have regular communication channels to tell these stories and thus show "results" to stakeholders. NGO A was also the studied NGO which faced the biggest financial difficulties and who had the fewer quantity of overall collaborators. I do not have evidence to support, however, that this is the sole explanation for these financial difficulties, as the generally negative social perception of the social cause defended by NGO A is a major factor that cannot be ignored.

*When I see all those young people in prison, I can only imagine that there's something wrong [in the system]. That is not normal. You have to make a good work of prevention, you have to know what goes on in those Young people's minds. At the time I was in [name of municipal board], I saw the police arresting men who were stealing food from the market. Another thing: the person who is away, judging, this isn't effective. This is why I think the businessman should go to the favelas, and see for himself what the problem is about (SEr A, NGO A)*

Another important factor in order to make stakeholders effectively participate in the practices of these organizations was to give them responsibilities. In the case of NGO C, the children had many responsibilities, including helping serve lunch, making decisions on rules, being responsible for the material they were handed. In fact, they had a very strong organizational motto that consisted of saying "we don't do anything for them, because this doesn't work. Everything we do, we do *with* them". In the case of NGO B, the auto-construction model and the "mutirão" format adopted especially in the construction of the houses was an effective way to give responsibility to beneficiaries. Besides, SEr B also narrated that she has very little control over the work of the volunteers, she believed this was possible because they absorbed the values of the organization through the many conversations she has with them, as she put it:

*I give them responsibility. And also everyone who works with me, the volunteers. It's not your legal duty, it's a moral duty. You must modify people by convincing them, based on what's right... I truly believe in this. If you plant a seed in the heart... It's not possible that you will not walk out of here a different person, after talking to me so much. My biggest tools are these conversations, this*



*process of convincing, because the world is lost, you cannot have very large goals (SEr B, NGO B)*

Another relevant point is that: participation encourages participation. That is, I observed a tendency of an exponential increase in participation as members of the community perceived that a wide variety of stakeholders participated in the researched NGOs' work. In other words, when stakeholders perceive that others are joining the work of the studied NGOs, this was a motivation for them to join the cause too. In NGO A this was cited as a barrier, because they faced extreme difficulties to convince stakeholders to join their cause, this overall initial resistance only made their work even more difficult, since potential donors and volunteers didn't perceive that others were actually participating and taking ownership of the organization. Volunteer 2 believed that this was because members of the community did not want to be "overloaded" with responsibilities, as they perceived that this responsibility wasn't being shared by other people. She concluded that it was important that participants perceived that the responsibilities and costs involved in the work of the studied organizations were being well distributed. For example:

*[my friend] she gave support to [name of SEr A] when he went to Brasília, she paid for her plane ticket. I have friends who used to give us support, a lot more, but they stopped because they didn't see results. [by results I mean] the project growing. They also saw that the government wasn't giving support, that the city hall wasn't giving support, nor the justice, the other partners weren't giving support, so they stopped. They think like this: I will start to help, then the government will carry on helping, and when they see that the government will not help, they stop. I think this is because they think that they will have to carry on by themselves. They don't want this burden. (Volunteer 2, NGO A)*

In the case of NGO C, as SEr C was the central person responsible for mobilizing resources, his passing away also represented a major turning point for NGO C's capacity to mobilize and engage stakeholders in their cause, and they had to put great effort into keeping stakeholders engaged and active, and they even had to develop a new bond with them. As it was put by an employee:

*We are trying to better work this [the mobilization of stakeholders], because we*

*came to the realization, when [name of SEr C] passed away, that because he was very centralizing, he was the one who made all the calls, who convinced people, who did everything, and we lost some of this in the way. So now we have started trying to do a work of bringing the advisors [people who legally compose the board of advisors of NGO C], the one who are really willing to, to become more involved, and even start to better disseminate [the name of NGO C], to take on this role, and to be more present (Employee 6, NGO C)*

*The matter of establishing a relationship with who is involved in our work is very important. This relationship may bring a financial donation, or a donation like yours, who is here volunteering, to help. You may donate money, work, or something material. So in this relationship we implicate people and then get something in return [colher um fruto]. We have also organized a process for receiving visitors, because in the old days this wasn't very well defined. Now, me and [Employee's name] we organized a team of children who receive and give tours for the visitors, and I also include all of them in our newsletter, and I ask for this donation, which isn't mandatory, because it needs to be registered as a donation. So they make this contribution and give me their email address, and afterwards they receive a thank you note, and this way we can also keep communicating with them afterwards. I started collecting the visitor's names not very long ago, and I've already made a list with around 450 names. I must have been gathering these names and mail addresses for about 7 months. So we have to establish a process that will allow us to keep in touch with these people, to tell them that [name of NGO C] is here, and you will also ask them to follow you in a social network website, send them e-mails, invite them for events. We need to do a stronger work of marketing, It's what we are trying to do now. (Employee 2, NGO C)*

In the specific case of NGO C having a physical site and well defined organizational processes and roles/functions were also factors that encouraged the participation of people from a wide variety of backgrounds and who were, in fact, not even members of their own communities (as they even came from different cities and States). Having media coverage was also a factor that favored the attraction of people from outside their local communities to the organization.

*The visits happen only on Thursdays. Sometimes we make an exception [...] This Monday, for example, we actually had a group of 43 people here, and tomorrow [Thursday] there will be another group of 43 people [...] [people come] also because we have 19 years of history [...] and this Strong history brings us a lot of media coverage. We have been on [cites the name of three nationally well-known media channels], on [name of media channel] alone we have been there about 5 or 6 times. And a lot of people see this and call us (Employee 2, NGO*

C)

*I started talking to visitors, to the people who use the receipts [to donate], and I started talking to each one of them in a focused manner, to each type of donor. I have a mailing list with the receipt donors and I email them every month, and also every time I get to know how much came in [through these donations][...] I also realized that people like to receive something palpable when they donate. In the visits, for example, I found it complicated to approach them and mention the donation. But then I had the idea to give them key rings as a souvenir, which I made using an old canvas, they liked it a lot. They like to receive something that illustrates that they have made a donation and that it was worth it, because they received something in return. It's also a good way to advertise, to keep the relationship going. So I started to think that it was necessary to offer gifts, give an answer to people as a way to say thank you. So I also created this box that is all made here, I painted them, I wrote a letter and sent to donors saying thank you, to create a stronger bond. I felt that this bond was missing, and that people were even starting to think: 'no one says anything to me, I will stop donating'. Do you get it? Before they didn't receive anything. This one here was made last year and sent to our board of advisors, to the ones who help us, and this was also used to gain access to new companies. I get access to the companies with this material. (Employee 2, NGO C)*

As it was suggested in topic 4.2, adopting a flat organizational structure once again appears to have been an important step in order to involve stakeholders and encourage their participation after the passing away of SEr C.

*This [what we do] is something that demands a lot of time, but it's something that we believe in. So we are here, all of this time, because we want to. There's no boss, we're a team. Just so you'll have an idea, our meetings are like this: everyone sits down, and each one raises their hands and go ahead and say what they want to talk about. There's no final word. But when you arrive home, then you want to go to sleep so you can wake up the other day and come back here. (Employee 2, NGO C)*

Another point that reinforces the importance of this organizational format was that, throughout field work, I observed that a strong hierarchy and explicit power relations seemed to be negatively accounted for by participants, for example:

*This is a very difficult situation, because you don't have the support from justice. Because when you are 'one hierarchy above', you do not negotiate, you delegate. (Volunteer 2, NGO B)*

Having “trust” bonds with stakeholders and successfully transmitting a general understanding of the importance of the NGOs’ work were also important elements for attracting participation, for example:

*When we decided to open the school, we invited the parents and the local community and told them what we wanted to do. And they said ‘you are crazy. You are suggesting something that we don’t understand, but since [name of NGO C] has never done any harm to our children, we will do this together with you’. So we had a name, and today we live mainly through donations, from people who believe in what we are doing. (Director, NGO C)*

*This [what we do] is something that demands a lot of time, but it’s something that we believe in. So we are here, all of this time, because we want to. There’s no boss, we’re a team. Just so you’ll have an idea, our meetings are like this: everyone sits down, and each one raises their hands and go ahead and say what they want to talk about. There’s no final word. But when you arrive home, then you want to go to sleep so you can Wake up the other day and come back here. (Employee 2, NGO C)*

Still, in the case of NGO A the generally negative social perception of the public they were working with seemed to have an overwhelming negative impact in their ability to attract the participation of stakeholders other than the beneficiaries themselves.

*I cannot count on donations, because of the public I work with [ex-convicts], I have no way out, there’s no way. Nobody helps. I have spoken to many people, I’ve been to many reunions. And when I say donation I don’t mean only money. Up until this day, I haven’t had anyone come up to me and say: ‘[name], do you need help? Can I pay for your electric bill? For your water bill?’ Never. (SEr A, NGO A)*

However, it’s important to note that, out of the three studied NGOs, NGO A was the only one that did not exhibit systematic and structured practices specifically aimed at attracting participation of stakeholders. In this organization such processes existed but with very little structuration and were carried out in a scarce manner. For example, even though I’m in the mailing list of this organization, I never received updates on their activities nor the likes from them during the one year period of this field work. Being part of the other two NGOs’ mailing lists, I can say that I have received at least one

email a month from each of the other two organizations giving updates and news on their activities, achievements, and other issues of interest of participants.

Nonetheless, I very often heard from participants that it wasn't of their interest to attract "just anyone" to participate in their practices, and it was important to establish certain criteria to select participants (which could either be explicit criteria, contained in a well defined profile for collaborators, as it was the case of NGO C, or informal, like in NGO A and in NGO B).

*It's important to have criteria. I'm very rigorous when selecting people to work with me, volunteers. Because, to me, a volunteer is much more than an employee, because he is here because of his own choice. out of freewill. But if you don't do it right, you are out. This is mainly so because the NGO is at my house. If the person isn't here to add up, I don't want the person here. In the beginning my husband criticized me a lot because I say this up front, I don't like it and I don't want it. This is so also because we're dealing with construction, and in the construction business they rip you off, they ask for pay backs, so you always have to keep both eyes open. There are also people who like to show off. And showing off isn't good for me. I can say that after we did that video in our partnership with [local company's name] around 30 people, because this video was everywhere, on TV, so many people came and called, and went to our website and were asking for houses, desperate... (SEr B, NGO B)*

As it was earlier observed, it was interesting to note that the first stakeholders who effectively joined the NGOs activities were those of the close circle of friends and family of the founders. In fact, this is another evidence that supports the importance of the social position of participants in successfully establishing a SE venture.

*So when I arrived home, Sunday afternoon, I started calling my friends. One of them told me: 'Are you crazy? How can you imagine such a thing?' You know? It was like this. I called one the owners of [name of local company], who was a very close friend, I asked her if she would like to be part of the directing board. So I started gathering people to join me at the meetings in [name of city administration's facility]. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*They were my friends, from the group close to me who lived with me in a daily basis. So I told them 'help me, this must be done. Let's do this. Something has to be done.' And I heard from them 'Are you crazy, [name of SEr B]?' And I*

*answered 'Let's try'. I had to have a lot of persistence. So I gathered 15, 20, 25 friends... And I took each one of them to the neighborhood [where the first houses were being built]. Each one of them, I took them there. I used to go there every day. (SEr B, NGO B)*

However, convincing even close friends to join their organizations did not seem to have been a simple and easy task. I heard many times that the usual initial response founders got when they exposed their ideas to start an organization with a social purpose was that they were “crazy”, or “out of their minds”. In fact, they faced a large initial resistance and their success was largely dependent on participants’ persistence and ability to convince this initial close group of family and friends to join their efforts. This “convincing” process occurred mainly through the interplay of ambivalent feelings, as the next theme will explain.

#### **4.7 Feelings**

*You need sensibility, to look at a situation and feel moved by it. It's having sensibility, wanting to do, doing it, and convincing other people to do it. It's to believe in it. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Emotions played a big role in the studied NGOs, especially the ambivalent feelings experienced by the participants in their everyday work. Feelings of sadness and joy, of love and deception, of shock and of excitement, tiredness and feeling motivated, desperation and hope, pessimism and optimism, faithfulness and skepticism were just some of the constant feelings observed and experienced throughout all of this study's field work. Besides, not only participants experienced and had to successfully tackle all of these feelings, but they had to transmit some of them to other people in order to accomplish their personal and organizational mission. By successfully tackling these ambivalent feelings I mean that they would find means to give more weight to the positive feelings, even though the negative feelings played a crucial role and were also an integral part of their work.

It struck me how an action that started with a negative affect, that is, that of feeling “shocked” or deeply saddened or disturbed by a given situation, transmuted into a positive action and an ultimately amorous relationship (and “love” was a recurrent word heard in the field). It was as if participants, in order to cope with the experienced negative affects, were able to transmute them. This occurred in a systematic manner in the researched organizations, especially through conversations, formal communication (like newsletters), and through the use of storytelling. Storytelling certainly played a central role, and even occurred in a more literary form through the publication of short stories. These short stories, through its aesthetics, were very efficient in transmitting these interplay of affects to all participants. The publication of short stories was done systematically by NGO B, as SEr B was an enthusiastic writer. This practice received very good feedback among the other participants of this organization. For example, as one of these short stories was sent to the members of NGO B’s mailing list, after this message was sent they received the following replies from stakeholders (including several different volunteers and donors):

*“What a wonderful and vivid example of your work. Congratulations!!”*

*“Truly beautiful! My eyes are full of tears.”*

*“Dear [name of SEr], how exciting!”*

*“Thank you for sharing these wonderful moments that you go through as a return for your generosity, of your love for the others, of work and dedication. This is priceless!”*

*“You are a blessed and happy person and I feel honored for having you as a friend”*

*“We really deserve a celebration, for our struggle and success, making others happy and transforming people’s life into dignified lives. Congratulations for the*

*beautiful short story as well!!!!”*

*“This is a truly touching account, besides being very well written, we get a return for our contribution. This confirms that our Project got it right!”*

*“As Always, you managed to get tears out of my eyes with your wise messages!”*

*“Beautiful short story, your life is beautiful and [name of NGO] is beautiful! That’s good!”*

*“How touching... this short story deserves to be published. I suggest you send it to [names of two local newspapers]”*

*“How beautiful...”*

*“Your natural way of writing about [name of NGO B]’s work moves hearts!”*

*“It is so rewarding to hear such a moving testimony as this one!”*

*“I’m Always moved and happy with the News you send about [name of NGO B], but this short story in special made me drop some tears... it’s a mixture of joy and hope. I believe that the houses being built by [name of NGO B] don’t solely mean more material comfort and safety for these families, but they mean the deepest changes in all perspectives of the beneficiaries”*

*“I will never get tired of saying ‘congratulations’ to all of [name of NGO B]’s team and a huge ‘thank you very much’ for making a difference in so many people’s lives.”*



*“I loved your account and I can only imagine the joy you must have felt”*

*“How beautiful! These are the harvested fruits, if you hadn’t planted these seeds the lives of these people would be truly sad.”*

*“Your work is truly extraordinary and reading this ‘chronicle’, so full of tenderness and determination, made my heart beat stronger”*

*(All citations are extracts from emails received from different stakeholders as replies for the email sent by NGO B containing a short story of an event experienced by SEr B).*

These extracts, as they suggest how participants were “touched” by this short story, are evidence of the effectiveness of SEr B’s sharing of the feelings she experiences in her work. Besides being an effective way of sharing feelings, these stories were also perceived by donors and volunteers as being a return for their collaboration, and was an essential mean to keep them involved and participating in the activities of NGO B. Hence, this suggests that donors and participants expected an emotional return rather than a material one. This means that the aesthetic and literary characteristics of this specific short story was greatly valued by participants precisely because they were able to capture and feel the emotions involved in the narrated event.

Another point that must be highlighted is the fact that the positive affects are always given more weight to than the negative affects. So, at the end, SE practices are more associated with positive feelings than to negative feelings, which is also an important factor for keeping participants motivated, as it was felt as a reward received for their efforts.

*I’ve done many things in my life, I’ve worked very intensively, but no work as given me the satisfaction that this one gives me (SEr C, NGO C, excerpt from institutional video)*

*This is our 'profit', when a young person finds his/her way. This is our satisfaction. Really, this is our joy. (SEr C, NGO C, excerpt from TV interview)*

*We have many stories, of children who practically brought up themselves, who stayed home alone and locked at home the whole day, while their mom and dad were working, or even at night, locked up in a small room. There are stories that are really sad. But there are also beautiful stories, too. (Employee 5, NGO C)*

Evidence also suggests that this emotional return also occurs when participants feel “embraced” and part of a team when going through difficult situations in their daily routine at the organizations, and this too played a big role in keeping participants motivated and active:

*I don't see demotivated people around here, I only see tired people. And it's precisely because we are motivated the reason why we can handle the tiredness. This team really believes in this [work], and we believe it more every day, because we get to see the results. There are very beautiful stories. But when we face problems, which exist, I think the fact that there's no demotivation is directly related to the team we have. When you feel supported by a team, you may be upset with a situation, but you are embraced. There are problems, there are matters that are really heavy [to deal with], but when you know that you can count on the other, when you feel this support, I think this helps a lot in keeping you motivated (Employee 2, NGO C)*

For me it was quite impressive to observe that, especially the founders, were involved in that specific work precisely because they encountered a social ill that is personally deeply disturbing. And yet they found ways to deal with the situations and especially they developed ways to cope with these deep negative emotions and turn it into something positive, although this movement is never fully complete, as the interchange between negative and positive affect is ongoing in all phases of their work.

