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Susan is Reader in Sustainable Business at the Centre for Enterprise, Manchester Metropolitan University Business School. Her research spans enterprise, innovation, public services and civil society. A decade of collaboration with community groups, social enterprises and co-operatives has been drawn together in a recent book: Hardill, I. and Baines, S. 2011 Enterprising care? Voluntary action in the 21st century, Bristol, The Policy Press. She has also published research articles in many journals including New Technology, Work and Employment; Social Policy and Administration; and Policy & Politics.

Martin is a Lecturer in the School of Education at the University of Manchester. Martin has over twenty years experience of working in the voluntary and statutory sectors, providing developmental support to community-based organisations designing and delivering services in some of the most disadvantaged communities in the UK. Martin's research interests are the application of community development values and principles in community regeneration, and he is currently producing a book on translating personal and professional values in practice in a range of contexts, including social enterprises.

Abstract:

Purpose: This article offers new reflection upon the contested interaction of social enterprises with the public sector. It does this by fore fronting the notions of boundaries, boundary work and boundary objects.

Design/methodology/approach: We report qualitative research with social enterprise practitioners (from social enterprises and support agencies) in the north of England. Accounts elicited through interviews are combined with visual data in the form of pencil drawings made by practitioners when we invited them to respond to and rework diagrammatic models from the literature.

Findings: Participants explained in words and images how normative perspectives of social enterprise depicting linear and static boundaries inadequately represent the complexity of ideas and interactions in their world. Rather, they perceived an iterative process of crossing and re-crossing boundaries, with identities and practices, which appeared to shift over time in relation to different priorities.

Implications: Through participant-generated visual data in which social enterprise practitioners literally redrew models from the literature, we open space to show movement, transgression and transformation.

Originality/value: We make novel use of conversations and drawings in order to better understand the dynamic and everyday practices of social enterprise in relation to public services. In doing this, we also potentially contribute to richer methodological resources for researching movement within social entrepreneurship.

Key words: Social entrepreneurship, visual data, boundary work, boundary objects, transgressiveness, public policy

Classification: Research paper

Social and Political

The modernisation of public services has become increasingly associated with new contractual arrangements in which charities, community groups and social enterprises have been energetically encouraged to compete for public contracts (Pestoff and Brandsen, 2010; Davies, 2011). This international phenomenon reflects a crisis in welfare systems and reduced state engagement in the direct delivery of public services (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006; Hogg and Baines, 2011). As Russell and Scott (2007, p.28) found, experiences of social enterprise were of 'continuous change and unpredictability' arising from numerous interactions with public sector and government. While recent research contributes empirical accounts of the operations of third sector organisations (Greenhalgh and Harradine, 2012), we include differing practitioner views of social entrepreneurship, crossing boundaries of third and public sectors, as we believe these interactions cannot be understood from one perspective.

This study contributes to an understanding at a historical point of these interactions between the third and public sectors, which have received increased attention over the past decade. The historic aspects of government policy (especially under New Labour) are significant, because they are associated with imperatives for the transformation of third sector social organisations – facing new demands and opportunities – into social enterprises. Within the UK, social enterprise has grown in response to changes and challenges to grant funding combined with the third sector being encouraged to deliver statutory service provision (Kerlin, 2006). This study also addresses how boundary objects and notions of boundary work and transgression – as opposed to government reconfiguration of sectoral boundaries or service provision – can be used to understand how practitioners made sense of their positions within this process. Dey and Steyaert (2012) note practitioners' views are fundamental to understanding practice and refining theory; yet, barely researched. We represent and analyse how practitioners made sense of and attempted to present the complexity of their 'everydayness' (Steyaert and Landstrom, 2011) through showing us in visual formats how they grappled with change in terms of policy, and how understandings and interactions were negotiated.

We introduce conceptual notions of boundary work and transgression, after which we position social entrepreneurship in relation to policy narratives and academic models. This is followed by our empirical research design and our rationale for using a combination of visual and narrative methods, particularly the use of models depicting boundaries within social entrepreneurship. We then draw on fieldwork to discuss a series of visual images in which practitioners literally draw lines showing the act of crossing and re-crossing boundaries. Finally, we identify limitations and possible areas of further research.

