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„Enacting social innovation through a social entrepreneurship infrastructure: the case of Impact Hub Vienna"

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To Spyridoula

Abstract

The present master thesis focuses on social innovation, a concept that fuels currently hot debates in academia and in policy-making circles. I employ qualitative methods and spotlight the ways that social innovation is enacted through a social entrepreneurship infrastructure, namely that of Impact Hub Vienna. By analyzing materials collected in site, I sketch out 1) how actors of business models of social ventures are depicted in workshops, 2) the tacit imperatives that are imposed onto target groups and social entrepreneurs 3) as well as the benefits reserved by incubation programs for paying stakeholders. Contrasting my findings with existing theory of Science and Technology Studies on business models, I argue that business models of social ventures entail two main processes: 1) estrangement for target groups and 2) expertization of partners. The second process implies that in this paradigm of social innovation, legitimization of the concept in general and the social ventures in particular stems from funding organizations. I argue that the process of expertization of funding partners signalizes the emergence of a new model of social governance, in which private organizations assume a more active role in matters with deep sociopolitical content. Finally, by reflecting on the sociopolitical dimensions of this social innovation, I show that the concept cannot be considered as serving a progressive political agenda and a process of positive social transformation.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit befasst sich mit sozialer Innovation; ein Konzept, das derzeit in der Wissenschaft und in politischen Kreisen für heiße Debatten sorgt. Ich verwende qualitative Methoden und beleuchte die Art und Weise, wie soziale Innovation durch eine Infrastruktur für soziales Unternehmertum praktiziert wird, nämlich die von Impact Hub Vienna. Durch die Analyse der von vor Ort gesammeltem Materialien, zeige ich 1) wie Akteure von Geschäftsmodellen für soziale Unternehmer in Workshops dargestellt werden 2) die stillschweigenden Imperativen, die Zielgruppen und sozialen Unternehmern auferlegt werden, 3) sowie die Vorteile, die durch Inkubationsprogramme für zahlende Stakeholder vorbehalten werden. Indem ich meine Ergebnisse mit der bestehenden Theorie der Wissenschafts- und Technikforschung zu Geschäftsmodellen vergleiche, argumentiere ich, dass Geschäftsmodelle sozialer Unternehmen zwei Hauptprozesse beinhalten: 1) Entfremdung für die Zielgruppen und 2) Expertisierung der Partner. Der zweite Prozess impliziert, dass in diesem Paradigma der sozialen Innovation die Legitimation des Konzepts im Allgemeinen und der sozialen Unternehmen im Besonderen von den Förderorganisationen ausgeht. Ich argumentiere, dass der Prozess der Expertisierung von Finanzierungspartnern die Entstehung eines neuen Modells von Social Governance signalisiert, in dem private Organisationen eine aktivere Rolle in Angelegenheiten mit tiefem sozialpolitischem Inhalt übernehmen. Schließlich zeige ich, über die gesellschaftspolitischen Dimensionen dieser sozialen Innovation reflektierend, dass das Konzept nicht als im Dienste einer progressiven politischen Agenda und eines Prozesses positiver sozialer Transformation stehend betrachtet werden kann.

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1. General introduction

The thesis in hand is an empirical research on social innovation and employs qualitative methods. Starting my research endeavor by touching upon literature on currently popular debates on the matter, I detect that the constant shifts of boundaries and the continuous reestablishment of the semantics of social innovation, are not only contained inside the realms of academia; more importantly they denote a political struggle (Sigl, 2016, p.24; Moulaert & Van Dyck, 2015, p. 478). By Examining accounts from the fields of Society and Technology Studies (STS), sociology, sociology of knowledge and spatial perspectives as well as views of research institutes on behalf of governmental institutions (mostly, if not exclusively I refer to documents written for European Union), I find a gap in the literature of social innovation. To the best of my knowledge no hands-on, empirical research, which focuses on social practices that perform social innovation has so far taken place. This is the angle from which I will approach my object of study. Impact Hub Vienna, an organization that excessively uses the concept of social innovation and social entrepreneurship, was selected as the site of study.

The main research question of the thesis in hand attempts to capture the practices performed in Impact Hub Vienna to enhance social innovation. This question is broken into three subquestions:

- How do business models for social enterprises come into being?
- How do incubation programs take place?
- How are incubation programs financed?

The theoretical concepts that I use to approach my research topic are “enactment” (Mol, 2002) and “boundary objects” (Star and Griesemer, 1989). The former one ensures a praxiographic stance on the data, while the latter informs the fashion that I analyze business models. As far as it concerns the methodological dimensions, the master thesis is a qualitative research that employs triangulation on the levels of data collection and data analysis. With regard to the collected data, this is composed of five different categories of materials: observation notes, workshop slides and notes for the host, internal documents, online texts and personal interviews (for more details see chapter 8.3). When it comes to the methods of analysis, I used two. The first one is grounded theory and the second critical discourse analysis. Each of them was used to analyze different strands of data (for more details see chapter 8.4).

The analysis of the data (part 9) brought into light various concrete findings of central importance. First, social entrepreneurs are illustrated as the legitimate (capable and morally fitting) actors to bring social change. Second, during presenting the theory of this paradigm of social innovation in workshops of Impact Hub Vienna, a practice taking place let itself for observation: selective bracketing. Through this practice, the theoretical aspects of social business models are infused with and communicate an imperative for the target groups of social ventures, which I label gratefulness.

Third, materials used by prospect social entrepreneurs are inscribed with particular roles and meanings that carry an imperative for their users; social entrepreneurs are expected to partner with well-established institutions. Fourth, I argue that social ventures -and not prospect social entrepreneurs- are the incubates of Impact Hub Vienna. Fifth, the examination of the financing aspects of this organization showed that partners and sponsors receive benefits that exceed advertisement purposes. Paying parties are granted in incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna the following: institutional and organic representation as well as decision-making power in various areas (from the selection of social ventures up to the establishment of incubation programs for those ventures).

The empirical findings delineated above were put into contrast with existing STS theory on business models (see part 10). More specifically, a reflection on the arguments of Doganova and Eyquem-Renault (2009) took place. The conclusions of this discussion are twofold. First, when we are referring to business models of social innovation, the concept of objectification put forward by those two scholars is ill-advised. Social innovation has a heavy sociopolitical content and thus objectification equals to estrangement for some of its entities (in my case target groups). Second, business models of social enterprises are not only performative in the sense that they establish the firm they depict and its network, as these two researchers claim for conventional companies. Considering the findings of the thesis in hand (such as the imperative of partnering and the special position of partners) attaches one more dimension of performativity into social business models: they translate financial capital into expertise and in this fashion partners into experts. This process of expertization of partners renders them the source of legitimization in this paradigm of social innovation and denotes the rise of a new model of social governance. In this emerging model of governance, resourceful private stakeholders are actively and openly invited to play a salient role in sociopolitical issues.

Furthermore, there is a reflection on the sociopolitical dimensions of this paradigm of social innovation (see part 11). My first argument contrasts existing accounts that view social entrepreneurship (and by extension social innovation) as individualistic. Based on my empirical findings I assert that individualism is an ideological component of social entrepreneurship and has nothing to do with the practices that enact social innovation in the site of study. Individualism together with the word social are ideological devices that conceal the strong class character of the notion under examination. Moreover, I refer to the ways that access to goods and labor is envisaged in the realms of this model. The data shows that both are conceived primarily as privileges and not as rights. The privileged status attached to access to goods and labor renders untenable positions that see this social innovation as a concept bearing the potential for social emancipation and empowerment. Finally, taking all the above into consideration, I argue that social innovation as enacted through a

social entrepreneurship infrastructure cannot be considered a progressive concept. Consequently, any individual improvements brought by this type of social innovation are to be interpreted as concessions and not as steps of a process towards social transformation.

2. The semantical profusion of social innovation: a political struggle that can be examined through the practices that enact social innovation

What connotations are attached to social innovation in current debates? How does social entrepreneurship become a relevant point of reference? How does social innovation come into life in our contemporary time? How do social enterprises gain legitimization? Who benefits the most from this type of social innovation? Questions like these ones have guided my research on the topic on social innovation. The first two played a decisive role in examining the existing literature, while the others informed and oriented my analytical scope.

In our contemporary times there is a hot debate in academia going on about the concept and meaning of social innovation. Generally, social innovation is intimately tied with aspirations of a better and sustainable future for humanity (Pol & Ville, 2009). However, there are a lot of different fields employing and reconfiguring the concept (Vander Have & Rubalcaba, 2016; Choi & Majumdar, 2014). The resulting polysemy of social innovation can be hardly seen as prolific. It does not only raise skepticism about the value of the concept (Grimm et al, 2013), but it is also associated with theoretical perspectives that are irreconcilable in each other. On the one hand, there are actor-centered accounts, while on the other structural perspectives (Cajaiba-Santana, 2014).

Spotlighting social innovation through the present state of affairs, makes the discussion even more confusing. As Grisolia and Ferragina (2015) point out for the Italian context, there are enough indications that relate neoliberal austerity measures to the simultaneous strong governmental promotion of social innovation as a new approach to public deficiencies. Such positions become tempting, if one considers two aspects. First, the notion in question is being increasingly framed as contributing positively to the stable function of the market and to economic growth (see Mulgan et al, 2007, pp. 4-5). Second, in texts such as 'The Open Book of Social Innovation' (see Murray et al, 2010, pp. 180-194), social innovation is often expressed by a market derived vocabulary.

To understand the importance of the linguistic expressions of social innovation, we should consider the following two. First, it is not hard to imagine that the ways we phrase phenomena have an effect on the ways we perceive them. George Orwell put it very eloquently in one of his politically charged

novels: "*But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought*"[1]. Practically this means that a social innovation formulated through a language using words such as social justice and equality puts forward an envisagement, which is at least slightly different to a social innovation tied to terms such as financial deficits and business models. Hence, the linguistic selections to depict a concept are mediators that have an effect on its content and the way we think about it. Second, the language we use serves an additional purpose, that of signifier[2] of the social location of the concept. To make that more clear, let me briefly refer to the history of social innovation. Godin (2012) suggests that social innovation was advocated and enhanced by plenty of societal actors in different historical eras, which had irreconcilable differences in each other. In addition, as the long history of social innovation shows[3], the term was placed inside different societal discourses and took various meanings from time to time. Combining these two pieces of information regarding the historical course of the concept, it seems safe to suggest that a shift in the fashions that the notion is linguistically expressed, organized and articulated, signalizes a change of the actors advocating and promoting it. Thus, putting together the above two points lead to assume that the linguistic environment that surrounds a concept affects the qualities of its semantics and discloses information about the societal actors supporting it.

Essentially, as nowadays social innovation is considered a 'quasi-concept' (Jenson & Harrison, 2013), there is space for a variety of appropriations. In this case, two of those are preeminent. First, EU institutions, primarily perceive the notion under interrogation as an instrument to overcome financial crisis and carry out a "needed" structural adjustment (see European Union, European Commission, Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA), 2010) as well as to provide solutions to acute social problems that EU population faces (see European Commission & Directorate-General for Regional Policy, 2013). In this context, one can legitimately argue that social innovation contributes to a safeguarding of the existing status quo of socio-political inequalities as well as to a prolongation of the present power structures. To understand the rather conservative (if not reactionary) character that social innovation can take, let us think of an example from the modern history: the introduction of the welfare state and the policies associated with the New Deal after the Wall Street Crash of 1929. While those measures on the one hand provided relief for wide parts of the US population, on the other they ensured that during an era of societal upheavals dominant groups of society will keep their privileged position (Zinn, 2013). Of course, the issue here is not equate current social innovation to New Deal. I am aware that the concepts and the practices related to them are to be found and to be defined by the particular frameworks (different historical, cultural, technological, legal aspects) in which they were

[1]George Orwell, Politics and the English Language.

[2] The way I use the term signifier is inspired from and content-wise loosely based on the work of La Saussure, 1986.

[3] The appearance of social innovation can be dated back to the beginning of the 19th century (Oosterlynck, 2015) or even in the classic antiquity, if we stress the socio-political content of the notion (Godin, 2011).

performed. But the common denominator between the two stays: things that appear progressive and also are linguistically articulated to appear as such (***New*** Deal, social ***innovation***) can very well serve conservative and reactionary agendas in matters related to socio-political power. The second popular appropriation, which is in contrast to the above, contains accounts that examine social innovation by shedding light on social innovation from the perspectives of social economy (in the sense of third sector economical activities) and social movements. In this manner, social innovation is strictly linked the concept to social change and emancipation (see Jessop et al, 2015). Thus, in this resonance, social innovation corresponds to a process, which directly or indirectly challenges the existing power networks.

From all the above mentioned remarks derives my concern on this issue. Far from being only interesting for scholastic reasons, the diverse conceptualizations and the constantly shifting boundaries of the term denote also a political struggle (Sigl, 2016, p.24; Moulaert & Van Dyck, 2015, p. 478). Its semantical profusion manifests a tension existing in the discourse of social innovation between emancipatory social transformation and securing the present dominant social forces. This strain opens up the horizon of the questions that I will be engaging in this work. More concretely, what I suggest in this master thesis is to tackle this broad issue by analyzing social innovation in a specific context, in where it takes place, through an STS perspective. As Law eloquently put it, STS scholars:

> look at how theories, methods and materials are used in practice in specific social, organizational, cultural, and national contexts-and they look at the effects of those practices. So the first lesson is this: *STS attends to practices*.
>
> (Law, 2017, p.31)

Based on that, in this research I will be examining the practices that materialize social innovation in a very particular organizational context, so as to observe the (re)configurations in the semantics of the concept of social innovation. Hopefully, this endeavor may provide us a better insight in the notion under discussion -a notion, which is still getting stabilized, negotiated and incarnated in a multiplicity of fashions- and sketch out how this particular enactment may stimulate new forms of social governance. To provide a concrete framework of the discussion, in the upcoming chapter I will be dealing with the currently prominent perspectives of on the topic.

3. Existing perspectives and gaps in the literature of social innovation

3.1 Introduction

In the first section of the first part I would like to sketch out perspectives on social innovation from contemporary literature that provide a good background in the discussion. All these accounts, some

more and some less, inspired and directed my inquiries to a, hopefully, fruitful direction. In the following sequence I examine: STS accounts, sociological views, latest transdisciplinary perspectives and dominant discourses on the matter in hand. After summarizing, the individual remarks lead to two conclusions. First, an in-context examination of social innovation, which pays sensible attention to practices is needed to understand the social innovation paradigm that arises in our contemporary times. Second, social entrepreneurship figures in prevailing discourses as the appropriate means to achieve social innovation, becoming thus relevant to the study in hand.

3.2 STS and social innovation: a practically non-existing relationship

Discussions on the notion under interrogation coming from an STS perspective are for the time being extremely limited in amount. Except the 2014 EASST conference that dedicated 1 out of the 53 tracks on the topic and the rather recent STS-Austria, I detected no other STS conference contributions on social innovation.

Regarding completed studies of STS scholarship on the topic, there are two contributions. The first has been made by Callon and it is written in French -a language that the author of the study in hand does not know. However, a literature review engages briefly with Callon's argument on the concept in question and asserts that:

> […] authors like Callon […] reckon that even technological or business innovations are social since they require the participation of various social actors and the transformation of social structures in order to be adopted and diffused.
>
> (Sharra & Nyssens, 2010, p. 2)

Based on this interpretation, Callon's account merely uncovers the social aspects that are involved in every innovation. On the contrary, dominant perspectives on the matter in hand stress the "social" as a distinction maker from the business and technology innovations. Here lies exactly the reason that Callon's angle resides in the margins of the discourses on the issue in question; because he does not examine social innovation under an STS perspective, but instead he uses STS to approach conventional innovation.

The second engagement with social innovation coming from the STS field is carried out by Jover and Cherezo (2008). In their study, they reconstruct the story on how STS emerged in their national framework, Cuba, and shed light on the ways that technological innovation took place in the Cuban context after the corresponding social revolution. Focusing on how research institutes in the island were assembled, organized and composed, they show that to create social innovation, the state strove to achieve techno-scientific development. While my primary comment on that would be that this resonates well with technological determinism, which is usually present in the 20th century version of

socialist countries, the value of their argument lies on the fact that what social innovation is, is always a question of context.

All the above necessitate three interrelated things. First, unless STS is about to abandon the notion of social innovation, a research on the matter is more than needed. Second, such a research should prioritize the study of particular contexts. Finally, for the time being, one should direct to other fields discussing social innovation, so as to trace meaningful inspiring accounts and blind spots.

3.3 Social innovation as a theoretical activity

In this bundle of interpretations of social innovation, sociologists have a prominent position. Approached in an overall manner, their clarifications stretch in a continuum, which extends from modest to enthusiastic readings of the notion under interrogation.

One approach located in the relativistic rand is offered by Gillwand (2000). By employing a bibliography research and examining it against a matrix of notorious social innovations of the late 19th and 20th century, she highlights that the crucial dimension of social innovations is not their novelty, but their impact and implications on the social context that they are introduced to. This implies that social innovations are not exclusively accompanied with social benefits, but with social costs as well, which can be allocated in ambiguous manners.

Moreover, other sociologists discuss social innovation in relation to social change. Zapf (1994) understands these two terms as closely related but distinct. For the scholar, social innovations can play a role in social change and are capable of influencing its direction. However, reducing social change to social innovation is theoretically insubstantial. In the same vein, Howaldt et al (2014) attempt to establish a solid theoretical framework for social innovation considering the work of Tarde. They argue that social innovation, located in the micro and meso level, can be a device for social change, for it equals the emergence and institutionalization of new social practices. Along this line, despite the different standpoints, common ground is that social innovation corresponds to intentional action, whereas social change can be an uncontrollable development.

Heiskala (2007, p. 74) studies social innovation and social change as well, but he attributes the former a higher status. By adopting a Weberian viewpoint, he locates the concept in the “cultural, normative or regulative structures of the society”. By doing so, he distances social innovation from social conflict theories and Parsonian framings of social change. The intellectual contribution of this effort is the rejection of social innovation as a supersession of the “hegemonic pattern” and its linking instead to social developments that can increase society’s “collective power resources and improve its economic and social performance” (Heiskala (2007, p. 74). Thus, for this scholar social innovation has a positive character and meaning.

Finally, on the enthusiastic side of the spectrum, where social innovation is studied as a positive succession of social practices, one finds a perspective delineated by Hochgerner (2011). The author brings into discussion writings by well-established figures of sociology such as Max Weber and Talcott Parsons. Central position in Hochgerner's thought is that social innovations do not remain contained in the system that they emerged, but they tend to spread across other systems as well; exactly as it happens with technological innovation, which not only effects the system of economy, but also the legal, the social and the cultural one. More of interest for the present thesis is that Hochgerner touches upon the roles that social subjects are assigned in a social system. Nevertheless, a further and deeper examination of social innovation from the angle of social roles is omitted in his work, as well as in the literature coming from sociology in general.

Concluding, despite any possible deficiencies of the sociological accounts, I find some elements in them valuable to accompany my wondering. The first is skepticism, for it is a stance that resonates with any STS study, and more so in socio-political issues like the one in question. The second is the conceptual distinction between social innovation and social change; indeed, the terminological distinction signalizes also a content divergence. Last but not least, spotlighting social innovation by shedding light on the roles that social subjects are assigned, becomes an interesting endeavor to undertake.

3.4 Spatial perspectives on social innovation: innovating the social

A very critical cluster of arguments on social innovation has been made through transdisciplinary research. "The International Handbook on Social Innovation" (Moulaert et al, 2015a) is the tangible and most recent comprehensive outcome of this transdisciplinary thought school. There are two main reasons that despite coming from various epistemic fields, these perspectives are gathered around a common definition of the notion in discussion. First, they make an extensive use and build on the concept of *territory*. Though approaching social innovation as a transformation does imply a temporal dimension, time gets a secondary position in this scheme, as no abstract models to project social innovation trajectories are created[1]. Social innovation is bound to particular contexts, communities and social spaces and not to universal paths. Second, they identify sociology of knowledge, and particularly the *strong programme*, as the theoretical and methodological framework to study social innovation.

Every one of the 35 chapters of the book conceives social innovation as primarily an "innovation in social relations" (Moulaert et al, 2015b, p. 2). It is exactly through this reading that social innovation is explicitly associated with social emancipation, social empowerment and participatory governance,

[1]As it happens with the literature that I focus on in the upcoming section.

among other positive aspirations. In this outlook, studying social innovation distances itself from attaining pure theoretical knowledge for the sake of knowledge. By seeking to bridge the gap between micro and macro as well as to reconcile theory and practice, this scholarship provides a holistic and simultaneously detailed view, aiming "to develop an analytical framework which connects precepts, concepts, theories and strategies of SI" (Moulaert et al, 2015c, p.19). To the largest extent the book fulfills its proposition, rendering it a landmark in current discussions on the notion that I examine.

To get a deeper understanding on where exactly transdisciplinary perspectives are located in the literature of social innovation, particularly essential is the 8th chapter (Jessop et al, 2015). There, the scholars openly criticize views on social innovation that frame social innovation "in economic, indeed often in narrowly market-economic, terms." (Jessop et al, 2015, p. 110). They argue that the currently dominant perspectives on social innovation, and especially those informing policy-making, have a micro-economic focus, for they stem from research fields such as management and innovation economics. In this way, they detect a discontinuity between the old macrosocial readings of social innovation and the contemporary ones. Present accounts are mostly perceived as reductionist and even contributive to neoliberalism, for they intensively promote social enterprises and social entrepreneurship as the means towards social innovations.

One can find plenty fertile grounds on the landscape of this perspective. First, it gears the interest on topics of knowledge production and legitimization processes that touch upon social innovation. Second, they make social innovation research more demanding by clearly stating that alone the satisfaction of human needs does not equal social innovation. Third, they provide a moral compass to research social innovation.