*If [name of NGO B] starts to pay for its structure it's going to have to grow. So I will make 200.000,00 BRL to make the same two houses s month, and in this way I'll be encumber [onerar] society. And this wasn't [name of NGO B]'s initial objective, even though many people wanting to drag me, wanting to change me. For example, [name of partner business] wanted to create a fan page, or I don't really know how that's called. So I could get followers. Didn't you see what happened when they advertised [our work]? It was catastrophic, I had to say*

*many times “no” to people [who asked for houses]. So I didn’t want to create this fan page. Every time someone asks me for a house, I want to die. (SEr B, NGO B)*

What I found most admirable was to realize that it was harder for them to observe that situation and turn away from it than to try to cope with it, even though this was far from being a simple and easy task.

*Difficult is to see and not do anything, right? (SEr B, NGO B)*

Pictures were also used as a mean to mobilize and sensitize participants to a reality of deprivation. This was a picture given to me by SEr B that portrays the scenario of one of the first neighborhoods where NGO B started building houses:



**Figure 9:** *Neighborhood with precarious living situation where beneficiaries lived (photo taken by SEr B).*

The negative affect caused by seeing such a deprived neighborhood was usually balanced by the showing of “after” pictures, portraying the families in their new homes,

and accompanied by a positive message of hope and a highlight of how important it is that stakeholders keep participating in the organizations' practices in order to change this reality to a better and more desired one.

#### **4.8 Social Purpose**

*I've done many things in my life, I've worked very intensively, but no work as given me the satisfaction that this one gives me. Material problems, money, all of this becomes insignificant when we have these positive results (SEr C, NGO C, excerpt from institutional video)*

The researched organizations had three distinct social purposes which were declared in their legal documents: NGO A aimed at providing work opportunities for convicts and ex-convicts; NGO B aimed at providing housing for people living in degrading housing conditions; NGO C aimed at providing full time education for children. Out of the three organizations, NGO B had the most focused social purpose, while NGO A had the most diffused one, as it very often drove away from its organizational objective. NGO C also had a broad set of objectives. However, this was balanced by the fact that it had the financial means to pursue broader objectives.

*Small actions lead us to big results (SEr B, NGO B)*

By looking at these documents (which are public documents) I realized that NGO A had the following declared organizational objectives:

- (a) To give assistance to authorities, competent institutions, in all tasks linked to the post-enforcement of sentences, and to the social integration and re-integration of convicts;*
- (b) To constitute projects of basic literacy and digital inclusion as a way of diminishing their social vulnerability;*

- (c) To provide technical courses of professional qualification in cooperation with the Federal, State and Municipal governments as well as private institutions;*
- (d) To create day-cares or similar places which welcome, support, educate and prepare sons and daughters of our public that do not have the means to provide these services until they have the means to do so;*
- (e) To create dorms, housing, shelter, to support, welcome and shelter people in a situation of homelessness, foreigners on probation or home arrest, single mothers abandoned by family and society, until they have the means to take care of themselves;*
- (f) To generate work opportunities and legal income to our public and to those who are in socially risky situation, with the objective of diminishing criminal rates and their social vulnerability;*
- (g) To constitute re-habilitation centers, for treatment and attendance and other activities to people with chemical dependence, alcoholic dependence, illegal addictions and others;*
- (h) To promote discussions and orientation on ethics, peace, citizenship, democracy, among other universal values;*
- (i) To promote in the premises of the institute or not assistance in the areas of law, social service, psychology, pedagogy, and psychiatry with capacitated professionals in each of this areas in order to provide a continuous and regular assistance;*
- (j) To trigger awareness among children, teenagers, youngsters and adults about values, rights and duties, ethics, social and environmental responsibility, about the issues related to being arrested, drugs, alcoholism, illegal addictions and criminality through lectures, seminars, meetings, radios, newspapers, magazines, murals, etc.;*
- (k) To promote actions that stimulate industries, businesses, private institutions, representative entities, and others to develop social-environmental, educational and philanthropic initiatives, stimulating their employees and collaborators to also do so;*

- (l) *To develop any and all sports and leisure activities to meet the needs of our public, associated and society in general.*

It also became clear that NGO A incorporated objectives over the years instead of defining a more focused social purpose. This became clear, for example, when it agreed to provide accommodation for convicted foreigners so they could leave prison on probation. This activity wasn't foreseen in the NGO's founding documents, and the foreigners being hosted by the organizations did not necessarily receive a work placement. I realized that this objective was later included in the legal documents that had to be remade in order to accommodate this new activity. In fact, SEr A narrated how he decided to include this objective in NGO A's objectives:

*[...] I don't know if I have told you this, about the foreigners. Do you know what happens to foreigners who serve prison time here? Here [in the state of São Paulo] there's a prison to foreigners, over there are around 1,200 inmates there, out of which most are people who were in a difficult financial situation [in their countries] and were recruited to work as 'mules'. Here [in the accommodation] we have 5 of them. This is because the foreigners cannot serve their time in the semi-open regime [when the inmate sleeps in prison but is allowed to leave to work during the day] nor in the open regime [when the inmate is allowed to go home on probation] like the Brazilians can, because they do not have a residence. So the idea was that [name of NGO A] would provide the residence to these foreigners. This judge was brave enough to make this proposal and I was brave enough to accept it. There were no rules at all, it was something that we alone decided. After this, another judge asked to send me more inmates. And I told her that if they would give me some financial help, then I would take them in. After I said yes a couple of times, this judge went on to speak with the state government. Then, because I said yes to them without having a single penny, because of the courage, the faith, because I thought I could do it, the justice system and the state government are negotiating to solve this problem [involving the foreigners]. To me this was a victory. To me, I get happy, because my initiative generated something. You do something really small, and through this it's possible to open the ways to the solution of a big problem. This problem with the foreigners wasn't even something that I foresaw when I started the NGO, but it happened, because it's a problem that the Brazilian government has. Regarding why we do this, this is how I think: suppose it was me in this situation, would I be grateful if someone said yes to me and I could get out of prison as I'm entitled to? Yes, I would like this very much, that someone said yes to me, and then I could go out and work, watch TV and walk in the streets (SEr A, NGO A)*

From this narrative we can perceive that SEr A simply couldn't say no when he was asked by a judge to host these foreigners, simply because he put himself in their shoes. Due to this sensitiveness, he said yes and agreed to host these inmates "without having a single penny" to do so, and going slightly out of the scope of NGO A's objectives.

NGO B, in contrast, proved to have a remarkable capacity of maintaining a focused social purpose, which started in its founding document. In this document it reads that the organization's social objectives are as follows:

- (a) To raise material funding and recruit workforce to the construction of popular housing, to poor (slum) population, born or eradicated for at least 10 years in [name of city];*
- (b) To administrate, supervise the raised funding destined to these constructions together with construction companies, contractors or specialized personnel which may be hired by this association [...];*
- (c) To encourage the construction of popular housing with the participation of the benefited family in the form of joint-effort [mutirão] or auto-construction;*
- (d) To establish cooperation agreements with public and private institutions, national or foreigners, that may assist the accomplishment of these objectives.*

Due to the general deprivation of the beneficiaries of the work of the studied NGOs, and due to the sensibility of participants to this reality, I observed that maintaining a focused objective was sometimes a challenge. Still, this was perceived as a necessity so that resources (which were scarce) wouldn't be wasted. As it was put by SEr B:

*Exactly. It's about making a direct connection between the resource and the objective. You said it just right. Resource and objective. Without losing anything in the way. I've lost precious volunteers in the beginning of our organization, because they wanted to build a day-care at [name of neighborhood where the first houses were built], when they saw the children needing such service there (SEr B, NGO B)*

SER B further explained one episode where they had to let go of the volunteers who felt it was necessary to build a day-care in a neighborhood where NGO B was working building houses. She used this example in order to portray the importance of clinging to their main focus, even though many times they would face situations that would challenge their capacity to maintaining this focus. She also explained that this decision was supported by the legal documents that specify very clearly that the mission of NGO B was to build popular housing (which I also had the chance to look at):

*So I said: 'ok, we do have the money to build this day-care. It will take us about 8 months to build it, but after it's done, who will manage it? This is out of our scope.' And my husband was participating of this reunion and he said: 'no, your objective, the objective which is declared in your statute, is to build popular housing, not building day-care'. It was a quarrel. So they left, because they decided to leave. They wanted to help the children who were on the lose there. But if the children have a home, instead of living in sheds, their lives will improve. So it's very important to keep a focus. It's very easy to lose focus. The temptation is here every day, to lose focus. (SEr B, NGO B)*

Keeping a well-defined focus seemed to be very beneficial for NGO B, as they had an exceptional effectiveness in achieving its social purpose of building houses. This effectiveness was evident due to the quantity of delivered houses over the years when NGO B has functioned: NGO B has delivered an average of 2 houses per month during its existence. This effectiveness contributed immensely to NGO B's reputation. I heard several times during field work (from donors and volunteers) that NGO B was "different" from the other NGOs, precisely because of this organizational characteristic.

NGO A, on the other hand, as it was evident in their declaration of organizational objectives, had a very hard time in keeping a focus on a single organizational objective. I perceived that this had a very negative effect on their capacity to mobilize participants, as showing concrete results and having a clear organizational motto, for example, were perceived as being a pre-requisite in maintaining steady collaborations. For example:

*[my friend] she gave support to [name of SEr A] when he went to Brasília, she paid for her plane ticket. I have friends who used to give us support, a lot more, but they stopped because they didn't see results. (Volunteer 2, NGO A)*



However, even though it was important to show a “concrete result” or an immediate social service or output, another common struggle found among the studied NGO was their constant attempts to distance their social purpose from the purpose of “charity” organizations, or welfare organizations. In fact, I noticed many times during field work that the word “charity” (“caridade”, in Portuguese) was used with a negative connotation. This often, however, was not a straightforward position. I mean that participants were not affirming, for example: “we don’t do charity” nor that “we perceive charity isn’t positive and/or necessary”. On the contrary, participants often recognized that doing “charitable or welfare work”, that is, giving immediate assistance to those in need, is more often than not a necessity. The point is, however, that assistance or welfare it shouldn’t be regarded as an end in itself. Rather, it must be treated as a means to achieve their “true” social purpose.

SER B, for example, very often used a metaphor saying that NGO B didn’t only “build houses”; they “build lives” or even “they build dreams”, such “word game” also became organizational mottos and helped promoting and convincing people to join their organization. This, however, was indeed a meaningful motto to SER B, as many times she explained to me how she believed a home was a person’s “foundation”, and also how she truly believed that without a decent house/home a person could not have a decent life. SER B had a great capacity, therefore, to turn her beliefs into an organizational motto that guided the actions of everyone involved. Other times she would say things like:

*Citizenship is what we seek to teach when we donate a house. We are not a solely welfare Project. We give assistance and donate a house [that will teach citizenship] (SER B, NGO B)*

In other words, she believed that donating a house was just a mean to teach something else to all those involved in the activities of NGO B: that their efforts was ultimately a civic exercise, which also involved providing immediate social assistance but was not restricted to this. However, I must highlight that a “house”, as a concrete organizational output, was considered an effective vector to achieve this wider social goal.

In NGO C this was also a very recurrent theme. They often argued that they weren't solely caring for the children, teaching them math and science, and feeding them, they were *educating* and thus giving them opportunities in life. In their words:

*We want to educate children so they will become autonomous, participative, aware of the social problems, and community leaders (Director, NGO C)*

*Our main purpose is to give these young people opportunities, because most of the times they lack having perspectives and opportunities in life (SEr C, excerpt from TV interview)*

*We're not a school, but we have a school. We are a welfare Project, we are registered in the welfare secretary and we receive money from the welfare secretary. But we understand that education comes first, you can't achieve social change without starting by education. It's not by giving a food basket that you will make social change. (Director, NGO C)*

A reason behind the struggle of the studied NGO's to distance them from the idea of "charity" or "welfare" was, therefore, the fact that they are often perceived as ends in themselves, not connected to a wider aspiration for "true" social change. In other words, there's a difference of level between their organizational purposes, or concrete products (i.e. houses, education, work), which are usually associated with "charity" or with welfare organizations, and a wider social purpose associated with social change, with the first being perceived as a means to achieve the latter. Therefore, in the next theme we will discuss the theme of social change and its definition in accordance to the reality observed in the present studied.

*Why do you have to rent an office at [expensive neighborhood's name] to do social work? Maybe if you invest this money in the activity you'd get a larger result, more social change. (SEr B, NGO B)*

*The concrete [output] is the house, which is a very wonderful thing. And the person [who receives the house] has a good reference of the world, and people know that they can change things. So building a house is also building life. It is to change someone's life. For example, my biggest joy from this painting job that we are finishing [in a beneficiaries' home] is that they will also paint their*

*neighbor's house. So this is proof that something else came out of this, a lesson. It's like we are worrying inside people's souls, because a house is a life, a soul, it's everything. Because we are inside people's home, we can make some changes more easily. (SEr B, NGO B)*

In short, even though it was essential for the studied organizations to provide a concrete social service or product in order to keep participants mobilized and to increase their credibility, there was an internal tension in this organizational objective, as it couldn't be regarded as an end in itself. This became evident in the many times when I heard the work "charity" or "assistencialism" being used with a negative connotation, as if they could not be the final objective of the organization, which should be inherently connected to a wider aspiration for social change. This was a very complex and dialectical relationship.

#### **4.9 Social Change**

*It has to change. This system does not work. (SEr A, NGO A)*

Social Change was the key theme in this study's attempt to answer its research question. Because of this, I very often tried to speak to participants about this, and I also looked for clues in my observations and in documents that could potentially help me better elucidate this theme. However, more often than otherwise, participants had a hard time providing me answers when they were asked directly questions like: "what is social change to you and your organization?", which made the investigation process ever more challenging. In short, I concluded from this investigation process that *social change* was indeed something that permeated all aspects of these organizations: it was constantly cited as the main driving force the work of these organizations and as their main mission. Since its relevance became very clear from the beginning, my first challenge was to investigate more precisely *what* was social change in the studied contexts. This wasn't a simple task, because this question was constantly approached but never answered directly. However, from looking at all of the evidences and reflecting upon

them I concluded that, in all three organizations social change meant making the two sides of a divided society look at each other and see their own reflection, to see the other as an equal, that is, social change meant achieving a more equalitarian society.

It was observed that this social change was achieved in a *processual* manner, and not in the form of an end product (or the provision of a social service and/or assistance). In other words, social change was achieved processually as the different stakeholders (volunteers, donors, organizational actors and beneficiaries) got involved and participated in the work of the studied NGOs. Another important observation was that this process involved bridging the interests of two antagonistic social groups: with the SERS, volunteers, employees, donors and other collaborators of the researched organizations usually pertaining to a more privileged social group and beneficiaries (or the public receiving assistance by the studied organizations) pertaining to a less privileged social class.

Because I am an insider to this general social context present in urban Brazil, I was able to observe this more clearly, as this social inequality has always been a big part of my life. Although there has been a slow but steady change in this aspect of the Brazilian society in the last two decades, throughout my life I have witnessed in first hand this gap that separates those who have all of the privileges and the possibility to achieve different things in the Brazilian society (get an education, a decent job, or buy a home), and those who are denied these assets or who face uneven difficulties while attempting to access such assets.

Our findings showed that the interests of volunteers and donors were met when they felt emotionally rewarded from their participation in the studied practices. Besides being materially rewarded from the participation in the studied organizations' work, the beneficiaries also seemed to have a highly emotional experience from their overall engagement with the studied organizations. I heard many times that they felt "respected", "heard", or even that they were being "treated like a human being", or "feeling like a person", which in fact made the emotional reward seem even greater than

the material reward. In the case of NGO C, although I did not hear such comments from the children who were part of the project, I did hear such comments from their parents as they also engaged in the activities of NGO C.