Social entrepreneurship as boundary work

Boundary work refers to everyday ways in which people construct narratives to negotiate social, organisational and commercial boundaries (Greenman, 2011). Lindgren and Packendorff (2006, p.224) propose that boundary work means participants constantly re-draw the parameters as they exchange ideas and values, implying 're-creation and change of world(s) they inhabit – including how they see themselves'. Informed by the European approach to critical narrative analysis in enterprise

studies (Down, 2013), we recognise that there are 'multiple social identities and boundaries' that 'give meaning to entrepreneurial activities' (Greenman, 2011, p.118). Jones et al. (2008) show similar thinking of how people draw lines between groups of 'us' and 'them'.

Multiple boundaries identified in the social entrepreneurship literature distinguish between:

1. 'Purely philanthropy' and 'purely commercial', presented in discussions of linear transitions and metaphors of balance (Dees, 1998; Dees and Anderson, 2006);
2. Social and economic (Alter, 2004; Emerson and Bonini, 2004; Saunders and McClellan, 2012), reflecting the ideological nature of the narrative (Steyaert and Hjorth, 2003); and
3. 'Blurring' in long standing boundaries between private, public and third sectors (Pharoah et al., 2004; Nicholls, 2006), referring to movement of services across sectoral boundaries (Alcock, 2010; Davies, 2011; Teasdale et al., 2012).

While development of the notion of boundary work has previously drawn on either evolutionary models (Star and Griesemer, 1989) or Actor-Network-Theory (Latour, 2005), we query some of these assumptions of boundaries, turning to boundary crossing and links to transgressiveness by:

> … action which involves the limit, that narrow zone of a line where it displays the flash of its passage … it is likely that transgression has its entire space in the line it crosses.
>
> Foucault, 1977, p. 33-34

What Foucault emphasises is the relationship between crossing over a limit and transgression. Thus, social enterprise might be conceived more in these spaces of 'lightening flashes' – crossing and re-crossing a boundary – than existing within the static overlaps of different sectors [see figure 2]. By extension, it can be argued that there is no return to previous clear positions of values and identities of those within the third sector and those, on the other side of the line, in the public sector. What trangressiveness might also offer is a means of replacing notions of a smooth linear transition (Dees, 1998; Dees and Anderson, 2006) or the opposite, of constant change, movement and contradiction (Foucault, 1977; Dey and Steyaert, 2012). Additionally, it might offer an alternative way of conceiving processes rather than the predominate metaphor of balance perpetuated in the literature (Emerson and Bonini, 2004; Dees and Anderson, 2006; Perrini, 2006). Foucault (1977, p. 39) finds ideas might be seen as 'located in movement of various' narratives. As Dey and Steyaert (2012, p.104) highlight, Foucault's notion of transgression offers a means for considering existing relations of power and 'a shift from the metaphor of resistance as opposition (e.g. defence, guarding protecting), to one which highlights movement (e.g. traversing, crossing, permeating)'.

Boundary work is linked to the notion of boundary objects. According to Star and Griesemer (1989), a boundary object 'sits in the middle' of a group of actors with divergent viewpoints. Thus, boundary objects are meaningful across various communities, yet can accommodate dissent between them (Bowker and Star, 1999). They can be in the form of words, stories, scenarios, artefacts (Law, 1999; Latour, 2005), or – as discussed below – academic models.

The picture so far: Social entrepreneurship in terms of policy

We consider social entrepreneurship against the background of how the third sector in England was subject to various political interventions during the New Labour era. In 2006, New Labour created an Office for the Third Sector, and established funded support programmes for social organisations to improve their readiness to deliver public services, emphasising business solutions (Russell and Scott, 2007). In targeting third sector organisations as delivery partners, programmes were initiated to develop the third sector and to promote social enterprise.

Whilst distinguishing social enterprise from mainstream business, and from traditional third sector activities, government narratives of social enterprise focussed upon a transition into mainstream public sector. These reflected strong normative assumptions equating entrepreneurialism with efficiency and reliability, and fitting the public service modernisation agenda, including co-production between the public and third sectors (Pestoff and Brandsen, 2010). This view features in both government documents (DTI 2002; HM Treasury, 2002; OTS, 2007) and academic literature (Dees et al., 2001; Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). However, while noting that the sector is not 'forced to take contracts', organisations were urged to understand the relationships and implications of entering into contractual agreements with statutory providers (Home Office, 2008).