Nevertheless, recent transdisciplinary perspectives entail also inadequate interpretations. Maybe because of epistemological reasons, such the adopted structural-realist perspective (Moulaert, 2015, p. 468), the authors of the book do not provide any substantial critique against the approaches that they name 'reductionist'. While they claim that economistic perspectives on the matter are contributing to neoliberalism and in that sense, they are in alignment with the exclusionary character of the present social formation, they do not make the step beyond to show the reader how this exactly takes place. By staying mostly on the epistemic level of the arguments that they oppose and thus by not focusing on the mundane and tangible practices that perform the 'reductionist' social innovation, transdisciplinary research founds its criticism on essentially empty grounds. An STS perspective as defined in the general introduction can address these shortcomings and play a complementary role to such contributions.

3.5 A society-geared innovation paradigm (?)

Here I would like to discuss approaches that are not the outcome of academic research. Instead they consist works that are written either as reports of foundations, which are involved in activities that fall in the broad term of social innovation, or most often in alignment to EU policy-making purposes on the matter. Consequently, the perspectives that they offer are predominantly inclined to neglect in-depth theoretical examinations and to treat the notion under discussion as an instrument to tackle social challenges.

All of them employ a similar definition that highlights the aspects of social needs, the participation of beneficiaries and the transformation of social relations. As the contributors of the TEPSIE project put it:

> We define social innovations as new approaches to addressing social needs. They are social in their means and in their ends. They engage and mobilise the beneficiaries and help to transform social relations by improving beneficiaries' access to power and resources.
>
> (TEPSIE, 2014a, p.14)

This definition is often accompanied with a model that depicts the development of social innovation and it is called *spiral model of social innovation* (see figure 1). As one sees in the picture on the right, the model includes the following six stages: a) prompts, b) proposals, c) prototypes, d) sustaining, e) scaling and f) systemic change.

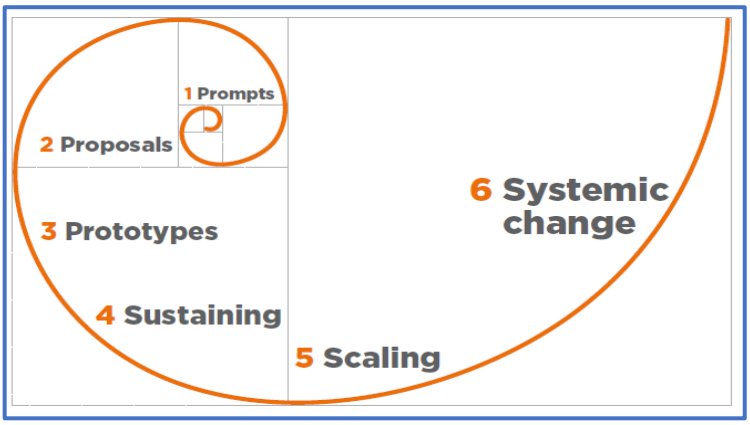


Figure 1: The Spiral Model of Social Innovation (Murray et al, 2010, p.11)

The model provides practitioners of the notion a pre-delineated path that social innovations follow. Worth noticing is that it is articulated with a vocabulary and in a fashion that connotates the paradigm of technological and business innovation. This opens up discourses that perceive social entrepreneurship as the main means towards a new paradigm of social innovation.

The similarities between conventional innovation and social innovation are not limited in the stages of development that concern mostly practitioners. When referring to policy-making bodies, the strict relation between technological and social innovation manifests itself again. In this way, enhancing social innovation requires two actions by states that complement each other. As one sees from the model cited below (figure 2), governmental institutions are encouraged to create an environment that on the one side strives for supply, while on the other stimulates demand. In this way, such models not only connote discourses that dominated the technological innovation debates of the 20th century[1] but most importantly states are attributed the responsibility of creating a favorable environment for the former to grow.

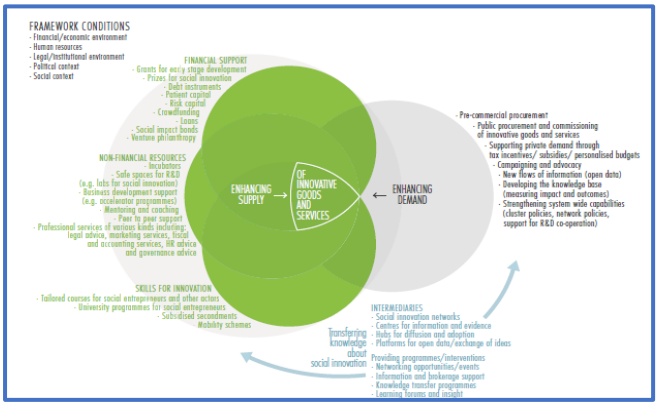


Figure 2: An ecosystem for innovative social purpose organizations. TEPSIE, 2014b, p.11

Thus, such models reserve a place for social enterprises as well as states in social innovation development. However, the role of citizens in the advancement of these activities is rather vague, not to say inexistent. When civil society is incorporated into the process, it is ascribed a subsidiary status. Citizens are to be engaged and offered space not on idealistic, but merely on instrumental grounds:

> In this paper, we argue that calls for participation and engagement should not be "an act of faith…something we believe but rarely question". […] It is inadequate to rely on the moral force and persuasiveness of these concepts. If we want to claim that wider participation from citizens in the social innovation process is an important goal, then we should have good reasons for why this is useful or valuable.
>
> (Davies & Simon, 2012, p. 5)

Following that, public participation is given with parsimony, depending on the value that citizen engagement can hold for each individual project.

Dealing with foundations and policy-making accounts on social innovation one finds next to definitions, models that prescribe how actions and actors should be organized. Social enterprises are assigned the role of achieving social innovations, while states ensure the appropriate configuration of

[1] Regarding the different models of technological innovation that emerged and became popular in the 20th century see Godin and Lane, 2016.

the framework factors. Thus, publics are left with ambiguous ways of participating in the development of social innovation. All these dimensions that models of the notion under discussion entail, direct the attention to the very practicing of social innovation.

3.6 Conclusions

In an attempt to summarize, one could make the following four remarks. First, STS has so far only a minor contribution in the social innovation debate. What one can take away from the few STS accounts, is that social innovation is context-depended, thus directing the interest to examine social innovation in particular spaces. Nevertheless, the lack of further elaborations on the concept, renders necessary to investigate how the notion is conceptualized in neighboring fields and in policy-making discourses, so as to gain insights in its contemporary appropriations.

Second, moving to sociological accounts one sees that there is a differentiation between social innovation and social change on the basis of purposefulness, which it is attributed to the former. Occasionally, some approaches attach modest expectations on social innovation and warn that some social changes are merely succession of power forces and not social innovations per se. The most important take from sociological perspectives is that systems reserve roles to the social subjects. Such an observation renders interesting the study of social innovation in relation to societal roles.

Third, latest transdisciplinary perspectives on the matter anchor social innovation on the concept of territory and suggest a methodological framework that derives from sociology of knowledge. Fundamentally, these authors conceive social innovation as an innovation in social relations, linking in this fashion the term to social emancipation, social empowerment and participatory governance. Accounts coming from this scholarship find policy representations of social innovation as reductionist. While such approaches direct the interest towards the socio-political dimensions of social innovation, they fell short in delivering solid empirical grounds for criticism of the dominant social innovation paradigm. This is a point that an STS perspective can contribute through an analysis of concrete practices involved in social innovation.

Finally, the dominant, policy-oriented views on the notion define social innovation around the pillars of a) social need satisfaction, b) beneficiaries' engagement and c) beneficiaries' empowerment. Besides linguistic utterances of the concept, they provide models for practitioners and state agencies. In these thinking schemes, social enterprises are conceived as the primary vehicle of social innovation and the state as mainly responsible to realize a fertile ground for the former to grow. As far as it concerns citizens, they are attributed a subsidiary role, which is legitimized on instrumental grounds, thus neglecting democratic ideals. The different dimensions of social innovation in the definition and in the models direct the attention towards the actual ways that the models are practiced.

From all the above remarks, one can draw two solid conclusions. First, social innovation should be examined in the specific contexts in which it takes place. Instead of spotlighting further the concept in scholastic ways, it is grounded to assert that valuable information could be provided, if one sheds light on the fashion that social innovation is tangibly performed. Second, particularly from the last two bodies of literature, one can establish that social entrepreneurship and social enterprises become a primary point of interest for the present work. But what are social entrepreneurship and social enterprises, how are they portrayed in relation to social innovation and what, if any, are the critical accounts directed to these phenomena?

4. Social enterprises and social entrepreneurship

4.1 Introduction

The examination of the main bodies of literature on social innovation drawn the attention to social enterprises and social entrepreneurship. To introduce the reader to the topic of social entrepreneurship and social enterprises, I will discuss it through three difference angles. First, I will provide an overview of those concepts. Second, I will refer to literature that explicitly brings in connection social entrepreneurship and social innovation. Third, I will refer to important critical accounts on social entrepreneurship. Finally, I will summarize the individual remarks.

4.2 Entry point conceptualizations of social entrepreneurship and social enterprises

I will begin this discussion by the widely popular distinction between European and American notions of social enterprise. Then, I will focus more extensively on the American tradition on the matter, as it is the currently popular, and more specifically in the various accounts inside it. Afterwards, I will refer to perspectives attempting to reconcile any conflicting theories of social entrepreneurship and the skepticism that these reconciliation attempts triggered. Finally, I will conclude that independently of the differences between the individual accounts, all of them have a common denominator: social entrepreneurship and social enterprises function within the framework of business logics and claim to have a socially oriented agenda.

By approaching the discourses of social enterprises and social entrepreneurship, I merely find two broad conceptual directions; the European and the American one. As far as it concerns the former, it derives from the work of EMES[1] European Research Network, dating back to middle '90s and belongs to the spatial perspectives on social innovation that I presented above. The understanding of

[1] As one can be informed from its website (https://emes.net/) EMES took its name from its initial research project, which name in French was "L'**EM**ergence de l'**E**ntreprise **S**ociale en Europe" (translated as "The emergence of social enterprises in Europe"), see here: https://emes.net/who-we-are/. The letters in bold form the abbreviation.

social enterprise in this context stems mainly from the traditions of cooperatives and Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISEs). For this school of thought, social enterprises are third sector organizations. Defourny and Nyssens (2013), two prominent thinkers representing this strand of literature, identified nine indicators categorized in three subsets[1] to assess whether an enterprise is social or not.

The first set stresses the economic and entrepreneurial aspects of a venture. More specifically, it comprises the following three criteria:

i. the productive activity that such enterprises carry out, which is translated in producing goods or providing services,
ii. the economic risk that such initiatives necessitate and
iii. the existence of a minimum number of paid workers.

The second bundle of criteria captures the social dimensions. More concretely, it is composed out of the following three indicators:

i. the concrete willingness to serve a community or a part of it,
ii. the creation of this initiative by the local/affected community or third sector organizations of this community and
iii. a controlled distribution of profits, if any distribution at all.

The third group of criteria of EMES touches upon the model of participatory governance, which social enterprises should have. More particularly, social enterprises:

i. are to be mostly governed autonomously, this means that no other actors can exercise power on the initiative except of the ones being involved in it,
ii. must abolish institutions that relate capital ownership and decision-making power, meaning that each and every member of the initiative has one vote and only, and
iii. have an openness in decision-making processes as far as it concerns the participation of actors related to the initiative.

The fact that EMES came up with a list of indicators for social enterprises discloses the normativity of the accounts of this research network; these indicators say more about how social enterprises should be, rather than how social enterprises actually are.

Maybe because of its normativity or maybe due to the underlining of participatory governance, the EMES conceptualization of social enterprises and social entrepreneurship is not broadly taken up by policy-making circles and foundations on social innovation. Such social worlds show a preference

[1] In earlier works of Defourny and Nyssens (e.g. 2010), these indicators were categorized in two subsets, one reflecting the economic and entrepreneurial aspects and one the social dimensions of a social enterprise. In my opinion, by labelling later on some of the existing indicators as those capturing participatory governance derives from the need to differentiate sharper with American accounts on the matter, which push political concerns in the background.

towards readings of social entrepreneurship that come from the other side of the Atlantic and more specifically from the USA. These representations of social entrepreneurship can be separated into two categories, the Earned-Income School and the Social Innovation School. Davies (2014) by examining primary as well as secondary sources provides an illustration for both discourses. Let us have a look at both schools.

The Earned-Income School traces back to the 80s, where two seemingly unrelated developments took place. First, non-profit organizations faced significant cuts from governmental funding and donations. Under this shortage of resources, NGOs turned to income-earning related strategies to finance operations. The commercial actions taken up by such organizations were not necessarily related to the social mission, neither in form nor in shape. Though, by generating income they served to the creation of different streams of revenue, in this way ensuring a successful financing for the provision of their social service. Thus, in the non-profit tradition, commercial activity is identified as entrepreneurship and becomes social when the generated income serves a social agenda. Second, the same period did not only bring changes in the non-profit world. Conventional businesses (that is for-profit companies) realized that addressing social needs could be a promising market. Seeing unmet needs of societies as profitable business opportunities, the proponents of this perspective bridged incentives related to profit-making with aspirations of social improvement. By some, this latter perspective of the earned-income school could be named as mission-driven business approach.
In the Social Innovation School, the focus is concentrated on the social impact that the social enterprise has. Social entrepreneurs are understood as innovators in the classical sense, which is informed to the larger extent by the writings of Say and Schumpeter. What separates the typical innovator incarnated by Schumpeter from the social innovator (if there is such a distinction done by the individual scholar) is that social innovators are attributed the role of delivering new services and products for underserved markets. The main question in this school of thought is not around financing existing projects -as it is with the earned-income school. Rather, it is a question of introducing new, more effective ways of carrying out existing social practices (such as schooling or receiving medical healthcare). In other words, in the social innovation school of thought, innovation is conceived and claimed to be practiced as a mechanism to achieve social transformation. In this perspective, scaling of each and every social innovation is the ultimate aim, for social change is illustrated as the outcome of the sum of social innovations.

Despite their differences, the earned-income and social innovation school were bridged by scholars writing on the matter in hand. The first work attempting to blend these perspectives is by Dees and Anderson (2006) and it equals to a quest to pay less attention to the divergences of the two schools of social entrepreneurship and ‘’focus on enterprising social innovation’’ (p. 50). By inviting social entrepreneurs to combine elements from both traditions, the scholars reserve for social entrepreneurs a

bigger spectrum of action, which extends from founding non-profits initiatives up to establishing for-profit companies. In this scheme of thought, the defining criterion for an entrepreneur to be social is associated more with the motives that drive her/him, rather than with the legal dimensions or the business model a social enterprise has.

Emerson (2006) also played a decisive role in solidifying social entrepreneurship as an inclusive term. In one of his well-known texts, the writer approaches the very notion of value. The main idea is that neither non-profits nor for-profits had/have a profound interpretation of value. For social entrepreneurship to hold its promises, he suggests that organizations independently of their legal form and financial model should strive to achieve blended value – an amalgam of economical, ecological and social components. Thus, he opens up a discussion touching upon issues related to the measuring of blended value, so as to ground social entrepreneurship in accordance to the outcomes it produces. By grounding the discussion of social entrepreneurship around blended value, concerns regarding non-profit or for-profit schemes are moved in the background, rendering important the positive impact that an enterprise has.

Attempts to make social entrepreneurship a more inclusive term, like the above mentioned, raised skepticism. Martin and Osberg (2007) inquire whether every form of socially oriented action can be categorized as social entrepreneurship. A central point of these two scholars is that social entrepreneurship derives from conventional entrepreneurship and that both share a lot of common ground. The difference maker between conventional and social entrepreneurship is the value proposition that each type of social enterprise makes to its investors, partners and customers. Business enterprises make value propositions related to financial elements, while social enterprises to social ones. A further distinction between the two can be made on the basis of the markets they serve. The former tend to serve markets with access to resources to acquire the products or services, while the latter deal with underserved ones. Both types of entrepreneurship are built around these three pillars: i) the detection of a suboptimal equilibrium, ii) a solution in the form of service or product to change favorably this equilibrium and iii) the setting of a venture to promote this product or service. Having these criteria in mind, they assert that except for social entrepreneurship, there are two more ways of socially oriented action: social service provision and social activism. The crucial difference between social entrepreneurship and social service provision is that the latter does not challenge the current negative equilibrium. When it comes to social activism, while it can yield the abolishment of an unfavorable equilibrium, the strategy to do that is not entrepreneurial; a social activist does not start a social enterprise to tackle a social issue, rather he/she strives to influence others to act against social challenges.

The above made discussion shows that there are differences on the content of social entrepreneurship. Some traditions stress the element of innovation, whilst some others point up the dimension of social engagement. However, there are scholars that identified chances for reconciliation between these two traditions on the basis of motives of social entrepreneurs or others who put in the center of the analysis the parameter of the character of value produced by ventures. Further research on the topic showed that social entrepreneurship is indisputably tied with conventional entrepreneurship and because of that, not every instance of socially oriented action can be identified as social entrepreneurship. These remarks, can provide us a working definition of the matter in hand. Social entrepreneurship and social enterprises are seen as vehicles employing business-derived logics to improve societies. This improvement of societies through social ventures is very often formulated as social innovation. Let us now investigate in the literature the relation between these two notions.

4.3 Depictions of the relation of social entrepreneurship and social innovation

A literature review on social entrepreneurship, social enterprise and social innovation shows that these notions figure almost always next to each other (Davies, 2014). In addition and as a hint, I would like to mention one of the first empirical observations I made during the fieldwork. Often enough the terms social entrepreneurship and social innovation were used interchangeably. Such incidents raise questions on how are the aforementioned concepts associated. In this part of the thesis, I will discuss how is the relation between social entrepreneurship and social innovation established in the literature.

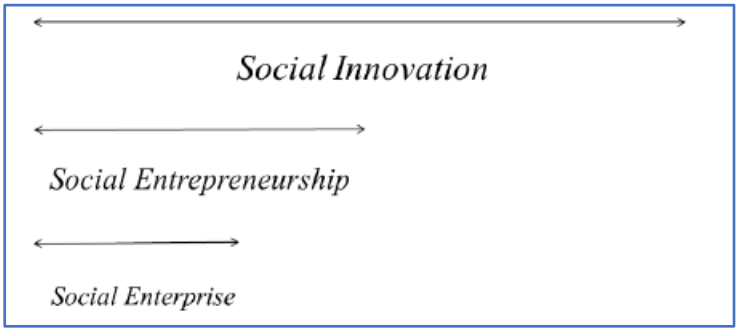
In 2010, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) published a study titled "SMEs, Entrepreneurship and Innovation". This research project is part of the general efforts of the institution, which after the turn of new millennium and the global financial crisis of 2007-2008 are fundamentally oriented towards the dissemination of innovation and sustainable growth. The fifth chapter of the report is dedicated to social entrepreneurship and social innovation. In the framework of this approach the relation between the two notions is defined as follows:

> *"Social entrepreneurship and social innovation aim to meet unsatisfied social needs and to respond to social challenges. There are tight links between the two fields. Social entrepreneurship is a vehicle and agent, though not the only one, of social innovation; social innovation very often originates inside the social entrepreneurship sector and can be taken up by other sectors later on. Social innovation is also about social change and refers more broadly to the processes and outcomes of that change."*
>
> (OECD, 2010, p. 205)

The above quote points outs a heavy intertwinement between the two notions in hand. The difference maker between them is the broader scope of social innovation and its more direct connection to social change, in comparison to social entrepreneurship. For the writers of this report, social entrepreneurship is one way, among others, to achieve social innovation.

This understanding of the relation of these notions is the prominent -if not the exclusive one- to be found in the literature. None of the works that I examined escapes the above mentioned perception. Neither the ones that I already discussed in the previous parts, nor other relevant popular accounts (e.g. Phills et al, 2008; Huybrecht and Nicholls, 2012; Phillips et al, 2015; Groot & Dankbaar, 2014; Westley & Antadze, 2010; TEPSIE, 2014c). Reports and studies on the two phenomena, conceptualize the relation between them in same terms as OECD. Social innovation figures as the final result and social entrepreneurship as one of the means to achieve it.

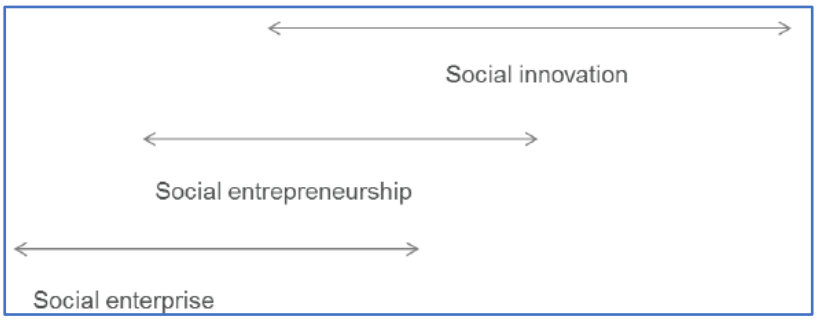
This central idea of social entrepreneurship being one of the avenues towards social innovation is not only communicated through words and texts; it is embodied in models of social innovation, which are included in books, sketched on policy papers and presented in conferences. A typical example of such a model is offered by Nicholls (2012 in Davies 2014):



Nicholls 2012, Presentation to 4th International Social Innovation Research Conference in Davies 2014, p. 74

As we see social innovation is portrayed on top of the model and extends to a considerably broader space than social entrepreneurship (and social enterprise). Now, that we have this relation visualized, it is not hard to argue that in the model of Nicholls (and by extension to the dominate accounts on this topic), these two concepts exhibit a relation identical to matryoshka dolls. Social innovation is the biggest matryoshka. Social entrepreneurship is in its totality a subtheme of social innovation.

Very few works criticize this matryoshka-inspired model. A widely known critical account is provided by Davies 2014, who by revisiting the above model, suggests the following portrayal of the relation between the terms:



Davies 2014, p. 74

As we see here, Davies puts again social innovation on the top of the model, but draws the arrows in a way that are only partially in alignment. To understand better what she questions and criticizes, one should take into account the answer first. Davies (2014, p. 74) claims that not all social entrepreneurship projects and social enterprises are successful in leading to social innovation. Based on that, it becomes apparent that her skepticism prioritizes quantitative elements of this relationship. In other words, the underlying inquiry that inspired her model is how many social ventures succeed social innovation. Thus, critical models leave the main pillars of the dominant depiction of the relationship untouched; for Davies (2014) too is social entrepreneurship one way towards social innovation among many others; even if not always a successful one. Fundamentally, such a revision not only cannot be seen as escaping the popular framing of the ties between social innovation and social entrepreneurship, but on the contrary it places discourses of efficiency into the epicenter of this relation.