However, participants often highlighted that social change couldn't be taken like a "buzzword" and that there was no 'magic trick' or a utopic objective. Quite the opposite, it had to be regarded as a process and as a daily achievement. As pointed out by Employee 5 NGO C:

*[...] Guys, this [our work] isn't a magic trick, it's a lot of work, everyday, which is conquered little by little, developed. (Employee 5, NGO C)*

Another common perception was that, through their work, they could even generate unexpected positive changes in a chain reaction within their connection with stakeholders and the community in a general sense. This sense that they were "planting a seed" to future changes, even though they couldn't identify them, was also added to participants' conception of social change. An example of such unforeseen changes that could occur as a consequence of their work was given by SEr A:

*Speaking of seeds, I don't know if I have told you this, about the foreigners. Do you know what happens to foreigners who serve prison time here? Here [in the state of São Paulo] there's a prison for foreigners, there are around 1,200 inmates over there, out of which most are people who were in a difficult financial situation [in their countries] and were recruited to work as 'mules'. Here [in the NGO's accommodation] we have 5 of them. This is because the foreigners cannot serve their time in the semi-open regime [when the inmate sleeps in prison but is allowed to leave to work during the day] nor in the open regime [when the inmate is allowed to go home on probation] like the Brazilians can, because they do not have a residence. So the idea was that [name of NGO A] would provide the residence to these foreigners. This judge was brave enough to make this proposal and I was brave enough to accept it. There were no rules at all, it was something that we alone decided. After this, another judge asked to send me more inmates. And I told her that if they would give me some financial help, then I would take them in. After I said yes a couple of times, this judge went on to speak with the state government. Then, because I said yes to them without having a single penny, because of the courage, the faith, because I*

*thought I could do it, the justice system and the state government are negotiating to solve this problem [involving the foreigners]. To me this was a victory. To me, I get happy, because my enterprise generated something [positive]. You do something really small, and through this it's possible to open the ways to the solution of a big problem. This problem with the foreigners, wasn't even something that I foresaw when I started the NGO, but it happened, because it's a problem that the Brazilian government has. Regarding why we do this, this is how I think: suppose it was me in this situation, would I be grateful if someone said yes to me and I could get out of prison as I'm entitled to? Yes I would like this very much, that someone said yes to me, and then I could go out and work, watch TV and walk in the streets (SEr A, NGO A)*

Another example was given by the director of NGO C, in this case a group of children had started a recycling project that ended up involving their whole community and even another NGO.

*This Project started growing, then the children started collecting garbage in the community, and they also held a cleaning event, they planted trees, and they want to build a playground. One of the children found out about the existence of this NGO and now they will go on a visit there (Director, NGO C)*

Such “chain of reaction” triggered by their work was also an integral part of their notion of social change. As SEr C put it in a TV interview:

*We want to go beyond these children who are part of the project. We want to serve as example, to create a model of excellence, so other people, other businessmen, can give back to society and start investing in the 'social' [...] Today, the problems of society have to be solved by society itself, we cannot depend on the government and governors. We are there to show how it's done. This is our objective. (SEr C, excerpt from TV interview)*

Besides, the potential of the studied NGO's to have a positive impact in society, and achieve their desired social change, is also directly related to the amount of different stakeholders involved in their organizations' activities. Involving as many different stakeholders as possible was considered both a factor of success of their organizational purpose and also as an opportunity of achieving effective social change that could have an impact in society as a whole. As put by SEr A:

*I think that with [name of NGO A] we are able to involve so many people in a process like this! We can involve health authorities, judges, government, businessmen, so many people! That is, if [name of NGO A] is successful, everybody wins. I always say this: [name of NGO A]'s success is all of society's success. (SEr A, NGO A)*

However, the difficulties involved in achieving social change through the involvement of stakeholders and different social actors in the NGOs activities was widely recognized in all three organizations. This was, in fact, their major challenge. One example given by an employee of NGO C portrays just how difficult it is to involve different people in one single effort, even when all actors could benefit from this participation. This difficulty is precisely present when such effort involves “doing things differently” and demands that people move out of their comfort zone.

*Here we try to do things differently, and it's never easy to introduce in society a different way of doing things, a way in which everyone can contribute politically. Even simple things, like to try to implement something for everyone's well-being in your own apartment building, if in order to implement it you need to involve everyone. Me, for example, I have tried to do such a thing, and out of 120 people living in my apartment building, only 10 accepted to participate. So they didn't want to get involved, they didn't want to help, we made two 'mutirões' [joint efforts] and they didn't join. So this is what we try to do here at [name of NGO C]. It's really difficult. To change habits, to change society's habits, isn't easy. This is why we work. (Employee 7, NGO C)*

Given these findings, I conclude that the process of successfully involving a wide variety of stakeholders itself is already a major achievement of the studied organizations, and social change is what occurs when such stakeholders are convinced to “do things differently” and thus construct and engage in new bonds and socialities with possibly antagonistic social groups, thus going against the tendency of keeping their distance. In the context studied, this social change, was always a two-fold change: in the side of donors/volunteers/collaborators and in the side of beneficiaries.

#### **4.10 Summary of Main Findings**

The thematic analysis conducted in the present study allowed me to present a very holistic view of the SE practices unfolded in the studied organizations, thus allowing me to explore several of such practices' facets. The main findings presented in the exploration of these themes may be summarized as follows:

1. The studied SE organizations adopted flat organizational structures in order to encourage the participation and taking of ownership of stakeholders in their everyday activities;
2. The general social perception of the social cause promoted by SE the studied organizations seemed to have the potential to either enhance or diminish stakeholder's disposition to incentive or to participate in their practices;
3. Participants exhibited very strong beliefs, greatly influenced by their spirituality and ethical orientation towards others, which in turn appeared to enhance participants' moral authority;
4. Participants' moral authority seemed to shape their capacity to convince stakeholders to participate in SE practices, even appearing to have the power to alter the social perception of a given social cause;
5. Participants' social position and/or social background appeared to have a direct and positive effect on their moral authority;
6. The interplay between negative and positive affect seemed to be an integral part of SE practices, and was mainly done through storytelling and other practices which effectively showed or portrayed social ills and directly influenced stakeholder's decision to participate in SE practices;



7. The amount of resource raised by the studied SE organizations appeared to be directly proportional to their capacity to mobilize stakeholders' participation;
8. An effective use of resources seemed to be dependent on how focused the studied organizations' social purposes were, with this appearing to be a determinant success factor in the achievement of the organizations' objective/social purpose;
9. There seemed to be an internal tension between the objective social purpose of the studied organizations (their end "product") and the aspired social change, with a focused and effective "social purpose" working as vector that appeared to enhance the possibility of achieving social change;
10. Social change seemed to be achieved in the unfolding of SE practices in an ongoing processual and cyclic manner through the participation of stakeholders in the organizations' activities.

### 5. Introduction

In this section I will critically examine this study's findings in the light of an eclectic approach to practice theory and I'll also conduct an exploration of if and how previous discussions on SE accounted for and/or portrayed them. My first step in this discussion is to justify why I think it's relevant to use practice theory to make sense of these findings. Next, I explain how the found themes relate to practice theory, and I do so by locating each theme in a given dimension of practice and then proceed to explaining how these themes account for or contextualize each dimension. This being done, I will then go back to my research question "How do SE practices accomplish social change?" and provide an answer to it.

#### 5.1 How do the Findings Relate to Practice Theory?

Looking back at the findings produced by the thematic analysis of the collected data, one thing that is striking to me is the fact that relying solely on such analysis seemed to have produced a rather too "nice and tidy" account of the studied SE practices. I affirm this in the sense that it may have implied a higher degree of coherence than that of the practices to which this account refers to (Giddens, 1984). My argument is that this is especially troublesome for an account that refers to SE practices, as there is an important political element to these practices that may have been left under examined and thus under explained.

Therefore, I believe that in order to satisfactorily provide an answer to the research question proposed by this study, I find it necessary to go back to an eclectic account of practice theories and engage in a dialectical movement that, at the same time, makes use of the found themes in order to make sense of SE practices and also de-stabilizes them in order not to fall into the possible epistemological fallacy of functionalism that

tends to grant “nice and tidy” systems as given (Nicolini, 2012). In a way, this movement mirrors the fact that practice theories are usually located in a continuum between realism and social constructionism.

When put under the scrutiny of a practice approach, this study’s findings need reconsideration as it can be subjected to a few critiques, mainly because:

- (1) Practice theory highlights the intertwined nature of the different features of a given practice;
- (2) Practice theory must open SE practices and allow the analysis of their connection to other practices;
- (3) Practice theory does not recognize elements such as “feelings”, “moral authority” or “social position” to be intrinsic to individuals, rather they are considered to be features of practices;
- (4) Practice theory calls for a broader understanding of the cultural context where the practice is unfolded;
- (5) Practice theory also accounts for conflicts or unintended consequences of social actors’ actions.

When one accepts these points, it’s clear that a practice lens calls for a more complex account of this study’s findings than the presented one. In fact, authors like Gherardi (2012) claim that the characteristics of practices presented in the latter points imply that practices are extremely difficult to be represented and that “ explanation risks losing the very nature of what it seeks to elucidate” (p. 159). The author then proposes that an adequate analytical metaphor for practices would be “weaving”, as it implies “following the multivalent process” (p. 159) that constitutes the texture of practices. However, the author also points out that “in order to conduct empirical investigation of the qualities of texture and the processes of its weaving, we must define and circumscribe some units of analysis within a seamless web. The units of analysis are not pre-given, nor do they rest on any natural distinction; they are arbitrary choices made by the researcher” (Gherardi, 2012, p. 160).

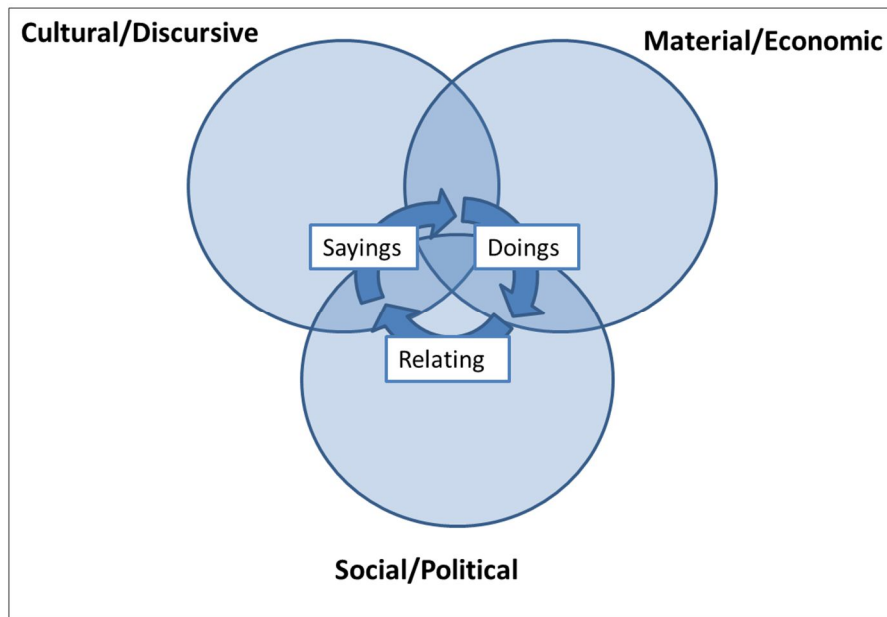
Therefore, I argue that themes could take on this role of circumscribed units of analysis that help us make sense of the complexity of practices. In other words, they are elements that allow us to make practices intelligible because they are useful to portray a given cultural/discursive, material/economic and social/political context where SE practices unfold and acquire their texture. Furthermore, I also argue that themes are units of analysis compatible with practices because, although they are unavoidably arbitrary, they refer to holistic, recurrent and emergent patterns found in the data. Therefore, they allow us to capture various aspects of the seamless web of practices. In this study I explored 8 different themes. Each of these themes, therefore, makes SE practices intelligible from a different perspective as they portray and characterize the different dimensions of practice, as Table 8 shows.

**Table 8** *Relationship Between Found Themes and Dimensions of Practice*

Dimension of Practice	Themes
Cultural/Discursive	Beliefs, Spirituality and Moral Authority Feelings
Material/Economic	Structure Social Purpose Relationship with Other Organizational Actors
Social/Political	Social Position of Participants Stakeholders' Mobilization and Participation Social Change

In this sense I argue that the identification, organization and analysis of the collected data using themes was a crucial analytical tool for the purpose of this research, because it allowed me to explore and work with SE practices' "multifaceted nature" (Erden et al., 2014) and also mitigate the difficulties which are recognizably present in the operationalization of a practice-based research. I argue that this holistic approach benefits the SE literature because most empirical studies being developed in the area concentrate their inquiries on restricted themes, such as: the institutional side of the social entrepreneurship phenomena (i.e. social enterprise and its organizational forms); on differentiating social entrepreneurs from commercial entrepreneurs (Austin et al., 2012; Baierl & Grichnik, 2011; Darabi et al., 2012); on naturalized characteristics of the social entrepreneur mainly done through surveys (Elahi & Rehman, 2012; Nga & Shamuganathan, 2010; Vasakarla, 2008); or on individually based case studies that often take for granted the multiple socio-material contexts in which the social entrepreneur acts (Dacin et al., 2010; Light, 2006).

However, it's also important to highlight that this division of different dimensions of practice isn't necessarily a precise division, as the three dimensions are intertwined and often overlap. Figure 9 illustrates the intertwined relationship existent among these different dimensions.



**Figure 10** – *Dimensions of Practice*. Adapted from Kemmis et al. (2014), p.34.

With this borne in mind, in the following topics I will explain how the found themes contextualize and/or explain different dimensions of practices. I will also give special attention to the points raised by different authors engaged in practice theory that were not directly addressed by our findings. This being done, I will proceed to formulate an answer to this study’s research question based on this discussion.

### **5.1.1 Analyzing Findings in According to the Three Dimensions of Practices**

#### *5.1.1.1 Cultural/Discursive Dimension*

I argue that two of the found themes pertain to this dimension of practice: Beliefs, Spirituality and Moral Authority and Feelings. My argument rests on the fact that these themes account for the pillars of participants’ discourses. According to Schatzki’s approach to practice theory, these themes refer both to the teleoaffective structure of SE

practices and to their general understanding. As Schatzki (1996) explains, the teleoaffective structure establishes the link between “sayings” and “doings” in a given practice. In other words, it establishes what counts as purposeful (or meaningful) actions aimed at achieving goals. As Nicolini (2012) explains, the teleoaffective structure of a practice “refers to the fact that all practices unfold according to a specific direction and ‘oughtness, or ‘how they should be carried out’” (p. 166). The teleoaffective structure is, therefore, intertwined with a general understanding of a specific direction or an overall project in which participants of a given practice are involved in. It should be noted, however, that in accordance with practice theory, these elements do not pertain to individuals; rather they are features of the practice of SE itself.

According to this approach, the teleoaffective structure and general understanding is an essential element for making practices intelligible, and it is also one of the elements that separate practices from ordinary actions. As we saw in the findings, the discursive practices of SE observed in the field, or the “sayings”, were based on both strong/solid beliefs and on the interplay of ambivalent feelings. As it pertains to the meaning of SE practices, the teleoaffective structure and its general understanding both motivate SE practices (as they work like triggers for it) and also guide them for they are what make such practices purposeful or meaningful.

It also becomes clear that SE practices’ general understanding is dependent upon a broader understanding of the general context that engenders the feelings portrayed in this study’s findings. This study’s findings showed that SE practices were especially motivated by ambivalent feelings arising from a social and cultural context characterized by social inequality, where a privileged minority has historically enjoyed a disproportionate share of wealth and other amenities and social opportunities in general, while another part of the population is deprived from them (Wood & Carvalho, 1988). One common characteristic of the studied organizations was that they all started from an experience when the founder faced such context, was negatively affected by it as the situation was perceived as being unfair, and felt compelled to do something about

it. In this process participants went through a complex interplay of affections, which involved an interplay between negative feelings of sorrow and sadness of facing social injustice (and even of anger), as well as positive feelings of joy, love, and hope which arisen as they unfolded SE practices. This also points to the fact that, even though the studied organizations had different social purposes, they had a common general understanding which consisted of a general pursuit of social equality.

Although feelings were found to be a fundamental part of SE practices, especially due to their ambivalence, I found no other studies that accounted for this relationship. In the entrepreneurship literature, however, I found an article by Baron (2008) which analyzes the role of feelings and emotions in the entrepreneurial process in general. While approaching this matter, however, the author assumes that affects (feelings and emotions) are part of the entrepreneur's cognition. Practice theory suggests otherwise, as it regards affect as being part of the practice itself, and not as any sort of cognitive properties or characteristics of individuals. I believe that my findings support this suggestion, as these feelings and emotions were perceived to be experienced by all participants of SE practices, including myself. This study's findings may also contradict the author's claim that "positive affect is more likely than negative affect to facilitate creativity" (p. 33). My findings suggest that, in the case of SE practices, negative affect played a crucial role in facilitating the creation of the studied organizations, although the role of positive affect in the unfolding of SE practices in general cannot be underestimated due to its power to keep participants motivated and mobilized. However, the role played by negative affect as a facilitator in the creation of new SE organizations may suggest, therefore, a fundamental difference between entrepreneurship practices and SE practices.