While policies emphasise the expectations and assumptions regarding different sectors' roles (Amin, 2009), debates about relations between sectors have been 'energetic and vehement' (Baines et al., 2008). For example, some commentators (e.g. Leadbeater, 2007) argue that mainstreaming social enterprise can positively affect the other sectors; a perspective which views social entrepreneurship as:

> a way to make nonprofits more market-driven, client driven, and self-sufficient – in other words, as commercialized non-profits.
>
> Perrini (2006, p.60)

Alternatively, critics claim the 'mainstream approach' did not address concerns of those seeking alternative solutions to traditional market forces (Amin et al., 2002; Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004); here, in dealing with the 'business world':

> some care therefore needs to be taken as to what extent social entrepreneurship offers an alternative to existing forms of social change, or to what extent it is simply the extension and intrusion of 'business' into the 'social' and political arenas.
>
> Grenier (2006, p.137-8)

The imagery of a social enterprise continuum (Figure 1) is invoked in discussing transitions from one state (social organisation) towards another perceived as more desirable (social enterprise). We note that in modifications to Dees' framework (1998), Dees and Anderson (2006) replaced working towards 'mixed motives' with the phrase 'balance of mission and market driven'.

		Purely Philanthropic	⟷	Purely Commercial
Motives, methods, and goals		Appeal to goodwill Mission driven Social value	Mixed motives Mission and market driven Social and economic value	Appeal to self-interest Market driven Economic value
Key stake- holders	Beneficiaries	Pay nothing	Subsidized rates, or mix of full payers and those who pay nothing	Market-rate prices
	Capital	Donations and grants	Below-market capital, or mix of donations and market-rate capital	Market-rate capital
	Workforces	Volunteers	Below-market wages, or mix of volunteers and fully paid staff	Market-rate compensation
	Suppliers	Make in-kind donations	Special discounts, or mix of in-kind and full-price donations	Market-rate prices

Figure 1: Social enterprise spectrum showing boundaries (Adapted from Dees 1998)

Figure 1 has achieved mainstream acceptance (Peattie and Morley, 2008, p. 54), although the model has also been implicitly accepted in counter-arguments advocating resistance to such transformation, characterising such movement as damaging to social organisations' missions, values and distinctiveness.

Figure 2 depicts a cross-sectoral model, with clear boundaries commonly drawn between sectors. It has been used to clarify trading areas and to indicate the origins, ethos and characteristics of evolving organisations (Pharoah et al., 2004; Nicholls, 2006). While theorists commonly depict solid lines for boundaries, thus implying clear and static locations and omitting 'tensions fields' (Evers and Laville, 2004), this model locates social enterprise / entrepreneurship at the overlaps.
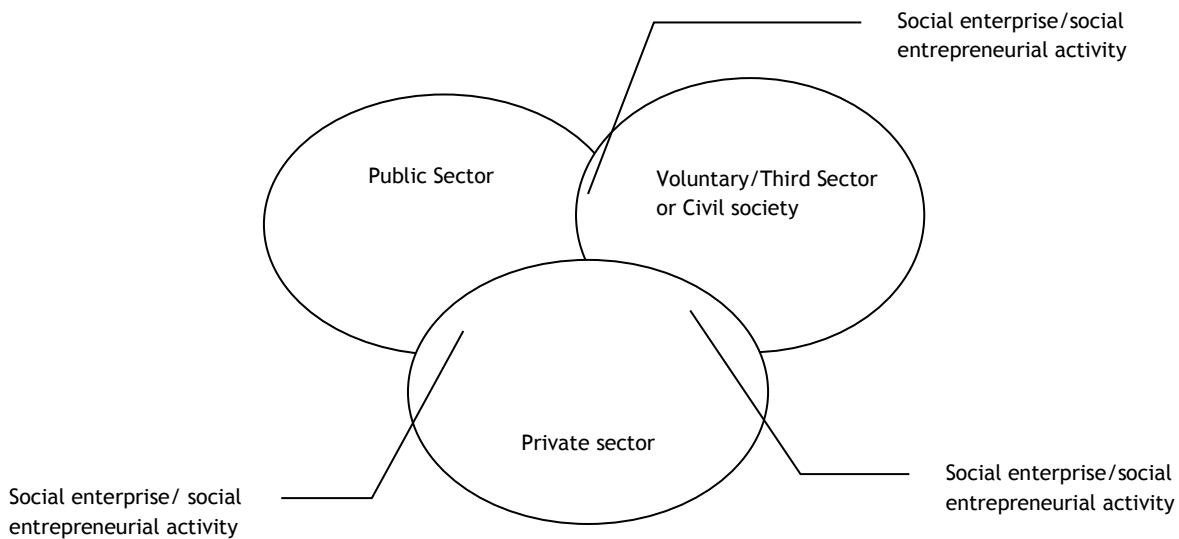

Figure 2: A view of social enterprise boundaries

(adapted from Pharoah et al., 2004 and Leadbeater, 1997)

New Labour rhetoric influenced how social enterprise is conceived, and is reflected in academic models. While their emphases differ, Figures 1 and 2 deploy the imagery of boundaries to delineate assimilating and balancing, or of resisting a new type of identity, activity and values or of sectoral

positioning. Moreover, each offers representations of boundaries in diagrammatic form, with line or circles. We believe these diagrams can work as useful tools in negotiating these boundaries, in other words doing 'boundary work'.