Based on the above, it is safe to suggest that the conceptualization of social entrepreneurship as one of the vehicles for social innovation has a dominant and undisputable character. Even accounts that find this understanding problematic do not move forward to question this relationship, as they focus on aspects touching upon technocratic concerns. In this fashion, social entrepreneurship is not only a notion of interest when referring to the current paradigm of social innovation, but also a legitimate angle to observe the latter.

4.4 Critical accounts on social entrepreneurship

The so far discussion on social entrepreneurship and social enterprises showed that these notions are based on business-derived logics and are identified as one of the many means that lead to social innovation. As social innovation is almost exclusively attributed a positive status, one may think that the same happens with social entrepreneurship. To its most, social entrepreneurship is a critique free concept, at least as far as it concerns its socio-political dimensions[1]. Critical accounts on that can be found only sporadically. In this section, I would like to refer to two of the most important and popular of them. I will deal again with critiques on the socio-political aspects of social entrepreneurship while reflecting on my empirical findings.

First, a widely known objection to social entrepreneurship was raised by Dey and Steyart (2010). They identify a central discourse -a grand narrative as they call it- in social entrepreneurship that they name “messianism”. The main pillars of this discourse are:

1 Based on my notes from the participatory research, interviews I had with people from Impact Hub and a general research on the issue, the main critique that social entrepreneurship faces is related to efficiency and by no chance related to its socio-political facets.

i. the portrayal of social entrepreneurship as technical knowledge, which can be bought in toolkits, that is books and material containing managerial and business knowledge as well as reports on best practices in the field
ii. the existence and promotion of rationalism and problem-solving attitude
iii. the promise of progress, achieved through the replacement of old bad behaviors through new good ways of thinking and acting (which are in conformity with the rationalism and problem-solving view and can be found in the toolkits of the field)
iv. the individualistic perspective on social change

Focusing on the ways that social entrepreneurship is narrated, the two researchers come to the conclusion that this notion promotes an understanding of harmonic path to social change. As they see it, in the realms of social entrepreneurship there no space for tensions and debates in the road towards social change. Thus, for them the notion under discussion is dominantly portrayed as an apolitical one. For the two researchers, social entrepreneurship should be more reflexive and embrace openness as far as it concerns the discourses that inhabit it. Inspired by post-modern thinkers, the authors propose the integration of counter and minor narratives to the grand narrative of social entrepreneurship, so as for it to become more inclusive and political. In addition, by referring to examples of social ventures with ambivalent sociopolitical outcomes (such as microcredits), they put forward the idea that the research on social entrepreneurship should be done in a more transdisciplinary fashion, taking on board more research fields and not only management and business studies. Finally, it is recommended for social entrepreneurship to be more open to failure.

Second, another popular instance of criticism on social entrepreneurship was raised by Cho (2006). He understands the matter at hand as a concept deriving from Third Way and Compassionate Conservatism. From the very beginning, a perspective that stresses the political dimensions of social entrepreneurship is employed. Social entrepreneurship for the scholar "is an inherently political enterprise" (Cho, 2006, p. 38). By examining the literature on the matter under discussion, he refers to two issues that the definitions of the notions have, and more particularly he sees them as tautological and most importantly as monological. Tautological because only limited and marginalized explanations are to be found that deal with the "social" of social entrepreneurship. Thus for its most, *social entrepreneurship is social because social entrepreneurship is social*. Monological because social entrepreneurship projects carry the vision of the individual entrepreneur regarding a social challenge, hence neglecting other social visions about that challenge. Putting his observations against Marxist literature (which shows that there are conflicting interests as to what common good is) and the work of Nancy Fraser (which points out that not all groups in society can voice their perspectives), he suggests that the "social" of social entrepreneurship could also play the role of an ideological device that represents the interests of the individual social entrepreneur as the interests of his/her society. He puts it as follows:

> "*If there exist multiple conflicting interests, values, and discursive communities that possess oppositional worldviews and social projects within the public sphere, then to speak of 'the' social good may be to engage in an act of discursive marginalization."*
>
> (Cho, 2006, p. 42)

By discussing concrete examples of social entrepreneurship projects, Cho (2006) testes empirically his argument. He refers to various examples of social enterprises that either have a politically controversial agenda (see page 43) or even made more harm than good. For the latter category, the scholar brings into discussion the social enterprises that organize lotteries in the US. By analyzing secondary material, he shows that social lotteries make poor neighborhoods poorer and simultaneously they use slogans that promote the interest of the individual. He provides an example of such slogans, which can be found in poorer areas: "*This could be your ticket out*" (p. 48). The interesting cases that he refers to, attach an ambivalence to social entrepreneurship and are used to reinforce the idea of the individual and the monological visions inhabiting discourses about this concept. Thus, his primary recommendation towards social entrepreneurs is to replace monologue with dialogue.

These two instances on the sociopolitical aspects of social entrepreneurship show in clear manner that the notion in question offers promising entry points for criticism, such as the apolitical character, the individualistic perspective and the monological dimension of social entrepreneurship. I will come back to these remarks in the last part of my thesis after having presented my empirical findings.

4.5 Conclusions

The results of the research on this part of the literature point to the direction that social entrepreneurship is fundamentally considered a business-derived way to achieve socially inspired goals. Social innovation is portrayed as the higher goal and social entrepreneurship as a vehicle -among others- that can lead there. Thus, social entrepreneurship becomes a legitimate angle to observe social innovation. Social entrepreneurship faces only occasionally criticisms on its sociopolitical dimensions; important aspects of this critique are the portrayal of the notion as apolitical, the promotion of the individual as the main social actor and the monological establishment of what common good is.

5. The context of study: Impact Hub Vienna

Coming into the site that this research took place, one should consider the two conclusions made in the section about the literature on social innovation and social entrepreneurship. First, as it was made clear, social innovation needs to be studied in a specific context where it is being tangibly performed. Second, social entrepreneurship is widely identified as a way to achieve social innovation. These two

observations have a key role as they merely account for choosing Impact Hub Vienna to be the place where the empirical material for the research was gathered.

Back in the spring of 2016 when I was establishing my research interest and scope, there were three sites that caught my attention: Vienna Business Agency, Center for Social Innovation and Impact Hub Vienna. The first is merely a state financed company, whose objective is the support of business activity development. While offering support to social enterprises, the agency has rather limited links to social innovation, being in this way unsuitable for the direction of the thesis in hand. The second, can be depicted as a typical research institute, which produces scientific knowledge on matters relating social innovation and policy on behalf of the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science, Research and Economy. The main reason to not select Center for Social Innovation is that it does not foster social innovation directly. Finally, Impact Hub Vienna was the only prominent organization in the city employing both concepts extensively and claiming to enhance social innovation directly. Let us now have an initial grasp on what Impact Hub Vienna is.

The organization under question belongs to the network of Impact Hubs around the globe. As we are informed of its website[1], Impact Hub is: 'An innovation lab. A business incubator. A social enterprise community center'. In other words, Impact Hub Vienna is a space where people with different backgrounds come to develop their ideas on social entrepreneurship, either by being members of the Impact Hub community or by taking part in programs and awards that are held in this framework; or as it usually happens by doing both.

Regarding the business model of Impact Hub Vienna, this involves two different directions. The place in question is simultaneously i) a work- as well as event- space and ii) an agency designing and running incubation programs that supply the market with social enterprises. In the first sense, one can talk about a subscription business model combined with renting revenues. More concretely regarding the first, Impact Hub Vienna provides:

1. a work-place on a membership-fee basis to people needing such a space (e.g. as alternative for having membership in a library or renting an office space), and wanting to interact with individuals having a similar mindset as well as to extend their social network
2. premises to be rented and used as venues for events of companies and organizations

In respect to the second business key activity, we see that participating social entrepreneurs have the chance to attend workshops on social entrepreneurship and social innovation, in which they can get peer as well as expert feedback on their ideas, strategies and business models of their social

[1] https://vienna.impacthub.net/about-us/

enterprises. Besides the counselling that incubation programs offer, they also provide funding and investment opportunities to social entrepreneurs so as to start-up or scale a social venture.

Having referred to the reasons that Impact Hub Vienna was selected as the site, in which the research will take place, and having sketched out its most important features, it is time to narrow further the research scope of this thesis. All the aforementioned elements concerning the organization in hand, have been reflected upon the examination of the literature, my explanatory observations, talks with Impact Hub Coordinators, the useful comments of my colleagues and the valuable discussions with my supervisor. Taking all these into consideration led me to form the plausible hypotheses that there are specific expressions of social innovation that are being performed in Impact Hub Vienna and that to observe the (re)configurations in the semantics of the concept in hand, one should pay attention to the practices that perform it.

6. Social Innovation in practice: Research questions

- How is social innovation practiced in Impact Hub Vienna?

My main question engages with the practices that perform social innovation in a social ventures incubator. Basically, it puts forward the assumption that social entrepreneurship is neither just a subtype of social innovation, nor only another one means to achieve it. Rather it can be seen as particular expression of it, signalizing shifts in the semantics of the concept.

Moreover, to approach the main question from different angles, I break it down to three separate but interrelated inquiries.

  - How do business models for social enterprises come into being?

The first subquestion spotlights materials used and steps executed to come up with a business model for a social enterprise.

  - How do incubation programs take place?

This subquestion shifts the focus to incubation programs and more particular to their schedules, timelines, stages and objectives.

  - How are incubation programs financed?

The last subquestion directs the attention towards the financing structures of incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna.

By analyzing these three aspects of how social innovation comes into life in Impact Hub Vienna, I will focus particularly on the roles assigned to social actors and the power distribution between stakeholders. Subsequently, I aim to provide insights into a broader question, which derives from the ambivalence that the concept of social innovation carries with. Namely, as we have seen in the

beginning of the thesis, depended on the framework of reference, one can associate this notion with emancipatory social transformation or with securing the present dominant social forces. In other words, by studying how social innovation is tangibly being enhanced, this proposal can contribute to the understanding of what kind of social relations are being supported while social innovation is being performed through social entrepreneurship.

7. Theoretical concepts

7.1 Introduction

The section below consists an attempt to discuss the sensitizing concepts, which I will employ to navigate through my empirical observations for the writing of my thesis. In the upcoming pages, I will refer to the concepts of enactment and boundary objects. I will argue about their relevance and sketch out how I understand them in relation to the research in hand.

7.2 Enactment

In her book "The body multiple: ontology in medical practice" Mol (2002) pursuits the argument that reality is being enacted. Focusing on the practices that enact atherosclerosis, she concludes that there is not just only one atherosclerosis to refer to, but rather a multiplicity of this medical condition. For that different set of practices lead to different atherosclerosis. The scholar approaches the issue from an empirical philosophical perspective, thus focusing on material engagements and excluding to take into account the ways that actors signify and provide meaning to their actions. To spotlight phenomena as they are being done, the author shifts the focal point from the object to the practices enacting it. As Mol (2002, p. 152) puts it:

> This means that it no longer follows a gaze that tries to see objects but instead follows objects while they are being enacted in practice. So, the emphasis shifts. Instead of the observer's eyes, the practitioner's hands become the focus point of theorizing.

Taking this into consideration, I will be examining the collected material by looking not at connotations, attributes and meanings to social innovation, but instead at the "doings" that result to this object.

The most crucial characteristic of enactment is that it comes before reality. It is a concept of a praxiographic account, meaning that reality is constructed by practices. In the case of atherosclerosis, Mol talks most prominently about distinct ontologies of the disease: one constructed in the pathology department and the one in the outpatient clinic. This is based on the practices used to diagnose the condition. In the former, autopsy is the standard procedure, while in the latter the patient visits a doctor and reports his/her complaints. In the pathology department atherosclerosis is an anomaly is the vessels depicted in slides, while in the clinic it is pain in the legs leading to difficulties in walking.

Enactment and generally her praxiographic approach will be used as a theoritical concept and framework. For it resonates well with the gaps in the literature on social innovation; to my best knowledge all existing literature (see parts 2 and 3 of the master thesis) discusses social innovation as an object and leave untouched the practices that materialize it. Thus, by having in mind this research concept I will discuss and present below in the empirical chapters not social innovation per se by the practices that enact it in Impact Hub Vienna.

7.3 Boundary objects

In 1989 Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer wrote an article on how diverse groups of people, having probably different outlooks, cooperate in order to promote scientific work. Their case study was in the Museum Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California. It specifically focused on the years of the establishment of this institution. After extensive research and reconstruction of the case, they conclude that in order for scientific work to take place, various heterogeneous activities are accompanied by the standardization of methods and the development and usage of boundary objects. For the purposes of my research, the concept of boundary objects is important. Below I will briefly refer to the concept under discussion and then I will explain its use and part in the framework of my analysis.

Star and Griesemer (1989, p. 393) define a boundary object as:

> "an analytic concept of those scientific objects which both inhabit several intersecting social worlds […] and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them. Boundary objects are objects which are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use, and become strongly structured in individual site use. These objects may be abstract or concrete. They have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds".

The above make clear that boundary objects have the capacity to incorporate different social worlds into a common network, but simultaneously they can keep them distinct from each other. Examples of boundary objects for Star and Griesemer (1989) can be field notes and maps, among others.

Moreover, the scholars identify four types of boundary objects. This typification is a non-exhaustive one, but still enough for my study purposes. These four types are: repositories, ideal types, coincident boundaries and standardized forms. The first one refers to the bringing together heterogeneous objects

in a standardized manner, which allows people from different worlds to make use of those objects. The second one describes those objects which have the advantage of adaptability between social worlds, for that they are quite abstract. Their function is to facilitate communication between different people. Furthermore, coincident boundaries are related to the differentiation between contents in one object across social worlds. Finally, the last type of boundary objects can be identified as the methodological facet of ideal types. They are methods, which enhance communication between distinct work groups (Star & Griesemer, 1989).

Based on the aforementioned, I find the notion of boundary objects and especially the second type of them very crucial for my inquiries. Namely, what I will attempt to do, is to employ "boundary objects" as an entrance concept, in order to approach business models. Business models figure, are negotiated and travel across different social worlds on different forms, such as presentation materials, tools to structure them and investment documents (see also Doganova & Eyquem-Renault, 2009). By treating business models as boundary objects, I will be in an advantageous position to see how social actors are illustrated in them and what roles are they ascribed.

7.4 Conclusions

In the above pages, I presented the concept of enactment, which contributes in taking away the attention from the object of social innovation and shifting it at the practices that enact it while approaching the material. Furthermore and finally, I discussed the concept of boundary objects, which helps me to treat business models of social entrepreneurship as boundaries objects that bring different social worlds together enabling communication and cooperation between them; such an attempt can provide insights into the roles and representations of actors inscribed in them.

8. Material and Methods

8.1 Introduction

The following section consists the part where I will refer to the methodological aspects of my thesis. The first part refers to the research approach and strategy I employed as well as the reasons for that selection. As we shall see, the master thesis in hand analyses qualitative data and approaches it using a triangulation strategy. Triangulation in the study at hand refers both to the method of data collection, which provided various sets of materials, as well as to the methods of data analysis, which are grounded theory and critical discourse analysis. The two selected methods of analysis are employed in parallel with the theoretical concepts; grounded theory is aligned with enactment, while boundary objects with critical discourse analysis. Different sets of data are analyzed with different method and concept. Materials labelled as "narrations" are approached with critical discourse analysis and the notion of boundary objects, while materials labelled as "organizational functioning elements" with grounded theory and the concept of enactment.

8.2 Research approach and strategy

The literature examination, the features of the site of research, the inquiries that I raised and the theoretical concepts chosen, render qualitative research approach as the most suitable one. Qualitative research will allow me to sketch out practices that enact social innovation in Impact Hub Vienna as well as will provide me a lens to the representations of social actors while enacting social innovation.

More specifically, I employed a triangulation research strategy on the levels of data collection and data analysis. Triangulation is a research method that promotes the gathering of different bodies of data. In addition, triangulation can take place while analyzing the data, meaning that the research takes advantage of more than one data analysis methods. Furthermore, triangulation can take place in two distinct fashions. A researcher can approach and analyze a topic from different angles and with various tools so as either to actively conduct a cross examination or in order to extend and enrich the findings (Flick, 2011). In the master thesis in hand, I merely used triangulation to achieve the latter. Nevertheless, a cross examination takes also place to some extent.

8.3 Collected data

In respect to the collection of data, I conducted fieldwork and interviews. As far as it concerns the fieldwork, this took place in multiple fashions and gave me access to various kinds of material. First, from the middle of April 2016 until the end of December 2016, I did participatory observation by visiting workshops and events in the organization in question. Second, from September 2016 until December 2016 I was voluntarily working as an intern in Social Impact Award (SIA), an incubation program for starting up a social venture. My duty was to write a "Playbook" with guidelines for Impact Hubs of other countries as well as for other social entrepreneurship centers that run acceleration programs in their respecting countries. During this period, I took part in the following public workshops and events of Social Impact Award:

- Event: Kick off & meet the founders
- Workshop: Intro & idea Factory
- Workshop: Business Modelling
- Workshop: Business Planning
- Workshop: Meet the Jury
- Event: Award Ceremony
- Series of Events and workshops: Social Impact Award Europe Summit

Except for the public events, which helped me to delineate all the processes related to how a social venture come into being and to engage with the tools that are used to achieve that, as a Social Impact Award intern I additionally had the chance to participate in internal workshops, called "Train the Trainer". These workshops were designed and held for coordinators of Social Impact Award from other countries to show them how the incubation program should be run. Hence, I was presented once

more the curriculum on how to start up a social enterprise -and this time from a meta perspective. Being present in these events, made it possible for me to gather a lot of notes to describe and explain how these workshops tangibly take place. By being in site, not only a lot of notes were taken, but I also had access to various documents, from workshops' materials up to funding related ones[1]. In total, during my stay in Impact Hub Vienna I came across, stored and processed approximately 1 GB of digital and digitalized data (no videos and webpage material are included in this number and some of those files are zipped) plus self-handwritten notes of around thirty five A5 pages (my handwriting is not very nice so this number can be lower).

The analyzed data related to curriculum, which was given by Impact Hub Vienna to me (meaning that my personal notes are not here included) and analyzed, has the following aspects regarding its size:

	Pages/Slides	**Words**
Total size of analyzed curriculum materials	**247**	**25.556**
Presentations of the curriculum		
1	33	1.251
2	40	4.775
3	48	5.385
4	46	4.062
Total	167	15.473
Notes of the curriculum for the host		
1	2	324
2	1	213
3	2	313
4	2	456
5	2	256
6	1	166
7	1	187
Total	11	1.915
Other materials (such as Impact Canvas)		
1	9	2.957
2	5	1.931
3	21	1.473
4	34	1.807
Total	69	8.168

[1] Additionally, I visited various community events for members of Impact Hub Vienna. Observations made in community events were not used for the research for two reasons. First, the nature of such events is more personal than institutional, making it hard to take notes and analyze them being in distance from the subjects. Second, my research interests changed during the process of data gathering; it became clear to me that I need to focus on the practices of this institution and not on opinions of its members.

Besides, the curriculum, a very important set of materials that I gathered during my staying in Impact Hub Vienna as an intern is composed out of documents related to funding These documents were important in showing the existing and the potential funding organizations of some incubation programs. Particularly useful and well integrated into my analysis were the funding-documents related to sponsor packages, as they provide insights into the services that sponsors are granted by those programs.

Third, besides doing fieldwork in the physical space of Impact Hub Vienna, I also collected and analyzed texts located in the webpages of the institution and its incubation programs. Such data played a crucial role, for it was combined with discussions I had with coordinators of other programs of Impact Hub Vienna and led me to understand the function of a bigger amount of incubation programs.

In addition to the above, I also conducted four one on one interviews using semi structured questionnaires. The shortest interview lasted for almost 18 minutes, while all the other three interviews had a duration between 37 and 40 minutes. The transcribed text that resulted of those four interviews together and later analyzed has a length of 20.881 words (more than 50 pages).

Interview	Duration in minutes	Transcribed words
1	39,56	6.319
2	37,02	5.707
3	39,25	6.085
4	17,57	2.770
Total	133,4	20.881

All the interviews took place in the period that I was doing the fieldwork. Three of them were with coordinators of incubation programs and the last one was with an academic who works with Impact Hub Vienna on the curriculum of workshops and organizes surveys about the satisfaction of the workshops participants. The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder and transcribed. I merely employed the interviews in a complementary manner seeking for information that I otherwise could not have access to. For example, talking to coordinators of customized incubation programs made it possible for me to collect data on the dimensions of the negotiations between funding bodies and the manager of the incubation program.

To sum up, the research in hand deals with five different strands of data: observation notes, workshops materials, internal documents, online texts and interviews. The first three have a primary role in organizing the analysis. Online texts, merely information on incubation programs, are used in combination with discussions I had while being in Impact Hub Vienna. Finally, interviews play an

assisting role, employed to fill in gaps in data (e.g. not public accessible negotiations between Impact Hub Vienna and partners or sponsors).

8.4 Method of analysis

Regarding the method of analysis, I employed grounded theory and critical discourse analysis. As far as it concerns grounded theory, this is a very inductive way to approach a research topic. In other words, with grounded theory one can construct theory out of the data gathered. The main processes involved in this method are initial and focused coding. Initial coding is done to get a primary grasp on the data. Focused coding involves the testing of the codes onto larger parts of the data, so as to check their appropriateness and usefulness in interpreting the data at hand. When a robust enough theoretical scheme can be illustrated, which is attached to data and can simultaneously explain it at once, no more data needs to be collected (theoretical saturation) and analysis has reached its end. The paradigm of grounded theory that I followed derives from the guidelines provided by Charmaz (2006). Grounded theory contributed to understand and depict the processes that perform social innovation in Impact Hub Vienna. Thus, it is the methodological equivalent of the theoretical concept of enactment.

