EXPLORING THEORY-BASED EVALUATION FOR SOCIAL IMPACT: THE CASE OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISES DEALING WITH POVERTY ALLEVIATION THROUGH OPPORTUNITIES FOR INCOME GENERATION

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List of Contents

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List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

CIC	Community Interest Company
CMO	Pawson and Tilley's (2004) Context (C) – Mechanism (M) – Outcome (O) configuration
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ERC	European Research Council
EURECIA	The study of understanding and assessing the impact and outcomes of the European Research Council (ERC) and its Funding Schemes (Nedeva et al., 2012)
GIIN	Global Impact Investing Network
GIIRS	Global Impact Investing Rating System
IRIS	Impact Reporting and Investment Standards
SEM	Structural Equation Modelling
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
TBE	Theory-Based Evaluation

Abstract

Current approaches to the social impact assessment of social enterprises are theoretically deficient, practically challenging and, more significantly, make unqualified assumptions about the direct path of causal attribution of outcomes to activities undertaken. A theory-based approach to evaluation does not make assumptions about causal attribution; instead, it focuses on 'how' and 'why' change occurs by uncovering and evaluating the underlying causal mechanisms, related positive and negative effects, and conditions that will likely lead to long-term outcomes (Weiss, 1997b). Using social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through income generation, this thesis explores the use of theory-based evaluation as an alternative to current approaches to social impact assessment to better understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises.

By first developing a classification of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through income generation to help identify causally similar groups (Beach and Pedersen, 2013), this comparative case study uses semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries, leaders and employees (where possible) of three social enterprises to uncover causal mechanisms and related effects. Through within and cross-case analysis of social enterprises that target poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities, the conditions for change were subsequently identified to develop a preliminary change model that uncovers 'how' and 'why' change occurs that would guide the evaluation of social impact and aids comparison.

Besides output-related causal mechanisms, the study uncovered a preliminary change model encompassing enablement and psychosocial factors of leadership and support, community and belonging, and recognition, mapping impact pathways to poverty alleviation. Linked to the intended outcome by dimensions of beneficiary participation, intervention and beneficiary retention, these causal mechanisms depict how change, and social impact, is most likely to occur when conditions for change are in place and negative effects related to beneficiaries' culture, steep learning curve, and business performance of the social enterprises, are managed.

This study makes original contributions both to knowledge and practice that include a replicable classification that can be used as a basis for research and comparison. This study also uncovers a preliminary change model and new view to social impact that is clear and specific to a bounded population enabling assessment and comparison with the ability to predict the likelihood of change. The study details a replicable approach to theory-based evaluation uniquely integrating classification techniques and signalling theory to uncover causal mechanisms and links to the intended outcome. Testing the preliminary change model would enable the eventual development of a middle-range theory of poverty alleviation in social enterprises in addition to building a theoretically grounded instrument for carrying out and comparing the social impact of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation.

Declaration

I, Heba Chehade, confirm that that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Signed: ....Heba Chehade...............................

Date: ....26/4/2018...............................

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background and Motivation for the Study

The role of business in society has always been about increasing profits and creating jobs. It was the environmental and social disasters in the 1980s that pushed the demand for more business accountability towards society (Warhurst, 2005). Following that, and at the heart of corporate social responsibility (CSR), the 1990s saw businesses become responsible for an even wider remit covering economic, environmental and societal aims (Warhurst, 2005). Governments, which today are fiscally weak, have been pushing businesses into social development even more, be it through cooperation, collaboration, privatisation and/or public-private partnerships (Baliga, 2013).

In parallel to changes in the role of business in society, the role of charities has also been shifting. Although charity is generally seen as a selfless act, society's views on charitable giving have also been changing. More people now negatively view charity as a way to keep people in poverty (Dees, 2012), which has resulted in increasing support for problem-solving as a means to address social problems (Acs, Boardman and McNeely, 2013) limiting support, in whatever form, for charities. This is exacerbated by the general trend of increasing humanitarian needs (Zahra et al., 2008) and increased competition for donors who are in tight financial positions as well (Mort, Weerawardena and Carnegie, 2002).

As a form of social innovation, social enterprises are businesses that are founded on the principle of societal problem solving (Lisetchi and Brancu, 2014). These businesses are often set up and managed by social entrepreneurs who seek opportunities to make money and do good at the same time. Social enterprises may be funded by an increasing number of social impact investors who seek a good return on investment in such businesses (Baliga, 2013) and/or influential grant funders or donors who support this approach to societal problem-solving (Barraket and Yousefpour, 2013). Increasingly, governments pay social enterprises for

delivering public services after achieving specific social outcomes (Baliga, 2013).

Seeing growth, increasing public support and media attention on social enterprises, I thought about potential future implications. Questioning their legitimacy, I had concerns about the promises they make and how they position themselves in the face of increasing demand for public services and much needed charity during socio-political and financial crises. This drove my interest in expanding research in the social entrepreneurship and evaluation domains with particular interest in exploring a new approach to evaluating social impact that can overcome existing challenges in SIA and better inform the legitimacy of social enterprises.

1.2 Research Scope

Given the multitude of social issues that social enterprises deal with, and because poverty continues to be a growing global concern (Agola and Awange, 2014), this study concentrates on social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation. As a consequence of the wide definitional and operational landscapes of approaches to poverty alleviation and social enterprises, this study more narrowly focuses on social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation (Agola and Awange, 2014) through income generation.

While a single case study can "represent a significant contribution to knowledge and theory building" (Yin, 2014, p. 51), this comparative study draws on three causally similar social enterprises (Beach and Pedersen, 2016) that provided access to beneficiaries to explore the use of theory-based evaluation (TBE) in better understanding and discerning the social impact of social enterprises as an alternative to current approaches to social impact assessment (SIA). By causal similarity, the study is referring to social enterprises that focus on the same cause or problem "linked to the same mechanism and outcome" (Beach and Pedersen, 2016, p. 23). The idea behind TBE is not to develop one all-encompassing theory (Weiss, 1995)

but to extract the implicit theoretical assumptions and conditions underlying what an organisation, and in this case social enterprises, do for change to occur (Weiss, 1995) and subsequently test these theoretical assumptions and conditions to ascertain causality and change.

1.2.1 Research Aims and Objectives

Social impact, the multi-dimensional construct covering the long-term intentional and unintentional benefits and consequences of planned strategies and changes on target beneficiaries, is central to answering the legitimacy question in social enterprises. Legitimacy is the "generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574) and social enterprises demonstrate their legitimacy from the social value they provide (Dart, 2004) "effectively promote(ing) social welfare" (Suchman, 1995, p. 579) as compared to commercial and charity counterparts.

While there are currently a few approaches to assessing the social impact of social enterprises, they reveal several challenges, the core of which is their dependency on simplistic logic models of change between inputs, outputs and outcomes. In addition to that, current approaches do not distinguish outcomes achieved by social enterprises from commercial and charity counterparts. A general push for quantification, made more problematic by complicated financial proxies and an overall unclear purpose of why SIAs are done, also exacerbates the issues in current approaches to SIA in social enterprises.

Also known as theory-of-change, programme theory and theory-orientated approaches to evaluation (Rogers, 2007), TBE offers an alternative to existing approaches to SIA. While there are many versions of what TBE is or is not, the premise is that by opening up the 'black box' behind the simplistic logic model one can understand the underlying detail of 'how' and 'why' change, and in this case social impact, occurs (Stame, 2004). Without ignoring the link to, and important role of, process and operational

implementation on change (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), the underlying detail of how and why change occurs then forms the basis by which evaluation is carried out in practice (Weiss, 1997a), as opposed to letting methods drive the evaluation (Stame, 2004).

In practice, TBE initially focuses on the challenging aspect of uncovering theoretical assumptions, i.e. causal mechanisms and effects that underlie change (Carvalho and White, 2004). Causal mechanisms are neither the activities of a programme nor the designed elements of the programme; they are the beliefs or assumptions held by and acted upon by beneficiaries in response to these activities (Weiss, 1997a), which generate effects, positive or negative, pertaining to the change intended (Weiss, 1997b). Along with the conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004), including process and operational aspects, these theoretical assumptions provide insight on how and why change occurs. TBE subsequently follows through by tracking the theoretical assumptions and conditions (Weiss, 2000b) as an indicator of long-term change (Weiss, 1997b) and by extension, social impact.

Given the diversity of social enterprises, whether in respect to the social issue they aim to solve, legal forms, institutional contexts, targeted beneficiaries or operational models, this study first develops a classification of social enterprises that maps approaches to income generation to determine causally similar groups that form an empirical basis upon which case selection, and research more generally, is made. In contrast to the targeted beneficiaries and whether or not a social enterprise is a co-operative, the resulting classification did not depict a significant association between approaches to income generation and, legal forms and context. As a result, while ensuring that being a social co-operative and targeted beneficiaries are kept the same across cases selected, accessibility to beneficiaries of social enterprises that are causally similar was made the key determinant of social enterprise case selection.

Therefore, the detailed research questions are:

1. How can we define and classify social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through income generation into causally similar groups to form a basis for research and comparison?

2. What are the theoretical assumptions; causal mechanisms and effects, underlying 'how' and 'why' change occurs, in social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities?

3. What are the conditions; related to beneficiaries, social enterprises and contextual surroundings, that influence how change occurs and explains any differences amongst cases?

4. How would a TBE for social impact unfold for these social enterprises and how does the approach aid comparison?

5. What are the theoretical and practical implications and resulting directions for future study in the social impact of social enterprises?

1.2.2   Research Benefits

This research makes four contributions to knowledge in social entrepreneurship: 1) it builds a classification of social enterprises that may be replicated in other areas of social concern; 2) it presents an example of an empirical study within an area of research that is outnumbered by conceptual articles (Short, Moss and Lumpkin, 2009, p. 161); 3) it covers examples of social enterprises in Asia, Middle East and North America amongst a majority in Europe (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014); and 4) it explores a new approach to the evaluation of social impact in a domain where research is predominantly led by practitioners (Dey and Gibbon, 2017) and overcomes challenges in existing approaches instead of defending the status quo in the evaluation of the social impact of social enterprises.

When it comes to social impact, this study makes three contributions: 1) it presents a preliminary change model, similar to a middle-range theory, that covers both positive and negative effects, along with causal mechanisms

and conditions describing the route through which change occurs; 2) it provides a new view to social impact of social enterprises that encompasses psychosocial factors beyond output and intervention related causal mechanisms that leads to opportunities to leverage off of theories of leadership and theories of motivation to better discern and optimise the social impact of social enterprises; and 3) it sets a baseline for an eventual general theory of social enterprises and poverty alleviation.

Moreover, this study serves as a detailed example of applying TBE in a new domain of interest, namely social entrepreneurship, and to overcome practical challenges in identifying underlying causal mechanisms by using "efficacious" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 45), or strong (Nedeva et al., 2012), signals that were eluded to in the European Research Council's EURECIA study (Nedeva et al., 2012) and further explored through signalling theory for this study.

1.3 Positioning the Research

This section presents the key argument that supports the respective research aims and questions associated with this study.

1.3.1 The Future Outlook for Social Enterprises

Social enterprises are businesses that, in the first instance, aim to solve a social problem while exploiting profitable business opportunities. In contrast to charitable organisations, social enterprises assert that they permanently solve, instead of exacerbate and prolong, social problems (Acs, Boardman and McNeely, 2013), and in contrast to for-profit commercial entrepreneurship, social enterprises affirm that while profits are important, social aims come first (Goyal, Sergi and Jaiswal, 2017).

Since 2000, there has been an increase in perceived growth and interest in social enterprises primarily attributed to the same reasons that have driven businesses to be more involved in social development. From governments seeking alternatives for delivering public services (Hulgard, 2010), to restrictions in donorship in the charity sector (Mort, Weerawardena and

Carnegie, 2002), increasing social movements (Hulgard, 2010), rising global wealth disparity (Warhurst, 2005) and increasing community needs especially in developing countries (Zahra et al., 2008), governments, more prominently in Europe, the United States and the United Kingdom, have set up special agencies or departments to monitor, support and even fund social enterprise growth (Spear and Bidet, 2005). Higher education institutions such as Duke University, the University of Oxford, Harvard University and others, have also become more involved in the social entrepreneurship sector through courses or independent departments (Smith et al., 2008).

Although global recovery from the 2008 financial crisis continues to progress, it is "slow and fragile" (International Monetary Fund, 2016) as governments still face challenging economic burdens with increasing global social movements and a growing need for donors in an environment facing increasingly restrictive funding (Gray, 2013). As poverty and unemployment continue to be a growing concern (International Monetary Fund, 2016), this signifies that social enterprises will most likely continue to grow.

1.3.2 Social Impact and the Legitimacy of Social Enterprises

There are many reasons why stakeholders undertake evaluations of the organisations with which they work (Tilley, 2000). Any business that explicitly states a social aim has a general ethical responsibility to disclose their respective social outcomes, whether positive or negative (Sethi, 1979). Social enterprises have an even greater responsibility to disclose their social outcomes as they are expected to offer alternatives to government-funded public services and assure permanent solutions to social problems (Bagnoli and Megali, 2011) and, more importantly, derive their legitimacy from their social value (Dart, 2004). With growing competition amongst social enterprises (Millar and Hall, 2012), social impact investors and grant funders pursue a basis of comparison that demonstrates the social value that social enterprises deliver (Barraket and Yousefpour, 2013). In other words, stakeholders seek evaluations to assure themselves of the legitimacy of social enterprises and justification for support.

While legitimacy can initially be seen as a discussion about whether or not the field is itself "politically or socially constructed" (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013, p. 16), the key is the ability to persuade external stakeholders of the differentiated proposition that social enterprises offer over commercial entrepreneurship in which profits are primary even when engaged in socially responsible activities, and from charity organisations which solely seek charitable giving.

As a result, the need to assess and understand the social impact of social enterprises is not one of luxury, but one of necessity as social enterprises continue to grow.

1.3.3 The Wide Landscape of Social Enterprises

When it comes to commercial businesses, the main purpose is economic value for shareholders "creating profitable operations resulting in private gain" (Austin, Stevenson, and Wei-Skillern, 2006, p. 3). In the opposite sense, charity organisations raise funds in the form of charitable donations, grants and contracts from individuals, corporations, foundations and governments and use them to serve their social cause (Tan & Yoo, 2015). Social enterprises come somewhere in between creating "both social and economic value" (Austin, Stevenson, and Wei-Skillern, 2006, p. 3). Encompassing both goals is often used to justify the diversity of social enterprises and related challenges including unclear boundaries of charity and commercial organisations (Santos, 2012), falling somewhere in between on many fronts (Peredo and McLean, 2006).

Despite the absence of a consistent definition of what social enterprises are (Mair and Marti, 2006), along with unclear boundaries defining or distinguishing social enterprises from commercial and/or charity counterparts (Santos, 2012), social enterprises deal with a wide variety of social issues in terms of geographical reach, e.g. local or global, societal aims, e.g. broad or specific beneficiaries, and issues (Hulgard, 2010). The range of social issues includes homelessness, substance abuse, senior

support, health (medical and mental), education, water, energy, environmental sustainability, social and economic uplifting of the physically, mentally, economically and/or educationally challenged, and poverty (Mort, Weerawardena and Carnegie, 2002; Cornelius et al., 2008; Hulgard, 2010; Teasdale, 2010; Ho and Chan, 2010; Luke and Chu, 2013; Dorado and Ventresca, 2013). In addition, social enterprises differ in legal forms (Battilana and Lee, 2014), broad operational models driven by goals of scalability (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012) and sustainability (Bagnoli and Megali, 2011), institutional contexts (Kerlin, 2013), and targeted beneficiaries (Doherty, 2014, p. 4).

To further illustrate this diversity, some classify social enterprises as non-profits or tied to non-profits (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006; Teasdale, 2010; Hulgard, 2010; Jiao, 2011; Parenson, 2011), while others see them as pure businesses labelled as corporate philanthropists or socially responsible businesses (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006) including co-operatives, credit unions, employee-owned businesses, development trusts, social firms, and charity trading branches (Ho and Chan, 2010). Somewhere in the middle researchers have also positioned social enterprises as unique hybrids, balancing social and financial goals (Dart, 2004; Peredo and McLean, 2006; Parenson, 2011; Luke and Chu, 2013).

This diversity makes it challenging to conduct meaningful and impactful research within the domain of social entrepreneurship creating "conceptual confusion ... as a barrier to cross-disciplinary dialogue and theory-based advances in the field" (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010, p. 38). Consequently, researchers seek a practical and reasonable baseline for future research when dealing with hybrids and trying to understand change and causality. This is further supported by Beach and Pedersen (2013) who emphasize the need for "ensuring causally homogeneity ... to enable ... inferences to be made" (Beach and Pedersen, 2016, p. 1).

Prevalent research, models and typologies of social enterprises confirm, as opposed to resolve, this diversity particularly when social enterprises

assume hybrid structures. Dees (1998) for example, uses motives, methods, goals and stakeholders (Dees, 1998) and Peredo and McLean (2006) use social goals and the role of commercial exchange to highlight models of social enterprises, but both are presented as a continuum. Grassl (2012) tried to simplify the view by looking at mission orientation, type of social and commercial integration, and target market, but both mission orientation and type of integration are also presented on a continuum (Grassl, 2012). Typologies are either limited to a specific regional context (Defourny and Kim, 2011) or cover a wide range of social enterprises with various social aims (Kerlin, 2013). As a result, this study offers a way to overcome this diversity by defining and classifying social enterprises by their approaches to fulfil their social aim to allow for research and comparison specifically when seeking to uncover 'how' and 'why' change occurs at the level of causal mechanisms (Beach and Pedersen, 2016).

1.3.4 Social Enterprises, Poverty Alleviation and Income Generation

Despite global efforts and unprecedented wealth increases, poverty and the perception of poverty such as unemployment and homelessness continue to be a pertinent global issue (Agola and Awange, 2014). The term poverty is ambiguous and complex (Agola and Awange, 2014) and estimating poverty is even more controversial (Edward and Sumner, 2014) as it is interpreted through various views such as: income poverty versus regressive human development; sustainable livelihood versus social inclusion; and current consumption versus future security (Agola and Awange, 2014).

Approaches used to alleviate poverty include providing (i) full-time employment or opportunities for income generation, (ii) meeting the basic needs of food, education, health, drinking water, sanitation, shelter, (iii) participation in social life, (iv) gender balance and equality, and (v) rights development, either generally or to specific groups such as youth, women and special needs (Agola and Awange, 2014). While these approaches target the same societal issue, the underlying premise and root cause of poverty is

different in each.

Social enterprises that focus on poverty alleviation through income generation come in many forms, from the non-profit that uses trade to support its social mission, to the work integration social enterprise that focuses on providing stable jobs or employment services to give people jobs training, to the social enterprise that focuses on local community development in rural areas (Defourny and Kim, 2011). With the absence of an empirical basis for social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation and income generation, it becomes challenging to advance research in a meaningful way given the diversity of social enterprises.

To set a solid foundation for this and future research, this study first undertakes a classification study to map approaches used by social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through opportunities for income generation to uncover causally similar groups that could be used as a basis for case selection. As operational models within social enterprises are driven by the hybridity of social enterprises (Dees, 1998), and since this study is focused on how and why social impact materialises as opposed to the process and operational implementation of social enterprises, operational models were not an aspect that was covered by the classification but is an element covered in the overall TBE. The classification did cover legal forms, geographical contexts and targeted beneficiaries.

Where typologies are conceptually "derived from related sets of ideal types" (Doty and Glick, 1994, p. 232), taxonomies are empirically derived classifications (Hambrick, 1984) that provide structure and order to a domain of interest to assist researchers and practitioners in understanding concepts, hypothesising relationships, and learning about differences and causes of differences (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013).

Using randomly selected social enterprises that deal with economic opportunity and unemployment, from three influential paradigm builders in the social entrepreneurship field (Nicholls, 2010), namely Ashoka, the Schwab Foundation and the Skoll Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship,

the resulting classification identified four distinct dimensions of social enterprises that deal with poverty alleviation via income generation (Chapter 3), namely: creating opportunities; facilitating opportunities; empowering opportunities; and enabling opportunities, for income generation. Underlying these four dimensions were eight causally similar groups covering the creation of direct opportunities through employment and contracting, facilitating opportunities through job placement and incubation, empowering opportunities by grouping beneficiaries or providing access to markets, and finally, enabling opportunities either through beneficiary led or social enterprise led approaches.

The classification did not depict a significant association between legal form and geographical context, and the different approaches to income generation implemented by social enterprises. In contrast, significant differences between groups were observed when it came to target beneficiaries and whether or not social enterprises were co-operatives. This is not to say that legal form and context are not important when it comes to social impact or process and operational implementation, it is only to say that when it comes to causally similar groups, legal form and context are factors that do not influence the underlying causal mechanisms but may influence the extent to which change and social impact occurs.

As a result, researcher access to beneficiaries took precedence in case selection seeking a literal replication in one group of social enterprises in order to uncover commonalties and differences amongst theoretical assumptions and conditions for social impact. This study covered social enterprises providing disadvantaged women beneficiaries with contractual opportunities as a means to dealing with poverty alleviation in Lebanon, the Philippines and Canada.

1.3.5 Existing Approaches to the Evaluation of Social Impact

There is not a single, consistent and agreed upon approach to assessing the social impact of social enterprises (Maier et al., 2014). Besides the

traditional approach to social impact assessment (SIA) including qualitative narratives, case study and mixed method approaches often under experimental conditions using a control group, popular approaches to SIA for social enterprises include social return on investment (SROI) and social accounting and audit (SAA).

Where SROI is highly quantitative and "reductionist" (Gibbon and Dey, 2011, p. 63) leveraging accounting principles for return on investment underpinned by complicated assumptions through financial proxies and reports on social value per $1 of investment made, the SAA approach leverages both the traditional approach of using qualitative narratives that are "lengthy, illustrative and individualistic" (Luke, 2016, p. 115) and quantification, where possible (Kay and McMullan, 2017).

More recently, and in response to calls for more critical studies of practice on SIAs (Gibbon and Dey, 2011), McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar (2009) and Luke (2016) aimed to overcome current challenges in the assessment of social impact of social enterprises particularly in reporting (Kay and McMullan, 2017). McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar (2009) developed the SIMPLE model for impact measurement that is stakeholder focused, mapping, tracking and communicating financial, economic, social and environmental impacts after analysing internal and external drivers, goals and stakeholders of social enterprises (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009). The model was not meant to compete with other popular tools for impact measurements such as SROI, and instead is flexible enough to leverage other tools by blending in a management approach to social impact. In contrast to this in-depth approach for impact measurement, Luke (2016) focused on the bottom line to communicate direct and wider outputs and outcomes related to the activities undertaken by the social enterprise.

While there are other approaches to SIA and reporting (Social Balanced Scorecard, Prove and Improve, and Local Multiplier 3 [LM3]), they are not as widely used and are predominantly based on existing performance management and reporting frameworks. In addition, and more of a tool as

opposed to an approach, the Global Impact Investing Network (GIIN) based in the United States with increasing international members, built an Impact Reporting and Investment Standards (IRIS) online catalogue (https://iris.thegiin.org) to provide social enterprises with a pick and choose approach from a set of standard output metrics (Jackson, 2013).

1.3.6 Challenges to Existing Approaches

The key issue relating to existing approaches revolves around the dependency on the logic model (Wholey, Hatry and Newcomer, 2004) making implicit assumptions about the path through which interventions and activities lead to outcomes (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001). Stakeholder focused, existing approaches do not "get inside the black box" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 51) that explains, justifies and elaborates on how change happens and hence gives confidence that outcomes are attributed to activities undertaken by social enterprises and not by other causes.

The dependency on the logic model for evaluation rarely identifies other factors that may or may not be controlled by a social enterprise. As existing approaches directly assess outputs and outcomes assumed to be a result of these activities, these approaches may limit thinking and lead to a false defence of the status quo (Millar, Simeano and Caneale, 2001). In a review of approaches to evaluation in the past, present and future, Weiss (1997a) notes that assessors and organisations are more often than not focusing on a simplified link between outputs and outcomes with a focus on communication of strategy and execution, i.e. implementation theory (Weiss, 1997a) uncovering confusion about the purpose of carrying out evaluations to begin with (Barraket and Yousefpour, 2013).

While this was about the theoretical challenges related to existing approaches to the SIA of social enterprises, and considering the low availability of quality information and indicators (Reale et al., 2014), there are practical challenges that make the evaluation of social impact even more confusing. Current approaches are complex with debatable workarounds for

attribution and causality particularly in the use of financial proxies (Nicholls et al., 2012) when it comes to the SROI metric (Kay and McMullan, 2017) and the resource-intensive SAA approach (Kay and McMullan, 2017), in other words, any quantitative attempts to measure social impact.

Traditional approaches to social impact are equally complicated as they are overly detailed, individualistic and cover information through lengthy qualitative narratives that do not make clear pathways to causal attribution. Even the SIMPLE approach to impact assessment (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009) does not resolve these issues as it accommodates whatever approach an assessor or organisation sees fit when it comes to assessing and reporting on social impact.

Returning to legitimacy, as governments, social impact investors, grant funders and society, more generally, seek answers to the main question of legitimacy as social enterprises position themselves as alternatives to charity and government-delivered public services deserving of support over commercial organisations, none of the approaches differentiate between social enterprises and others.

Besides questions on how social impact measures would be used (Mair and Marti, 2006), and when social impact should be measured given that most social enterprises end up suffering financially and unable to deliver on benefits originally planned (Teasdale, 2010), the bottom line is that when it comes to SIAs, there is a need to "ensure their integrity and confirm that they are a true representation of what the organisation has achieved and the impact it has made" (Kay and McMullan, 2017, p. 63) with theoretical underpinnings that explain how interventions drive change (Weiss, 1997a) and so another approach is warranted.

1.3.7 The Possibilities with Theory-Based Evaluation

Chen and Rossi (1989) introduced the concept of social programmes like 'black boxes' that needed good social theories to support them, and clear

goals and correct measures (Chen and Rossi, 1989) to evaluate them. While the benefits of theory-based evaluation (TBE) over existing approaches to evaluation are many, the key advantage is that TBE uncovers what is implicitly behind the 'black box' of change (Figure 1) (Weiss, 1995).
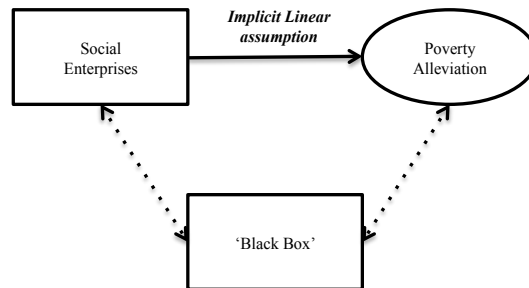
Figure 1 Simplistic Logical Model and 'Black Box' of Change

TBE provides an explanation of what works and what does not (Pawson, 2002), what aspects are key to maintaining a programme, and what aspects are neither successful nor useful (Gregory-Smith et al., 2017). TBE makes explicit what resulted in positive and negative outcomes (Weiss, 1997b), and factors both within and outside the control of a programme (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001), that could have led to, or influenced, such outcomes.

TBE provides a clearer picture of what those affected by change experience and hence, a greater likelihood that outcomes can be attributed to the programme being evaluated (Weiss, 1997a). An evaluation is driven by what is articulated as underlying theoretical assumptions, the combination of causal mechanisms and related effects, together with the conditions that activate these theoretical assumptions, and then collects data to examine evidence of and links between theoretical assumptions and desired outcomes (Weiss, 1997b).

This level of insight about programmes offers an alternative to SIA in social enterprises that clarifies what is behind observable actions. With a focus on social impact, TBE provides an opportunity to uncover the theoretical assumptions, causal mechanisms and effects, through which a social enterprise manifests social impact – as distinct from commercial and charity counterparts – based on how beneficiaries experience change as opposed to

how it is designed. These theoretical assumptions subsequently drive the evaluation and approaches to measurement, that is specific to the change and not driven by a push for quantification or any other approach.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of TBE is how theoretical assumptions and conditions could then be tested using non-experimental methods (Rogers, 2009) enabling both comparison and replication across social enterprises where detailed activities towards the same social goals may need to be different (Weiss, 2000b).

TBE is not a prescriptive approach to evaluation (Pawson and Tilley, 2004) and instead embodies a research approach similar to hypothesis generation, "testing and refinement" (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p. 10). "Overlapping and iterative" (Pawson et al., 2005, p. 4), the vast literature covering TBE, highlights five common high-level phases: planning; articulating the underlying change model; assessing operational implementation (Chen 2015; Weiss, 1997a); measurement; and reporting. In some cases, and due to its link to the attainment of change intended (Chen, 2015; Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), evaluation also seeks to assess how well programme activities are operationally implemented.

As a result of these benefits, this study explores the use of TBE to better understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises. This study builds a TBE approach that is predominantly driven by the late Professor Weiss (1995; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2000a; 2000b) who has covered a TBE approach for poverty alleviation programmes (Weiss, 2000b) and community initiatives (Weiss, 1995), worked with Carvalho and White (2004) to apply TBE to social funds and influenced White and Masset's (2007) research in evaluating local programmes to improve child nutrition (White and Masset, 2007) in Bangladesh. The conceptual framework and details behind it are covered in Chapter 2.

1.4 Key Definitions

(1) To deal with the lack of a consistent definition of *social enterprises*,

unclear boundaries when compared to commercial and/or non-profit counterparts (Santos, 2012), and various organisational models they operate in (Acs, Boardman and McNeely, 2013), this study starts with a definition for social enterprises that covers businesses that have explicitly stated social objectives alongside profit-generating aims and activities (Ho and Chan, 2010) and are recognised by others as such.

(2) Using the various definitions for social impact including the one used by the International Association of Impact Assessors, this study starts with a definition for *social impact* as a multi-dimensional construct (Law, Wong and Mobley, 1998) covering the long-term intentional and unintentional direct benefits and consequences of planned strategies and changes on individuals, or groups, within local or global communities. *Social value* covers benefits only. Indirect impacts, i.e. benefits and consequences based on others' responses to direct impacts (Nedeva et al., 2012) are considered "delayed and weaker" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 56) than direct impacts.

(3) *Beneficiaries* are those who are directly impacted and targeted by social enterprises to benefit from the social value provided by the social enterprise.

(4) An *intervention* refers to the activities carried out by the social enterprise to directly change the cause or problem that the social enterprise aims to resolve (Chen, 2015).

(5) *Theoretical Assumptions* are "explicit or implicit theories about how and why a program will work" (Weiss, 1995, p. 66). These are not theories per se, but are "beliefs and assumptions underlying an intervention ... in terms of a phased sequence of causes and effects" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 501) that provide insight on "how and why the impacts occurred" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 502).

(6) A part of theoretical assumptions, *causal mechanisms* are not the activities of a program, they are the beliefs and assumptions underlying them (Weiss, 1997b). Causal mechanisms are hidden, sensitive to variations in context, and generate effects (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010).

(7) *Effects,* are the beneficiary response to causal mechanisms either as direct or indirect benefits and/or consequences, or change in conditions, that beneficiaries experience as a result of causal mechanisms (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). Effects are linked to the intended aim of the social enterprise and *early effects* occur prior to intended outputs.

(8) In TBE, *conditions* must be "in place for the desired outcome" (Carvalho and White, 2004, p. 143) to occur. These conditions may be various elements in context, implementation, and/or beneficiary circumstances.

(9) Using MacLean, Harvey and Gordon's (2013) definition, a *community* is a "set of individuals with shared values, assumptions and beliefs, whose interests are bound together ... into a collective whole" (Maclean, Harvey, and Gordon, 2013, p. 2). Individuals within the community are "more than a loose collection of individuals" (Maclean, Harvey, and Gordon, 2013, p. 2).

1.5 Breakdown of the Thesis

The rest of this thesis is divided into six chapters.

Chapter 2 covers the review of relevant literature that positions this research study. Through three distinct areas, the literature review covers the wide landscape of social enterprises followed by the current approaches to SIA of social enterprises and respective challenges, and finally, a detailed account of theory-based evaluation that together inform the research design.

Chapter 3 covers the research design for this study and justification for the

methodological choices made. In particular, this chapter covers the design, respective methods and findings in the classification study used to overcome the diversity of social enterprises and map causally similar groups the form the basis of case selection in the comparative case study used to uncover the theoretical assumptions and conditions for change to occur.

Chapter 4 covers each case in its own right with a brief overview of the conditions namely, context, social enterprises and targeted beneficiaries. This chapter subsequently covers the theoretical assumptions; causal mechanisms and effects, both desired and negative, identified in each case.

Chapter 5 presents the common and distinct themes uncovered in the cross-case analysis that help answer 'how' and 'why' change and social impact occur. More notably, this chapter presents a preliminary change model and conditions underlying change in social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities and examples of how the preliminary change model unfolds if positive and negative consequences respectively materialise.

Chapter 6 firstly presents the three main theoretical findings of the study related to social enterprises organised in causally similar groups, 'how' and 'why' change occurs and the social impact of social enterprises. The chapter then covers the theoretical implications of these findings covering the sustainability, scalability, and legitimacy of social enterprises, and subsequently, the practical implications of these findings, how TBE would practically unfold, how social enterprises can manage and report on social impact, and how social enterprises can be compared. The chapter then present reflections on TBE for SIA along with sources of alternative explanations for the findings.

Chapter 7, the final chapter, ends on a summary of conclusions followed by a recap of research benefits and contributions to both knowledge and practice, along with the challenges and limitations of the study, and areas of future study linked to the three main theoretical findings.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

While research in social enterprises and entrepreneurship has generally increased since the 1990s (Short, Moss and Lumpkin, 2009), its focus on issues of legitimacy has kept research in this domain highly conceptual, not underpinned by specific theoretical models, and with limited empirical studies beyond single case studies (Chell, Nicolopoulou, and Karataş-Özkan, 2010). More recently, however, research seems to be evolving into specific areas of enquiry (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014) such as sustainability (Jenner, 2016), social value (Kay and McMullan, 2017), social impact measurement (Dey and Gibbon, 2017), and internationalisation (Yang and Wu, 2015). Nevertheless, it is not surprising to see, in research published as recently as 2017, citations going as far back as 1998, i.e. Dees' formative article defining social entrepreneurship.

The literature review covers four distinct areas of research: models of social enterprises, approaches to the SIA of social enterprises, challenges in current approaches to SIA and theory-based evaluation, leading to a conceptual framework for this study. This chapter covers the wide landscape of social enterprises that makes research in social enterprises challenging and the evaluation of social impact even more so. It also covers existing approaches to SIA of social enterprises and respective challenges that primarily revolve around the simplistic logic model and implicit assumptions on how social impact occurs. The final part of the chapter introduces theory-based evaluation, how it overcomes the simplistic logic model and how it also overcomes general issues of causality important in the evaluation of impact.

2.2 The Wide Landscape of Social Enterprises

In setting the foundation for this research, this section covers the different faces of social enterprises illustrating that as complicated as social impact is as a concept, social enterprises add to that challenge by their diversity, impacting decisions on how to approach the assessment of social impact.

2.2.1 The Wide Scope of What 'Social' is

The diversity of social enterprises starts from the wide range of social issues dealt with by social enterprises as they vary both in terms of geographical reach, i.e. local or global, and details of the social issue, i.e. broad or specific (Hulgard, 2010). *The social* mission of social enterprises is explicit and central and may be about social change, social value or even wellbeing (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010) with variations in scope influenced by the entrepreneurs' motivations and available resources (Zahra et al., 2008).

The range of social issues include, but not limited to: homelessness remedied through employment, shelters for the homeless, local community programmes such as substance abuse recovery and senior support programmes, global and local loans to the poor, global and local social change initiatives such as reducing smoking amongst youth, self-esteem for pre-teens, access to education, water, or energy, recycling computers, employment skills training, human development through economic and social uplifting, trading like commercial establishments to give proceeds to a social organisation, creation of economic wealth and jobs targeting the physically, mentally, economically and educationally challenged (Mort, Weerawardena and Carnegie, 2002; Cornelius et al., 2008; Hulgard, 2010; Teasdale, 2010; Ho and Chan, 2010; Luke and Chu, 2013; Dorado and Ventresca, 2013).

As a result, at the heart of social impact are the varying social issues that are dealt with across social enterprises making SIA more complex than it already is.

2.2.2 Varying Legal Forms

Some papers classify social enterprises as non-profits or tied to non-profits (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006; Teasdale, 2010; Hulgard, 2010; Jiao, 2011; Parenson, 2011), while others see them as pure businesses with the label of corporate philanthropists or socially responsible businesses (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006) ranging from co-operatives, credit

unions, employee-owned businesses, development trusts, to charity trading branches (Ho and Chan, 2010). Somewhere in the middle of both, social enterprises are also identified as hybrids balancing social and financial goals situating social enterprises along a spectrum (Dart, 2004; Peredo and McLean, 2006; Lepoutre et al., 2013; Luke and Chu, 2013; Battilana and Lee, 2014).

Two factors seem to determine the organisational form of social enterprises: the social entrepreneur (Zahra et al., 2008) and the institutional context (Kerlin, 2013). As social enterprises come in non-profit, profit and hybrid forms (Grassl, 2012), an entrepreneur's economic and social goals (Zahra et al., 2008) determine whether or not a social enterprise takes on a profit or non-profit form (Townsend and Hart, 2008). An entrepreneur's motivational goals that are primarily economic lead to profit forms, whereas an entrepreneur's motivational goals that are primarily social lead to non-profit forms (Townsend and Hart, 2008).

The reality is that as social entrepreneurship encompasses the "activities and processes undertaken to discover, define, and exploit opportunities in order to enhance social wealth" (Zahra et al., 2008, p. 118), a social entrepreneur often has to respond to challenges and decisions based on resources available to them, i.e. the concept of the social entrepreneur being a bricoleur (Di Domenico, Haugh and Tracey, 2010). As a result, it is often the institutional context that ends up dictating a change in the form as social enterprises would need to align with the goals an institution prefers to support and even allow as it impacts the type of capital or charity or resources a social enterprise could have access to (Townsend and Hart, 2008). In other words, social enterprises may shift between profit, non-profit and hybrid forms as different risks arise (Peredo and McLean, 2006) or as shareholders change (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014).

These differences in legal form play a role in how social impact is conceptualised and can come about, as conceptually speaking, non-profit forms depict a situation where surpluses are available for use against the

social purpose of the social enterprise, however, that may not be the case as it is not clear how change materialises.

2.2.3 Broad and Dynamic Operational Models

By operational model, this study is referring to how a social enterprise implements its social mission (Moss et al., 2011), including identifying and managing "participants, staff, activities, settings and time" (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000, p. 428), collaborative arrangements, funding, influential alliances (Chen, 2015), and "processes, practices, and decision-making" (Moss et al., 2011, p. 811). At the core of social enterprises' broad and dynamic operational models is their hybrid forms (Dees, 1998; Peredo and McLean, 2006; Grassl, 2012; Battalina and Lee, 2014) of dual social and commercial goals (Dees, 1998) at different levels of integration (Grassl, 2012), while engaging in entrepreneurial activities (Peredo and Mclean, 2006).

First of, the extent of hybridity between social and commercial goals is often impacted by the socio-economic context (Felicio, Goncalves and Goncalves, 2013) that a social enterprise operates in. Favourable socio-economic contexts empower a focus on social value, whereas challenging socio-economic contexts empowers a focus on sustainability (Felicio, Goncalves and Goncalves, 2013). The socio-economic context includes the role of government and civil society (Estrin, Mickiewicz and Stephan, 2013), the role of international aid (Kerlin, 2010), how social needs are addressed, and how respective political structures are organised around those needs (Gawell, 2014b); in other words, it is complex. Having said that, social entrepreneurs may work in unfavourable contexts to begin with and take a reactive, as opposed to a proactive, approach to managing context (Austin, Stevenson, and Wei-Skillern, 2006) which influences the extent to which social enterprise functions under hybrid options and the operational model changes accordingly.

The extent of hybridity between social and commercial goals is also influenced by social enterprise engagement in bricolage (Di Domenico, Haugh, and Tracey, 2010) and entrepreneurial action (Moss et al., 2010), i.e. "making do, refusal to be constrained by limitations, and improvisation" (Di Domenico, Haugh, and Tracey, 2010, p. 684) attempting to realise both business sustainability and social outcomes (Di Domenico, Haugh, and Tracey, 2010). However, social enterprises end up becoming more "commercially focused" (Jenner, 2016, p. 50) as various challenges in sustainability are experienced suppressing social outcomes as resources become more focused on commercial sustainability. In response, social enterprises build and mobilise social capital with non-governmental, business and political players (Evers, 2004) who provide access to much needed resources (Jenner, 2016) even though they also often require social enterprises to maximise their social impact through scalability (Cho, 2006).

Surrounded by an abundance of social improvement opportunities to (Weber, Kroger, and Lambrich, 2012), social enterprises attempt to scale their business model in order to maximise their social impact (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012) to match the social need or problem it aims to solve (Dees, Anderson, and Wei-skillern, 2004). Social enterprises "often launch into growth and expansion before sufficient thought or planning has been put into it" (Austin, Stevenson, and Wei-Skillern, 2006, p. 7), thus exacerbating challenges related to their hybrid structures including sustainability (Jenner, 2016).

Assuming a starting point of an existing effective operational business model, Weber, Kroger and Lambrich (2012) carried out a meta-analysis of literature covering social enterprises and scalability depicting four specific scaling strategies (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012, p. 15). Where capacity building is growing the social enterprise inline with the magnitude of the social issue, a social enterprise may also replicate its model elsewhere where new products or services, or target beneficiaries, are of focus (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012). Having said that, social enterprises also

expand through partnerships where the social enterprise shares its knowledge with others to fulfil the same social goals or through on-going franchising agreements (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012).

While the framework depicts a roadmap that social enterprises use to decide on a scaling strategy, "many social entrepreneurs have found scaling up their activities difficult" (Lumpkin et al., 2013, p. 769) possibly because of social enterprises' hybrid structures are not easily replicable, adaptable or transferable (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012) as they continuously adjust to environmental changes and challenges to fulfil both social and commercial goals, an on-going tension in social enterprises. As a result, Weber, Kroger and Lambrich (2012) more clearly depict a starting point for scalability that where "only those elements that induce the social impact most effectively" (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012, p. 5) are replicated.

2.2.4 Differences within Institutional Contexts

The concept of social enterprises in the United States is not new, as selling or making profit to support a non-profit or cause has been done since the 1970s and continues to grow as the US government started to cut back on public spending (Kerlin, 2006). While the government provides some support for social enterprises, it is mostly the private sector that supports the growth in social enterprises through foundations and CSR programmes (Kerlin, 2006).

As part of the social economy in Europe, social enterprises are actually part of government strategy (Kerlin, 2006). They are predominantly in non-profit or co-operative forms that are dedicated to providing goods and services to the communities they serve, with profit distribution to shareholders allowed in co-operatives (Hoogendoorn, Pennings and Thurik, 2010). Contrary to the United States, social enterprises in Europe started much later as a result of rising unemployment from the 1970s and peaking in the 1990s, when solutions were sought to deal with the long-term unemployed who are mostly disadvantaged and low skilled in the midst of

limited government spending (Kerlin, 2006). In the European context, support for social enterprise primarily comes from government or the social sector as they seek partners to solve a deepening unemployment problem (Kerlin, 2006).

In the United Kingdom, social enterprises initially emerged as a result of cross-sector partnerships between civil society, public sector and businesses (Kerlin, 2013). From 2000 until 2005, the UK governments set up a special unit for social enterprises with an aim to "promote social enterprises throughout the country" (Nyssens, 2006, p. 4) and created a new business legal form, Community Interest Company (CIC) (Nyssens, 2006). While setting up a social enterprise in the United Kingdom may be in the form of a charity, trading business or co-operative (gov.uk, 2017a), a CIC does not benefit shareholders and surpluses are predominantly reinvested in either the social enterprise itself or the beneficiary community (Hoogendoorn, Pennings and Thurik, 2010). Supporting growth in social enterprises, various social enterprise networks have emerged in the United Kingdom that work on promoting social enterprises, guidance and sector reports, along with working on different cross-sector partnerships to grow social enterprises including Social Enterprise UK, Inspire2Enterprise, and UnLtd. In January 2013, the UK government issued the Social Value Act for "people who commission public services to think about how they can also secure wider social, economic and environmental benefits" (gov.uk, 2017b) as a potential source of business and revenue for social enterprises in the United Kingdom.

Generally speaking, the institutional context includes "elements that are outside of the control of the entrepreneur" (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006, p. 5). Context intertwines various aspects external to the enterprise, be it at regional, country or community levels (Gawell, 2014a). Besides the broad nature of what constitutes a social aim and the concept of bricolage of the social entrepreneur including varying organisational forms, the institutional context adds to the diversity of social enterprises in that there are many cases where what is considered social in one country is

regular business in another (Lepoutre et al., 2013) which may drive why social enterprises operate from the social entrepreneurs' own local environment as opposed to their target beneficiaries' environment (Chehade, 2014).

In practice, the wide diversity of social enterprises is not limited to country borders, but incorporates the wider socio-economic context (Kerlin, 2010). The socio-economic context primarily affects the focus that a social enterprise would have between social value and sustainability (Felicio, Goncalves and Goncalves, 2013). Favourable socio-economic contexts empower a focus on social value whereas challenging contexts empower a focus on sustainability (Felicio, Goncalves and Goncalves, 2013). The socio-economic context also includes the role of government and civil society (Estrin, Mickiewicz and Stephan, 2013), the role of international aid (Kerlin, 2010), how social needs are addressed, and how respective political structures are organised around those needs (Gawell, 2014b); in other words, it is complex.

Related to that, economic conditions exist where the higher the economic development, the higher the rates of entrepreneurship (Kachlami, 2014), and as economies become more wealthy, people can afford to think of meeting the needs of others after having satisfied their own basic needs (Kachlami, 2014). Although more research is needed, the rate of social entrepreneurship goes up (Maclean, Harvey, and Gordon, 2013) and central to socio-economic opportunities that social enterprises seek (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006) are societal norms and values (Baldo, 2014) that vary by institutional contexts (Salamon, 2010), including the rural and urban divide (Baldo, 2014).

While the socioeconomic environment was identified as a key external factor, which may explain the differences in regions/countries (Kerlin, 2010), it remains unclear as to why there are differences even within contexts (Kerlin, 2013). The answer to this question may be tied to the political environment through the concept of social capital because the

success of social enterprises is dependent on resources and trust from "the political and the business community" (Evers, 2004, p. 300) especially when civic and democratic issues seem opposite to the social objectives of the social enterprise (Cho, 2006).

2.2.5 Targeted Beneficiaries

Where commercial enterprises are focused on capturing financial benefit and value from activities, social enterprises are focused on value creation for targeted beneficiaries (Santos, 2012). While social enterprises are perceived to primarily target the poor (Seelos and Mair, 2005), they actually focus on the disadvantaged, which includes the poor (Zahra, 2014, p. 145) in countries, regions, cities, groups, communities and individuals who may be "disadvantaged in some way" (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014, p. 4).

As the focus of this study is individuals, social enterprises focus on making a direct impact or "positive effects to intended" (Bagnoli and Megali, p.158, 2011) individual beneficiaries who may: (i) belong to a specific (women, disabilities, youth, other minorities, etc.), or more general group; (ii) be targeted as part of larger global, regional or local communities; and (iii) be consumers (Dees, 1998), contractors, employees (Ramus and Vaccaro, 2017), or co-owners, as in the case of social co-operatives (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014, p. 14), or a combination thereof.