Approach to research and methodology

The research sought to utilize the notion of boundary work, particularly the process, to better understand how practitioners negotiate social entrepreneurship. In considering the process of transition, Johnson et al. (2006, p.135) argue social entrepreneurship researchers 'have to begin by understanding the ways in which people, through social interaction, actively constitute and reconstitute the culturally derived meanings, which they deploy to interpret their experiences and organize social action'. However, Brown et al. (2005, p.1038) claim 'realities are fluid … constructions being constantly made and re-made in the conversations between insiders and between insiders and outsiders'. Yet, they found in most interpretive accounts a single, homogenized account is voiced.

In line with these views, our analysis adopts a narrative approach. Figure 3 illustrates our construction using a 'practice lens' to explore how participants in existing organisations and agencies interact with the notion of social enterprise.
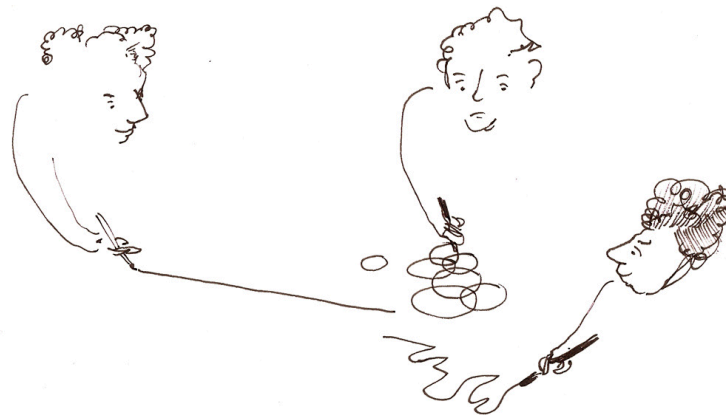

Figure 3: Construct of how and where participants draw the line (©Thom War, 2013)

Ely et al. (1997) found drawings capture meaning used by representatives of organisations and provided valuable insights into issues interviewees were attempting to interpret and resolve. Stiles (2004, p.127) proposed that the approach holds value stating 'images can be as valuable as words or numbers in exploring organizational constructs'. However, value is not neutral, as Dunford and Jones (2000, p.1209) found, 'the nature of narrative as something that is intended to persuade others towards certain understandings and actions'. Our research queries the *a priori* models and focuses upon how practitioners draw the 'movement' in working between boundaries.

The fieldwork included interviews with 43 participants (22 paid workers representing third sector

organisations; 21 paid workers representing support agencies). Both support workers and practitioners in organisations were included, reflecting Gilchrist's (2000, p.271) view that a 'hidden part of advisors' roles were as interpreters, especially at times of misunderstanding or conflict', and that they are important in enabling others to communicate effectively and work together. Interviews lasting approximately 1.5 hours were taped and transcribed in full, and participants' drawings were scanned. Early parts of the interviews were exploratory and during the later stages participants were shown adaptations of figures 1 and 2.

Data analysis: Models as boundary objects

Analysis utilizing a narrative approach perspective offered a means of considering the tensions between the narrative logics, in this instance between the dominant positivist logic of entrepreneurship, as in the review of the literature, and that of narrative logic perspective [framed as a minor narrative]. First, it examines prevailing ways of talking about social enterprise in public policy and much of the academic literature; and second, it queries what happens in everyday practice so as not to privilege government and academic narratives.

Boundary objects may be used to conceive how differing groups in need of 'negotiations of meaning' (Hermanrud and Eide, 2011, p.4) respond. This reflects the change from thinking of these as objects to processes and as such 'address flexibility and process rather than something static and fixed' (Hermanrud and Eide, 2011, p.5). We add to this the notion of space. Arthur et al. (2009) talk of creating 'alternative social spaces' – akin to Williams' (2002) 'spaces of hope' – which differ from mainstream service provision and may influence the way mainstream services are delivered. Thus, we introduce the notion of space within our discussion of boundary work as one where participants make choices [emphasising the importance of human agency], as well as patterns of political transformation and social actions. These views have implications for how the concept is conceived in policy and practice and the consequences of how practitioners position themselves in spaces they have also enacted. These are neither objective spaces, nor are they entirely socially constructed; rather it is the symbolic construction of space that is of interest (Massey, 2005; Soja, 2000). Thus as researchers, we seek to highlight that interpretation changes over time and has an impact upon the process of transition. We ask what if there are less clear signs than outright refusal and failure (Curtis, 2008) or positive signs of hope (Williams, 2002)?