Critical discourse analysis can involve similar steps to grounded theory, such as coding, but it does not share a common objective with it. In contrast to grounded theory, which aims for theory generation out of data, critical discourse analysis targets social relations and roles and is designed to capture the dynamics of these relations and the status of these roles. Whereas for grounded theory data is a source of elements, which can be put in order to give us a tidy image of the social, for critical discourse analysis data is a field where dominant ideology and power relations can be traced. For researchers using critical discourse analysis is a given that these two exist in the data, rendering in this way this method more deductive than inductive. Critical discourse analysis does not aim to theory generation, but instead unveils social relations and roles (see Wodak and Meyer, 2009). I used this method having in mind the concept of boundary objects, as this concept can better capture relations between social worlds. Therefore, critical discourse analysis contributed in identifying attributions about and prescribed roles of social subjects in social entrepreneurship projects.

8.5 Analyzing the material

The very first action that I did, was to categorize the data between “narrations” and “organizational functioning elements”. This was the first step so as to have a better understanding, which data made more sense to be analyzed with grounded theory and which with critical discourse analysis. Grounded theory is a systematic analytical approach and thus is suitable for data that describes how incubation programs function. Critical discourse analysis provides more analytical power when applied to texts that narrate; because narrations include social roles, social relations and ideologically shaped depictions of society. The defining criterion between the two labels was whether the data segment in

question included abstract categories of semiotic participants in the text. By abstract categories of semiotic participants I mean: “the poor”, “the women”, “the refugees”, “the elderly”, “the trees”, “the worried parents”, “the ozone layer”, etc. In other words, entities that were not brought into the semiotic event to discuss *with* them, but to discuss *about* them. Hence, data including abstract categories of semiotic participants was labelled as “narration”, it was analyzed with critical discourse analysis and whenever applicable (business models, Impact Canvas) it was approached having in mind the concept of boundary objects. Data including no more semiotic participants than the writer and the directly intended readers was coded as “organizational functioning elements”, approached through the concept of enactment and analyzed further with grounded theory.

Regarding the data coded as “narrations”, this includes for its most part workshop materials and external communication documents (booklets for the general public). When dealing with data of this category I mainly asked the following three questions:

- Who is taking part in this text?
- How are the participants of the text related in each other?
- What sets of characteristics are attributed to each group of semiotic participants?

The first empirical part (chapter 9.2) is to its largest extent based on the analysis of workshop materials, like presentations on business models theory and toolkits to draw business models. Discussions based on external communication documents are not much present in my empirical chapters. There are two main reasons that eventually led me not to include them in my master thesis:
1) everyone with internet connection or any person living in or visiting Vienna can have access to such documents. I had access in documents that only internal stuff and workshop participants have. This is a very rare chance that very few social scientists get in their lives as researchers. This chance is an opportunity for me to deliver a research that goes beyond the usual sets of data. But this opportunity comes with a duty as well; to devote as much pages of my master thesis to discuss material that not every reader has normally access to.
2) the personnel of Impact Hub Vienna is not always organically related to the texts included in external communication documents. A communication agency working closely with Impact Hub Vienna, but being neither legally not physically part of the organization under discussion, carries out a considerable amount of the public relations textual work on behalf of that place. Thus, although this strand of material can probably give us an idea of the discourses inhabiting Impact Hub Vienna, it cannot give us such a clear image of the discourses, which can be found in material that coordinators of incubation everyday use, tinker and know by heart (like the workshop materials).

As far as it concerns the data coded as “organizational functioning elements” is mostly composed out of guidelines for fellow coordinators of incubation programs, documents that touch upon funding

aspects, descriptions of incubation programs, my observation notes and parts of interviews that explain how is something done. The reader can find in all the empirical chapters the most important extracts of this data. Particularly the chapters 9.3 and 9.4 are based on these materials.

8.6 Conclusions

In the above pages I delineated the methodological design of my thesis. This methodological design derives from a triangulation strategy on the levels of data gathering and methods of analysis. The analyzed materials include observation notes, workshops materials, internal documents, online texts and interviews. The two methods of analysis that I employ are grounded theory and critical discourse analysis. After categorizing the data into "narrations" and "organizational functioning elements", I employed critical discourse analysis and the concept of boundary objects to analyze the former, while grounded theory and enactment were used for the latter. Materials labelled as "narrations" are discussed mostly in the empirical chapter 9.2 where I examine the discourses of the epistemic facets of social entrepreneurship. The discussion of the analysis of the data identified as "organizational functioning elements" happens principally in parts 9.3 and 9.4, where I investigate the processes taking place in incubation programs and the fashions of funding them.

9. Practicing social innovation in Impact Hub Vienna: Content and context of incubation programs

9.1 Introduction

Having delineated the background and the design of the study in hand, I would like now to move towards the main part of the thesis striving to show how social innovation is practiced in Impact Hub Vienna. My analysis is composed out of three pillars, each of which consists a separate empirical chapter and simultaneously represents the most important findings in relation to the research questions of this study.

The first one (9.2) addresses mostly the first subquestion (How do business models for social enterprises come into being?) and focuses on an incubation program called Social Impact Award, located in the initial development stage of a social venture. In this chapter, I will be dealing with the frames that lead an upcoming social enterprise to find a business model. In other words, the first chapter is a *looking into the incubation programs*; in their content as well as workshop materials that are used to come up with social enterprise concept.

The second one (9.3) is mostly oriented towards providing insights for the second subquestion (How do incubation programs take place?) and discusses various incubation programs analyzing the phases included in their framework. In this chapter I will be discussing timelines, activities and objectives of

such programs, which are communicated to and engage the participants. This investigation is a *looking at the relation between incubation programs and participants*.

The third one is tightly related to the third subquestion (How are incubation programs financed?) and spotlights a variety of incubation programs and more particularly their financial securing. In this chapter I will be reviewing sponsorships packages, negotiation insights and selection mechanisms. The third analytical chapter is a *looking at the relation between incubation programs and their financing bodies*.

Finally, I will summarize my findings. By doing so, I will be answering my main research question, which reads "How is social innovation practiced in Impact Hub Vienna?". This will allow to capture at least the main parameters of the social innovation paradigm arising in Impact Hub Vienna.

9.2 Finding a business model

9.2.1 Introduction

It is of central importance to the social innovation enacted in Impact Hub Vienna that every social enterprise starts with an idea. The widely circulated stereotypical perception that ideas come suddenly into an individual's head is dismantled in the very first workshop of the first incubation program, namely Social Impact Award (SIA), which Impact Hub Vienna hosts. There are no expectations that social entrepreneurship -the type of entrepreneurship that tackles social issues- can flourish out of random "Eureka moments". At least a social entrepreneurship booster cannot count on that. SIA provides a funnel approach, to prospective social entrepreneurs to help them sketch out solutions for social problems in a systematic manner. The core body is composed out of: a heuristic methodology named Idea Factory, a presentation of and discussion on the principles of business models for social enterprises and a conceptualization exercise using a structuring tool called Impact Canvas.

In the upcoming pages I will describe in detail these materials as presented and used in the respective Social Impact Award workshops. While doing so, I will be treating this material as an assortment of concrete instances of semiotic events, which means as instances where meaning is in the making. This way, I will be paying sensible attention on the fashions in which actors are represented, the roles that are attributed to them during the process of concept generation and the way that socio-political power moves among the semiotic actors of SIA.

By the end of this chapter, it will become clear to the readers that the funnel approach used by SIA is not a socio-politically neutral methodology only helping prospect social entrepreneurs generate business ideas and social ventures that integrate (more or better) marginalized groups into the market economy and society. I will show that this methodology portrays target groups as incapable to secure

better futures for them on their own, provides social entrepreneurs the legitimization to act on their behalf and imposes two social imperatives on the involved parties. The first one can be labelled as *gratefulness* and it is to be fulfilled by target groups. The second one is the imperative of *partnering* with well-established organizations to start-up and it is imposed on social entrepreneurs.

9.2.3 Translating intentions to ideas

The very first actions that participants of workshops of Social Impact Award perform are to brainstorm and to identify existing issues in their social environments. The image illustrating a man looking (figure 3) at his face in the mirror contextualizes the question "Which problem in our society or your environment makes you mad?". As it is explicitly stated on the slide's notes, these should be problems that a participant is personally aware of and emotionally attached to.

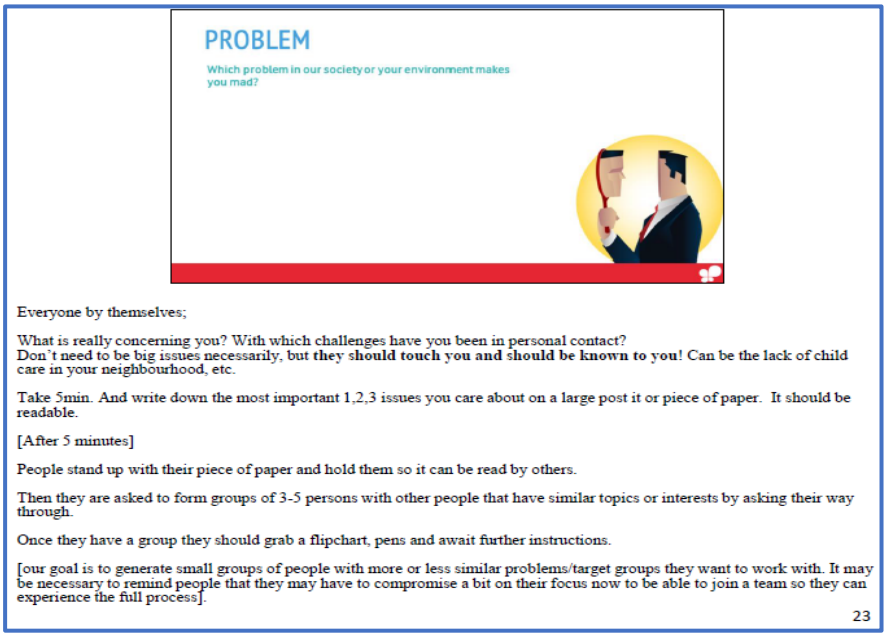


Figure 3: Social Impact Award. Intro & Idea Factory (C1)

In the process of problem finding, target groups come into discussion. These are composed by the people facing a social challenge; such as the homeless person provided as an example on the slide (figure 4). They are selected by the exercise's participants on subjective grounds (see notes for the facilitator). As soon as attendees have identified a problem and a target group at hand, they form

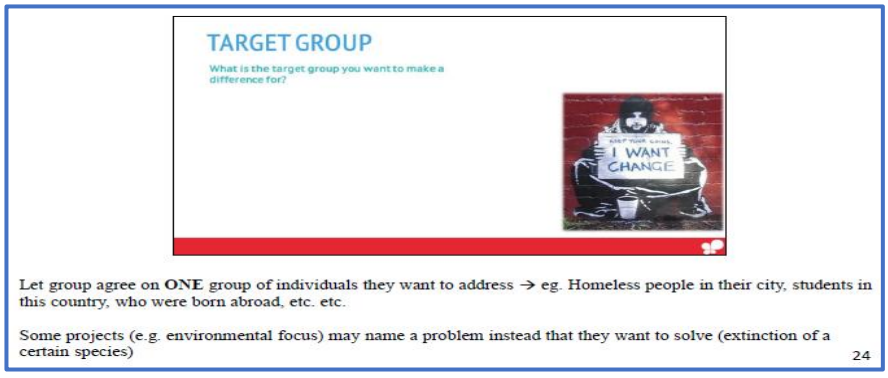


Figure 4: Social Impact Award. Intro & Idea Factory (C2)

The persons sitting together are now moving forward to the most heuristic part of this process. As we see from the slides below (figure 5), there are five inquiries that impel participants to think for their target groups[1]. The first two questions are "How could you make the lives of your target group more miserable" and "How could you improve the lives of your target group" respectively. In a playful manner, the former is titled "Bad Cop" and it is accompanied by an image depicting a running Lego policeman. The heading of the latter is "Good Cop", portraying a brainy and calm, smoking cigar, middle-age inspector, who wears the typical light brown trench coat. These questions help the persons being in the workshop to grasp in an imaginative manner what are the "don'ts" and "do's" in respect to the needs of the target group. Immediately after, the question posed is "What are the special capabilities of your target group", the picture accompanying this question is a happy flying girl. To that direction, attendees brainstorm ideas regarding any possible unique competencies and/or distinct characteristics of the target group. Having already thought of the pressing lacks and the capacities of the people that they selected to serve, participants confront the inquiry of "what kind of business can you open to create jobs for your target group?". The slide is decorated with a bench, where lemon juice is sold. Finally, to draw further inspiration, people doing the exercise are invited to look for existing projects, so as to come up with other ways to cater their target group.

Figure 5: Social Impact Award. Intro & Idea Factory (C3, C4, C5, C6, C7)

[1] In case that the challenge is an environmental one, the steps are again the same. The only difference is that the focal point is not a target group but merely an environmental issue.

All the ideas emerged from the above described exercise are summarized and merged by participants of the workshop in order to sketch out a solution. To this end, participants should also commence considering, how will their projects generate income (see below Figure 6).

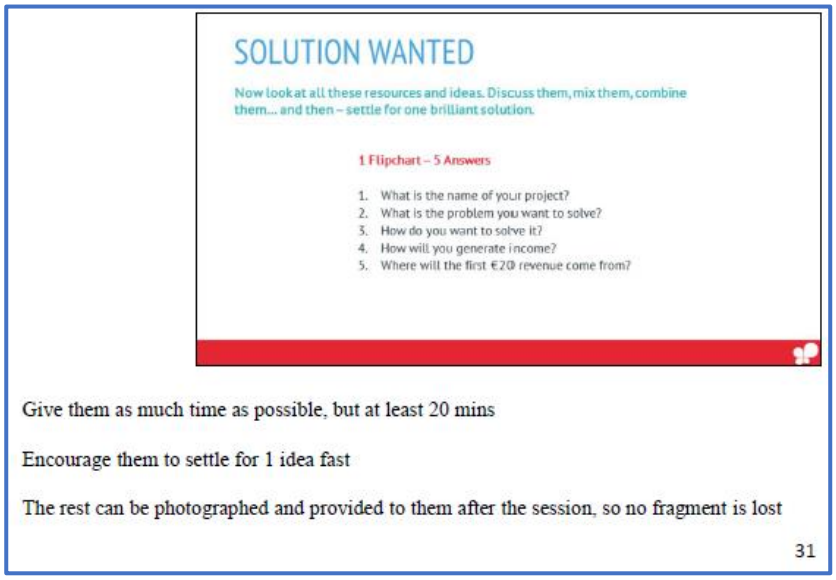


Figure 6: Social Impact Award. Intro & Idea Factory (C8)

Having settled with one solution, groups pitch their ideas to each other. During this presentation, the facilitators are entitled to provide feedback. As one sees from the notes of the slide below (Figure 7), the feedback directs participants to start taking action and more specifically to commence slowly testing their assumptions on the field. A participant is recommended to think about funding and team composition and to find individuals from the target group as well as other relevant persons to discuss with them the concept.

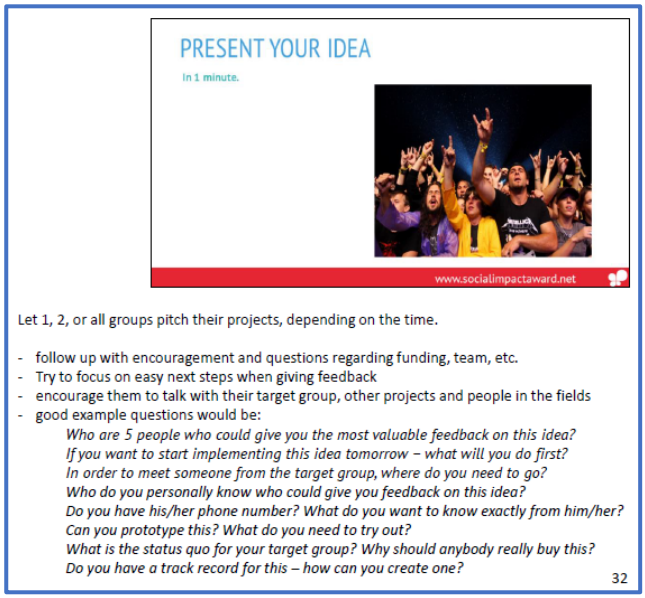


Figure 7: Social Impact Award. Intro & Idea Factory (C9)

Having described step-by-step the brainstorming exercise of SIA, it seems a good time to focus on the representations of the actors involved. Concerning the central actors being engaged in the semiotic event, there are two: the participants of the workshops and the target groups. First, I will refer to participants and then to target groups. Finally, I will join the individual observations together, so as to delineate the contrasting set of characteristics of actors that emerges through this methodology and the discourse that it implies.

Participants of the workshop are the first, who are attributed characteristics. The question of the first slide "which problem in our society or your environment makes you mad" is accompanied by an image showing a standing well-dressed adult male seeing exclusively his own face in the mirror. Being together in a meaning nexus, question and image portray the ideal participant: someone who is or at least fits in the establishment, but at the same time has social/community concerns. Depicted fresh-shaved with stylized hair and neatly dressed in a standing position holding a mirror, manifests that the person is not resigned, but ready to act against the problems he/she identifies.

Besides the above incident, there are three more representations of attendees of the workshop. The first two take place in the "bad cop-good cop" slides. In the former, the actor figuring in relation to the question "how could you make the lives of your target group more miserable" is a Lego[1] running in panic. In the latter, the question "how could you improve the lives of your target group" is framed by a middle-aged man whose intellectuality is spurting all over the place. The investigating gaze, the cigar and the position of the arms account for this claim. Through this sharp divergence, social entrepreneurs -the persons that attempt to meliorate the life of target groups- are attributed characteristics associated with mental abilities in solving issues.

Lastly, when participants are asked to present their ideas, they are contextualized under a particular network of signs. An image from a music concert taken with first-person angle depicts a mass of people being excited and passionate about what they listen to. Their zealotry and kick manifested by the gestures and their angle upwards where the singer is, point to the fact that whatever they are listening to is something that they did desperately want to listen to. In this picture, the person pitching is represented by the singer (the person looking down to the crowd). The participants of the workshop as well as other people to whom the social entrepreneur intends to approach to present her/his idea are portrayed as the thrilled audience. Thus, the image from the music concert is mobilized as a parallelism to put forward the idea that people do want to listen to the brainstorming results of the social entrepreneur. This slide has a very decisive function on the course of the upcoming workshops. Please have a look again at figures 1 (the one with which this part of the workshop begins) and 7 (the

[1] In the first editions of SIA, there was a human instead of a Lego, still heavily contrasting the image of good cope. Nevertheless, the last years it was replaced by the image that you see.

one closing this part). On figure 1 the person is alone in the room looking himself in the mirror. The need to act derives from the person itself. On the contrary, on figure 7 the person is not present in the picture, only her/his very excited audience is. By replacing the mirror with a thrilled audience, the idea generation part of Social Impact Award's first workshop starts and ends portraying the need for starting up in two different sites. On this last slide, the need to act is not anymore to be found in the social entrepreneur, but on the contrary it resides in the audience, which can presumably represent the public.

With a graffiti from a renowned street artist, the first sample of the target group is presented (figure 4). It is an adult man. However, the person is neither clean-cut nor gussied-up. He has a beard and wears something like a gunnysack. He is sitting alone on the ground against a brick wall holding a poster "Keep your coins, I want change". Independently of how playful and smart the pun of the word change is, it cannot conceal the fact that the representation of the target group discloses a helplessness and a passivity of its part. Resigned from taking the situation in his own hands, the man can only express his preference towards a decisive solution to his problem. Represented in this fashion, the picture suggests that target groups invite social entrepreneurs to take decisive action.

Besides the above, one sees two more instances of target group representation, both of them refer to the capacities of the target group. The first one is the slide regarding the "hidden superpowers" of the target group (See figure 5, slide with girl). Before interpreting the symbols used for the second portrayal of the target group, I invite the reader to re-examine the way that social entrepreneurs are illustrated. On figure 3, we see no smile on the face of the social entrepreneur; he understands that the situation is problematic. On figure 5 (under good cop), the man depicted holds a cigar and has a thinking gaze, thus being portrayed as a reasonable/mental strong person. Having the representation of the social entrepreneurs in mind, we can approach once more the slide in question, where a flying female child with a big heart and a bright smile is portrayed. Children as a sign and especially in contrast to adults, suggest low mental and cognitive abilities. A bright smile in a problematic situation points to carelessness. Depicting social entrepreneurs as reasonable and simultaneously putting a big heart on a representation of a target group connotes that target groups are seen as primarily emotional (in a dichotomy reason vs emotions). Finally, the flying pose given to the target group is in complete opposition to the poses given for social entrepreneurs, which disclose seriousness and intellectuality; in this way implying frivolity on part of the target group.

Target groups are represented once more in this exercise of the Social Impact Award. On the next slide (figure 5, slide with lemonade) the question posed reads "what kind of business could you open to create jobs for your target group". In this picture, we see a table on which there are a filled jar with lemonade juice and some glasses. The label "lemonade 10 U.S. dollar cents" shows that the lemonade

is for sale. While no person is in the picture, based on the question it is valid to suggest that target groups are placed behind the table selling lemonade juice. One initial observation related to this slide is that so far we encounter one picture where social entrepreneurs are in absentia depicted (as it happens with target groups here): the one that closes the idea generation part (figure 7). There, the social entrepreneur is given a first-person angle meaning that he/she is the one looking at other people. On the contrary, target groups are placed behind the table, not having thus a first-person angle but facing it, showing that they are the ones to be looked at. Taking into account that in practice participants of the workshop have a first-person angle towards the selling point shows who is looking at whom. Social entrepreneurs are looking at target groups, while target groups are being looked at. This discloses aspects of the representation of power relations inside the upcoming venture. A second and more important observation is that the picture in question cites a particular job, while asking social entrepreneurs to create jobs for their target groups. As it is apparent, the job is to sell lemonade juice. Judging by the currency, the place where this happens is U.S.A.. All these are cultural signs recalling American movies about the life in the suburbs, where children sell lemonade juice mostly during the summer break in the front yard. Thus, target groups are depicted as children doing a job with low difficulty, which latently denotes that they lack the capacities to perform complex tasks. The status of job figuring on this slide is further downgraded. As we see the product that target groups are assigned to trade has a low exchange value.