Similar to legal forms and institutional context, there is an absence of an agreed upon typology for beneficiaries that helps form the basis of research and hence, making more complex the matters related to social enterprise hybridity.

2.2.6 Social Enterprises, Poverty Alleviation and Income Generation

The term poverty is ambiguous and complex (Agola and Awange, 2014) as individuals and groups see poverty in various forms. These forms vary between poverty in the form of income poverty versus regressive human

development, sustainable livelihood versus social inclusion, and current consumption versus future security (Agola and Awange, 2014). Its measurement is equally ambiguous ranging between subjective and objective measures from material income, function or status in society, to absolute and relative deprivation (Agola and Awange, 2014). There is no one accepted theory for poverty that drives specific approaches to poverty alleviation, instead, theorising poverty is primarily driven by the IMF and World Bank views of poverty (Agola and Awange, 2014).

The neoclassical theory looks at poverty with a view of a direct proportional relationship between economic growth and poverty, but that view has been negated as some countries face economic growth with increasing poverty (Agola and Awange, 2014). The other school of thought is a radical economic theory of poverty that is similar to the neoclassical theory except it differentiates poverty into distribution of income amongst social classes (Agola and Awange, 2014). The third school of thought is the new political economy that looks at the role and intention of government creating distortions between private interests and political forces (Agola and Awange, 2014). The functional theory of poverty looks at the benefits from certain jobs and roles to be filled and that unless the poor gain power to change a whole system of social differences or the poor become dysfunctional to the affluent poverty cannot be solved (Agola and Awange, 2014). Finally, Sens' approach (Agola and Awange, 2014) is that poverty is not about low well-being, but about not having the economic means to pursue well-being and that the focus should be on individual capabilities and not needs.

Those involved in poverty alleviation may or may not consciously state an underlying theory of poverty and it is often left to those designing and implementing poverty alleviation strategies. As examples, some of those who want to eradicate poverty typically focus on approaches targeting full-time employment for specific groups such as youth and women, or more generally (Agola and Awange, 2014). Others implement approaches that aim to meet the intended beneficiaries' basic needs of food, education,

health, drinking water, sanitation and shelter to fix the underlying causes of poverty (Agola and Awange, 2014). Others focus on inclusion to increase the intended beneficiaries' participation in social life, rights, social development projects and programmes, and gender balance and equality (Agola and Awange, 2014).

More recently, and driven by fiscal pressures in government, a new form of partnership between government and business has emerged where businesses deliver public services in return for payment after the achievement of specific social outcomes; this transfers risk from government to business investors (Baliga, 2013). In parallel, collaboration between businesses and non-profits/non-governmental organisations "exercises power to interact with government to achieve specific goals and objectives" (Mendel, 2010, p. 717) to form a civil society consortium that fulfils government policy (Mendel, 2010).

Concerns have arisen in respect to the perception that businesses would now have undue influence on public policy with governments reducing the need for oversight and monitoring, thus creating quality issues as businesses focus on maximising profits and reducing costs (Baliga, 2013). In addition, growing social movements and changing social norms (Hulgard, 2010, p. 9), community needs (Zahra et al, 2008), and competition for donors and grants in the non-profit sector (Mort et al, 2002), mean there are calls for more rational approaches with immediate impact and solving social issues, as opposed to what is now seen as charity that is irrational and doing more harm than good (Dees, 2012). This increases innovative, non-monetary policies (Berument, Dogan and Tansel, 2006) and leads to the betterment of society, namely, social entrepreneurship.

The long-term vision of social entrepreneurs is to eliminate social issues completely and eliminate charitable giving (Dees, 2012). However, because sustainability is an issue in social enterprises, it takes a long time to illustrate impact (Teasdale, 2010) and people who give to charity usually want the immediate effect and don't want to wait years to see the difference

(Acs, Boardman and McNeely, 2013). Following that, and from an emotional perspective, preventing and eliminating social problems results in a lack of visible suffering which negatively impacts the donors' feelings of empathy, limiting their ability and willingness to give, thus increasing complacency and elimination of mercy (Dees, 2012).

Nevertheless, the recent rise of social businesses has been attributed to social entrepreneurs forming a community or citizens-based movement (Hulgard, 2010). This has been challenged by some who see this growth as primarily driven by government as a top-down approach as a form of innovation by the public sector (Zahra et al, 2008) moving away from welfare services for the public towards more privatisation (Mort et al, 2002), i.e. there is tension between being "politically or socially constructed" (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013, p. 16). As income poverty often crosses other views to poverty, this research focuses on that sphere as a starting point.

Social enterprises have used many approaches to poverty alleviation primarily through employment and training. Commonly known as Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISE) (Ho and Chan, 2010), the organisations cover welfare, work integration of disadvantaged groups, or co-operatives (Defourny and Kim, 2011). Other social enterprises provide employment services to give people the training to compete for jobs or support self-employment and local community development (Defourny and Kim, 2011). The above are based on observations made in East Asia (China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong) that help explain "convergences and divergences" (Defourny and Kim, 2011, p. 11) amongst social enterprises. With the absence of an empirical basis for the above breakdown of social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation and income generation, it becomes challenging to advance meaningful research.

A taxonomy classifies objects of interest, social enterprises in this case, through the analysis of variables that are related to the objective of the

taxonomy; what Nickerson and colleagues (2013) call the meta-characteristic. Given the focus of this study on income deprivation and the benefits and consequences of planned strategies and changes to beneficiaries, i.e. social impact, the classification focuses on mapping approaches undertaken by social enterprises towards income generation. Typologies, alternatively, classify groups that are derived from objects of interest (Bailey, 1994). Where a weak taxonomy is one that is static, a useful taxonomy is flexible, easy to understand and allows for the "inclusion of additional dimensions and new characteristics as objects appear" (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 341).

Recognising that approaches to poverty alleviation are not completely independent of each other, the scope of the classification did not include social enterprises whose main focus is basic needs, gender balance and rights development. The resulting classification is shown in Figure 2.

Poverty Alleviation through Income Generation							
Create Direct Opportunities		Facilitate Opportunities		Empower Opportunities		Enable Opportunities	
Employment	Contracting	Job Placement	Incubation	Group	Access Markets	Beneficiary Led	Social Enterprise Led
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H

Figure 2 Classification of Social Enterprises Alleviating Poverty through Income Generation

This study focuses on causally similar social enterprises in Group (B) that provide, and beneficiaries accept (cause), contractual opportunities (intervention) as means to poverty alleviation (intended outcome).

2.3 The Social Impact of Social Enterprises

This section introduces the concept of social impact and covers approaches to the evaluation of social impact of social enterprises. More importantly for this study, this section covers challenges associated with current approaches when it comes to attributing change to activities undertaken by social enterprises.

2.3.1   The Definition of Social Impact

Due to its links to the behavioural sciences along with the various ontological and epistemological views, social impact is complex and the definition remains subject to discussion and argument. At its most basic level, Latane (1981) defines social impact as "any influence on individual feelings, thoughts, or behaviour that is exerted by the real, implied, or imagined presence or actions of others" (cited in Nowak, Szamrej, and Latane, 1990, p. 363).

The International Association of Impact Assessors defines social impact as "intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions and any social change processes invoked by those interventions" (Vanclay, 2003, p. 5). Interchangeably used, social impact may also be referred to as social value, although the latter usually refers to change in the positive sense (Felicio, Goncalves and Goncalves, 2013).

Covered in Chapter 1, this study uses a starting definition for social impact as a multi-dimensional construct (Law, Wong and Mobley, 1998) covering the intentional and unintentional long-term benefits and consequences of planned strategies and changes on targeted individuals and/or groups, within local and/or global communities.

2.3.2   Why the Social Impact of Social Enterprises is Important

Besides the ethical responsibility to disclose social impact (Sethi, 1979), social enterprises' promise to solve societal problems while seeking business profits makes social impact central to their legitimacy, especially when presented as alternatives to charity and public services.

The need to bring to question the legitimacy of social enterprises is further amplified by social entrepreneurs who seek to maximise their impact through scalability (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012) and spreading social benefits to as many people and communities as possible (Dees, Anderson and Wei-Skillern, 2008). When it comes to scalability, there is an

underlying assumption that social impact could be replicated in other contexts and other beneficiaries be it through direct expansion, knowledge sharing, franchising, joint venture, cooperation or expansion in other problem areas, products or services (Weber, Kroger, and Lambrich, 2012, p. 15). Without knowing how and why change occurs, scalability becomes questionable especially as "many social entrepreneurs have found scaling up their activities difficult" (Lumpkin et al., 2013, p. 769).

With growing competition amongst social enterprises (Millar and Hall, 2012), governments, social impact investors and grant funders pursue a basis of comparison that demonstrates the social value that social enterprises deliver (Barraket and Yousefpour, 2013). Social impact investors in particular, are interested in social impact measurement as it is "part of their mission to understand the social/environmental impact" (Mudaliar, Schiff and Bass, 2016, p. 36) of their investments as they seek a more impactful opportunity to make profits while doing good.

Besides the absence of a single, consistent and agreed upon approach to the measurement of social impact of social enterprises (Maier et al., 2014), and while this may not be an issue for some who have adopted a proprietary approach to SIA or use IRIS metrics, it keeps SIA open to a variety of interpretations (Millar and Hall, 2012) making conversations and understanding challenging.

Another aspect that is seldom highlighted is the valuable role that social impact offers for social enterprises that seek ways to improve performance and enhance impact (Barraket and Yousefpour, 2013), seeking opportunities for self-improvement against stated social aims (Gibbon and Dey, 2011).

2.3.3 History of Approaches to Social Impact Assessment

The concept of SIA could be traced back to the 1970s when people became concerned about environmental impacts (Pollnac et al., 2006) of large energy and infrastructure projects. In response, the US Environmental Protection Agency subsequently required that social issues be considered

part of the environmental impact assessments that were already taking place (Vanclay, 2005) or even in new areas of environmental concern such as marine fisheries (Pollnac et al., 2006). So the original design of an SIA was for "protecting individual property rights" (Vanclay, 2003, p. 7) and to "understand and better anticipate possible social consequences for individuals, groups, and communities of planned and unplanned changes" (Burdge, 2003, p. 84).

Based on the International Principles for Social Impact of the International Association of Impact Assessors, a model of SIA comes in the form of wellbeing scenarios that predict intended and unintended consequences of changes, projects, or products and services (Vanclay, 2003). Based on experimental case study design, traditional approaches to SIA include a baseline of the community groups and their existing social dynamics and settings, impact categories and indicators, their current state and future trends, and focuses on the use of experimental and control groups, applying interventions to the experimental group and comparing findings (Tilley, 2000). After the implementation of respective changes or projects, this dynamic model continues to evolve, taking into account actual changes in the behaviour of individuals and groups (micro), organisations and social movements (meso), or national and global (macro) levels, feeding learnings and data back into the model for subsequent use (Rowan, 2009). This approach is time consuming, resource intensive and often unrealistic as it takes many levels into account in an overly optimistic and broad model that often does not "reflect who is being affected and which groups are likely to need more mitigation or enhancement measures" (Rowan, 2009, p. 190). The key issue with this traditional approach to SIA is the focus on prediction under unrealistic conditions as social change neither occurs in isolation from other internal or external factors nor under tight experimental conditions (Tilley, 2000).

Driven by economic pressures faced by governments and other funders of research, the higher education sector has been under pressure to "become more accountable for the money they spend on research" (Smith, Crookes

and Crookes, 2013, p. 410). Trying to avoid the traditional approach to SIA, the concept of impact in the research domain was initially assessed and reported on using controversial bibliometric quantitative tools such as the Impact Factor, which was originally designed to map research and then replaced by the improved H-index, designed to intentionally look at quality of research (Smith, Crookes and Crookes, 2013). As bibliometric tools, they have both failed to capture the complexity of research, making controversial assumptions about how research progresses (Smith, Crookes and Crookes, 2013). As a result, the UK's and Australia's now obsolete framework (Smith, Crookes and Crookes, 2013), had both assessed the impact of research that incorporated bibliometric measures but more importantly, looked at the impact of research based on its impact on the community in different facets including "social, cultural, economic, environmental, public policy and quality of life" (Smith, Crookes and Crookes, 2013, p. 416). Time and resource intensive, these approaches are based on the assumption that changes in the community are directly attributed to research, which may or may not be the case.

The sustainability domain has expanded the concept of 'footprint' to include the 'social footprint', i.e. "impact of human activities on anthrocapital (human, social and constructed)" (Cucek, Klemes, and Kravanja, 2012, p. 12). Although rarely used and open to a variety of issues, social footprints are predominantly qualitative and dependent on narratives but also use controversial, external rankings such as the corruption footprint or the mixed quantitative and qualitative approach to the poverty footprint to support the stories of impact (Cucek, Klemes, and Kravanja, 2012).

In all three cases, social impact constructs and measures may be based on generalised views of social wellbeing or quality of life which although they simplify SIAs, they reduce the quality of social impact variables used as the basis of the policy or programme being assessed (Dietz, 1987). In the opposite sense, social impact constructs and measures may be based on a specific output view in which social impact ignores generalised outcomes that are just as critical to success (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010). As a

result, defining social impact and deciding on an approach to its evaluation and assessment is not a trivial task that is exacerbated by the fact that these approaches make an assumption about the direct link between activities, outputs and outcomes.

2.3.4 Approaches to the Social Impact of Social Enterprises

As seen in the previous section, approaches to SIA can take many forms and seek various levels of detail when it comes to constructs and elements of change. Different viewpoints and approaches are generally rooted in paradigmatic perspectives related to various ontological, epistemological, methodological and theoretical elements (Aledo-Tur and Dominguez-Gomez, 2017).

Specifically for social enterprises, traditional positivist (financial statements) and interpretive (narrative reports) approaches to SIA are predominant, however, there are other approaches to SIA that come somewhere in between (Nicholls, 2009) and have gained considerable popularity. Whereas positivist approaches are resource-intensive, focusing on specific social aspects that may or may not be significant when it comes to attribution, they make comparison easy (Luke, 2016). While social value reports make comparison difficult, they are informative with an appropriate focus of reporting (Nicholls, 2009).

As traditional positivist and interpretive approaches and respective challenges to SIA are well documented, this section presents some of today's the more popular and common approaches to SIA in social enterprises.

2.3.4.1 Social Return on Investment

The social return on investment (SROI) approach and tool is amongst the most publicised and prevalent tools used (Maier et al., 2014) to measure the social value created by a social enterprise (Millar and Hall, 2012). Providing a "one-off snapshot" (Gibbon and Dey, 2011, p. 69), the SROI approach is

based on mixed methods, leveraging the accounting practice of return on investment, measuring the social value created compared to each dollar (or other currency unit) of investment in a particular programme or enterprise (Maier et al., 2014).

As a tool that seemingly provides a comparative measure (Millar and Hall, 2012), its benefit is often quoted as a source of increased legitimisation of the social sector as a simple communication tool assisting in the allocation of capital for funders and investors (Maier et al., 2014). The SROI tool reduces impacts to "monetary measures" (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009, p. 158) to bring consistency to reporting on social, economic and environmental impact of not only social enterprises, but also charity and civil society organisations (Nicholls et al., 2012).

The approach to SROI is well documented and is generally about putting a value on outcomes and comparing them to the amount invested in the organisation under assessment through evidence, including mapping back to stakeholders, inputs and outputs taking into account attribution, causality, "displacement" (Nicholls et al., 2012, p. 57) of negative impacts to other areas and "drop-off" (Nicholls et al., 2012, p. 61) of impact attributed to the organisation under assessment over time.

In essence, SROI applies accounting practices to the logic model of change covering activities, inputs, outputs and outcomes along with financial proxies and considerations for attribution and change of impact over time (Nicholls et al., 2012). The guide to SROI emphasises the need to maintain transparency (Nicholls et al., 2012) and "materiality" (Nicholls et al., 2012, p. 9), i.e. disclosing aspects that are included and not included in the assessment and ensuring that material outcomes are accounted for.

While the SROI approach and tool makes communication about social impact easy (Gibbon and Dey, 2011), it is resource-intensive and often outsourced to specialist practitioners. Interestingly, SROI is not reported on by social enterprises who undertake it for fear that they will be judged on a return that is not acceptable (Maier et al., 2014). Ironically, Maier et al.

(2014) found that in practice, undertaking the SROI assessment did not result in new funding for social enterprises, which makes the value of SROI even more questionable given the complexity and costs involved.

2.3.4.2 Social Accounting and Audit

Going back to the 1970s (Gray, 2001), and originally referring to audits of publicly accountable organisations, social reporting consisted of placing a dollar value on social assets and social liabilities with some large organisations reporting on their social activities within or separate to their annual reports (Hess, 2001). The 1980s saw a major decline in social reporting as companies recovered from a recession and companies did not want shareholders to view them as wasting funds on activities that do not generate a return (Hess, 2001). The 1990s continued to see low social reporting generally but regulations in the United States called for increased disclosure and reporting, especially on environmental impacts (Pollnac et al., 2006). At the same time, Europe saw companies like The Body Shop and Ben and Jerry's giving attention to and reaping success from social reporting triggering an interest in its revival (Hess, 2001).

As a "stakeholder-oriented approach" (Hess, 2001, p. 316), social accounting and audit (SAA) is about uncovering the differences made by organisations in terms of "outputs, outcomes and an overall impact" (Kay and McMullan, 2017, p. 60) blending social, economic and environmental impacts (Kay and McMullan, 2017), i.e. similar to SROI, the Logic model of change.

Social Accounting and Audit (SAA) "starts from the organisation's stated social objectives" (Gibbon and Dey, 2011, p. 69). Recognising that not everything is quantifiable, SAA applies accounting practices to the Logic model of impact where possible (Kay and McMullan, 2017) to prove the difference they have made in terms of outputs and outcomes (Kay and McMullan, 2017).

The benefit of the SAA approach is that it is less prescriptive than the "reductionist" (Gibbon and Dey, 2011, p. 63) SROI approach and while it puts social impact at the core of the social enterprise in terms of internal management, it is easy to understand and does not usually require external specialists (Kay and McMullan, 2017). However, it is also quite resource-intensive and to be beneficial to social enterprises, social impact reports and audits must be undertaken on a regular basis to enable comparability and improvement (Kay and McMullan, 2017).

2.3.4.3 SIMPLE Model to Impact Assessment

As mentioned in the introduction, other approaches have been recently developed for the impact of social enterprises. One of these is McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar's (2009) SIMPLE model (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009) that has been quoted more often in recent literature. Similar to SROI and SAA, McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar's (2009) SIMPLE model looks at stakeholder-focused activities, outputs and outcomes in response to their stated mission, and external and internal contexts (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009).

With an aim to fill a gap through a holistic approach to impact assessment, McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar (2009) used interviews with social enterprise managers to build a conceptual model for impact. Subsequently testing the model on 40 social enterprises, their aim was to present an impact assessment model that was flexible enough to be applied to various organisational forms and models taking into account financial, economic, social and environmental impacts (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009). The model was not meant to compete with other popular tools for impact measurements such as SROI; in fact, it was flexible enough to leverage other tools to blend a management approach with social impact (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009). The model most closely resembles the SAA approach with financial, economic, social and environmental impacts as opposed to the social objectives as a start.

Nevertheless, this was not without concerns. Social enterprise managers, while positive about the model, were concerned about implementation and were hesitant to move forward with it (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009). This is understandable given that it does not detail how social change can be understood with a high reliance on social enterprise resources to map, track and report on various impacts, which, as with SAA, is a complex task.

2.3.4.4   Statement of Social Performance

Recognising these challenges, and as an example of how researchers are trying to find ways to simplify SIAs, implementation and reporting, Luke (2016) looked at a new approach to social impact that aimed to simplify reporting by combining financial performance with social effectiveness and legitimacy in a simple format "as an alternative to lengthy, illustrative, individualistic narratives ... [without] precluding additional detail" (Luke, 2016, p. 115).

Admittedly under development, but a step forward within research in social enterprises, and sharing my view on social enterprises as well, Luke (2016) made the decision to treat social enterprises on what they had in common, "fulfilment of mission" (Luke, 2016, p. 107), irrespective of model or form. Consequently, Luke (2016) designed this statement for a specific type of social enterprise providing employment and training.

Luke's (2016) recommendation is beneficial as it provides social enterprises with a specific set of metrics that are deemed relevant. However, Luke (2016) does not clarify whether or not the statement of social performance would be applicable to other social enterprises and does not elaborate on the applicability of using outcomes of what is "visible ... in the community" (Luke, 2016, p. 107) and benefits at micro and macro levels (Luke, 2016), as a basis for assessment of social performance.

While reflecting the financial–social balancing reality of social enterprises in a simple format which seemingly reduces the complexity and costliness of SIA, it still poses challenges similar to those mentioned in the previous

section. Based on the Logic model, the statement of social performance does not necessarily distinguish social enterprises from commercial and charity organisations that may also provide similar activities and simply chooses a specific set of metrics that would be applicable to the social enterprise under assessment.

2.3.4.5 Other Approaches

The Global Impact Investing Rating System (GIIRS) "uses a common set of indicators to measure the social performance of funds and companies that intend to create impact" (Jackson, 2013, p. 98) which often includes IRIS metrics. The GIIRS, managed by the non-profit B Lab in the United States, and "informed by a logic model" (Jackson, 2013, p. 102), asks specific questions related to activities and outputs of social enterprises or non-profits and charities to help investors rate their investments (Jackson, 2013).

The GIIN consists of memberships from various investment organisations and fund managers primarily from the United States, with a small number of global organisations (Jackson, 2013). The GIIN manages the IRIS metrics, i.e. an online catalogue of standard metrics for activities and outputs of socially focused organisations, that "provides a common set of definitions and terms for the field" (Jackson, 2013, p. 98) that social enterprises or investors can pick and choose from and that are applicable to them.

While this seems like a simple approach, it is based on the assumption that the social enterprise knows what elements are relevant to their social impact and even if known, IRIS metrics do not provide an overall impact comparison and do not assess organisations to be good or bad, they only provide a common selection of metrics that others can use.

Limited mentions in the literature include other tools such as the Social Balanced Scorecard, Prove and Improve and Local Multiplier 3 (LM3). These tools and approaches, like those already covered, also base their approaches on the Logic model, albeit in different ways of organising and reporting information. The Social Enterprise Balanced Scorecard was built by Social Enterprise London as a version of the Balanced Scorecard with a

focus on the elements critical to social enterprise (http://www.socialimpactscotland.org.uk/understanding-social-impact/methods-and-tools/ accessed 3 May 2017). Prove and Improve is an online toolkit developed by the New Economics Foundation in the UK for social enterprises and other socially focused organisations to help them map and monitor impacts based on the Logic model using online tools and templates and sample indicators (http://www.proveandimprove.org accessed 3 May 2017). LM3 was also developed by the New Economics Foundation and focuses on economic impacts only (http://www.proveandimprove.org/tools/localmultiplier3.php accessed 3 May 2017).

2.4 Challenges to Current Approaches to SIA

Whilst existing tools offer great learning opportunities and understanding of how social enterprises generate outcomes, they are laden with theoretical and practical challenges that make it difficult for social enterprises to consistently understand, assess, report and improve their social impact (Kay and McMullan, 2017). At the same time, social enterprises seek funding and support from stakeholders who, despite controversy, value what these tools generate and social enterprises end up losing focus on their social purpose (Maier et al., 2014).

Despite being costly and complex, and as "performance evaluation in social enterprises has prioritised measurement rather than evaluating the appropriateness of the measures" (Luke, 2016, pp. 114-115), current approaches to SIA of social enterprises still seem to lack the rigor and quality to provide the insight and clarity needed (Kay and McMullan, 2017) by funders, governments and even the social enterprises themselves who seek opportunities for improvement and differentiation.

In practice, social entrepreneurs, funders and government entities have voiced their frustration and need for more "structured, succinct accounts of actual performance" (Luke, 2016, p. 118) when it comes to social impact. More prominent for social entrepreneurs, this needs to be done in a less

resource-intensive manner (Maier et al., 2014), in an easily implementable way (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009) with the ability to monitor and report on changes to social impact (Kay and McMullan, 2017).

Having covered the most cited and common approaches to SIA in social enterprises, this section covers thematic challenges in existing approaches that underpin the exploration of theory-based evaluation as an alternative option. The bottom line is that irrespective of what approach is taken, there are foundational issues that must be sorted to move SIA forward.

2.4.1   Unqualified Assumptions about Change

While a significant portion of the research in social enterprises, especially in SIAs (Dey and Gibbon, 2017), is weak when it comes to theoretical underpinning (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013), conceptually, approaches mentioned assess and report on social impact based on the Logic model. Originally presented in 1978, the Logic model depicts a linear process to change that takes place under certain "conditions to solve identified problems" (Wholey, Hatry and Newcomer, 2004, p. 8).

Applying this model to social impact, social outputs refer to what was directly achieved as a result of an organisation's activities (Bagnoli and Megali, 2011) and social outcomes, be it short term, intermediate or longer term, and refer to "benefit or change is accomplished as a direct result of the output" (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009, p. 166). The Logic model assumes that the longer-term outcome would ultimately solve the problem a programme or an organisation was aiming for.

One of the first issues related the use of the Logic model as a basis for SIA is that it is "too linear" (Wholey, Hatry and Newcomer, 2004, p. 25). There is an assumption that activities equally generate outputs and subsequently generate outcomes in the short, medium and long terms, in a logical and linear fashion. This is not the case, especially when it comes to social impact as it deals with the often-ambiguous process of change with

individuals and communities (Wholey, Hatry and Newcomer, 2004) making it challenging to distinguish which activities make the greatest impact.

The second issue is that it is not "responsive to new information" (Wholey, Hatry and Newcomer, 2004, p. 25) as it is typically hard to change and include new information, making it difficult to benefit from and making it both time and resource intensive. These issues make SIA highly systematic in detail, ignoring, even if not intentionally, negative and other complicated impacts; as result, it is not reflective of complex social phenomena being evaluated.

While the Logic model puts customers "explicitly in the middle of the chain of logic" (Wholey, Hatry and Newcomer, 2004, p. 9), the third issues is that approaches to SIA are underpinned by stakeholder theory and as a result use "the widest possible range of impact that may arise" (Raikkonen et al., 2016, p. 84). While it is an ambitious goal to consider changes that affect the wider community, the reality is that social enterprises must be held accountable to their beneficiaries first before being accountable to anyone else.

While the Logic model is easy to understand and makes the approach to SIA simple by linking strategy to budgeting to activities to outputs and outcomes (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001), it fails to capture complexities especially in multi-level programmes (Stame, 2004) and fails to consider other factors beyond activities undertaken that may impact outcomes (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001).

2.4.2 Lack of Distinction

Social enterprises "draw their legitimacy from their social purpose" (Jenner, 2016, p. 46) as their primary goal is social change (Lumpkin et al., 2013). Central to the legitimacy problem, and relevant to the conversation on SIA, are the unclear boundaries distinguishing social enterprises from commercial or charity counterparts (Santos, 2012).

The question that is usually on the minds of various stakeholders, especially when discussing it in the context of problem solving versus charity or as a form of public sector innovation, is how social enterprises differ from commercial businesses that engage in similar profitable activities along with a social component. Similarly, how are social enterprises different from charity organisations that support a social cause with innovative profitable activities on the side to aid in revenue generation and reduce reliance on donations.

Social entrepreneurship generally covers the characteristics and operational processes used within social enterprises for recognising and pursuing opportunities that focus on societal benefits and goals (Chell, 2007). Some look at innovation in solving stated social issues as central to social enterprises (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006; Bloom and Chatterji, 2009; Hulgard, 2010), in other cases, the focus is on entrepreneurship, trade and commercial opportunities that enable social enterprises to solve social issues (Santos, 2012; Teasdale, 2010; Parenson, 2011). Some others focus on the social enterprises' balancing act in managing multiple objectives under the umbrella of a combination of social and financial goals (Dart, 2004; Lehner and Kansikas, 2013).

Interestingly, these various perspectives have been challenged. For example, while social enterprises are seen as innovative and entrepreneurial, Luke and Chu (2013) separated the 'social' from 'entrepreneurship', treating entrepreneurship as a behavioural characteristic of opportunity identification, innovation and risk and found that not all social enterprises are necessarily innovative or entrepreneurial. "Many studies have in fact found more similarities than differences" between social and commercial businesses (Grassl, 2012, p. 51) especially when social enterprises face a situation when they no longer have the financial support of the public sector (Lanzi, 2008). Furthermore, research so far has failed to prove the difference between social enterprises and high performance managed non-profits (Helm and Andersson, 2010) or even cross-sector partnerships

involving non-profit charity organisations with businesses or governments (Selsky and Parker, 2005). In fact, the legitimacy of social enterprises has been brought into question as multiple actor partnerships present similar advantages as they enter into "collective social entrepreneurship ... collaboratively play[ing] to address social problems" (Montgomery, Dacin and Dacin, 2012, p. 375).

In existing approaches to SIA, the distinctiveness of social enterprises from commercial and charity organisations, is not immediately confronted and do not clarify boundaries between social enterprises and commercial or charity counterparts.

2.4.3 The Push for Quantification

As mentioned earlier, there is a general push for quantification when it comes to SIAs (Kay and McMullan, 2017). Common amongst positivist approaches to social impact including SROI is that "performance evaluation in social enterprises has prioritised measurement rather than evaluating the appropriateness of the measures" (Luke, 2016 pp. 114-115) even though they allow for qualitative information in the form of impact statements and narratives. Even SAA and the SIMPLE model (McLoughlin, Kaminski and Sodagar, 2009) approaches to impact assessment seek quantification where possible.

Gibbon and Dey (2011), Maier et al. (2014), Luke (2016), and Dey and Gibbon (2017) provide an excellent review of the detailed challenges of approaches to social impact and in particular SROI. Consequently, their reviews apply to quantitative approaches to social impact more generally as well.

A stakeholder focused approach, SROI analysis is complicated as a result of detailed instructions and assumptions made to enable monetisation and to deal with attribution and causality through financial proxies. A lot of these assumptions are either unrealistic or skip critical social impacts (Maier,

2014) and can lead to "spurious claims and begins to move further away from a 'real' or tangible 'return'" (Kay and McMullan, 2017, p. 65).

Complexities become profound as not all social value can be monetised (Millar and Hall, 2012). From individual wellbeing, sense of belonging, hope, self-esteem, self-sufficiency, justice, environmental preservation, etc. (LeBer, 2010), qualitative aspects are 'monetised' which in itself is a subjective, judgment-laden, process resulting in an inability to include more complex kinds of impact (Millar and Hall, 2012; Maier et al., 2014). Even comparability is questionable as SROI may be different depending on the contextual environment, scale of change, programme or strategy, and even causal links that lead to impact (Maier et al., 2014), i.e. the various forms of social enterprises.

In addition, the assignment of weights and magnitudes to these measures are subjective leading to outcomes that may be substantially in error making both the baseline and assessment false. As a result, an expert panel and interviews made up of experts and people who are representative of the local, regional and national concerns using structured group process to identify both subjective and objective impacts may be utilised (Dietz, 1987). Both these aspects may leave out certain social impacts (Lockie, 2001).

This complexity leads to costs related to expert resources (internal or external to the organisation) involved not only in the initial assessment, but also in subsequent assessments as SROI depicts a snapshot and not necessarily anything beyond that. In addition, reports are detail-heavy and lengthy (Luke, 2016) making it hard to incorporate into social enterprises and will usually lead to impacts being lost and time wasted on something that may not be read.

In practice, there is a need to ensure that assessments uphold "integrity and confirm that they are a true representation of what the organisation has achieved and the impact it has made" (Kay and McMullan, 2017, p. 63).

2.5 An Alternative Approach: Theory-Based Evaluation

Besides the need to keep "social impact assessment relevant and beneficial to social enterprises" (Kay and McMullan, 2017, p. 64), there are calls to consider alternative approaches (Dey and Gibbon, 2017) and frameworks (Luke, 2016) that overcome challenges in current approaches to SIA and aid comparison.

Like social enterprises, social programmes are successful because they implement activities to deliver on social aims that subsequently bring about the desired effects of social betterment or long-term intended outcomes (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). Consequently, programmes either fail in implementation or there is a "failure of the activities to bring about desired effects" (Weiss, 1997a).

TBE is a "systematic and cumulative study of links between activities, outcomes and contexts" (Connell and Kubisch, 1998) through which implicit assumptions (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000) and pathways (Sridharan and Nakama, 2012) underlying change in a social programme are uncovered. More specifically, by revealing the theoretical assumptions (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010) of a programme, one uncovers the causal mechanisms and related effects along with the required conditions for change to occur (Carvalho and White, 2004). Evidence of these assumptions and conditions is then collected to confirm their presence and examine the extent to which they occur to aid comparison and serve as an indicator of long-term change without waiting too long and without the need for a control group (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000). TBE not only focuses on what works, but it also helps to identify unanticipated or undesired programme effects (Weiss, 2000b) that may influence how change unfolds (Weiss, 1997b).

This section starts by examining the history of TBE, the overall approach, and subsequently makes a case for TBE as a potential alternative for assessing the social impact of social enterprises, overcoming key challenges

of current approaches to SIA, better understanding and discerning social impact, and aiding comparison. Finally, key challenges inherent in TBE are covered in detail to inform the conceptual framework, and subsequent research design for this study.

2.5.1 History of TBE

Evaluation generally refers to the process of examining the extent to which a programme succeeds in reaching the goals it set for itself (Weiss, 1972). In the case of social programmes, or programmes that are designed to improve a societal issue (Weiss, 1972), evaluations are meant to assess the effects of policies or programmes on intended beneficiaries in terms of the goals they intend to achieve (Weiss, 1993).

To attribute the success or failure of a programme, an evaluation seeks to differentiate between success or failure due to operational implementation including staff, participants, settings and activities (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), or the ability of a programme to implement the change intended (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000). Evaluations seek answers to two questions: 1) did the programme implement what it said it would; and 2) does a programme deliver on the outcomes intended (Weiss, 1997b).

The first question is related to the implementation of activities and the second question, the more challenging one, tries to evaluate how a programme's activities lead to social betterment or intended long-term outcomes (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). While there is an abundance of literature on operational management and improvement frameworks to assess operational implementation – total quality management (TQM), the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) Excellence Model and the Balanced Scorecard for example – there continues to be deliberation on how one can best approach the evaluation of outcomes in societal, environmental or other more complex arenas.

At the core of challenges in the evaluation of outcomes is the issue of causality, i.e. "determining whether observed changes are due to the

program effects ... or due to some other cause, or are purely coincidental" (Davidson, 2000, p. 17), especially when evaluations, specifically those focused on one-dimensional quantitative results, do not provide a background on how such measures came to be (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert, 2017, p. 14). Often based on randomised experimental designs, especially in outcomes concerning poverty and health (Chen and Rossi, 1983), such evaluations did not uncover how a programme works to estimate net effects and instead focus on specifying outcomes in measurable terms (Chen and Rossi, 1983).

As researchers sought ways to overcome these issues in outcome evaluation, alternative approaches were deemed good if they were comparable to the randomised experiments from an advantage standpoint while overcoming the artificiality of results (Chen and Rossi, 1983). The results are still often narrow and distorted without a clear understanding of why programmes fail between implementation and how change actually materialises (Chen and Rossi, 1983).

TBE was originally built on such criticisms involving random experimental design or other methodological evaluations based on overly simplistic logic models or theories where the primary focus is, as in current approaches to SIA in social enterprises, on the straightforward link between inputs and outputs of a programme "without concern for the transformation process in the middle" (Chen, 1990, p. 18).

Chen and Rossi (1983), early advocates of TBE, brought theory back into programme evaluation with the premise that neglect of existing theoretical knowledge had retarded both understanding and evaluations for social programmes (Chen and Rossi, 1983). Even though most programmes are based on experience and/or intuition, they essentially have a theoretical basis no matter how weak the assumptions (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000). In essence, TBE is ultimately concerned with defining the underlying programme theory or change model that helps establish causality (Davidson, 2000) and becomes the basis of the evaluation (White, 2010).

More government and non-government funding bodies are requesting that programme theory or change model form the basis for programmes being planned or evaluated (Rogers, 2007), realising that interventions are complex (Sridharan and Nakaima, 2012). Gaining popularity in the last two decades, TBE has been adopted by various UN programmes and governmental policy-making bodies in Australia, Canada and the US (Judge and Bauld, 2001) to strengthen existing evaluations that focus on measuring and reporting on programme effectiveness with little knowledge about how and why an intervention works (Pawson et al., 2005).

TBE provides policy-makers and stakeholders with a convincing narrative and the different types of evidence that can support the effort to establish causal attribution (Galloway, 2009) using multiple methods, as opposed to specific methods that drive an evaluation (Stame, 2004). TBE provides relevant knowledge for those responsible for the design of new, similar programmes (Weiss, 1997b) and supports those managing programmes to help improve their programmes, confirming whether or not assumptions behind how and why change occurs hold up (Weiss, 1997b). Clarifying the underlying programme theory or change model, together with how a programme is implemented, provides a basis for constructing interim markers of progress, without the need to wait to confirm long-term outcomes (Weiss, 1997b). These benefits offered by TBE help build stories to effectively communicate how and why change occurs and how programmes support policy-makers and the public more generally (Weiss, 1997b).

2.5.2 What is TBE?

Also referred to as "theory-driven, theory-orientated, theory-anchored, theory-of-change" (Rogers, 2007, p. 63) approaches, Chen (1990; 1994; 1996; 2011; 2015), Chen and Rossi (1983; 1989), Pawson and Tilley (2004), and Weiss (1972; 1995; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2000a; 2000b) are often quoted in literature, independently or jointly, as leading researchers and advocates of TBE. Although the approach uses the word theory, it is not

meant to be all-encompassing (Weiss, 1995), but a set of theoretical assumptions that together make change plausible (Weiss, 1997b). As a result, and to avoid confusion, 'change model' will generally be used to refer to 'programme theory' unless otherwise needed, to clarify an argument or quoting from other sources, within the thesis.

TBE is primarily concerned with articulating the underlying change model that "helps reduce problems associated with causal attribution" (Judge and Bauld, 2001, p. 25) and offers a plausible approach to improving the validity of evaluations (Weiss, 1997a) linking activities with intermediate and long-term effects and conditions (Judge and Bauld, 2001). Articulating the change model related to a specific social aim refers to uncovering the underlying theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 2000b) that make explicit the causal mechanisms and effects (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010) and related conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004) for the intended long-term outcome to materialise.

TBE is not a prescriptive approach to evaluation (Pawson and Tilley, 2004) but instead embodies a research approach similar to hypothesis generation, "testing and refinement" (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p. 10) and while a few methods and approaches to TBE have been documented in literature, no method is more superior (Stame, 2004). Covering vast literature on TBE, the primary steps could be summarised in five high-level phases (Figure 3): planning; articulating the underlying change model; assessing operational implementation (Chen, 2015; Weiss, 1997a); measurement; and reporting. Although the steps to TBE are presented in a sequential manner, they are often "overlapping and iterative" (Pawson et al., 2005, p. 4).
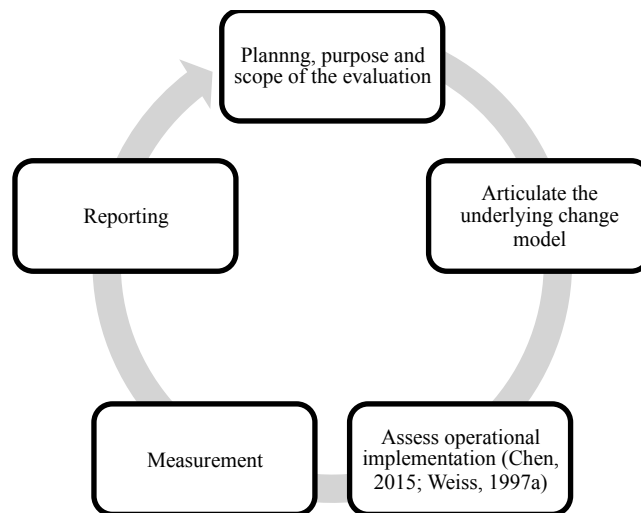
Figure 3 Steps in Theory-based Evaluation

An evaluation can take on a variety of objectives, from theoretical integrity and testing rival approaches to change, to testing change within new contexts and reviewing expectations against actuals (Pawson et al., 2005). Starting an evaluation must ensure that the purpose and scope of focus are clear (Weiss, 1998) along with the level of certainty required of an evaluation (Davidson, 2000) improves the validity of an evaluation.

Recall that evaluation seeks answers to two questions: 1) did the programme implement what it said it would; and 2) does a programme deliver on the outcomes intended (Weiss, 1997b). Chen (2015) and Weiss (1997a) support TBE approaches that include a separate assessment of operational implementation, i.e. "how the program is carried out" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 72) prior to articulating the change model. This is primarily driven by a legitimate reality that a poorly implemented programme may not require a deep evaluation of change (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000) and hence why it is presented as a separate step, preceding measurement, in Figure 3 above.

Besides assessing operational implementation and reporting, there are two phases of a TBE evaluation that could evolve into highly complex tasks that present challenges to evaluators. The first is the ability to make explicit the implicit change model (Weiss, 1995). While one all-encompassing change model is neither realistic nor expected (Weiss, 1995), it is also impossible to

identify "fine-grained theories of change" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 74). Somewhere in the middle, a change model should be able to explain how change occurs that could be assessed in the interim prior to when the long-term outcomes were attained (Weiss, 1997b). At the same time, by uncovering underlying theoretical assumptions (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000) and conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004) enables comparison across programmes of the same type in different contexts irrespective of detailed activities (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000).

The second challenging phase in TBE is measurement. By measurement, one is to track the unfolding of the theoretical assumptions and conditions to examine the extent to which the change model holds (Weiss, 1995) as a way to ascertain causality (Rogers, 2009). The challenge in this phase revolves around finding practical ways to measure these theoretical assumptions and conditions in a way that does not involve the heavy burden of collecting and analysing data on every link possible (Weiss, 1997b). Working around that, one approach is to "select one set of particularly central (or problematic) assumptions and direct the evaluation toward investigating that specific link in the theory chain" (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000, p. 410), another is to select "one or two central assumptions" (Rogers, 2007, p. 78) and/or find existing social science theory that could substitute for specific theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 1997b).

Even if the above challenges are dealt with, change is not linear and is imbedded in multiple open social systems that both affect, and are affected by, change models (Pawson et al., 2005). Along with that, change and implementation models have feedback loops that have effects on each other and the wider environment (Chen, 2015). As a result, TBE "delivers illumination rather than generalizable truths and contextual fine-tuning rather than standardization" (Pawson et al., 2005, p. 24). In addition, most evaluators face the inadequacy of the change model as well as limitations in measurements and analytics (Weiss, 1997b) and the more detailed the underlying theory is, the less likely data will be available. As a result, there

must be a middle ground between detailed and complex sequences that an evaluator would have to apply (Weiss, 1997b).

In addition, the change model may ignore variables that can affect outcomes and remain unknown or immeasurable (Weiss, 1997b) and TBE results cannot be mechanically applied to other sites like other evaluations, but the small linkages can transfer especially when comparing conditions but it fares smaller but not generalisable (Weiss, 1997b) as a result, the need for bounded populations. While TBE cannot eliminate all alternative explanations, it can set out theoretical assumptions underlying a programme and follow up with measurements of effects and conditions predicted by a theory (Judge and Bauld, 2001) leading a programme to deliver on the change intended and even more. Even if evaluators are able to demonstrate that a theory is wrong (Weiss, 1997b) that would lead to improvements in programmes or related policy.

2.5.3 The Case for TBE for SIA of Social Enterprises

Social enterprises implement activities to deliver on social aims that subsequently bring about desired effects against often unobservable outcomes (Carvalho and White, 2004) of poverty alleviation, health, education, environment, rights development, etc. Underpinned by the basic question of what are the implications of the social enterprise on targeted beneficiaries in relation to the intended long-term outcome, a TBE approach to the SIA of social enterprises aim to better understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises that are causally similar that can then be used as a basis of comparison.

Based on the high-level steps in Figure 3, the core of TBE for SIA of social enterprises starts by articulating the change model and subsequently establishing how well a social enterprise operationally implemented activities to fulfil its social aim (Weiss, 1997a). This is then followed by the design and implementation of a measurement plan for related effects and conditions. More specifically, by articulating the change model and the theoretical assumptions (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010), one is uncovering the

causal mechanisms and related effects underlying the social enterprises' approach to fulfilling the social aim in terms of the desired outcome (Weiss, 1993). Along with the conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004), evidence is then sought to examine the extent to which these occur as a way to "address the issue of attribution without a comparison or a control group" (Rogers, 2009, p. 221) making it more plausible that change is due to the social enterprise and not to outside events or actors (Weiss, 1995).

Generally speaking, TBE has been well-documented in literature across many disciplines particularly in biology, the social sciences and economics (Hedstrom and Swedberg, 1998) and is often recommended when there is limited knowledge or theoretical support in an area of study (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010), such as social entrepreneurship (Chell, Nicolopoulou, and Karataş-Özkan, 2010). When looking at different types of interventions in social programmes from simple to complex, a theory-based approach to impact evaluation informs "effects and impacts at higher levels" (Stame, 2004, p. 59) than traditional approaches such as randomised control trials, experiments and quasi-experiments (Stame, 2004) and hence, provide a better understanding of change in current approaches to SIA in social enterprises that are widely contested (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert (2017).

Besides the lack of a common definition of what social impact is (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert, 2017), in a recent review of papers published in the last two decades covering social impact measurements from leading business journals, Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert (2017) found that despite it being a "theoretically rich construct" (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert, 2017, p. 14), there has been a lot of effort to push the assessment of social impact in the direction of reporting as a single quantifiable dimension, such as SROI, that does not provide detail on what is actionable (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert (2017). In the absence of a stated counterfactual, such an approach does not make clear what change is attributable to the social enterprise (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert, 2017). Ignoring implicit assumptions that underlie change, and not being

clear on how to compare social enterprises, current approaches make assessment and aggregation challenging requiring complex workarounds (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert, 2017).

Adopting a TBE approach to the SIA of social enterprises clarifies what social impact is, without a push for a specific method of assessment and measurement (White, 2010) and instead focuses on uncovering the underlying theoretical assumptions and conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004), showing more closely what is experienced by intended beneficiaries (Davidson, 2000), and making aggregation possible at the level of theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 1997) within causally similar groups.

Besides the potential for TBE to solve current gaps in SIA for social enterprises, the case for TBE is strengthened by depicting how it can serve the purpose of the SIA for social enterprises, i.e. better inform legitimacy and provide evidence of social impact that could be compared to others.

While some question the distinctiveness of the social entrepreneurship field, others see it "different enough to warrant its own body of theory" (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010, p. 43). In uncovering how and why change occurs, TBE links what social enterprises set out and assume they accomplish to what actually happens (Weiss, 2000a). By uncovering the underlying change model, TBE aids "understanding of why we observe what we observe" (Hedstrom and Swedberg, 1998, pp. 8-9) beyond simplistic outcomes which could be influenced by increased collaboration and funding (Gregory-Smith et al., 2017). Uncovering how change occurs, TBE better informs the legitimacy of social enterprises through how long-term outcomes materialise and by aiding comparison against commercial and charity counterparts and other social enterprises.

Uncovering the underlying theoretical assumptions and conditions makes it possible to ascertain the paths and links between inputs, outputs and outcomes (Sridharan and Nakaima, 2012). Overcoming the simplistic logic model of change, these theoretical underpinnings not only provide greater

detail on how social impact is attained, they also provide a more detailed opportunity to compare social enterprises where change occurs as opposed to an overall abstract view of social impact (Rawhouser, Cummings and Newbert, 2017).