Participants were invited to consider if they had previously seen or used the models. They were then invited to draw upon the model to represent their experiences, and then to interpret their drawings. This added a layer of 'co-production' in the research process by enabling participants to mark and annotate the model, and even to cross out and redraw (Prosser and Loxley, 2008). In keeping with other interpretative data analysis, and in attempts to reconsider key issues presented in the original interviews, we moved iteratively between reading and re-reading transcripts, and comparing visual data. This drew us to return to theorizing, this time of boundary work and transgressiveness. By undertaking this approach, where interactions and different views are sought, insights into everyday practices, which might be 'hidden or at least unnoticed' (Pink, 2012, p.12), were drawn.

Insights: Perspectives of crossing and re-crossing boundaries

We consider in turn how participants negotiated boundaries around notions of: 1] Movement and evolved transitions, and – linked to this – (re)presentations of identity and identification; and 2] perceptions of opportunity.

Reconstructing notions of movement and evolved transitions

Informed by comments to Dees' linear model and in answer to the specific question, 'How are you making sense of this moving from grants to contracts?', some participants from social organisations referred to a 'new environment'. Three of them described specific events where decisions were taken to become *social enterprises* and the term 'passage point' was used to describe what they had experienced as an organisation. One commented that the organisation 'will never be there again', in reference to the same position in the process when developing new projects and relationships with resource providers. Others, in contrast, repeatedly expressed situations as being 'the same', or that 'nothing has changed'. A few specifically stated there had been no 'paradigm shift'. This suggests that they did not typically perceive transforming into social enterprise as a 'decision-making event', but rather as 'on-going actions' in response to long-term change. These participants' stories and drawings were of a process of iterative movements and evolved transitions.
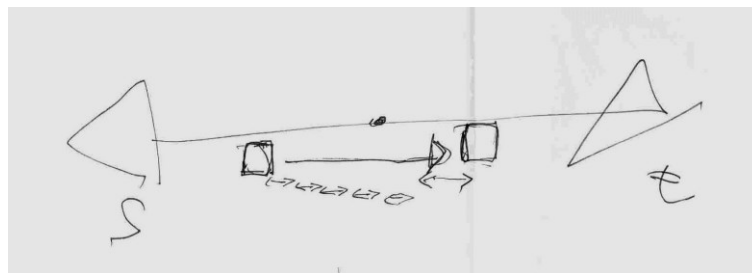

Figure 4: Drawing depicting incremental change

Two participants representing their organisation drew Figure 4. Rather than interact with the spectrum models, they drew instead their own continuum. They subtly changed the ends of their sketch from the diagram presented to them and drew a (£) to replace 'market driven' and a (s) social for 'mission driven' at the poles. One drew the large arrow in the middle pointing towards the £, which he stated was used to symbolise more financial security rather than profit. The other then said it was not as 'straightforward' a process, drawing the series of smaller arrows underneath. They concurred in discussion that this better represented the process, experienced as a series of backward and forward movements between their goals. These show that they had moved beyond the mid-point on the spectrum (as denoted by the box nearer the £) in order to become more financially secure; however, they are seeking to move back towards the social end. This drawing illustrated that a smooth linear movement towards the economic end did not reflect their everyday practices, and also that the ends of the spectrum – although seemingly similar in meaning – were nonetheless different from those of the academic model. Moreover, the overall impression from organisational participants was that mainstream support was 'one-dimensional' in focussing upon funding, supporting Schwabenland's assertion (2006, p.107) that 'social entrepreneurship is

increasingly defined primarily in terms of diversifying the funding base ... not demonstrating new ideas or models'.

How participants conceived the boundaries of identity and identification links to the depiction of normative models. When shown the cross-sectoral model, organisational representatives emphasised that their social enterprise activity was positioned within the overlap between the public and third sectors. However, there was a view that general socially entrepreneurial activity was located between the private and public sectors. Yet none drew a single location and instead drew arrows to depict movement and flux. Reflecting upon when they first heard the term social enterprise, no organisational representatives felt it had been first introduced within the boundaries of their own organisations. This is not to suggest they were passive in accepting the new identity, or that they were in any way a 'victim' of those promoting social enterprise within public policy.