All the above point to the direction that social entrepreneurs and target groups are attributed two different, but strictly interdependent set of characteristics while brainstorming social problems-solutions in the framework of the Idea Factory of SIA. One the one hand, social entrepreneurs are semantically constituted in an array of signs stressing social sensitivity, readiness, intellectual capacities and social approval to act. On the other, target groups are represented either explicitly or in a latent manner as incapable to cope with the issues that they are supposed to face. It is exactly though this contradicting but interrelated set of attributions that social entrepreneurs are conceived, announced and illustrated as the ones capable and awaited by both public and target groups to come up with solutions that tackle social challenges. In this fashion, in the setting of Idea Factory a very particular discourse is embraced and communicated: social entrepreneurs are the legitimate actor to bring about change. Let us now move forward to the second workshop of Social Impact Award, the one concerning business modelling.

Summary of representations of actors in Idea Factory	
Prospect social entrepreneurs	**Target group**
socially integrated	untidy
socially empathetic	helpless
takes care of him/(her)self	passive
ready to act	resigned
mentally strong	mentally weak
serious	careless
excites crowd	emotional
first-person angle	frivolous
	low work-skills
	being looked at

9.2.4 Presenting business model theory

In the second Social Impact Award workshop, participants are introduced to business models. This effort is mainly done because for SIA and generally in the framework of social entrepreneurship good intentions alone are not enough to create impact. The argument is that one needs to form an organization, which is financially sustainable and generates enough income to support its activities. In other words, to start an organization governed by a business model (see figure 8).

Figure 8: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C10)

The general framework of business models that SIA employs is taken from Ostenwalder and Pigneur, a writing duet that together incarnates the ideal type of scientist-entrepreneur. According to this conceptualization, a business model reflects the rationale of how an organization creates, distributes and captures value (figure 9).

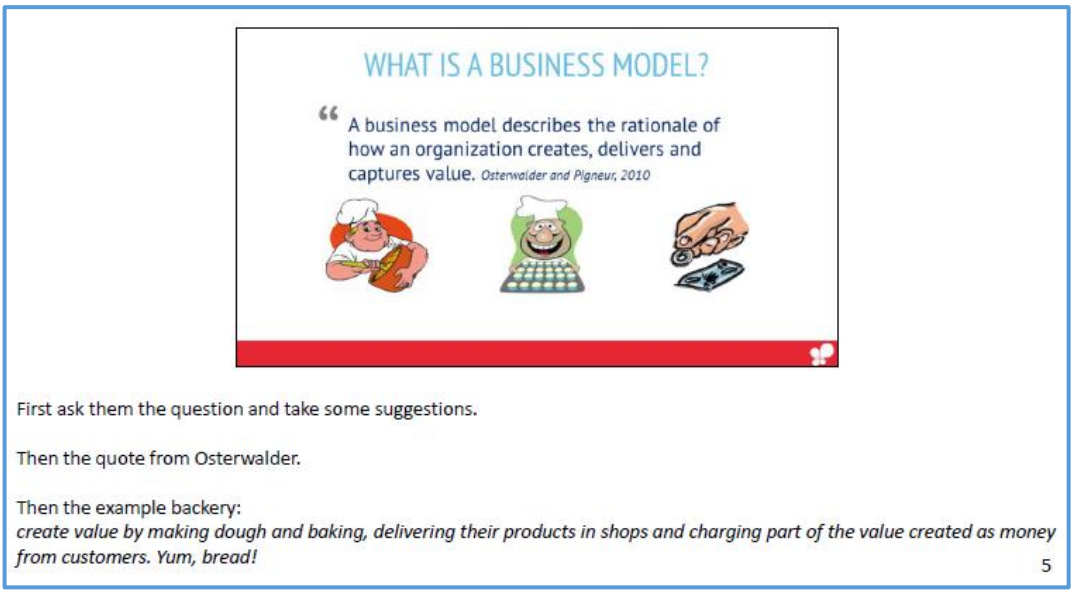


Figure 9: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C11)

In the course of SIA and in accordance to its key target group and mission, namely to bring young people in the field of social entrepreneurship either as supporters or as social entrepreneurs, business models are reduced to two big categories: closed business models and open business models[1] (see figure 10). The former ones include chains of direct as well as indirect value exchange. A direct value chain is performed by an immediate market exchange between two parties; such as the one taking place when a person visits a hairdresser to get a haircut. An indirect value chain is again a market exchange, but it involves more than two parties and specifically at least a service-provider, a service-user and a service-payer. Services with advertisements (from digital to cow-based ones) are prominent instances of this business scheme. Thus, while these two are nothing more than ideal types and in addition it is often possible that a mixture of direct and indirect value exchange exists, there is a defining criterion: close business models entail that all stakeholders are included in a common value interexchange.

In contrast, the latter business models -that is the open ones- do not refer to organizations that enable the exchange and circulation of value among the including parties. An open business model mirrors the unilateral transfer of value, mainly in the form of donations, from one social segment to another one. An open business model for Social Impact Award is the typical way that NGOs and philanthropic projects operate.

Considering very basic aspects such as:

- that only the open business models are offered for a pros and cons examination during the workshop (see below figure 11), while closed business models are called models for social business (see below figure 12)

[1] [1] The two terms closed and open business models, in Social Impact Award are used neither in reference nor in association with the homonymous terms coined by Chesbrough (2006).

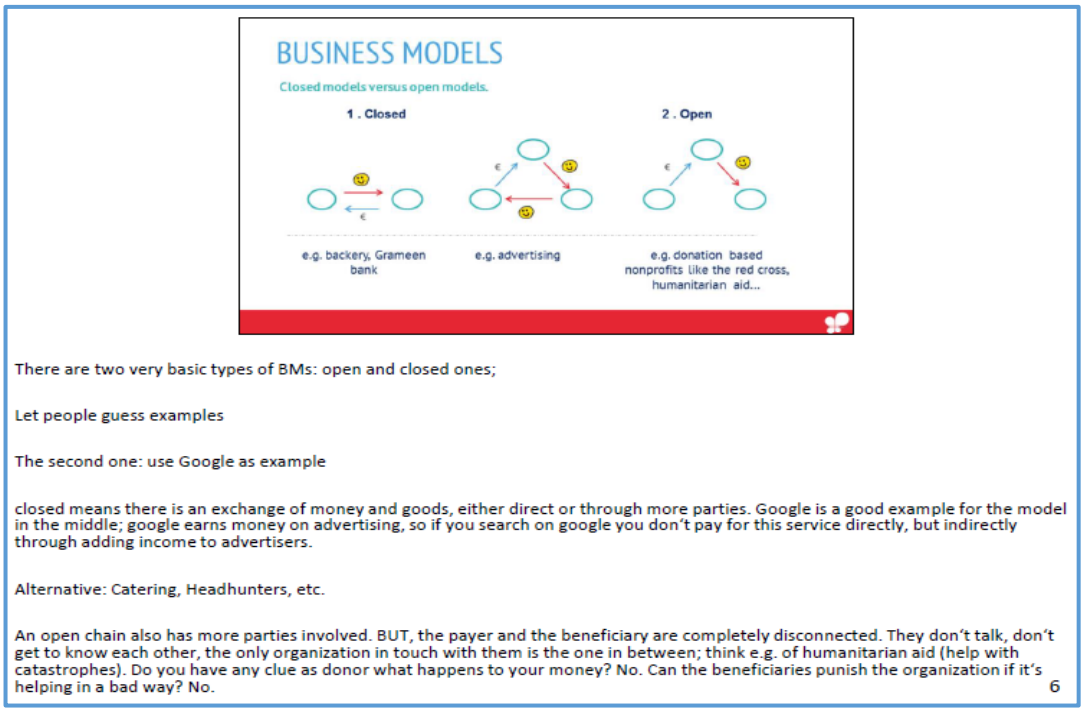


Figure 10: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C12)

- there is a mention around the asymmetrical distribution of power that open business models carry with as well as the motives of donators (see third point on the notes for facilitator in figure 11)
- the participants are invited to play around with other business models that can provide financial sustainability (see last sentence on the notes for facilitator in figure 11)

leads to assume that closed business models are illustrated as fitting social enterprises better. Crucial is that the message conveyed (figures 11 & 12) is that open and closed business models bear different roles for social actors. In open business models, the unilateral transfer of value constitutes the creation of donation-senders and donation-receivers, which results in power asymmetries. Replacing this type of value communication with a circulative one, signalizes the abolishment of the dichotomy between sender and receiver and consequently the abrogation of power asymmetries. At least, that is the idea supported by the theory of social entrepreneurship in the framework of Social Impact Award and Impact Hub Vienna. Let us now have a deeper look at the business models for social enterprises, so as to understand how they encompass social subjects.

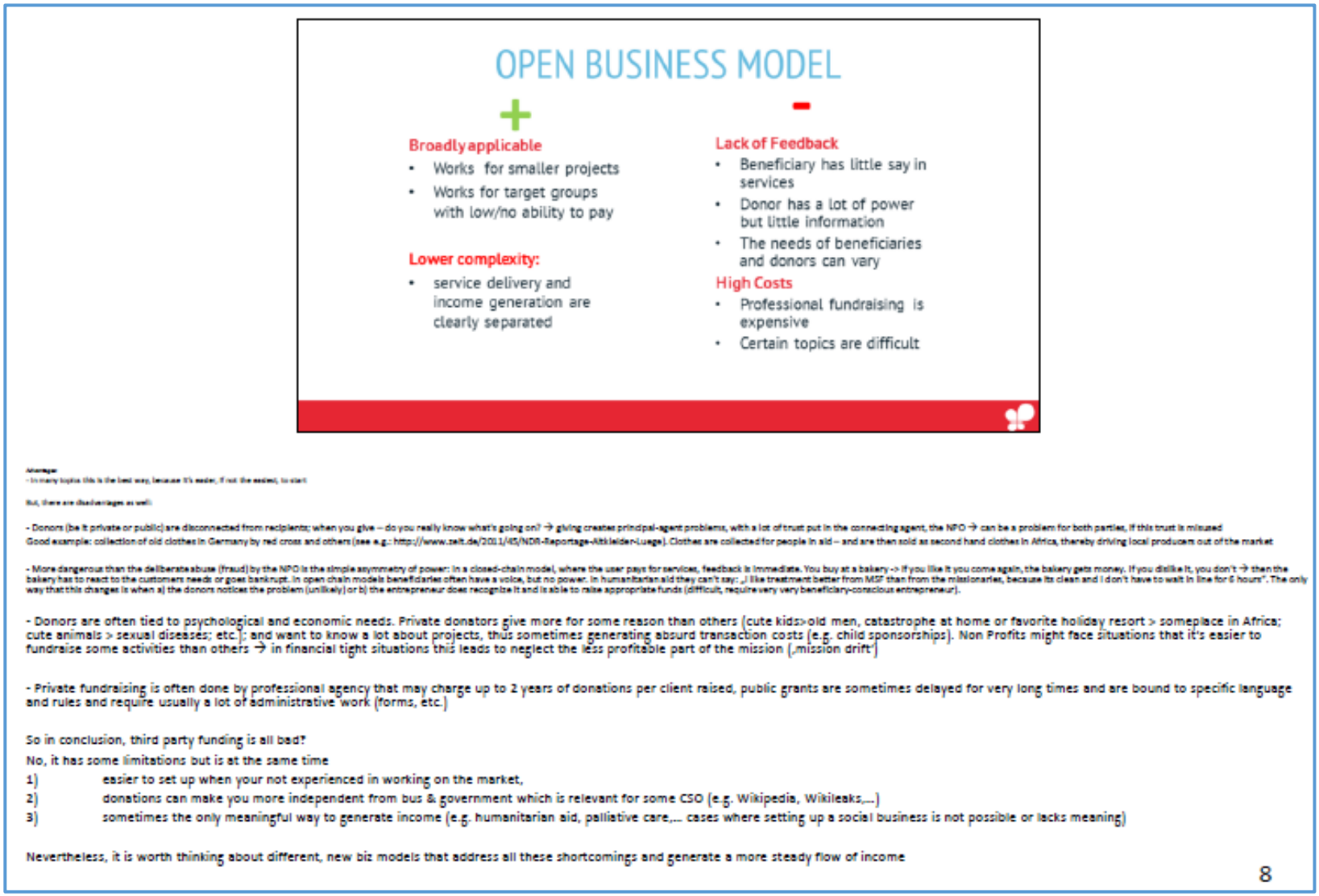


Figure 11: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C14)

There are four business models presented in the course of SIA as capable to realize the aspiration that a social venture holds; that is impact. As we see from the slide below (figure 12), impact is the word accompanying the smiles. All of them reserve explicitly a place for the target group in the value communication process, either straightforwardly or obliquely.

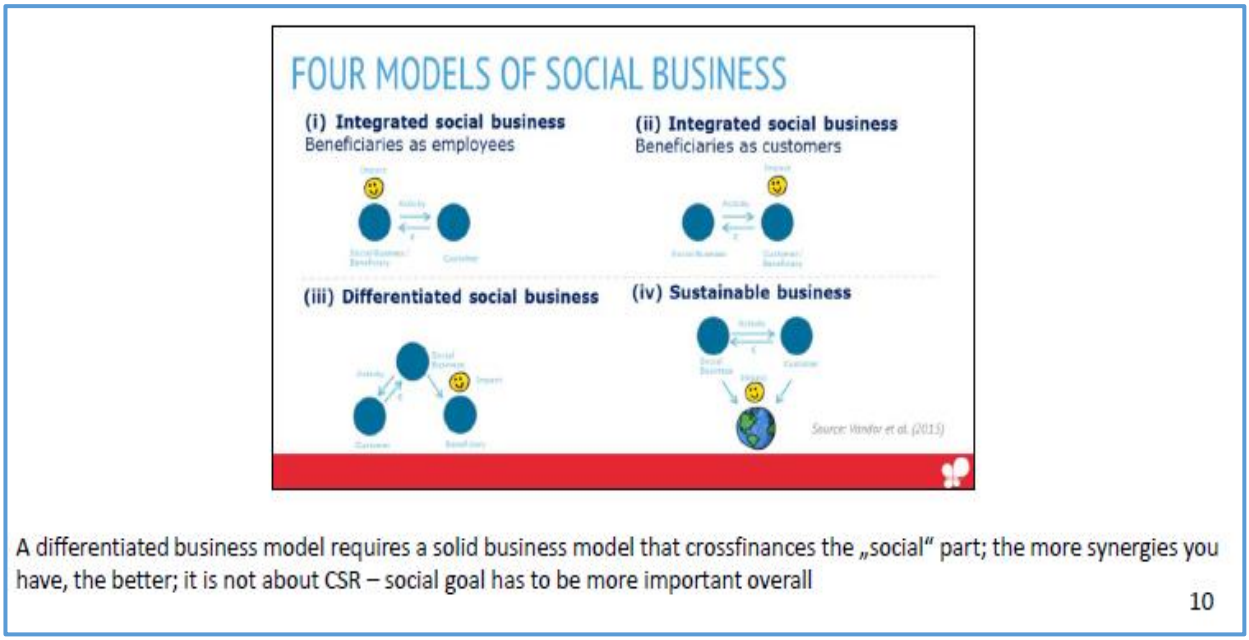


Figure 12: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C13)

The first two are examples of integrated social business. On the one hand, target groups can be incorporated as employees or suppliers, while on the other as consumers. In the first case of this category, social enterprises and target groups, maintain mainly a wage labor relationship. The outcome of this specific social relation are commodities or services. "Made in-made by" a clothing manufacturer platform for immigrant women in Vienna and "Shades Tours", a tour guide service around homelessness offered by homeless people, are instances of the target group employment scheme.

In the second, the social enterprise invites target groups as buyers of its products. These commodities, due to their characteristics (including a spectrum from distinctive use value up to low exchange value), hold the potential to improve the living status of the latter ones. Instances for this category are Blitab, a tablet for blind and visually impaired people and social supermarkets, which collect food from regular super markets with upcoming expiration date or damaged packaged articles and sell them at very low prices to people with low purchasing power.

The third one is called differentiated social business and the main idea of enterprises adopting this financing rationale is that they will execute two processes: a profitable and a social driven one (see figure 12). Differentiated business models are a rather broad category[1]. Ideally, the two processes should be interconnected so as the model to be considered a closed business model and not a Corporate Social Responsibility project. In this way, the social enterprise acts as a broker between a market and a target group. On the one hand, social ventures such as Whatchado, a platform around youth career opportunities where companies advertise their job offerings, the target group accesses preferable jobs positions and gains the chance to sell its workforce (see figure 13). On the other, in social businesses like the Grameen Bank, the target group is incorporated as a buyer as it is connected to the credit market by borrowing money in favorable terms through the mediation of the social enterprise. The financial resources in the form of micro-credit to which target groups get access to, are either guaranteed to or borrowed by Grameen Bank from conventional banks.

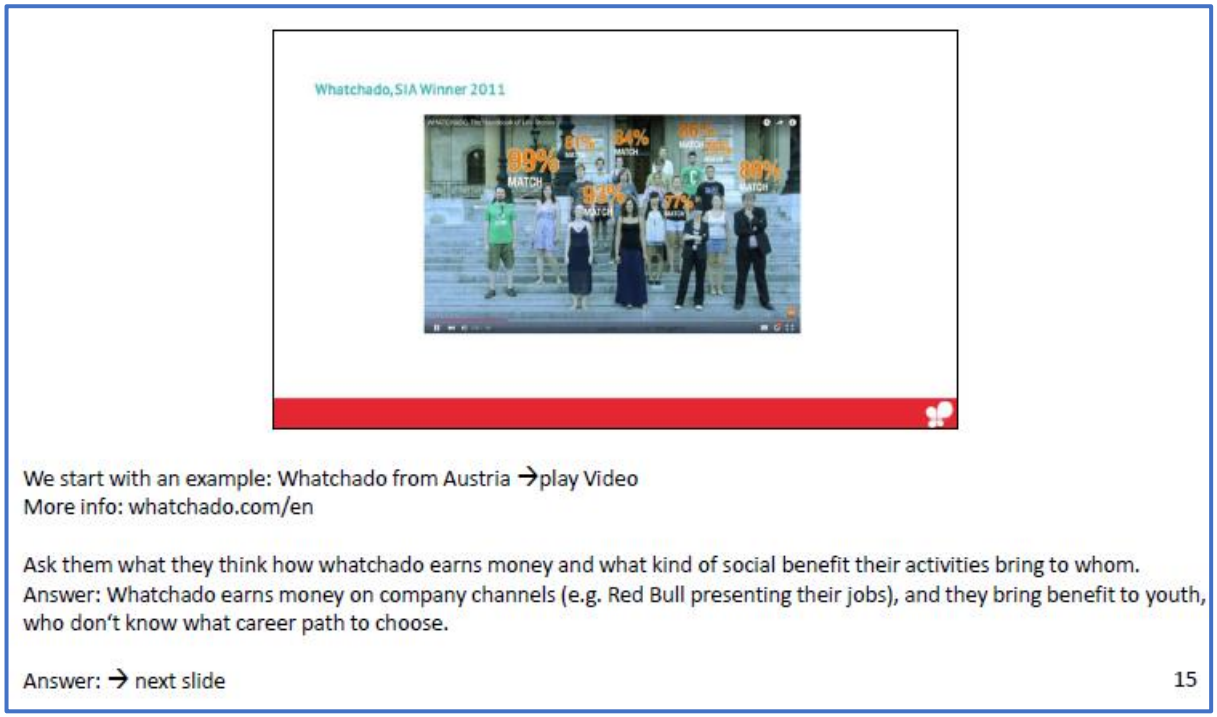


Figure 13: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C15)

[1] Social enterprises operating with One-for-One business model, such as Toms shoes or Aravind eye hospital can be identified as being a differentiated social business. SIA mentions the latter as such. In one sense, such enterprises are more like donators themselves as they transact value to target groups not integrated in the value network. In another -but bit of cynical- sense, the target groups contribute respectively 1) to the value proposition of the shoes and 2) to faster specialization of doctors and to the optimization of processes due to the large number of patients. I think it requires a lot of discussion whether Toms shoes is a social enterprise or a business with a Corporate Social Responsibility agenda. Aravind on the other hand could be a master thesis on its own right. Briefly, I would categorize Aravind not in the differentiated business model as SIA suggests, but rather in the integrated social business, where target groups are customers. This would be so, due to the fact that the special in Aravind is the products and services they offer, which through their highly innovative processes are being capable to open up new markets. For me is the innovative part that renders Aravind social enterprise and not its social mission.

Finally, the fourth and last closed business model is called sustainable business model. A company operating sustainably offers conventional products, but eliminates the social and/or environmental costs associated with the production process. The target group of a sustainable enterprise has a larger dimension and is accompanied by connotations concerning environmental and working rights. Ultimately, in the framework of these workshops and subsequently in Impact Hub Vienna, it is claimed that the target groups of a sustainable business model are the employees/suppliers, the costumers, the generations to come and the environment.

Now that I have showed in detail what is presented by Social Impact Award coordinators in relation to open and business models, I would like to list the most important aspects on the matter and explain them in more analytical language. First, open business models do not sustain a full circulation of value between participating parties. In this sense, open business models do not facilitate an exchange of value, but unilateral transactions of value instead. Thus, the value course in open business models necessitates a differentiation between value-senders and value-receivers. Philanthropy and funding organizations of projects or enterprises that operate under an open business model correspond to value-senders, while beneficiaries of such projects or enterprises are the value receivers. This is what participants of the workshop are taught.

Second, it is claimed in the materials that closed business models abolish the differentiation between value-senders and value-receivers. This is grounded on the basis that closed business models facilitate an interexchange of value between stakeholders. A beneficiary of a project or enterprise has a role allowing her/him to offer value back to other participating parties of the chain. As an employee of a social enterprise, a beneficiary provides work thus infusing value to the chain. As consumers, target groups buy products in exchange for money. In integrated social businesses, beneficiaries offer again value. In the example of Watchado, youth using the platform to look for job are the ones making the platform interesting for employers to advertise their job openings there. In cases like Grameen Bank, beneficiaries are consumers for micro-credits, which are not given free to them. Hence, either by exchanging workforce for resources or by acquiring products of social ventures by monetary means, beneficiaries of closed business models are integrated as value exchangers.