Specific to this study, in respect to poverty alleviation, "a whole generation of anti-poverty programs has proceeded on the basis of kindred assumptions and we still lack evidence in the extent to which the theories hold up in practice ... not much analysis of the underlying assumptions ... with independent interpretations of the causes and cures of chronic poverty" (Weiss, 1995, p. 70). Driven by a clear understanding of underlying theoretical assumptions and conditions of change, TBE also identifies unnecessary programme components, contributing to paradigm shifts (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000, p. 408) focusing on specific aspects (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000, p. 408) that provide explanations of the causes and cures of poverty.

As shown, the key contribution of TBE is that it can uncover theoretical assumptions underlying change in social enterprises, answering why and how change occurs (Weiss, 2000a) which could shape a future paradigm shift in the social entrepreneurship domain (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000).

2.6 Conceptual Design of TBE for SIA of Social Enterprises

Despite the advantages of TBE in uncovering how and why programmes work (Rogers, 2007), it is seldom used for evaluation (Weiss, 1997b), and even when used, evaluations often cover implementation and not the underlying change (Rogers, 2007). In cases where a change model is defined, evaluations often follow the simplistic logic model or articulate a change model that is not representative of what is being done (Roger, 2007). On the measurement side, TBE often does not use the change model to guide the evaluation (Davidson, 2000) and does not provide clear links between data collected and the change model (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000).

Chen and Rossi (1989), Chen (1994), Davidson (2000), Weiss (1997a, 1997b, 2000a), Rogers (2007), and Sridharan and Nakaima (2012), have written papers covering the issues and challenges in TBE, and while many reasons are identified, they come down to the two challenging aspects already mentioned earlier: complexity in articulating the change model and intricacies in approaching measurement in a pragmatic yet informative manner (Weiss, 1997b).

This section looks at these two critical aspects in more detail by adopting Weiss' (1998) approach to TBE operationalising concepts (Weiss, 1997b) to set the stage for the research design to answer the questions set out in the study. Nevertheless, Chen (2015) and Pawson and Tilley (2004) are also referenced to fill gaps in Weiss' (1998) approach, elaborate on meaning, and support choices made in this study as approaches to TBE have more in common than differences (Pawson and Tilley, 2004).

2.6.1   The Change Model

Source of the Change Model: Chen and Rossi (1989), known as early advocates of TBE (Stame, 2004), saw programmes as 'black boxes' because of an absence of a good social science theory (Stame, 2004) that would help evaluators and other stakeholders understand and improve social programmes (Stame, 2004). Although one could start with good social theory(ies) (Chen, 2015), this is often too restrictive and does not embody a programme's change model (Weiss, 1997b) which is often "the product of experience, intuition, and professional rules of thumb" (Weiss, 2000a, p. 37). Other sources of the change model are prior evaluations and evaluators' knowledge and experience with similar programmes (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), however, those can widely vary as the basis, purpose and approach of these evaluations vary (Weiss, 1995).

In this way, the change model is often articulated through research and interviews with programme implementors and targeted beneficiaries (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000; Stame, 2004) attempting to bring out implicit

and explicit assumptions about what actions are undertaken to solve the social problem under study and why the problem will respond to this action (Chen, 2015). This was the basis chosen in this study for the source of change model.

How the Change Model is Articulated: The change model may be articulated in the form of descriptive assumptions and determinants driven by underlying theory(ies) and supported by stakeholder responses (Chen, 2015). The change model could also be articulated as middle-range theories in the form of Context-Mechanism-Outcome (CMO) configurations (Pawson and Tilley, 2004) focused on "the particulars of specific measures in specific places relating to specific stakeholders" (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p. 17). A third approach is to articulate the change model in the form of theoretical assumptions that encompass mechanisms and targeted beneficiary responses as effects, and conditions for change to occur (Weiss, 1997b).

Particular to this study, Chen's (2015) approach would provide a key difficulty related to defining the underlying social theory as the lack of a clear theoretical understanding is a key issue in social entrepreneurship (Alvarez and Barney, 2013) exacerbated by an underlying tension between whether or not social entrepreneurship is "politically or socially constructed" (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013, p. 16). Besides documented challenges in operationalising CMO configurations (Dalkin et al., 2015) and limited examples using the approach in practice (Pawson et al., 2005), Pawson and Tilley's (2004) focus on middle-range theories in specific CMO configurations is too prescriptive and focused on particular circumstances, thus limiting reproducibility and future learning across contexts (Pawson et al., 2005).

With a focus on underpinning evaluations with better change models that explain how social aims and intended outcomes are attained (Weiss, 1997b), Weiss' (2000a) approach to building a change model uncovered theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 1995) and the "required conditions in place for the

desired outcome" (Carvalho and White, 2004, p. 143). Composed of causal mechanisms and related effects (Weiss, 2000a), and as depicted in Figure 4, theoretical assumptions are concerned with what is between the delivery of a programme and the outcomes (Weiss, 2000a). These are often psychosocial with a focus on "participants' responses to program services" (Weiss, 1997, p. 73) as effects that lead towards the change or outcome intended (Weiss, 1997a). While conditions include context depicting the social, political and economic setting in which the programme takes place (White, 2009), they also include the characteristics of targeted beneficiaries and how activities are implemented in a programme (White, 2009). In this view, and in TBE more generally, change is not a result of the activities but of the response it generates (Weiss, 1997b). The dotted lines depict unobservable aspects.
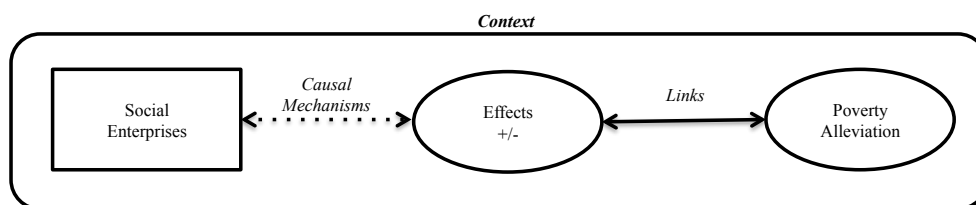
Figure 4 'Black Box' of Change as per Weiss (1997b)

Weiss (1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2000a; 2000b) has also carried out TBE in comprehensive community initiatives (Weiss, 1995) and poverty reduction programmes (2000b) that have a similar message to the social enterprises covered in this study. Weiss' work with Carvalho and White (2004) to design an evaluation for social funds and as the underlying approach in White and Masset's (2007) theory-based impact evaluation of a community-based nutrition project in Bangladesh, provide interesting examples of how TBE is used for the evaluation of impact. Weiss (1998) offers an approach that is both prescriptive and flexible enough for the intended aim and domain of this study.

Scope of the Change Model: Uncovering the underlying change model is complex and getting consensus is challenging (Weiss, 1995) as political sensitivities emerge when agreeing the premise behind a programme (Weiss, 1997b). As a result, the underlying change model in TBE should be

focused "only (on) that part of the causal chain of explanation that the program being evaluated is attempting to alter" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 502). Rather than an overall 'theory' for the programme, a change model covers specific theoretical assumptions and conditions that are related to the social aim and the nature of the change that the study is trying to uncover.

Quality of the Change Model: Recall that the purpose of an evaluation is to examine the extent to which a programme delivered on what it said it would deliver (Weiss, 1972) and TBE gives recipients of an evaluation confidence in the extent to which the results of the evaluation reduce uncertainties (Weiss, 1972) and depict what actually happens (Weiss, 2000a). Therefore, the change model does not have to be unquestionably right or uniformly accepted; it has to closely match how change actually materialises (Weiss, 2000a). A change model needs to reflect the beliefs of those involved in the programme, be plausible and detailed enough to reflect true responses of beneficiaries to mechanisms, be inclusive of conditions of the programme (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), and cover both the gains and losses (Weiss, 1972); yet, be focused on what is essential to the change and not get lost in unnecessary detail (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000). The process of developing the change model is in itself part of the evaluation where learnings are made (Weiss, 1997b) and even if a change model subsequently seems to be wrong and never produces the effects intended, there is great benefit that would lead to improvement in programmes or related policy (Weiss, 1997b).

2.6.2 Theoretical Assumptions: Causal Mechanisms and Effects

Besides challenges in generating theoretical assumptions that are clear, credible and verifiable (Connell and Kubisch, 1998), articulating them includes conveying the causal mechanisms and resulting effects of the social aim (Weiss, 1997b). This phase of TBE is time intensive, requiring a strong skill set in research and detachment between the researcher and evaluator roles (Galloway, 2009).

Social programmes are concerned with change (Tilley, 2000), and uncovering the theoretical assumptions is not a trivial task as it involves a detailed understanding of complex social interventions and establishing causal relationships to generate a model of causality (Pawson et al., 2005). Causal mechanisms are often hidden, sensitive to variation in context and generate effects (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010) similar to how gravity pulls things down (Tilley, 2000). As mentioned, TBE is not a prescriptive approach (Pawson and Tilley, 2004) and hence, operationalising key concepts was based on in-depth research that blended a few perspectives to give an evolved, and not step-by-step, version of TBE.

Start from Programme Goals: Social problems are often the result of various causes and programmes focus on only one (Chen, 2015). Behind the stated programme goals is the unmet need, solution (Chen, 2015) or cause of the problem that a programme chooses to focus on (Chen, 2015). As a result, a starting point used for identifying theoretical assumptions in this study are how targeted beneficiaries and social enterprises become aware of each other and how the intended aim of poverty alleviation comes about.

Include Programme Implementors and Targeted Beneficiaries: The key to valid theoretical assumptions is identifying ones that are as delivered and not as designed (Chen and Rossi, 1983); not only because designers and implementors of the programme are often overly optimistic (Weiss, 1997a) but programmes may change based on political and other contextual influences (Weiss, 1997b).

Identifying theoretical assumptions based on what is delivered means that an evaluator has to uncover the implicit assumptions where there are often multiple views (Weiss, 2000a). Overcoming issues in achieving consensus amongst policy makers, implementors and other stakeholders is often the most difficult part that only skilled evaluators can overcome (Judge and Bauld, 2001). Observing a programme in operation, is the best way to identify behaviours to map out theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 1997b) and in the absence of that, causal mechanisms can be defined from target

beneficiaries focusing on what happens on the ground and not what is designed (Davidson, 2000), thus providing a greater "level of certainty about causal attributions" (Davidson, 2000, p. 20) while considering response bias specifically when it comes to disadvantaged beneficiaries (Weiss, 1962).

Start Before Outputs and Follow Beneficiaries: Typical experiments fail to specify an underlying change model in the evaluation design (Chen and Ross, 1989). In other cases, evaluations use an overly simplistic input-outcome change model that only focuses on what programme sponsors want to know about (Chen and Ross, 1989). TBE's key benefit is that it explicitly examines and specifies why and how a programme leads to outcomes (Chen and Ross, 1989) but this means that investigation of processes must take place earlier than the official intervention from what leads a beneficiary to become interested in participating in a programme, to how they join which influences the overall outcome (Chen and Ross, 1989). As a result, in addition to including beneficiaries in defining the change model, this study captures their views early on in the process prior to outputs.

Operationalising Mechanisms: In reviewing the literature on TBE, it is rare to find research that provides a detailed account of how causal mechanisms can be uncovered, nevertheless, they either provide examples of what they are or provide a change model that includes causal mechanisms predefined by evaluators or programme implementors. Mechanisms are generally defined as the "underlying entities, processes, or structures which operate in particular contexts to generate outcomes of interest" (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010, p. 368). Other researchers who have tried to operationalise or apply TBE in evaluation in the last two decades (Judge and Bauld, 2001; Carvalho and White, 2004; White and Masset, 2007; Galloway, 2009; Dalkin et al., 2015; Lacouture et al., 2015; Gregory-Smith et al., 2017), also do not give a detailed account of how mechanisms are uncovered.

The concept of mechanism is interdisciplinary (Hedstrom and Swedberg, 1998), and at its most basic, "generates the observed relationship" (Dalkin

et al., 2015, p. 2). The concept of mechanism is rooted in the realist view of change related to how society engages in decision making and how social change comes about (Dalkin et al., 2015). When it comes to evaluation, mechanisms help explain how programmes work from the perspective of how they influence or change participant decisions eventually leading to the intended outcomes (Dalkin et al., 2015).

Chen (2015) identified causal mechanisms as being either mediating or moderating. Pawson and Tilley (2004) described mechanisms as underlying propositions of the intervention (Pawson and Tilley, 2004) that influence beneficiaries' decisions on the receiving end (Pawson, 2002). Likewise, Weiss (1995) defined mechanisms as coming between the intervention and the outcomes that change the responses of beneficiaries to cause the change.

A mechanism is hidden, sensitive to variations in context, and produces effects (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010). "A mechanism can produce outcomes that are identical or different" (Lacouture et al., 2015, p. 4) but mechanisms do not explain everything in a programme, only what actually produces relevant effects against the outcome intended (Hedstrom and Swedberg, 2010).

Operationalising mechanisms is a challenging aspect of TBE (Weiss, 1997b) that is neither mechanistic nor subject to a set of procedures (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010). With this ambiguity, Astbury and Leeuw (2010) recently reviewed the definition and concept of mechanism in literature and subsequently used Hedstrom and Swedberg's (1998) typology of mechanisms to present a working example of how the typology could uncover mechanisms (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010). Moving from macro to micro and back to macro levels of social action, mechanisms can be situational, action-formation, and transformational (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010). In other words, macro-level social situations affect individual behaviours, individual behaviours shape individual attributes, and individuals affect macro-level situations (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010). Admittedly, only a "starting point for planning a potential evaluation"

(Astbury and Leeuw, 2010, p. 373), this approach does identify mechanisms that an evaluator can validate with implementors and beneficiaries. However, it presents a limited view to mechanisms where many others can come into play and as a starting point, this could digress discussions and miss identifying important mechanisms which would call for an inductive approach where the evaluator is an "applied theorist" (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010, p. 374).

Another recent example of how mechanisms were identified was the EURECIA study, a European initiative funded by the European Research Council (ERC) to explore a new approach to impact evaluation of ERC funding on the science system. Established in 2007, the ERC is a funding body focused on cutting edge scientific research identified by experienced researchers throughout Europe (https://erc.europa.eu/about-erc/mission). The EURECIA (2012) project was funded through an ERC grant in response to a call for proposals to "develop and apply a novel conceptual framework and methodology to measure and attribute the impact of the ERC and its funding schemes" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 15).

The EURECIA study defined mechanisms as signals that beneficiaries perceive and act upon to generate, create, or change effects and/or conditions for change to occur (Nedeva et al., 2012). Signals may be material providing direct benefits to beneficiaries, symbolic through the reputation and legitimacy of the ERC, or normative with their impact on policy and approaches in the bigger environment (Nedeva et al., 2012). These signals could include ERC's objectives, selection practices, eligibility requirements, access to political decision makers, i.e. anything that operationalises the ERC's aims and creates opportunities for future impacts, relevant to the science system (Nedeva et al., 2012).

This view, similar to Hedstrom and Swedberg's (2010) view, means mechanisms must generate effects relevant to the intended outcome, and like Weiss (1995), mechanisms are experienced by beneficiaries whose effects influence their behaviours in relation to the intended outcome. The

EURECIA (2012) study does not elaborate on how signals could be practically used in other non-science settings, but seeing signals as a practical option in uncovering mechanisms, signalling theory was brought into the study to operationalise the concept.

Signalling Theory: Signalling theory originally described how information asymmetries between buyers and sellers in the stock market influence investment decisions (Boulding and Kirmani, 1993). In signalling theory, whose early proponent was Spence (1973), a signaller chooses to communicate information via various means to receivers who observe and interpret the information and give feedback in some form of action (Connelly et al., 2011).

Signals point to unobservable qualities that are meant to drive decisions and action (Connelly et al., 2011). Organisations are often aware of many aspects, both positive and negative, about their products, services or any other underlying quality, but they choose to deliberately convey information (Connelly at al., 2011) to the receiver of the signal(s) to influence a decision relevant to the intended outcome (Boulding and Kirmani, 1993).

Signalling theory has been used in other domains beyond financial investment. One example is Bourding and Kirmani (1993) who used signalling theory to explore if warranties were valid signals of quality for consumers. Ma and Weiss (1993) used signalling theory to explore whether employment in an unskilled job is worse than voluntary unemployment for future hiring in a skilled job. Su et al. (2014) used signalling theory to understand signals adopted by firms engaged in CSR and how they are perceived by stakeholders. Mavlanova, Benbunan-Fich and Koufaris (2012) used signalling theory to classify different signals of website features in e-commerce and how they influence buyer decision-making.

Applying signalling theory to the concept of mechanisms as signals, in the context of this study, implies that signals are perceived by intended beneficiaries who decide to take an action based on what the signals

represent. In analysis, what these signals represent are the hidden mechanisms that are activated in relation to the social aim and long-term intended outcome. Figure 5 builds on from the simplistic logical model (Figure 1) and Weiss' (1997b) view of the 'Black Box' of change. The dotted lines depict unobservable aspects.
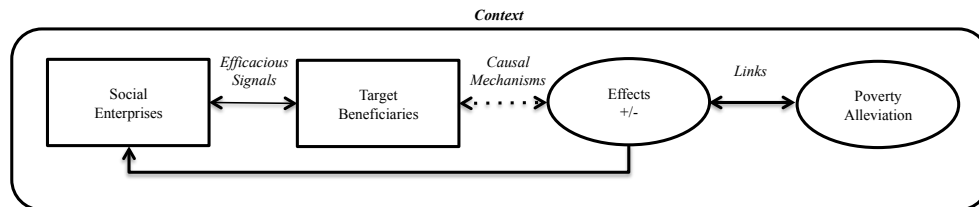
Figure 5 The Black Box of Change and Signalling Theory

Ascertaining Causality: Identifying mechanisms through signals presents another opportunity to improve the claim to causality. The EURECIA study bases its chain of causality on "the strength and distinctiveness of the signals it emits" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 57).

As in TBE, signalling theory recognises causality as a challenge given that there are usually multiple signallers sending multiple signals to multiple receivers in one signalling environment that has elements that may enhance or reduce the extent to which signals are observed or acted upon (Connelly et al., 2011). Not all actions taken by signallers, or in this case, the social enterprise, are useful as signals (Connelly et al., 2011). As a result, to be recognised as signals, signals must be "efficacious" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 45), i.e. observable and costly. If signals are not effective, then change cannot be attributed to the social enterprise.

Signals communicate unobservable aspects related to quality (Connelly et al., 2011) or intent (Su et al, 2014). These unobservable aspects are signalled in return for recipients' actions (Su et al, 2014). Similar to how hidden mechanisms are responsible for generating effects as a result of beneficiary response. Observable signals must be noticeable and costly in that they are either expensive to put in place and hence central to change or, if false, the signaller would no longer take it seriously and ignore signals and change does not materialise (Connelly et al., 2011). If cost is the "cost

of producing the signal where dishonest signals do not pay" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 46) or the cost associated with being found to be false, and the effect produced by those signals could have been done by others (Mavlanova, Benbunan-Fich, and Koufaris, 2012). Although not directly stated, the EURECIA (Nedeva et al., 2012) study brings in the concept of distinctiveness for costliness. The more distinctive the signal or the mechanism, the stronger it is and a greater likelihood that impact can be attributed to the organisation, or in this case, the social enterprise (Nedeva et al., 2012).

While literature covers many different types of quality aspects to signals (Connelly et al., 2011), there are three other main qualities beyond observability and cost, namely fit, consistency and frequency (Connelly et al., 2011). Where observability and cost are essential, fit, consistency and frequency enhance the strength of signals.

Signal fit relates to the extent to which a signal is correlated with the unobservable quality (Connelly et al., 2011). Signal frequency refers to how often signallers send observable and costly signals (Connelly et al., 2011) ensuring that all signals are aligned to communicate the consistent message without conflicts (Connelly et al., 2011).

Effects: Mechanisms generate effects (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010) and TBE essentially also focuses on uncovering the effects that come about as a result of mechanisms that together lead to the intended outcome (Davidson, 2000). The effects drive much of the evidence sought in an evaluation and, hence, identifying effects is key to establishing causality in TBE (Davidson, 2000).

In line with signalling theory, social enterprises try to convey aspects that positively influence beneficiary decision-making and result in positive effects related to the intended outcome. However, despite their best effort, signals may not always be viewed positively and may result in negative consequences. Similarly, while evaluations often focus on the positive effects of causal mechanisms (Weiss, 2000b), mechanisms may also

generate negative effects (Davidson, 2000). Uncovering how negative effects materialise is important in understanding a change model as they may overwhelm a good theory (Weiss, 1997b), creating as many problems as they solve (Weiss, 2000b). In understanding the negative consequences, "evaluators do not have to speculate" (Weiss, 2000b, p. 109) about why a programme does not have good effects.

Another aspect related to effects, especially when looking at using TBE for impact evaluation, is being aware that they can vary with time, from better to worse or worse to better, and hence, depend on when effects are measured (White, 2009). The EURECIA study uses early and latter effects depicting circumstances when effects are delayed (Nedeva et al., 2012) but what is important to recognise is that in practice, TBE does not make a conclusive statement about whether or not a programme worked (Connell and Kubisch, 1998). What TBE does is provide a framework for evaluation to encompass an analytical approach to determine if intended outcomes would materialise as a result of the programme (White, 2010) at any one point in time as it uncovers underlying theoretical assumptions and does not focus on outcome measurement that is too early or not easily measured (Carvalho and White, 2004).

2.6.3 Conditions

Theoretical assumptions are affected by conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004). Conditions may trigger some, all, or no mechanisms to produce similar or different effects towards the intended outcome (Tilley, 2000). Conditions may also hinder the path towards an intended outcome (Weiss, 2000b). These conditions include aspects in the political and socio-economic context (White, 2009), characteristics of the target beneficiaries (White, 2009), and implementation (Chen, 2015).

They key in conditions is to be able to differentiate between success and failure due to implementation that could be overcome with sufficient funding and collaboration, and success and failure in underlying mechanisms, or other conditions, for change to occur (Weiss, 1997a). While

there is no single formula for going through the complexity of identifying conditions and comprehensive reviews are not realistic (Pawson et al., 2005), an evaluator would need to find a way to identify the "psychosocial, physiological, economic, sociological, organizational or other processes that intervene between exposure to the program and participant outcomes" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 73).

While one can go into detail assessing any and all conditions, a more pragmatic approach is to compare programmes in different locations underpinned by constant dialogue with those implementing and benefitting from the programme (Pawson et al., 2005). Supported by the classification that did not depict a significant association between approaches to income generation and context this approach works as long as cases are causally similar (Beach and Pedersen, 2016). Following that, finding "strong disconfirming mechanistic evidence n a particular case, we would not just discount this as an exception ... instead, we are forced to ... figure out why what we expected did not occur" (Beach and Pedersen, 2012, p. 9). As a result, if differences aren't explainable, then the whole causal relationship is brought up to question as there are no "degree differences in the magnitude of the causal relationship" (Beach and Pedersen, 2012, p. 12) and instead, differences in the magnitude of effects (Beach and Pedersen, 2016).

Context: While programmes may have similar social aims across various contexts, change may or may not materialise in a similar fashion (White, 2009). Context includes the social, political and economic settings a programme is in (White, 2009). The details of context and social enterprises were covered in section 2.2.4 and would be taken into account in the analysis. What is important in causal case studies however is whether or not context changes the causal mechanisms underlying change (Beach and Pedersen, 2016). As covered earlier, the classification depicted that geographical context is not "requisite scope condition" (Beach and Pedersen, 2016, p. 10).

Beneficiaries: Similarly, while programmes may have similar target beneficiaries and related eligibility criteria, different effects may be observed based on the mental and physical readiness of beneficiaries in accepting or participating in a programme (Chen, 2015). Underlying TBE is the realist vision of change that results from the reasoning of beneficiaries involved, different groups they belong to, and relationships they are a part of (Pawson et al., 2005). It is "cognitive, affective, social response" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 73) that led to the intended outcome. The brief details of targeted beneficiaries in social enterprises were covered in section 2.2.5 and together with the programme goal and intended outcome, would be taken into account in the analysis.

Implementation: Implementation is seen as a theoretical assumption of the change model in that if a "program is conducted as planned, with sufficient quality, intensity, and fidelity to plan, the desired results will be forthcoming" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 72). Between what and how activities are implemented, performance monitored, resources hired and allocated, and collaborations (Chen, 2015), the wide diversity of legal forms and operational models in social enterprises were covered in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 and was taken into account in the analysis. Where an overall evaluation of implementation is a separate phase in an evaluation (Weiss, 1997a) and out of scope in this study, when discussing it in the context of conditions, one is looking at specific aspects related to how they trigger some, all or none of the mechanisms, and produce effects towards the intended outcome (Tilley, 2000).

2.6.4 Measurement

The second challenging phase of TBE is measurement (Weiss, 1997b). Measurement is concerned with testing both the validity of the change model (Weiss, 2000a) and confirmation of causality in that if beneficiaries go through all sequenced causal mechanisms and effects, it is reasonable to believe that a programme will make its intended difference (Weiss, 2000a)

and that "required conditions are in place for the desired outcome" (Carvalho and White, 2004, p. 143).

While advocates of TBE make a strong case for underpinning evaluations with a valid change model, they seldom give details on how it is used in practice in research and evaluation (Trochim, 1989). Measurement is essentially about answering "central questions" (Weiss, 1998, p. 272) that are posited early in an evaluation (Weiss, 1998) without preference to quantitative or qualitative methods (Carvalho and White, 2004) and without prescribing how uncovered theoretical assumptions are to be tested (Connell and Kubisch, 1998). Besides questions pertaining to attribution and causality (Davidson, 2000), identifying, collecting, and analysing evidence as part of measurement is time consuming and sometimes difficult, as testing all effects, their links to the intended outcome (Weiss, 1997b) and conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004) presents a heavy load on an evaluator.

The underlying premise of dealing with both these issues is related to accepting that while it is ideal to measure everything underlying theoretical assumptions and conditions and attaining complete attribution, evaluation does not aim for absolute truth but for improvement in policy-making and change (Weiss, 1997b). Learnings from each evaluation eventually become part of a meta-analysis that could lead to accurate generalisations in the future (Weiss, 1997b) at the level of theoretical assumptions. Being clear on what questions an evaluation aims to answer, committing to continuous learning, being willing to modify change models and related investments (Judge and Bauld, 2001, p. 36), and accepting partial attribution (White, 2010) are vital to benefit from the results of any evaluation.

2.6.4.1 Evidence

When it comes to evidence, the aim would be to operationalise theoretical assumptions and conditions uncovered in the change model and subsequently develop specific indicators that capture their essence (Weiss,

1997b). While evaluations are data heavy to begin with, TBE is even heaver as an evaluator is looking for data that supports intermediate effects resulting from sequential or non-sequential, single or multi-determinant, change models (Chen, 2015). In addition, some of the resulting effects are psychosocial (Weiss, 1997a) that are challenging to operationalise.

Which Change Model?: How well an underlying change model can be tested is based on how well the theoretical assumptions and conditions are defined (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000). The quality of the change model itself is a pre-requisite to measurement; however, it is also possible that TBE uncovers more than one change model taking beneficiaries on different paths towards the same intended outcome (Weiss, 2000a).

One could track all possible change models but it becomes more complex and costly (Weiss, 2000a). One way is to choose the change model that is accepted by programme implementors and beneficiaries (Weiss, 2000a). If there is a discrepancy between them, that in itself becomes a learning point and renders the programme ineffective or questionable at best (Weiss, 2000a). As part of an evaluation, one could explore alternative programme theories and then choose one to test based on what programme managers think, plausibility of a change model, deficient knowledge on a given alternative, and centrality of the theory to the programme (Weiss, 2000a).

Which Effects?: In simple programmes, one could track each effect and link to the intended outcome to complete an evaluation (Weiss, 2000a); however, simple programmes are rarely that simple (Stame, 2004), instead presenting a potentially large amount of evidence that calls for a more effective way to design a data collection instrument (Weiss, 1997b).

In response, one could base the data collection instrument on a meta-analysis of similar evaluations that have taken place for the same type of programme (Weiss, 1997a) focusing on what is common and making a case for other evidence that would be needed. In the absence of prior similar evaluations, a practical option is to find appropriate social theory(ies) that have already undergone rigorous testing that could represent underlying

theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 1997b) focusing on specific evidence. A third option is to choose one or two central theoretical assumptions whose pathways are "significant for program success" (Weiss, 1997a, p. 78).

The key benefit to these options is that TBE moves both the domain of interest and the social sciences forward to build better theories for both evaluation and programme design (Weiss, 1997a) without dictating one type of data or method of analysis (Carvalho and White, 2004). Instead, the key is that methods chosen are based on answering the questions the evaluation aims to answer (Weiss, 1998) and presenting opportunities to open up an underdeveloped theoretical understanding in social entrepreneurship.

Analysis: While there is great benefit, analysis in TBE goes beyond just checking whether or not effects are present (Rogers, 2007). TBE tests the underlying change model and "how well the evidence matches" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 512) the theoretical assumptions and conditions that are identified, looking for where, if and when, the causal chain breaks down (Weiss, 1997b). If early effects are not evidenced, it would be highly unlikely that a programme could result in long-term change, and if later effects are evidenced but not the early effects, then it is highly unlikely that the programme was responsible for the later effects (Weiss, 1997b).

Approaches to analysis often take on statistical modelling techniques such as Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) (Weiss, 1997b) that compares what is expected to happen in the underlying change model to what actually happens (Weiss, 1997b). However, evidence sought in TBE is determined by the underlying mechanisms, effects and conditions and not by the methods (Weiss, 1998). As a result, data can be both quantitative and qualitative, making analysis more complex.

Generally, Weiss (1998) presents a few options for analysis that are selected in combination to meet the goal of an evaluation. From descriptions to comparisons, from finding commonalities to examining deviant cases and rival explanations, these techniques provide evaluators with the tools

necessary to study the evaluation questions asked (Weiss, 1998) and are flexible for both qualitative and quantitative data (Weiss, 1998). A more interesting option is pattern matching (Weiss, 1997b) which aims to do the same thing as SEM but is flexible to accommodate quantitative and qualitative data.

As a general framework (Trochim, 1989), pattern matching compares what happens to what is expected from a "conceptualised theoretical pattern" (Trochim, 1989, p. 356) from formal theory, ideas, assumptions, or other combination. In the case of this study, it is the change model. The difference between pattern matching and standard research, be it theoretical testing or development, is that pattern matching looks at more complex patterns and hypothesis from a multivariate view as opposed to univariate perspective (Trochim, 1989). Pattern matching subsequently looks at quantitative or qualitative data and analysis and tries to identify patterns and compare them to the theorised patterns (Trochim, 1989). An example of that in qualitative research is thematic analysis that compares the change model and qualitative observed data (Trochim, 1989).

Whether it is pattern matching, SEM, descriptives or examining rival explanations, a researcher can make observations on differences between the change model and what these analytical techniques generate, however, conclusions are limited in that other "plausible alternative theories that account for the observed pattern of interest" (Trochim, 1989, p. 357) are present, i.e. the issue of causality.

2.6.4.2   Ascertaining Causality

Causality is about "determining whether observed changes are due to the program effects ... or due to some other cause, or are purely coincidental" (Davidson, 2000, p. 17). TBE's main premise is that it tries to do without control groups that are often central to evaluation efforts (Weiss, 1997b) where, as in impact studies, demonstrating causation is sought (Rogers, 2007).

The idea is that TBE can track causal mechanisms and effects and base causal attribution on "demonstrated links" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 514) between effects and long-term intended outcomes and not treating conditions as "noise" (Rogers, 2007, p. 66). Having said that, and unless all possible alternative theories and mediating and moderating factors are identified and tested, which in itself is impossible except in limited simple cases (White, 2010), one must accept partial attribution (White, 2010) to move the discussion on causality forward.

In essence, uncovering what is implicitly happening behind the scenes (White and Masset, 2007) and tracking effects and conditions make it "more plausible" (Weiss, 1995, p. 72) to foresee how change and the intended outcomes will materialise in the long run (Carvalho and White, 2004) with the goal to improve construct, and internal or external validity (Trochim, 1989).

Need for a Counterfactual: Traditional approaches to evaluation often include a counterfactual when conducting evaluations for impact assessment (White, 2010). In the absence of a counterfactual, also referred to as a control group, one cannot be absolutely certain about TBE's claim to causality (Weiss, 1997b). A counterfactual describes what would have happened to the same beneficiaries without a programme or intervention (White, 2010).

To improve claims to causality in TBE, Rogers (2007) recommended combining TBE with other experimental and quasi-experimental methods that use control groups. While a counterfactual may not always be needed because alternative theories or factors may be either not plausible or unrealistic (White, 2010), a counterfactual may also not need to be made explicit through a control group (White, 2010). A counterfactual may be a comparative case where certain aspects are present and some are not (White, 2010). For example, Carvalho and White (2004) used an anti-theory derived from literature that challenges the benefits claimed by social funds. A counterfactual may also be extracted from panel data to serve as baselines

(White, 2010). For example, White and Masset (2007) used census data collected through an organisation that collects country level nutritional data.

In essence, it comes down to the purpose of the evaluation. In some cases, a comparison of a before and after (White, 2010) is sufficient, and in others, testing theoretical assumptions under different conditions using non-experimental methods (Rogers, 2007) is sufficient. For social enterprises, their design is based on doing good, and so a counterfactual, as in a control group through experimental and quasi-experimental methods, seems counterintuitive. The reason why SIA is conducted is to better inform the legitimacy of social enterprises as compared to commercial and charity counterparts in sustainably solving social issues and supporting comparison with other social enterprises that compete for funding and public support. As a result, one may use baseline data from the charity or business domain and panel data on poverty, and since "one way firms gain legitimacy is by signaling their unobservable quality" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 53), one could look at ascertaining causality for social impact of social enterprises through the quality of signals.

2.6.5 TBE Framework for SIA of Social Enterprises

Evaluating programmes dealing with social problems will always be challenging, with politics playing a big role (Judge and Bauld, 2001). The focus of this study is to explore TBE for the SIA of social enterprises that provide contractual opportunities to targeted beneficiaries as means to income generation with the long-term intended outcome to alleviate poverty.

Evaluation examines programmes against their intended goals and TBE is an approach that organises an evaluation (Weiss, 1972) by basing it on a change model that depicts assumptions within a programme that explains how and why change happens and under what conditions (Carvalho and White, 2004). Where operational implementation is also assessed (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), TBE promises to improve policies and programmes, allocate resources, and replicate the change model in

programmes (Weiss, 1972). An alternative approach to SIA is sought to overcome challenges in existing approaches, better understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises and aid comparison.

Starting from the general principles of TBE, and applying specific aspects covered in this section, Figure 6 depicts the underlying conceptual framework for this study.
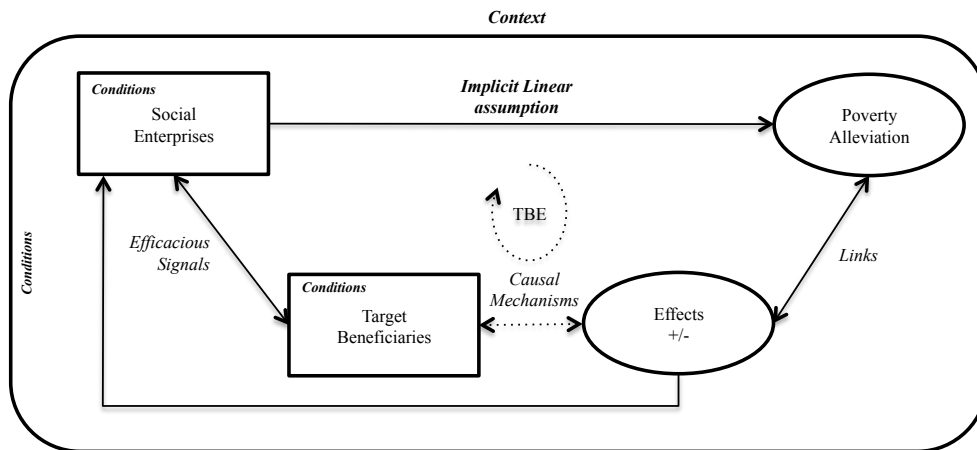
Figure 6 TBE Framework for SIA of Social Enterprises

2.7 Chapter Summary

From the literature review, there have been calls for further research and progress in the SIA of social enterprises. More specifically, there is a need for an approach that is reflective of the distinctiveness of social enterprises, focusing on change and the target beneficiary as opposed to a wide stakeholder list (Lockie, 2001), and to simplify how attribution and causality are ascertained. As a result of the literature review, it is now clear that this study contributes to both knowledge and practice in the following ways:

1) As illustrated, social enterprises can come in various forms, goals and operational approaches making it challenging to conceptualise social impact and follow through with recommendations on SIA. It is clear that any approach to SIA would need to decide, up front, how to deal with the various models and approaches and this is what the classification study

within this research provided as it organised social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through income generation by causal similarity.

2) While there are inherent challenges in the social enterprise domain, namely the diverse landscape of social enterprises and social aims, existing approaches (SROI, SAA, SIMPLE, GIIRS and IRIS) do not make the assessment of social impact any easier. Besides making simplistic and unqualified assumptions about attributing activities to outcomes, existing approaches do not distinguish social enterprises from charity and commercial counterparts and the push for quantification encourages complicated proxies that may distort an effective depiction of the social impact of social enterprises generating a lot of detail and volume of information that is hard to decipher, often overlooking important impacts like contextual effects and unintended consequences. Therefore, another approach to research in the SIA of social enterprises is not about defending one tool over another, but exploring other approaches that may be more informative and serve the purpose of an SIA.

3) Theory-based evaluation offers many benefits that help overcome current issues in SIA mainly related to attribution. While unrealistic complete attribution is not the goal, TBE improves the likelihood of causality and realistic evaluation of social impact in social enterprises. In this regard, defining the change model underlying the goal of a social enterprise by picking it up from beneficiaries and implementors, seeking theoretical assumptions made of causal mechanisms and effects that, together with conditions, can expose how change is attained and depict how outcome is more likely to materialise or not. Using signalling theory as a basis, mechanisms that are likely responsible for change are effective signals that are sent by the social enterprise and perceived by recipients of those signals who in turn take action towards the intended goal. Subsequently, and as TBE is not methods-led, social impact is understood and discerned through the best methods, whether quantitative or not, to test out the effects and conditions underlying the change.

Based on these three aspects as a theoretical and conceptual basis for this study, a qualitative, comparative case study was designed to explore if theory-based evaluation could help explain and discern the social impact of social enterprises as an alternative to current approaches. The next chapter covers the approach taken to carry out the study and, more importantly, details how mechanisms were uncovered.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 positioned this study as one that can advance knowledge and evaluation of social impact of social enterprises by exploring TBE and overcoming challenges in existing approaches to SIA. To evaluate social impact is to evaluate effects in the form of "influence on individual feelings, thoughts, or behaviour" (cited in Nowak, Szamrej, and Latane, 1990, p. 363), be they positive or negative effects (Vanclay, 2003), exerted by the "real, implied, or imagined presence or actions of others" (cited in Nowak, Szamrej, and Latane, 1990, p. 363).

The approach to TBE selected in this study is based on Weiss' (1995; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2000a; 2000b) conceptualisations and reviews of TBE. Approaches to assessing operational management, improvement and performance such as Total Quality Management (TQM), the EFQM Excellence Model and the Balanced Scorecard, are extensively covered in literature. Along with that, there is a growing body of literature specifically covering operational management aspects in social enterprises: bricolage (Di Domenico, Haugh and Tracey, 2010); social capital (Cho, 2006); social enterprise-specific management frameworks balancing opportunity, people, and capital within the wider context (Austin, Stevenson, and Wei-Skillern, 2006); or an entrepreneurial view to management by balancing risk management, proactiveness, and innovativeness within the wider context, social mission, and sustainability (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006).

As a result, and given that "the start of the evaluation may be in and of itself the most beneficial aspect of the theory-based approach" (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000, p. 426), this study is focused on the change model part of TBE with the following detailed research questions:

1. How can we define and classify social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through income generation into causally similar groups to form a basis for research and comparison?

2. What are the theoretical assumptions; causal mechanisms and effects, underlying 'how' and 'why' change occurs, in social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities?

3. What are the conditions; related to beneficiaries, social enterprises and contextual surroundings, that influence how change occurs and explains any differences amongst cases?

4. How would a TBE for social impact unfold for these social enterprises and how does the approach aid comparison?

5. What are the theoretical and practical implications and resulting directions for future study in the social impact of social enterprises?

Guided by the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, this chapter walks through the research design and methods used to help answer the research aim and questions set out in this study.

3.2 Research Design

The research design is focused on pursuing two wider research objectives: overcoming the diversity of social enterprises to aid research and comparison, and exploring TBE to better understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises.

Given a classification's practical ability to present information and help uncover differences, similarities and patterns in an area of study, it serves as an effective option when it comes to answering the question of how to overcome the diversity in social enterprises, identifying causally similar social enterprises, and has a practical and reasonable baseline for this study and future research with a focus on change and following that, social impact. Where typologies are conceptually "derived from related sets of ideal types" (Doty and Glick, 1994, p. 232), taxonomies are empirically derived classifications (Hambrick, 1984) that provide structure and order to a domain of interest to assist researchers and practitioners in understanding concepts, hypothesising relationships, and learning about differences and

causes of differences (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013). A taxonomy classifies objects of interest through the analysis of characteristics that are related to the objective of the taxonomy (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013).

With current research in social entrepreneurship being largely conceptual (Alvarez and Barney, 2013), 'how' and 'why' questions related to the conceptualisation of the change model cannot be answered by existing research and would need to be explored. Exploratory studies do not dictate a specific approach to research; on the contrary, many approaches can be used to uncover knowledge and understanding (Yin, 2014). There is no one acceptable way to uncover the change model (Pawson et al., 2005) in TBE, and having decided to leverage TBE approaches covered by Weiss (1995; 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2000a; 2000b), the change model would be articulated in the form of theoretical assumptions encompass causal mechanisms and targeted beneficiary responses as effects, along with the respective conditions for change to occur (Weiss, 1997b) as "a sufficient blueprint" (Yin, 2014, p. 38) to guide an SIA. The emphasis on exploration within specific environments (Stame, 2004) aiming for discovery supports a qualitative case study approach (Yin, 2014).

Seeking to uncover the underlying theoretical assumptions with emphasis on discovery, supports an inductive approach (Flick, 2014). Without a clear underlying hypothesis and a clear observable outcome as in the case of poverty alleviation, supports a qualitative approach (Flick, 2014). As a result, the research questions set out in this study are better answered using an approach that works to uncover phenomena within specific conditions and contexts (Hartley, 2004) as in case study research (Yin, 2014). While carrying out a single case would "represent a significant contribution to knowledge" (Yin, 2014, p. 51), a multiple, comparative case study leads to a more robust and compelling study even though it requires more effort (Yin, 2014).

Similarly from a causal perspective, single in-depth case studies enable deep "causal inferences to be made" (Beach and Pedersen, 2016, p. 2), however, cross-case comparisons enable strong inferences about the presence of the same causal relationship in other cases within a causally similar banded population (Beach and Pedersen, 2016). Uncovering both the causal path and conditions that make change happen (Weiss, 2000a), between the intervention and the intended outcome (Beach and Pedersen, 2016) as the underlying change model is expected to be the same within the bounded groups of causally similar cases. A comparative case study is used to collect and analyse empirical evidence to articulate a preliminary underlying change model and respective conditions for change. It is a pragmatic approach to compare programmes, or social enterprises in this situation, of the same type (Pawson et al., 2005) where commonalities and differences can uncover deeper meaning and understanding (Yin, 2014).

Multiple case studies replicate, contrast or extend underlying theoretical basis (Yin, 2014). Without a theoretical underpinning such as the case in this study, and limited empirical research in social entrepreneurship particularly when it pertains to the social impact of social enterprises (Alvarez and Barney, 2013), this study adopted a replication design "whereby multiple cases are treated as a series of experiments, each case serving to confirm or disconfirm the inferences drawn from previous ones" (Eisendhardt and Bourgeois, 1988, p. 739). Likewise, when using multiple case studies for evaluation, the focus is on making comparisons, building either confirmatory or contrary evidence for a targeted intervention of change (Yin, 2014). The flexibility of case studies in terms of methods, and their ability to uncover intertwined concepts of change, context and implementation is valuable when evaluations are meant to assess or compare outcomes (Yin, 1992).

Accordingly, this study is composed of two sub-studies, a classification and a comparative case study (Figure 7). The classification study was used to map causally similar groups to overcome the diversity of social enterprises

and to inform case selection. The comparative case study uncovered theoretical assumptions and tested conditions that underpin a preliminary change model for causally similar social enterprises providing contractual opportunities to targeted beneficiaries as means of poverty alleviation.
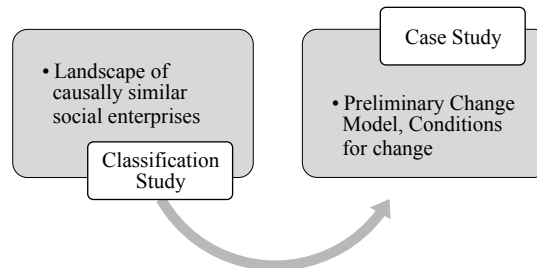
Figure 7 Research Design

3.3 Classification Study

This part of the study deals with the first research question:

1. How can we define and classify social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through income generation into causally similar groups to form a basis for research and comparison?

Covered in the literature review are five sources that explain the wide diversity of social enterprises: how wide 'social' is (Hulgard, 2010); the switch between profit and non-profit legal forms (Parenson, 2011) and hybrid characteristics (Battilana and Lee, 2014); different operational models to managing social enterprises (Battilana and Lee, 2014); differences within and across contexts (Kerlin, 2013); and various targeted beneficiaries (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014, p. 4) from general to specific, local to global, individuals and groups. This diversity is a challenge when it comes to carrying out an SIA for social enterprises especially when one is seeking a comparative basis.

In generating a classification, and taking into account the five sources of social enterprise diversity covered in the literature review, a key methodological decision was needed "for comprehensiveness, clarity and simplicity" (Vakil, 1997, p. 2062). From the literature review, research in social entrepreneurship often starts from the point of hybridity in social

enterprises (Santos, 2012), i.e. from a point of difference. From varying legal forms that seem to be determined by both the social entrepreneur (Zahra et al., 2008) and the institutional context (Kerlin, 2013), to helping countries, regions, cities, groups, communities, and individuals in local or global communities who are "disadvantaged in some way" (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014, p .4), these are directly influenced by the hybridity of a social enterprise balancing social and commercial goals (Dees, 1998) to varying degrees. In addition, and often acting as a bricoleur (Di Domenico, Haugh and Tracey, 2010), a social entrepreneur flexibly implements operational activities to fulfil the social mission (Moss et al., 2011) as different risks (Peredo and McLean, 2006) and matters related to sustainability (Jenner, 2016) and scalability (Weber, Kroger, and Lambrich, 2012) arise, which can also differ within contexts (Kerlin, 2013).