Advisors appeared to influence identity, seemingly assuming that a social enterprise identity would be adopted. One noted:

> people need to critically work out what the different meanings are of social enterprise and where they will take you.

Advisors marked social enterprise at the interstices of where all three sectors overlap, some putting particular emphasis on the overlaps shared with the private sector and describing these as an 'untapped area' into which they sought to move. One – supporting social enterprise activity in the third sector – felt the organisations he supported needed to show they would eventually become 'viable' by becoming part of a mainstream service. Many advisors found the linear models problematic for making sense of their every day experiences. One said that instead of a 'thin line', the continuum needed to have 'a big smudgy broad messy line' to represent the diversity of organisations and projects. Another commented:

> The line implies you're more of one and less of the other. There is not enough depth – it doesn't say enough. It is a long line: it is like you either go one way along the line, or you go back along the line. You don't ever fit in a place.

This idea of fitting in a place is of note. It also shows that some practitioners delivering social enterprise support under government policies also grappled with how social enterprise is portrayed by government rhetoric and academic models.

Some participants refused to place a mark upon the line. Two advisors – asserting that the spectrum was not useful for considering social enterprise development - claimed the two ends should not be positioned on one continuum; they indicated that charities are mission-driven and those that are market-driven are social enterprises. Their view appears to better fit that of government rhetoric.

Re-constructing perceptions of opportunity

We now consider how participants applied the cross-sectoral models to their collaborative working across sectors. Advisors appeared to hold two givens: 1) social missions are linked to opportunity recognition; 2) third sector organisations are generally considered 'risk averse', due to the lack of

trustees' business experience and 'proactive governance'. Some described a problem from the overlapping nature of the sectors. One said in 'trying to build partnerships' with social organisations there was a need for 'clear water' between what each was attempting to do, implying she sought limits and the crossing between boundaries was problematic.

Utilizing the cross-sectoral model as a boundary object with organisational participants offered different views of opportunities. A few emphasised movement across the overlap of private and third sectors, as illustrated by Figure 5, produced by two participants contracted to provide social services for statutory providers. They drew their organisation firmly in the Vol. [voluntary sector], and saw the future of social enterprise – drawn as dots into the private sector – in developing a separate training project.
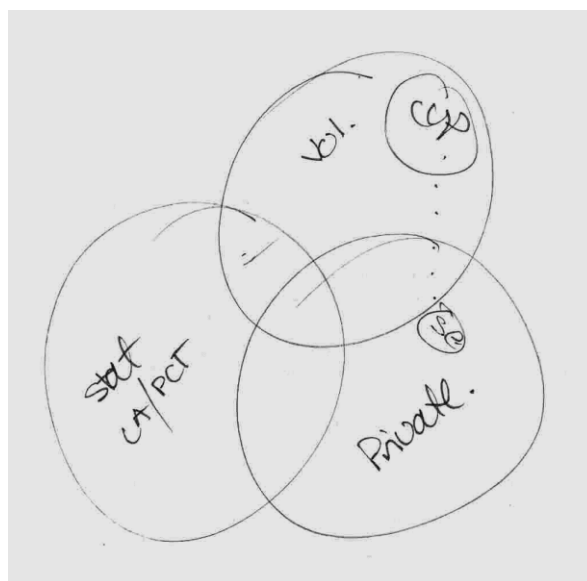

Figure 5: Viewing a social enterprise opportunity

More commonly opportunities were perceived in relation to the public sector and service delivery. Nevertheless, a common question was 'Is it an opportunity?' or 'How much is it gonna cost us?', with several participants describing experiences of being pressured into 'providing things on the cheap' for statutory providers. An advisor also identified two pragmatic risks to organisations: 1) investing time developing projects that may get nowhere in delivering public sector services; and 2) cashflow problems, even if projects come to fruition. He cited public sector funding streams paying quarterly to organisations left unable to pay monthly bills, which then go 'into the red'; however, advice about such risks is not offered to organisations, with learning left instead to hindsight from the experiences of mistakes.

Organisational participants commented that key factors were the statutory services' norms and reluctance to make procurement procedures transparent. They claimed the onus appeared to be placed upon organisations to compromise, which one organisational participant accepted:

> it's ok, it's a game, and to play it you have to know the rules. And you have to be able to
> bend the rules a bit.