This finding may be further supported by the affirmation made by Rossoni et al. (2007), for example, who claimed that "individuals interpret emotional ambivalence, which is perceived to be an unusual emotional experience, as signaling they are in an unusual environment, which in turn increases sensitivity to unusual associations" (p. 1016). The ambivalence of feelings experienced by the participants of this study may explain,



therefore: (1) the unusual and thus creative organizational formats adopted by the studied NGOs; (2) their “unusual” decision to create an organization as an attempt to change society’s *status quo*. I also observed a point that isn’t discussed in OMT in general nor in the entrepreneurship, that participants often coped with these ambivalent feelings through the balancing of two contrasting worldviews: an optimistic micro worldview (toward micro social changes) sometimes pessimistic worldviews (toward macro social changes).

My findings also suggest that spirituality played an important role in giving meaning to SE practices in general: sometimes in the form of religious beliefs; and more often in the form of a more general spiritual belief that “there is something beyond or larger than life itself” (which engendered an ethical awareness); and other times in the form of a simpler more general ethical orientation and/or sensibility towards others. Authors like Spear (2010) have already highlighted that there is good evidence base of religious involvement in SE, especially in the context of non-profit organizations, as is the case of the organizations studied here. Still, our findings show that, even though it’s undeniable that some religious background does influence the strength of participants’ beliefs and how they portray them in their everyday “sayings”, our evidence shows that a more general spiritual and ethical orientation towards others are the key elements to account for these beliefs, and not church religion itself.

For example, very often participants (spontaneously or when asked) claimed that they did not follow or practiced one specific religion (with the exception of Volunteer 2 NGO A). This finding may support a transfer to the context of SE practices of the affirmation made by Varga (2009) that there has been a general decline of church religion and a rise of spirituality (understood as being “a belief that there are forces or there is a God or that there are gods beyond the experienced reality of individuals” Varga, 2009, p. 145). This, together with the centrality of beliefs in the establishment of meaningful actions (i.e. practices), warrant the relevance of this discussion in the context of SE.

In spite of this, and even though I found studies that portrayed the influence of church on SE (notably its influence on the values of SE) I found only one study that actually discussed the role of spirituality in SE. However, through their empirical findings, S. Waddock and Steckler (2013) bound spirituality to the idea of “spiritual retreats”, highlighting how these “retreats” are or could be beneficial to SE practices (also suggesting they could benefit a wide variety of practices). Therefore, the authors’ analysis of how spirituality is present in the practices of SE assumes the form of the very restricted activities of contemplative retreats and physical retreats, with the authors concluding that the vast majority of their research participants participated in at least one of these two types of retreats. This is quite different from what I’d like to affirm here. Even though I have no evidence pointing at the fact that the participants in my study participated in the retreats as described by the authors in that study, I claim that both my findings and practice theory point to the direction that spirituality is an integral part of their work practices and cannot be restricted to isolated habits nor activities. In other words, although I do not exclude their claim, I believe that bounding spirituality to “retreat practices” obscures its due importance as a component of the teleoaffective structure of SE practices in general.

#### *5.1.1.2 Material/Economic Dimension*

Practice theory regards practices as heterogeneous phenomena and as being composed by a variety of concrete materials. Therefore, they have a material/economic dimension that was also portrayed in our findings, especially in those concerning the structure, funding and social purpose of the studied organizations. The social purposes of the studied organizations are considered here as part of the material/economic dimension of practice because they concern the outputs, or the concrete products, which were being delivered by these organizations. In the thematic analysis, the theme *structure* referred to their overall organizational structure (that is: physical sites, functions and processes as well as their formal norms or rules).

Our findings suggested that the researched NGOs exhibited a flat organizational structure that often assumed a network format aimed at encouraging and fostering participation and the taking of ownership of organizational processes by stakeholders. The term “*mutirão*” was a recurrent reference used by participants during fieldwork, and portrayed well the organizational formats found in the studied NGOs as a “joint effort”. In the studied organizations, flat structures worked as a way to foster and encourage participation because they emanated a sense respect towards people and a sense of overall social justice that may not be present in more strictly hierarchical organizations due to their tendency towards dehumanization. This was considered to be a crucial factor for the success of the studied organizations precisely because they depended on the participation and engagement of stakeholders in order to survive and in order to achieve the desired social change.

Strong evidence pointing in this direction was specifically found in NGO C, because adopting this form organizational structure was considered crucial for the survival of the organization when its founder, SEr C, passed away. Participants considered that it would be impossible to have someone substitute SEr C and take on the highly hierarchical and directive role he had assumed throughout the years he was ahead of this organization. After his passing, it became necessary for all stakeholders to join efforts and take ownership of the functions, roles, and/or responsibilities previously concentrated in the hands of SEr C. I found no other studies on SE which examined the importance of adopting organizational structures that encourage participation nor the importance of this point when the founder of a SE organization eventually leaves it.

It’s also important to highlight that the observed flat organizational structures fostered by the researched NGO encouraged the participation and the taking of ownership of organizational processes by not only volunteers, donors and/or employees. They also encouraged the participation and taking of ownership among the people being directly benefited by their work, which was one of the central findings of this study. They do so by signaling to the whole community that these organizations were open to participation and committed to democratic ideals and to the promotion of social equality. In fact, the

task of giving responsibilities to beneficiaries and encouraging them to participate in the work that was being undertaken was considered a key factor to the success for these organizations. Such factor would be presumably less likely to exist if these organizations adopted a more vertical or more hierarchical organizational structure. The connection between organizational structure, workplace participation (or organizational participation) and its encouragement of a wider political participation in other democratic spheres of society has been pointed out by authors like Greenberg (1986). Although this is a discussion which is present in the broader literature on civil society, this link hasn't yet been explored in the SE literature. I argue that this is troublesome for the latter due to its centrality in the researched contexts. In addition, practice theory supports the affirmation made by Greenberg (1986), since a local practice (in this case SE practices) is always connected to wider practices (in this case democratic practices) in an intertwined manner.

Furthermore, these findings may support the claim that the practice of SE in Brazil has a potential to strengthen its democracy (Drayton, 2002). As seen in the literature review, local development was the most recurrent theme in the found empirical works on SE in this context. This evidence that may support the claim made by Drayton (2002) because of the notorious connection (outside the SE literature) between democracy and development (Hyden, 2002; Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, & Limongi, 2000). As explained by Hyden (2002), the development-democracy nexus can be approached from a wide variety of perspectives, although the author mentions civic culture, associational life and social movements as possible perspectives to approach this nexus, he does not mention SE. I don't believe this is surprising; due to the nascent stage of SE as an epistemological approach and also due to the difficulties found when one tries to set these very often overlapping perspectives apart. Yet, this link between the SE practices, workplace participation and wider democratic practices on one side, and local development on the other hasn't been theorized. The relevance of this discussion for society as a whole becomes especially clear in a country like Brazil, which has undergone a re-democratization process very recently in its history, and which is still regarded as a "developing" or "emerging" country. I argue that this study's findings together with practice theory may be quite helpful in the task of explaining, and

therefore theorizing, this link. In fact, practice theory may provide a way to theorize think link, as it explains how a practice can never be taken in isolation and is interconnected to several other practices in a seamless web.

Our findings also showed that having a focused social purpose (or organizational objective) was crucial for the overall success of SE. This may be explained by practice theory because practices are necessarily recurrent. What I observed in the field was that having a too broad set of organizational objectives did not translate into the engagement and the development of actual practices and thus possibly disconnected or a too broad set of objectives were never accomplished. Having concise and direct objectives were also useful since they allowed the development of organizational “mottos” that guided and shaped SE practices as they guided and shaped the behavior and actions of all actors involved in the work of the studied NGOs. NGO B and NGO C were especially successful in this sense.

How the studied NGOs acquired and allocated economic resources was also perceived as an important issue that pertains to this dimension of practice. It was interesting to note that the researched organizations showed differences in patterns as to how they perceived and made use of their physical structure and financial resources. While SEr B had very strong reservations regarding the costs of having a large physical structure, in NGO C their large structure was considered essential for the development of their activities because it served as a mean to attract economic resources, by helping build a solid reputation (as they were constantly showing where donor’s “money was being invested in”) and also as a mean to integrate the community in their daily activities (as they received visitors, hosted events for the community, etc.). I found no other study in the SE literature that analyzed the physical structure of SE organizations, their role, cost, benefits nor participants’ perceptions on this subject.

### *5.1.1.3 Social/Political Dimension*

The practices of SE were also characterized by the different relationships that were established among the studied NGOs' stakeholders. It's notorious that SE organizations have fundamental links with other organizational actors such as governments, businesses, and even SE support organization in some cases. However, my findings pointed to a fact that may have been taken for granted in previous research in the area: that SE practices, in the context studied, also involve the establishment of a link or a bond between antagonistic social groups, which was mainly an emotional and civic bond.

The founders of all three of the studied NGOs came from a so called privileged social position within the Brazilian society, with two being former successful businessmen and one coming from a wealthy/respected family. It's important to highlight that in the general context of urban Brazil, this privileged social group enjoys access to assets that is often not granted to a less privileged social group. Examples of such assets were given by Grusky (1994) and include: economic (ownership of land, farms, factories, professional practices, businesses, etc.); political (workplace authority, party and societal authority, charismatic leader, etc.); cultural (high-status consumption practices, "good manners", privileged life-style, etc.); honorific (prestige, good reputation, etc.); human (formal education, skills, knowledge). This social background was perceived as being crucial for their success in bridging and negotiating the interests of different social groups and institutional actors.

In an empirical study conducted in seven SE organizations in the U.S. and India, Alvord (2004) also proposed that this bridging capacity is a key element for the success of SE, the authors also claimed that: "In most of these cases, the social entrepreneurs—whether individuals or groups— had backgrounds and experiences that enabled them to build effective links with very diverse actors" (p. 274). The present thesis, however, goes beyond previous studies because it explored the actual employed social practices, the "doings" and "sayings" that bring this bridging about. Besides, the authors did not mention that such bridging also include the bridging of stratified and antagonistic social

groups, which was one of the present study's central findings. This may indicate either that this was not a relevant issue in the studied contexts (the U.S. and India) or that this issue was overlooked.

This bridging capacity was identified as an individual capacity of the founders of the studied organizations. This doesn't mean, however, that our findings portray SE as an individualistic phenomenon. Quite the opposite, the finding that the founders' capacity to bridge different actors' interests is a key element of the success of these ventures is double sided: although these organizations' initial success was dependent of an individual's attitude, the organizations' survival in time was dependent on the collective involvement in their practices. The strongest evidence supporting this suggestion was NGO C's survival after the death of its founder, and the importance of changing its organizational structure from a vertical to a flat structure, where the different stakeholders decided to take on the responsibilities previously concentrated in the hands of the founder.

This collective aspect of SE is congruent to both practice theory and to other studies in the field of SE that have already suggested the need to move away from individualistic analysis of SE practices (Corner & Ho, 2010; Dufays & Huybrechts, 2014; Montgomery, Dacin, & Dacin, 2012; Shaw & Carter, 2007). Such approach has dominated the literature on entrepreneurship and SE literature has also mirrored it (Bacq & Janssen, 2011; Bielefeld, 2009; Dacin et al., 2010; Diochon et al., 2011; Goldstein, Hazy, & Silberstang, 2008; Light, 2006; Seymour, 2012). Examples of works that have adopted such individualistic approach are: Birch and Whittam (2008); Drayton (2002); Hobbs (2006); Leadbetter (1997); Nga and Shamuganathan (2010); Orhei and Vinke (2012); Parente et al. (2013); Partzsch and Ziegler (2011); Sen (2007); S. Waddock (2009). Although they do not make these works invalid, this study's findings provide empirical support and practice theory provides theoretical support for the affirmation made by authors like Light (2006) and Newth and Woods (2014), who claimed that putting too much emphasis on the individual SEr may leave crucial aspects of SE under examined.

In fact, in accordance with practice theory, even the observed “social position” of the founders of the studied organizations cannot be restricted to a characteristic of an individual. As Schatzki (1996) explains:

Sociality within practices is organized through varying extents around the subject positions made available in those practices. That is to say, the coexistences opened in a practice often are spelled out in terms of or associated with those positions. Assuming and being identified with a particular position operative in a practice assigns meaning to a person for all participants, including herself. When someone is understood to be a baker, professor, African American, or Norwegian, a range of beliefs, expectations, hopes, feelings, understandings and the like (varying among participants within bounds and amidst commonality) apply to that person (Schatzki, 1996: 197).

This means that, when I say that I identified antagonistic social positions (or groups) in SE practices which are occupied by their participants, this means to say that, before being characteristics of the individuals who participate in a given practice, these social positions are located within the practice of SE itself. Under this perspective, SE practices become a space where antagonistic social groups establish a place of coexistence. This is an interesting point because, although their notion of social change is based on an aspiration for social equality, this does not mean that SE practices abolish these distinct social positions. Rather, they bridge such positions through a constant negotiation between their different interests in an emotional and civic exercise. This is perfectly understandable since, if in fact social equality was achieved, and thus the above described antagonistic social positions ceased to exist, it would make the studied SE practices obsolete. In other words, this desire for social change, or for social equality, is born out of and feeds on the problem it wishes to address: it is both a goal that drives their work and also what makes their work possible. However, change effectively occurs in a micro stance, because when SE practices establish a space of coexistence, of emotional and civic interchanges, they are effectively and slowly establishing new types of socialities that could even lead to unexpected and surprising results. This point will be better explained in the following section.

Our findings also put at stake the claims made by Bacq and Lumpkin (2014) that SE should be regarded as a phenomenon distinct from charities. However, they do



corroborate the suggestion made by Dees (2007), who affirmed that SEs do not see themselves as involved in “charity”, and they did recognize its limitations and weaknesses. Still, evidence suggested that the line that sets SE practices apart from charitable practices is thin and sometimes dubious, as the social purpose of the researched organizations (i.e. giving work to convicts and ex-convicts; building homes; giving education to children) often reflected that these practices were, indeed, linked and intertwined. Although it isn’t possible to affirm that all charity organizations are involved in SE, evidence suggests that SE does include charitable practices in the studied context.

A similar point was suggested by Dees (2012), who affirmed that SE is actually composed by two different “cultures”: the culture of charity and the culture of entrepreneurial problem solving. The author claims that, even though some have attempted to distance themselves from charity in the SE sphere, SE cannot be entirely separated from charity, and that it actually relies (on varying degrees) on the so called charity culture.

Our findings also put at stake the claim made by Santos (2012) that associates SE with an economic activity engendered by the fact that in society there is a general regard for the other (reflected in the existence of practices such as SE). Our findings also support the claim that the author tried to invalidate that: “it is as if individuals operate in two distinct spheres: a personal sphere of family and social ties driven by other-regarding, and an economic sphere of resources and production driven by self-interest” (p. 349). Our findings suggest quite clearly that the main driving force behind the studied SE practices was precisely a struggle against this distinction. Therefore, according to this study’s findings, SE doesn’t deny this distinction, but opposes it.

A claim similar to that of Santos (2012) was made by Zeyen et al. (2013):

On an individual level, social entrepreneurship forces us to question a basic assumption about human behavior. Instead of pursuing self-interest and profit-maximization principles, social entrepreneurs start organizations for the explicit

purpose of mitigating or solving societal problems. With this shift in focus, the underlying assumption of human behavior in the economy as being driven by self-interest may no longer apply. Instead, the behavior of economic agents may be driven by the interest for others as well. (p. 95).

Nonetheless, a couple of points raised by our findings make this claim troublesome. Although the researched NGOs were indeed economic actors not pursuing self-interest and profit maximization, it was as if they were operating in the two distinct spheres described by Santos (2012): a personal sphere moved by other regarding and an economic sphere moved by self-interest. Their work consisted of, precisely, extending the empathy and other regarding characteristic of that personal sphere to a broader economic sphere. Again, my findings gave me no general warrant to deny the existence of this distinction. Rather, it allows me to confirm its existence and, at the same time, affirm that the studied SE practices oppose it.

Furthermore, our empirical findings relate to and may support the claims made in the theoretical work of Dey and Steyaert (2014). Although the authors focused on a practice-based approach to *ethics* in SE and not *social change* they make similar claims as the ones present in our findings: “that practitioners in social enterprises often work under conditions that might hamper them in establishing relationships that thrive on principles of solidarity and equality” (p. 12) and that their practices fundamentally “involve a sensitivity to the perspective of the other” (p. 12)

In a theoretical article, Miller, Grimes, McMullen, and Vogus (2012) also claimed that “compassion” (or “prosocial motivator characterized by other-orientation and an emotional connection to others in suffering” p. 620) may have a central role in an individual’s choice to engage in SE, the authors also pointed out that this feature of SE was still undertheorized. Our findings may also support this claim. However, I must be careful enough to highlight that the term “compassion” was not employed by participants, and that it may even be dangerously close to the pejorative idea of “pity”, what would be very far from what I found in the collected data. I advocate for substituting the term compassion for the term empathy.