As a result, and similar to Santos (2012), moving beyond hybridity offers a more beneficial approach. This shift takes an approach that focuses on what is common rather than what is different. What stays the same through hybridity in social enterprises is the social aim, or the direct approach or intervention chosen by a social enterprise to fulfil an intended outcome. As a result, and because poverty continues to be a growing global concern (International Monetary Fund, 2016), this study concentrates on social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation. Given the diverse theoretical views on poverty (Agola and Awange, 2014), the classification focuses more narrowly on social enterprises dealing with income poverty (Agola and Awange, 2014) with the aim to classify their direct approaches to fulfilling the social aim of income generation (meta-characteristic); in other words, determine causally similar groups (Beach and Pedersen, 2013) based on common social aims, approaches and intended outcomes.

3.3.1 Methodology

Not required in typologies, classification groups are derived from objects of interest where characteristics (Bailey, 1994) are mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013). A

useful taxonomy is flexible, easy to understand and allows for the "inclusion of additional dimensions and new characteristics as objects appear" (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 341). It is concise and easy to understand, and contains enough detail to differentiate the object of interest.

There are generally two approaches to classification development. The first is based on a theoretical framework followed by empirical testing. The second is an inductive approach, empirically derived and suited for studies that do not have one or more key theoretical underpinnings, which starts with empirical data and derives a final classification through cluster analysis or other statistical methods (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013). Drawing on Bailey's (1994) and Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann's (2013) approaches to classification to aid case selection (Figure 8), this exploratory sub-study uncovers understanding (Yin, 2014) by inductively building a classification, given an absence of an empirical basis for the current approaches that social enterprises adopt in dealing with poverty alleviation and income generation.
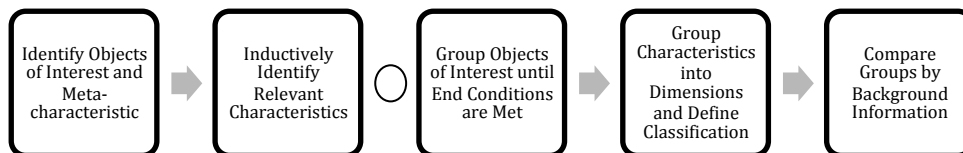
Figure 8 Steps to Classification Development (Adapted from Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013; Bailey, 1994)

3.3.1.1   Sample: Objects of Interest

Central to the development of a classification are the "characteristics of the objects of interest" (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 343), which logically flow from the purpose of the classification and the related "comprehensive characteristic that will serve as the basis for the choice of characteristics in the taxonomy" (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 343) known as the meta-characteristic (Nickerson, Varshney and

Muntermann, 2013). The objects of interest in this sub-study are social enterprises dealing with income poverty.

Besides governments, particularly in the United Kingdom, which have been actively supporting social entrepreneurship, there are other distinctive, highly influential actors actively shaping and growing the social entrepreneurship field, both in terms of narratives and direct interventions (Nicholls, 2010). The Skoll Foundation, Schwab Foundation and Ashoka are three such influencers (Nicholls, 2010). This study uses a convenience sample of social enterprises that are categorised within the websites of these three influencers (Table 1).

A complete listing of 266 social enterprises was extracted on 4 March 2015 using Skoll Foundation awardees under Economic Opportunity, Schwab Social Entrepreneurs under the sector of Labour Conditions and Unemployment, and Ashoka Fellows by Field of Work of Economic Development - Employment/Labour and Income Generation.

Influential Actor	Listing by	By	Category
Skoll Foundation	Awardees	Issue Area	Economic Opportunity
Schwab Foundation	Social Entrepreneurs	Sector	Labour Conditions and Unemployment
Ashoka	Fellows	Field of Work	Economic Development - Employment/Labour and Income Generation

Table 1 Influential Actors and Respective Categories for Classification Development

Using random numbers generated in Excel, social enterprises were sorted in descending order and starting from an initial 30 for the classification, social enterprises were accepted as part of the sample if they primarily targeted poverty alleviation as an intended outcome and income generation as a social aim (as opposed to rights development through equitable trade such as the case in Fairtrade USA and Light Years IP, or providing access to needs such as with water.org). In addition, social enterprises should have a website or Facebook page in English with evidence that they are active and/or operational.

A total of 199 randomly generated social enterprises were reviewed for the classification. Table 2 summarises the quality criteria of the 199 social enterprises that produced 50 social enterprises suitable for analysis.

Quality Criteria	Number of Social Enterprises
Did not target poverty alleviation or income generation	26
Website / Facebook page not in English	38
No website / Facebook page	74
Not active / operational	8

Table 2 Overview of Randomly Selected Social Enterprises

3.3.1.2 Ending Conditions

As data collection continued until "data is grouped into relatively homogeneous groups" (Bailey, 1983, p. 262), the ending conditions for this study took into account ones suggested by Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann (2013) and Bailey (1994) aiming to generate a classification representative of a larger population (Bailey, 1994) and to be of sufficient interest (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013) to the research and practical community. Ending conditions included:

- Each characteristic is "unique" (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 44).
- "No new characteristics are added in the last iteration" of five[1] social enterprises (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 44).
- "No characteristics are merged or split in the last iteration" of five social enterprises (Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann, 2013, p. 44).
- No social enterprise, i.e. object, is split between more than one cluster (Bailey, 1994).
- As close as practically possible, objects "randomly distributed across groups and not fall within a few" (Bailey, 1994, p. 14).

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[1] I chose five as a complete iteration as it compares well to the overall sample size to pick up similarities and differences.

3.3.2 Methods

Leveraging both Bailey's (1994) advice and Nickerson, Varshney and Muntermann's (2013) methods for classification, this sub-study used a qualitative approach to inductively identify characteristics from the online content of randomly selected social enterprises to build a classification. While grouping could be done manually, it was not clear how many social enterprises and characteristics would be identified to reach a level of acceptable saturation. As a result, quantitative cluster analysis was used to group objects of interest after each iteration (Doyle, Brady and Gobnait, 2009) until ending conditions were met.

3.3.2.1 Content Analysis with Constant Comparison

An initial sample of 30 social enterprises was chosen. Respective content, from both the influential player website and the social enterprise website, covering mission, vision, goals, approaches and projects was imported into NVivo for the qualitative analysis. Besides information directly associated with the meta-characteristic, background information (Table 3), with the exception of operational models that dynamically change, was also captured since the aim is to aid in case selection.

Conditions	A priori codes	emergent codes
Legal Form	Profit	
(Grassl, 20912; Dacin,	Non-profit	
Dacin and Matear, 2010;	Co-operative	
Townsend and Hart,		
2008)		
Targeted Beneficiaries		General
(Doherty, Haugh and		Women
Lyon, 2014)		Youth
		Farmers
		Disadvantaged Minorities
Context	Country	Developing
(Baldo, 2014; Kerlin,		Developed
2013; Chehade, 2014;		Global
Defourny and Kim,	Urban / Rural	

Conditions	A priori codes	emergent codes
2011)	Headquarters	Global
		At targeted beneficiaries

Table 3 Classification A Priori and Emergent Codes

Using open coding with constant comparison to "label and categorize data" (Flick, p. 373, 2014), codes were labelled within NVivo as brief descriptives of approaches used by social enterprises to fulfil their social aim of income generation and subsequently thematically grouped, where necessary. The constant comparison process is prescriptive, paying attention to detail as a new code was compared against others within and with other groups (Boeije, 2002) to ensure that "characteristics used for the grouping are suitable" (Bailey, 1994, p. 2).

3.3.2.2   Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis groups objects or characteristics based on similarity in a way that minimises variance between objects or characteristics in the same cluster and maximises variance between clusters (Ketchen and Shook, 1996). Choices made about clustering algorithms are critical to the "effective use of cluster analysis" (Ketchen and Shook, 1996, p. 444). However, before undertaking the cluster analysis, data were exported from NVivo into an Excel spreadsheet ensuring that data were in binary form (1 or 0).

Suitable for studies in the social sciences, and based on Bailey's (1983; 1994) advice on clustering, this study uses "sequential, agglomerative, hierarchal, non-overlapping clustering methods" (Day, 1984). This approach involves the sequential combining and re-combining of objects until all objects have been included into various larger clusters (agglomerative) as represented by dendrograms (Bailey, 1994) building (hierarchal) tree-like structures (Ketchen and Shook, 1996), as opposed to starting from one large homogeneous group, and do not include overlapping objects (non-overlapping).

Given that data are categorical (binary 1 or 0), complete linkage (SPSS:

furthest neighbour) was used (Bailey, 1994) as a cluster method[2] using the Jaccard measure of similarity (Mooi and Sarstedt, 2011). Based on the agglomeration schedule, seven groups were identified but one was added given the practical distinctiveness of beneficiary-led solutions. To validate the classification (Doyle, Brady and Gobnait, 2009), and given that some groups have fewer than five social enterprises (Field, 2009), shifting from the assumed chi-square distribution typically used for categorical data (Field, 2009), Fisher's exact test and the likelihood ratio statistic (SPSS: exact under crosstabs) were used instead (Field, 2009) (Table 4) at a significance level of 0.05.

Dimension Characteristic	Likelihood Ratio	Significance Level (Likelihood)	Fisher's Exact Test	Significance Level (Exact Test)
Create Direct Opportunities				
Contracting	16.80	**0.001**	14.26	**0.001**
Employment	43.97	**0.000**	31.48	**0.000**
Facilitate Opportunities				
Job Placement	40.50	**0.000**	28.88	**0.000**
Incubate	32.51	**0.000**	23.21	**0.000**
Empower Opportunities				
Group	47.14	**0.001**	33.90	**0.001**
Access and Expand Markets	27.88	**0.000**	20.18	**0.000**
Enable Opportunities				
Beneficiary Led	32.51	**0.000**	23.21	**0.000**
Social Enterprise Led	50.04	**0.000**	36.16	**0.000**

Table 4 Statistically Significant Differences Between Classification Groups

3.3.3 Final Classification and Matrix

Using SPSS to group social enterprises on the "basis of similarity" (Bailey, 1983, p. 251) of approaches, the sample of social enterprises was

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[2] Furthest neighbour (SPSS) is when a new object has correlations with all objects in the cluster that is higher than any object not in the cluster.

incrementally increased and grouped until data were grouped "into relatively homogeneous groups" (Bailey, 1983, p. 262) and ending conditions were met. As a result, after the initial sample of 30 social enterprises, it took four subsequent iterations and 20 additional social enterprises to ensure that ending conditions were met, groups balanced, and more importantly, the classification itself made sense.

The resulting classification (Figure 9) was used as a basis for subsequent case selection with the numbers representing the number of social enterprises within each characteristic. The complete list of social enterprises under each group is in Appendix II, together with the test statistics for enablers found within each of the characteristic groups where there was a statistically significant difference between groups when it came to mentorship, entrepreneurship, management and/or soft skills training, vocational training, and technological innovations as opposed to other enablers.

Approaches to Poverty Alleviation through Income Generation							
Dimension Level	Create Direct Opportunities 10		Facilitate Opportunities 13		Empower Opportunities 13		Enable Opportunities 14	
Group Level	Employment	Contracting	Job Placement	Incubation	Group	Access Markets	Beneficiary Led	Social Enterprise Led
	8	2	7	6	9	4	5	9

Figure 9 Detailed Classification of Social Enterprises Alleviating Poverty through Income Generation

Group 1: Create Direct Opportunities

Social enterprises in this group focus on hiring or contracting with beneficiaries to produce products, deliver services, and/or fulfil roles within businesses run by these social enterprises. From bag making in Rags2Riches, to teaching yoga in the Africa Yoga Project, to employing beneficiaries in factories converting waste, to fashion in Conserve India, to employing beneficiaries with autism as IT consultants in the Specialist People Foundation in the United States, these social enterprises hire beneficiaries on a full-time, part-time, contractual or temporary basis.

Social enterprises in the group enable their social aims by providing management and/or soft skills training, vocational training, and mentorship.

Group 2: Facilitate Opportunities

Social enterprises in this group facilitate income generation opportunities by incubating businesses for beneficiaries or by providing employment opportunities in the form of job placement. From helping female mechanics set up their own garages in the Lady Mechanic Initiative, to Project Restore helping incarcerated and noncustodial fathers start their own subcontracting firms, these social enterprises believe in creating opportunities through beneficiary self-employment. Timewise Jobs for women and Friends International for youth create opportunities for income generation through others.

Social enterprises in the group enable their social aims by providing entrepreneurship, management and/or soft skills training, and vocational training. Nevertheless, although not statistically significant amongst groups, some of the social enterprises provided microloans, even if they are focused on job placement, to empower beneficiaries to seek other options if job placement does not work out, as with Alashanek Ya Balady (AYB) and Action Network for the Disabled (ANDY).

Group 3: Empower Opportunities

These social enterprises focus on helping beneficiaries who already generate income through a skill to become more profitable and sustainable by becoming more efficient or by diversifying their products and services, and/or accessing new markets through technological innovation. Social enterprises empower beneficiaries through opportunities for income generation – International Development Enterprises in India, Semilla Nueva and Honey Care Africa – or by grouping informal workers under formal co-operatives – Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) and Nidan – or through supply chain aggregation – Nucafe and the Farm Shop,.

Social enterprises in the group enable their social aims by providing entrepreneurship, management and/or soft skills training. Although not statistically significant amongst groups, social enterprises may also provide microloans to support the intended outcome, such as with Honey Care Africa.

Group 4: Enable Opportunities

This group is primarily focused on enabling opportunities for income generation; in other words, they support disadvantaged beneficiaries, as part of communities or individually, to find solutions to their own problems.

As part of communities, beneficiary-led approaches include the Zikra Initiative, which works with beneficiaries to identify their strengths, needs, and how to benefit from a growing tourism market to alleviate their own poverty. Through their Urban Resource Center, Saath Livelihood Services works with beneficiaries to identify their issues and provide them with information and services. These social enterprises do not prescribe the approach or enablers needed for income generation and poverty alleviation. Beneficiaries, i.e. the community itself, leaders and employees (if any) are fully involved in identifying or finding solutions to solving or enabling opportunities for income generation.

For individuals, social enterprises that enable opportunities for income generation use approaches that provide beneficiaries with advantageous knowledge, skills, experiences and networks but do not directly provide a means to income generation. The premise is that targeted beneficiaries have the potential to generate income but do not because of barriers such as lack of education, experience, skills, capital or network. Kiva, for example, enables beneficiaries with microloans through an online facility, matching beneficiaries to donations made. The Nida Foundation combines microloans, mentorship and training to support beneficiaries to become entrepreneurs.

These social enterprises provide entrepreneurship, management and/or soft skills training, vocational training, and mentorship. Although not statistically significant amongst groups, social enterprises may also provide microloans, facilitate saving circles, and/or internships.

Matrix of Social Enterprises Targeting Poverty Alleviation through Income Generation

Each of the dimensions presents a different role for the social enterprise and respective beneficiaries. From more to less social enterprise involvement in the long-term contrasted by a low to high control from the beneficiaries resulting in a matrix (Figure 10) for social enterprises that target poverty alleviation through income generation. Within each of the four groups, social enterprises are grouped into the smaller, causally similar groups presented in the classification.
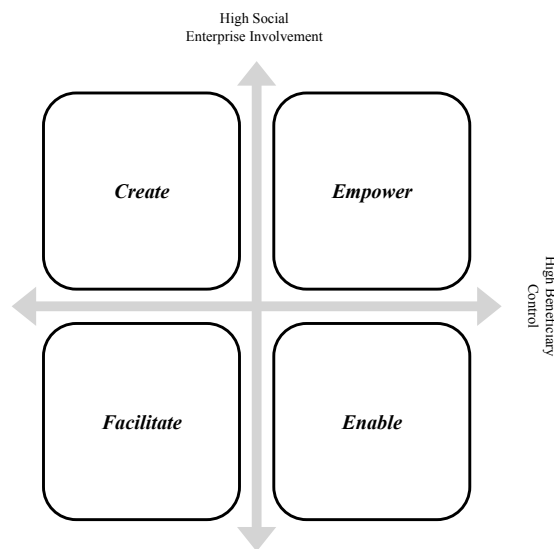

Figure 10 Matrix of Social Enterprises Targeting Poverty Alleviation through Income Generation

3.3.4 Cross-sectional Analysis

The aim of this step was to test conditions amongst the different causally similar groups to inform case selection in the comparative case study (Beach and Pedersen, 2016). While Pearson's r is used for interval, ratio and

ordinal data to assess similarity, and given that some groups have fewer than five social enterprises (Field, 2009), shifting from the assumed chi-square distribution of a chi-square test typically used for categorical data (Field, 2009), Fisher's exact test and the likelihood ratio statistic (SPSS: Exact under crosstabs) were used instead (Field, 2009). These sought a significance level of 0.05 to run SPSS crosstabs (Table 5) on information related to conditions covering context, legal form and beneficiaries.

Condition	Likelihood Ratio	Significance Level (Likelihood)	Fisher's Exact Test	Significance Level (Exact Test)
Targeted Beneficiaries				
Youth	24.25	**0.001**	16.97	**0.002**
Women	6.26	0.697	4.83	0.721
General	19.08	**0.013**	14.40	**0.012**
Farmers	36.23	**0.000**	26.17	**0.000**
Disadvantaged Minorities	14.98	**0.050**	10.47	0.069
Legal Form				
Non-profit	8.88	0.381	7.31	0.411
Co-operatives	15.60	**0.027**	10.44	**0.049**
Context				
Global	5.29	0.648	6.44	0.648
Developing	13.19	0.122	9.52	0.158
Developed	13.80	0.092	10.21	0.100
Global Headquarters	8.81	0.368	6.43	0.395
Local Headquarters	8.81	0.368	6.43	0.395
Urban / Rural Divide				
Urban	14.63	**0.015**	10.19	**0.045**
Rural	21.70	**0.006**	15.17	**0.015**
Both	6.05	0.366	7.15	0.300
Unspecified	21.76	**0.007**	16.17	**0.012**

Table 5 Statistically Significant Differences Amongst Factors Within Social Enterprises

Significant differences between groups were observed when it came to target beneficiaries and whether or not social enterprises were co-operatives, in other words, causally similar groups are bounded by targeted beneficiaries and whether or not they are co-operatives. On the other hand,

the legal form of social enterprises was not significant, and the geographical context, being developed or developing, is not related to the causal mechanism through which intended change is aimed. Finally, and although there was significance in the urban and rural focus of social enterprises, 27 of the 50 social enterprises included in the sample did not specify whether or not they focused on only rural or urban areas and was also a significant finding, as a result, the urban / rural focus was treated similar to legal form and geographical context, not significant to case selection and an opportunity for further discovery through the case study.

3.4 Exploratory, Comparative Case Study

This part of the study deals with the second and third research questions with a focus on social enterprises providing contractual opportunities to targeted beneficiaries as means to income generation and long-term poverty alleviation, the basis of which is explained in section 3.4.2 as part of case selection:

2. What are the theoretical assumptions; causal mechanisms and effects, underlying 'how' and 'why' change occurs, in social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities?

3. What are the conditions; related to beneficiaries, social enterprises and contextual surroundings, that influence how change occurs and explains any differences amongst cases?

The design parameters for this comparative case study were based on the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. This sub-study aims to uncover a preliminary change model and relevant conditions that would form the basis of subsequent applications of TBE in practice specifically in assessing the social impact of social enterprises.

3.4.1 Methodology

The approach (Figure 11) designed in this sub-study is adapted from Yin's (2014) approach to comparative case studies with a literal replication design (Yin, 2014) that aims to uncover 'how' and 'why' change occurs "within

causally homogenous, bounded populations" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, para. 3 in section 7.1) that use cross-case analysis to link conditions to any differences between causal mechanisms (Beach and Pedersen, 2016).
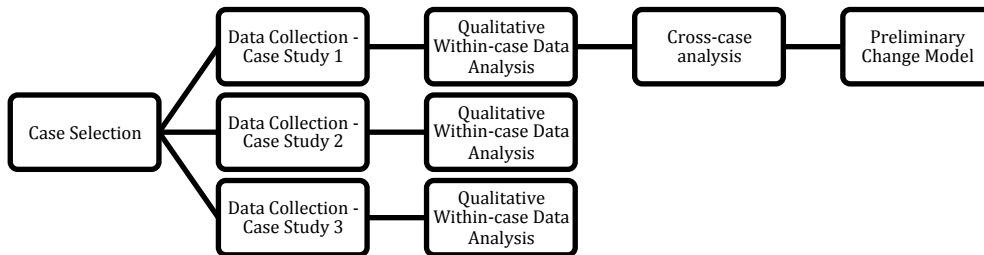

Figure 11 Comparative, Causal Case Study (Adapted from Yin (2014) and Beach and Pedersen (2013))

Starting from the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, individual case studies were carried out to capture signals and effects as a means to conceptualise a preliminary change model based on empirical data encompassing beneficiary and implementor observations and experiences (Davidson, 2000). As a replication design, each case study was first evaluated separately (Eisendhardt and Bourgeois, 1988). Cross-case analysis was then used to test conditions for change to occur (Beach and Pedersen, 2016) comparing programmes of the same type (Pawson et al., 2005) at the level of causal mechanisms and effects to conceptualise a preliminary change model that is subsequently theorised and operationalised to become the basis of evaluation; the essence of TBE (Carvalho and White, 2004).

Prior to empirical work, a case study protocol was written including details about data collection and analysis, and a research database was created on the researcher's laptop along with taking notes throughout the process as the learning uncovered throughout is just as valuable as the final learnings (Weiss, 2000a).

3.4.2 Case Selection

Case study outcomes are not commonly generalisable to a population (Yin, 2014), and this case study in particular is focused on "making inferences about causal relationships within causally homogenous, bounded populations" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, para. 3 in section 7.1) of social

enterprise targeting poverty alleviation through income generation that have the same social aims, apply the same causal mechanisms, towards the same intended outcome. The aim of comparative case studies together with the focus on a bounded population forms the basis of case selection in this study.

3.4.2.1   Type of Cases

Starting with a common social aim and common intended outcome, namely poverty alleviation, the classification uncovered both dimension level and characteristic level groups (Figure 12). While identifying a perfectly causally similar group is not possible, one could get close (Beach and Pedersen, 2013).

Poverty Alleviation through Income Generation							
Create Direct Opportunities		Facilitate Opportunities		Empower Opportunities		Enable Opportunities	
Employment	Contracting	Job Placement	Incubation	Group	Access Markets	Beneficiary Led	Social Enterprise Led

Figure 12 Classification of Social Enterprises Targeting Income Generation

While the dimension level groups have a common social aim and intended outcome, they are not causally similar because some social enterprises within characteristic level groups may approach income generation differently. Characteristic level groups, namely employment, contracting, job placement, incubation, grouping, access to markets, beneficiary-led and social enterprise-led enablers, each have a common social aim, intended outcome and causally approach towards the intended outcome.

As a result, cases were selected from one of the eight characteristic level groups and as in experimental studies (Yin, 2014), multiple cases were chosen based on a "literal replication" (Yin, 2014, p. 57) logic where cases were chosen to predict similar results (Yin, 2014). Taking the results of the cross-sectional analysis in the classification of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through income generation in case selection, and given that the cross-sectional analysis in the classification study did not depict a significant association between context, including the social enterprise's headquarters, or legal form, and causally similar groups, the social

enterprises chosen had to have the same target beneficiaries and were either all co-operatives or not.

Finally, the target cases must be social enterprises that:

- Are formal and legal;
- directly dealt with beneficiaries;
- focused on poverty alleviation and income generation as a prime and central objective;
- are active and operational at the time of carrying out the study; and
- have a website or Facebook page that was live and in English.

3.4.2.2   Number of Cases

Single case studies are conducted when there are special cases that highlight exceptional, and theoretically relevant, circumstances, settings or instances when a case needs to be studied over time (Yin, 2014). Multiple-case designs have theoretically relevant aims where cases are replicated to predict similar results or changing certain conditions in cases to predict differing results (Yin, 2014). The number of cases may be as small as two and what is considered important is the research aim and if "all the cases turn out as predicted, these 6 to 10 cases, in the aggregate, would have provided compelling support for the initial set of propositions" (Yin, 2014, p. 57). Controlling case conditions is not relevant in this study as the underlying causal mechanisms are unknown to begin with, i.e. we don't have a set of starting theoretical propositions.

In the case of theory-building (Eisendhardt, 1989), cases are chosen on a theoretical basis either to "replicate previous cases or extend emergent theory or ... chosen to fill theoretical categories and provide examples of polar types" (Eisendhardt, 1989, p. 537). In these cases, theoretical saturation is an important aspect where new learning from cases results in small changes to the hypothesis or uncovered theory (Eisendhardt, 1989); therefore, researchers often aim for this using as many cases as needed to

get there with an extensive design that generates clear propositions to write an emergent theory.

What is unique about causal case studies is that similar to theory building, uncovering the change model connects "rich qualitative evidence to mainstream deductive research ... [with] emphasis on developing constructs, measures, and testable propositions" (Eisendhardt, 2007, p. 25). Similar to comparative case studies, causal case studies are theoretically relevant (Yin, 2014) but based on a tightly bound group representative of a causally similar population (Beach and Pedersen, 2013) with a comparative approach that seeks to uncover conditions for change to occur as a preliminary basis of which more generalised theories could be uncovered.

The objective is to build a change model that closely matches how change actually materialises, as opposed to building an overall theory for social enterprises that is unquestionably right or uniformly accepted (Weiss, 2000a) at a level just below an all-encompassing theory (Checkel, 2006) especially when a theoretical basis is unknown (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). Even if a change model subsequently seems to be wrong because of difficulties in theorising the change model or the cases seem too different (Weiss, 1997b), or not produce the intended effects, there is great benefit in that it would lead to improvement in programmes or related policy (Weiss, 1997b).

An evaluation examines the extent to which a programme delivered on what it said it would (Weiss, 1972). TBE gives recipients of an evaluation confidence in the extent to which the results of the evaluation reduce uncertainties (Weiss, 1972) and depict what actually happens (Weiss, 2000a). The approach used in this sub-study is based on uncovering the phenomena under focus, validating that the cases are causally similar, and conditions for change are empirically tested as a result of the study (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). Therefore, the quality of the case studies is dependent on the empirical data that is based on reasoned theoretical arguments in the form of propositions for why mechanisms should be particular empirical

fingerprints (Beach and Pedersen, 2017). The process of developing the change model is part of the evaluation where learnings are made (Weiss, 1997b).

As a result, theoretical saturation is not the primary goal and uncovering a preliminary change model of theoretical assumptions and conditions through a comparative approach is with an aim to study more than two cases with researcher access to beneficiaries taking precedence in case selection. While a comparative approach using a small number of cases does not make universal claims about phenomena (Beach and Pedersen, 2016), this case study is bounded by a small population that set the basis for future possible expansion onto other social enterprises. In reality, "if a study genuinely takes advantage of the case study method − that is, by probing a case and its context in-depth − the study will likely only be able to include a small number of cases" (Yin, 2013, p. 325) and "if we have found the same mechanism across two or three different typical cases, we can then infer cautiously to the rest of the population of cases". While all conditions could not realistically be captured (Beach and Pedersen, 2013), findings in a small comparative case study would better clarify the boundaries of future study and resulting preliminary change model clarifying an effective baseline for future research and eventually generating a theory for social enterprises and poverty alleviation.

3.4.2.3   Time Covered

As depicted in the literature, strategies divert from the original social aims as social enterprises grow (Teasdale, 2010). In the absence of comprehensive research that covers how social aims of a social enterprise change over time, my practical experience signifies that it takes at least two years for a social aim to stabilise.

While social enterprises have been established long before the recent rise and interest in social enterprises, the social enterprises chosen were all established after 2000, when interest and growth in social enterprises

increased (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013) since the external factors faced by such enterprises are different than those established before then.

3.4.2.4   Final Cases Selected

With a classification in hand, and with accessibility as the key requirement, I set out in July 2015 to find one social enterprise in each of the classification groups as a starting point. Employing various approaches be it through networking, LinkedIn, influential social enterprises' player listings, and local city listings of social enterprises, several challenges were met in finding social enterprises that were available within 6 months to participate in the research and ones that were happy to provide access to beneficiaries.

In some cases, those who were approved in principle were interviewed but decided not to proceed as the information sought was specific and they did not have time. These and other challenges in confirming participating social enterprises are further covered in the limitation section of this chapter. While I found an initial one for growth and innovation, beneficiary-led approaches, and employment/contracting groups, it was within employment/contracting that I was able to secure two more participants.

Starting from my personal network, I moved to influential player website listings, a public call for participation through LinkedIn and a public survey on my personal website, and used local social enterprise listings and guides. It took six months to confirm the social enterprises that would participate in the study.

In practice, gaining access to social enterprises, especially those listed on influential player lists, was not easy even though connecting with the founders on LinkedIn was. The concerns revolved around access to beneficiaries and timing as most were undergoing strategic business changes. I finally started an open call for social enterprises through LinkedIn's social enterprise-related groups and country-specific social enterprise listings. I found country-specific listings to be of the greatest help

as they include social enterprises that are seeking opportunities to be more involved in shaping the social enterprise domain, especially when it comes to SIA. Three social enterprises, focused on contracts and employment of beneficiaries, were selected.

The overall process took more than 6 months to obtain case participants and three were chosen under the class of social enterprise that create opportunities for income generation through contractual opportunities. As a result, the social enterprises used in this case study were as follows:

Case	Year Established	Legal Form	Targeted Beneficiaries	Geographical Context	Surroundings
L	*2012*	*Profit*	*Refugee Women*	*Lebanon*	*Both*
P	*2013*	*Profit*	*Disadvantaged Women*	*Philippines*	*Rural*
C	*2009*	*Non-Profit*	*Refugee and Immigrant Women*	*Canada*	*Urban*

Table 6 Social Enterprises Selected for the Case Study

3.4.3 Data Collection

Driven by the research questions and the underlying conceptual framework covered in Chapter 2, the approach to data collection seeks in-depth information, insights, perceptions and meanings in real-world contexts (Yin, 2014) to uncover the underlying change model. The change model should reflect the beliefs of those involved in the programme, be plausible, be detailed enough to reflect true responses of beneficiaries to mechanisms, be inclusive of conditions of the programme (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000), cover both the gains and losses (Weiss, 1972), and yet be focused on what is essential to the change avoiding unnecessary detail (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000).

Besides challenges in generating theoretical assumptions that are clear, credible and verifiable (Connell and Kubisch, 1998), uncovering theoretical assumptions is not a trivial task as it involves a detailed understanding of complex social interventions to generate a model of causality (Pawson et al.,

2005). To manage these complexities, and given that building the change model utilises an inductive, grounded theory approach to uncover the change model (Davidson, 2000), the starting point for data collection should be a priori codes that "shape the initial design" (Eisendhardt, 1989, p. 536). Figure 13 depicts steps taken for data collection.
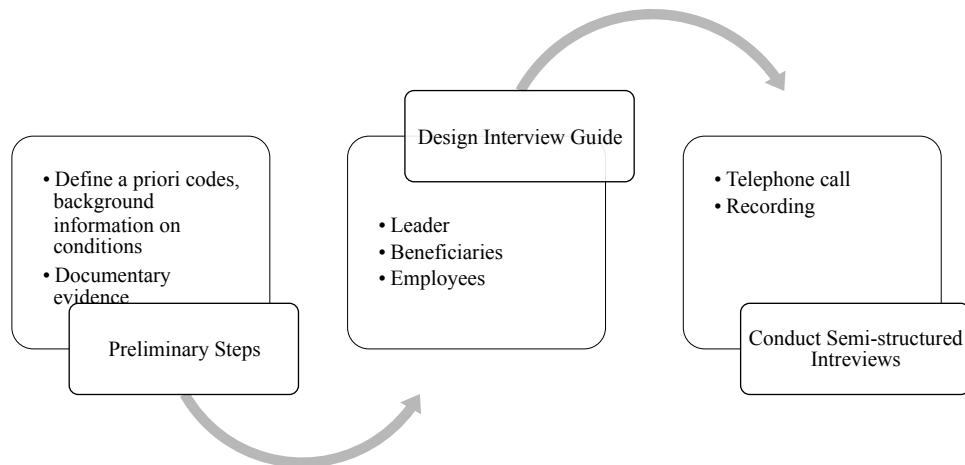

Figure 13 Steps to Data Collection

3.4.3.1 Conditions and A Priori Codes

Preceding the interviews, documentary evidence from the website or Facebook page of the respective social enterprise including reports, annual and operational plans and information, and press releases was used to capture information pertaining to conditions, Table 7. Additional documentation was not requested as this was then explored through interviews to clarify findings as necessary. At this point, an NVivo file was opened for each of the social enterprises and documentary evidence was imported into NVivo as a document.

| *Conditions* | • Context:
    ○ Geographical area (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014, p 4).
    ○ Overview of political, economic and social environment (White, 2009).
• Social enterprise:
    ○ Drivers and circumstances of set up (Hulgard, 2010) including when and where.
    ○ Legal form: Profit or non-profit forms (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010).
    ○ Collaborative arrangements (Austin and Seitanidi, 2012; Grove and Berg, 2014).
    ○ Profit-generating activities, integration and |

exclusivity of social and enterprise goals and activities (Peredo and McLean, 2006; Grassl, 2012).

- o Sources of income, revenues, grants and donations, or a mix (Dees, 1998).
- o Volunteers and employees (Dees, 1998).
- o Ownership and organisation (Mancino and Thomas, 2005; Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010).
- Target beneficiaries:
  - o Profiles
  - o Disadvantage / Needs

Table 7 Information Pertaining to Conditions

Although this is an exploratory study, this case study leverages advice by Eisendhardt (1989) regarding theory building from cases: start the exploratory approach with a priori codes that "help to shape the initial design" (Eisendhardt, 1989, p. 536), Table 8. A priori codes were primarily output related in that, social enterprises that aim to provide contractual opportunities for income generation will provide causal mechanisms that provide beneficiaries with opportunities to generate income accordingly. A priori codes drove the initial approach to interviewing and then expanded in a flexible and semi-structured manner.

Signals	• Beneficiaries are provided with contractual opportunities for income generation
Effects	• Beneficiaries are able to generate income

Table 8 A Priori Codes for the Case Study

As covered in Chapter 2, social enterprises have used many approaches to poverty alleviation including Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISE) (Ho and Chan, 2010). However, with the absence of an empirical basis for the breakdown of social enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation and income generation, it becomes challenging to identify behaviours underlying change beyond those related to direct output of intended activities, in this case, contractual opportunities for income generation.

3.4.3.2 Interviews

Data collection is concerned with gathering information pertaining to the quality of signals that are the key building blocks of defining causal

mechanisms from those implementing the social aim. While a case study approach does not dictate specific methods, interviews are a "highly efficient way to gather rich, empirical data" (Eisendhardt, 2007, p. 26). Using documentary evidence and semi-structured interviews, data collection was primarily concerned with uncovering the signals and effects pertaining to the social aim of the social enterprise. In addition, data collection was also concerned with capturing the respective conditions surrounding the social enterprise, and that may be relevant to how change occurs and what the social enterprises, through founder and employee interviews, aim to do or think they do.

Interview Templates

The a priori codes, following from the conceptual framework (Chapter 2), were the basis through which interviews were designed. With an initial focus on output related activities, semi-structured, open-ended interviews were used as they are suited for exploratory research following a "line of inquiry" (Yin, 2014, p. 110) and flexible enough to raise questions to serve the exploratory need (Yin, 2014). To improve the validity of data collected, causal mechanisms were inductively defined from target beneficiaries focusing on what happens on the ground and not what is designed (Davidson, 2000), thus providing a greater "level of certainty about causal attributions" (Davidson, 2000, p. 20) while taking into account response bias specifically when it comes to disadvantaged beneficiaries (Weiss, 1962).

Another aspect to the interviews is that they do not start from the outputs of the social enterprises, but from the inputs and capture beneficiary views early on in the process prior to outputs. TBE's key benefit is that it explicitly examines and specifies why and how a programme leads to outcomes (Chen and Rossi, 1989) but this means that investigation of intervening processes must take place earlier than the official intervention from what leads a beneficiary to be interested in participating in a programme to how they join, which influences the overall outcome (Chen and Ross, 1989).

Table 9 is the shortened version of the founder and employee interview guide. Appendix III provides the expanded version with respective probes.

1. Introduction:
   a. Who I am (researcher)
   b. Why this research
   c. Ethical awareness
   d. Who are you
2. Background to the case
   a. Tell me about the social enterprise and the how, when, where and why it was set up
3. Beneficiaries
   a. Who are the direct beneficiaries that the social enterprise impacts?
   b. What is important to these beneficiaries when it comes to poverty alleviation?
4. Signals and effects
   a. You have elaborated about the social enterprise more generally and who it aims to benefit and what is important to your target beneficiaries. What about you, what are the intended opportunities?
   b. Sometimes, organisational actions lead to unintended benefits and consequences. What are the unintended benefits and consequences that have resulted from the social enterprise's activities?
   c. Have you dealt directly with beneficiaries? If yes, what is the experience that beneficiaries have had in applying to, participating in, and/or benefitting from the social enterprise and its activities?
   d. Where do you think your social enterprise stands in terms of reputation? How are you perceived in the larger context, locally, regionally or globally?
5. Ending
   a. Thank you for your time, it has been helpful.
   b. If you have any concerns, please feel free to get in touch with me at any time.
   c. I would like to remind you that your name will not be disclosed and all comments are kept anonymous.

Table 9 Social Enterprise Leader and Employee Interview Guide

Table 10 is the shortened version of the beneficiary interview guide, where Appendix III provides the expanded version with respective probes. While beneficiary interviews capture some aspects related to conditions specifically in terms of their profiles, the founder / employee interviews included more details on conditions.

1. 1. Introduction:

a. Who I am (researcher)
        b. Why this research
        c. Ethical awareness
        d. Who are you
    2. Beneficiaries
        a. Let us talk about who you are
        b. What is important to you when it comes to poverty alleviation?
    3. Signals and effects
        a. How have you benefitted from the social enterprise?
        b. Did the social enterprise offer you something that you were neither interested in nor benefitted from?
        c. What has been your experience in applying to, participating in, and/or benefitting from the social enterprise and its activities?
        d. How else do you engage with the social enterprise?
    4. Ending
        a. Thank you for your time, it has been helpful.
        b. If you have any concerns, please feel free to get in touch with me at any time.
        a. I would like to remind you that your name will not be disclosed and all comments are kept anonymous.

Table 10 Beneficiary Interview Guide

Semi-structured Interviews

Four beneficiaries from each of the social enterprises were interviewed along with leaders and founders of the social enterprises and, in the case of social enterprise C, employees. The number of beneficiaries was chosen for convenience based on what the social enterprises were comfortable providing. Prior to the interviews, the researcher was aware of ethical issues pertaining to interviewing beneficiaries and bias of those who are involved in the implementation of the social aim, and hence, this was kept in mind while collecting evidence.

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were also conducted with leaders and employees (in the case of social enterprise C), on the basis of validating the quality of signals used as a basis of generating codes representing causal mechanisms. Leaders were interviewed to provide an opportunity for learning related to what social enterprises think they do and what beneficiaries perceive (Davidson, 2000) and to reduce researcher bias related to beneficiary responses.

While the preference was to meet each of the interviewees in person, telephone interviews were conducted for logistical purposes. This was acceptable as "there are no significant differences in the interview outcomes" when telephone and face-to-face interviews were compared by Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) in an effort to establish whether or not telephone interviews could be used in research. Interviews were recorded via the MicPro app on the iPad and backed up on the Voice Memos app on the iPhone. Interviews were conducted between May 2016 and February 2017 (Table 11).

Case	Leaders	Employees	Beneficiaries
L	L1: 65 mins	N/A	B1: 18 mins
			B2: 16 mins
			B3: 25 mins
			B4: 35 mins
P	L1: 45 mins	N/A	B1: 17 mins
			B2: 22 mins
			B3: 20 mins
			B4: 15 mins
C	L1: 58 mins	E1: 31 mins	B1: 15 mins
		E2: 35 mins	B2: 19 mins
			B3: 18 mins
			B4: 29 mins

Table 11 Interviews Conducted

Language

Another aspect of the interviews is that of language. Interviews with the founder/leader and the beneficiaries of social enterprise L were conducted in Arabic. Transcribed reports were not verbatim translations but where about "transfer of meaning" (Chidlow, Plakoylannaki and Welch, 2014, p. 562), taking a "contextualised approach" (Chidlow, Plakoylannaki and Welch, 2014, p. 562).

Along the same lines, and while the interview with the founder/managing partner of social enterprise P was in English, a translator was needed for the interviews with the beneficiaries. While there are over 100 dialects in the

Philippines, the official language is Tagalog, which all people can speak and the interviews took place in. Although the translator was from a different area in the Philippines, the translator was from the Visayas group of islands that Tacloban City is part of. The translator was present when the interviews were conducted. Subsequently, recordings were re-run with another translator where transcripts were re-written and compared with originals and no discrepancy was found. These interviews were also transcribed, not as verbatim translations but as "transfer of meaning" (Chidlow, Plakoylannaki and Welch, 2014, p. 562), as with social enterprise L, also taking a "contextualised approach" (Chidlow, Plakoylannaki and Welch, 2014, p. 562). Interviews with the founder/director, beneficiaries and employees of social enterprise C were all in English and transcribed verbatim.

Organisation

A final, but very important aspect to data collection was that data were available, organised and clear for efficient and transparent data access and analysis (Yin, 2014). A folder structure for the study was created on the researcher's laptop within the research database and all respective transcripts were imported into folders that were named after each social enterprise. All transcripts were also imported into NVivo as documents ready for analysis.

3.4.4 Within-Case Analysis

The main objective of within-case data analysis is to answer the third research question, namely uncovering the causal mechanisms, related effects, and conditions underlying change in each of the social enterprises. Within-case data analysis encompasses the search for themes, patterns, insights and concepts in the primary data collected (Yin, 2014) while leveraging NVivo to efficiently carry out the analysis with the thinking and analysis left to the researcher (Yin, 2014). Within-case analysis, figure 14, with the goal of inferring causal mechanisms and effects, is a main step towards conceptualising a preliminary change model (Figure 14).
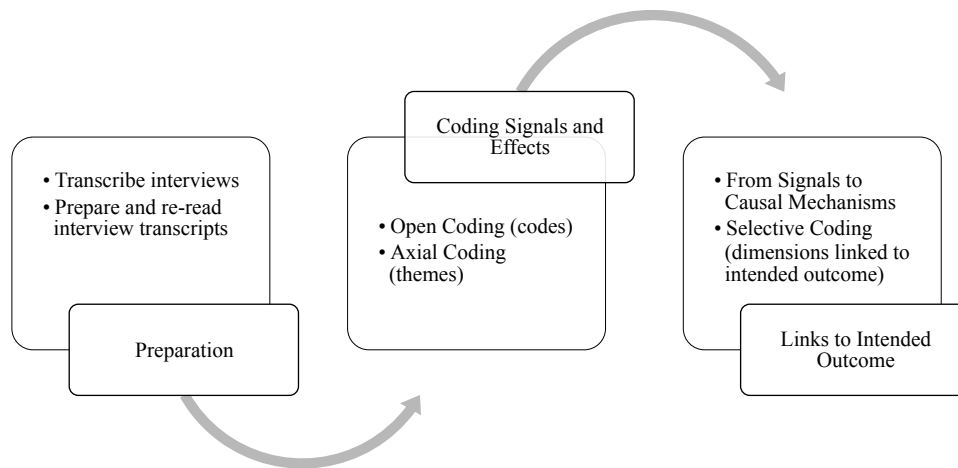
Figure 14 Steps to Within-Case Analysis

Preparation

Prior to within-case analysis, documentary evidence and interview transcripts were read a few times to ensure understanding. High-level codes were subsequently created within each of the NVivo case files to match the conceptual framework in Chapter 2, namely; social enterprise, target beneficiaries, context, and signals. Although the focus of the data analysis was operationalising mechanisms and identifying associated conditions and not carry out an assessment of associated effects, relevant effects, when identified, were captured in order to provide insight and support cross-case analysis.

Coding Signals and Effects

The first stage of data analysis included open-coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) beneficiary, founder and employee (where applicable) interviews and documentary evidence under respective high-level codes. With constant comparison, the second stage involved axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) where open codes were reviewed and grouped into themes. Constant comparison meant that open codes were always developed, reviewed and further categorised (Lansisalmi, Peiro, and Kivimaki, 2004) in a continuous manner until as much of the empirical evidence had been coded, information analysed, and all codes grouped under brief descriptive themes. Although axial coding is presented subsequent to the open-coding stage, grouping codes resulted in re-reading transcripts and picking up other codes which were further organised into themes.

Links to Intended Outcome

Operationalising mechanisms is a non-trivial task (Weiss, 1997b) that is of limited mention in existing literature. This study adopts an interesting approach from the EURECIA study (Nedeva et al., 2012) that extracts causal mechanisms from signals and introduces signalling theory (Spence, 1973) as the basis by which signals are analysed to lead to causal mechanisms.

As covered in Chapter 2, to generate a response, a signal must be "efficacious" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 45) or strong (Nedeva et al., 2012), as beneficiaries observe and interpret the information and feedback in some form of action (Connelly et al., 2011) in relation to the intended outcome (Boulding and Kirmani, 1993). Being efficacious implies that signals must be intentional, observable, costly and fit in with the intended outcome (Connelly et al., 2011). Using the query function in NVivo, data were exported into Excel where signals, i.e. themes and codes, were analysed to identify codes that were not identified by the founder or employees, i.e. not intentional, were not identified by any beneficiaries, i.e. not observable, not costly, meaning neither expensive to implement nor risky if found to be false (Connelly et al., 2011), and not fitting into the intended outcome, i.e. must rationally be related to poverty alleviation.

Allowing access to another level of deeper interpretation (Nadin and Cassell, 2004), differences were noted and analysed for possible causes for inclusion in the individual case study findings. To enhance the validity of the study, signals were maintained when they had been perceived by at least two beneficiaries and hence, those identified by one beneficiary were also omitted, but were noted and analysed for possible causes for inclusion in the individual case study findings.

To conceptualise the change model in cross-case analysis, selective coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was then used to link themes to the intended outcome of poverty alleviation by generating "overarching theoretical dimensions" (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2012, p. 26), namely; beneficiary

participation, intervention, and beneficiary retention. As with grounded theory approaches, changes and repeated reviews were made until the researcher was satisfied that data had been analysed appropriately to answer the research questions and information organised appropriately.