This does not suggest illegal activities but rather transgression and learning the rules in order to make them work for their organisations. As such they are engaging in adaptive ways of working and key aspects of being entrepreneurial – although not changing rules. However, they also understood the need to know and to play by the rules in order to gain legitimacy and contractual agreements with public sector agencies.

Ability to secure contracts was perceived to rest upon reputation (e.g. being seen as 'a safe pair of hands'). Participants from two organisations highlighted risk in voicing problems to third parties – alluding to the perception 'outside' that social enterprise equals success and other positive connotations, whereas voluntary and social equates to negative connotations, old fashioned and out of touch. One commented they could not tell a support agency that they were struggling, for fear that essential funding would be withdrawn. Another said that admitting there were problems would adversely affect their chances of securing future contracts.

Organisational participants also voiced concern over potential competitors within the local third sector 'going bust'; none wanted their organisation to survive at another's expense. At the same time, large private sector businesses were perceived by all participants as a threat, especially when tendering against small social organisations. This threat – drawn by an advisor (Figure 6) – depicts big business changing the boundaries between sectors and encroaching upon areas of service delivery.
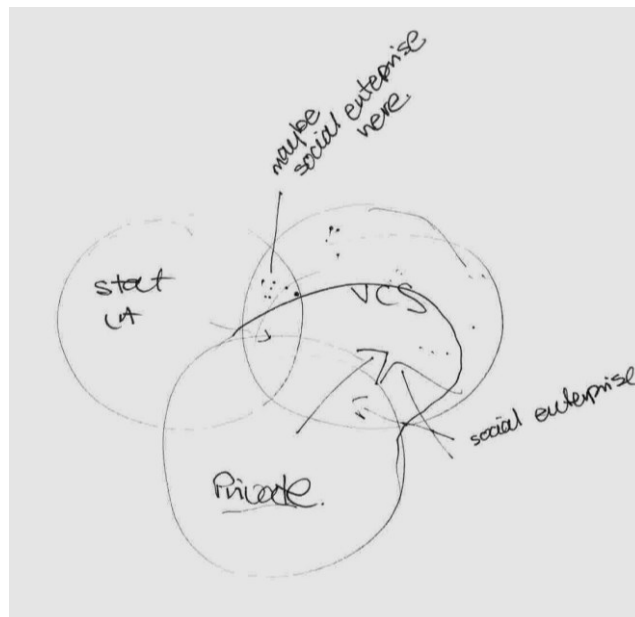

Figure 6: Social enterprise as a private sector threat

The advisor initially made small dots to show the diversity of activities within the voluntary and community sector, and highlighted the common ground and overlaps between the public (annotated as statutory services provided by local authorities) and voluntary and community sector, which she identified as 'maybe' the location of social enterprise. However, her next marks were assertive and

she amended the boundaries of the private sector to emphasise her reality of the changing environment. Similar to organisational participants, she described a 'huge threat' (symbolised by arrows) as coming from this area and articulated a need to 'defend' against the private sector taking contracts that she felt would be better delivered by the third sector. The picture is particularly telling in that – although tensions exist between third and public sectors – there appears a feeling of commonality in developing social enterprising solutions, to keep 'them' (the private sector) at bay.

Concluding thoughts: Limits and promises of boundary work

This paper describes ways in which participants engage in social enterprise, specifically how they make sense of their positions and negotiate space and meanings. Previous studies have demonstrated that how organisations are perceived by infrastructure agencies affects both their access to resources and the 'boundaries' and 'priorities' for the field (Grenier, 2006); and that working at inter-sectoral boundaries highlights the need for social enterprises to be adaptable to changing social, political and economic climate (Alcock and Scott, 2007). Some theorists utilising cross-sectoral models however position social enterprise within a static location, within solid boundaries, thus neglecting movement.

Utilizing transgression we found no one view, no clearly delineated lines of boundaries. As for reconstructing notions of movement there appeared no smooth linear transition to social enterprise, and the linear model proved problematic as it misses the messiness of everyday practice. Nor did the linear spectrum facilitate participants to separate ideas of 'efficiency' and the 'modernisation agenda' from diminishing grant resources. As one participant commented these ideas were 'conflated' yet 'complex', perhaps mirroring Kerlins' (2006) view that the development of the social enterprise sector is influenced by changes in grant funding and the development of effective service provision by the third sector. Indeed this response to a funding crisis was happening at the same time as the drive by some practitioners for modernisation and improved efficiency of the third sector.