Finally, I'd like to observe that my findings suggested, as Medeiros (2007) had already suggested, that the construction of cooperation among SE organizations constructed under the form of NGOs and the State in Brazil is a very recent phenomenon that only started after its re-democratization in 1984. This fact may partially explain the often troublesome, paradoxical and ambiguous relationships observed in the field among the studied NGOs and several government institutions.

## **5.2 How do Practices of SE Accomplish Social Change?**

While approaching this study's research question it's important to remind the readers that one of the key gaps found in SE literature are the recurrent tautological definitions of SE based on a taken for granted notion of social change. This is troublesome given that bold and widely accepted definitions are considered key elements to the maturation of epistemological fields, because they are thought to provide a minimal unity and cohesion for knowledge building efforts. Therefore, such gap may seriously jeopardize the future of SE as an academic object of inquiry, what justifies the choice of this study's research question. The first step to be taken in order to provide an answer to the question "How do SE practices accomplish social change?" is to first define *social change* to then define what was social change in the context studied, and finally proceed to explain how SE practices accomplished such social change.

Social change is a complex and polyphonic notion that may pertain to many aspects of society (which may be technological, economic, religious, ideological, demographic, stratificational, etc.) and that has always been at the heart of sociological inquiry (Etzioni & Etzioni, 1964). In the wide spectrum of thinkers who have given social change a central place in their ideas we have two who are located in its opposing ends: Marx and Weber. While Marx stressed that social changes were to be sought in the modes of production and exchange (a materialistic approach to it), Weber disagreed and demonstrated the importance of the spiritual/religious sphere in determining the

economic structure itself (and thus creating a cultural or symbolic approach to social change) (Etzioni & Etzioni, 1964). Although I won't extend this interesting discussion, I can affirm that practice theory may provide us with a way of tackling and balancing both the economic/material and discourse/cultural dimensions of social change.

If this study assumes that practices constitute the locus where all human discursive and material become possible and acquire meaning, that all practices are necessarily social, and also that their resulting structures and systems are not static and are in constant process of being enacted and maintained, social change must be regarded as an intrinsic element of practices. For the purpose of this study, however, it is still necessary to adopt a straightforward definition of it. With these assumptions borne in mind, the preliminary definition of social change adopted by me is as follows: social change is any change that involves the violation of some aspect of the social *status quo* (LaPiere, 1965).

As my findings suggest, although the social purposes of the studied NGOs were diverse, these focused social purposes were intrinsically connected to a general aspiration for social equality, which was the aspired social changes that set the studied organizations apart from purely charitable or from welfare organizations. This social change was achieved not as end product or as an output, but in a processual and constant manner as the SE practices unfolded, as it was never fully realized, because its full realization would mean that these organizations are no longer necessary. Still, participants in this study were aware that in their "ideal" world their work would not be necessary. In fact, in the case of NGO C they indeed had the intention to hand their organization back to the State if they had the conditions to keep it working.

This draws us back to what makes social entrepreneurship different from commercial entrepreneurship, as organizations involved in the latter do not have the (almost utopic) aspiration to make themselves obsolete. Quite the opposite, commercial entrepreneurship organizations are constantly seeking ways to perpetuate themselves in time and space. This point also make so called "businesses with social impact" or certain notions of for-profit SE troublesome, as they may be contributing more to the

maintenance of a certain social *status quo* that gives them reason to exist than to its effective change. In this sense, there is a clash between the profit logic and the logic of SE practices and, if assuring effective participation and involvement of stakeholders is the key for the success of SE practices for it is the locus where social change takes place, the latter is inevitably connected with democratic practices.

I believe that this is evidence of the centrality of the subject of social change in the realm of SE, as it may show an inner contradiction of such practices under certain circumstances. Giddens (1979) asserts that “all social actors know a great deal about what they are doing [...] and yet at the same time there is a great deal which they do not know about the conditions and consequences of their activities” (pp. 215-16). This may explain why such contradictions may exist in some organizations engaged in SE: although actors believe to be driving certain social change, they may in fact be helping to reproduce precisely the social structure that they wish to change. In fact, the author explain that this is a paradoxical tendency which is present in all social practices, precisely because they are recursive, reproduced and routinized phenomenon.

This suggests that one must be very careful when accepting, for example, the theoretical claim made by Calas, Smircich, and Bourne (2009) that the act of engaging in entrepreneurship itself (in this case, social entrepreneurship) produces social change. Although this may be supported by our findings, it cannot be overly generalized or accepted without caution. In the case of this cited work it's also important to observe that the authors do not analyze SE specifically. Furthermore, they use feminist theory and not practice theory to make this claim and restrict the idea of “entrepreneurship as social change” as “one social activity among others in a masculine-dominated society, and its capability to promote or hinder positive social change for women” (p. 558). Although I would not like to relativize the importance of feminist perspectives also for the study of SE, and although I recognize that Brazilian society is highly patriarchal and male dominated, I must say that gender and male-domination did not emerge as substantial issues surrounding SE practices during field study. I must also note that one

of the founders of the studied NGOs was a woman, and I did not perceive any significant gender related differences in the functioning of these three organizations.

However, a single point that caught my attention during my visits in NGO B, and therefore may be a hint that feminist perspectives may be a useful lens to investigate SE practices, was the fact that this NGO when donating a home to a family they always registered the house in the name of the woman heading the family, and never a male person. When I asked them for the reason behind this procedure, they said that this was a way to protect the interests of the whole family, as women were perceived to care more for their families, thus being less capable of selling the home and abandoning the family afterwards, for example. This may suggest that some SE practices really do empower women even if they do not have this as a direct social purpose.

Nonetheless, in this context, I perceived that the idea of equality that supported their notion of social change was more motivated by a class struggle than that of a gender struggle. However, I believe that my findings do not invalidate Calas et al. (2009)'s claim, they do however call for a re-shaping of this claim. Still, I do believe that feminism is an important element of social change, and that gender struggles may even be located in a more fundamental layer in society than class struggles, precisely because male domination and patriarchy are probably the main pillars of the social *status quo*.

Practice theory may also help build upon Calas et al. (2009) claims. Although Giddens (1979) warns us about the tendency of practices to reproduce social structures, there is still a revolutionary potential to them, which may in fact support the claim and explain how engaging in SE itself can be viewed as a social change process because

becoming one of us, participating in our ways of speaking and acting (sociocultural forms of life), is as far as most human beings develop, Some individuals, however, are capable of extending the bounds of the intelligible in recognizably novel ways. Qua novel, their doings and sayings (and products) often, though not always, share with what is foreign or insane the veneer of unintelligibility. When this occurs, this doings, sayings, and products nonetheless differ in emanating intimations of insight and originality and in

being performed by people who otherwise largely act and speak intelligibly. Of course, it is only from the vantage point afforded by participation in a sociocultural form that novelty appears as such and thereby differentiates itself from the foreign and insane (Schatzki, 1996, p.68)

Another clue that this participation effectively changes the previous *status quo* was the many times narrated reaction of stakeholders prior to their engagement in SE practices that portrayed their participants as being “crazy”, “insane”, or “out of their minds”. Given this recurrent reaction, I believe that the initiators of the studied organizations were indeed proposing something “out of the ordinary” to their peers and close social circle, which itself may suggest that this involved effectively changing their ways of thinking and acting. This is also evidence that once participants let go of this initial resistance to join the efforts of the studied organizations, this engagement of was more like a “leap of faith” than a rational decision.

Nonetheless, Schatzki (2002) warns us that practices in general, or constant doings, must not be equated with change, because:

Many human and non-human doings alike maintain the practice-order mesh as part of which they occur. Maintenance, accordingly, is not the absence of activity, but instead the occurrence of activity that perpetuates practices and reorders arrangements, minimally. Change, by contrast, comes about with activity that alters practices and orders more robustly [...] Change enters its purview in two guises: as mutations that some doings themselves are and as alterations that various doings instigate in individual or interlinked practices and orders [...] Individual and collective action, like institutional change and transformations of the above social formations, should, in my opinion, be understood by reference to practice-order bundles (Schatzki, 2002: 234)

Therefore, I believe that this must be a constant reflection in SE both in the theoretical and in the practitioners’ realm: are so called SE practices effectively achieving social change? Or are they contributing to maintain the very social problems they are addressing? I believe that this is one more reason why it’s necessary to make use of a well-defined concept of social change, even if it’s still a very general notion, in the definition of the phenomenon of SE itself.

In the case of the studied NGOs, I do believe that they were effectively changing at least some aspect of the *status quo*, by effectively establishing places of coexistence and new types of socialities which included antagonistic social groups. In fact, I did identify some socio-material practices that were indeed reproduced and routinized and that still induced the aforementioned change, as it's described below.

#### *Identified Socio-Material Practices*

- (1) Having constant conversations with stakeholders and convincing them as to why it is important to participate in the activities of the SE organization;
- (2) Telling sad/happy stories of beneficiaries who were assisted by the organization;
- (3) Repetition of mottos or effect phrases that account for simple and concise organizational objectives (i.e. "we build houses and thus we build lives");
- (4) Taking stakeholders to see the social problem to be acted upon, or using pictures or videos to do so;
- (5) Giving updates through newsletters of the organizations' achievements (which also include receiving prizes and other forms of social recognition);
- (6) Giving updates of how resources were employed;
- (7) Distributing responsibility and working "with" stakeholders as opposed to working "for" them.

These practices were all recurrent and done in a systematic way. The themes explored in the findings section also allowed me to identify some factors that determined the success of these practices. These practices were considered successful when they attracted the participation of stakeholders in SE practices either in the form of donation, collaboration, volunteering, and overall engagement in the social cause.

#### *Success Determinants (Why did they work?)*

- (1) Participants' social background;



- (2) Maintenance of a focused social purpose while also tackling a wide and general aspiration for social change;
- (3) Strength of beliefs (usually supported by spiritual beliefs and a strong ethical concern with the other);
- (4) Flat organizational structures that encouraged participation and were connected to a wider set of democratic values/ practices;
- (5) Participants' ability to portray and share a given social problem (which may even be artistic or literary) and affect stakeholders (both negatively and positively, while giving more weight to the positive affect).

Thus, I propose rephrasing Cho (2006)'s definition that SE is a "set of institutional practices combining the pursuit of financial objectives with the pursuit and promotion of substantive and terminal values" (p. 36)". Although Cho (2006) has inserted an ethical criterion in this definition when he mentions substantive and terminal values, I argue that there's still a gap in this definition concerning the political aspects of SE which are inevitably present in the concept of social change. In order to find this political criteria, I will combine the latter definition of social change provided in this discussion with the description made by Schatzki (1996) of local politics as a set of activities which recognize "a variety of shifting sources and structures of oppression, misery, and discontent that aim to alleviate specific sufferings through opposition to the particular formations responsible for them" (p. 5). Therefore, I propose the following definition for SE: *SE is a set of organized institutional and political practices, which violate the social status quo by opposing a variety of sources and structures of oppression, misery and social inequalities through the bridging of the interests' of multiple stakeholders.*

I believe that this definition may encourage a reflection upon the need to set apart organizations that are effectively pursuing some sort of social change, which could be labeled SE organizations, and which are working to keep social structures stable. However, I do believe that this is still a broad definition, as social change may occur in many forms. In the specific studied context, social change meant achieving social

equality, as class inequality is a major part of the *status quo* of such context (namely the context of urban Brazil). Besides, I identified that this was an ongoing achievement triggered by the participation of multiple stakeholders, from antagonistic social groups, who were convinced to participate in SE practices.

It can be said, therefore, that practice theory contributes to the literature of SE precisely because it brings about this discussion, which has an undeniable political taste: it puts light on the paradoxical nature of practices and their role in changing and/or maintaining the social *status quo*. This approach teaches us that there is a very thin and political line that divides the practices which contribute to maintaining and reproducing the social *status quo* and those which oppose and change it.

Regarding this proposed definition, one final remark must be made: although SE practices cannot be reduced to an individualistic phenomenon, it's still important to recognize that the contribution of individual thought and agency in initializing such enterprises isn't being discarded. In other words, practice theory does not exclude the individual from its analysis, rather, it attempts to establish a dialectical link between structure and human agency, moving beyond, therefore, what has been called by some authors of an "intractable problem" in social research (Chia & Mackay, 2007).

### 6. 1 Summary

This study was set out to examine how SE practices achieve social change in the context of Brazil, given that the central notion of social change has been taken for granted and thus remained under examined in the field of SE both theoretically and empirically. I have concluded that, in the context studied, although SE embraces a wide variety of different social purposes, they are intertwined with a common notion of social change based on a general understanding and aspiration for social equality. I also concluded that this social change is accomplished in a processual and ongoing manner as stakeholders from antagonistic social groups felt compelled to and participated in SE practices.

In the literature review I identified that the academic field of SE had three major gaps: a definitional gap, a maturation gap and a contextual gap. In answering the proposed research question I was able to address these gaps by: (i) proposing a definition of SE which was non monological/tautological because it incorporated the political orientation present in practice theory and also a defined notion of social change (*SE is a set of organized institutional and political practices, which violate the social status quo by opposing a variety of sources and structures of oppression, misery and social inequalities through the bridging of the interests' of multiple stakeholders*); (ii) describing the unfolding of SE practices, analyzing its political implications, and thus providing empirical evidence for the theoretical development of the SE academic field; (iii) doing an in-depth qualitative empirical research in a context of emerging/developing countries that has received little attention in the international academic scene, notably that of Brazil.

While specifically analyzing the few existent empirical work on SE in Brazil I concluded that: (1) although the number of empirical works on SE outnumber theoretical ones in the Brazilian context, they are still few and fail to impact the

international academic field of SE due to language restrictions; (2) most of the identified empirical works exhibit reliability and rigor issues that may compromise the transferability of their accounts, thus diminishing their impact; (3) the theme of local development seems to be interrelated to SE and in this context. These conclusions together with the conclusion drawn from the international literature on SE suggested the relevance of conducting an in-depth qualitative study in the Brazilian context.

This study's findings section presented eight themes emerging from the data: (1) structure; (2) relationship with other organizational actors (sub-themes: relationship with state, relationship with businesses and relationship with other NGOs); (3) beliefs, spirituality and moral authority; (4) social position of participants, (5) stakeholders' mobilization and participation; (6) feelings; (7) social purpose; and (8) social change. At the end of the findings section, a summary containing the main findings pertaining to each theme was presented.

Afterwards I conducted a discussion of such findings under the lens of practice theory. I also specifically discussed if and how previous discussions on SE accounted for and/or portrayed the found themes. My first conclusion was that, under the lens of practice theory, our findings had to be reconsidered in order to more satisfactorily account for some complexities which are present in the concept of practice. I concluded that it was especially relevant to incorporate to the findings the political taste which is present in practice theory, which was especially useful to make sense of the phenomenon of social change and for the formulation of a working definition of SE that encourages reflection and a critical assessment of SE practices.

Still, in order to deal with the difficulties involved in incorporating the complexity of practices in this discussion, I suggested it would be useful to keep the found themes in the discussion as a way to give some structure to the so called seamless web of practices. I did so by explaining how the found themes relate to practice theory by locating each theme in a given dimension of practice: Cultural/Discursive; Material/Economic; and Social/Political. I also explained how these themes accounted

for or helped contextualize each of these dimensions. I believe that this compatibility was possible due to the holistic nature of the thematic analysis.

This discussion led to the answering of the proposed research question “How do SE practices accomplish social change?” The answer consisted of two main conclusions:

- i. Even though SE organizations have different social purposes, their idea of social change is commonly based on a general aspiration for social equality;
- ii. Social change is accomplished in a processual and ongoing manner as stakeholders from antagonistic social groups felt compelled to and participated in SE practices.

Besides, the following factors were identified as success determinants for achieving effective stakeholders’ participation in SE practices: participants’ social background; maintenance of a focused social purpose while also tackling a wide and general aspiration for social change; strength of beliefs (usually supported by spiritual beliefs and a strong ethical concern with the other); flat organizational structures that encouraged participation and were connected to a wider set of democratic values/practices; participants’ ability to portray and share a given social problem (which may even be done in an artistic or literary way) and affect stakeholders (both negatively and positively, while giving more weight to the positive affect).

## **6.2 Contributions and Implications**

The theoretical contribution of this thesis consisted of the proposal of a non-tautological/monological definition of SE that incorporated the political taste found in practice theory and also a defined notion of social change. I also presented empirical evidence that either provided new insights to or built upon existent SE literature.

Besides the two main conclusions which attempted to answer the research question, in the findings section I provided a set of summarized findings that may as well be used for elaborating research questions in further empirical studies. I must observe that the bottom-up approach to SE practices was crucial for the development of this account and has hopefully contributed to a further maturation of this field's epistemology.

This thesis also provided a methodological contribution for it demonstrated how an iterative thematic analysis can be used in practice based studies. I argued that the found themes served as circumscribed units of analysis that helped make sense of the complexity of practices. In other words, they allow us to make practices intelligible as they are used to portray and characterize the cultural/discursive, material/economic and social/political context where SE practices unfold and acquire their texture. Using thematic analysis, therefore, helps us mitigate the notorious difficulties present in the operationalization of practice-based studies. I also argued that, like practices, themes are recurrent and holistic. This also makes thematic analysis well suited for explanatory and not necessarily descriptive research.