Figure 15 depicts the a priori theme of providing contractual opportunities as an example of how coding took place.
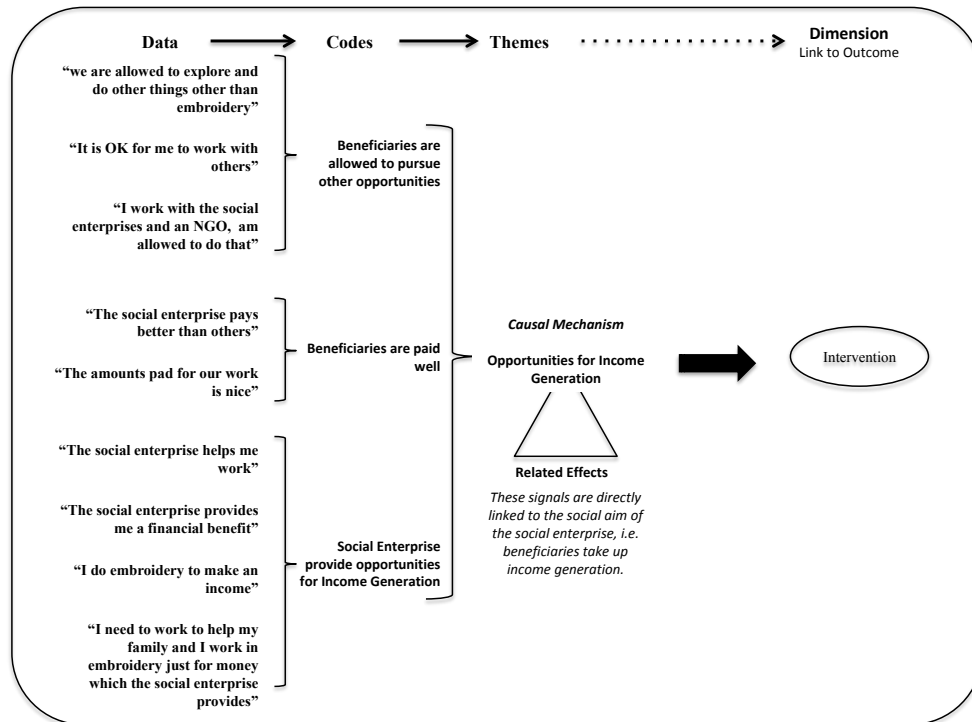

Figure 15 Codes, Concepts, Themes, Dimensions and Effects: Opportunities for Income Generation in Social Enterprise L

3.4.5 Cross-Case Analysis

The main objective of cross-case analysis is to infer the conditions that influence how change occurs in social enterprises that provide contractual opportunities for poverty alleviation and explain differences amongst cases. This study utilises a qualitative approach to cross-case analysis that highlights commonalities and explains differences in conditions to help conceptualise a preliminary change model (Figure 16) within a causally similar group.
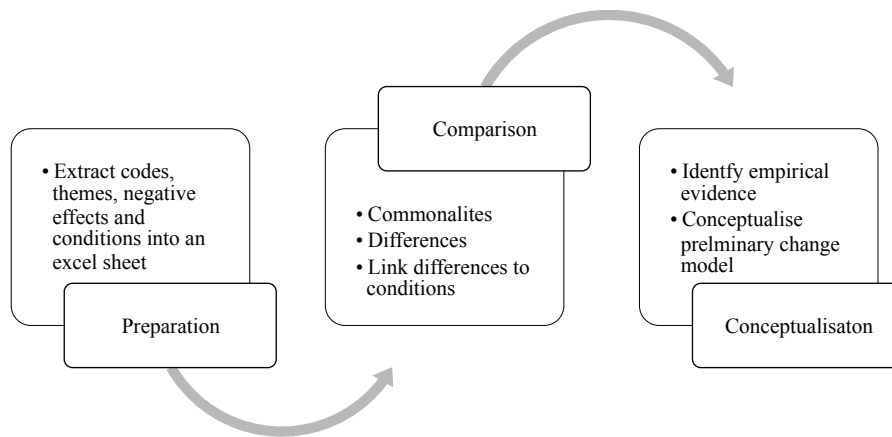
Figure 16 Steps to Cross-Case Analysis

Preparation

Using the query function in NVivo, themes and codes were exported into Excel and used to identify patterns and anomalies. Themes and codes from each of the cases were organised by columns representing each case highlighting signals that were efficacious along with the number of beneficiaries linked to each code. In addition, conditions and negative effects for each case were also added into new columns.

Comparison

There are three approaches to carrying out cross-case analysis. One of the approaches uses matrix analysis to compare themes found in each of the single cases (Yin, 2014). A second approach is to compare cases by source of data, i.e. compare codes from like for like interviews (Eisendhardt, 1989). A third approach includes looking for similarities and differences between groups of cases (Eisendhardt, 1989). Given that this study is neither a large sampled study, nor is it looking for detailed similarities and differences at the level of source of data, cross-case analysis was conducted by comparing causal mechanisms (codes, themes and dimensions), conditions, negative effects along with findings picked up throughout the analysis in respect to "efficacious" signals (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 45).

Cross-case analysis also improves the reliability of the study (Eisendhardt, 1989) validating the causal similarity of cases using the commonalities and differences that are explained by respective conditions (Beach and Pedersen, 2016).

131 of 294

Conceptualisation

From the commonalities and differences uncovered by the empirical analysis and explained by respective conditions, tentative relationships between causal mechanisms, links and conditions were induced in propositions to conceptualise a preliminary change model. Double checked against empirical evidence as recommended by Eisendhardt (Eisendhardt, 1989), the preliminary change model was re-conceptualised depicting possible causal paths resulting from positive or negative effects materialising respectively.

3.5 Methodological Benefits and Challenges

Overall, integrating TBE with classification, cross-case study, and theory-building approaches, was not an easy task. Nevertheless, it was rewarding and still within the philosophical boundaries. Despite what is perceived from literature on social entrepreneurship, the classification points to a social enterprise field that could be presented in a less diverse view where both practitioners and researchers focus on what is common amongst social enterprises, i.e. social aims, rather than focusing on what is different, i.e. their hybridity, which is treated as an element of operational implementation that can advance or hinder change. The classification is designed to be flexible as new approaches are innovated by social enterprises. Using content analysis of social enterprises listed on influential players' websites has proved valuable and serves as a baseline for both research and practical communities, and the use of cluster analysis to build the classification made grouping medium sized samples more efficient.

Nonetheless, the validity of the classification was dependent on three aspects: the diversity in social enterprises within the sample; the quality of information on influential player and social enterprise websites; and the quality of content analysis and coding. Having 38 out of 199 social enterprises meeting the requirements of the study (an English website) was an issue as a lot of South American and French social enterprises were not included in the sample. In addition, the website and influential player sites,

although matched, were out dated with conflicting information that did not make clear the main social aim. Content analysis could be a never-ending process in which all text, or no text, is coded in a subjective manner (Flick, 2014). While using a team of researchers to overcome this in some way is possible, as doctoral research, this was not an option; content analysis was approached with constant review and balance (Flick, 2104). A final point to mention on the methodological side, using cluster analysis on categorical variables had its challenges that involved the researcher reviewing the groups to make sure they were logical.

Using the case study approach to research provided more of a context-specific view that is crucial to researching complex domains covering societal change. In addition, the case study method proved to be flexible enough to incorporate methods needed to uncover learnings and fulfil research objectives. Approaching TBE through a comparative causal case study was beneficial and helped bring focus to the research questions. Complemented by a classification study to identify a causally similar population and aid in case selection, the use of signalling theory as means to operationalise mechanisms within TBE was beneficial and unique. As a strength of building theory from cases more generally, this approach helped keep the researcher creative to identify a good change model. Using semi-structured interviews as a data collection method provided the information and data required to uncover rich and informative themes and insights. Finally, process tracing made a complicated study much more manageable with clear guidelines.

In addition, and although this study does not specifically use Gioia, Corley and Hamilton's (2012) approach to inductive research, this study does include stated features that bring rigor to inductive research from a "well-defined phenomenon of interest and research questions" (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2012) and giving beneficiaries the main voice within a flexible interview guide, to making a clear alignment between codes, themes, and dimensions translated into relationships feeding into the change model for social enterprise providing contractual opportunities for poverty alleviation.

That being said, in addition to the time and resource burden of this research design compared to a single case study approach, this multiple-case study proved to be a complex task which required a great deal of competence and attention to detail, given that it was an exploratory study where there is no guidance or expectation as to what could be found. Accessibility to social enterprises also proved difficult. While the majority of those asked to participate were happy to do so, it was the exposure to beneficiaries that did not fare well with them. One of the social enterprises initially nominated only two beneficiaries but subsequently raised that to four as I gained trust with it. In addition, social enterprises are considered to be small businesses and having employees was not always a possibility. As identified through the classification study, and while it would have been beneficial to use documentation as a key source of information, social enterprises do not always have updated information online or even offline. The final challenge was related to the coding process, which will inherently include researcher bias and while I tried to limit subjectivity, it was challenging.

3.6 Research Ethics

Handling ethics in any research is important, even more so in research that crosses into the social realm, as is the case in social enterprises. Having undertaken a pilot study in February 2014, dealing directly with beneficiaries is ethically challenging as it poses the risk of misunderstanding in respect to the intent and aim of the research study, i.e. beneficiaries often did not understand what research is and that no direct benefit will result from it. As a result, the purpose of the interviews was clearly stated up front and the option to stop the interview was given throughout. In addition, as a learning during the pilot study, ethical delicacies increase with the poorest, i.e. base of the pyramid (BoP) (Goyal, Sergi and Kapoor, 2017, p. 97), rather than those belonging to the low or mid-low income bracket with some education like a high school diploma. As a result, although it was not needed in the end, consideration was given to who the targeted beneficiaries were when it came to case selection.

Following the university's guidelines on ethics, the online Research Ethics Declaration Form on eProg was approved by the research supervisor, after which it was forwarded to the university's committee before conducting the fieldwork. Leaders of each of the social enterprises that may be potential cases for this study were sent an introductory email (Appendix IV) that covered what the research was about and steps taken, followed by detailed requirements. Once their participation was confirmed, an email was sent that included the university's Participant Information Sheet (Appendix VI) along with a Consent Form (Appendix VII). Owners or leaders and employees all acknowledged and consented to participating in this research at the beginning of each of their interviews.

The research aims are clear in that they are not assessing the social impact of social enterprises but instead are exploring theory-based approaches to social impact evaluation in social enterprises. While data collected illustrated the benefits and consequences of activities carried out by social enterprises, the idea was not to evaluate, audit or harm the social enterprise. As a result, a pseudonym for each of the social enterprises was assigned and identity information was masked and anonymised.

All transcripts and notes were electronically saved within the research database and backed up on an external hard drive. NVivo and SPSS files (for the classification study) were also saved within the research database and similarly backed up. The MicPro app was used to record interviews backed up by the Voice Memo iPhone app and the researcher personally transcribed the interviews to maintain confidentiality.

3.7 Chapter Summary

The key to high-quality case study research is to ensure that often quoted issues in case study research have been considered (Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift, 2014). This study provided a clear description justifying why a comparative case study was chosen and clear approaches to data collection and analysis, though not without challenges. The next chapter covers the single case findings.

Chapter 4 Case Study Findings

4.1 Introduction

Besides an overview of the social enterprises, the main focus of the research was to uncover the "efficacious" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 45) signals representing causal mechanisms and related effects that were provided for change, and social impact, to occur. This study also tried to uncover the unintended consequences that have occurred as a result of these mechanisms.

This chapter presents findings from the three social enterprises from which data were collected between May 2016 and February 2017.

4.2 Social Enterprise L

Year Established	2012
Target Beneficiaries	Refugee Women
Profit Generating Sector	Fashion Design and Clothing
Geographical Region	Middle East - Lebanon
Beneficiaries	20 to 25
Number of Employees	None

Table 12 Overview of Social Enterprise L

4.2.1 The Social Enterprise

Social enterprise L is a small for-profit business set up in Lebanon, a developing economy in the Middle East. Lebanon has a politically changing environment with a continued influx of refugees from neighbouring countries fleeing war which has impacted the country's economic balance (IMF Article IV Staff Report and Statement on Lebanon, 2017). With GDP growth and incoming foreign investment unsteady and with increasing debts, the economic outlook is not favourable (IMF Article IV Staff Report and Statement on Lebanon, 2017). The civil society sector in Lebanon is considered to be the most vibrant in the Middle East[3] (Elbayar, 2005).

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[3] 1,000 registered charities in Beirut (Elbayar, 2005)

Based on the discussions with the beneficiaries, some of whom have either worked or continue to work for non-governmental organisations who contract them for embroidery as well, they do not always know who the organisation is as the work is given by the representative who visits the refugee camps with embroidery templates. Often the representatives do not allow the beneficiaries to work for others. They are often not treated well and do not feel like they are part of a community.

With a passion for the art of embroidery and links to her own heritage, the sole owner, who is the director of the social enterprise, started out informally in 2011 by designing and seeking women from various refugee camps to embroider bed sheets for a friend's wedding. Seeing a business opportunity, and seeing the impact that it had on beneficiaries involved, the social enterprise was officially set up in 2012.

The owner's passion for the cause is based on her history in volunteering in refugee camps. She had witnessed the disadvantage that refugees experience where women rarely have more than a third grade level of education, have early marriages and even those who are not married, sit idle and unproductive at home, given various factors and disadvantages they are subjected to.

Women in refugee camps are known to be talented and knowledgeable in the complicated and time-consuming art of embroidery. Women have inherited this skill from their mothers and grandmothers picking it up at the age of 10 or 12. Linked to their history and their homeland, women train their daughters in this art as a means to extra income as charities and businesses seek these women to embroider for them.

The social enterprise's intended social aim is to uncover the women's talents and help them secure a source of income as a means to poverty alleviation through the sale of fashion products that have embroidery in them. The social enterprise contracts beneficiaries to design and complete products in tandem with the director who pays women immediately when a piece is completed.

Selling fashion products that have embroidery in them is the key source of income for the social enterprise after the injection of initial capital from the owner. Social enterprise L is managed by the owner and no other employees have been hired. While the owner has tried to include individuals who were interested in volunteering, it was deemed challenging, as special permission is required to work with refugees and most end up unavailable due to other personal priorities and commitments.

The social goals for social enterprise L are integrated with its commercial goals as beneficiaries are heavily involved in the design and planning of the final products. Social enterprise L has not engaged in any collaborative arrangements, however the director was looking into collaborating with other designers so she can focus on the embroidery work with the beneficiaries.

The interviews took place between 11 May 2016 and 16 May 2016. The average length of the interview with the beneficiaries was 15 minutes. The interview with the director was approximately 65 minutes and no follow-up was required.

4.2.2 Targeted Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries are women living in refugee camps in Lebanon. Some of these camps are in Beirut and some are in the south of Lebanon. Their families had migrated to Lebanon in the 1948 Palestinian exodus and have settled there ever since.

Although embroidery is one of their key activities, they also help their husbands in farming, for example picking fruit during the busy season in the rural refugee camps. In general, however, most of their productive efforts are limited to embroidery.

While most of the women in refugee camps work exclusively for well-known charities and non-governmental organisations, others work for other commercial businesses that are unknown to the women as representatives

engage with them without disclosing details of who the customer is. Social enterprise L hires between 20 to 25 beneficiaries for embroidery work based on customer orders and business needs.

Women may or may not be married, however all have dependents be it parents, siblings, children or spouses. Those who are married and have daughters have already taught them embroidery. For some, there is a need to continue the heritage of embroidery, but the main needs are to be productive and to generate income to help their families financially or fulfil their financial obligations and wishes.

Beneficiary 1 (B1) learned embroidery at the age of 12 and used to work for a non-governmental organisation engaged in embroidery work with refugee women. After leaving it and being out of work for five years, she joined social enterprise L and has been working for them for three years. She is married and has children.

Beneficiary 2 (B2) is single and lives with her parents and siblings. She has been with social enterprise L for two months and before that, she also worked for a non-governmental charity for two years. She is 20 years old.

Beneficiary 3 (B3) has four grown children and is married. She has been with social enterprise L for five years and has been doing embroidery for 20 years working for various customers.

Beneficiary 4 (B4) is not married and lives with her surviving parent and siblings. She has been with social enterprise L for five years and she works for more than one organisation in embroidery but is not aware of who they are. She learned the craft of embroidery when she was 10 years old.

All four beneficiaries rarely leave the refugee camps and rarely engage with anyone outside the refugee camps.

All beneficiaries identified financial need as the primary motive. Looking for and accepting employment or contractual opportunities is based on

sought income, be it with a social enterprise or any other type of organisation, commercial or charity.

"My goal is to work and make money and be able to buy something I want for my home." – B1

"I work for the money." – B2

"My main goal is that embroidery is the way to income, I am married and we needed money and my kids have needs." – B3

"Our financial position is fine but I need to work to help out. To work has to be about helping my family ... Women in this refugee camp who work in embroidery do it just for the money and has nothing to do with heritage." – B4

A secondary need that came up was the need to be productive and continue to grow the art of embroidery. Women sought something that would help them meet their personal goals and be productive while growing an existing skill to continue as a means to future income as well.

"I feel we need to let our daughters help out and learn so that the heritage of embroidery stays and never stops." – B1

"I benefit from embroidery as a heritage art, so we need to improve it and innovate and not let it stay stagnant so there is more benefit." – B2

"I needed to work as I had time and wanted to busy myself and I wanted to help my husband as well with money ... I support them [daughters to learn embroidery] so that this heritage continues through generations as this heritage needs to live." – B3

4.2.3   Theoretical Assumptions

Even before the beneficiaries' need for income generation is met, change is triggered from the moment beneficiaries meet the social entrepreneur as signals of connection are experienced prior to opportunities that enable income generation.

"She comes to my aunt's home to give the girls work and I used to go to my aunt and she used to be there and I see her. I used to sit with them but I never took work but recently I told her I want to take a piece and we agreed to do that and I started to take work from her" – B2

"A neighbour was talking about some lady who is looking for embroidery people, so I went to just meet her" - B3

The main part of this study is to identify strong signals that social enterprises employ, and beneficiaries perceive, for change to occur. While these signals may be material, symbolic or normative, what is the key is the underlying mechanisms behind these signals that opens up the black box of change. Thematically coded, the causal mechanisms (Table 13) were empirically derived through coding presented in the order of how beneficiaries experience them and take action on them, i.e. effects. Although they are presented in a sequential manner, causal mechanisms and related effects could overlap and repeat before beneficiaries move through the change model.

Codes	*Themes*	*Dimensions*
Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(related Effects)*	**Link to Outcome**
o Director keeps communication lines open and updates beneficiaries on plans and whereabouts	**Leadership and Support** *These signals provide feelings of trust, connectedness, and*	**Beneficiary Participation**
o Director is beneficiary-facing and accessible	*support, leading to loyalty.*	

Codes	*Themes*	*Dimensions*
Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(related Effects)*	**Link to Outcome**

- o   Director connects with beneficiaries beyond work
- o   Director is humble and respectful
- o   Director is knowledgeable and exposed to a world beyond the beneficiaries
- o   The Director's hands-on approach is distinctive to other charities or businesses hiring beneficiaries for the same type of work
- o   Meetings and production sessions take place in refugee camps

Enablement

These signals reduce barriers to fulfilling the social aim, i.e. income generation.

- o   Beneficiaries are part of product development expanding on existing knowledge and skills

Knowledge and Skills   **Intervention**

These signals provide new or expanded skills and knowledge related to the opportunities for income generation.

- o   Beneficiaries are allowed to pursue other opportunities

Opportunities for Income Generation

- o   Beneficiaries are provided with contractual opportunities for income generation

These signals are directly linked to the social aim of the social enterprise, i.e. income generation.

- o   Beneficiaries are paid well
- o   Beneficiaries meet others

Community and   **Beneficiary Retention**

Codes	Themes	Dimensions
Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(related Effects)*	**Link to Outcome**
in similar disadvantaged situations	**Belonging**	
o Mutual responsibility to finish pieces on time	*These signals open doors to new friendships, relationships and bonds bringing a sense of belonging and association as part of a supportive network.*	
o Beneficiaries are front facing in the public eye and attend exhibitions within the country	**Recognition** *These signals provide feelings of importance and accountability towards the social entrepreneur and the wider public.*	

Table 13 Social Enterprise L: Detailed Theoretical Assumptions

Evidence supporting uncovered theoretical assumptions are detailed below.

4.2.3.1 Leadership and Support

These signals are related to the leadership and support that the director provides to beneficiaries. The opportunities for impact are related to the feelings of being supported, trusted and important. Even B2, who only spent two months with the social enterprise and elaborated more on opportunities for income generation, spoke about signals of leadership and support.

"They [non-social enterprise] are rude and make the woman feel like she is a beggar." – B1

"Working with her [the director] is different than working with other organisations." – B2

"After I worked with the director, I started to see how these charity organisations are not nice and I do not work for them anymore unless I really need to." – B3

"Initially, women thought it was like all charity organisations but the big surprise was the director!" – B4

The signals include the director being beneficiary-facing as opposed to being unknown or not being seen often by the beneficiaries. The director resides in the same country as the beneficiaries and goes to meet them in their homes within the camps.

"The director comes to our houses and sits with us." – B4

While these meetings are mainly to discuss new products or get an update on existing products being worked on, the beneficiaries highlight a connection that is created between them and the director beyond the work at hand. The beneficiaries have access to the director and connect on issues related to their personal lives that may impact their work or their dreams. This also creates a feeling of trust and understanding that enhances impact for beneficiaries as they see their relationship and involvement as personal, beyond just the product.

"Our relationship with the director is personal not just work not only me but all ladies." – B3

"The director comes to our houses and sits with us and brings us together before even the work itself." – B4

The reputation and nature of the director's personality signify humility, respect and understanding while exuding confidence, knowledge and a high level of education. Beneficiaries highlighted that they are aware of the director's social standing and level of education and knowledge but feel that she was so humble and did not make them feel like *"beggars" – B1*. The

director approaches the beneficiaries as team members and not employees or charity cases while supporting their growth but understanding the challenges that they might face. What beneficiaries have highlighted is her communication with them and respect.

"She did not make us feel like she was highly educated and university graduate and has her network and travels ... she is more humble than us to be honest at times, as if she works for us and not we work for her. I did not feel that in the beginning in the first place." – B1

"I have an issue at home for example I send it to my friend to do it and she finishes it. I tell The director and she is fine and makes us feel good because she does not make us feel bad. Health and happiness number 1. Our relationship with the director is personal not just work not only me but all ladies." – B3

"The director is such a personality and she gets us together and we do not feel like a low life and an employee who is under her hand." – B4

The director is responsible and confident and beneficiaries see that and it gives them confidence in the goals and potential of the social enterprise.

"She is confident and she is responsible." – B4

Transparency, when it comes to beneficiaries, is about keeping them informed and being knowledgeable about the organisation they work for. When it comes to social enterprise L, transparency is seen in the direct communication channels available between beneficiaries and the director and the consistent updates provided to beneficiaries about participation in exhibitions or upcoming initiatives.

"We are not always told about exhibitions or our products when working with others but with social enterprise L, we are aware and we get worried about how our products did and like to know what is going on." – B4

Beneficiaries are aware of what is going on in the social enterprise through the social app, WhatsApp or Facebook. Beneficiaries are privy to how exhibitions or sales went and whether or not their own personal pieces were sold.

"We know how to follow social enterprise L and we know where the director is going whereas before we had no idea." – B3

The director is also happy to provide answers sought by the beneficiaries who are driven by how well their pieces were received.

"When the director comes back from an exhibition that we did not attend, we ask her how it went and if our own personal pieces were sold and feel happy that the piece was liked and bought." – B1

The impacts that this signal construct generates come even before opportunities for income generation are provided and are seen as "early effects" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 5).

4.2.3.2   Enablement

Even before the beneficiaries' need for income generation is met, opportunities for social impact are generated from the moment beneficiaries meet the social entrepreneur as signals of connection are experienced prior to opportunities that enable income generation.

"She comes to my aunt's home to give the girls work and I used to go to my aunt and she used to be there and I see her. I used to sit with them but I never took work but recently I told her I want to take a piece and we agreed to do that and I started to take work from her" – B2

"A neighbour was talking about some lady who is looking for embroidery people, so I went to just meet her" - B3

4.2.3.3   Knowledge and Skills

These signals are not only related to what beneficiaries do today, but how involvement with social enterprise L would bring future income opportunities through the expansion of knowledge and skills. These signals uncover opportunities related to beneficiaries growing their skills.

The team approach to design is quite powerful as beneficiaries' personal involvement leads them to be more accountable to meet the goals they have set for themselves and the deadline set by the director.

"Sometimes I would have the piece and something happens to you and you are delayed one or two days so you put pressure to deliver on time so I work 4 hours a day, I would work 6 hours instead to deliver on time and as agreed." – B1

As a result, beneficiaries are more driven, creative and innovative, learning more for their use in the future and creating pieces that are more like *"beautiful pieces of art" – B4.*

"I asked her [in the beginning] what she wants me to do and she said that she does not work that way and instead we plan together." – B2

"I have a friend who works with a charity and when she is under pressure she asks me to help her out but I am not directly working with the charity who do not know this is what happens. The director of social enterprise L knows and says it is OK for me to work with others." – B3

Beneficiaries who are free to voice suggestions and opinions and try out different options in product design and colours together as a team and even when the director knows what should happen for sales purposes, it is still discussed.

"Not a single charity let us do that and after I worked with social enterprise L, I started to see how these charities are not nice and I do not work for them anymore unless I really need to. I have no problem breaking my relationship with the charities but never with social enterprise L ... I feel I am doing something and especially when I started to innovate colours and embroidery stitches and we learn from each other and people see our work. I feel I am important – after social enterprise L but not before." – B3

"From the first time I took work and we got together, we were planning the colours and designs with the director of social enterprise L and this never happened before. She lets us speak up to make our own difference to the designs and feel that we are part of the final product." – B4

Although the founder does not involve them in day-to-day business matters, the higher level of integration between social and business activities is central to social impact, as opposed to keeping both activities less integrated, which is what other parallel commercial and charity organisations do. This is more expensive, complicated and more time-consuming to manage by an organisation.

"If they say they can, and they will work hard, I go ahead and sign up. This is an example. But in other things, no, I do not involve them in the [business] decisions given that there are things that they should not be privy on but I keep communication open and up to date." – Director

4.2.3.4   Opportunities for Income Generation

These signals are related to the social enterprise's providing beneficiaries with opportunities for income generation through contracting, not only using a skill they already have but specifically being allowed to pursue other opportunities while working for social enterprise L, as is not allowed with others.

"Cannot do both (NGO and social enterprise L) at the same time. In social enterprise L, ... we are allowed to explore and do other things other than embroidery" – B2

"Right now, I do not work except with social enterprise L, but I have a friend who works with a charity and when she is under pressure she asks me to help her out, the social entrepreneur knows and says it is OK for me to work with others but not the same for others" – B3

It was clear from the interviews that the beneficiaries' initial interest in working with the social enterprise stems primarily from their immediate financial needs even though there is a secondary interest in maintaining their traditional art of embroidery.

"My goal is to work and make money and be able to buy something for our home and when a lady works, she buys what she wants and she feels proud and happy especially when badly wanting to get something a long time ago – B1

"My main goal is that embroidery is the way to income and I am married and we needed money and my kids need money and needs" – B3

Another aspect is related to how well they are paid.

"I heard she was bringing work for ladies and giving good money more than usual and I went and started with her and I fulfilled my goals to work and make money" – B1

"My mom's friend, who works with us at the NGO, told me that there were ladies working on an embroidery project and I was energetic, I could do anything! The amount paid was attractive" – B4

These signals are related to the social enterprise's provision of opportunities that enable income generation with an aim to reduce poverty. The signals

here include the ability for beneficiaries to work for others while they are working for social enterprise L without restrictions. Other charities or businesses that engage some of the beneficiaries do not allow them to work for others which restricts their ability to make an income beyond what is paid and are more dependent on one hirer who may or may not provide sufficient opportunities for income.

"My mom does embroidery for a charity for years and wishes to join social enterprise L, but she is not allowed to do both at the same time and the approach by the director is very different." – B2

"Director of social enterprise L knows that I may help other women who work for others and she is OK with it." – B3

In addition to the freedom to work with others, social enterprise L also has a reputation of paying more than the average paid by others. This exceeds their initial needs, which entices beneficiaries towards social enterprise L.

"I heard that she was bringing work for women and giving good money, more than usual." – B1

"I was told that there were women working on an embroidery project and since I am willing to do anything to help my family, and the amount she was paying was excellent, I went for it." – B4

The impacts that this signal construct generates also come before opportunities for income generation and are seen as "early effects" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 5).

4.2.3.5   Community and Belonging

These signals are related to the social enterprise's deliberate action on bringing the beneficiaries together and creating an informal community that cares for each of its members beyond the initial objectives of the social

enterprise. These signals uncover opportunities beyond money and income bringing new friendships, relationships and bonds that give the beneficiaries a sense of support, not only from their own refugee camps but also from other camps across Lebanon. Beneficiaries meet others in a similar situation and instead of competing for work, they work together with a common social focus – women refugees across the country – and because of this they hesitate to leave the social enterprise.

"They [others] send teachers and they give us the work with description and we cannot change. There is not a single company that did what the director did in bringing us to work together." – B2

"There is no selfishness and all the women work together! ... We are together, we do not compete [with different camps] and we are not alone."– B4

The signals here include the beneficiaries meeting other beneficiaries whether within the same or other camps who face similar challenges and are connected by shared needs and aims of working for social enterprise L.

"Little by little we started to go to other camps ... we never did that before or with others." – B3

The community support system involves women helping each other complete their respective pieces on time and at the quality expected by the director. The beneficiaries also help each other in personal improvement by learning new ways to stitch and how to work under the time and life pressures that they face, albeit with ambition to grow and fulfil their own individual goals.

"It does not matter to us who worked more or who finished first, we work together to finish on time." – B1

"We are all caring for the other ladies' pieces and work as well." – B2

"The main goal is to work together so that we can finish the work together at a specific time and we each help each other to finish." – B3

The beneficiaries have created bonds of friendship and they go out together even if no meeting is required, with or without the director of the social enterprise.

"We care for the work the other women are working on as well." –B2

"Social enterprise L gave us the opportunity to be a family together and each one of us works alone but we also work together." – B3
"We are now friends and we go out together." – B4

Another interesting signal was the director's open approach to product design within the camps and how anyone could come in and sit in on their sessions. Women are invited by women already working with social enterprise L to join them in one of the sessions. Sometimes this is to show their pride in what they do, sometimes it is because they want women to meet the charismatic director and sometimes because they know some women embroider well and because of their financial need may want to work for social enterprise L.

"I used to sit with them but I never took work ... and then one day I asked her if I can have a small piece to work on and that is how I started with social enterprise L." – B2

"A neighbour was talking about some lady who is looking for embroidery people, so I went to just meet her." – B3

"My mom's friend who works with us at the non-governmental organisation, she told me that there were ladies working on an embroidery project and I would do anything ... And I saw the director and the lady introduced me to her and the director wanted to double check that I really

did embroidery; she made me try some in front of her and it was fine. And I asked her what she wants me to do and she said that she does not work that way and instead we plan together. But I was shy and scared because of the expectations and now it is lovely and easy and enjoyable." –B4

Interestingly, the beneficiary who has only been with the social enterprise for two months was more focused on the income generation opportunity rather than community and belonging, so there is an element of time as beneficiaries move from immediate needs to other, subsequent opportunities.

4.2.3.6   Recognition

As part of that growth, beneficiaries are provided opportunities to be recognised by external parties and be front-facing as they participate in exhibitions or other opportunities that come up. Local television has interviewed some of the beneficiaries.

"I used to always dream about participating in exhibitions and we do that with social enterprise L now. I feel I still want to dream and that we can do new things that will benefit the refugee camp as there is talent in the refugee camps not only of embroidery but also crafts and we want people to come to us and see and know" – B3

"Whenever we went on TV (local TV station) she also told us to say the truth" – B4

4.2.4 Negative Effects

Also thematically coded are negative effects that are mentioned by beneficiaries. Table 14 depicts the codes and themes along with the respective causal mechanisms that negative effects relate to.

Themes	Codes
Steep Learning Curve and Heavy Involvement	o Approach is time consuming and hard at first o Beneficiaries may not be able to deliver
Culture	o Approach may cause issues on the home responsibilities front
Conflicting Priorities	o Working for others can put beneficiaries under pressure and cannot meet requirements

Table 14 Social Enterprise L: Negative Effects

Negative effects are unintended consequences or moderating factors that may either reduce the positive effects generated by causal mechanisms or reduce the likelihood of change. For social enterprise L, negative effects revolved around three themes: steep learning curve, cultural norms, and conflicting priorities.

Related to the steep learning curve, this is linked to the beneficiaries' heavier involvement in product design and development. Beneficiaries are not typically involved in product and design with other organisations as they are provided patterns and designs to copy as instructed. This highly involved approach presents a steep learning curve as they become part of the design and planning of products for social enterprise L which impacts their ability to experience these opportunities while balancing against business needs for delivery.

"Yes, in the beginning it [making decisions and recommendations as opposed to copying a design] is hard but then you get used to it ... we need to be quick and cannot take long per piece."– B2

"Working with the director is easy but it involves us thinking and getting involved which not everybody might like." – B3

"[I was] shy and scared [at the beginning] because of the expectations and now it is lovely and easy and enjoyable." – B4

Related to that, and while the social enterprise allows beneficiaries to work for others simultaneously, their heaver involvement causes issues as they

can neither deliver social enterprise L's work nor the work of others resulting in conflicting priorities.

"I work with social enterprise L and another NGO and … and I was under pressure and I was working on a dress and I took too long and the director asked me and I told her. Another beneficiary then came to finish the dress and I was upset" – B4

The other theme is related to the beneficiaries' time being consumed by embroidery for social enterprise L and their heavy involvement, which sometimes causes issues related to their family responsibilities, or it opposes cultural norms, which may restrict the future involvement of women. In fact, there was one issue that was mentioned by the director where one of the women had to stop working for social enterprise L because her close family did not accept the working arrangements. While embroidery itself is not new to spouses and families, it is the time spent and heavier involvement that is.

"I used to teach my son on a daily basis and now that my daughter is in university, I ask her to take care of her brother and teach him because I am busy at work and my girls are good and they feel with me and help and these are the things that come up." – B3

"I was under pressure at some point because I put pressure on myself. Remember I make money and spend it at home and I have students at home and I work with the director and another NGO and we had a few issues at home and I was under pressure and I was working on a dress and I took too long and the director asked me and I told her." – B4

This is also linked to the discomfort expressed in possibly dealing with someone, other than the director, in the future:

"No this is unacceptable because an employee would mean that the business failed. We want to sit with the director and she is our friend and we

tell her our issues and we share with her our news. So if she puts an

employee it is the same as the rest." – B4

This was experienced by the director who had delegated a driver to some administrative aspects, which some beneficiaries did not like due to cultural misalignment.

4.2.5 Non-efficacious Signals

There were two unobservable signals, one was related to not being intentionally signalled by the social enterprise and one was being unobserved by the beneficiaries.

In respect to intentionality, the director of social enterprise L did not mention that the beneficiaries put their signatures on each piece produced which makes them known and no longer anonymous, allowing them to feel more empowered which produces feelings of pride and confidence.

"With social enterprise L, we put our signature on our piece and it gives us

confidence." – B2

"My name is on the piece itself and every idea by the director was about

signing on the piece." – B3

In respect to being unobservable, the social entrepreneur made it clear that using their existing talents reduced barriers to making an income as no additional training was necessary; instead, the director was more interested in how the beneficiaries could use their existing talents to be creative and confident.

"I like it when these women can be productive and creative and her work is

appreciated, and she has confidence in her role as a mother and wife" –

Director

4.3 Social Enterprise P

Year Established	2013
Target Beneficiaries	Women from one of the disadvantaged coastal villages in the Philippines
Profit Generating Sector	Handmade jewellery, scarves and toy accessories/dolls
Geographical Region	Asia - Philippines
Beneficiaries	10 - 14
Number of Employees	None

Table 15 Overview of Social Enterprise P

4.3.1 The Social Enterprise

Social enterprise P is a small for-profit business set up in Tacloban City, Philippines, on the island of Leyte, part of the Visayas group of islands. A developing country in Southeast Asia, the Philippines has been improving its financial and economic stability. Nevertheless, there is a still a high rate of poverty amongst a growing population (IMF Article IV Staff Report and Statement on Philippines, 2017). With uncertainty in the surrounding political and socio-economic environment, the Philippines faces challenges in keeping up the improvement (IMF Article IV Staff Report and Statement on Philippines, 2017). The civil society sector in the Philippines [4] is considered to be the more "vibrant by developing country standards" (Asian Development Bank, 2007, p. 4).

Based on discussions with the beneficiaries, the social enterprise and the translator, and beyond the urbanised cities, poverty is prevalent in rural areas where farming and handicrafts are the norm. Rural areas are often near the sea and are exposed to annual typhoons. The first challenge related to income generation is limited opportunities for income generation in these areas where people often seek to provide opportunities for their children to move to the cities. The other challenge is that if they want to sell their products, the travel time to the nearest city is a couple of hours.

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[4] 3,000 to 5,000 registered civil society groups (Asian Development Bank, 2007).

A native of the same city, the managing partner of the social enterprise is a local jewellery designer who was a volunteer with a large Philippines-based charity active in the coastal villages where beneficiaries reside. Known amongst volunteers and the large Philippines charity as a talented designer who is also dedicated to helping others, the large charity suggested that the managing partner think about starting a small business that could help the disadvantaged in the coastal areas.

While thinking about it, typhoon Haiyan hit the area in November 2013, bringing devastation to most of the coastal villages. In that moment, the managing partner decided to move forward with the idea of a social enterprise. The typhoon was a great motivator because the world, through media, was looking at what could be done and subsequently supporting innovative ideas and initiatives to help those affected by the typhoon.

The managing partner, along with the large Philippines charity, started to spread the word in the village that women can be workers at a new, handicraft-based start-up. Four women initially showed up, eventually growing to 14.

The managing partner had a lot of support from family and friends given that this was their own community. The idea was to provide women from the village, living with post-typhoon disaster, with work opportunities as means to poverty alleviation while caring for various dependents, children, spouses, parents, in-laws and siblings, where their household income is not enough or barely enough for living.

With jewellery as the main product, the social enterprise initially focused on the sale of a special bracelet designed by the managing partner representing the strength of those affected by the typhoon. Subsequently, social enterprise P expanded its product line to include other jewellery items from necklaces and earrings, to scarves and limited toy accessories.

The social enterprise's intended aim is officially to support marginalised workers in Tacloban City, Leyte. Through the making of various fashion

accessories, the social enterprise contracts beneficiaries to make products in line with designs made and provided by the managing partner who then sells the products accordingly.

Designed by the managing partner herself and made by the women of Tacloban City, social enterprise P was initially set up through a crowd funding campaign a week after the typhoon. This money was used to buy materials for the women, i.e. partner-workers, helping the social enterprise become formally established. The managing partner in the Philippines manages social enterprise P and no other employees have been hired, even though the managing partner initially attempted to do so. Hiring others was neither financially sustainable nor were others really interested in pursuing such career opportunities.

The people of Tacloban City are known for handicrafts and handmade products generally selling their handicrafts in Cebu, a nearby (approximately two and a half hours by boat) city on another island quite popular with tourists and foreigners who have settled in the area. The people of Leyte are also known as the people of Waray, which influences product designs.

In addition to directly selling online through the social enterprise's website, products are sold on Facebook and another two small retail outlets in the Philippines which sell on a consignment basis (10% of the sales). Other than that, social enterprise P has not engaged in any other collaborative arrangements, however the managing partner has been approached by two organisations, one that does the same thing with another group of women in a nearby village, and a rehab centre. As social enterprise P is not ready to expand, these potential collaborations, or any others, have not been taken forward.

The interviews took place between 29 November 2016 and 2 December 2016. The average length of the interview with the beneficiaries was 19 minutes. The interview with the managing partner was approximately 45

minutes and a follow-up email was sent to the managing partner to clarify some aspects.

4.3.2 Targeted Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries are women living in a coastal village in Tacloban City, Philippines. Without formal contracts, and although the formal social aim is about helping anyone who needs it, the target beneficiaries are women because they are generally better at learning the desired skill set required to make jewellery, scarves and other quality handmade products.

Partner-workers, i.e. the beneficiaries, have little educational attainment and have little or no formal skills. Most of the women work exclusively for social enterprise P and while they reached 14 beneficiaries (November 2016), they are back to 10 because some moved on to more steady or permanent jobs as employment with social enterprise P is driven by customer orders and business needs which have not been consistent.

All of the women are mothers, and although they live with their spouses and children, they also live with other dependents including parents, in-laws, or siblings. The beneficiary women refer to the work they do with social enterprise P as handicraft work.

Beneficiary 1 (B1) has two children and lives with her parents and husband. Her husband works as a painting contractor, however his income is not enough for the family. She is 25 years old and both her children are under 10 years old. Both parents and in-laws are unwell, so she must find ways to provide for the family over and above that which already comes to the family. She used to work in sales for a small mobile phone shop, but all she does now is work for social enterprise, P. She has been working for the social enterprise for approximately one year.

Beneficiary 2 (B2) is married with five children all under the age of 15 years. She is 32 years old and has been working for social enterprise P for four years. She only works for the social enterprise and has never worked before because she got married at a young age, had children and she was the

only one who could take care of them. Working for social enterprise P is possible only because she can take care of her children and work from home at the same time.

Beneficiary 3 (B3) is college educated, is 21 years old and has one child. They live together with all their family, which total 10 people. Neither of her parents works and whatever income other family members bring in is not enough, so she works to provide at least a rice meal every day for her family. She has been working for the social enterprise for almost three years and works for no one else.

Beneficiary 4 (B4) is 26 years old and has three children. Unfortunately, her partner does not earn enough for the family so she has been working for the social enterprise for approximately two years and this is the first time she has worked in handicrafts. She worked other small jobs before but had to stop when she started having children.

All four beneficiaries have a lot of responsibilities to their households including chores and daily care of their children. They are not sole income generators in their families and are considered supplementary sources of income for their family.

4.3.3   Theoretical Assumptions

Even before the beneficiaries' need for income generation is met, change s triggered from the moment beneficiaries speak to the social entrepreneur as signals of connection are experienced prior to opportunities that enable income generation.

"The managing partner asked me if I would like to work and to make a little money and I decided to work for the managing partner when she was still just a volunteer" – B2

"The Director knew me because before she was a volunteer for the place and for the bad situation of the typhoon and she asked me to work for the

company and we are happy to working for that company because more helping for the family" – B3

The main part of this study is to identify effective signals that social enterprises employ, and beneficiaries perceive, for change to occur. While these signals may be material, symbolic or normative, what is the key is the underlying mechanisms behind these signals that opens up the black box of change. Thematically coded, the causal mechanisms (Table 16) were empirically derived through coding presented in the order of how beneficiaries experience them and take action on them, i.e. effects. Although they are presented in a sequential manner, causal mechanisms and related effects could overlap and repeat before beneficiaries move through the change model.

Codes	Themes	Dimensions
Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(Related effects)*	**Link to Outcome**
o Managing partner is known as an active volunteer and supporter to people in the village	**Leadership and Support**	**Beneficiary Participation**
o Managing partner is directly and visibly involved in the social enterprise	*Feeling of being supported, of value and important.*	
o Managing partner directly recruits and trains beneficiaries on new designs		
o Managing partner arranges pick ups and prepares products for delivery		
o Beneficiaries are provided with the patterns and specifications for products needed	**Enablement**	
o Beneficiaries receive orders and deliver finished products in a convenient and efficient	*These signals support the fulfilment of the immediate beneficiary needs, i.e. income generation.*	

Codes	Themes	Dimensions
Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(Related effects)*	**Link to Outcome**
manner		
o There is a central work centre that beneficiaries go to pick up materials, train or make products together if new		
o Beneficiaries can generate income from the comfort of their homes.		
o Social entrepreneur helps them beyond money.		
o Beneficiaries are trained on new skills related to new products	**Knowledge and Skills** *These signals provide new or expanded skills and knowledge related to the opportunities for income generation.*	**Intervention**
o Beneficiaries are provided contractual opportunities making products specific to the social enterprise	**Opportunities for Income Generation** *These signals fulfil immediate beneficiary needs, i.e. income generation.*	
o Beneficiaries sometimes make jewellery and train together	**Community and Belonging** *These signals open doors to new friendships, relationships and bonds bringing a sense of connectedness and being part of a supportive network.*	**Beneficiary Retention**

Table 16 Social Enterprise P: Detailed Theoretical Assumptions

Evidence supporting uncovered theoretical assumptions are detailed below.

4.3.3.1 Leadership and Support

These signals are related to the characteristics of the managing partner as a point of contact with the beneficiaries. The causal mechanisms of these signals are related to the feelings of connectedness, trust, loyalty and, more importantly for the typhoon victims, a feeling of being supported in life more generally.

"We do not want to ever leave the managing partner because if it is not for her we would not know how to increase our money. The managing partner is coming to us and we are making meetings [in the village] and we talk together... If someone else is coming to ask me [to work] I am willing to work but for both." – B1

"We are so thankful because she [managing partner] is helping us make money ... she is the only one to help after the big typhoon and no one else is able to give us work." – B2

"We are learning more from the managing partner. I would not leave her." – B3

"She knows how to treat us not only for the working but she treats us as a human being. We do not want to leave her and we love her ... Even if someone else provides us with opportunities to make similar handicrafts, we would not do it without telling the managing partner as she taught us this important skill." – B4

One of the signals includes the managing partner being known as an active and loyal volunteer for the community since 2010. The managing partner is from the same city and has community and cultural links.

"Managing partner is a volunteer with the large Philippines charity and she herself asked us if we would like to work with her to make money." – B1

"I decided to work for the managing partner since she was just a volunteer." – B2

Another signal is related to the managing partner's visible engagement and involvement with the beneficiaries and the different parts of the business. From visits to the village sometimes up to four times a month, to the recruitment, training, quality check, pick-up and delivery of finished products, the managing partner is perceived to be committed to the business and to the beneficiaries. Seen as a sign of giving and commitment, this signal triggers opportunities of connectedness, trust and loyalty. This is the second signal of three mentioned by all four beneficiaries.

"The managing partner is the one who is directly teaching us." – B1

"The managing partner is supporting us to work and make a little money. She asked me directly to work with her and she comes to pick up the products I finish." – B2

"The managing partner asked me directly to work for the social enterprise." – B3

"We are always learning from the managing partner who comes often to check on an order and pick it up for delivery." – B4

Social entrepreneur leadership and support is about the supportive opportunities that the managing partner enables for both the beneficiary and their family.

"Happy to work for that company because more help for the family." – B3

The impacts that this signal construct generates come before opportunities for income generation and are seen as "early effects" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 5).

4.3.3.2   Enablement

These signals are related to the social enterprise's deliberate action of enabling beneficiaries to make products in a simple, easy and convenient way.

The first signal includes the training of beneficiaries on an intricate, new skill, namely jewellery making with wire and other uncommon materials. This was one of three signals that all four beneficiaries mentioned.

> *"Making handicrafts is better for us based on the managing partner's teaching of this new skill." – B1*

> *"The best part about working for the managing partner is learning and making of the handicrafts and the bracelet." – B2*

> *"Even if someone else provides us with opportunities to make similar handicrafts, we would not do it without telling the managing partner as she taught us this important skill." – B4*

Within this signal construct is the fact that beneficiaries have patterns, instructions and materials for products. The procedures are clear and easy to follow, as most pieces are repetitive and replicable without which opportunities for income generation would not be possible.

> *"Managing partner gives a pattern and all materials needed." – B2*

> *"If there is someone ordering, we receive a message from the managing partner to make 10 or 20 items [of the same thing we know]." – B3*

These signals uncover causal mechanisms related to how orders are received and finished products delivered allowing beneficiaries to raise and care for their children at the same time without additional pressure or stress.

"Because we are in the home and this is good for us and easy because we have children, mostly we are working at home." – B2

Part of this signal construct is related to meetings taking place in a central location whether for training or for making some products, especially new ones, together. This was a signal that all four beneficiaries agreed on as it provides opportunities for impact related to income generation as one of their barriers is the inability to travel far from the village (especially alone) while leaving her family behind.

"We go to meetings and make [pieces] together sometimes but we also make mostly at home alone." – B1

"We have a meeting place for making." – B2

"We have workshops where we all sit together and make together in the village." – B3

"We have a meeting in the meeting place and sometimes we go there and make it together." – B4

This central location is provided by the large Philippines charity, the same charity that inspired the idea of the social enterprise. Materials are often delivered in those meetings, discussing with beneficiaries the products to be made. This helps clarify understanding amongst beneficiaries and ensures they understand things in the same manner and makes it easy for them to understand what needs to be done.