Notably, the frameworks did not enable other types of transgression to be readily discussed. Only when handling the pencils did participants redraw the models, adding different views of social enterprise transformations. Hence, an iterative process of crossing and re-crossing boundaries with identities and practices became apparent, shifting over time in relation to different priorities. Thus in part reflecting a key insight drawing upon Pestoff's (1998) account of tensions in inter-sectoral boundaries. However, these problems were not something to be expressed in public as this might adversely affect access to support. This finding highlights the power structures in these relationships. By looking at everyday practices we can begin to see how some aspects of identity and identification were adopted to gain a type of legitimacy with public sector agencies, whilst others were negotiated or minimally adhered to in the relationships with public sector.

Cross-sectoral models offered spaces to discuss issues reconstructing perceptions of opportunity beyond static organisational boundaries, particularly interactions, and supported notions of co-created opportunities. Utilizing drawings helped to uncover hidden areas of opportunity (and risk), such as private conversations of problems not stated in public. That opportunities are primarily perceived between the public and third sectors was unsurprising within the context of this study.

Whilst the state has undoubtedly influenced social enterprise, participants' interactions with the cross-sectoral model suggested more than a static view locating themselves within the limit of a boundary between the sectors. We highlight the negotiations between participants and attempt to open space to show movement in how practices are changing, which crosses the boundaries an imposed static framework of the data would not offer.

We propose three ways for research to negotiate boundaries and offer different ways to frame social enterprise. First, engage playfully with narrative approaches, 'handing the pencil' to participants to make images that complement their stories and reflect upon assumptions. Second, we suggest transgressiveness and boundary work as complementary notions, offering a means of seeing empirical data as more than merely constant movement and/or contradictions. However, whilst practitioners comfortably spoke of co-creating opportunities with the public sector/ threats from the private sector, we noted that they utilized the models to illustrate flux, fluidity and movement. However, choosing such models of sectors possibly overly imposed a symbolic space where only certain movement can be conceived. We think that radical change and what is meant by social enterprise, as a movement, warrants further investigation.

By valuing the views of practitioners undertaking boundary work, we seek new perspectives, though we do not suggest that government narratives are less true than those small stories of practitioners. Although presenting the visual materials as boundary objects, we recognise the possibility that social enterprise may not be a central concern of contemporary practitioners. We also acknowledge that boundary objects are not solely positive, or even a value-neutral tool; the use of a boundary object to advantage one view over another – or enhance individual status – holds power implications as the objects can also act to enhance or constrain shared understanding. Given that transformation and power relations are implicit, we are interested in the view that neither theories of resistance nor normative models are subtle enough to capture everyday practices and instead these dichotomies are being perceived as 'increasingly irrelevant' (Pink, 2012, p. 4).

In concluding, debate appears to set up two opposing boundaries – those staying within the mainstream versus those seen as resistant or troublesome by seeking alternative solutions (Curtis, 2008; Hudson, 2009). However, practitioner drawings suggest both of these views might be misleading. Instead of a binary view between these spaces, practitioners did not see government policy advocating the notion of enterprise as positive and to be embraced, or as enterprise as negative and to be resisted at all costs. Our work illustrates tensions interrelated to boundary work and how social enterprise is taken up by practitioners. We acknowledge that the research was undertaken when New Labour was attempting to mainstream social enterprise and the third sector. The political landscape has clearly changed since then, most notably emphasis on fiscal austerity following the recession. Yet despite differences of rhetoric and language (e.g. the Coalition renamed the Third Sector as Civil Society), there has also been remarkable continuity with regard to the roles and responsibilities allocated to the third sector.

To limit critique to these aspects severely limits the development of the field. We argue the need for more attention to the iterative processes of social entrepreneurship in pubic service delivery. We hope our work has emphasized the value of drawing upon boundary work, and participants' drawings, to begin to think of different ways of conceiving social entrepreneurship. By focusing upon

the dominant policy portrayal of social enterprise between public and third sectors, we question if this does 'satisfy the information requirements of each of them' (Star and Griesemer, 1989, p.393). We call for yet further questioning of assumptions, and for renewed efforts to facilitate alternative understandings of how social enterprise is interpreted and enacted in everyday thinking, identities, practices and power relations. Our study supports Dey and Steyaert's call (2012) to transgress political narratives of government authorities, politicians and think-tanks, and to create critical space where the 'unexpected can take flight'. Relinquishing our assumptions and power, by giving participants pencils, we stimulated responses that were at times unexpected and unlike the smooth linear transition played out in government policy and the literature. We hope our research encourages further thinking beyond building and maintaining boundaries, and that the narratives of practitioners' movements might offer glimpses to change how we conceive practice, policy and theory.

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