The bottom-up and emergent elucidation of how participants in practices of SE bring social change about also provided an empirical contribution, since understanding how this process actually occurs may enhance the effectiveness of participants in SE practices in bringing desired changes about. Besides, the discussion also provided elements for practitioners to reflect upon the conditions and consequences of their practices. This thesis accomplished this by giving warn on the paradoxical functions of social practices (and the thin line which divides them) and also by detailing the set of identified socio-material practices and their success determinants for achieving the desired social change.

This thesis' findings also provide policy implications for more effective support of SE organizations. For example, my findings suggested that the researched organizations needed to establish more focused social/organizational purposes, and they also suggested that participants had little knowledge of the law which diminished their

capacity to raise funding. SE organizations would, therefore, benefit from educational initiatives aiming at providing basic strategy education and legislation expertise to participants in these practices. I also observed that today's policies benefit more certain types of SE organizations than others. These differences were perceived as being inappropriate by participants since these organizations were assisting the same general aspiration for social change, which may suggest the need of developing public policies that benefit a wider variety of organizations.

### **6.3 Limitations and Future Research**

One of the limitations of this study was the fact that it was conducted in a single Brazilian state. Although São Paulo has the largest number of NGOs among the Brazilian states, I believe that still there are considerable regional differences in Brazil, especially in more rural and/ or less populated regions that may affect SE practices as a whole. Therefore, I believe that it would be relevant to examine how such contextual differences may or may not affect SE practices and/or challenge or support this study's finding.

The fact that the present study was conducted solely in NGOs may as well be perceived as a limitation. Although I made a conscious and justified choice to study SE practices in NGOs and not in for-profit or public organizations, I do not believe that these other organizations should be excluded from the SE debate altogether. Quite the opposite, I believe that dialogue must remain open and multiple manifestations of SE practices must be embraced. Therefore, I believe that SE literature in general would benefit from a study with an approach similar to this one which investigates SE manifestations in either business or public institutions.

For example, I believe that it would be fruitful for the SE literature in general if further studies were conducted in order to investigate if and how for-profit or business SE

organizations fostered and encouraged participation in their activities and how crucial this was for the achievement of their desired social change. I believe this would be an interesting topic for investigation since the “marketization” of SE may directly influence their capacity to place value on democratic ideals such as respect and justice, which were perceived as being crucial elements of cohesion that encouraged participation in the studied organizations.

Furthermore, I also believe that it’d be interesting to conduct a research similar to this in large sized NGOs, in order to analyze if flat structures that encourage participation are also present in this type of NGO, which allegedly could have the need of establishing a more complex organizational form. If indeed they adopt other organizational formats, it’d be interesting to investigate how this may or may not impact the participation of stakeholder’s in their activities.

Besides, the overall holistic approach of the present thesis, even though it provided a general picture of SE practices in the studied context and was consistent with a practice approach, may leave a call for more specific studies that could use different theoretical lenses in order to explore and theorize many of the specificities brought up by the data, with each theme or each dimension of SE practices leaving space for proposing research questions that are worth of further investigation.

Finally, as a result of my study, further research might well be conducted in order to specifically investigate the relationship between democratic practices and SE practices. I believe that there is an opportunity to better theorize and explore this link due to its centrality in the achievement of the desired social change, which in the studied context translated into achieving social equality.



## 7. REFERENCES

---

- Abdukadirov, S. (2010). Terrorism: The Dark Side of Social Entrepreneurship. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33(7), 603-617. doi:10.1080/1057610x.2010.484011
- Ackroyd, S. (2010). Critical Realism, Organization Theory, Methodology, and the Emerging Science of Reconfiguration. In P. Koslowski (Ed.), *Elements of a Philosophy of Management and Organisations* (pp. 47-78). London: Springer.
- Alkon, A. H. (2011). Reflexivity and Environmental Justice Scholarship: A Role for Feminist Methodologies. *Organization & Environment*, 24(2), 130-149.
- Alvesson, M., Hardy, C., & Harley, B. (2008). Reflecting on Reflexivity: Reflexive Textual Practices in Organization and Management Theory. *Journal of Management Studies*, 45(3), 480-501.
- Alvord, S. H. (2004). Social Entrepreneurship and Societal Transformation: An Exploratory Study. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 40(3), 260-282. doi:10.1177/0021886304266847
- Alvord, S. H., Brown, D., & Letts, C. W. (2002). *Social Entrepreneurship and Social Transformation: An exploratory study*. Working paper.
- Amis, J. M., & Silk, M. L. (2007). The Philosophy and Politics of Quality in Qualitative Organizational Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 11(3), 456-480. doi:10.1177/1094428107300341
- Armour, M., Rivaux, S. L., & Bell, H. (2009). Using Context to Build Rigor: Application to Two Hermeneutic Phenomenological Studies. *Qualitative Social Work*, 8(1), 101-122. doi:10.1177/1473325008100424
- Armstrong, P. (2005). *Critique of Entrepreneurship*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Austin, J. E. (2006). Three Avenues for Social Entrepreneurship Research. In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 22-33). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Austin, J. E., Stevenson, H., & Wei-Skillern, J. (2012). Social and commercial entrepreneurship: same, different, or both? *Revista de Administração*, 47(3), 370-384. doi:10.5700/rausp1055
- Bacq, S., Hartog, C., & Hoogendoorn, B. (2013). A Quantitative Comparison of Social and Commercial Entrepreneurship: Toward a More Nuanced Understanding of Social Entrepreneurship Organizations in Context. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 4(1), 40-68. doi:10.1080/19420676.2012.758653
- Bacq, S., & Janssen, F. (2011). The multiple faces of social entrepreneurship: A review of definitional issues based on geographical and thematic criteria. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 23(5-6), 373-403. doi:10.1080/08985626.2011.577242
- Bacq, S., & Lumpkin, G. T. (2014). Can Social Entrepreneurship Researchers Learn from Family Business Scholarship? A Theory-Based Future Research Agenda. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(3), 270-294. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.939693
- Baierl, R., & Grichnik, D. (2011). *Cause you're hot and you're cold: what distinguishes social entrepreneurs from business entrepreneurs?* . Paper presented at the NeuroPsychoEconomics Conference Proceedings, Munich.
- Bansal, P., & Corley, K. (2012). Publishing in AMJ--Part 7: What's Different about Qualitative Research? *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(3), 509-513. doi:10.5465/amj.2012.4003
- Barinaga, E. (2013). Politicising Social Entrepreneurship – Three Social Entrepreneurial Rationalities Toward Social Change. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 4(3), 347-372. doi:10.1080/19420676.2013.823100
- Barley, S. R., & Kunda, G. (2001). Bringing Work Back In. *Organization Science*, 12(1), 76-95-95.
- Baron, R. A. (2008). The Role of Affect in the Entrepreneurial Process. *Academy of Management Review*, 33(2), 328-340.
- Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (2013). *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

- Bell, K. (2013). Doing qualitative fieldwork in Cuba: social research in politically sensitive locations. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 16(2), 109-124. doi:10.1080/13645579.2011.653217
- Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 15(2), 219-234.
- Bhaskar, R. (1998). *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (3 ed.). London: Routledge
- Bielefeld, W. (2009). Issues of Social Enterprise and Social Entrepreneurs. *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 15(1), 18.
- Birch, K., & Whittam, G. (2008). The Third Sector and the Regional Development of Social Capital. *Regional Studies*, 42(3), 437-450. doi:10.1080/00343400701874222
- Bloom, P. N. (2012). Introduction to Special Section on Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 31(1), 73-74.
- Bloom, P. N., & Clark, C. H. (2011). *The Challenges of Creating Databases to Support Rigorous Research in Social Entrepreneurship*. Fuqua School of Business Duke University Center for the Advancement of Social Entrepreneurship.
- Bornstein, D. (2004). *How to Change the World - Social Entrepreneurs and the Power of New Ideas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bose, M. (2012). *Empreendedorismo Social e Promoção do Desenvolvimento Local*. (Doctoral Thesis), USP, São Paulo.
- Bott, E. (2010). Favourites and others: reflexivity and the shaping of subjectivities and data in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 10(2), 159-173.
- Bray, Z. (2008). Ethnographic Approaches. In D. D. Porta & M. Keating (Eds.), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences - A Pluralist Perspective* (pp. 296-315). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bromiley, P., & Rau, D. (2014). Towards a practice-based view of strategy. *Strategic Management Journal*, 35(8), 1249-1256. doi:10.1002/smj.2238

- Brouard, F., & Larivet, S. (2010). Essay of clarifications and definitions of the related concepts of social enterprise, social entrepreneur and social entrepreneurship. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 29-56). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Bruyat, C., & Julien, P. A. (2001). Defining the field of research in entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 16(2), 165-180. doi:Doi 10.1016/S0883-9026(99)00043-9
- Bryman, A. (2001). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A., & Burgess, R. G. (1999). Introduction: Qualitative Research Methodology - A Review. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative Research* (Vol. I, pp. ix-xlvi). London: SAGE Publications.
- Buckner, S. (2005). Taking the debate on reflexivity further. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 19, 59-72.
- Burgess, R. G. (1999). Keeping a Research Diary. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative Research* (Vol. II, pp. 256-262). London: SAGE Publications.
- Bygrave, W. D. (1989). The Entrepreneurship Paradigm – A philosophical look at its research methodologies. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 14(7-30).
- Cajaiba-Santana, G. (2010). Socially constructed opportunities in social entrepreneurship: a structuration model. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 88-106). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Calas, M. B., Smircich, L., & Bourne, K. A. (2009). Extending the Boundaries: Reframing "Entrepreneurship as Social Change" through Feminist Perspectives. *Academy of Management Review*, 34(3), 552-569. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000267356000011
- Carcary, M. (2011). Evidence Analysis using CAQDAS: Insights from a Qualitative Researcher. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 9(1), 10-24.
- Casaqui, V. (2014). Concepções e Significados do Empreendedorismo Social no Brasil e em Portugal. *Observatório*, 8(2), 67-82.

- Certo, S. T., & Miller, T. (2008). Social entrepreneurship: Key issues and concepts. *Business Horizons*, 51(4), 267-271. doi:DOI 10.1016/j.bushor.2008.02.009
- Chell, E. (2007). Social Enterprise and Entrepreneurship: Towards a Convergent Theory of the Entrepreneurial Process. *International Small Business Journal*, 25(1), 5-26. doi:10.1177/0266242607071779
- Chell, E., Nicolopoulou, K., & Karataş-Özkan, M. (2010). Social entrepreneurship and enterprise: International and innovation perspectives. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 22(6), 485-493. doi:10.1080/08985626.2010.488396
- Chell, E., Spence, L. J., Perrini, F., & Harris, J. D. (2014). Social Entrepreneurship and Business Ethics: Does Social Equal Ethical? *Journal of Business Ethics*.
- Chia, R., & Mackay, B. (2007). Post-processual challenges for the emerging strategy-as-practice perspective. *Human Relations*, 60(1), 217-242.
- Cho, A. H. (2006). Politics, Value and Social Entrepreneurship: a critical appraisal. In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 34-56). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Choi, N., & Majumdar, S. (2014). Social entrepreneurship as an essentially contested concept: Opening a new avenue for systematic future research. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 29(3), 363-376. doi:10.1016/j.jbusvent.2013.05.001
- Christie, M. J., & Honig, B. (2006). Social entrepreneurship: New research findings. *Journal of World Business*, 41(1), 1-5. doi:10.1016/j.jwb.2005.10.003
- Clercq, D. d., & Voronov, M. (2009). Toward a Practice Perspective of Entrepreneurship - Entrepreneurial Legitimacy as Habitus. *International Small Business Journal*, 27(4), 395-419.
- Clercq, D., & Voronov, M. (2009). Toward a Practice Perspective of Entrepreneurship: entrepreneurial legitimacy as habitus. *International Small Business Journal*, 27(4), 395-419.
- Comini, G., Barki, E., & Aguiar, L. T. (2012). A three-pronged approach to social business: a Brazilian multi-case analysis. *RAUSP*, 47(3), 385-397.

- Corner, P. D., & Ho, M. (2010). How Opportunities Develop in Social Entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 34(4), 635-659.
- Corradi, G., Gherardi, S., & Verzelloni, L. (2010). Through the practice lens: Where is the bandwagon of practice-based studies heading? *Management Learning*, 41(3), 265-283. doi:10.1177/1350507609356938
- Correa, R. O., & Teixeira, R. M. (2015). Redes Sociais Empreendedoras Para Obtenção de Recursos e Legitimação Organizacional: Estudo de Casos Múltiplos com Empreendedores Sociais. *Revista de Administração Mackenzie*, 16(1), 62-95.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design - Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (2 ed.). London: SAGE Publication.
- Cunliffe, A. (2003). Reflexive inquiry in organizational research: Questions and possibilities. *Human Relations*, 56(8), 983-1003.
- Cunliffe, A. (2011). Crafting Qualitative Research: Morgan and Smircich 30 years on. *Organizational Research Methods*, 14(4), 647-673.
- Cunliffe, A. (2015). Using ethnography in strategy-as-practice research. In D. Golsorkhi, L. Rouleau, D. Seidl, & E. Vaara (Eds.), *Cambridge Handbook of Strategy as Practice* (2 ed., pp. 431-446). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cunliffe, A., & Karunanayake, G. (2013). Working Within HyphenSpaces in Ethnographic Research: Implications for Research Identities and Practice. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(3), 364-392.
- Curtis, S., Gesler, W., Smith, G., & Washburn, S. (2000). Approaches to Sampling and Case Selection in Qualitative Research: examples in the geography of health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 50, 1001-1014.
- Curtis, T., Herbst, J., & Gumkovska, M. (2010). The social economy of trust: social entrepreneurship experiences in Poland. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 6(3), 194-209. doi:10.1108/17508611011088805
- Dacin, P. A., Dacin, M. T., & Matear, M. (2010). Social Entrepreneurship: Why We Don't Need a New Theory and How We Move Forward From Here. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 24(3), 37-57-57. doi:10.5465/amp.2010.52842950

- Dahles, H., Dey, P., & Steyaert, C. (2010). The politics of narrating social entrepreneurship. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, 4(1), 85-108. doi:10.1108/17506201011029528
- Darabi, M., Soltani, H., Nasari, K., & Emami, M. (2012). Social entrepreneurship: A critical review of the concept. *Journal of Applied Sciences Research*, 8(6), 8.
- Davies, D., & Dodd, J. (2002). Qualitative Research and the Question of Rigor. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(2), 279-289.
- Dees, J. G. (2001). The Meaning of 'Social Entrepreneurship'. [https://centers.fuqua.duke.edu/case/knowledge\\_items/the-meaning-of-social-entrepreneurship/](https://centers.fuqua.duke.edu/case/knowledge_items/the-meaning-of-social-entrepreneurship/).
- Dees, J. G. (2007). Taking social entrepreneurship seriously. *Society*, 44(3), 24-31. doi:Doi 10.1007/Bf02819936
- Dees, J. G. (2010). Social Entrepreneurship: A Golden Opportunity for China.
- Dees, J. G. (2012). A Tale of Two Cultures: Charity, Problem Solving, and the Future of Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 111(3), 321-334. doi:DOI 10.1007/s10551-012-1412-5
- Dees, J. G., & Anderson, B. B. (2006). Framing a Theory of Social Entrepreneurship: Building on Two Schools of Practice and Thought. In R. Mosher-Williams (Ed.), *Research on Social Entrepreneurship: Understanding and Contributing to an Emerging Field* (pp. 39-66). ARNOVA.
- Defourny, J. (2010). Concepts of social enterprise: a European perspective. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 57-87). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Defourny, J., & Nyssens, M. (2010). Conceptions of Social Enterprise and Social Entrepreneurship in Europe and the United States: Convergences and Divergences. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 1(1), 32-53. doi:10.1080/19420670903442053
- Deleuze, G. (1976). *Nietzsche e a filosofia*. Rio de Janeiro: Rio.