"There is training ... with the managing partner who is teaching us in a meeting [in the village]." – B1

"We have a meeting in the meeting place [in the village]." – B4

The managing partner also takes care of the pickup, packaging and delivery of the final product.

"Managing partner usually comes to pick up the finished products or lets another person like her husband or others pick them up." – B2

"We deliver an order for pick up by the managing partner." – B4

The impacts that this signal construct generates come even before opportunities for income generation are provided and are seen as "early effects" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 5).

4.3.3.3 Knowledge and Skills

These signals are related to the training that the beneficiaries go through to get ready to work for the social enterprise.

"We go through training that the managing partner provides and teaches us" – B1

"Managing partner teaches us all" – B2

The causal mechanisms of these signals are related to the feelings of confidence towards learning a new skill where some have actually applied it on their own time to make more money even though it was not agreed to with the social entrepreneur.

"One of the women was using the material and making the pieces and selling them herself" – Managing Partner

4.3.3.4 Opportunities for Income Generation

These signals are related to the social enterprise's deliberate activities related to providing beneficiaries with opportunities for income generation through contracting, having been trained on an intricate, new skill, namely jewellery making with wire and other uncommon materials.

"This is the kind of job that helps us more because my husband is working but not enough for the family ... while making only from home ... making

handicrafts is better for us based on the managing partner's teaching of this
new skill." – B1

"The best part about working for the managing partner is learning and
making the handicrafts and the bracelet ... more helpful for us to make
handicrafts to help us buy food and everything ... and making in the home is
good for me and easy." – B2

"Earning money for food to buy 60 kg of rice for the family." – B3

"Husband is not earning enough money for the family. We need money ...
we can take care of kids also." – B4

It was clear from the interviews that the beneficiaries' initial interest in working with the social enterprise stems primarily from their immediate needs and while this would not normally be considered distinctive compared to other charity and commercial businesses, it is in this case as no other charity, business or social enterprise, provides comparable opportunities.

"The managing partner is the only one to help after the big typhoon and no
one else is able to give us work." – B2

"I want to work for more than one or two, like that ... but I can't find
somebody with a good opportunity or I will grab it. The managing partner
helps us and teaches us." – B4

4.3.3.5 Community and Belonging

These signals are related to the social enterprise's deliberate action to bring the beneficiaries together and strengthen the community beyond the initial objectives of the social enterprise. These signals uncover opportunities beyond money and income to new friendships, relationships and bonds that give the beneficiaries a sense of support.

"I know everyone working for the managing partner" – B1

"Yeah she knows everybody working because they are only 1 village"– B3

Related to that is that the beneficiaries work and train together, not only to make sure they have a consistent understanding but also to bring them together.

"We all go to meetings and make together even if we also make at home alone" – B1

"We all sit together and make together in the village" – B3

"We have a meeting place and sometimes we go there and make it together" – B4

4.3.4 Negative Effects

Also thematically coded are negative effects that are mentioned by beneficiaries. Table 17 depicts the codes and themes along with the respective causal mechanisms that negative effects relate to.

Themes	Codes
Steep Learning Curve	o Not all products are easy to make
Culture	o Sometimes some workers are not present at meetings
	o Spouses may not feel happy about heir heavy involvement
Inconsistent Orders	o Product orders are not consistent or steady
	o Workers may separately go and sell products elsewhere or work elsewhere

Table 17 Social Enterprise P: Negative Effects

Negative effects are unintended consequences or moderating factors that may either reduce the positive effects generated by causal mechanisms or reduce the likelihood of change. For social enterprise P, negative effects revolved around three themes: steep learning curve and extensive involvement, and cultural norms.

Related to the steep learning curve, not all product designs are easy to make, especially as designs keep changing, beneficiaries have difficulty and face stress when trying to master them, especially when they run out of material because they re-do the pieces.

"For the making of the bracelets is sometimes very difficult." – B1

"If the pieces made are not good, the managing partner rejects them and asks me to do it again because sometimes it is very easy and sometimes it is very hard." – B2

"It is difficult. If the managing partner brings another design and then again a different one, it brings stress to us. It is not easy to do them." – B4

Related to this, the time involved in making the products or in attending meetings for training or understanding of new design patterns is significant for the beneficiaries. More involvement, effort and meetings to make products, similar to not being able to attend events and festivals where products are sold, are seen to compete with the beneficiaries' time with their families, especially when no other type of child care support exists, which is a cultural norm and expectation.

"Sometimes they [spouses] get angry that they [beneficiaries] spend more time on products and in having to attend meetings." – Managing Partner

"There are like two spouses [when working with social enterprise P] especially as women spend more time in making products and attending meetings." – Managing Partner

"If we have a fair bazaar, I tell them to go and talk to the people but some of them are not willing to because they are shy or the children they have to leave, some of them do not want to go." – Managing Partner

Despite the steep learning curve and cultural challenges, the final consequence is related to income and inconsistent product orders. Beneficiaries sometimes seek other mainstream work opportunities, which are often not available.

"We want regular working for that job and not stopping." – B2

"If you make more money, you need to make more but if you are not making more [no orders] not too much money is coming in." – B3

"Not too many people know a lot about social enterprise P but if more and more people know about it, maybe more orders ... and more money." – B4

"Actually they look for mainstream, usual, jobs that they get with their qualifications like house help ... they think it would be easier for them if they looked for other jobs." - Managing Partner

Some may even resort to using the materials, designs and training provided by the social enterprise to sell products on their own at a much lower price, without going through the managing partner.

"One of the women was using the material and making the pieces and selling them herself and even selling the metal and not necessarily the same product, at a price way below its buying price." – Managing Partner

4.3.5 Non-efficacious Signals

There were several unobservable signals, one was related to not being intentionally signalled by the social enterprise and six were being unobserved by the beneficiaries.

In respect to intentionality, the managing partner of social enterprise P did not explicitly state that she treats the beneficiaries with respect and kindness on purpose but that may be related to the social entrepreneur being

inherently kind and humble; all four beneficiaries vouched for the same thing.

"She knows how treat them not only for the working but she treats them as a human being" – B4

In respect to being unobservable, they could be tied into the negative effects related to lack of consistent orders where they did not recognise getting paid prior to items being sold and being given chances to continue with the social enterprise despite them not being able to deliver at the quality expected. Even in terms of where more senior members mentor the newer ones, and attending events where products are sold, these could be related to cultural elements as depicted in the negative effects.

"If we have a fair or bazaar, I tell them to go and talk to the people but some of them are not willing to because they are shy or the children they have to leave, some of them don't want to go" – Managing Partner

Finally, related to the overall context and lack of income generation opportunities, working for more than one enterprise is not something that the beneficiaries noted.

4.4 Social Enterprise C

Year Established	2009
Target Beneficiaries	Immigrant and refugee women in a metropolitan area in Canada
Profit Generating Sector	Interpretation and Translation Services
Geographical Region	North America - Canada
Beneficiaries	250
Number of Employees	5

Table 18 Overview of Social Enterprise C

4.4.1 The Social Enterprise

Social enterprise C is a non-profit business set up in a metropolitan area in Canada. A developed country in North America, Canada has a stable

economy. Canada has been supported by a pre-emptive growth strategy with strong domestic consumption driven by both local demand and immigrant growth. Investment has been weak, housing bubbles continue, and non-energy exports decreased despite a more positive global outlook. Economic risks loom for Canada due to the threat of protectionism (IMF Article IV Staff Report and Statement on Canada, 2017). The civil society sector in Canada[5] is considered to be one of the largest in the world (Hall, 2005).

Despite targeting educated, high-skilled immigrants with English or French fluency, for employment in Canada, one must show Canadian experience which is the biggest barrier to overcome to obtain not only a first job but also subsequent jobs and to avoid poverty in the long-run. While some immigrants work in low-skilled permanent or temporary jobs to overcome this, there are other middle options that leverage immigrants' skill sets even if slightly different from their core education, such as the case in social enterprise C.

The history of social enterprise C goes back 30 years, the charity trained select immigrant and refugee women in language interpretation. This was done to support their own beneficiaries. Focused only on serving the charity, interpreters were limited both in terms of engagement and income. As a result, the charity encouraged interpreters to set up businesses on the side for extra income. Having joined the charity as an interpreter in 2002, the director of social enterprise C worked with other interpreters to formally establish social enterprise C. Established in 2009, social enterprise C created a fee-for-service interpretation offering that serves clients who provide services to beneficiaries of the charity. In addition, social enterprise C opened its offering to other clients in any industry who sought interpreter services.

Social enterprise C formally aims to provide training and employment for immigrant and refugee women, i.e. the beneficiaries, in a metropolitan area

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5 Estimated at 161,000 third sector organisations in Canada (Hall, 2005)

in Canada. As a result, beneficiaries become certified, professional interpreters with a key speciality in anti-oppression and anti-racism as means to poverty alleviation.

Beneficiaries have, at a minimum, a high school diploma with a minimum grade 6 proficiency in English as well as proficiency in their own language. The application and training process takes approximately six months and includes language tests to validate their respective language proficiencies. Paid for by the beneficiaries, the subsidised six-week training covers not only the skills and competencies related to interpretation itself, which includes anti-racism and anti-oppression training, but also the soft skills needed to be confident and be able to take care of oneself as interpreters deal with highly sensitive, and sometimes disturbing, confidential matters that they cannot share with others.

While social enterprise C initially started providing training opportunities twice per year for approximately 15 participants, in 2013 it started to provide training once per year in line with revenue growth and specific language needs. Social enterprise C currently works with over 300 interpreters and has introduced translation services, remote video interpretation, and on the spot interpretation services through an interpretation network. The network provides partner interpreter agencies with exclusive shifts to accommodate requests for interpretation services, on-demand and within one minute of the request, to some of the biggest hospitals in a metropolitan area in Canada. In 2016, social enterprise C launched deaf interpretation through video where a deaf interpreter is trained to communicate in universal gestural language to a deaf person who does not know American Sign Language (ASL).

Training is designed and provided specifically to social enterprise C through prominent external providers of interpretation training who have designed training for Provincial colleges. The trainers have worked with charities and social enterprise C for a long time and trainers know how to work with

beneficiaries and they continue to improve the training as the system in Canada evolves.

While social enterprise C was initially supported by the charity at set up, in its aim to become self-sustaining, social enterprise C subsequently obtained a grant currently supporting 18 social enterprises in a metropolitan area in Canada. Besides the grant, social enterprise C generates revenues through services provided to beneficiaries of the charity, which are generally paid for by the Ministry of Citizenship, interpreter services provided to others, and from subsidised training fees that are paid for by beneficiaries or a provincial programme supporting those in financial need. Although associated with the charity, social enterprise C is an independent social enterprise in which revenues are used to subsidise the extensive training programme.

Social enterprise C has, including the director, three full-time employees who had previously been working with the charity, and one part-time contractor dealing with marketing, social media and the launch of the deaf interpretation initiative. Although it is evident that they are very busy as they handle a large number of beneficiaries, social enterprise C is working towards becoming self-sufficient to reduce reliance on grants.

Before immigrating to Canada, employee 2 (E2) had worked for an agency providing interpretation, simultaneous interpretation and translation services. After 14 years working for the charity, it seemed like a good move to join social enterprise C. E2 administers all aspects of the funded programme, i.e. services provided to beneficiaries of the charity and funded by the Ministry of Citizenship. E2 also takes care of coordinating requests for conference support and other large interpreter requirements.

After spending two years helping the charity on their accounts payable for interpreters, E1 joined social enterprise C in 2014. Supporting E2, E1 coordinates all interpreter service requests including payment and interpreter feedback.

A part-time contractor, E3 started as a volunteer with the charity and then in 2015 started working for social enterprise C for 30 hours per week, primarily to implement and launch the deaf interpretation along with some content management and marketing; E3's contract was expected to end at the end of 2016.

The interviews took place between 4 November 2016 and 7 November 2016. The average length of the interview with the beneficiaries was 17 minutes. The interview with the director was approximately 60 minutes and the interviews with the employees and contractor averaged 34 minutes. No follow-up interviews were required, however a follow-up email was sent to the director.

4.4.2 Targeted Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries are immigrant and refugee women living in a metropolitan area in Canada. Fluent in their heritage language from their home countries, beneficiaries have at least a grade 6 level of English and a high school diploma, with preference given to those with at least two years of post-secondary education or a college or university degree. In the case of deaf interpreters, women are proficient in their own home country's sign language along with American Sign Language.

Although not specifically targeted, some of the beneficiaries have been supported by the charity and have been helped by other interpreters. Victims are often single mothers, immigrants and refugees with child dependents. Given the nature of the service, they would need to wait at least two years after receiving services from the charity before applying for the training and they would not be able to provide services to clients within the charity, given the history involved.

Other interpreters may be married, with or without children, have a spouse or another source of household income. They seek to better their lives by

becoming more independent financially and seek a career or employment in Canada.[6]

Beneficiary 1 (B1) heard about the training and social enterprise C through a poster at the hospital she was volunteering in. She sent in her CV to social enterprise C and got a call from one of the employees who provided her with information on how to apply and what working with social enterprise C entailed. She started working for social enterprise C and took the training in 2012. B1 works for others as well as social enterprise C. She immigrated to Canada in 2010.

Beneficiary 2 (B2) holds a bachelor of law degree from her home country and took the training in 1999 and started providing face-to-face interpretation when social enterprise C was still part of the charity. B2 is busy with assignments from social enterprise C as she is assigned around 30 hours of interpretation, split between face-to-face (20 hours) and over the phone (10 hours) services. She only works for social enterprise C and she herself benefitted from the charity, having spent one year in a shelter. She does not have children and while she was in the shelter, her counsellor saw how victims needed professional interpretation and suggested she apply for the training at social enterprise C.

Beneficiary 3 (B3) was also recruited from a women's shelter and has been an interpreter since 2011. She has a bachelor of economics degree from her home country and she immigrated to Canada in 1996. Due to family circumstances and a fall-out with family who had initially provided her with a job, she spent five months in a shelter in 2009 as she become unemployed and was caring for a baby. Wanting to turn her life around, she took courses in English after her child was born and eventually joined social enterprise C.

Beneficiary 4 (B4) came to Canada in 2011. Married with two children, this beneficiary used to work for global aid organisations and assisted the central government in her home country on various technical areas including

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[6] Although immigrant and refugee women are the targets, there are some male interpreters given that there are instances, although very few, when requests are made for male interpreters.

training. This beneficiary came to Canada with her own family not knowing any other families or friends in Canada. Feeling lost and unable to handle the pressure of adjustment, along with seeking opportunities to generate additional income to support her children, the beneficiary did her own research and came across the interpreter training at social enterprise C and she applied accordingly.

4.4.3 Theoretical Assumptions

Even before the beneficiaries' need for income generation is met, change is triggered the moment beneficiaries meet the social entrepreneur as signals of connection are experienced prior to opportunities that enable income generation. Social enterprise C uses public calls for recruitment on their website but they also target beneficiaries in specific areas linked to the underlying social cause that they serve, secondary to the social mission.

"I was at a hospital by coincidence and I saw a poster hiring interpreters and I was not working at the time and I needed a job." – B1

"Basically I am also a [beneficiary of the charity] and I spent one year in a shelter myself and that is how I get involved with [social enterprise C] with my counsellor at that time ... so they give me the opportunity to get the course and actually offer a price for me I can pay and [start a career and work]." – B2

"I was recruited from women shelter" – B3

"So I was googling and one day I found BS online and I saw the interpretation services they were providing and I thought this is good for me because I know both languages so I can do something so I called the social enterprise and they called me for the training program and I attended" – B4

The main part of this study is to identify effective signals that social enterprises employ, and beneficiaries perceive, for change to occur. While

these signals may be material, symbolic or normative, what is the key is the underlying mechanisms behind these signals that opens up the black box of change. Thematically coded, the causal mechanisms (Table 19) were empirically derived through coding presented in the order of how beneficiaries experience them and take action on them, i.e. effects. Although they are presented in a sequential manner, causal mechanisms and related effects could overlap and repeat before beneficiaries move through the change model.

Codes	*Themes*	*Dimensions*
Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(related effects)*	**Link to Outcome**
o The team is known to all beneficiaries and is are accessible in person, by phone or email	**Leadership and Support** *These signals enable opportunities related to feelings of being supported and cared for both at personal and professional levels and not feeling alone.*	**Beneficiary Participations**
o The team is always following up and in touch with beneficiaries especially those they do not hear from often		
o The team supports women in many different ways beyond training and income opportunities		
o Complaints are dealt with quickly and justly		
o Working with social enterprise C is flexible and beneficiaries can decide what kind of schedule to keep by being able to decline assignments	**Enablement** *These signals support the fulfilment of immediate beneficiary needs.*	
o Coordinator provides interpreters with everything they need		

	Codes	Themes	Dimensions
	Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(related effects)*	**Link to Outcome**

Signals	Causal Mechanisms (related effects)	Link to Outcome
and are easy to receive		
○ Through the charity, the social enterprise supports women in babysitting or any other needs		
○ Highly professional, affordable, training and certification	**Knowledge and Skills** *These signals provide new or expanded skills and knowledge related to the opportunities for income generation.*	**Intervention**
○ One of the best training provided in the market		
○ Beneficiaries are allowed to pursue other opportunities	**Opportunities for Income Generation** *These signals are directly linked to outputs linked to the social aim of income generation.*	
○ Beneficiaries are provided with contractual opportunities for income generation		
○ Assignments are not limited to the underlying community cause		
○ Beneficiaries meet with customers and clients who may be future full-time employers		
○ Social enterprise is strongly associated with a large charity organisation with an overarching cause beyond poverty alleviation	**Community and Belonging** *These signals provide on-going opportunities for women to help other women, both immigrants from their home country and women in*	**Beneficiary Retention**

	Codes	Themes	Dimensions
	Signals	**Causal Mechanisms** *(related effects)*	**Link to Outcome**
o	Beneficiaries connect through meetings, training and events	*the Canadian community at large with feelings of pride and belonging to the social enterprise.*	
o	Beneficiaries get opportunities to attend meetings with funders to share with them their success stories	**Recognition** *These signals provide feelings of importance and accountability towards the social entrepreneur and public.*	

Table 19 Social Enterprise C: Mechanisms and Effects

Evidence supporting uncovered theoretical assumptions are detailed below.

4.4.3.1 Leadership and Support

When it comes to leadership and support, the social enterprise provides support beyond simply a formal relationship of employer and employee. Social enterprise C focuses on helping beneficiaries beyond training and income and in any way possible and necessary to be the best interpreters possible and continue to benefit from their certification. Social enterprise C team's accessibility and support at all times to beneficiaries, even when beneficiaries are no longer involved with social enterprise C, is efficacious especially when beneficiaries were also beneficiaries of the charity and have been supported by social enterprise C from an interpretation perspective.

"I think I would stay because here I know people and have good relationships and co-workers [social enterprise C team] are very pleasant atmosphere, why would I change for exactly the same where I do not know what to expect, I am very conservative. Yes they are my second family because whenever I come, I am very welcome and they are helpful and they know my background." – B3

The other signal is related to how social enterprise C approaches complaints from clients in respect to interpreters. Where some issues can be from the interpreter, social enterprise C works with both clients and interpreters to understand the nature of the complaint and works towards improvement and not blame. They ask clients to provide complaints in writing via email and interpreters to come into their offices to discuss the issue brought up by a client. This provides beneficiaries with feelings of trust, accountability and empowerment. In fact, interpreters have been exposed to such cases and have found social enterprise C to be supportive and fair, and that empowers them.

"I could not take the stairs [for health reasons] and one service provider[7] complained I was lazy and would not take stairs, but social enterprise C is always helpful and supportive." – B3

"One time I was dismissed from the assignment because I mistakenly did not abide by the client's requirements on dress ... I follow those requirements whenever I go to interpretation assignments ... but one time I made a mistake and I was dismissed from the assignment ... and so I excused myself and I informed [the large charity organisation] about that experience and I did not let it affect me because I know that it was a mistake ... they did not say anything because I told them I knew what the practice was and I made a mistake." – B4

The first signal of leadership and support stems from the social enterprise C team itself: availability, accessibility and follow-up. Whether through telephone, email or in person, social enterprise C is committed to open communication and is known by all beneficiaries and also knows the all beneficiaries. Social enterprise C checks on beneficiaries whenever they are running behind or not performing as well as expected. The team takes the initiative to phone or email the beneficiaries to identify any issues and works with them to see how they can resolve them. The team is also open to

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[7] Another term for client.

feedback on improvement from interpreters, be it to help them gain more assignments or providing more supportive arrangements. All four beneficiaries interviewed mentioned this signal.

"I received a translation document for [my language] and it was translated by another interpreter (who says they are able to work with the same language and I talked to the team at the charity and I told them that it is true that my language and the other one share the same root but if you want to be engaged with victims you need to give them a similar heritage interpreter; they need a local. They [social enterprise C] were happy with my feedback and I went through the document and fixed it." – B4

"I am a freelance contractor and things are always confidential and when I have a problem I do not have anyone to talk to and I can always talk to the charity." – B1

"My co-workers [social enterprise C team] and I have a close relationship because we have to always keep in contact because there is always something new or some feedback and we are always engaging especially with the person who coordinates efforts, so I get in touch." – B2

"I am free to call social enterprise C anytime to ask how is my record and where I am standing and they are happy to tell me if I am ok or if they have any comments and they are free to discuss with me too." – B3

Another signal, which was also mentioned by the four beneficiaries, is related to social enterprise C providing the interpreters with the necessary information required to do their assignments in an easy, timely and clear manner to support them in their roles. Supported by a software application that makes the coordination of assignments easy, interpreters are rated based on their uptake of assignments and who gets called first is based on that rating, although social enterprise C asks interpreters to call them if it is a matter of specific availability so they can provide them with interpretation assignments and opportunities.

"Mostly on the phone that is I how I get assignments and that is how it used to be but they now introduced a system … and I do it online and check it online." – B1

"Oh no, no, we are very precise and we get everything. We get all the information we need as we have a coordinator and they get us any information we need over the phone. The coordinator gives us all the information that is needed in order for us to do the assignment, they have some kind of form so when we have an assignment we already know everything." – B2

"I receive all information usually over the phone, sometimes it is email, depends on the information but most likely it is a phone call and I am available on this day and time and after they send me information by email." – B3

"In the past they used to call us and give us all the information but right now they have a [software] system and in that system they put in all the information. But I think some interpreters might not be familiar with the system or trying to learn so we also receive calls to confirm the assignments but we have a username and password and we log in and we see all the details." – B4

The third signal of leadership and support is how social enterprise C supports beneficiaries in many different ways beyond training, learning opportunities and employment. Whether it is to make it easier to attend training, or subsidising the cost of the training, the nature of the training itself uncovers underlying issues that beneficiaries may not have known about or recognised as an issue before. Social enterprise C's association with the large charity organisation then provides these beneficiaries with the support needed, as counsellors are on hand to help them. Their support also is about working with beneficiaries to figure out issues that may make it more difficult to be successful in their roles as interpreters. Social enterprise

C also provides opportunities for beneficiaries to enhance their mental and physical health through interesting sessions in yoga and other self-care events.

> *"Yes, they are my second family because whenever I come I am very welcome and they are helpful and they know my background." – B3*

> *"I know the charity is not only helping me but helping every women taking this programme ... Somehow they were helping financially or babysitting for example and some women brought their children and the charity provided babysitting while they were attending the programme and I was really impressed by that and how these women were receiving help. I witnessed that some of the problems they had were unreasonable expectations from the charity despite the charity helping them so much." – B4*

As a result of this support, beneficiaries rarely leave social enterprise C unless they find other opportunities. In fact, beneficiaries are generally very supportive and attend fundraising events as they are proud of the organisation and what they do. They like sharing their success stories with others especially when requested for fundraisers that they attend.

> *"Oh yes, I am very active in the fundraiser because my story is great and I am really, before I get into this course but now ... it is really a blessing. It is great and I get to meet great women in a good place and help each other and we benefit from the [fundraiser]." – B2*

> *"I try to participate in all events and annual meetings and silent auctions we have, I love [social enterprise C] very much." – B3*

Although social enterprise C screens beneficiaries carefully from the information session to the application form and interview, there are cases when beneficiaries may not perform as well as expected. Related to this, one of the signals that was intended but not mentioned by the beneficiaries is that social enterprise C provides beneficiaries many chances to continue

unless something significant happens, primarily around issues of confidentiality. From the software application to the support provided by the social enterprise C team, beneficiaries are seldom given the impression that they are not important or required; instead, they work to understand the root cause and find ways around issues unless the beneficiaries themselves are no longer interested. Even in the case of breaching confidentiality, social enterprise C does not deal aggressively with the beneficiaries.

"If it is an issue of confidentiality, we normally do not call that person again and that is how they drop off from our list. But I have to tell you, it is not usually those we train ... we recruit from other agencies, we recruit interpreters that speak languages we may not have on our roster. The quality control tells us that the ones we recruit from other agencies are the ones that put us in trouble like 80% of the time." – Director

The beneficiaries are aware of social enterprise C's association with organisations such as the United Way and the Ministry of Citizenship. Both enable the subsidising of training and related language tests to beneficiaries and are seen to be part of the beneficiaries' success story.

"I sent my resume to [director] actually and then I got a call back and I went for the interview and then I was requested to take a language test that is funded by Ministry of Immigration." – B1

"Oh yes, I am very active in the United Way because my story is great and I am really, before I get into this course, but now when you see United Way everything I think it is really a blessing." – B2

The impacts that this signal construct generates come before opportunities for income generation are provided and are seen as "early effects" (Nedeva et al., 2012, p. 5).

4.4.3.2 Enablement

These signals are related to the social enterprise's deliberate action on providing opportunities help fulfil beneficiary needs of income generation and Canadian work experience.

Key to beneficiary needs is being able to work in a convenient manner. Social enterprise C does that by providing many different ways to work – phone, face-to-face, video interpretation and translation services. Social enterprise C also uses a software application to communicate assignments to beneficiaries without the need for them always to call into social enterprise C, and it gives beneficiaries the freedom to decline assignments. Declining assignments affects their rating as interpreters – as the more assignments beneficiaries accept, the higher their rating – but it is up to the beneficiaries to decide on the schedule they would like to keep.

"I arrived here and I could not find any kind of job and we had a small family business ... but in 2006, I became unemployed totally with no income... and I needed something flexible so I can fill my own schedule and work around my son's schedule and give me flexibility." – B3

"When I came to Canada in 2011 with two children and no family here and I did not know the system and did not know anybody here, it was really hard, I felt lost and I did not know how to find myself ... and I know my children were growing up and I needed direction to find something that would help me. If I do not have income I can't pay for the extra expenses and at least I can pay for my own expenses [now] and if I take my children out I can pay something ... and I knew I could not commit to a full time job." – B4

In addition to opportunities related to becoming professional interpreters for income generation through social enterprise C and beyond, these signals also provide feelings of confidence related to the strength of the training programme that not only provides them with technical knowledge but also

soft skills to help them deal with people, their family members and in understanding and dealing with the system in Canada.

"When they first see me I can see they are not that confident and after the training you see the confidence is there and sometimes it shows even in the physical appearance especially when I see them like after they are doing the interpretation and they come here and they did it you can see they have a new haircut or how they present themselves, it is really, really different than when I saw them the first time." – E1

"It helps me deal with my teenager because I got trained about drugs and lots of stuff so I do understand much better than my other two kids before social enterprise C." – B3

Although three out of the four beneficiaries mentioned the signal of training, the beneficiary who did not mention it was the only one out of the four who had done the training in the years prior to social enterprise C and through the large charity organisation, approximately 18 years before. The three other beneficiaries signed up for the training directly with social enterprise C, after 2010.

Although trained specifically in social issues of concern to the charity, social enterprise C offers interpretation services to clients from other industries and sectors in order to support revenue growth and hence training and employment of beneficiaries. In addition to interpretation, social enterprise C also offers assignments ranging from translation and video, telephone, on-demand, and simultaneous interpretation services at client sites or in conferences, so social enterprise C works hard to keep their beneficiaries busy with new income opportunities.

"Assignments are general interpretation and translation assignments not specified on women's issues." – B1

"Yes, [the assignments] can be anything although I do not go for very specific like medical interpretation ... but I have gone for psychological assistance and assignments and do not need medical terms for those." – B4

Even when beneficiaries register to work for others in parallel with social enterprise C, now that the beneficiaries have the necessary certification and Canadian experience, not all agencies call or assign the interpreters jobs. Some beneficiaries end up finding full-time jobs and also provide interpretation services with social enterprise C in the evenings, for example for languages that are not always in demand but require interpretation anyway. All four beneficiaries mentioned this signal.

"Yes I do [work for others] because it's all about connection as a freelancer so I am not just an independent contractor in agencies, I [also] get work from someone who knows me." – B1

"I would like to work for others [as well] and other full-time job but I am very busy right now and I can say I am a full-time worker in the interpreter services." – B2

"Just social enterprise C because I am really busy with family court [for myself] because family court is a full-time job in Canada to manage everything and teenage son too .... I do register with another agency but they do not give calls. They do not call me." – B3

"In field of interpretation it is very hard to find a full-time or part-time job, there is no such thing as far as I know and I did my research and only part time employment in the court system but that is very hard to get in and to have something stable like full-time or part-time, but what I did I started getting other agencies who give same service and I contact them and I send them my CV and my certificate and they were happy to sign a contract with me." – B4

4.4.3.3 Knowledge and Skills

As a means to becoming self-employed contractors, the first signal is related to the provision of affordable quality interpreter training that takes into account the beneficiaries themselves, their backgrounds, and needed skills without which an income generation opportunity would not be possible. This professional, affordable, quality training and certification which is considered on par with the quality of interpreter training in the college system, opens income generation and employment opportunities for beneficiaries within social enterprise C and elsewhere.

"We have very strong core values and a very strong philosophy of who we are so that our niche for clients and not to go to profit organisation and there are a lot organisations which stay, our clients come to us and do not go to other profit organisation and we want to make a difference and we work with agencies who are charity and our prices are affordable and if they can't pay the prices we have on the market then we are flexible as well ... we want to help clients." – E2

"Other agencies, they were happy to hire me because they sign contracts with all interpreters but it does not mean you will get a job or more assignments. In some of them I went in for interviews and they [good agencies] are doing a great job out there and they are following this recruitment process to give CVs and interviewing you because others do not do it and when I went for the interview and told them about the programme ... they appreciated all of it because I got certified from the charity." – B4

The training provided by social enterprise C is considered one of the oldest and best interpreter training programmes outside the Provincial college system. Training is designed and delivered by independent trainers who have been with social enterprise C and the charity and who have also designed interpreter training for some colleges in The province. The training is well-rounded as it equips beneficiaries with anti-racism and anti-oppression training as they are considered central to the services provided

by social enterprise C and are a key differentiator for interpreters trained by social enterprise C. The training also includes a practical component where beneficiaries go on actual assignments and a life skills component to balance negative effects on beneficiaries due to the challenging cases that beneficiaries are exposed to. Preceded by information sessions, interviews and language tests, and concluded by an assessment, the training provides beneficiaries with a competitive advantage over other interpreters in the area and plays a significant role in revenue generation in social enterprise C which also provides Canadian employment opportunities.

In addition to the quality of the training, the affordability is key to beneficiaries who do not usually have the means to pay for training and certification, which is very expensive at a provincial college. Subsidised by social enterprise C and with revenues generated from training and interpreter services, the cost is either affordable for beneficiaries or flexible payment arrangements can be made (even if repayment is as low as $25 per month).

"The training was 140 hours which was 5 weekends so the schedule worked well and there were two facilitators, very professional and knowledgeable. I have no complains about them and they were very good and very resourceful ... When I listen to the radio and since I am trained, I know the terminology and legal terminology and I understand more and that is a big benefit for me ... I am now aware of the issues that I deal with like social issues and women's issues." – B1

"(The most important benefit) is the training ... I got a real understanding of the processes. Before I was so confused and totally fed up and could not understand what was going on and why [in my case] as it is full training ... which I need for myself and they treat us very well ... I got an understanding of the system in Canada and where we live and how to deal with the system and how to help other women." – B3

"The training is not only classroom based but also we had to go to court and we had to go to domestic violence court and receive presentations, and, I do not remember, but it was a sexual assault organisation and giving us presentations about human trafficking and sexual assault so it was really good ... If you do not have that training it is hard to get an assignment as an interpreter so those agencies if I was going to training programmes [at Provincial colleges] it will cost me a lot of money ... I got a lot of knowledge about the system in Canada." – B4

4.4.3.4 Opportunities for Income Generation

These signals are related to the social enterprise's activities providing beneficiaries with opportunities for income generation through contracting, thus overcoming the barrier of no Canadian experience.

"Most [immigrants and refugees] are asked for Canadian experience. So, most immigrants are disadvantaged in that case because even when they have credentials, doctors, teachers and judges in their own countries, they come here and all that is not really recognised. So, what kind of work do they find? A lot of them are in coffee shops and taxi drivers and some are cleaners and domestic workers." – Director

"When they come to Canada they are very limited in terms of who or whom they can work with because of companies asking for Canadian experience and they are very qualified women with lots of education but they need jobs and they need to feed their families." – E2

Another aspect of income generation is related to how the social enterprise tries to diversify its service to provide greater opportunities for the beneficiaries who are seeking assignments related to the community cause, as well as beyond.

"It is just a general interpretation and translating not specified on women's issues" – B1

"but it can be anything M: Yes that is correct" – B4

"It can be anybody so for who needs interpreter and just now I have one client they are visiting from China and they need a Mandarin interpretation so these kind of things we also provide them with an interpreter" – E1

Another aspect is related to the flexibility that social enterprise C allows their beneficiaries to work for others while working for social enterprise C.

"Yes I do ummm it's all about connection as a freelancer so I am not independent contractor in agencies and I get work from someone who knows me and that is how I get work. Yes I work for other people too" – B1

"Just the social enterprise because I am really busy with family court because family court is full time job in Canada to manage everything but teenage son to ... I do register with another agency but they don't give calls. They don't call me." – B3

"I started getting other agencies" – B4

Related to that, the beneficiaries sometimes meet their full-time employers through social enterprise C.

"Yes we don't and I think sometimes that is why they got their full time jobs because when we send them to other assignments and sometimes they see something there and think they can apply to this position" – E1

"Face to face interpreter for different locations, lawyer appointments or doctor appointments or medical appointments and services victims of domestic violence needs and any services that need for support I serve as an interpreter for her and for any person of victim of domestic violence" – B2

4.4.3.5   Community and Belonging

These signals are related to the social enterprise's deliberate action on bringing the beneficiaries together and creating a sense of community where individuals share common values. While this construct includes a few signals, it is the association with the large charity organisation that was distinctive.

"I know the charity is not only helping me but helping every woman taking this programme ... Somehow they were helping financially or babysitting for example and some women brought their children and the charity provided babysitting while they were attending the programme and I was really impressed by that and how these women were receiving help." – B4

The large charity organisation is dedicated to a women's specific social cause, i.e. domestic violence. This makes the beneficiaries feel like they are not only making an income and starting a career in Canada, but that they are helping the wider Canadian community and more specifically, helping other women and being their voice.

Interestingly, in the interviews beneficiaries referred to social enterprise C as the charity because the line between both is thin, be it operational or reputational. While this may be attributed to the charity's role in the establishment of social enterprise C, three of the four beneficiaries were recruited after the establishment of social enterprise C. While it may also be attributed to the fact that some beneficiaries were also beneficiaries of the charity itself, it is the common and shared values that underlie this role and social enterprise C is proud to highlight the relationship as such.

"It is an opportunity for me to help society and help others. I am always there [supporting social enterprise C] because for me it is very important to end the circle of poverty and focus on social justice." – B2

"Social enterprise C and they are great and I am so happy I can help other women to be their voice in similar situation that I survived ... I love [social

enterprise C] very much ... and very proud of the organisation for women.”

– B3

“I come from a culture that is male dominated and women experience a lot of [issues] so what the charity is doing is really helping these women and these women in my country cannot raise their voice or speak up and have to accept everything, but here it gave me pleasure to see women fighting for their rights and I have a connection with them and the cultural background, that is why the charity is so special to me ... It is about helping women who are experiencing [issues] ... through that, I can help my community here in Canada.” – B4

4.4.3.6   Recognition

As part of that growth, beneficiaries are provided opportunities to be recognised by external parties and be front-facing as they participate in exhibitions or other opportunities that come up. Local television has interviewed some of the beneficiaries.

“Oh yes, I am very active in the United Way because my story is great and I am really before I get into this course but now when you see United Way everything I think it is really a blessing. It is great and I get to meet great women in a good place and help each other and we benefit from the United Way. For me anytime they need me I am always there because for me it is very important to end the circle of poverty and focus on social justice” – B2

“I always participate and I try to participate in all events and annual meeting and silent auctions we have” – B3

4.4.4 Negative Effects

Also thematically coded are negative effects that are mentioned by beneficiaries. Table 20 depicts the codes and themes along with the respective causal mechanisms that negative effects relate to.

Themes	Codes
Steep Learning Curve and Requirements	o Beneficiaries go through a long process to become interpreters
	o Beneficiaries pay for the training and language test
	o Must pass a test before training
Culture	o Training and Engagements may uncover beneficiary issues related to social issue underlying the charity
Inconsistent Orders	o Beneficiaries may not always be super busy with social enterprise assignments
	o Interpreters don't get paid immediately

Table 20 Social Enterprise C: Negative Effects

Negative effects are unintended consequences or moderating factors that may either reduce the positive effects generated by causal mechanisms or reduce the likelihood of change. For social enterprise C, negative effects revolved around three themes: steep learning curve, impact of training on beneficiaries, and limitations in income generation.

The process involved in becoming an interpreter with social enterprise C is not like other interpreter agencies: it is long and involves language tests along with in-depth classroom training, assignments, practical experiences and other supplementary training. Along with paying for the actual training, the overall process takes about six months starting with the application, police reference check, and respective language tests, to three assignments and assessment. This in itself may deter beneficiaries from even applying to social enterprise C to begin with and even if they take the training, beneficiaries may have a dire need for income and end up quitting social enterprise C and taking full-time or part-time jobs while training.

"We do not take them in unless they pass the test because then we are setting them up for failure." – Director

"We do an orientation session with them or information ... (to see) if they are interested in doing the interpretation because not everyone can do that ... I am the one who sees them initially, I give them what it includes and (I tell them that) we will help you and train you." – E1

A more challenging consequence is related to the training itself as it uncovers issues that do not align with the social enterprise's views. As Canada sees immigrants from different backgrounds and walks of life, it is understandable that there will be differing values, however some are so deeply ingrained that they do not show up in the early stages of application and interview and instead show up during the training.

"There was one time when the training was almost over and we were doing the anti-oppression training and someone said we actually do not have violence against women in our country and I do not know why you guys are doing such a thing. This made our heads spin, and how did you get to this point in that frame of mind and that was one time and we believe that the person had some psychological problems and mental health issues we weren't aware of. Up to this point, we do not know what happened and this was 6 years ago. Up to this point we do not know what happened and she did not show any signs at all from the interviews to the first sessions and others about disbelief about domestic violence but then she turned around and said this." – Director

Once certified as an interpreter with social enterprise C, beneficiaries look for continuity and stability of income. As demand for their language may not be high, they may not be presented with assignments as much as they would like. While social enterprise C provides them the freedom to sign up with other agencies, some beneficiaries may not be comfortable doing that or other agencies may not call either. Another aspect is related to payment as beneficiaries wait two weeks for their payment from the end of month invoice, which may sometimes be too long of a wait. It was only mentioned by one of the beneficiaries who explained that it is something they adjust to.

"Since I speak [language] and the population in [the metropolitan area] is not so large, I do not get many assignments, sometimes I do not hear from them for two months and sometimes I get assignments twice a week so it is very random and hard to tell." – B1

"I have been very busy I can say that [my] language is one of the most popular languages requiring service. I am very busy right now and I can say I am a full-time worker in the interpreter services." – B2

"It really depends from month to month, sometimes once a week sometimes twice a day, it really depends on volume of calls that we receive. Usually not very busy." – B3

"Maybe 4 days a week I would do 2 hours per day, if I accept every assignment I receive ... but these assignments are not only from social enterprise C, they are from different agencies as well." – B4

4.4.5 Non-efficacious Signals

There were several unobservable signals related to not being observable. What is interesting to note is that the unobservable signals are related to behind the scenes aspects that beneficiaries did not recognise.

The following are aspects of implementation that beneficiaries did not observe: supporting beneficiaries joining professional networks, joining paid or unpaid learning opportunities, social enterprise C hiring the best trainers and training service providers, how to deal with the beneficiaries, the beneficiaries never being fired despite poor delivery. Even social enterprise C being an immigrant team was not significant.

This doesn't mean that these are not necessary, but these are aspects of implementation that are critical to impact and signs of operational effectiveness and the strengths of social enterprise C.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings from each of the cases presenting the causal mechanisms that generated opportunities for impact to occur along with unintended consequences that mediate the strength of those causal mechanisms. Between the early effects of leadership and support, and enablement (in all three social enterprises), output / income generation

related mechanisms (in all three social enterprises), mechanisms of community and belonging (in all three social enterprises) and recognition (social enterprises L and C), the beneficiaries' initial interest in working with the social enterprise stemmed from the intended benefit of income generation.

The next chapter takes a cross-sectional look at the individual cases to identify themes that answer the second research question: What can be understood about social impact from the identified causal mechanisms and respective opportunities for impact?

Chapter 5 Cross-case Findings

5.1 Introduction

The benefit of theory-based evaluation is that it uncovers the causal mechanisms within the 'black box' between activities and outcomes that form the basis of evaluation that is more reflective of change (Weiss, 1997a). Causally similar, within-case analysis of the three social enterprises covered in this study uncovered various causal mechanisms and respective effects, including negative ones, based on the exploration of efficacious signals. Even though findings were presented in tabular format signifying independence, as quoted by Bhaskar (2008) (cited in Lacouture et al., 2015, p. 4), there are "interactions between mechanisms" as experienced both during interviews and analysis.

Similarly, this chapter presents the common and distinct themes that were uncovered and checked across cases. While they are presented in a simple manner, especially when it comes to the preliminary change model, they are interactive and do not necessarily follow linear causal paths. The common themes underpin the preliminary change model that includes the respective conditions for change. The distinct themes provide explanations for differences found amongst cases under which the preliminary change model plays out and test the causal similarity of the cases. This chapter also includes sample illustrations of the preliminary change model if all positive and negative effects materialised.

5.2 Results of the Cross-case Comparison

A main aim of the study was to uncover a preliminary change model underlying change in three causally similar social enterprises providing contractual opportunities for poverty alleviation. While one could not "spell out fine-grained theories of change that would apply generally" (Weiss, 1995, p. 74), Table 21 summarises the commonalties across cases that underpin the preliminary change model depicted in section 5.5.

Trigger	Causal Mechanisms (Themes)		Outcome
Social enterprises reveal opportunities for income generation to target beneficiaries who in turn seek opportunities for income generation (5.3.1)	*Beneficiary Participation (5.3.2) and (5.3.4)*		*Poverty Alleviation*
	Leadership and Support	*Enablement*	
	Intervention (5.3.3)		
	Knowledge and Skills	*Opportunities for Income Generation*	
	Beneficiary Retention (5.3.4)		
	Community and Belonging	*Recognition (Except SE-P[8])*	

	Signals
Beneficiary Participation (5.3.2) and (5.3.4)	**Leadership and Support**
	o SE Leaders and Teams are known, visible and engaged with the beneficiaries
	o Founders active volunteers and looked up to and character is important or associated with a reputable NP
	Enablement
	o Ease of and flexibility in generating income inline with their daily challenges overcoming challenges they may have to do that
Intervention (5.3.3)	**Knowledge and Skills**
	o Training and Skills Development
	Opportunities for Income Generation
	o Wide options for making money
	o Making money

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8 SE-P: Social Enterprise P; SE-L: Social Enterprise L; SE-C: Social Enterprise C

Beneficiary Retention (5.3.4)	***Community and Belonging***	
	o Meeting and doing things together	
	Recognition	
	o Beneficiaries are recognised in front of media, customer, and investor facing (SE-L and SE-C)	

Negative Effects		
(5.3.5)		
Steep Learning Curve	o Approach is time consuming and hard at first	
	o Beneficiaries may not be able to deliver	
	o Not all products are easy to make	
	o Beneficiaries go through a long process to become interpreters	
	o Beneficiaries pay for the training and language test	
	o Must pass a test before training	
Culture	o Approach may cause issues on the home responsibilities front	
	o Sometimes some workers are not present at meetings	
	o Spouses may not feel happy about heir heavy involvement	
	o Training and Engagements may uncover beneficiary issues	
Business Performance	o Product orders are not consistent or steady	
	o Workers may separately go and sell products elsewhere or work elsewhere	
	o Beneficiaries may not always be super busy with social enterprise assignments	
	o Interpreters don't get paid immediately	
	o Working for others to make up for insufficient income can put beneficiaries under pressure and cannot meet requirements	

Conditions	
Surrounding Context	All three cases are in weakening economic contexts that have vibrant civil society / charity sector in their respective regions namely, Middle East, Developing, and Developed regions.
Social Enterprises	Sell products / services as means to revenue generation.
Target Beneficiaries	Disadvantaged women seeking a source of income in a local setting.

Table 21 Commonalities Across Cases

Influenced by both the strength of signals and negative effects, the commonalities form the basis of the preliminary change model that provides an understanding of 'how' and 'why' change occurs as beneficiaries respond to respective signals, i.e. causal mechanisms.

While differences in conditions amongst cases were identified, it was differences in conditions related to differences in causal mechanisms that were of interest, more notably, recognition related signals in social enterprise P. Even though beneficiaries in social enterprise P are invited to attend events where products are sold, they were not identified by beneficiaries. Besides business performance, this is likely linked to non-efficacious signals identified under opportunities for income generation likely explained by limited availability of, and access to, surrounding opportunities for income generation. This is further elaborated on in section 5.4.1.

Related to the dimension of beneficiary retention, even though beneficiaries in social enterprise P know each other and are from the same village highlighting a sense of community, they were not considered to be efficacious signals as they are not costly to implement and are consistent with target beneficiaries in rural contexts. This is further elaborated on in section 5.4.2.

Another notable difference in regards to efficacious signals is that while beneficiaries in social enterprise L and social enterprise P noted signals unintended by the social enterprises, none were identified in social enterprise C. Likely explained by the difference in how social enterprise C is supported by a large charity organisation both in terms of funding and planning, this is further elaborated on in section 5.4.3.

These differences are summarised in table 22.

	SE-L	SE-P	SE-C
	Context		
Non-efficacious Signals in Opportunities for Income Generation (SE-P)	A mix of urban and rural settings in, or with access to, a metropolitan city	Rural setting far from the closest metropolitan City	Located in a metropolitan city in n advanced[9] economy
Non-efficacious Signals in Recognition (SE-P) (5.4.1)			
	Target Beneficiaries		
Non-efficacious Signals in Community and Belonging (SE-P) (5.4.2)	Refugees / Immigrants in, or with close access to, a metropolitan city	Local, Rural population	Refugees / Immigrants in a metropolitan city
	Social Enterprise		
No Unintended Signals (SE-C) (5.4.3)	For-profit, Self-funded	For-profit, Crowdsourcing for start-up and then self-funded	Non-profit, supported by a large charity, collaborations, and grants.