Therefore, on the level of the theory of business modelling there are indeed differences that favor closed business models in comparison to open ones –this is the perspective of practitioners and theorists of social entrepreneurship and this is what my analysis of the **plain theory** shows. On the theoretical level of closed business models (the ones favored by Social Impact Award and Impact Hub Vienna), nothing is given for free to beneficiaries; they are more of a component of the business scheme than an actual beneficiary. Nevertheless, having in mind the concept of enactment, I would like to put aside the theoretical premises and examine the two categories of business models as they

are tangibly presented, explained and semiotically organized. This endeavor will contribute to assess the status given to the components of a closed business model.

In the material presented to social entrepreneurs, we see that for both business models the same word to denote business models is used: beneficiaries. Looking at the figures 10 and 12 we see that there is a further common denominator between open and closed business models: the smiling face. Thus, presenting open and closed business models is achieved by the same linguistic term and an identical sign. In other words, target groups are portrayed in the same meaning nexus, independently of the category of business models (open or closed). Illustrated in such terms, target groups are presented in both theoretical approaches of business models as the main reason a social venture is established; so as to positively affect them. This suggests that, either in open (NGOs, philanthropy) or in closed (the ones preferred by SIA and Impact Hub Vienna) business models, target groups are attributed the status of the ones in need.

These particular signs surrounding target groups have an effect on the way business models are explained to participants of Social Impact Award. Let us read the notes for the coordinator on figure 13. There we see that companies are attributed the role of the paying party and young people the ones receiving a benefit. It takes place no mention concerning the benefits of employers using Watchado; that is to attract and hire personnel. Thus, companies are presented as the paying party of the business model, while the value they receive by participating in the exchange is moved in the background.

The above indicate that while presenting, explaining and depicting closed business models, a particular process takes place: **selective bracketing**[1]. When target groups are discussed, the value that they put in the value chain is bracketed. When companies and/or social entrepreneurs are mentioned, the value they receive is bracketed. Selective bracketing is a practice that has a very particular outcome: it undermines the difference of the theoretical premises of closed and open business models. In this fashion, it makes open business models (philanthropy, donations) and closed business models (market exchange) to resemble in each other.

This resemblance of the two categories of business models succeeded by the practice of selective bracketing has a very tangible effect on the power relations between the components of the business plan: it promotes, reinforces and crystallizes the idea that target groups should be **grateful**, despite of infusing value in the value chain. Target groups should be grateful for social supermarkets, target groups should be grateful that there is a social venture giving them access to employment (either by hiring them or by helping them finding a job).

[1] The term selective bracketing is inspired by the concepts bracketing and unbracketing used by Mol (2002).

This imperative of gratefulness is not only present in the materials and practices related to workshops; it is also communicated in public relations material of Impact Hub Vienna, like the yearly reports and the videos of the individual incubation programs. Target groups are always portrayed as the ones mostly in need, as the ones benefiting the most, as the most grateful economic component of the business plan.

9.2.5 Drawing business models

After the presentation of the theory of business models, Social Impact Award staff provides participants a structuring and conceptualization tool to assist participants of the workshop to come up with a solid business model. It is called "Impact Canvas" and it is accompanied by four working packages. The version that I will refer to is the second and during the period of the material collection the newest one (figure 14). Impact Canvas was brought into life by the designer of SIA, who is an academic researcher and university lecturer for social entrepreneurship. Impact Canvas is inspired by and fundamentally based on Business Canvas (see Ostenwalder & Pigneur, 2010).

Concerning its arrangement, as one sees in the image below depicting the canvas (figure 14), there are four fields containing further subdomains and a little space on the right for questions or general notes. The four major fields are:

i. Idea Core (the light blue box in the center), including the boxes Me/We, Problem, Target group and Solution.
ii. Innovation, composed out of the subfields Novelty level and Added value/USP.
iii. Social Impact, containing the areas of Impact and Reach.
iv. Implementation, enclosing the parts of Resources, Key partners, Milestones, Starting costs, Running costs and Revenue.

For each one of these domains there is a dedicated working package, which is a step by step guide to help participants of the workshop to fill the respective field. Except of being parts of the impact canvas, the three latter spaces (ii., iii. iv.) constitute the selection criteria of SIA for the summer incubation and the afterwards imminent financial support of projects.

Regarding its design, the three light blue pointy dots around the Idea Core, symbolize which elements of the core concept can be combined for a smoother transition into the broader areas. In this way, putting next to each other the target group and the solution provides hints for the dimensions of the implementation; it reveals relevant partners, necessary resources and important project milestones. In the same manner, a parallel description of a problem and a solution is the passage action towards the innovative character of the project; it lands a social entrepreneur closer to the novelty level and its added value/USP. Finally, associating problem and target group may hold information around the

possible social impact; qualitative (kind of improvement) and quantitative (reach) impact is what these two variables can spotlight.

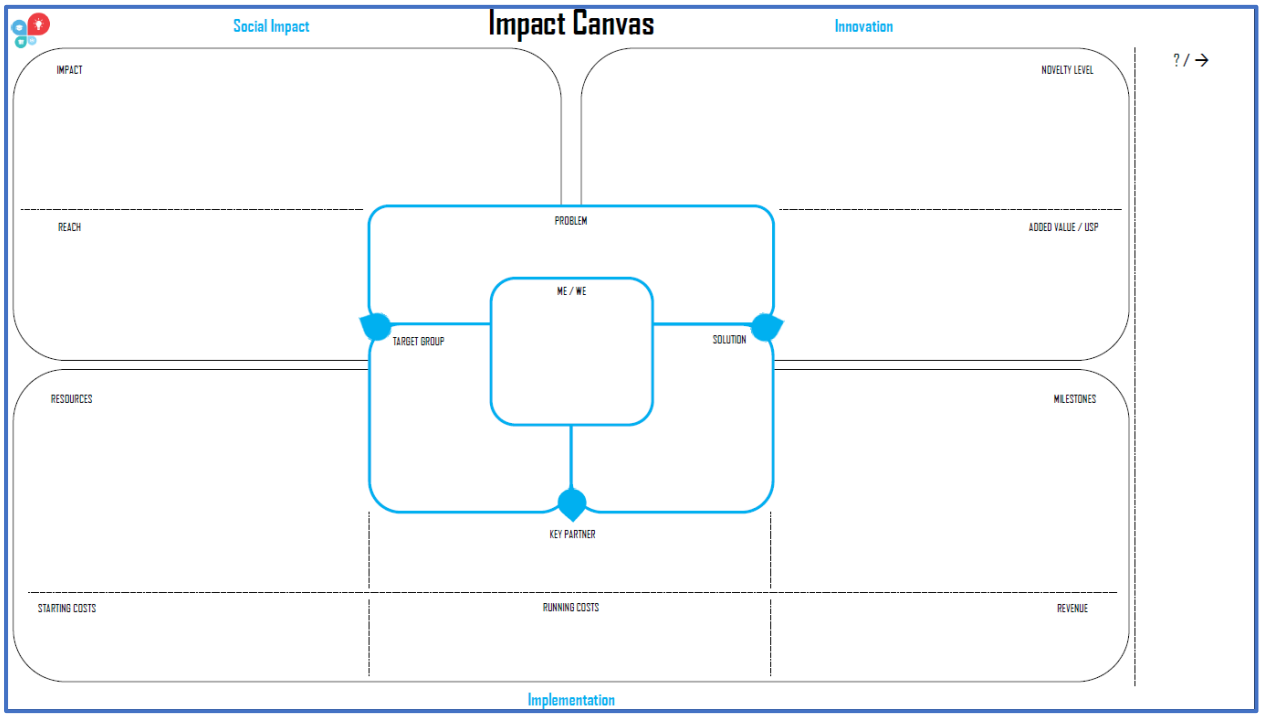


Figure 14: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C16)

Because participants are required to start engaging with the canvas from the "Idea Core", I will begin the discussion from it as well. For the next three parts, there are no rules regarding the sequence by the facilitators, though it is suggested to leave Implementation for the end. Arbitrarily, I start with "Impact", continue with "Innovation" and close with "Implementation". However, in order to avoid any content violation of the material, I present these in an individual and non-sequential manner. Thus, the reader is invited to start from whichever of these three fields, he/she prefers, exactly as it happens in the workshop. As far as it concerns the subfields of the main domains, I will follow the sequence that the working packages have, in this way enabling a presentation of the material, which is consistent to all the levels of its structure and content.

In the center of the center, namely in the "Me/We" field, participants fill in their skills and capacities in relation to the emerging project. Both the knowledge and the experience that they have gathered throughout their life, as well as the social network, which they have so far established, are considered as important elements to realize their idea (figure 15). On the upper part of it, the issue is delineated. The only instruction included for this subdomain is to specify the problem as much as possible. Left down from the idea core is located the space where one writes down the target group of the upcoming social enterprise. An advice provided to participants is that to cope with a problem, there are many

target groups, towards which they can orient their actions. Finally, down on the right, there is the solution field, where one briefly outlines the proposal to combat the problem delineated.

Figure 15: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C17)

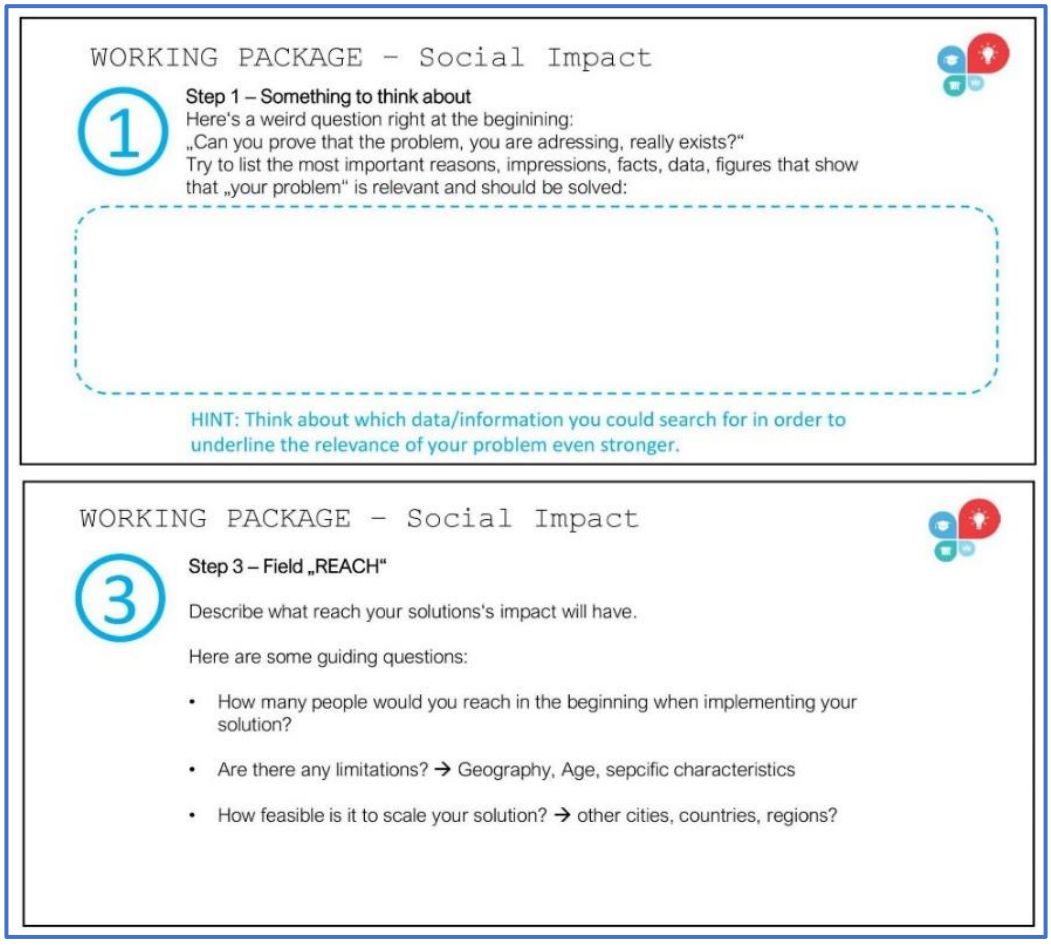


Figure 16: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C18)

"Impact" refers to the upper left box where a user places the potential positive effect of the project in development. The very first step in this field is to translate personal assumptions into a note-worthy issue, which can be done visible by the mobilization of arguments and data. After, attendees sketch out how they think that the solution they offer will meliorate the status quo of the target group, taking

simultaneously also into account other possible advantages for the broader social context. Finally, the quantitative aspects of impact capture the size of the beneficiaries, the scalability of the solution as well as its limitations due to characteristics of the individual case, namely aspects that derive from the beneficiaries themselves (see figure 16).

The part of "Innovation" includes four steps for the users. First, they should identify three criteria that render an idea for them innovative. Second, they are advised to examine the innovativeness of their concept according to characteristics that they attached to the term. In addition, participants are invited to think how they could advance the level of innovation in their solution. There is a hint provided for this step, namely not to hesitate to be self-critical. Third, to estimate the novelty level of their idea, participants are invited to track down existing solutions and compare their concepts with them. A further advice written on the respective page is to make a more detailed investigation on similar projects. Finally, people working on the innovative aspects of their ideas are asked to account for its preeminence in accordance to other solutions, in order to determine and advance the added value/USP (unique selling proposition or point) of their product.

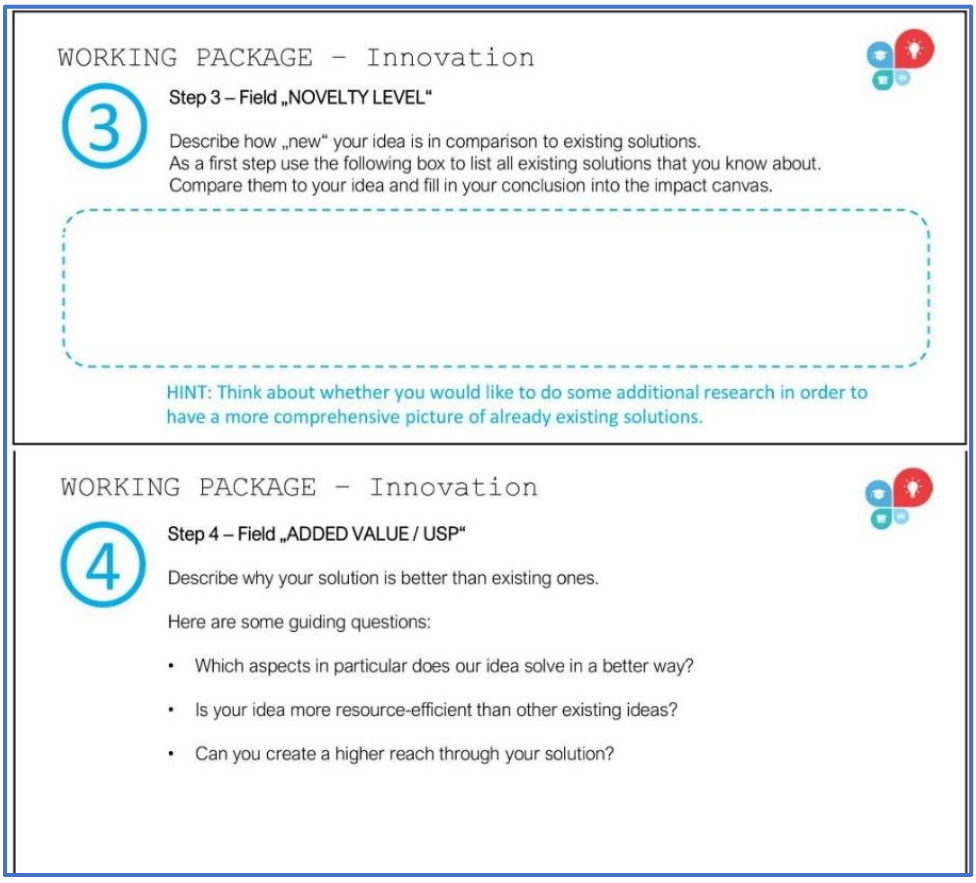


Figure 17: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C19)

The bottom part of impact canvas is dedicated to the implementation dimensions of a social venture project. First, the user has to identify what the required resources are to start up. Human resources, know-how and expertise as well as equipment infrastructure belong to this category. Then, participants sketch out who are the desired and/or necessary partners to cooperate with for the realization of the concept. Partners can be public or private organizations capable of providing mostly financial or other material resources to the social start-up or organizations very important for the functioning of the start-up. Examples of the first category can be:

- an investor
- a foundation giving grants
- a super market giving away the not sellable products to a social supermarket
- a public agency for employment contracting a social venture creating job opportunities
- an association or club letting the social venture using their office spaces
- an NGO helping out the social venture with volunteers

The second category includes mostly market actors such as:

- a jar factory producing the jars, in which a social venture puts its marmalade
- a transportation company bringing the marmalades of the social ventures to the points of sale
- a merchandizing company that undertakes completely bringing the product to the market.

Afterwards, the user is asked to make a rough estimation of the likely costs (initial investment and fixed ones) as well as the major foreseen streams of revenue. Lastly, the person writes down the first important steps that are needed to undertake in order to begin with the implementation and selects out the three most crucial of them to launch the social enterprise.

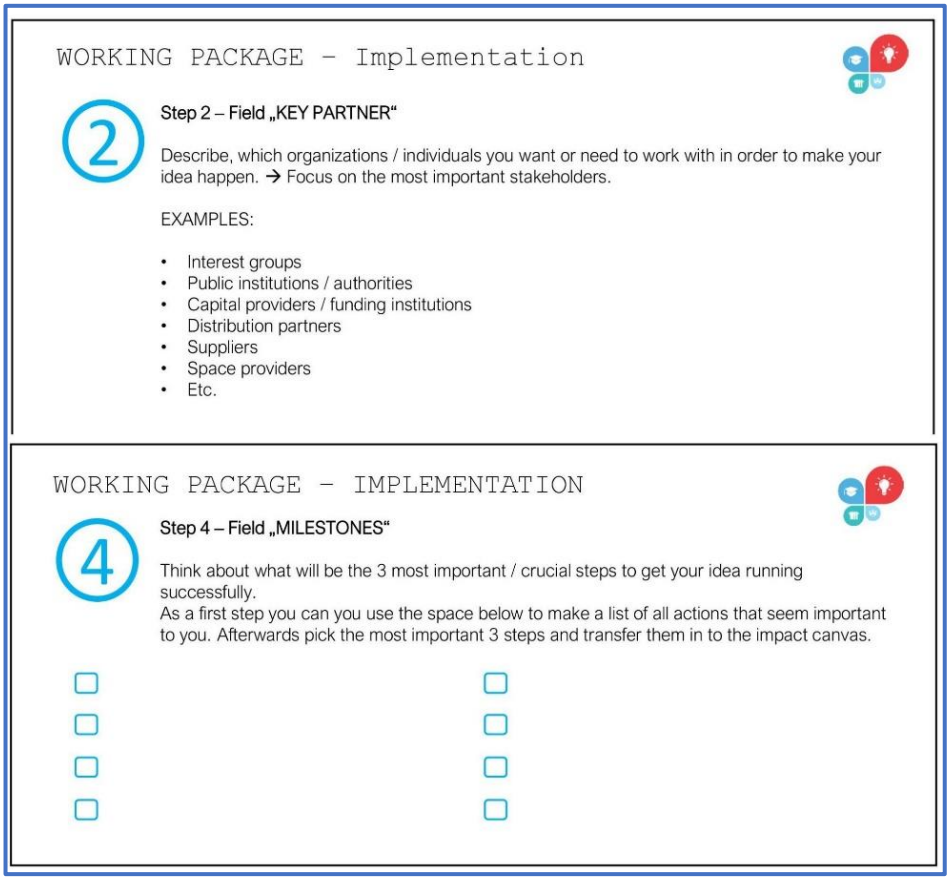


Figure 18: Social Impact Award. Business Modelling (C20)

Having described step by step the fields of impact canvas and the actions entailed for users, it is time to delineate its sociopolitical dimensions. In other words, let us now see what and how social entities are discussed in impact canvas. First, this artifact encloses three social entities: the social entrepreneurs, the target groups and the partners. Second, for each of the social entities, there is a dedicated space to reside as well as particular fields, which they can access (or not access) and define (or not define). Thus, impact canvas benefits particular conceptualizations for the social entities that it encompasses.

Social entrepreneurs' main residence is in the center of the canvas. This residence is connected to all the fields of the canvas by the three passage points (blue lines leading to the blue dots). By being in the center of the canvas and having passages to all of its parts, makes clear that a very active role is sketched out for them. Social entrepreneurs are announced the ones capable: a) to find a not ideal equilibrium (problem), b) to define the people that this negative equilibrium affects (target group) and c) to put a business concept into motion (implementation) so as to establish a new and ideal equilibrium (innovation). In this fashion, they are illustrated as the innovator.

Concerning target groups, an examination of the geography of their field of residence as well as the ways that they are related to the other fields results to the following three remarks:

i. target groups are to be found on the left side of the canvas, thus they are placed in the opposite side of the innovation field. Most importantly, there is no combination of the impact canvas elements that a social entrepreneur can do to connect them to this field. Innovation is a field where access to target groups is denied by the design of impact canvas. This shows in a clear manner that they are there neither to establish nor to co-establish the new and ideal equilibrium. This new and ideal equilibrium is to be created "*for*" them, but neither *by* or *with* them.
ii. target groups are not directly connected to the implementation field. Their relation to the implementation field comes after a social entrepreneur combines them with a proposed solution. This action leads to determine costs, necessary resources, relevant partners, milestones and potential revenues. Thus, target groups are parts neither of the solution nor of the implementation. They are one of the two lenses (solution is the other) that social entrepreneurs are given to foresee the process of implementation. Hence, they function as an *instrument to see*.
iii. target groups are located next to the field of social impact. They are to be combined with a problem so as social entrepreneurs can enter the field of social impact. There, target groups are illustrated in two different ways. First, they are portrayed as numbers (e.g. 10.000 homeless people). Second, they are depicted as abstract personas (e.g. 35 years old, male, addicted to drugs and/or alcohol, long-term unemployed). In the former case, they account for

the acuteness of the social challenge on the broader social level. In the latter case, they account for the implications that the social challenge has on the personal level. In both cases, they account for the societal relevance of the social issue. Thus, either as numbers or as abstract personas, target groups are semiotically mobilized as evidence*; an exhibit to show*.