- Denzin, N. K. (1996). The Epistemological Crisis in the Human Disciplines: Letting the Old Do the Work of the New. In R. Jessor, A. Colby, & R. A. Shweder (Eds.), *Ethnography and Human Development - Context and Meaning in Human Development* (pp. 127-152). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Desa, G. (2012). Resource Mobilization in International Social Entrepreneurship: Bricolage as a Mechanism of Institutional Transformation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 36(4), 727-751. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6520.2010.00430.x
- Devers, K. J., & Frenkel, R. M. (2000). Study Design in Qualitative Research—2: Sampling and Data Collection Strategies. *Education for Health*, 13(2), 263-271.
- Dey, P., & Steyaert, C. (2014). Rethinking the Space of Ethics in Social Entrepreneurship: Power, Subjectivity, and Practices of Freedom. *Journal of Business Ethics*. doi:10.1007/s10551-014-2450-y
- Di Zhang, D., & Swanson, L. A. (2013). Social Entrepreneurship in Nonprofit Organizations: An Empirical Investigation of the Synergy Between Social and Business Objectives. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing*, 25(1), 105-125. doi:10.1080/10495142.2013.759822
- Diochon, M., Durepos, G., & Anderson, A. R. (2011). Understanding Opportunity in Social Entrepreneurship as Paradigm Interplay. *13*, 73-110. doi:10.1108/s1074-7540(2011)0000013008
- Dorado, S. (2006). Social Entrepreneurial Ventures:: Different Values So Different Process of Creation, No? *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 11(4), 319-343-343. Retrieved from <http://content.epnet.com/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=24566105&EbscoContent=dGJyMNLr40Sep7U4y9fwOLCmr02eprRSsK24SrCWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGprky0qLFPuePfgexx%2BEu3q64A&D=bth>
- Drayton, W. (2002). The Citizen Sector: becoming as entrepreneurial and competitive as business. *California Management Review*, 44(3), 120-132.
- Dufays, F., & Huybrechts, B. (2014). Connecting the Dots for Social Value: A Review on Social Networks and Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(2), 214-237. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.918052
- Elahi, Y. A., & Rehman, A. (2012). A Detailed Study of Behavioral Attributes of Social Entrepreneurs in Lucknow and Kanpur Region. *Viewpoint*, 3(2), 48-55.



- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. L., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Erden, Z., Schneider, A., & Krogh, G. v. (2014). The Multifaceted Nature of Social Practices: A review of the perspectives on practice-based theory building about organizations. *European Management Journal*, 32, 712-722. doi:10.1016/j.emj.2014.01.005
- Etzioni, A., & Etzioni, E. (1964). Introduction. In A. Etzioni & E. Etzioni (Eds.), *Social Change - Sources, Patterns, and Consequences* (pp. 3-9). London: Basic Books
- Ezzy, D. (2002). *Qualitative Analysis - Practice and Innovation*. Lonton: Routledge.
- Farfus, D. (2008). *Empreendedorismo Social e Desenvolvimento Local: um estudo de caso do SESI Paraná*. (Master Dissertation), UNIFAE, Curitiba.
- Fayolle, A., & Matlay, H. (2010). Social Entrepreneurship: a multicultural and multidimensional perspective. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 1-11). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Feldman, M. S., & Orlikowski, W. J. (2011). Theorizing Practice and Practicing Theory. *Organization Science*, 22(5), 1240-1253. doi:10.1287/orsc.1100.0612
- Foster, D. (2006). Social Entrepreneurship: Exploring a Cultural Mode Amidst Others in the Church of England. In A. Nicholls (Ed.), *Social Entrepreneurship: New Models of Sustainable Social Change* (pp. 181-202). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (2007). *As Palavras e as Coisas - Uma arqueologia das ciências humanas* (7 ed.). São Paulo: Martins Fontes.
- Friedman, V. J., & Desivilya, H. (2010). Integrating social entrepreneurship and conflict engagement for regional development in divided societies. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 22(6), 495-514. doi:10.1080/08985626.2010.488400
- Gartner, W. B. (2001). Is There an Elephant in Entrepreneurship? Blind Assumptions in Theory Development. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 25(4), 27-39.

- Germak, A. J., & Singh, K. K. (2009). Social Entrepreneurship: Changing the Way Social Workers Do Business. *Administration in Social Work, 34*(1), 79-95. doi:10.1080/03643100903432974
- Gherardi, S. (2000). Practice Based Theorizing on Learning and Knowing in Organizations. *Organization, 7*(2), 211-223.
- Gherardi, S. (2009). Introduction The Critical Power of the Practice Lens. *Management Learning, 40*(2), 115-128. doi:10.1177/1350507608101225
- Gherardi, S. (2012). *How to Conduct a Practice-Based Study - Problems and Methods*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society - Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gilchrist, V. J. (1999). Key Informant Interviews. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative Research* (pp. 354-371). London: SAGE Publications.
- Godói-de-Sousa, E., Gandolfi, P. E., & Gandolfi, M. R. C. (2011). Empreendedorismo Social no Brasil. Um Fenômeno de Inovação e Desenvolvimento Local. *Dimens. Empres., 9*(2), 22-34.
- Godói-de-Sousa, E., & Valadão-Júnior, V. M. (2013). Social Enterprises in Brazil: Socially Produced Knowledge Versus Social Innovation. *Journal of Technology Management and Innovation, 8*(Special Issue ALTEC), 166-176.
- Godói-de-Souza, E., & Fisher, R. M. (2012). The succession process at social enterprises in Brazil. *RAUSP, 47*(3), 473-488.
- Golden-Biddle, K., & Locke, K. (1993). An Investigation of How Ethnographic Texts Convince. *Organization Science, 4*(4), 595-616.
- Goldstein, J. A., Hazy, J. K., & Silberstang, J. (2008). Complexity and Social Entrepreneurship: A Fortuitous Meeting. *Emergence: Complexity & Organization, 10*(3), 9-24-24. Retrieved from

<http://content.epnet.com/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=37199155&EbscoContent=dGJyMNLr40Sep7U4y9fwOLCmr02eprRSsK64Sq6WxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGprky0qLFPuePfgeyx%2BEu3q64A&D=bth>

- Granados, M. L., Hlupic, V., Coakes, E., & Mohamed, S. (2011). Social enterprise and social entrepreneurship research and theory. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 7(3), 198-218. doi:10.1108/17508611111182368
- Gray, P. S., Williamson, J. B., Karp, D. A., & Dalphin, J. R. (2007). *The Research Imagination - An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greco, J. (1999). Introduction: What is Epistemology? In J. Greco & E. Sosa (Eds.), *The Blackwell Guide to Epistemology* (pp. 1-32). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Greenberg, E. S. (1986). *Workplace Democracy - The Political Effects of Participation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Grisi, F. C. (2008). *Empreendedorismo Social: Uma pesquisa exploratória de ações de disseminação no Brasil*. (Master Dissertation), PUC, São Paulo.
- Grusky, D. B. (1994). The Contours of Social Stratification. In D. B. Grusky (Ed.), *Social Stratification - Class, Race and Gender in Sociological Perspective* (pp. 3-38). Oxford: Westview Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1989). *The Dilemma of Qualitative Method - Herbert Blumer and the Chicago tradition*. London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's Wrong with Ethnography?* London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography - Principles in practice* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Harding, R. (2004). Social Enterprise: The New Economic Engine? *Business Strategy Review*, 15(4), 40-43.
- Haugh, H. (2005). A research agenda for social entrepreneurship. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 1(1), 1-12. doi:10.1108/17508610580000703

- Haugh, H. (2006). Social Enterprise: beyond economic outcomes and individual returns. In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 180-205). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hertz, R. (1997). Introduction. In R. Hertz (Ed.), *Reflexivity and Voice* (pp. vii-xviii). London: SAGE Publications.
- Hesse-Biber, S. (2004). Unleashing Frankstein's Monster? The Use of Computers in Qualitative Research. In S. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Approaches to Qualitative Research - A Reader on Theory and Practice* (pp. 535-545). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hibbert, S. A., Hogg, G., & Quinn, T. (2002). Consumer Response to Social Entrepreneurship: the Case of the Big Issue in Scotland. *International Journal of Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 7(3), 288-301.
- Hill, T. L., Kothari, T. H., & Shea, M. (2010). Patterns of Meaning in the Social Entrepreneurship Literature: A Research Platform. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 1(1), 5-31. doi:10.1080/19420670903442079
- Hobbs, S. H. (2006). When the Hero Gets the Blues. *Tamara Journal*, 5(4), 127-130.
- Hoogendoorn, B., Pennings, E., & Thurik, R. (2010). *What do We know about Social Entrepreneurship: An Analysis of Empirical Research*. Retrieved from ERIM REPORT SERIES RESEARCH IN MANAGEMENT:
- Hyden, G. (2002). Development and Democracy: an overview. In O. Elgström & G. Hyden (Eds.), *Development and Democracy: What have we learned and how?* (pp. 1-22). London: Routledge.
- IBGE. (2012). *As Fundações Privadas e Associações sem Fins Lucrativos no Brasil*. Retrieved from Rio de Janeiro: <http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/biblioteca-catalogo?view=detalhes&id=289805>
- Jarzabkowski, P., Balogun, J., & Seidl, D. (2007). Strategizing: The Challenges of a Practice Perspective. *Human Relations*, 60(1), 5-27.

- Jiao, H. (2011). A conceptual model for social entrepreneurship directed toward social impact on society. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 7(2), 130-149. doi:10.1108/17508611111156600
- Johanisson, B. (2011). Towards a practice theory of entrepreneuring. *Small Business Economics*, 36, 135-150.
- Karanda, C., & Toledano, N. (2012). Social entrepreneurship in South Africa: a different narrative for a different context. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 8(3), 201-215. doi:10.1108/17508611211280755
- Kemmis, S., Wilkinson, J., Edwards-Groves, C., Hardy, I., Grootenboer, P., & Bristol, L. (2014). Praxis, Practice and Practice Architectures. In S. Kemmis, J. Wilkinson, C. Edwards-Groves, I. Hardy, P. Grootenboer, & L. Bristol (Eds.), *Changing Practices, Changing Education* (pp. 25-40). London: Springer.
- Kickul, J. R., Griffiths, M. D., & Gundry, L. K. (2010). Innovating for social impact: is bricolage the catalysr for change? In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 232-251). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Kistruck, G. M., & Beamish, P. W. (2010). The Interplay of Form, Structure, and Embeddedness in Social Intrapreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 34(4), 735-761. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6520.2010.00371.x
- Korosec, R. L., & Berman, E. M. (2006). Municipal Support for Social Entrepreneurship. *Public Administration Review*, 66(3), 448-462.
- Krefting, L. (1991). Rigor in Qualitative Research: The Assessment of Trustworthiness *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 45(3), 214-222.
- Kumar, K., & Ormiston, J. (2012). Bounding Research Settings. In R. G. Seymour (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 106-123). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Kuyumjian, R., Souza, E. M. d., & Sant'anna, S. R. d. (2014). Uma análise a respeito do desenvolvimento local: o empreendedorismo social no Morro do Jaburu - Vitória (ES), Brasil. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 48(6), 1503-1524. doi:10.1590/0034-76121614

- LaPiere, R. (1965). *Social Change*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Lasprogata, G. A., & Cotten, M. N. (2003). Contemplating 'Enterprise': The Business and Legal Challenges of Social Entrepreneurship. *American Business Law Journal*, 41, 67-112.
- Leadbetter, C. (1997). *The Rise of the Social Entrepreneur*. London: Demos.
- LeCompte, M. D., & Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research *Review of Educational Research*, 52(1), 31-60.
- Lehner, O. M., & Kansikas, J. (2013). Pre-paradigmatic Status of Social Entrepreneurship Research: A Systematic Literature Review. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 4(2), 198-219. doi:10.1080/19420676.2013.777360
- Lenssen, G., Roper, J., & Cheney, G. (2005). The meanings of social entrepreneurship today. *Corporate Governance: The international journal of business in society*, 5(3), 95-104. doi:10.1108/14720700510604733
- Light, P. C. (2006). Reshaping Social Entrepreneurship. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 47-51.
- Lima, J. L. S. (2008). *Empreendedorismo Social: uma perspectiva de cidadania social e uma alternativa de trabalho e renda nos espaços populares*. (Master Dissertation), PUC, Rio de Janeiro.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1999). Data Logging in Observation: Fieldnotes. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative Research* (Vol. II, pp. 3-12). London: SAGE Publications.
- Low, M. B., & MacMillan, I. C. (1988). Entrepreneurship: Past Research and Future Challenges. *Journal of Management*, 14(2), 139-161-161. Retrieved from <http://content.epnet.com/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=7201347&EbscoContent=dGJyMNLr40Sep7U4y9fwOLCmr02eprZSsKi4TbeWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGprky0qLFPuePfgeyx%2BEu3q64A&D=bth>

- Luke, B., & Chu, V. (2013). Social enterprise versus social entrepreneurship: An examination of the 'why' and 'how' in pursuing social change. *International Small Business Journal*, 31(7), 764-784-784. doi:10.1177/0266242612462598
- Lyons, T. S., & Lichtenstein, G. A. (2010). A community-wide framework for encouraging social entrepreneurship using pipeline of entrepreneurs and enterprising models. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 252-270). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- MacBeth, D. (2001). On “Reflexivity” in Qualitative Research: Two Readings, and a Third. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7(1), 35-68.
- Maclean, M., Harvet, C., Shaw, E., & Gordon, J. (2012). *Social Entrepreneurship and Community Renewal*. Paper presented at the BAM Conference, Cardiff, Cardiff University.
- Mair, J. (2010). Social Entrepreneurship: taking stock and looking ahead. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 15-28). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Mair, J., Battilana, J., & Cardenas, J. (2012). Organizing for Society: A Typology of Social Entrepreneurial Models. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 111, 353–373.
- Mair, J., & Noboa, E. (2006). Social Entrepreneurship: How Intentions to Create a Social Venture are Formed. In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Margolis, J. D., & Walsh, J. P. (2003). Misery Loves Companies: Rethinking Social Initiatives by Business. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 48, 268-305.
- Marti, I. (2006). Introduction Part I: Setting a Research Agenda for an Emerging Field In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 17-21). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Mason, C., Kirkbride, J., & Bryde, D. (2007). From stakeholders to institutions: the changing face of social enterprise governance theory. *Management Decision*, 45(2), 284-301.
- Mays, N., & Pope, C. (1995). Rigour and Qualitative Research. *BMJ*, 311(8), 109-112.

- McCabe, A. (2010). *Below the radar in a Big Society? Reflections on community engagement, empowerment and social action in a changing policy context*. University of Birmingham. <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/787/>.
- McNabb, D. E. (2008). *Research Methods in Public Administration and Nonprofit Management - quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2 ed.). London: M. E. Sharpe.
- Medeiros, R. S. (2007). Crítica e Resignação nas Atuais Relações Entre as ONGs e o Estado no Brasil. In E. Dagnino & L. Tatagiba (Eds.), *Democracia, Sociedade Civil e Participação* (pp. 167-202). Chapecó: Argos Editora Universitária.
- Meyrick, J. (2006). What is good qualitative research? A first step towards a comprehensive approach to judging rigour/quality. *J Health Psychol*, 11(5), 799-808. doi:10.1177/13591053060666643
- Miettinen, R., Samra-Fredericks, D., & Yanow, D. (2009). Re-Turn to Practice: An Introductory Essay. *Organization Studies*, 30(2), 1309-1327.
- Miles, M. B. (1979). Qualitative Data as an Attractive Nuisance: The Problem of Analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), 590-601.
- Miller, T. L., Grimes, M. G., McMullen, J., & Vogus, T. (2012). Venturing For Others With Heart And Head: How Compassion Encourages Social Entrepreneurship. *Academy of Management Review*, 37(4), 616-640.
- Montgomery, A., Dacin, P., & Dacin, M. (2012). Collective Social Entrepreneurship: Collaboratively Shaping Social Good. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 111(3), 375-388-388. doi:10.1007/s10551-012-1501-5
- Mort, G. S., Weerawardena, J., & Carnegie, K. (2003). Social entrepreneurship: Towards conceptualisation. *International Journal of Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 8(1), 76. Retrieved from <http://content.epnet.com/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=9059233&EbscoContent=dGJyMNLr40Sep7U4y9fwOLCmr02eprVSrq64TLCWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGprky0qLFPuePfgex%2BEu3q64A&D=bth>
- Mueller, S., D'Intino, R. S., Walske, J., Ehrenhard, M. L., Newbert, S. L., Robinson, J. A., & Senjem, J. C. (2014). What's Holding Back Social Entrepreneurship? Removing the Impediments to Theoretical Advancement. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 1-12. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.954259



- Mueller, S., Nazarkina, L., Volkmann, C., & Blank, C. (2011). Social Entrepreneurship Research as a Means of Transformation: A Vision for the Year 2028. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 2(1), 112-120. doi:10.1080/19420676.2011.555463
- Murphy, P. J., & Coombes, S. M. (2008). A Model of Social Entrepreneurial Discovery. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 87(3), 325-336. doi:10.1007/s10551-008-9921-y
- Nega, B., & Schneider, G. (2014). Social Entrepreneurship, Microfinance, and Economic Development in Africa. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 48(2), 367-376. doi:10.2753/jei0021-3624480210
- Newbert, S. L. (2014). Building Theory in Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(3), 239-242. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.948748
- Newbert, S. L., & Hill, R. P. (2014). Setting the Stage for Paradigm Development: A 'Small-Tent' Approach to Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(3), 243-269. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.889738
- Newth, J., & Woods, C. (2014). Resistance to Social Entrepreneurship: How Context Shapes Innovation. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(2), 192-213. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.889739
- Nga, K. H., & Shamuganathan, G. (2010). The Influence of Personality Traits and Demographic Factors on Social Entrepreneurship Start Up Intentions. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 95(2), 259-282.
- Nicholls, A. (2006). Introduction. In A. Nicholls (Ed.), *Social Entrepreneurship: New Models of Sustainable Social Change* (pp. 1-36). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nicholls, A. (2010a). Editorial: Turn! Turn! Turn! *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 1(2), 171-173. doi:10.1080/19420676.2010.521649
- Nicholls, A. (2010b). The Legitimacy of Social Entrepreneurship: Reflexive Isomorphism in a Pre-Paradigmatic Field. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 34(4), 611-633. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000279442800001