Table 22 Differences Across Cases Linked to Differences in Conditions

Along with these differences, there were instances in social enterprise-P and social enterprise-C where signals were not perceived by beneficiaries. Upon analysis and further interviewing with the Director of social enterprise P and employees of social enterprise C, it was evident that these were implementation related actions including chances given to beneficiaries in social enterprise L and social enterprise P despite poorer performance or working with others to improve the operational flow of deliveries in social enterprise L or training clients in how to deal with interpreters in social

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[9] Developed country

enterprise C. So while these are important operational decisions, they are specific to the fulfilment of the social aim as opposed to the change itself and hence, did not trigger a beneficiary response.

Despite noted differences, the commonalities across cases and differences explained by respective differences in conditions, validate the causal similarity of cases identified from the classification and selected in the study. A consolidated matrix of codes, themes and dimensions for each of the cases is included in Appendix IV.

5.3 Common Themes

5.3.1 Social Enterprises Reveal Opportunities for Income Generation to Target Beneficiaries who Seek Opportunities for Income Generation in the First Instance

It was evident across the three cases that beneficiaries' initial interest in dealing with the respective social enterprises primarily stems from their immediate needs; income generation. Looking and accepting employment or contractual opportunities to begin with is based on sought income be it with a social enterprise or any other type of organisation; commercial or charity.

Irrespective of what role the social enterprise took and whether or not it provided added benefits, beneficiaries saw the social enterprises as an opportunity for income generation. Even in the case of social enterprise L, where other businesses and charities provide the same opportunity, it is the income that first attracts them to the enterprise. In social enterprise C, and while the training is key to the ability to become an interpreter, it is the opportunity to work and gain experience that was important to beneficiaries.

"Ladies in this refugee camp mostly work in embroidery for the money and has nothing to do with heritage" – SE-L, B4

"Willing to work for the [Managing partner] because this is the kind of job for helping us more because my husband works but not enough for the family." – SE-P, B1

"I arrived here and I couldn't find any kind of job and we had a small family business but in 2006 I became unemployed totally and needed income" – SE-C, B3

"I eventually have to get something that generates some income and I know my children were growing up and I needed direction and to find something that would help me just to financial help and if I don't have income I still can't pay for the extra expenses but at least I can pay for my own expenses" – SE-C, B4

In all three social enterprises, change is triggered through social enterprises revealing opportunities for income generation to target beneficiaries through means and locations. In the case of social enterprise L and social enterprise P, social entrepreneurs themselves are visibly present in the refugee camps and villages sharing opportunities for income generation directly with potential target beneficiaries. This is sometimes followed up by word of mouth amongst beneficiaries who invite others to see them producing products or meeting together within the camps.

"I was told, if you want, come and meet her and maybe you can take work from her" – SE-L, B1

"My main goal is that embroidery is the way to income ... a neighbour was talking about some lady who is looking for ladies who do embroidery, so [in the beginning], I just went to just meet her" – SE-L, B3

"Managing partner is volunteer with the charity [that helps us] they told us she is looking for lades to work this job to make money and that is why we work with her" – SE-P, B1

"I know the Managing partner because before she was a volunteer for the place [we are in] and for the bad situation of the typhoon and she asked me to work for the company and we are happy to working for that company because it helping the family" – SE-P, B3

In the case of social enterprise C, opportunities for income generation are also revealed and shared in places where targeted beneficiaries could be present within legal and mental health arenas along with providers of social services, albeit through other individuals as opposed to the social enterprise directly. This is followed up by an online announcement as means to invite targeted beneficiaries who are online and seeking opportunities for income generation.

"The way I founded out is the poster at the hospital. " – SE-C, B1

"I was recruited from a women's shelter" – SE-C, B3

"So I was googling and one day I found the charity online and I saw the interpretation services they were providing and I thought this is good for me because I know both languages so I can do something so I called them and they called me for the training program" – SE-C, B4

5.3.2 Before Income Generation, the Path to Social Impact is Initiated by Early Effects Resulting from Causal Mechanisms of Leadership and Support, and Enablement

It was evident across the three cases that it was early causal mechanisms generating opportunities of impact related to leadership and support, and causal mechanisms easing barriers to income generation, that enticed beneficiaries to join and stay with the respective social enterprise.

Social enterprises provide beneficiaries with leadership and support that make them feel supported and cared for at both personal and working levels. Beneficiaries are attracted to join the social enterprise because of the positive reputational aspects, and positive role, of the leaders of the social enterprises that targeted communities are aware off. Keeping

communication open and beneficiaries up to date, with a system of communications and activities in place that focus on supporting beneficiaries especially in managing the process itself as depicted in social enterprise C.

"I work for more than one organisation in embroidery and not just the social enterprise ... and I am very proud to be associated with the social enterprise, honestly, I don't feel I am part of the business, I feel we are the business, sometimes I never want to leave the Director" – SE-L, B4

"They don't want to leave the Managing partner because if it is not for her they would not know how to increase money because it is more helping for them that kind of handicraft because give her and teach them how to do" – SE-P, B1

"Yes they are my second family because whenever I come I am very welcome and they are helpful and they know my background" – SE-C, B3

"I think I would stay because here I know people and have good relationships and ... very pleasant atmosphere why would I change for exactly the same where I don't know what to expect, I am very conservative" – SE-C, B3

Similar to signals of leadership and support, enablement related mechanisms were about easing barriers to income generation both within and beyond the social enterprise. The signals themselves may be different – social enterprise L focuses on differentiation in pay and freedom to work from other charities and commercial business counterparts, social enterprise C focuses on training and the diversification of revenue sources different from other charities and commercial business counterparts, and social enterprise P focuses on making it physically possible to generate income from training, pre-defined patterns, a centralised work space and easy pickup and drop-off of materials and finished products – the effects are similar. If anything, there were indicators of an interesting link between enablers and unintended

consequences that has been noted in each of the cases, as signals seemingly mitigate them.

"We [make] in the home and this is good for us and easy because we have children mostly we are working at home" – SE-P, B2

"We can take care of our kids also" – SE-P, B4

"I can fill my own schedule around my son schedule and give me flexibility" – SE-C, B3

"I knew I could not commit to a full time job to make money so I was ok with what I was receiving." – SE-C, B4

5.3.3 The Path to Social Impact Includes Intervention Related Causal Mechanisms and Effects: Gaining or Expanding Knowledge and Skills and Benefiting from Different Opportunities of Income Generation

The three social enterprises aim to alleviate poverty by providing beneficiaries with contractual opportunities for income generation along with training on new or expanded knowledge and skills. Interestingly, all three are non-exclusive and allow beneficiaries to work for others in parallel to the social enterprise even though this is a cause of negative consequences, particularly mentioned in social enterprise L, where conflicts in priorities may arise which risk the beneficiaries meeting the requirements for income generation.

The three social enterprises also look for opportunities to diversify opportunities for income generation as supported by their strategic and operational plans, whether in the same line of product or service, or others, i.e. wherever "neglected positive externalities" exist (Santos, 2012, p. 348). Otherwise, negative effects may occur when revenues are not enough to provide income generation opportunities within the social enterprise for beneficiaries to stay long-term and for the social enterprise to achieve the intended outcome like in the case of social enterprise P.

"I felt like a women doing something good and I started to innovate colors and embroidery stitches" – SE-L, B3

"We are creating lovely pieces, we love the work now and we generate pieces that are beautiful pieces of art. I know colors and designs... and what looks good and what doesn't. I am an expert now" – SE-L, B4

"We did not know how to increase money because it is more helping for us that kind of handicraft because [Managing partner] gives me everything and teach us how to make things" – SE-P, B1

"We are earning for the food and we can buy 60 kg of rice from money we make" – SE-P, B3

"We are more aware of the issues that we deal with [ourselves] like social issues and women issues. When I listen to the radio and since I am trained I know the terminology and legal terminology and I understand more and that is a big benefit for me" – SE-C, B1

"It gave me a lot of knowledge as I didn't have knowledge of the system here" – SE-C, B4

Similar to signals of community, expanding opportunities for income generation may result in cultural clashes related to how busy beneficiaries could get, thus taking them away from their families and breaking other cultural norms. This is elaborated on in section 5.2.5.

5.3.4 Beneficiaries are retained Long-term through Leadership and Support, Enablement, Community and Belonging and Recognition

Providing beneficiaries with the skills and knowledge needed to pursue opportunities for income generation is not sufficient for poverty alleviation. Similar to the concept of employee motivation and retention, poverty

alleviation is accomplished when beneficiaries are retained long-term within the social enterprise. Particularly for social enterprise L and social enterprise C, the length of time that the beneficiaries were part of the groups was long enough to see their loyalty and commitment. The same was noted for social enterprise P, albeit limitations in income related to revenues was a barrier along with limited opportunities. Hence, meeting a minimum threshold amount in income generation is related to the strength of link to poverty alleviation, otherwise beneficiaries leave. In all three social enterprises, some beneficiaries are not generating as much income as they would like yet it is the elements of leadership support and community and belonging that keeps them there long-term.

"We become a family and we work and others help out. The main goal is to work together so that we can finish the work together at a specific time and we each help each other to finish a piece of work." – SE-L, B3

"The Director comes to our houses and sits with us and brings us together before even the work itself. We are not working to just make the money even though we are. My goal to work with her is money of course but now it is beyond money, we look forward to the Director coming because it creates a nice in environment" – SE-L, B4

"We all sit together and make together in the village" – SE-P, B3
"We are learning more from the Managing partner and we would not leave her"- SE-P, B3

"Managing partner knows how treat us not only for working but she treats us as a human being, we don't want to leave her and we love her." – SE-P, B4

Particularly in terms of recognition, beneficiaries in social enterprise L and social enterprise C are front facing at exhibitions or annual dinners exhibiting and sharing their stories with investors, media and clients / customers. This gives them feelings of importance and accountability

towards the social entrepreneur and with Community and Belonging, the wider public.

"I feel I am doing something [important] ... and we learn from each other and people see our work. I feel I am important. After [experience with] the social enterprise but not before." – SE-L, B3

"Honestly that gave me a direction or my future life here in Canada. Because I was taking all the assignments in the field of legal and that gave me direction and right now I am a paralegal candidate because of so much interpretation and learning about this system ... I went to school and about to finish the program because I like how the system works here and how I can contribute" – SE-C, B4

"Opportunity for me to help society and help others" – SE-C, B2

5.3.5 Culture, Steep Learning Curves and Business Performance have Mediating Effects on Social Impact

When social impact is discussed in literature or by practitioners, the focus is generally on the positive value and impact provided by social enterprises with little or no mention of unintended consequences. From the cases explored, the unintended consequences are perceived by beneficiaries as a result of actions taken or opportunities provided by social enterprises. These unintended consequences prevent beneficiaries from staying long enough with social enterprises to experience benefits targeted by the respective social enterprises.

Three themes were common across the three social enterprises. The first one is that some causal mechanisms may oppose beneficiaries' cultural norms. In the case of social enterprise L, some women had to stop working for the social enterprise because the working arrangements were not common and not necessarily accepted by their spouses, family members, or even the wider community. It is a similar case in social enterprise P where extensive jewellery making time competes with the women's family time, which

families often do not accept or understand even though it is needed for training or for learning new design patterns.

In social enterprise C, the training itself that enables opportunities for income generation, sometimes uncovers beneficiary views or values related to the underlying social cause that differentiates social enterprise C from others to begin with. Beneficiaries end up either leaving the training and/or do not end up completing it.

"I used to teach my son on a daily basis and now that my daughter is in university, I ask her to take care of her brother and teach him because I am busy at work and my girls are good and they feel with me and help and these are the things that come up." – SE-L, B3

"A lot of immigrants come from different background, in other examples with social enterprises is some ladies get empowered from such training and exposures let us say, the negative consequences may look positive to us but negative to them in terms of women empowerment." – SE-C, Director

The second theme is the occasional steep learning curve, time and complexity involved to learn about the tasks necessary to enable opportunities for income generation. For example, being part of product design in social enterprise L, learning how to make unique jewellery in social enterprise P, and completing the training in social enterprise C, may sometimes delay and make it harder for beneficiaries to stay long enough with social enterprises to experience the benefits targeted by the social enterprises, i.e. social impact.

"Yes, in the beginning is hard but then you get used to it as the Director need us to be quick and we cannot take long for a piece" – SE-L, B2

"Working with the Director is easy but it involves us thinking and getting involved which not everybody might like." – SE-L, B3

"I went for the interview but then I was requested to take a language test" –
SE-C, B1

*"We have to pay for the test to test you in the language and then you pay for
the course"* – *SE-C, B2*

The third theme is related to inconsistent and/or low business and revenue performance, which limits opportunities for income generation. In the case of social enterprise L and social enterprise P, beneficiaries in both cases seek more orders to fulfil their needs for income generation and fill their own capacity for work. Directors of both social enterprises are not only aware of this, but they are also about revenue generation and income stability as well. Once certified as an interpreter with social enterprise C, for example, beneficiaries look for continuity and income stability. As demand for their language may not be high, they may not be presented with assignments as much as they would like. While social enterprise C provides them the freedom to sign up with other agencies, some beneficiaries may not be comfortable doing that or other agencies may not call and hence their need for income generation is not fully met.

*"I work with the social enterprise and another charity and we had a few
issues at home and I was under pressure and I was working on a dress and I
took too long and Director asked me and I told her and she asked someone
else to help instead"* – *SE-L, B4*

"We want a regular working job and not stopping" – *SE-P, B2*

*"We need to make more so that we can earn a lot of money but if we are not
making more, we do not have too much money coming in"* - *SE-P, B3*

*"Actually they look for mainstream jobs ... and some of them went to more
nice areas with their family ... they think it would be easier for them if they
looked for other jobs"* – *SE-P, Managing partner*

*"Since I speak [a specific language] and this population in the [city] is not
so large, I don't get many assignments, sometimes I don't hear from them*

for two months and sometimes I get assignments twice a week so it is very

random and hard to tell but I would say once a week or less" – SE-C, B1

"It really depends form month to month sometimes once a week sometimes

twice a day, it really depends on volume of calls that we received. Usually

not very busy." – SE-C, B3

5.4 Distinct Themes

5.4.1 Extent of Income Generation and Recognition are Dependent on Surrounding Opportunities for Income Generation

The three social enterprises covered in this study are there, first and foremost, to provide income generation opportunities to beneficiaries. So, they are focused on employing mechanisms that generate opportunities for income generation within the limitations that beneficiaries are exposed to. However, this is relative to the context in which the social enterprise and the beneficiaries are located.

While in social enterprise L and social enterprise C beneficiaries may or may not take up other parallel opportunities for income generation resulting from their work with the social enterprise, they do have the option. However, in the case of social enterprise P, providing opportunities for income generation is distinctive in that particular context as other opportunities and players providing opportunities for income generation are limited.

This is also seen from a different perspective related to the general demand for social enterprises' products or services. Leaders of the three social enterprises were concerned about their sustainability and seeking opportunities for revenue generation was a priority for them even though social enterprise C is considered to be in a favourable socio-economic context.

"Because she [the Director] is the only one to help after the big typhoon

and no one else is able to give us work.” – SE-P, B2

“I want to work not only for the social enterprises because I need one more or two like this but can't find and if somebody came with a good opportunity, we will grab it because it help us more but we are learning from the Managing partner” – SE-P, B4

“Not really an urban area and very far from the capital [and opportunities for income generation]” –SE-P, Director

5.4.2   Rural Surrounding Limits Effects of Community and Belonging

All three social enterprises manifested signals of community through association amongst beneficiaries and the community. Through gatherings, events, meetings and teamwork, where products or services involve beneficiary participation, beneficiaries experience effects related to pride, confidence and strength. This is exemplified by the creation of new friendships and bonds that extend beyond the work of the social enterprise.

Particularly in social enterprise L and social enterprise C, connecting with the wider community – either directly through beneficiary participation in exhibitions and events, or through the underlying community purpose of supporting each other – gives beneficiaries a sense of purpose. This leads to greater loyalty and more reasons to stay long-term with the social enterprise.

“Little by little we started to go to other camps and ... after we started working together it was about meeting others and getting new friends as we don't have friends and we formed relationships and we become closer” – SE-L, B3

“I love very much and I actually participate and very proud of the organization for women” – SE-C, B3

“I come from a culture that make dominated and women experience a lot of abuse so what the charity is doing is really helping these women and these

women in my country cannot raise their voice or speak up and have to
accept everything but here it give me a pleasure to see women fighting for
their right and I have a connection with them and the cultural background
that is why the social enterprise is so special to me." – SE-C, B4

Nevertheless, these signals may also trigger negative consequences arising from a cultural clash in getting too involved in a community or spending more time than usual. This is elaborated on in section 5.3.5.

When it came to signals of community and belonging, and related feelings of association and belonging, these were related to feelings of connectedness amongst beneficiaries, new friendships and bonds, and even connectedness with the community through a common social cause that beneficiaries could relate to.

While there were signals of community and belonging in social enterprise P, and products represented a feeling of pride, its beneficiaries were from one village and were connected with or without the social enterprise. What seemed to differ in both social enterprise L and social enterprise C was that they had a common social cause beyond the formal social aims of the social enterprise. Social enterprise L brought beneficiaries together under the contextual root cause of their disadvantage, and social enterprise C brought beneficiaries together under the social cause of the sponsoring charity. These common social causes are important to beneficiaries and give them a chance to make a difference beyond their immediate need, and they choose to stay longer with the social enterprise even if income generation is limited.

5.4.3 Not All Signals in Small, Self-funded Social Enterprises are Intended

What differentiates small businesses from large businesses includes limits in access to capital, owners are invested in the business and are more entrepreneurial with exposure to higher personal liability, incomplete or limited teams and resources, but with flexibility in compensation and relationships (Ang, 1991). Applying this to this study, social enterprise L

and social enterprise P fit this general description and explain findings related to unintended signals.

Social enterprise L was transparent about intentionality and planning. In fact, the director intentionally works with the beneficiaries to provide opportunities to meet their needs and follows up by identifying and acting on opportunities for further impact in her dealings with the beneficiaries. Some are logical, like working with them on the final pieces, and some are fluid, like inviting them to events or providing them with customer-facing opportunities.

"I did not think of these things before I got involved, I am feeding back what I saw during the process" – SE-L, Director

When it comes to unintended signals, beneficiaries in social enterprise L found that they were empowered through their signatures on each piece; it is something distinctive, yet the director did not mention it.

"My name is on the piece itself and every idea by the Director was about signing on the piece and people see our work. I feel I am important" – SE-L, B3

Similarly, in social enterprise P, the managing partner did not necessarily see that orders coming through the phone with ease and helping them beyond income such as the case with Christmas giveaways.

"Helping us more than money. If we don't have food; she helps us especially during times like Christmas and also chatting over the phone" – SE-P, B1

"We get a message form the Managing partner to make more 10 items or 20 items like that ... we receive this by message on the phone" – SE-P, B3

The case findings did not highlight any unintended signals in social enterprise C that is supported by a larger charity strengthened by collaborations and various sources of funding.

5.5 Preliminary Change Model for Social Enterprises Providing Contractual Opportunities for Poverty Alleviation

All three social enterprises had a social aim to provide contractual opportunities to beneficiaries, disadvantaged women, as means to income generation with a long-term outcome of poverty alleviation. Linked to poverty alleviation through beneficiary participation, the intervention itself and subsequently beneficiary retention, the common conditions across cases and long-term sustainability of causal mechanisms are key to the preliminary change model (figure 17).

Conditions	*Trigger* Social enterprise reveals opportunities for income generation where it is visible and recognised by target beneficiaries	1a. Social enterprises reduce or eliminate key barriers to income generation 1b. Social enterprise leaders or charity affiliates are known, visible and reputable	*Intervention* 2a. Beneficiaries willing to acquire or expand knowledge and new skills 2b. Sustainable or growing demand for social enterprise products and services Surrounding opportunities for income generation	3a. Beneficiaries meet others or connect with others over a cause beyond the social aim of the social enterprise 3b. Minimum income threshold is attained	*Poverty Alleviation* All signals are provided sustainably and as long as possible to reach the desired outcome Activities are linked to how and why change occurs Negative effects monitored and mitigated

Figure 17 Preliminary Change Model for Social Enterprises Providing Contractual Opportunities for Poverty Alleviation, Conditions

Arising from the case study and both within and cross-case analysis, the change model in figures 18 and 19 depict a sample of the causal paths if positive and negative effects separately materialise. In reality, positive and negative effects are not mutually exclusive and the respective strength of

signals influence 'how' and 'why' beneficiaries respond to causal mechanisms.
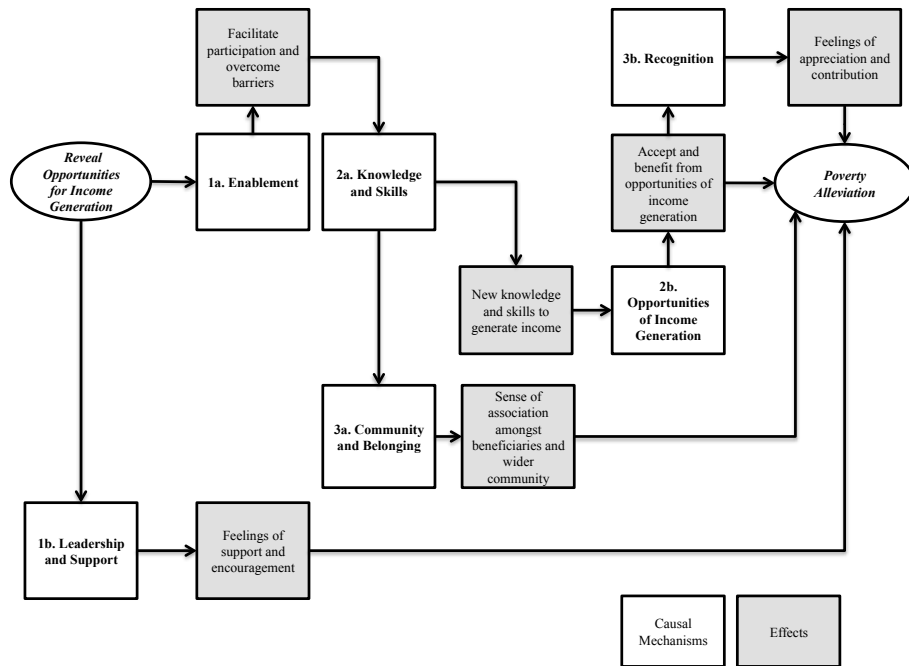
Figure 18 Preliminary Change Model for Social Enterprises Providing Contractual Opportunities for Poverty Alleviation, Positive Effects
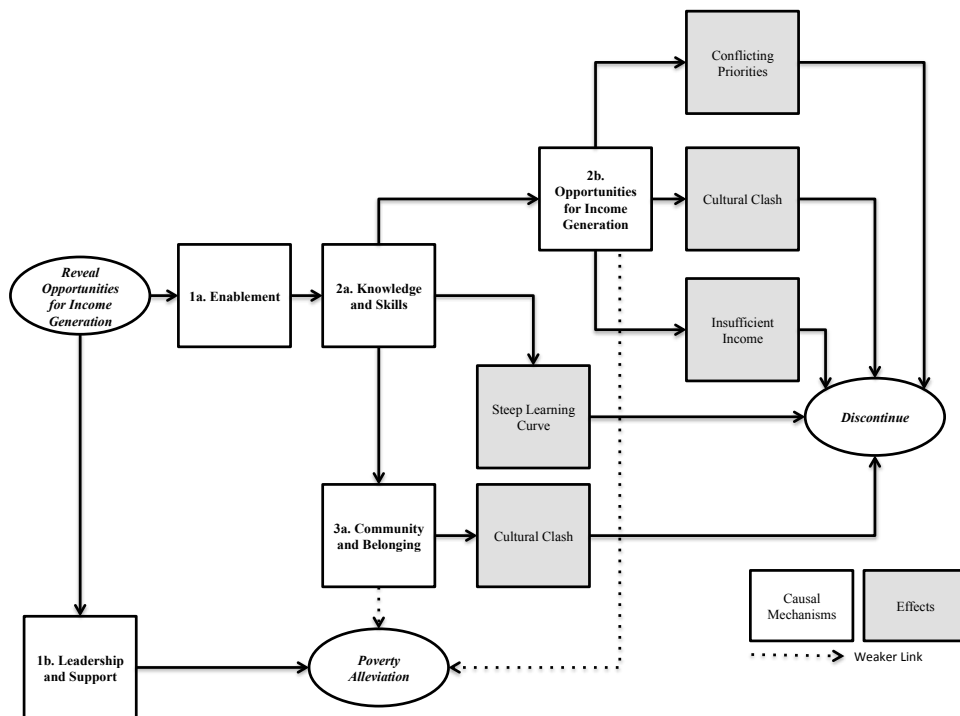
Figure 19 Preliminary Change Model for Social Enterprises Providing Contractual Opportunities for Poverty Alleviation, Negative Effects

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter consolidated findings from each of the three enterprises to uncover the causal mechanisms and effects underlying change targeting poverty alleviation. Between early effects, similarities, and differences amongst cases assumptions underlying the change were identified and causal similarity of the group of cases was tested to provide a sufficient basis on which TBE for the SIA of social enterprises can be assessed with a depiction of how it informs the legitimacy of social enterprises uncovering areas and pathways of social impact that warrant reflection and future study.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.1 Introduction

By depicting a preliminary change model and using it as a basis for the evaluation of social impact, the main aim of this comparative causal case study was to explore the use of theory-based evaluation as an alternative to current debatable approaches to SIA and better understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises.

Based on semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries, leaders and employees (where possible) in three causally similar social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities for income generation, this comparative case study inductively uncovered the causal mechanisms, related effects and conditions that provide targeted beneficiaries with opportunities for impact to occur.

Chapter 4 presented case study findings that included the causal mechanisms, related positive and uncovered negative effects in each of the three social enterprises. Chapter 5 subsequently portrayed and mapped the common and distinct themes to underlying conditions across individual cases to depict a preliminary change model for social enterprises providing contractual opportunities for income generation also validating the causal similarity of the cases. Along with raising possible sources of alternative explanations, this chapter brings the findings together and draws conclusions on 'how' and 'why' change and social impact occur along with the causal similarity of social enterprises and how it moves forward research in social entrepreneurship. Dealing with the fourth research question, this chapter presents a framework for social impact evaluation designed on the basis of these findings which also inform the basis of management and comparison of social enterprises. Furthermore, this chapter also deals with the fifth and final research question offering reflections on the scalability, sustainability and legitimacy of social enterprises and reflects on TBE as an alternative approach to SIA.

6.2 Main Findings

6.2.1 On 'How' and 'Why' Change Occurs

One of the main aims of this study was to uncover a change model that articulates the causal mechanisms and effects underlying poverty alleviation in causally similar social enterprises providing contractual opportunities for income generation. This was achieved through a case study that firstly compared social enterprises from the same causally similar group and which also uncovered the conditions under which change occurs, and secondly, validated if the social enterprises chosen did belong to the same causally similar group.

While beneficiaries' initial interest in these social enterprises was for income generation, change is triggered first and foremost by effective reach from the social enterprise to the targeted beneficiaries as the social enterprise reveals opportunities for income generation, either by being visible in the communities or by communicating relevant information in areas where target beneficiaries are found, thus matching the need with the social enterprise's offering.

In theory-based evaluation, it is not the intervention that causes the change, it is how underlying causal mechanisms influence beneficiaries' decisions in embracing opportunities for impact to occur (Pawson, 2002). Common across the three social enterprises were early effects related to mechanisms of leadership and support, and enablement. Experienced prior to income generation, these mechanisms are dependent on the social enterprises' abilities to identify and mitigate or eliminate barriers to income generation and provide feelings of support and encouragement to beneficiaries signalling support for beneficiary interests, wellbeing and encouragement for success. These two mechanisms trigger an interest and entice beneficiaries to join, or apply to be part of, these social enterprises. This was depicted, for example, in social enterprise L, where a beneficiary had joined only two months prior to the research interview, and hadn't had a chance to generate income yet. While change is underway at this point, feelings of

support and encouragement increase the likelihood that beneficiaries would stay with the social enterprise to increase the probability that, together with the other causal mechanisms, poverty will be alleviated.

As beneficiaries acquire new knowledge and skills, as in social enterprise P and social enterprise C, the extent to which change materialises is related to mechanisms of community and belonging along with opportunities for income generation that are dependent on the context the beneficiaries are in and the business performance of the social enterprise. Willing to acquire new skills and knowledge, together with a growing sense of association amongst beneficiaries and the wider community, beneficiaries make the most of the opportunities for income generation offered to them, be it directly with the social enterprise or, in cases where they have capacity and income needs that are higher than what is generated, other routes. While change still occurs at this point, feelings of appreciation and contribution, through recognition, increase the likelihood that beneficiaries would stay with the social enterprise to increase the probability that, together with the other causal mechanisms, poverty will be alleviated.

Together, these mechanisms make up a "theoretical system composed of a series of interlocking parts that transmit causal forces" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, para. 22 in section 2.4) from the setup of the social enterprise providing contractual opportunities to poverty alleviation. As beneficiaries go through the mechanisms, there is a plausible reason that changes will materialise (Weiss, 2000a). Theories underlying a programme are assumptions at best about how those targeted by the change will respond to them (Weiss, 1997b). These assumptions might work sequentially, together or in parallel (Weiss, 1997b).

6.2.2 The Social Impact of Social Enterprises

As an original contribution, this study offers a middle-range theory of poverty alleviation in social enterprises providing contractual opportunities for income generation that links poverty alleviation to the causal mechanisms of leadership and support, community and belonging,

enablement, knowledge and skills, opportunities for income generation, and recognition. As a result, change occurs as beneficiaries go through each of these mechanisms and experience the effects (Weiss, 2000a). When it comes to social impact, there are three questions of interest: what the social impact is in such social enterprises, the extent to which it was caused by the social enterprise, and the factors that maximise social impact.

This study uses a definition of social impact that embodies the respective effects, intentional and unintentional benefits, and consequences that lead to responses perceived by individual target beneficiaries moving through the change model. What the findings highlight is that social impact is not, as is often depicted by social enterprises (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001), based on output-related effects covering knowledge and skills, and actual opportunities for income generation. Effects related to psychosocial mechanisms of enablement, leadership and support, community and belonging, and recognition, are part of the social impact of social enterprises; not forgetting negative consequences that could initiate other paths to change that may result in beneficiaries leaving the social enterprise and weakening of effects.

In relation to causality, i.e. whether or not these effects are due to the social enterprise itself or other causes (Davidson, 2000), accepting partial attribution (White, 2010), findings depict whether or not change is "more plausible" (Weiss, 1995, p. 72) and foreseeing how change and social impact may materialise in the long run (Carvalho and White, 2004). Using a counterfactual (White, 2010) is counterintuitive as social enterprises aim to do good as long as negative consequences are managed and do not overwhelm the path to change (Weiss, 1997b). Having said that, the resulting change model depicts that mechanisms related to opportunities for income generation and community and belonging have ties to the external environment and are mechanisms that could be more closely discerned to identify the extent to which change can be attributed to social enterprises.

The third element of social impact is related to how a social enterprise can optimise and maximise its social impact. In line with the approach used in this study, efficacious signals (Connelly et al., 2011) are key to understanding underlying, and often hidden, mechanisms (Astbury and Leeuw, 2010). This means that social enterprises could optimise and maximise social impact by choosing activities underlying mechanisms that are observable and costly (Connelly et al., 2011) while at the same time strengthen it through signal quality, be it frequency, fit or consistency amongst signals (Connelly et al., 2011) strengthening or hastening beneficiary response to causal mechanisms. This would need further empirical validation to identify if thresholds exist in terms of signal quality, strength and beneficiary response.

6.2.3 Causally Similar Groups

An absence of a consistent definition of what social enterprises are (Mair and Marti, 2006), along with unclear boundaries defining or distinguishing social enterprises from commercial and/or charity counterparts (Santos, 2012), and dealing with a wide variety of social issues both in terms of geography and social problems (Hulgard, 2010), legal forms (Battilana and Lee, 2014), broad operational models (Bagnoli and Megali, 2011), institutional contexts (Kerlin, 2013), and targeted beneficiaries (Doherty, 2014, p. 4), makes it almost impossible to conduct meaningful and impactful research within the domain of social entrepreneurship. This creates "conceptual confusion ... as a barrier to cross-disciplinary dialogue and theory-based advances in the field" (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010, p. 38). Consequently, researchers seek a practical and reasonable baseline for future research and in dealing with various hybrids in social enterprises.

In response, this study offers a contribution through the classification of social enterprises that aims to understand the social enterprises under study, and serves as a basis of comparison that can be replicated for other social enterprises. Ensuring causal similarity is central when engaging in comparative analysis of causes and effects or explanatory ability of outcomes based on causal forces (Beach and Pedersen, 2013), otherwise

false conclusions may occur similar to how they can occur in poor social impact measurement (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001). The classification depicted four dimensions and eight groups that define approaches to income generation and presented a matrix based on social enterprise involvement and beneficiary control (See section 3.3.3).

To illustrate this, Yang and Wu (2015) showed that non-profit social enterprises expand differently than for-profit social enterprises into other countries, where the former is driven by social – versus market – opportunities (Yang and Wu, 2015). However, even though they are both in the same context, one of the social enterprises focuses on income generation through contractual opportunities and the other focuses on income generation through enablers only. Although the findings were interesting, their validity is questionable as they are not from the same causally similar group with differences in beneficiaries and approaches and hence, underlying causal paths (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). and validates "causally homogeneous populations" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, para. 4 of section 7.1).

Legal Form and Causal Similarity: When it comes to the legal form of social enterprises – between profit, non-profit and hybrid choices – the classification did not show a significant association between the legal form and approaches to fulfilling social aims. In other words, just because social enterprises use similar approaches to poverty alleviation, it does not mean that they have the same legal form. This supports the findings in the literature that link choice of legal form to matters of operational implementation. This was also found in the social enterprises within the case study as they use similar approaches to poverty alleviation, namely income generation. Where social enterprise L and social enterprise P are for-profit businesses, social enterprise C is a non-profit. Despite the legal difference, in practice, there were no differences between the aims of the three social enterprises to maximise profits while employing mechanisms to generate opportunities for impact to occur.

Context and Causal Similarity: Institutional context includes "elements that are outside of the control of the entrepreneur" (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006, p. 5). Context intertwines various aspects external to the enterprise, be it at regional, country or community levels (Gawell, 2014a). The socio-economic context is complex and includes the role of government and civil society (Estrin, Mickiewicz and Stephan, 2013), the role of international aid (Kerlin, 2010), how social needs are addressed, and how respective political structures are organised around those needs (Gawell, 2014b). Differences are sometimes noted in research when it comes to social entrepreneurship and socio-economic context and may, subject to empirical study, explain the differences in regions/countries (Kerlin, 2010); however, there are also differences within contexts (Kerlin, 2013). As one seeks to explain the effect of context on social enterprises, causal similarity is important, and this has not been covered in research within social entrepreneurship which could result in different research findings.

Specifically from the cross-sectional analysis, the classification did not depict a significant association between context, including the social enterprise's headquarters, and different approaches to fulfilling the same social aim of income generation for poverty alleviation. By context, the classification was concerned with developing versus developed contexts, or the International Monetary Fund's classification of advanced versus developing economies (International Monetary Fund, 2016). Social enterprise C, in a developed context, exhibited causal mechanisms similar to social enterprise L and social enterprise P, both in developing contexts. What this alludes to is that the causal chain of change is not dependent on the context from a developing versus developed perspective; instead, other factors within the context impact related effects and hence, social impact.

To illustrate this, and within mechanisms related to community and belonging, beneficiaries in social enterprise P did not connect with the wider community as they did in social enterprise L and social enterprise C, both of which are surrounded by or linked to urbanised environments. Social enterprise P is rural and its connection is limited to that environment, thus

affecting the strength of such signals and hence, the size of the resulting effects. Similarly, and under the mechanisms related to opportunities for income generation, a surrounding environment limited in other opportunities for income generation limits social enterprise P's ability to maximise opportunities for income generation especially when revenues are not sufficient to meet a minimum threshold for income generation that results in loyalty and materiality of mechanisms of recognition.

Besides causal similarity, the answer to context and social enterprises may be tied to the political environment through the concept of social capital, as the success of social enterprises is dependent on resources and trust from "the political and the business community" (Evers, 2004, p. 300) especially when civic and democratic issues seem opposite to the social objectives of the social enterprise (Cho, 2006). This is a finding identified in social enterprise C across mechanisms as there was support from the government, or a local social enterprise fund or even their relationship with the charity organisation. Social enterprise L and social enterprise P, although they have tried to create a partnership and benefit from similar arrangements, have had difficulty. Nevertheless, it does not make the path to change in social enterprise C different than social enterprise L and social enterprise P, but it indicates a potentially higher level of social impact, which is something that would need to be evaluated empirically.

Favourable socio-economic contexts empower a focus on social value, whereas challenging contexts empower a focus on sustainability (Felicio, Goncalves and Goncalves, 2013). Considering that social enterprise C was in what would be considered a favourable socio-economic context, and although social value is central to the social enterprise, the focus was on sustainability. Social enterprise P and social enterprise L are both in what would be considered unfavourable socio-economic contexts. As a result, while socio-economic context is important, it does not dictate the causal chain, but does dictate the extent to which change materialises.

Beneficiaries and Causal Similarity: While social enterprises are perceived to primarily target the poor (Seelos and Mair, 2005), they actually focus on the disadvantaged including the poor (Zahra, 2014, p. 145). Targeted beneficiaries may belong to a specific or more general group, be situated within global, regional, or local communities, and may be consumers (Dees, 1998), contractors, employees (Ramus and Vaccaro, 2017), or co-owners in the case of social co-operatives (Doherty, Haugh and Lyon, 2014, p. 14), or a combination thereof.

When it comes to target beneficiaries, the classification shows that the profile and characteristics of beneficiaries are important to the causal mechanisms of change. Starting from revealing opportunities for income generation, all three social enterprises target beneficiaries who are disadvantaged in the specific context they are in; should they have been in another context, the results may have been different. In social enterprise L's case, beneficiaries are disadvantaged because they are restricted to the refugee camps and face restrictions in employment. In social enterprise P's case, beneficiaries are disadvantaged because they are limited in flexibility to explore opportunities in other cities or villages where income generation is possible. Beneficiaries in social enterprise C are disadvantaged because employers seek Canadian-specific experience and education. As a result, understanding the beneficiaries' disadvantage within the context is important to triggering change.

In addition, the classification supported the notion that social enterprises target beneficiaries beyond the poorest of the poor (International Finance Corporation, 2007). Such cases are found within job placement and the beneficiary-led approaches and do influence the underlying approach. Beneficiaries were disadvantaged in all three social enterprises and are not considered the poorest of the poor but may be considered part of those at the base of the economic pyramid (BOP) as they have two characteristics: they are "the larger segment of the low-income population" (International Finance Corporation, 2007, p. 4) at incomes greater than the poorest of the

poor's levels of $1 per day with limited access to modern financial services, water, sanitation, formal dwelling, etc.. (International Finance Corporation, 2007). Based on the findings in this study, one would expect the resulting change model to be different if beneficiaries were considered as the BOP. Beneficiaries in social enterprise C are residents of Canada and have access to services that BOP populations do not. Beneficiaries in social enterprise L either have opportunities to generate other income or their spouses or other family members already provide some income, even if it is low. Beneficiaries in social enterprise P have spouses who generate income or other family members who help out and the government provides them with insurance as typhoon victims.

6.3 Theoretical Implications

6.3.1   On Sustainability for Social Impact

Sustainability is "necessary to achieve organisational longevity and the on-going delivery of positive social impact" (Jenner, 2016, p. 55). Typically, sustainability is linked to commercial outcomes (Jenner, 2016), however, sustainability in social enterprises is also linked to the sustainability of the social solution (Dacin, Dacin and Matear, 2010) resulting in multiple tensions (Battilana, 2014), especially as sustainability is "highly influenced and shaped by the environmental dynamics" (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006, p. 22). While sustainability is not a focus of this study, the findings provide insights on sustainability as social entrepreneurs are often caught in between tensions of commercial outputs and social solutions (Battilana, 2014). The resulting change model brings up three questions when it comes to sustainability: the role of sustainability when it comes to change, what comes first – sustainability or social impact, and the role of entrepreneurial behaviours in social enterprises.

TBE recognises the importance of process and operational management, and hence, sustainability, when it comes to change (Weiss, 1997b). Chen (2015) clarifies that the what and how activities are implemented, performance monitored, resources hired and allocated, and collaborations managed

(Chen, 2015) and implemented must, at a minimum, meet the requirements of the change model. Besides the minimum operational requirements to manage the social enterprises, there are two aspects to sustainability when it comes to the change model developed in this study: sustainability supporting opportunities for income generation; and sustainability supporting the successful implementation of psychosocial mechanisms, both of which result in an optimisation of social impact.

A key condition in the social enterprises covered in this study embodies demand for social enterprise or beneficiary products and services and the related revenues needed to meet the income needs of beneficiaries. In this respect, commercial outcomes are central to social impact insofar that it is responsible for the provision of opportunities for income generation. This aspect is similar to commercial enterprises in that "entrepreneurial innovation, risk taking and proactiveness" (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006, p. 32) are necessary for business growth.

In parallel, additional capital and resources are needed to let psychosocial mechanisms materialise, as although they don't directly provide opportunities for income generation, they are necessary for change to occur. As a result, social enterprises need to "make a surplus to assure their survival" (Chell, 2007, p. 11), creating and accumulating wealth (Chell, 2007) to be able to pay for activities that may not directly generate revenues but are important for change.

As a result, sustainability is linked to change through: entrepreneurial behaviours to generate opportunities for income generation; achieving a surplus to support non-output related mechanisms critical to change; and surplus, which is necessary for long-term survival (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006). This does not result in a departure from the social aim of the social enterprise, but is an essential part of social impact as long as the threshold of sustainability includes psychosocial mechanisms and long-term survivability of the social enterprise.

6.3.2 On Scalability for Social Impact

"Social enterprises mostly strive to maximize social impact by scaling their business model" (Weber et al., 2012) to match the social need or problem it wants to solve (Dees, Anderson and Wei-skillern, 2004). While scalability is also not a focus of this study, the findings provide insights on scalability as social entrepreneurs often look to expand across geographical borders (Weber et al., 2012). The resulting change model brings up three questions when it comes to scalability: why social enterprises would want to scale, if it is about increasing the number of individuals impacted by the social enterprise or if it is related to the extent to which beneficiaries go through all mechanisms, and how is scalability undertaken.

While Zahra et al. (2008) admittedly call for empirical validation, scalability in social enterprises is driven by "social opportunities" (Zahra et al., 2008, p. 120) and "prevalence of needs in human society" (Zahra et al., 2008, p. 122) as committed to by the social enterprise, be it through the social entrepreneur, its shareholders or leaders (Weber et al., 2012). In doing so, scaling the business model in social enterprises is about growth (Weber et al., 2012) to solve a social problem or fill a social need that is often beyond the capacity of the social enterprise (Weber et al., 2012), keeping in mind the ultimate goal of social enterprises is "social change" (Weerawerdana and Mort, 2006, p. 769). The findings do not validate these views as even though none of the social enterprises covered has internationalised, all leaders, including social enterprise C, which is in an advanced economy, brought up capacity and market opportunities as the driver for expansion.

The basis of TBE is that there is a greater likelihood of change if beneficiaries experience all causal mechanisms (Weiss, 2000a). Following that, if a beneficiary does not go through all mechanisms, change is unlikely to happen. As a result, for social change to occur, as many beneficiaries as possible need to go through all mechanisms in the change model. This has implications on the definition of what scalability in social enterprises is, in

that it includes both the number of beneficiates and the extent to which each went through the causal path of change.

As covered in the literature review, Weber, Kroger and Lambrich (2012) designed a scalability framework from a meta-analysis of literature covering scalability in social enterprises that maps how social enterprises scale to maximise their social impact. Assuming management commitment, competence, recognised social need and access to resources, scalability often starts from an effective operational business model (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012). Reflecting on the findings, an effective operational business model may not be the starting point for scalability. Instead, a starting point is that scalability cannot take place without considering causal similarity and hence, an understanding of the new target beneficiaries and assessing whether they are the same or different than those already served, otherwise another change model would need to form the basis for scalability to take place. This may explain why "many social entrepreneurs have found scaling up their activities difficult" (Lumpkin et al., 2013, p. 769).

As a result, scalability is not about copying the exact operational aspects and activities, but it is the mechanisms and conditions for impact to occur that are important and which may be implemented differently (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000). This would entail replicating "elements that induce the social impact most effectively" (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012, p. 5) embedded in an effective operational business model that has the "capacity to reproduce or adopt the social enterprise's structures, process, products or services, and habit" (Weber, Kroger and Lambrich, 2012, p. 2).

6.3.3   On The Legitimacy of Social Enterprises

As covered in the literature review, legitimacy is "a generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate" (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). Classified as three types, legitimacy is pragmatic, moral or cognitive (Suchman, 1995). Where pragmatic legitimacy is related to how beneficiaries, in the case of social enterprises, perceive the social enterprises' response to their needs (Suchman, 1995),

moral legitimacy is about whether or not social enterprises' responses to those needs is right (Suchman, 1995). It is about evaluated consequences and outputs (Suchman, 1995) and hence where social impact comes in. Cognitive legitimacy is about the cultural aspects that ensure social enterprises are accepted by the targeted beneficiaries and/or communities (Suchman, 1995), otherwise, a social enterprise's legitimacy is questionable and is altogether irrelevant.

Using the change model, related effects – both positive and negative – and conditions for change to occur, the legitimacy of social enterprises must be assessed against commercial and charity counterparts. While the findings are preliminary at best, requiring empirical validation, the exploratory study finds that the legitimacy of social enterprises fares well when compared to commercial and charity counterparts within all three types of legitimacy.

When it comes to pragmatic legitimacy, despite other charity and commercial organisations that provide similar opportunities for income generation, social enterprise L is seen to enable change better than its commercial and charity counterparts. Similarly, social enterprise P is the only one providing opportunities for income generation to beneficiaries. In social enterprise C, even when beneficiaries do not continue with them after training, beneficiaries are no longer disadvantaged within the geographical context insofar as others do not take a risk on beneficiaries.

The same cannot be said when it comes to moral and cognitive legitimacy, especially as social enterprises may be seen to cause more harm than good depending on resulting negative consequences, and cultural and political norms.

6.4 Practical Implications

6.4.1 How SIA would Unfold with TBE: Measurement in TBE

In line with TBE's measurement phase (Weiss, 1997b), and similar to testing causal mechanisms in causal case studies (Beach and Pedersen,

2016), the change model is operationalised by looking for "observable manifestations" and "empirical fingerprints" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, para. 9 in section 7.6) of the causal mechanisms.

This study uses a definition of social impact as a multi-dimensional construct covering the long-term intentional and unintentional benefits and consequences of planned strategies and changes on individuals. In considering these benefits and consequences as effects, the approach to assessment in TBE focuses on assessing the effects within the 'black box' as opposed to the unobservable outcome (Carvalho and White, 2004) addressing causality by tracing effects providing a plausible reason that a social enterprise made a difference (Weiss, 2000a).

Whether or not a programme was effective in meeting the intended outcome is not the focus of TBE, instead, it is what is going on in a programme and how well it is implemented (Rogers, 2009). In following Weiss' (1997b) approach to TBE, social impact is assessed at the social enterprise and beneficiary levels. At the social enterprise level, the focus is on how well the social enterprise implements the social aim, including the extent to which target beneficiaries are reached, how well opportunities for income generation are revealed and provided to target beneficiaries, and the extent to which beneficiaries leaves a social enterprise – showing how well the social enterprise identifies and manages negative consequences and ensures that implementation is sustainable in the long term. At the beneficiary level, the focus is on operationalising the change model which entails a focus on the positive effects resulting from the six causal mechanisms, namely enablement, leadership and support, knowledge and skills, community and belonging, opportunities for income generation, and recognition, and testing the conditions through which change occurs together with the extent to which the unintended effects occur.