All the above create a representation of target groups that neglect any active role to be given to them. They are depicted as entities to care for and make use for. The design and architecture of impact canvas leaves little room for interpretations facilitating an active involvement of target groups in the conceptualization of the innovation as well as its implementation process.

The last social entity that can be found on impact canvas are key partners. Partners reside in the field implementation. Based on the design of impact canvas and the usage that it necessitates, one can make the following remarks:

i. key partners are placed fully opposite to the subfield of problem
ii. there is no possible combination of paths that can connect key partners to the subfield of problem
iii. implementation is two times larger than any field and it covers almost the half of the area of impact canvas
iv. implementation serves as the foundation of all other fields
v. key partners are the only one of the three social entities standing right exactly at the passage point of their field.

Figuring as completely disassociated with the problems (points i. and ii.), encourages a conceptualization of partners as neither being responsible for them nor having a personal interest in solving them. They are there because they care; they do not have to be there neither on moral nor on instrumental grounds. In this manner, partners are portrayed as socially empathetic; just as social entrepreneurs were depicted in workshop “Idea Factory”. Being social empathetic and thus having similar motives to social entrepreneurs, partners are pictured as a social entity that participants can trust to work with.

The third and the fourth remarks (iii. and iv.) capture the idea transmitted by impact canvas that implementation is a field of vital importance. Should the implementation be infeasible, nothing of the elements delineated above actually matters and the project sketched out collapses. Implementation is the element of impact canvas promoted as the field informing all the others. Implementation is the process that will determine whether participants of the workshop live up to the role given to social entrepreneurs: to be an innovator. This exceptional importance attached to implementation raises an expectation to be carried out by participants. The idea should be put in motion by them, as to become innovators.

The last observation (v.) gives a hint on how users of impact canvas can fulfil the imperative imposed on them and become innovators: a partner opens up the way toward implementation. By being the only one social entity standing at the passage point of a field, key partners are not only residents of implementation, they are its gatekeepers. The ones that can grant or deny a smoother access to a social entrepreneur into the field of implementation. Now, partners are not only the social entity, which a participant can trust to work with; partners are the social entity with which a prospect social entrepreneur must work with to become an innovator. In this fashion, partners are illustrated as the innovation-enablers.

The illustration of social entrepreneurs as innovators, the attributed unavailability of target groups to be active elements towards the implementation, the expectation attached to participants to implement their ideas, the promotion of partners as innovation-enablers (ethically suitable and practically necessary actors) construct latently a logic on how social ventures come into being: partnering. In the realms of this paradigm of social innovation, partnering and more particularly partnering with well-established organizations is conceptualized and communicated as imperative that participants must fulfil to become innovators.

9.2.6 Conclusions

In the previous subchapters took place a discussion around the theoretical facets of social entrepreneurship as delineated by SIA, which is a program located in the intentions-early operations phase of a social venture. This attempt led to the following three findings. First, in the framework of the brainstorming methodology of SIA, namely Idea Factory, social entrepreneurs and target groups are constructed through contradicting but interrelated arrays of signs. Social entrepreneurs are portrayed as social sensitive, mentally strong and approved by target groups and publics to act. On sharp contrast, target groups are illustrated in meaning nexuses denoting helplessness and incapability to meliorate their own status quo by themselves. In this manner, social entrepreneurs are semantically established as the legitimate actor to tackle the unfavorable situations that target groups experience and bring about change.

Second, based on the semiotics of the presentation material on the business models for social enterprises, one can suggest that either in open or in closed business models, groups of people facing the issue that a social entrepreneur selected to tackle, are conceived as the sole beneficiaries of the emerging social ventures. Design manifestations (prominently the smile figuring next to persons that were identified as facing challenges, terminology and overstressing the benefits for target groups) disclosure that either through donation transactions schemes or through perfect market interactions, target groups are projected as the most benefiting component of a social venture. In this way, the interests of other stakeholders of the social venture are pushed in the background. This process of

shadowing the value that target groups put into the value chain was identified as a very particular practice: selective bracketing. Selective bracketing blends the idea into the theoretical dimensions of closed business models that target groups should be the grateful economic component. Selective bracketing places in the very center of the theoretical dimensions of this paradigm of social innovation the imperative of gratefulness, which is to be fulfilled by target groups.

Third, all of these meanings, representations and attributions find their way into the last core body workshop of Social Impact Award, which takes place with the assistance of a structuring tool called Impact Canvas. This artifact encompasses three social entities: social entrepreneurs, target groups and partners. There are inscriptions on this artifact prescribing possible actions for these social entities that correspond to specific images, which are reserved for each one of them. Social entrepreneurs are attributed the status of innovators. Target groups are depicted as objects, neither as co-thinkers nor as co-establishers of the social venture. Partners are embraced as the social entity, which a participant of the workshop can trust and must work with to fulfill the expectation of implementing her/his social business idea and become an innovator. In the realms of social innovation in Social Impact Award and consequently in Impact Hub Vienna partnering is promoted as the main avenue towards implementing the social venture. In this fashion, partnering becomes an imperative that is imposed on prospect social entrepreneurs. Let us now move to the next chapter, which focuses on the incubation programs and their relation to participants.

9.3 Producing social ventures

9.3.1 Introduction

In the following chapter I will leave behind the theoretical dimensions of social entrepreneurship and I will shift the focus onto different incubation programs and more specifically on their everyday practices. I will be looking at timelines, internal documents and description of incubation programs. I will show that incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna aim at generating and enhancing social ventures. By that I will be in the position to claim that not the social entrepreneurs, but the social enterprises instead are the actual incubates of such programs.

9.3.2 Generating and enhancing social ventures

To get a grasp on what Impact Hub Vienna is, one can read the description "About Us" in the respective webpage[1]. As one sees, incubation programs -the main object of this chapter- are an integral part of Impact Hub Vienna portfolio. Together with space facilities, community events and network opportunities, they constitute the offer of Impact Hub Vienna towards prospective and current social entrepreneurs of the area. Let us have a closer look into incubation programs by spotlighting what these settings offer to participants.

Figure 19: About Us (W1)

A coordinator of various incubation programs, who also has a primary role in the acceleration team of the organization under question, provided a clear insight into what the main preoccupation within them is:

> "Well, that also depends on the stage. It certainly supports them to get clarity on where they are at, in terms of the venture development and what their next steps are and then they get support in order to achieve the milestone, milestones that they set themselves. So it (varies) a lot from, I don't know, support detailed? business knowhow, but also to how do I build my team, how do I get media attention, so there is a variety of things, I think there is, we have to differentiate between what do they learn for their concrete venture and on the other hand what do they learn on a personal level as entrepreneurs like their own capacity, and that obviously differs a lot from person to person. But we actually try to focus on the business aspect as we

[1] https://vienna.impacthub.net/about-us/

> don't do extensive personal couching. I, we don't see that in our responsibility or our main goal, but it's certainly, one doesn't come without the other."
>
> (IP4)

The above quote illustrates in a rather solid manner, that start-up and incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna offer primarily business coaching. If personal coaching is involved, then this is merely a byproduct of the procedure and not the initial objective. It is not hard to imagine that the actual boundary between personal and business coaching can be vague, especially in cases where a social enterprise is composed out of only person. Capacities required for investment attraction, such as pitching, are embodied in the social entrepreneur and not in the social venture. Nevertheless, this effort is done aiming to foster the venture and not the venturer. Therefore, the incubates of the acceleration programs of Impact Hub Vienna are not social entrepreneurs, but social enterprises instead.

The process of business coaching does not stay on the sayings of coordinators of Impact Hub Vienna; it is materially inscribed in all incubation programs of this organization, independently of the venture development stage. Let us differentiate the incubation programms and see in more detail how this imperative is engrafted across them.

First, programs located in the initial development stage are merely engaged with intentions existing on the side of participants (prospect social entrepreneurs) than solid business concepts. Such incubation frameworks tend to have an optional and a binding part. The optional part provides participants all the important or at least the most crucial knowledge and methodologies to develop a business concept, which is the objective of these programs. This part ca be as short as one workshop, or it can last for a more extended period of time.

An example for the former category is the program Found! (see figure 20). It is a program dedicated exclusively to the support of prospective or existing social enterprises around the topic of job market integration for refugees. It is a joint venture between the Deloitte Future Fund and the Impact Hub Vienna. Located in the prototyping phase, it provides one or two workshops (depending on the actual edition) on idea generation with non-obligatory attendance.

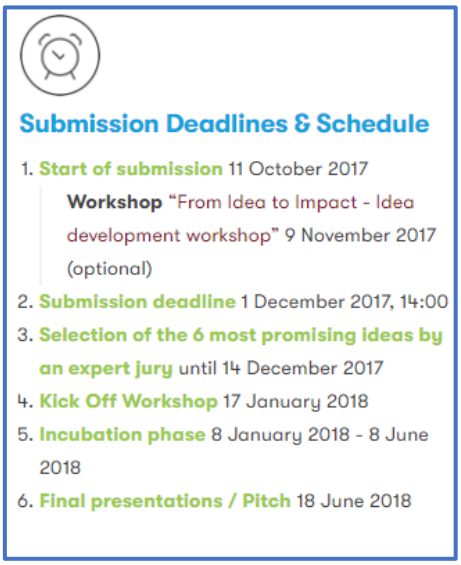


Figure 20: Found! (W2)

With an educational part running for 2 and more months every year, Social Impact Award -a program located on idea generation and early operations- corresponds to the latter case. At least three different workshop topics depending on the year, and a couple of feedback events made up the non-binding offer of this incubation program (see figure 21 on the left under "WORKSHOPS").

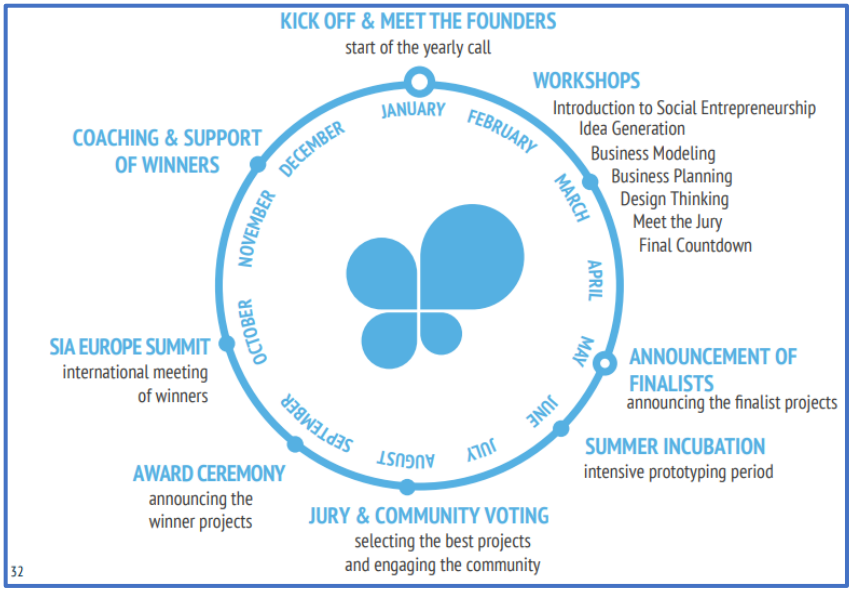


Figure 21: Social Impact Award (W3)

In both of the above instances and in every stage-similar incubation program, the respective submission deadline and the subsequent selection of projects, signalize a qualitative shift in the relation between incubation program and participants. From now on, the center of attention stops to be any general knowledge around social entrepreneurship offered to participants and how to develop a social business concept; now there are ventures to be developed. In other words, the submission deadline and the selection of projects is the point where the social ventures tangibly become the object of incubation..

The following paragraph is part of the selection guidelines for hosts of a program having a non-binding and an incubation part -in other words a program located in the initial stages of development. It is rather hard to ignore the binding character of the incubation period: from the selection phase and onwards, the procedure that dominates the picture is business coaching aiming to advance a venture further.

Interviews with Shortlisted Projects	Whatever concrete selection process you follow (proposed procedure see below), all shortlisted projects must be interviewed before selecting the finalists among them. It is crucial that you point out what commitment is expected by each finalist (especially strong dedication to intensively work on the project during incubation period). Please follow a general checklist for these interviews, which will be available on [redacted].

Figure 22: Guidelines for hosts (ID1)

In programs concerned with advanced social enterprises, the process of business coaching manifests itself quite more explicitly. In a question on want kind of support incubates receive, the coordinator of an incubation program for already established social enterprises answered as follows:

> "They mainly, we do a review of their business model and we do look at certain things that they may have already haven't, they actually need already a place, for example the financial model, that needs to be something, but no we looked, looked it to the next level."
>
> (IP3)

The above quote shows that a reviewing of the business model of the selected ventures is one of central activities taking place. Financial aspects of the business model are approached in the sessions, so as to make the venture more viable and capable to grow further.

Rest activities included in an incubation program such as networking or community building do not have an independent state of existence. On the contrary, they are incorporated in a fashion that serves the enhancement of the incubated ventures. Below, a coordinator of SIA delineates the function and objectives of Community Award, the most prevalent community building process of that program:

> "The Community Award, is basically an online based voting, which takes place in all the 18 countries who are active, this year takes place in September, prior to the Award Ceremony in all the countries. And how that works is that we produced as I said videos of all finalists and put them online into a platform and then we create a big buzz around it and also our ventures obviously create a big buzz around it trying to engage as many people as possible to vote the three favorite ventures of them and the goal of this is a) to kind of have for each country one Community Award winner, that also receives usually some funding or in some countries also only in-kind support, but this is still very valuable and second it's of course also to again raise awareness for our impact ventures create first of all followers and also create of course awareness for Social Impact Award as such and for social entrepreneurship in general."
>
> (IP2)

In the example above, it is apparent that community is performed as a vehicle to provide visibility to ventures as well as to the program in itself and also to the concept of social entrepreneurship in general. Taking into account that the voting takes place as a means to ensure engagement with the incubated ventures, points to the direction that community building is performed as one parameter of social business incubation.

9.3.3 Conclusions

To summarize in a more comprehensive manner, in incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna the following practices take place:

i. Providing social entrepreneurship related knowledge
ii. Selecting social ventures
iii. Reviewing business models
iv. Networking
v. Community building for publicity

These practices do not stand on an independent and disassociate manner in each other. They are the components of the two main processes happening in Impact Hub Vienna, which are a. generating and b. enhancing social ventures. Early development stage incubation programs mostly perform the former while advanced stage frameworks execute primarily the latter. In other words, the activities of those programs are oriented to the establishment and enforcement of social enterprises in the area of Austria (and in any individual cooperated countries). Hence, social ventures become the essential incubate of those programs and not their participants. Thus, the output of such frameworks is social ventures; incubation programs are factories producing social ventures. Having cleared the offer of the incubation programs out, it is important to spotlight the ways that they collect resources to secure their existence and perform these two main processes.

9.4 The unbearable heaviness of funding

9.4.1 Introduction

Funding is a process of vital importance for incubation programs in particular as well as for Impact Hub Vienna in general. To understand how important funding for the acceleration programs is and thus why I integrated funding documents in my analysis, the reader needs to consider the following. During my internship, I was given a digital folder, because I had to write a manual on how an incubation program functions. So, without me actively collecting anything for my research, a folder with more than 770 MB data was sent to me. I was told that this folder included everything that one needs to know (curriculum, guidelines for selection of participants etc.) and to have (logos, color codes for templates, templates for contracts etc.) so as to run one acceleration program. The folder includes 11 subfolders on different topics of program organizing and running, out of which one is dedicated to funding. The funding-folder is more than 515 MB, meaning that it covers about 2/3 of all documents related to this program; meaning that all other 10 folders share between each other the rest amount of space, which is approximately 255 MB. Hence, funding-folder is about twenty times larger than the average of each other folder.

It is not only the plain difference in megabytes that makes funding the most important process taking place in Impact Hub Vienna; although that such a difference in quantity indicates a qualitatively different status for funding. The difference in megabytes signalizes that there are being invested considerably more workhours in funding than in any other aspect of an incubation program. Successful funding is not only what secures that incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna will stay in business, but it is also the process that keeps coordinators of those programs busy.

In this part I will go through the funding aspects of incubation programs. Starting from the webpage of Impact Hub Vienna and more specifically in the section “Programs”, one can receive good initial information regarding the finding and gathering of financial resources, which are necessary for the running of incubation programs. With the single exception of “Accelerate Program”, which is the one and only individualized program financed by Impact Hub Vienna and the program’s participation fees, all the other programs -cohort incubation programs as they can be more specifically named- are supported by third bodies. These can be either private or public agencies or even a combination of both. Programs, for which incubated ventures pay a fixed tuition fee and/or a percentage success rate, such as Investment Ready Program (IRD), do not escape this rule. Hence, as external funding ensures the offer of Impact Hub Vienna concerning incubation programs, it seems necessary to investigate its dimensions and how does it take place. The analysis of the funding processes pointed to two sorts of incubation programs, which will be discussed below separately.

The first category of incubation programs can be named sponsored incubation programs. Sponsored programs tend to have multiple sponsors (although one usually stands out) and accept ventures from all fields of interest. Sponsored programs are to be found across the whole array of a venture's development stage. Examples of this category are SIA and IRP. The former is concerned with concept generation and initial operations setting (not established or young social enterprises), while the latter with scaling (mature) social ventures.

The second category of incubation programs can be called partnered incubation programs. In most of the cases, partnered incubation programs come to life by financial resources from only one funding body, the partner. Such programs accept applications of only one topic of intereste, which is merely defined by the partner. They are mostly locating in in the starting up and prototyping stage. Examples are programs such as Found!, RE:WIEN, Innovative4Nature, Vielfalter.

9.4.2 Sponsored Incubation Programs

For programs of the first category the primary offer towards the financial source is first and foremost publicity. In that sense, the incubation program can be identified as a promotion/advertising platform of the sponsor. Through programs' online and press material, sponsors and their activities are praised. In live interactions inside Impact Hub Vienna, such as participating in a workshop, sponsors are omnipresent. Every Social Impact Award (SIA) workshop and event starts with welcoming the participants and mentioning as well as thanking the sponsors. Right next to the projection area, the sponsor banners stand. In preeminent events, such as SIA Europe Summit, which a significant amount of people attends, one receives an advertising lanyard. The lanyard of SIA Europe Summit 2016 (see figure 23), as well as the first slide of SIA workshops with the notes for the facilitator (see figure 24) illustrates fully the advertising flair of those settings. A live experience of this can be gathered by attending a SIA workshop. If this is not an option for the reader, then watching the video provided in the webpage of Investment Ready Program (see figure 25 or here) will give a good insight into what promotion in funded incubation programs means. Lanyards, banners and logos decorate the spaces where the Central –and Eastern Europe Impact Day takes place.

Figure 23: Social Impact Award, lanyard given to attendees of SIA Europe Summit 2016 (PO1)

Figure 24: Social Impact Award, standard introductory slide (C21)

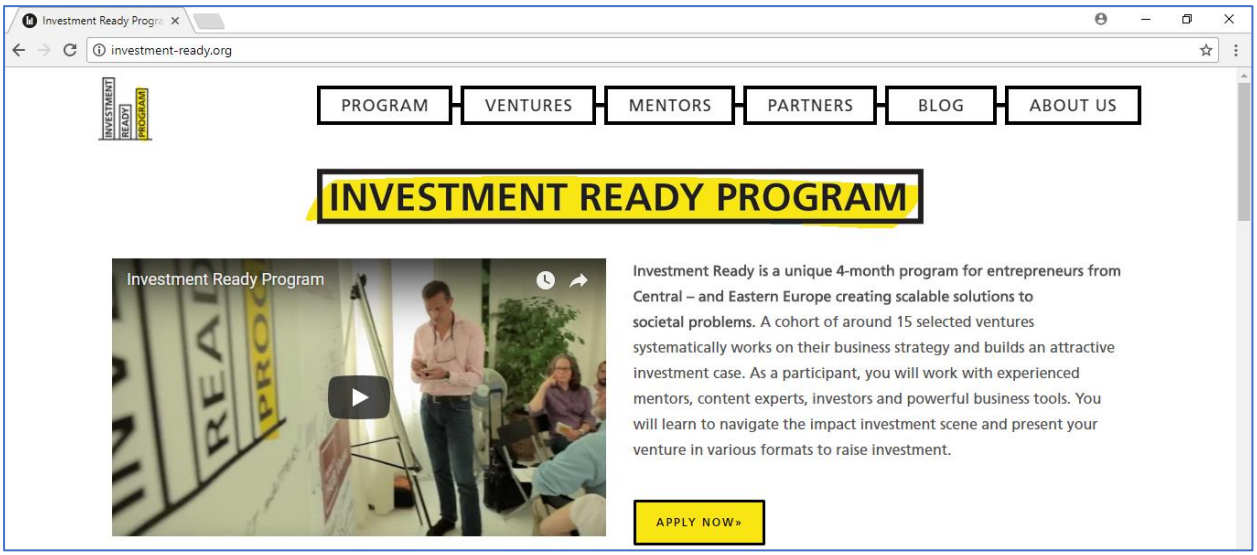


Figure 25: Investment Ready Program, video of Central –and Eastern Europe Impact Day (W4)

In addition to the above-mentioned material publicity, a program offers to its sponsor the chance to promote itself with all one's being. Hosting a plenary or a break-out session in the framework of the program, a forward in a brochure, an invitation to a dinner with the incubated ventures are some of the upgraded services that programs of Impact Hub Vienna can provide to their sponsors. As one sees in the sample below from one sponsored incubation program (see figure 26), such services tend to be sold in packages.