- Nicolini, D. (2010). Zooming In and Out: Studying Practices by Switching Theoretical Lenses and Trailing Connections. *Organization Studies*, 30(12), 1391-1418. doi:10.1177/0170840609349875
- Nicolini, D. (2012). *Practice Theory, Work and Organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- OECD. (1999). *Social Enterprises*. Retrieved from Paris:
- OECD. (2005). *SME and Entrepreneurship Outlook: 2005*. Paris: OECD.
- Oliveira, E. M. (2004). Empreendedorismo social no Brasil: atual configuração, perspectivas e desafios – notas introdutórias. *Revista FAE*, 7(2), 9-18.
- Oliver, D. P. (2011). Rigor in Qualitative Research Editorial. *Research on Aging*, 33(4), 359-360.
- Omoredede, A. (2014). Exploration of motivational drivers towards social entrepreneurship. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 10(3), 239-267. doi:10.1108/sej-03-2013-0014
- Onozato, E., & Teixeira, R. M. (2010). Processo de criação de organizações com fins sociais: estudo de casos múltiplos em Curitiba - Paraná. *Contabilidade, Gestão e Governança*, 13(3), 38-52.
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2005). On Becoming a Pragmatic Researcher: The Importance of Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methodologies. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8(5), 375-387. doi:10.1080/13645570500402447
- Orhei, L., & Vinke, J. (2012). The Social Entrepreneur - The New Player in the Social Stage. *Management Intercultural*, 14(2), 4-10.
- Ottenberg, S. (1990). Thirty Years of Fieldnotes: Changing Relationship to the Text. In R. Sanjek (Ed.), *Fieldnotes - The Making of Anthropology* (pp. 139-160). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Parente, C., Lopes, A., & Marcos, V. (2013). Social Entrepreneurship Profiles: Lessons from Organizational and Management Dynamics. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(1), 22-41. doi:10.1080/19420676.2013.820782
- Parkinson, C., & Howorth, C. (2008). The language of social entrepreneurs. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 20(3), 285-309. doi:10.1080/08985620701800507
- Partzsch, L., & Ziegler, R. (2011). Social entrepreneurs as change agents: a case study on power and authority in the water sector. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 11(1), 63-83. doi:10.1007/s10784-011-9150-1
- Payne, G., & Williams, M. (2005). Generalization in Qualitative Research. *Sociology*, 39(2), 295-314.
- Peredo, A. M., & McLean, M. (2006). Social entrepreneurship: A critical review of the concept. *Journal of World Business*, 41(1), 56-65. doi:10.1016/j.jwb.2005.10.007
- Perrini, F., & Vurro, C. (2006). Social Entrepreneurship: Innovation and Social Change across Theory and Practice. In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 57-85). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Perrini, F., Vurro, C., & Costanzo, L. A. (2010). A process-based view of social entrepreneurship: From opportunity identification to scaling-up social change in the case of San Patrignano. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 22(6), 515-534. doi:10.1080/08985626.2010.488402
- Phillips, B. S. (1969). *Sociology: Social Structure and Change*. Toronto: The MacMillan Company.
- Pillow, W. S. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(2).
- Pink, S., & Morgan, J. (2013). Short-term Ethnography: intense routes to knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, 36(3), 351-361.
- Platt, J. (1999). *What Can Case Studies Do?* (Vol. I). London: SAGE Publications.

- Pruthi, S. (2012). Process of Social Entrepreneurship in India: The Case of Goonj. 2, 1-23. doi:10.1108/s2040-7246(2012)0000002005
- Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A., & Limongi, F. (2000). *Democracy and Development - Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, L. L., Bantz, C., Deets, S., Mumby, D., & Van Maanen, J. (1993). Ethnography versus critical theory: debating organizational research. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 2(3), 221-235.
- Rahim, H. L., & Mohtar, S. (2015). Social Entrepreneurship: A Different Perspective. *International Academic Research Journal of Business and Technology*, 1(1), 9-15.
- Rashid, A. T. (2010). Development through Social Entrepreneurship: Evidence from Bangladesh. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 30(3-4), 441-455. doi:10.1080/02255189.2010.9669311
- Raufflet, E., & Amaral, C. G. (2006). Bridging Business and Society: The Abrinq Foundation in Brazil. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 73(1), 119-128. doi:10.1007/s10551-006-9197-z
- Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a Theory of Social Practices: a development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(2), 243-263.
- Reeves, S., Kuper, A., & Hodges, B. D. (2008). Qualitative Research: Qualitative Research Methodologies: Ethnography. *British Medical Journal*, 338(7668), 512-514. doi:10.1136/bmj.a1020
- Rhodes, C. (2009). After Reflexivity: Ethics, Freedom and the Writing of Organization Studies. *Organization Studies*, 30(6), 653-672.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and Selecting Sample. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice - a guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 77-108). London: SAGE Publications.
- Roberts, D., & Woods, C. (2005). Changing the world in a shoestring: the concept of social entrepreneurship. *University of Auckland Business Review*, 11, 45-51.

- Robinson, J. A. (2006). Introduction part III. In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 139-141). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Robles, E. (2013). A New Kind of Social Entrepreneurship in Puerto Rico: "Mujeres Ayudando a Madres". *Review of Business and Finance Studies*, 4(2), 89-96.
- Rossoni, L., Onozato, E., Horoshovski, R. R., Greco, S., & Bastos-Junior, P. (2007). Explorando as Relações do Empreendedorismo de Negócio com o Empreendedorismo Social no Brasil. *ReAD*, 13(3), 612-633.
- Rouse, J. (2006). Practice Theory. In S. Turner & M. Risjord (Eds.), *Handbook of the Philosophy of Science. Volume 15: Philosophy of Anthropology and Sociology* (pp. 499-540). Dordrecht: Elsevier.
- Saldana, J. (2009). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Sanjek, R. (1990). *Fieldnotes: the makings of anthropology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Santos, F. M. (2012). A Positive Theory of Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 111(3), 335-351. doi:10.1007/s10551-012-1413-4
- Schatzki, T. (1996). *Social Practices - A Wittgensteinian Approach to Human Activity and The Social*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schatzki, T. (2001). Introduction: Practice Theory. In T. Schatzki, K. Knorr-Cetina, & E. V. Savigny (Eds.), *The Practice Turn In Contemporary Theory* (pp. 10-23). London: Routledge.
- Schatzki, T. (2002). *The Site of the Social - A Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social Life and Change*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Schatzki, T. (2005). The Sites Of Organizations. *Organization Studies*, 26(3), 465-484.
- Schwartz, B. (2011). *Societal Entrepreneurship contextualized: the dark and bright sides of fair trade* Paper presented at the 8th Annual NYU-Stern Conference on Social Entrepreneurship, New York.

- Seale, C. (1999). *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Seelos, C., Ganlin, K., & Mair, J. (2006). Social Entrepreneurs Directly Contribute to Global Development Goals In J. Mair, J. A. Robinson, & K. Hockerts (Eds.), *Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 235-275). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Seelos, C., Mair, J., Battilana, J., & Dacin, M. T. (2010). *The Embeddedness of Social Entrepreneurship: Understanding Variations Across Local Communities*. Retrieved from IESE Business School – University of Navarra:
- Sen, P. (2007). Ashoka's big idea: Transforming the world through social entrepreneurship. *Futures*, 39(5), 534-553. doi:10.1016/j.futures.2006.10.013
- Seymour, R. G. (2012). Understanding the Social in Social Entrepreneurship In R. G. Seymour (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 3-25). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Shane, S., & Ventakamaran, S. (2000). The Promise of Entrepreneurship as a Field of Research. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), 11-27.
- Sharir, M., & Lerner, M. (2006). Gauging the success of social ventures initiated by individual social entrepreneurs. *Journal of World Business*, 41(1), 6-20. doi:10.1016/j.jwb.2005.09.004
- Shaw, E., & Carter, S. (2007). Social entrepreneurship. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 14(3), 418-434. doi:10.1108/14626000710773529
- Shockley, G. E., & Frank, P. M. (2011). Schumpeter, Kirzner, and the Field of Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 2(1), 6-26. doi:10.1080/19420676.2010.544924
- Short, J. C., Moss, T. W., & Lumpkin, G. T. (2009). Research in social entrepreneurship: past contributions and future opportunities. *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal*, 3(2), 161-194. doi:10.1002/sej.69
- Sinkovics, R., & Alfoldi, E. (2012). Facilitating the interaction between theory and data in Qualitative research using CAQDAS. In G. Symon & C. Cassel (Eds.), *Qualitative organizational research: Core methods and current challenge* (pp. 109-131). London: SAGE Publications.

- Siqueira, A. C. O., Mariano, S. R. H., & Moraes, J. (2014). Supporting Innovation Ecosystems with Microfinance: Evidence from Brazil and Implications for Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 5(3), 318-338.
- Smith, B. R., & Stevens, C. E. (2010). Different types of social entrepreneurship: The role of geography and embeddedness on the measurement and scaling of social value. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 22(6), 575-598. doi:10.1080/08985626.2010.488405
- Souza, J. (2006). *A Construção Social da Subcidadania - Para uma Sociologia Política da Modernidade Periférica*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.
- Spear, R. (2010). Religion and value-driven social entrepreneurship. In K. Hockerts, J. Mair, & J. Robinson (Eds.), *Values and Opportunities in Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 31-51). Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Spear, R., & Lautermann, C. (2013). The ambiguities of (social) value creation: towards an extended understanding of entrepreneurial value creation for society. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 9(2), 184-202. doi:10.1108/sej-01-2013-0009
- Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., & O'Connor, W. (2003). Analysis: Practices, Principles and Processes. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice - a guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 199-218). London: SAGE Publications.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant Observation*. Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Stecker, M. J. (2014). Revolutionizing the Nonprofit Sector Through Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 48(2), 349-358. doi:10.2753/jei0021-3624480208
- Steyaert, C., & Bachmann, M. (2012). Listening to Narratives. In R. G. Seymour (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 51-78). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Steyaert, C., & Hjorth, D. (2006). Introduction: what is social in social entrepreneurship? *Entrepreneurship as Social Change: A Third Movements in Entrepreneurship Book*, 1-+. Retrieved from <Go to ISI>://WOS:000284049100001

- Stryjan, Y. (2006). The Practice of Social Entrepreneurship: Theory and the Swedish Experience. *Journal of Rural Cooperation*, 34(2), 195-224.
- Suddaby, R. (2012). Editor's Comment. *Academy of Management Review*, 37(1), 6-9.
- Sundin, E., & Tillmar, M. (2010). The intertwining of social, commercial and public entrepreneurship. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 142-156). Glos: Edward Elgar.
- Tan, W.-L., Williams, J., & Tan, T.-M. (2005). Defining the 'Social' in 'Social Entrepreneurship': Altruism in Entrepreneurship. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 1, 353-365.
- Tan, W.-L., & Yoo, S.-J. (2014). Social Entrepreneurship Intentions of Nonprofit Organizations. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 6(1), 103-125. doi:10.1080/19420676.2014.954260
- Tasker, M., Westberg, L., & Seymour, R. G. (2012). Participating in Research. In R. G. Seymour (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 79-105). Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Teasdale, S., Dey, P., & Steyaert, C. (2012). Social entrepreneurship: critique and the radical enactment of the social. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 8(2), 90-107. doi:10.1108/17508611211252828
- Teasdale, S., & Palmås, K. (2012). Re-assessing Schumpeterian assumptions regarding entrepreneurship and the social. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 8(2), 141-155. doi:10.1108/17508611211252855
- Thompson, J. (2008). Social enterprise and social entrepreneurship: where have we reached? *Social Enterprise Journal*, 4(2), 149-161. doi:10.1108/17508610810902039
- Thompson, J. (2012). Incredible Edible – social and environmental entrepreneurship in the era of the “Big Society”. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 8(3), 237-250. doi:10.1108/17508611211280773
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851. doi:10.1177/1077800410383121



- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative Research Methods - collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.
- Turner, S. (1994). *The Social Theory of Practices - Tradition, Tacit Knowledge and Pressuppositions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tyzler, M. (2007). Mudança social: uma arte? Empreendimentos sociais que utilizam a arte como forma de mudança. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 41(6), 1017-1034.
- Urbano, D., Toledano, N., & Soriano, D. R. (2010). Analyzing Social Entrepreneurship from an Institutional Perspective: Evidence from Spain. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 1(1), 54-69. doi:10.1080/19420670903442061
- Valeau, P. (2010). Social entrepreneurs in non-profit organizations: innovation and dilemmas. In A. Fayolle & H. Matlay (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Social Entrepreneurship* (pp. 205-231). Glos: Edward Elgar.
- VanSandt, C. V., Sud, M., & Marne, C. (2009). Enabling the Original Intent: Catalysts for Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 90, 419-428.
- Varga, I. (2009). Georg Simmel: Religion and Spirituality. In K. Flanagan & P. C. Jupp (Eds.), *A Sociology of Spirituality* (pp. 145-160). Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.
- Vasakarla, V. (2008). A Study on Social Entrepreneurship and the Characteristics of Social Entrepreneurs. *The Icfaian Journal of Management*, 7(4), 32-40.
- Vasconcelos, A. M., & Lezana, A. G. R. (2012). Modelo de Ciclo de Vida de Empreendimentos Sociais. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 46(4), 1037-1058.
- Veal, A. J. (2005). *Business research methods: A managerial approach*. Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education Australia.
- Waddock, S. (2009). Pragmatic Visionaries: Difference Makers as Social Entrepreneurs. *Organizational Dynamics*, 38(4), 281-289. doi:DOI 10.1016/j.orgdyn.2009.07.007
- Waddock, S., & Steckler, E. (2013). Wisdom, Spirituality, Social Entrepreneurs, and Self-Sustaining Practices: What Can We Learn from Difference Makers? In J.

Neal (Ed.), *Handbook of Faith and Spirituality in the Workplace: Emerging Research and Practice* (pp. 285-301). New York: Springer.

Waddock, S., & Steckler, E. (2014). Visionaries and Wayfinders: Deliberate and Emergent Pathways to Vision in Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Ethics*. doi:10.1007/s10551-014-2451-x

Wang, J. (2012). HRD for Societal Development: What Can We Learn From Social Entrepreneurship in the Developing World? *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 14(3), 305-317-317. doi:10.1177/1523422312446145

Wasserfall, R. R. (1997). Reflexivity, Feminism and Difference. In R. Hertz (Ed.), *Reflexivity & Voice* (pp. 150-167). London: SAGE Publications.

Watson, T. J. (2011). Ethnography, reality, and truth. *Journal of Management Studies*, 48(1), 202-217.

Weerawardena, J., & Mort, G. S. (2006). Investigating social entrepreneurship: A multidimensional model. *Journal of World Business*, 41(1), 21-35. doi:10.1016/j.jwb.2005.09.001

Weick, K. E. (1974). Amendments to Organizational Theorizing. *Academy of Management Journal*, 17(3), 487-502.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(4), 522-537.

Whittington, R. (2006). Completing the Practice Turn in Strategy Research. *Organization Studies*, 27(5), 613-634. doi:10.1177/0170840606064101

Whittington, R. (2011). The practice turn in organization research: Towards a disciplined transdisciplinarity. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 36, 183-186.

Williams, C. C., & Nadin, S. (2011). Beyond the commercial versus social entrepreneurship divide. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 7(2), 118-129. doi:10.1108/17508611111156592

- Williams, D., & Knife, K. (2012). The Dark Side of Social Entrepreneurship. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship*, 16, 63-75.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography - a way of seeing*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Wood, C., & Carvalho, J. A. M. (1988). *The Demography of Inequality in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zahra, S. A., Gedajlovic, E., Neubaum, D. O., & Shulman, J. M. (2009). A typology of social entrepreneurs: Motives, search processes and ethical challenges. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 24(5), 519-532. doi:10.1016/j.jbusvent.2008.04.007
- Zeyen, A., Beckmann, M., Mueller, S., Dees, J. G., Khanin, D., Krueger, N., . . . Zacharakis, A. (2013). Social Entrepreneurship and Broader Theories: Shedding New Light on the 'Bigger Picture'. *Journal of Social Entrepreneurship*, 4(1), 88-107. doi:10.1080/19420676.2012.725422