To operationalise the change model, Beach and Pedersen (2013) identify the empirical evidence sought as the fingerprints and manifestations of the underlying theoretical assumptions and conditions. Table 22 depicts the data

instrument through which social impact, at the beneficiary level, can be evaluated that together with the assessment of operational implementation and performance form the first level of SIA of social enterprises using TBE.

Links	Theoretical Assumptions	Conditions	Data Required to Test Links, Theoretical Assumptions and Conditions
Trigger	Social enterprises reveal opportunities for income generation to target beneficiaries who in turn seek opportunities for income generation.	Social enterprises know where and how to effectively reach target beneficiaries.	• Extent to which beneficiaries reached respond with interest to participate.
Beneficiary Participation	*Enablement* Facilitate participation and overcome barriers.	Social enterprises understand and deal with key barriers to income generation.	• Extent to which beneficiaries overcome their barriers to income generation.
	Leadership and Support Feelings of support and encouragement.	Beneficiaries recognise leadership characteristics of the social enterprise and supportive efforts extended by the social enterprise.	• Extent to which beneficiaries perceive and are satisfied with the leadership and support of social enterprises both at a business and individual level.
Intervention	*Knowledge and Skills* New or expanded knowledge and skills to generate income.	Beneficiaries are willing to acquire or expand into new knowledge and learn new skills.	• Extent to which beneficiaries successfully complete training, relevant programmes, or deliver of products and services that involve an expansion of skills.

Links	Theoretical Assumptions	Conditions	Data Required to Test Links, Theoretical Assumptions and Conditions
	Opportunities for Income Generation Accept and benefit from opportunities of income generation.	Surrounding context provides alternative opportunities for income generation or appropriate level of demand for products and services.	• Extent to which alternatives opportunities for income generation are available. • Extent to which beneficiaries generate income from opportunities provided by the social enterprise.
Beneficiary Retention	**Community and Belonging** Sense of association amongst beneficiaries and wider community.	Beneficiaries relate to and connect with their peers and wider community.	• Level of involvement and extent to which beneficiaries value their peers and wider community.
	Recognition Feelings of appreciation and contribution.	Minimum threshold of income attained.	• Extent to which beneficiaries participate in marketing and sales activities on behalf of the social enterprise. • Beneficiary minimum income requirements. • Extent to which minimum income requirements are attained.
Negative Effects	**Culture Learning Curve Business Performance**	Beneficiaries leave because of failure to manage or mitigate negative effects.	• Extent to which beneficiaries leave for reasons other than better opportunities for income generation.

Table 23 Framework for Social Impact Measurement

While each effect could be tracked (Weiss, 2000a), this presents a potentially large amount of evidence that could not be handled in simple programmes (Weiss, 1997b) especially when psychosocial factors are at play (Weiss, 1997a) which are in themselves challenging to operationalise. One of the original contributions of this study is the development of a preliminary change model linking the setup of social enterprises providing contractual opportunities to poverty alleviation, a complicated outcome with a delayed effect (Agola and Awange, 2014). While output-related measurements are straightforward, a good option is to identify well-tested social science theories (Weiss, 1997b) to fill in for other underlying theoretical assumptions (Weiss, 1997b) and then subsequently look for where the causal chain breaks down (Weiss, 1997b). In this case, appropriate leadership theories for beneficiary participation, and motivation theories for beneficiary retention. This forms the second level of SIA of social enterprises using TBE.

Analysis in TBE goes beyond just checking whether or not effects are present (Rogers, 2007). If participants go through all mechanisms, there is a plausible reason that the social enterprises made a long-term difference in the intended outcome (Weiss, 2000a) "without making claims about the overall net effects ... on an outcome" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013, para. 2 in section 3.4). As a result, TBE also seeks to test the underlying change model and "how well the evidence matches" (Weiss, 1997b, p. 512) the theoretical assumptions and conditions that are identified. This forms the third, and more complete, level of SIA of social enterprises using TBE.

Weiss (1998) presents a few options for analysis that are selected in combination to meet the goal of an evaluation. From descriptions to comparisons, from finding commonalities to examining deviant cases and rival explanations, these techniques provide evaluators with the tools necessary to study the evaluation questions asked (Weiss, 1998) and are flexible for both qualitative and quantitative data (Weiss, 1998). Interesting options include Structural Equation Modelling (SEM), when data is mostly quantitative, and pattern matching (Weiss, 1997b), which is similar to SEM, that is flexible to accommodate both quantitative and qualitative data.

Pattern matching compares what is expected from a "conceptualised theoretical pattern" (Trochim, 1989, p. 356) from formal theory, ideas, assumptions, or a combination, to observed quantitative or qualitative data and analysis, and tries to identify patterns and compare them to the theorised patterns (Trochim, 1989). An example in qualitative research is thematic analysis that is central to comparing a causal change model with observed qualitative data (Trochim, 1989). As a result, an evaluator can make observations on differences between the change model and what analytical techniques generate.

6.4.2 Managing and Reporting on Social Impact

Besides legitimacy, there are four matters that are key to managing and evaluating on social impact by social enterprises. The first aspect is related to the beneficiaries. The social enterprise should have a plan to monitor the beneficiary, their disadvantage, and their needs and mitigate any unintended consequences that come along particularly clarifying up front the causal group that the social enterprise belongs to. The second is related to building and managing a sustainable profitable business. The third aspect is monitoring the social enterprise space, ready to deal with changes in the institutional environment that may impact the legitimacy of the social enterprise. The fourth, and most important aspect, is to keep monitoring effects through beneficiaries' perception and behaviour. This involves working closely with beneficiaries seeking feedback on their perception of social enterprise activities and deciding on respective signals, their fit, consistency and frequency (Connelly et al., 2011). While this study was exploratory, it is expected that future research may operationalise the impact pathways for change in social enterprises that target poverty alleviation through income generation and make it easier for social enterprises to monitor and manage impact pathways through the quality of observable signals.

In mirroring the impact pathways and aspects in managing social impact, reporting would need to be focused on why and how change occurs. From early effects, intended opportunities to subsequent effects, reporting on

social impact would involve reporting on outputs in the first instance, but also on context, beneficiary needs and perceptions', and psychosocial benefits, i.e. data presented in section 6.4.1 above. The challenge that social enterprises would face in reporting is acceptability by others who seek answers to whether or not interventions worked in the short-term as opposed to how and why interventions worked in the long-term.

6.4.3 Comparing Social Enterprises

Social impact investors are interested in social impact measurement as it is "part of their mission to understand the social/environmental impact" (Mudaliar, Schiff and Bass, 2016, p. 36) of their investments. Impact investors either use proprietary metrics that are not aligned to any one framework, or they use impact reporting and investment standards (IRIS) metrics or the social return on investment (SROI), and others through qualitative information (Mudaliar, Schiff and Bass, 2016, p. 36) seeking timely, accurate and outcome-focused results (Mudaliar, Schiff and Bass, 2016, p. 38).

This study uncovered how and why change occurs through specific links, causal mechanisms, effects and respective conditions that investors, grant-funders and governments can use as a basis of comparison. However, causal similarity is central when engaging in comparative analysis of causes and effects (Beach and Pedersen, 2013), otherwise false conclusions may occur similar to how they can occur in poor social impact measurement (Millar, Simeone and Carnevale, 2001). As a result, when comparing social enterprises, two questions must be answered, do the social enterprises belong to the same causally similar group and if yes, do observed patterns match what is expected in the change model?

This feeds into a future opportunity, section 7.4, to design an instrument that ascertains the causal similarity of the social enterprises and subsequently, pending testing of the preliminary change model, focus on each of the mechanisms or alternative social science theories to examine the extent to

which conditions and effects occur inline with how SIA would unfold, section 6.4.1.

6.5 Reflections on TBE for SIA

6.5.1 Strengths

The primary driver for this research study was to explore alternative approaches to the social impact of social enterprises because of challenges in current approaches. While this study did not undertake a full evaluation by applying qualitative or quantitative techniques to validate or test causal mechanisms and outcomes, it took one of the more difficult steps towards theory-based evaluation: uncovering the causal mechanisms.

The challenges in current approaches uncovered in this research study included unqualified assumptions about direct attribution of output to outcome, a lack of distinction between social enterprises and charity and commercial counterparts, and the push for quantification leading to complicated proxies.

One of the advantages of the TBE approach is that it directly dealt with the unqualified assumption about the direct path to change assumed in social enterprises. Uncovering causal mechanisms opened up the 'black box' of change depicting the pathways to impact, some of which illustrate that the assumption of direct attribution between outputs and outcomes may be false, as non-output related mechanisms were identified. Uncovering the causal mechanisms made it easy to identify the potential differentiating factors between social enterprises and other charity and commercial counterparts. Finally, while the approach does not directly argue against quantification or any other method, by uncovering the causal mechanisms and related opportunities for impact, methods chosen could more closely match how mechanism, effects and conditions could best be assessed without the need for complicated approaches.

The approach to SIA via TBE focuses on the beneficiary and shifts the view of social impact from various stakeholders to a view that is focused on

change, making beneficiaries central to social impact. Interestingly, it uncovered some activities that social enterprises engage in that do not make a difference from a social impact perspective warranting further understanding and, possibly, improvement. For example, beneficiaries in social enterprise C did not find information sharing on third-party learning and certification to be of significance or even necessary. Another example is in social enterprise P where beneficiaries did not find the ability to work for others to be of significance. Similarly, in social enterprise L, using their existing talents and abilities for income generation as opposed to learning new skills was not significant to beneficiaries.

6.5.2 Weaknesses

Using TBE for SIA of social enterprises is about assessing change through a valid change model detailed enough to pickup effects and links to the intended outcome. While recognising the benefits, the TBE approach to SIA was time consuming and resource intensive; is dependent on the accuracy of the mapping of causally similar groups; and involves extensive data requirements for measurement.

Requiring more intensive conceptual work than conventional evaluation (Chen and Rossi, 1989), the approach was time and resource intensive. Besides the need to mitigate bias in uncovering underlying causal mechanisms, extensive effort was required to go through the multitude of signals that could come into play for the same causal mechanism from both the beneficiaries' and social enterprises' side while ensuring the validity and reliability of data collected. Related to that, it was challenging to keep switching between the research-focused component of uncovering the change model and the evaluation-focused component of visualising how TBE would unfold for the assessment of social impact. This validates what was covered in the literature in that theory development and articulation are the most expensive and time extensive parts of TBE, requiring distinctive skillsets and detachment between the researcher and evaluator roles (Galloway, 2009).

Whether in articulating the change model or in comparing social enterprises, using TBE for the SIA of social enterprise is dependent on an accurate map of causally similar social enterprises. Otherwise, both an evaluation and comparison of social enterprises could lead to erroneous conclusions. The third weakness, that was also uncovered by Weiss (1997b), is the extensive data required to measure effects and validation that change occurs inline with underlying theoretical assumptions and conditions.

Besides the resources on hand and a map that depicts causally similar social enterprises, the decision and extent to which TBE could be used for the SIA of social enterprises is dependent on resolving the effort involved in articulating and measuring the change model of the social enterprise being evaluated, whether or not; (i) other similar evaluations have been conducted on interventions within the same causally similar group; (ii) comparable middle range theories have been identified in the literature; or (iii) a conceptual change model can be developed from existing social science theory.

6.6 Sources of Alternative Explanations

6.6.1   Classification and Causally Similar Groups

Besides sources of alternative explanations below that are also applicable to the classification study, and while the classification study followed clear and replicable steps in developing the classification of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation, there is an element of error as the classification was based on publicly available information that may or may not have been accurate. In addition, the classification study was limited to social enterprises that had websites in English, leaving out others, particularly in South America and Europe, and based on those listed on influential player listings that may be representative of the best social enterprises.

6.6.2   Bias: Leader, Beneficiary, Researcher

Data Collection The publicity of social enterprises and the propaganda associated with their rapid rise and importance brings out potential bias in

information that social enterprise leaders share in terms of language and examples. Recognising this, this study was designed around semi-structured interviews to bring out the areas that felt like potential bias, which often showed up in the beginning of the interviews, and look at both negative and positive aspects of social impact. While less impactful, beneficiaries may also bring in positive bias as they were picked by the social enterprises themselves. This was also dealt with through the semi-structured interviews pushing for consequences and unintended consequences in more than one question or approach. As a researcher, I also started out with bias tending more on the negative side as my drive to do this research was based on questioning the legitimacy of social enterprises and ethical matters related to making promises on social problems. In this case, I made sure I focused on the positives as well.

Data Analysis The case study was designed in a way that data were analysed after each set of interviews but before the next case was begun. This may have introduced potential bias in coding subsequent case findings. The quality requirements of the methodology mitigate this risk along with reflexivity against opportunities identified and the acceptance that signals are not necessarily independent. The open coding and thematising process was also subjective and a peer reviewer to carry out a similar analysis in the future would be beneficial.

6.6.3 Social Enterprises: Maturity, Revenues and Beneficiaries

The key question here is whether or not the information collected and analysed would have been different if social enterprises were more than 20 years old? Or if they experienced steady growth in revenues? Or what if the targeted group were not women?

This study specifically focused on social enterprises that are more than two years old but not more than ten years old. If anything, it is the subsequent impact findings that would be affected and hence why other case studies and research trying to generalise findings would need to take into account social enterprise maturity.

Another aspect that was more profound in social enterprise P over the other social enterprises is related to the lower revenues, which could have led to beneficiaries focusing more on their needs instead of subsequent impacts. This limits the ability for this study to explore further subsequent impacts.

While all three social enterprises targeted disadvantaged women, whether or not other characteristics could have impacted findings, and more specifically, early and subsequent effects, is one that could be dealt with in subsequent similar case studies.

6.7 Chapter Summary

Overall, using theory-based evaluation uncovered pathways to impact that were not readily known, including psychosocial factors distinguishing social enterprises from charity and commercial counterparts. The approach also helps segregate impactful causal mechanisms from activities that are either unnecessary or necessary for business and regulatory purposes.

The approach was demanding with ethical delicacies in dealing with beneficiaries, however testing the change model would enable the development of a middle-range theory of poverty alleviation in social enterprises in addition to building a theoretically grounded instrument for carrying out and comparing the social impact of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation which would have an immense practical benefit.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This study explored the use of theory-based evaluation in understanding and discerning the social impact of social enterprises as an alternative to current debatable approaches to social impact assessment to better inform the legitimacy of social enterprises.

This chapter recaptures key aspects in the literature review, the research design and methodology, along with summarising findings and reflections. This chapter also covers research benefits, limitations and implications on the future study of social impact of social enterprises together with suggestions on future research, especially in moving research in both social entrepreneurship and the social sciences forward, building better theories for both programme design and evaluation (Weiss, 1997a)

7.2 Summary of Conclusions

After introducing social enterprises and their wide diversity in scope, the definition of what 'social' is, legal forms, operational structures, and differences within institutional contexts, the literature review (Chapter 2) provided a detailed account of why an exploration of a new approach to social impact evaluation is warranted. Legitimacy, comparison and ethics are central to the drive for SIA of social enterprises that are positioned as alternatives to charity, public services and profit-focused commercial enterprises. While there are many approaches to SIA spanning the positivist and interpretivist spectrum, the review covered existing SIA approaches that have been popularised and new ones that have attempted to overcome challenges in existing approaches. Theory-based evaluation offered a potential opportunity to understand and discern the social impact of social enterprises overcoming challenges in current approaches.

Based on the literature review and the notion of using effective signals to operationalise causal mechanisms, and as an original contribution, a classification depicting causally similar groups within the population of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through income generation

was developed followed by an exploratory, comparative case study with three social enterprises from the same causally similar group using semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries, leaders and employees (where possible), to explore (Chapter 3) whether or not theory-based evaluation did offer something that was theoretically relevant and practically convenient. While causal mechanisms could have been uncovered by the leaders and employees (where possible) of the social enterprises, the aim was to capture how change occurs and not how it is designed.

Individual cases were analysed through open and axial coding followed by thematic analysis to uncover the causal mechanisms and related effects for change to occur (Chapter 4). Subsequent cross-case findings (Chapter 5) illustrated that beyond output-related mechanisms such as enablement, knowledge and skills and opportunities for income generation, it was mechanisms of leadership and support, community and belonging, and recognition that impacted the likelihood that long-term intended outcome would materialise by increasing the likelihood that beneficiaries would stay with the social enterprise subject to negative consequences that are mitigated and managed. The resulting effects, both benefits and consequences, illustrate the social impact of these social enterprises as beneficiaries go through the journey of change increasing the likelihood that the social enterprise was responsible for the change even if partially attributed. As an original contribution, change models along with change models with negative consequences, were depicted for social enterprises providing contractual opportunities for poverty alleviation.

The unintended consequences uncovered in the three social enterprises were similar, revolving around three themes, although conflicting priorities did come up in social enterprise L as beneficiaries take on other opportunities in tandem with those offered by the social enterprise. The first one is that some causal mechanisms may oppose beneficiaries' cultural norms, the second is the sometimes steep learning curve, time and complexity involved in the tasks that enable opportunities for impact to occur. The third theme is related to inconsistent and/or low business and revenue performance, which

limits opportunities for income generation. The unintended consequences have a mediating effect on social impact, some of which were dealt with through enablers of income generation.

Chapter 6 subsequently puts the cross-case findings into context. The findings uncovered the importance of causally similar groups both when studying change and social impact and when practically comparing social enterprises. As an original contribution, findings clarify the role of legal form, context and beneficiaries when it comes to change and how scalability is not necessarily about increasing the number of beneficiaries benefitting from the social enterprise, but reverts the focus on the extent to which change occurs, also driving the central focus of sustainability and scalability. Altogether, this study helps to better understand the social impact of social enterprises.

7.3 Research Benefits and Contribution to Knowledge

As an original research contribution, this study uncovered a replicable classification and matrix for social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation through income generation. The classification simplifies how social enterprises are viewed, provides a basis of how comparative research can be carried out for social enterprises under a common basis, and provides an example of how the social enterprise domain can be simplified.

Expanding on EURECIA's (Nedeva et al., 2012) approach to operationalising causal mechanisms, this study introduces a theoretical basis to this approach by bringing in concepts from signalling theory that align with the principles of TBE, factors of quality that could be discerned by researchers trying to uncover causal mechanisms and elements of causality.

Another important original contribution is uncovering a change model in social enterprises that target poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities together with the conditions needed for change. Covering both positive and negative effects, the underlying causal mechanisms form a basis for future research and impact evaluation that clarifies what is important when it comes to change. Related to that, the preliminary change

model brings an interesting view to social impact that, when combined with well-tested theories of leadership and motivation, provide a basis of which social impact can be optimised.

Methodologically, and also as an original contribution, this study provides a detailed account of how causally similar groups could be identified, how a multiple causal case study with access to unique beneficiary views could carried out, and more importantly, this study details a replicable approach of how TBE could be used to uncover the underlying change model in social enterprises, something which is rarely detailed in existing journals. For the research community generally, this study provides another example of inductive research using qualitative data collection, within-case and cross-cases methods.

7.4 Research Benefits and Contribution to Practice

Building on the concept of causal similarity, the classification provides a basis on which social enterprises can be compared and understood by social investors, supporters of social enterprises and even social enterprises themselves who seek to compare their performance with others.

Another important contribution to practice is uncovering a change model in social enterprises that target poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities. This brings into focus a new view to social impact that is clear, including psychosocial factors that provide a basis of which the likelihood of change and social impact is predictable early on based on how effects are traced across the change model without the need for a control group.

A key practical contribution as well is the framework for social impact measurement that forms the basis of an instrument that assigns causal similarity to social enterprises of interest and then tests the extent to which causal mechanisms and related effects materialise that would benefit social enterprises in self-assessment and social investors in comparison.

One of the key contributions in practice that is tied to the TBE approach (is

the premise that while social enterprises may implement social aims and objectives differently, their causal similarity provides a basis of comparison and scalability at the level of theoretical assumptions (Birckmayer and Weiss, 2000).

7.5 Research Challenges and Limitations

While methodological limitations were covered under methodology (Chapter 3), this section covers general challenges and limitations in conducting this research along with other significant challenges.

Overall, it was often difficult to separate my role as researcher from my role as evaluator. In addition, developing the change model was challenging requiring care in uncovering mechanisms and what is deemed an effective signal versus noise confirming the same (Galloway, 2009).

The first significant challenge faced in this study was related to finding an alternative framework or approach to social impact given the challenges of existing approaches and even approaches in other domains. Even when TBE was chosen as an alternative, existing research does not elaborate on how TBE is undertaken and, more important, how different concepts within TBE, causal mechanisms in particular, can be operationalised.

While bias was already covered as a source of alternative explanation to the findings, the second significant challenge within this study was finally confirming the social enterprises that will participate in the research. While classifying social enterprises aids in simplifying and clarifying the approach to case selection, the key challenges in case selection were related to choosing social enterprises that are accessible geographically, using English as the predominant language of communication, allowing access to beneficiaries, and grouped within the same classification. Starting from a personal network, and moving to influential player website listings, a public call for participation through LinkedIn social enterprise-focused groups and a filtration survey, local social enterprise listings and guides, it took six months to confirm the social enterprises that would participate in the study.

The other challenge was related to the fact that two of the social enterprises did not have other employees and had limited information online, and hence, validation of practices undertaken by the social enterprise was limited. For example, in social enterprise L, the beneficiaries putting their signatures on each piece was considered an important signal while the director did not mention it. The group was four years old, but it did not have a website with detailed information. Using the quality requirement of a minimum of two beneficiaries per signal along with an assessment of the strength of the respective signals ensures that important signals are not disregarded.

Another challenge was in respect of choosing beneficiaries, which was left to the leaders of the social enterprises. While I requested four beneficiaries with different seniority and extent of involvement with the social enterprises, there is always the risk that these may be the best of the beneficiaries exposing a more positive bias than others would. I used the flexibility of the semi-structured interviews to deal with such challenges.

The predominantly qualitative nature of this study makes it time-consuming especially during analysis and despite careful case study design and planning, coding and constant comparison methods were challenging. Related to this, as a single researcher, work has its benefits but also has its challenges from varying interviewers to coding to time and how many social enterprises could have been covered which would have made it even stronger. Additional challenges included the nature of this study being part of a doctoral piece of work relying on independent work without access to other people to enhance validity and reliability, and limited time to complete the research with a limited the number of cases used.

Nevertheless, the approach was time consuming and demanding with particular care taken to ensure validity and reliability of findings. While working with beneficiaries was critical to the research design of this study, it was also challenging to ensure bias was managed and ethics were dealt

with. Even analysing the data collected was exposed to researcher bias. More importantly, while it was not clear if the causal mechanisms uncovered encapsulated all the ones in play for social enterprises providing opportunities for income generation as means to poverty alleviation, the study did uncover the ones that are shared amongst causally similar social enterprises providing contractual opportunities for poverty alleviation. Key sources of alternative explanations are bias by the researcher, leader and employees, beneficiaries as well as social enterprise maturity and the targeted beneficiaries.

7.6 Future Research

Through semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries, leaders and employees (where possible), in three social enterprises within the causally similar group of targeting poverty alleviation through contractual opportunities, this comparative case study inductively uncovered causal mechanisms and related effects that provide beneficiaries with opportunities for impact to occur while also uncovering the unintended consequences generated as a result. Cross-case themes were identified and key learnings pertaining to scalability, sustainability and legitimacy of social enterprises were discussed. From findings to challenges experienced, there are five suggestions for future research that would move the findings from this research forward to generate even greater theoretical and practical benefits.

Landscape of Social Enterprises and Causally Similar Groups

Having benefitted practically from the classification of social enterprises targeting poverty alleviation via income generation in this study, a beneficial step forward is further testing the classification and replicating the classification study across social enterprises with different social aims. This overcomes the wide diversity of social enterprises and sets a baseline for studying and comparing social enterprises in a way that is causally consistent, improving the validity of subsequent research in social entrepreneurship and starting to work through opportunities to generalise social impact pathways across social enterprises.

Middle-range Theory of Poverty Alleviation and Social Enterprises

Theory is "a set of well-developed concepts related through statements of relations, which together constitute an integrated framework that can be used to explain or predict phenomena" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 15). Middle-range theories are not over-arching, yet they provide sufficient explanation to concepts (Boudon, 1991) that could eventually inform a more general theory (Eisendhardt and Bourgeois, 1988). The resulting change model and related conditions for change to occur represent such middle-range theory. Similarly, future study may also include more widely testing the change model through a questionnaire covering both the same and other causally similar groups to support a more general theory on social enterprises and poverty alleviation.

Testing Social Science Theories that can Better Inform and Enhance the Extent of Which Social Impact Occurs

From the change model and conditions identified for change to occur, there are two areas of social science theory that could be investigated and integrated into the preliminary change model to move the domain of social entrepreneurship and social impact forward.

One such study is testing theories of leadership on social enterprises comparing a good and (what may be considered) a bad social enterprise and the impact it has on beneficiary participation and retention. Similarly, another study testing theories of motivation on social enterprises comparing a good and (what may considered) a bas social enterprises and the impact it has on beneficiary retention. Both ultimately feed into the likelihood that beneficiaries respond to social enterprises in a way that increases the likelihood for change and social impact to occur.

Similarly, the study uncovered three unique conditions that could be further explored to better inform and improve the extent to which social impact occurs: small, self-funded social enterprises (better planning to strengthen

signals); social enterprises in rural areas (enhancing effects related to the causal mechanism of community and belonging); and contexts with limited surrounding opportunities for income generation (enhancing effects of opportunities for income generation).

Informing the Legitimacy of Social Enterprises

Another valuable area of future work includes a similar study comparing the impact, i.e. causal mechanisms, opportunities and unintended consequences, of social enterprises to commercial enterprises that adopt similar approaches and to charity organisations that deal with poverty alleviation through income as a social focus.

Another approach, and while TBE waives the need for a control group, a counterfactual describes what would have happened to the same beneficiaries without a programme or intervention (White, 2010). In the case of social enterprises, a suitable counterfactual may be using panel data on poverty and relevant data on charity and/or business domains.

Optimising Signalling for Social Impact

A final area of potential future study is seeking ways that helps social enterprises strengthen signalling of causal mechanisms that would aid communication to stakeholders who could more quickly ascertain the social impact of social enterprises. This could be accomplished by testing variations in signal quality namely signal fit, frequency, and consistency (Connelly et al., 2011) on observability of relevant causal mechanisms and related effects starting from codes identified in thus study or through relevant constructs identified from applicable social science theories of leadership and motivation. Through the quality of observable signals, social enterprises could in turn focus on "signaling their unobservable quality" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 53) of social impact.

7.7 A Final Note

Despite increased understanding, adopting TBE for social impact evaluations is complicated and time-consuming requiring advanced research skills that do not match social enterprises', social impact investors' and grant funders' preferences to simple ways to compare social enterprises. For now, the decision to approach SIA of social enterprises through theory-based evaluation in practice is one that should be made on a cost-benefit basis especially when dealing with complex programmes.

Nonetheless, and done well, the value that TBE adds to knowledge is substantial as continuing to uncover causal mechanisms, related effects, unintended consequences and conditions for change to occur, provide great opportunities for learning, understanding and progress both in theory and practice.

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Appendix I PHILOSOPHY AND CRITCAL REALISM IN BRIEF

Guba and Lincoln (1994) saw philosophical positions as a combination of one's ontological, epistemological and methodological positions. Making clear views about each of these aspects, one can uncover their mode of enquiry with the understanding that even paradigms are matters of "human construction" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 108) and one is not necessarily better or worse than the other.

My ontological position in terms of "what exists in the world, what is the nature and structure of it" (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013, p. 5) is that there is an external reality that may have been shaped by societal values and other aspects that affect social status and social change, i.e. realism. My epistemological position in terms of "the nature of human knowledge and understanding that can be acquired through different means of inquiry" (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013, p. 5) is positivistic in that there is an independent, external world that we experience with our senses and thoughts and is valid. It may be open to doubt, and it may mean that theories and what we know today may change or even be completely refuted tomorrow with researcher bias. When it comes to the approach to gaining information and knowledge about something, i.e. between hypothesis testing and experimentation versus understanding the subject including background and thinking (Lehner and Kansikas, 2013), I find myself somewhere in between, and being dictated by the subject under study.

Like myself, not all researchers have an absolute subjective or objective position, new stances on philosophical positions have come up as alternatives. Post-positivism primarily focuses on issues in positivism related to language and its reflection of reality (Gill and Johnson, 2010). Pragmatism is also another interesting stance that combines both subjective and objective views, where the approach to research is one of "practical adequacy" (Gill and Johnson, 2010, p. 187) and how successfully an approach can bring about the "realisation of particular objectives" (Gill and

Johnson, 2010, p. 187). Bhaskar's (2008) (cited in Lacouture et al., 2015, p. 7) critical realism, is another.

While commenting on and assessing critical realism is not the focus of this study, it is important to briefly cover it as it is the basis of theory-based evaluation and the notion that underlying causal mechanisms are means to uncovering the 'black box' of interventions.

The idea that social reality is made up of hidden, generative mechanisms (Lacouture et al., 2015) is rooted in realism. Critical realism applies evaluative, positivistic techniques to typically interpretivist social theory (Mingers, 2006) such as generative mechanisms. Evaluation then uncovers the generative mechanisms in various contexts where activities enable responses and decision-making by recipients who are "able to transform social structures by responding creatively to the circumstances in which they find themselves" (Lacouture et al., 2015, p. 5).

Critical realism breaks up the ontology of transformation into three different levels: (a) what really happens between mechanisms, events and experiences; (b) what is seen to happen between events and experiences; and (c) the experiences that one can study empirically (Mingers, 2006).

Theory-based evaluation, i.e. evaluation in critical realism, describes a predominantly "unexplained phenomenon and propose[s] hypothetical mechanisms that, if they existed, would generate or cause that which is to be explained" (Mingers, 2006, p. 23).

Besides questions challenging the ontological assumptions in critical realism, debatable arguments typically revolve around the mechanisms that are often uncovered that may or may not be testable and that may or may not explain change or provide a clear explanation of causal events and how societies transform (Mingers, 2006).

APPENDIX II CLASSIFICATION – SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Source	Social Enterprise	Dimension Group	Characteristic Group
Ashoka	Africa Yoga Project	Contracting	Create Direct Opportunities
Schwab	Rags2Riches		
Schwab	Agentura ProVas	Employment	
Schwab	Specialist People Foundation		
Skoll	Barefoot College		
Schwab	Alliance for Rehabilitation		
Ashoka	Akwos		
Ashoka	Conserve India		
Ashoka	Réseau des Jardins de Cocagne		
Schwab	Coronilla[10]		
Ashoka	Alashanek Ya Balady (AYB)[11]	Job Placement	Facilitate Opportunities
Schwab	Education for Employment (EFE)[12]		
Ashoka	Timewise Jobs		
Ashoka	Upworldly Global		
Skoll	Friends International		
Ashoka	BUILD Inc.[13]		
Ashoka	Action Network for the Disabled (ANDY) [14]		
Schwab	Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation	Incubate	
Ashoka	Lady Mechanic Initiative		
Ashoka	Program for Women Headed Households in Indonesia (PEKKA - Perempuan Kepala Keluarga)		
Ashoka	Project Restore		
Ashoka	Water Lily Women's Cooperative		
Ashoka	Agrisud		
Ashoka	Farm Shop	Group	Empowering Opportunities
Ashoka	M-Farm		
Schwab	Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA)		
Ashoka	Association Wouol		
Ashoka	Nucafe		
Skoll/Schwab	Nidan		
Ashoka	Kaushalya Foundation		
Ashoka	Stree Mukti Sanghatana		
Ashoka	Farms and Farmers (FnF) Foundation		
Ashoka	Honey Care Africa	Access and	

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[10] It could be argued that Coronilla is a social enterprise focused on fairtrade as opposed to specifically targeting income generation for targeted beneficiaries but it wasn't clear so it was kept in the sample given its role in employing disadvantaged beneficiaries in its value chain.

[11] AYB is primarily focused on facilitating employment through job placement for the youth. Having said that, in limited cases, AYB employs the best of the trained beneficiaries to produce handicrafts for AYB's handicrafts business. These are minor cases and are not the focus of AYB.

[12] While EFE does not incubate businesses per se, they do enable entrepreneurship for those who wish to take a different route than the primary focus of job placement.

[13] BUILD is primarily focused on training and job placement and in exceptional cases, they themselves hire some of the best beneficiaries as a form of job placement as well.

[14] Like EFE, ANDY does not incubate businesses per se, but they do enable entrepreneurship for those who wish to take a different route than the primary focus of job placement.

Source	Social Enterprise	Dimension Group	Characteristic Group
Skoll	International Development Enterprises (IDE)-India	Diversify Markets	
Ashoka	Semilla Nueva		
Skoll	Kickstart International		
Skoll	Kiva	Social Enterprise Led	Enable Opportunities
Ashoka	After School Graduate Development Center for Employability and Enterprise		
Skoll	Digital Divide Data		
Ashoka	Young Africa		
Ashoka	FEM-International		
Schwab	Questscope		
Skoll	Injaz		
Ashoka	The Nida Foundation		
Skoll	Fundacion Paraguaya		
Ashoka	Family Independence Initiative	Beneficiary Led	
Schwab	Mozaik Foundation		
Ashoka	Zikra Initiative		
Schwab	Saath Livelihood Services		
Schwab	Yedid		

Table 24 List of Social Enterprises per Classification Group

Enabler	Likelihood Ratio	Significance Level (Likelihood)	Fisher's Exact Test	Significance Level (Exact Test)
Employability and Leadership Skills	22.81	**0.004**	18.12	**0.003**
Entrepreneurship and Business Training	22.60	**0.005**	17.01	**0.006**
Incubate New Businesses	7.80	0.516	4.86	0.709
Internships	11.10	0.197	7.31	0.295
Mentorship	19.24	**0.009**	13.75	**0.012**
Microloans	8.86	0.400	7.34	0.388
Saving Circles	12.00	0.103	8.05	0.165
Technical Innovation	27.51	**0.000**	19.39	**0.000**
Vocational Training	24.35	**0.002**	18.47	**0.003**

Table 25 Statistically Significant Differences Between Enablers

APPENDIX III CASE STUDY, DETAILED INTERVIEW GUIDES

Leader and Employee Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. Introduction:
   a. Who I am (researcher)
   b. Why this research
   c. Ethical Awareness
      i. I am recording this interview but neither the recording nor your name will be disclosed
      ii. Say exactly what you think
      iii. I will be taking notes
   d. Who are you
      i. What is your name?
      ii. How long have you been running or employed at the Social enterprise?
      iii. Do you / How do you deal directly with Beneficiaries and when/how
2. Background to the Case
   a. Tell me about the Social enterprise and the how, when, where and why it was Setup
      ➢ Probe:
         o When and where was the Social enterprise established
         o Details on Ownership
         o Drivers for setup
         o What is your geographical focus
         o profit or non-profit
         o What are the profit generating activities?
         o What is the extent of integration and/or exclusivity between social and commercial goals and activities?
         o What are the Social enterprise sources of income between revenues, grants and donations?
         o Are there any collaborative practices or partnerships enabling the fulfilment of the Social Aim?
         o Does the Social enterprise use volunteers and to what extent?
         o How does the Social enterprise assess or monitor Social Impact?
         o What does it mean to you?
         o Is it a one-off effort and initiative or is it on going?
3. Beneficiaries
   a. Who are the direct beneficiaries that the Social enterprise impacts?
   a. Probe:

- o What is their disadvantage?
- o Is there a specific group targeted? Women / Disabilities / Youth etc.
- o Where are the target beneficiaries? Global / Regional / Local
- o What is important to these beneficiaries when it comes to Poverty Alleviation?
- o What are the other affected elements within beneficiaries' lives?
- o Who are the indirect beneficiaries for your Social enterprise? Anyone else affected?
  - b. What is important to these beneficiaries when it comes to Poverty Alleviation?
    - o What are the affected elements within beneficiaries' lives?
4. Opportunities and Conditions
   - a. You have elaborated about the Social enterprise more generally and who it aims to benefit and what is important to your target beneficiaries, what about you, what are the intended opportunities?

     Chapter 1   Probe:
     - o How are these opportunities delivered?
     - o How are beneficiaries selected, monitored and supported?
     - o How are the delivered opportunities monitored?
     - o Have all these opportunities been benefitted from?
     - o Any unexpected outcomes from these opportunities?
     - o How does the Social Enterprise influence or change contextual or other conditions to ensure these changes are enabled?
   - b. Sometimes, organisational actions lead to unintended benefits and consequences, what are the unintended benefits and consequences that have resulted from the Social enterprise's activities?
     - ➢ Probe:
       - o What about unintended consequences?
       - o How did the direct or indirect beneficiaries view these unintended benefits and consequences? Have they influenced the way beneficiaries perceive what you aim to deliver? Not only direct beneficiaries but also your reputation and the indirect beneficiaries and external context?
       - o Any of the unintended benefits and consequences surprise you? How and why?
5. Mechanisms
   - a. Have you dealt with directly with beneficiaries? If yes, what is the experience that beneficiaries have had in applying to,

participating in, and/or benefitting from the Social enterprise and its activities?

➤ Probe:
  ○ If you haven't been directly involved, have you ever heard anything about this from your employees who are directly involved?
  ○ Operationally, how do you think collaboration practices and Volunteers and other external resources are viewed by beneficiaries

b. Where do you think your Social enterprise stands in terms of reputation? How are you perceived in the larger context, locally, regionally or globally?

➤ Probe:
  ○ Has the Social enterprise been identified by other third party foundations or influential players as an influential change maker?
  ○ How active are you in shaping local / regional / global policy on Poverty Alleviation?
  ○ Has the Social enterprise been identified by other third party foundations or influential players as an influential change maker?

6. Ending
  d. Thank you for your time, it has been helpful.
  e. If you have any concerns, please feel free to get in touch with me at anytime.
  f. I would to remind you that your name will not be disclosed and all comments are kept anonymous.

Beneficiary Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. Introduction:
   a. Who I am (researcher)
   b. Why this research
      i. We are looking at how Social enterprises deliver opportunities to Beneficiaries (Careful to keep it brief as it may lead to a highly defensive or offensive approach to responses)
   c. Ethical Awareness
      i. I am recording this interview but neither the recording nor your names will be shared whether in sound or in words with anyone else
      ii. Say exactly what you think
      iii. If you are uncomfortable, please feel free to say so now
      iv. I will also be taking notes
      v. Any questions?
   d. Who are you
      i. What is your name?
      ii. How long have you been benefitting from or aware of the Social enterprise
2. Beneficiaries
   a. Let us talk about who you are?
      i. Probe:
         o What is your disadvantage?
   b. What is important to you when it comes to Poverty Alleviation?
      i. Probe:
         o What are the other affected elements within beneficiaries' lives?
         o How do others get affected by your work?
3. Opportunities
   a. How have you benefitted from the Social enterprise?
      ➢ Probe:
         o How were you selected, monitored and supported?
   b. Did the Social enterprise offer you something that you were neither interested in nor benefitted from?
      ➢ Probe:
         o Anything negatively affect you as a result of these offerings?
         o How has that affected you in your interest in benefitting from this and other Social enterprises?
4. Mechanisms
   a. What has been your experience in applying to, participating in, and/or benefitting from the Social enterprise and its activities?
   c. How else do you engage with the Social Enterprise?
      a. Probe:

        b. How does that affect you?
5. Ending
    a. Thank you for your time, it has been helpful.
    b. If you have any concerns, please feel free to get in touch with me at anytime.
    c. I would to remind you that your name will not be disclosed and all comments are kept anonymous.

APPENDIX IV MATRIX OF CODES, THEMES AND DIMENSIONS

Dimension	Theme	Social Enterprise L	Social Enterprise P	Social Enterprise C
Beneficiary Participation	Leadership and Support	o Director keeps communication lines open and updates beneficiaries on plans and whereabouts o Director is beneficiary-facing and accessible o Director connects with beneficiaries beyond work o Director is humble and respectful o Director is knowledgeable and exposed to a world beyond the beneficiaries o The Director's hands-on approach is distinctive to other charities or businesses hiring beneficiaries for the same type of work	o Managing partner is known as an active volunteer and supporter to people in the village o Managing partner is directly and visibly involved in the social enterprise o Managing partner directly recruits and trains beneficiaries on new designs o Managing partner arranges pick ups and prepares products for delivery	o The team is known to all beneficiaries and is are accessible in person, by phone or email o The team is always following up and in touch with beneficiaries especially those they do not hear from often o The team supports women in many different ways beyond training and income opportunities o Complaints are dealt with quickly and justly

Dimension	Theme	Social Enterprise L	Social Enterprise P	Social Enterprise C
	Enablement	o Meetings and production sessions take place in refugee camps	o Beneficiaries are provided with the patterns and specifications for products needed o Beneficiaries receive orders and deliver finished products in a convenient and efficient manner o There is a central work centre that beneficiaries go to pick up materials, train or make products together if new o Beneficiaries can generate income from the comfort of their homes. o Social entrepreneur helps them beyond money.	o Working with social enterprise C is flexible and beneficiaries can decide what kind of schedule to keep by being able to decline assignments o Coordinator provides interpreters with everything they need and are easy to receive o Through the charity, the social enterprise supports women in babysitting or any other needs
Intervention	Knowledge and Skills	o Beneficiaries are part of product development expanding on existing knowledge and skills	o Beneficiaries are trained on new skills related to new products	o Highly professional, affordable, training and certification o One of the best training provided in the market

Dimension	Theme	Social Enterprise L	Social Enterprise P	Social Enterprise C
Beneficiary Retention	Opportunities for Income Generation	o Beneficiaries are allowed to pursue other opportunities o Beneficiaries are provided with contractual opportunities for income generation o Beneficiaries are paid well	o Beneficiaries are provided contractual opportunities making products specific to the social enterprise	o Beneficiaries are allowed to pursue other opportunities o Beneficiaries are provided with contractual opportunities for income generation o Assignments are not limited to the underlying community cause o Beneficiaries meet with customers and clients who may be future full-time employers
	Community and Belonging	o Beneficiaries meet others in similar disadvantaged situations o Mutual responsibility to finish pieces on time	o Beneficiaries sometimes make jewellery and train together	o Social enterprise is strongly associated with a large charity organisation with an overarching cause beyond poverty alleviation o Beneficiaries connect through meetings, training and events
	Recognition	o Beneficiaries are front facing in the public eye and attend exhibitions within the country		o Beneficiaries get opportunities to attend meetings with funders to share with them their success stories

Table 26 Matrix of Codes, Themes and Dimensions

APPENDIX V EMAIL TO SOCIAL ENTERPRISES

Dear _____ :

My name is Heba Chehade and I am a Doctorate student within the Manchester Institute of Innovation Research at the Alliance School of Business at the University of Manchester.

I am carrying out my research on the important and complex topic of Social Impact of Social enterprises. [My Contact], being a consultant within the field and a mutual contact of ours, suggested that you might be interested in participating in this research as you are passionate about both the field and the need to move this specific aspect forward.

Your involvement, as part of the data collection, will benefit both research and social enterprise communities as they continue to deal with the challenge of assessing Social Impact both practically and efficiently without over burdening and representative of actual impact.

If you agree to participate, you (and your co-founder, if applicable) will be interviewed. In addition, I would need to interview two of your employees who deal directly with beneficiaries, one before and one after interviews with beneficiaries, who we can select together, who may or may not have benefited from your social enterprises. This would be the most challenging as in my experience I have found beneficiaries hesitant to participate so I am making it as simple and as short as possible. Although interviews will be recorded, they will not be disclosed to anyone other than myself and Supervisors overseeing my research. In addition, any comments included in the final dissertation will be anonymous.

In thanks, I will be happy to give you some observations and advise on how to overcome some of your greatest challenges in a two hours consulting session and will send you my exclusive guide to small businesses.

I look forward to working with you and if you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to email me on BLOCK LETTERS@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk. In the meantime, please also find attached the participant sheet and consent form for your review and acknowledgement.

Regards,
Heba Chehade (DBA Candidate)
Manchester Institute of Innovation Research

APPENDIX VI PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

MANCHESTER
1824

The University
of Manchester

Social Impact of Social Enterprises

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in a research study as part of data collection for Heba Chehade's Doctorate degree. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

Who will conduct the research?

Heba Chehade (Researcher), Manchester Institute of Innovation Research at the University of Manchester

Title of the Research

Social Impact of Social enterprise dealing with poverty alleviation

What is the aim of the research?

The aim of this doctorate research is to explore the Social Impact of Social Enterprises dealing with poverty alleviation via Income Generation / Economic Prosperity.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you lead / are employed by a Social enterprise that deals with poverty alleviation through income generation.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

You would be asked to participate in a 1.5-hour audio-recorded interview that would be scheduled at a time and place convenient to you. Following the interview, you would be provided by a transcripted interview and would be asked any further questions or clarifications if need be. Another interview will be avoided and any clarifications would be dealt with either by email or a short telephone call.

You may be asked to provide various documents or samples that would be requested during the interview which you can provide during or post the interview and no copies will be taken unless you choose to provide a copy.

What happens to the data collected?

All data will be retained on the researcher's laptop and backed up on a hard disk and retained for seven (7) years. Only the researcher and two research supervisors will see the data in original form. Any other University of external parties will not be able to access data and if given, it will be anonymous and not for use for any other research.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All data will be retained on the researcher's laptop and backed up on a hard disk and retained for seven (7) years. Only the researcher and two research supervisors will be see the data in original form. Any other University of external parties will not be able to access data and if give, it will be anonymous and not for use for any other research. Audio recordings are electronically saved in the same location as interview notes and information. Transcription will not be outsourced.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to yourself.

Will I be paid for participating in the research?

Participants choose to take part in this research at their own freewill and no compensation will be provided unless the interview takes place in a coffee shop where a coffee and dessert may be provided by the researcher.

What is the duration of the research?

The data collection and analysis will take place over the next six months, March until August 2016.

Where will the research be conducted?

The research will ideally take place at your premises. However, interviews can be carried out elsewhere. While online interviews may be utilised, it is generally a back-up option.

Will the outcomes of the research be published?

The outcomes of the research will be published in a doctorate dissertation saved under the University of Manchester library. Journal articles and a book may be published as a result as well however, detailed data and interview or case information will not be provided unless the participants provide consent.

Who has reviewed the research project?

The University of Manchester Postgraduate Research Committee has approved this doctorate research.

Contact for further information

For any further information or clarifications, please feel free to contact:

Heba Chehade (Researcher)

BLOCK LETTERS@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Tel: BLOCK

Kate Barker (Main Research Supervisor)

BLOCK LETTER@mbs.ac.uk

Maria Nedeva (Secondary Research Supervisor)

BLOCK LETTERS@mbs.ac.uk

What if something goes wrong?

If a participant wants to make a formal complaint about the conduct of the research they should contact the Head of the Research Office, Christie Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL.

APPENDIX VII CONSENT FORM

MANCHESTER 1824

The University of Manchester

Social Impact of Social enterprises

Researcher: Heba Chehade

CONSENT FORM

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below

Please initial box

I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to any treatment/service.	
I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded	
I agree to the use of anonymous quotes	
I agree that any data collected may be passed as anonymous data to a limited number of other researchers	

I agree to take part in the above project.

Name of participant	Date	Signature

Name of Person Taking Consent	Date	Signature