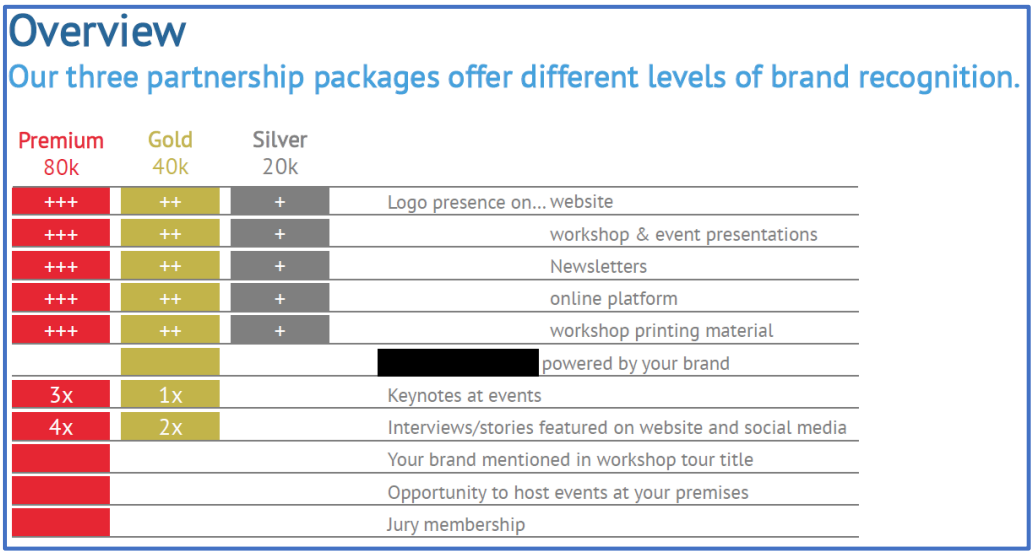


Figure 26: Guidelines for hosts (ID2)

The Silver package, which costs to a sponsor 20.000 Euros is a typical advertisement package. By acquiring it, a company ensures visibility through all the material, online and hardcopies, published by the program. If an organization is willing to give 40.000 Euros to contribute to the running of the incubation program, it receives the double quantity of material presence in comparison to the previous package. Except for the quantity advantages, gold sponsors enable one core activity of the program, hold keynote speeches and reserve online space for interviews as well as stories. A premium sponsorship includes a significantly higher quantity both of advertising material and of company live representation than the other two. Except for visual communication through logos, a sponsor payed 80.000 Euros enjoys also verbal reference in workshop tours. Moreover, premium sponsors are invited to host events of the incubation program at their facilities. Last but not least, besides the promotion and the possibilities to demonstrate lively the perspective of the organization, a premium sponsor is entitled to a jury membership, acquiring thus the chance to vote on which social ventures will move forward.

To contextualize the offer of having keynotes at events and interviews in programs' material, which is reserved for gold and premium sponsors, I provide the following example of a partner's interview from the Impact Report (see figure 27, page 12 on the left side, page 13 on the right) of SIA. To approach the full meaning of those two pages, one needs an interpretation considering not only the actual text, but also and more importantly the modalities related to it.

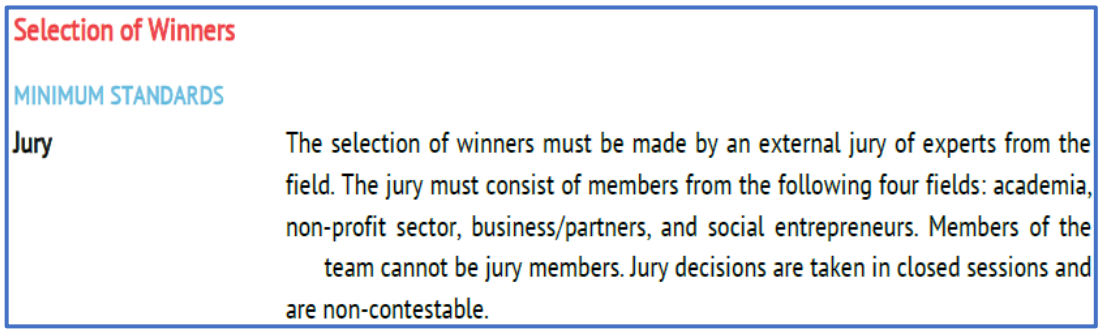
Figure 27: Impact Report 2015-2016 (B1)

At first sight, looking at the text per se, it is extremely hard to ignore the personal dimension attached to it. This personification of the text is achieved in three complementing ways. First, through the design of the announcement. On two pages next to each other, we see 2 photos of the interviewee, which occupy half of the total space of this insertion. Second, through particular wordings used such as "My vision..". Third, through content such as the statement of socio-politically ambivalent content marked and posed in big turquoise letters. Statements of this kind open up spaces for potential entanglements between actors from the private economy and the government. These three features of the text give the impression that we read the private aspirations of Mr. Prüller.

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to identify the text as an interview of this person and then analyze it further. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Prüller is not invited to host a keynote and to give an interview as a private person, but as a representative of a private foundation, which sponsors SIA. This is not an interview with the aforementioned person. This is the announcement of one foundation belonging to one of the biggest banks in Austria explaining to SIA stuff and participants what is expected to be done.

Thus, the point is that by holding keynotes and giving interviews as we see here, or by being invited in a dinner and writing forwards as it happens in other programs, an institution acquires the right to utter its perspective. Though the perspectives of the individual sponsoring organizations are not my object of study, it is crucial to stress the right for sponsoring agencies to delineate their aspirations. Taking into account the essential character of funding for incubation programs, the offer towards financing bodies to express their aspirations could be also identified as a space to express their expectations towards that programs.

As mentioned before, except for keynotes and interviews in press materials, high paying sponsors receive also a position in the jury. The upcoming paragraph (see figure 28) is part of the guidelines concerning the running of one sponsored incubation program of the institution under discussion. It is a typical example of a jury's composition:


Selection of Winners

MINIMUM STANDARDS

Jury	The selection of winners must be made by an external jury of experts from the field. The jury must consist of members from the following four fields: academia, non-profit sector, business/partners, and social entrepreneurs. Members of the team cannot be jury members. Jury decisions are taken in closed sessions and are non-contestable.

Figure 28: Guidelines for hosts (ID3)

This material is not only useful to double check that a jury includes sponsors (mentioned as "partners"), but it adds new information to the analysis:

1. there is no public participation in this process
2. not all directly interested parties are invited in the selection; most prominently target groups are not members of any jury
3. the selection is made behind closed doors
4. the selection cannot be challenged; once it has been done, it is fixed
5. the jury includes (allegedly) experts

By the above, we understand that i) a jury has the absolute power when it comes to selecting social ventures, ii) jury membership is an exclusive thing to have as there are boundaries between jury and the rest of society and iii) jury membership is granted by having only particular kinds of institutionalized cultural and/or social capital (academia, business, social entrepreneurs) or by transferring economic capital (sponsors)[1]. Juries in Impact Hub Vienna are not only selection mechanisms, but also selective ones. Thus, jury membership is a significant benefit that incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna include in the sponsoring packages.

The above discussion on the financing facets of sponsored programs suggests that there are quality differences in the sponsorship packages. It is well-grounded to argue that the services included in them are of unequal worth. After all, the value communicated, reflected in the price difference of each package, accounts for this claim. Programs enabled by such funding structures can be used as

[1] For the discussion on the types of capital see Bourdieu (1986).

promotion and advertising platforms for a silver sponsor brand, but they also do open up spaces for gold and premium sponsors, which go beyond brand publicity objectives.

While activities such as having a keynote speak or reserving a dedicated interview may correspond to a very efficient way of advertising, they also entail a privileged position during the fostering of social entrepreneurship. Gold and premium partners are given in exchange to financial resources, a podium (live and/or online) acquiring thus **an institutional representation**. In all the sponsor packages of sponsored incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna, this service is offered to the paying organization.

Having a jury membership in a social venture incubation program does benefit the public image of a sponsor, because it promotes the idea that the paying organization actively engages with social challenges. Still, it also reserves for premium sponsors **decision-making power** in the process of social entrepreneurship enhancement. In all the packages for sponsored incubation programs having a jury to select the financially supported social ventures, this service is provided.

There are however some incubation programs, mostly engaging with more advanced social ventures, that the institution of jury is absent. When a program lacks a jury to identify the most promising ideas, it also lacks financially supported social ventures by the program; or to put it more correctly, financially supported social ventures by the partners/sponsors through the program. Ultimately, the following applies: No partner jury membership equals to no financial support within the program. In that case, **decision-making power** is delivered to the hands of an investors-panel directly, which attends pitching sessions and potentially invests in ventures individually at will.

Bottom line is that both of these two selecting mechanisms (jury and investors panel) of high-potential social businesses, ensure that either heads or tails the ones who have the coins reserve a place in the decision processes.

Both institutional representation and decision-making power can be provided by the organization under discussion in buyable services packages. Thus, they are treated as goods having distinct exchange values; they are treated as commodities. In this way, financial resources are able to be translated into institutional representation and decision-making power, within social entrepreneurship development. But what happens with the other category of incubation programs, the partnered ones?

9.4.3 Partnered incubation programs

In the description of the section “Programs” of the webpage of the institution under discussion one reads that “we develop new customized programs with and for our partners from both private and

public sector". This is not solely a catchy phrase to advertise social ventures' incubation offers; it reflects also how partnered initiatives come into being. The following quote from a discussion with a program manager of Impact Hub Vienna, who coordinates such a program, attaches more clarity to the two prepositions "with" and "for".

> "So, *the ones I just described, or I mentioned the topics, there are all in the prototype running operations phase and we do them only if there is a partner organization, from the public or private sector that wants to set up a program together with us. So, we wouldn't do them if there was not funding for it. And then together with the partner, we define the topic and also the stage they want to support and most of them are hesitant to support in very early stage ideas as this is too vague for them, they'd rather have something more concrete and this why we're targeting the prototypes of ventures, that already ideally tested their idea on the market and/or running operations."*
>
> (IP4)

During bargaining between Impact Hub Vienna and potential partners, both topic and development stage of social ventures are presented as an object of negotiation for funding. In such negotiations power is not equally distributed. Taking into account the above quote and more particularly that "we [Impact Hub Vienna] wouldn't do them [the incubation programs] if there was not funding for it", discloses who has the upper hand during such discussions. In that sense, topic and stage of development are merely objects to be specified by the partner organization. Concerning the latter, it is obvious that investment uncertainty penetrates the design of the program. Market is mobilized as an indicator to compensate the risk, which implies that designing a partnered initiative incubation program may result to programs that tend to neglect intention stage social ventures. Partners prefer not to invest in supporting from scratch development of social ventures and the resources that they hold can fulfill their predilections. Regarding the former, partners also figure as being the stakeholder that has the last word in the topic arrangement. When the setting of the two most essential parameters of a program comes to an end, a new round of active participation for the paying party begins.

In some cases, the partner entity provides not only financial resources but also human ones. During the incubation months, the partner offers company's experts to contribute to the enhancement of the incubated ventures (see figure 29). One may move quickly into labelling and thus identify the presence of company's experts in the framework of the program as institutional representation (see above, sponsored programs). But such an attempt would be misleading. Although it is important to utter an organization's perspective in a reserved space, as happens with sponsored programs, it is

Figure 29: Offer of Found! to participating (prospect) social entrepreneurs (W5)

qualitatively different to provide expert advice to social entrepreneurs during their incubation. Partners do have institutional representation in such programs (a quick examination of the material and the events can validate that). Still, in this case, there is one more representation offered in programs such as Found! which penetrates the incubation content decisively; an expert from the partner funding body is a social venture's counselor. Thus, more accurately this can be named as **organic representation**[1], for that employees of the funding party have the role and the status, expressed under the term expert, to actively shape the incubated ventures. Sporadically, organic representation can be offered in sponsored incubation programs too. Feedback sessions, such as "Meet the Jury" of SIA account for this claim.

As we see from another partnered initiative, specifically the RE:WIEN, partners' human resources can enjoy jury membership to the selection of the incubated social ventures; an incubation to which they can have organic representation as well. Similarly to funded programs, in partnered ones the jury membership delivers to paying stakeholders **decision-making power**.

Figure 30: description of RE:WIEN (W5)

[1] Organic here is a term used to capture two dimensions. First, the way that this type of representation takes place is an organic one; from within and in very close contact. Second, the employees sent by funding partners can be very well identified as organic intellectuals, see Gramsci 1971.

Being capable to:

i. decide the topic of the incubation program and the development stage of the incubated ventures, through the negotiation dynamics during the designing of the program
ii. shape the progress of the incubated ventures, through their organic representation
iii. and select the incubated ventures, through their decision-making power,

partners might afterwards play a more active role in the invigoration of the social start up scene:

> *"And I mean some might even in the long run, but that's not always clear to them initially, have this whole investment opportunities or want to then acquire the startup, but that's quite vague in the beginning."*
>
> (IP4)

Investing in or purchasing the start-ups can signalize a very successful incubation of the social ventures. Important is however to underline that holding the potential to execute these two forms of support, denotes simultaneously who has the critical decision-making power in selecting the ventures that will be further advanced (or not). In an opt-in at will, and thus favorable fashion, organizations having resources exercise selecting of social business concepts; they can develop and/or buy the products that they see fit.

The above lead to assume that during designing a customized program with and for the partner, the fundamental relation developed between the contracting parties exemplifies similarities with the one between an outsourcing company and an outsourced developer. Dissimilarly to the sponsored programs, here the organization under discussion does not receive funding for pre-set programs; it creates tailor-made solutions in accordance to the customer's needs. Usual partners are big companies like Deloitte, state agencies like Vienna Business Agency or AMS and public funds related to EU, Horizon 2020 or local organizations. Occasionally, partners are NGOs like WWF. As it happens in commercial relationships, the needs of the paying party are to be met. While the demands of each and every client are neither the focus of this chapter nor of the thesis in hand, the so far observations make rather apparent that a partnered program can fulfil them. Be it public image, investment opportunities, obligations deriving from environmental agreements or interesting excursions for corporate employees into a social entrepreneurship ecosystem, the unequal distribution of power during design as well as the two forms of representation and the decision-making power can ensure that a program fits the criteria of the paying stakeholders.

9.4.4 Conclusions

Illustrating the different aspects associated with the process of gathering resources in sponsored and partnered incubation programs, points to the intense involvement of funding actors throughout the stages and the course of an incubation program. The omnipresence of the paying parties manifests

itself through the decision-making power, which they enjoy in core activities of social entrepreneurship fostering, such as selecting the further supported social ventures. This is a privilege reserved in both funding structures of incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna. By investing, this privilege can be sealed, extended and fortified.

Furthermore, funding stakeholders enjoy institutional as well as organic representation. The former was captured primarily (but not only) in sponsorship packages, while the latter emerged firmly (but not exclusively) from the description of partnered incubation programs and the offer to participating ventures. Differentiation maker of these two categories of representation is the relationship that it entails between paying organization and incubated ventures. An institutional representation enables an organization to utter expectations in the form of visions, while an organic one can actively shape the development path of a social enterprise through the expertise status that the employees of the paying party enjoy.

Finally, in the case of partnered incubation programs, an asymmetry in the negotiation power between funding stakeholders and the institution under discussion offered itself explicitly for observation. This asymmetry renders partners in the position to define the development stage as well as the topic of the social ventures to be incubated. Stage and topic are the two fundamental parameters of any incubation program.

9.5 Conclusions

In the above chapters (9.2, 9.3 and 9.4) I presented my analytical results. Taking into account my first subquestion (How do business models for social enterprises come into being?) and investigating the materials, which are being used for generating and concretizing ideas for social business, led to following three findings. First, in the phase of idea generation, a distinct discourse is embraced and put into motion: social entrepreneurs are the solely legitimate actors (capable and socially awaited) to bring about change. Second, I identified the practice of selective bracketing when providing knowledge on how to start-up a social venture. Through this practice, the theoretical aspects of this social innovation paradigm facilitate and communicate a very concrete imperative for target groups: gratefulness. Third, the tools used for business modeling for social ventures are inscribed with particular roles and meanings that carry an imperative to be fulfilled by prospect social entrepreneurs: partnering with well-established institutions.

Considering the second subquestion (How do incubation programs take place?) and spotlighting incubation programs and more specifically the guidelines and schedule arrangements, resulted in identifying the following practices: providing knowledge related to social entrepreneurship, selecting social ventures, reviewing business models, networking and community building for publicity. All

these practices have no independent status in each other, but constitute and serve two main processes taking place in Impact Hub Vienna: generating and enhancing social ventures. In this fashion, social enterprises are the incubates of those programs, and not (prospect) social entrepreneurs. Impact Hub Vienna is merely a factory producing social ventures.

Bearing in mind the third subquestion (How are incubation programs financed?) and focusing on the financing aspects of the incubation programs, established that paying parties are granted a variety of benefits. Such benefits go beyond image improvement and advertisement purposes. More specifically, institutional and organic representation, decision-making power in selecting social ventures, and power to determine the decisive parameters of those programs, are provided to funding partners.

10. What do social innovation business models do? Estrangement, expertization legitimization and governance

In the above pages I delineated the fashion that social innovation is enacted in a social entrepreneurship environment and more specifically in Impact Hub Vienna. Now, it is time to put the findings of this endeavor against a theoretical background. More specifically, I will focus on the topic of the performativity of business models.

On their article, Doganova and Eyquem-Renault (2009) examine the role of business models in the innovation process and more specifically in entrepreneurship. They first bring into the discussion essentialist accounts, which mostly inquire what business models are and approach them as depictions of an external reality, namely the firm. The two scholars deem the essentialist perspective as inadequate, because "the reality beyond the model has yet to happen" (Doganova and Eyquem-Renault, 2009, p. 1560). Furthermore, they investigate a line of thought on the matter at hand, which they label sometimes as instrumental and sometimes as functional. This strand of literature comes mostly from entrepreneurship scholars, who question what business models do in an instrumental manner. Arguments made from such approaches tend to see business models as reference points to assess the success of the company, as documents that direct internal action and as tool to attract external resources. In other words, as a useful instrument for the venture. Nevertheless, Doganova and Eyquem-Renault (2009) assert that there is enough criticism concerning the usefulness of the business models for a (prospective) company.

The two above points give them ground to investigate business models from a pragmatic angle -an angle that is located between economic sociology and science and technology studies (STS)[1]. The pragmatic approach, which they adopt, inquiries what business models are as well as what they do by underlining the associations between human and tools; at least this is what the two scholars claim. Seeing primarily business models as calculative and narrative devices and by spotlighting the story of an academic spin-off (which they name Koala to comply with anonymity), they sketch out the processes of objectification, singularization (see Callon and Muniesa, 2005), detachment and linking. These processes serve in constructing a plot for the narrative of the business model that avoids tensions. A process that they devote more space is that of objectification through which costumers are translated into prices as well as numbers of products sold and suppliers into expenses. Hence, the entities of the business plan became objects of it.

Their final conclusion and contribution is that business models are performative and more specifically in two ways. First, as demonstrations (scale models) business models are performative for that they construct 1) their object (the venture) and 2) the network of the model (entrepreneurs, investors and the business model). Second, business models are performative for they serve as templates for other upcoming ventures, forging in this fashion future developments in a field.

Reflecting on the argument of Doganova and Eyquem-Renault (2009) in relation to my empirical results, I trace value in the first type of performativity of business models. More particularly, by seeing business models as part of a network that together brings into life the new venture, the two scholars break the dichotomization between the content and the context of it. The content of the business model (envisaged costumer, product, suppliers, technologies to be employed) becomes inextricably tied to the context (investors, entrepreneurs, partners).

Nevertheless, maybe because of the particularities of the study case (technology start up, relative mundane sociopolitical dimensions) or maybe the research project had no such goals, the scholars do not discuss the sociopolitical dimensions that their finding necessitates. The performativity of business models serves only in describing more analytically and in a comprehensive manner their function in the process of entrepreneurship and innovation. It is rather vague, whether the two scholars approach business models from a social science perspective or they borrow concepts of social science and apply them in a management studies perspective. To address the shortcomings of their accounts and provide a better understanding of business models of social innovation, we need to ask what does objectification and performativity entail when it comes to social entrepreneurship. Let

[1] From these fields, they mostly employ concepts such as boundary objects (Star and Griesemer, 1989) and market devices (Muniesa et al, 2007)

us capitalize on their finding and delineate the implied sociopolitical (re)arrangements of business models in Impact Hub Vienna.

Objectification processes take place during business modelling in Impact Hub Vienna. As we saw when analyzing the materials and tools used in the workshops of Social Impact Award, the ways that target groups are represented gradually shifts. At the beginning during Idea Factory, they are portrayed as individuals. Then, they are illustrated as smiling emojis pinned on abstract theoretical models. Finally, when the business model is drawn by the prospect social entrepreneur with the assistance of and on impact canvas, target groups are aggregated in numbers or as set of sociodemographic characteristics and are placed in the area of social impact to demonstrate the existence of the social challenge. Figuring and being communicated as numbers or categories, target groups are firstly brought into life by the business model and then they are constructed on the ontological level as objects of it. In addition, let us not forget the heavy sociopolitical content that social innovation and social entrepreneurship have (see chapters 2, 3 and 4). In the matter at hand and having a social science perspective, it would be an oversight not to go beyond the ontological level. An objectification during business modelling reserves estrangement[1] for the target groups towards the meliorated futures that social entrepreneurship promises to them. Thus, objectification is not only a process that assists in the stability of the plot of the narrative of the business model, as Doganova and Eyquem-Renault (2009) claim. Rather, it is a process that draws a boundary on who has and has not a say in the plot of the narrative of the business model. Potential tensions in the plot are avoided because some entities of the business model are muted.

Business models of social ventures are also demonstrations and hence performative. They do materialize the venture by enrolling actors and they do construct the network that brings into life the social venture. As I delineated in my first empirical chapter, the tool to sketch out a business model - impact canvas- imposes a very concrete imperative on prospect social entrepreneurs: partnering with resource-having organizations. Furthermore, in the last empirical chapter, I identified various sociopolitical benefits that are exclusively reserved for paying partners during the enhancement and realization of business models of social start-ups and secure them the capacity to forge the development of social ventures (decision-making power in selection procedures, institutional representation during conceptualization, organic representation in feedback sessions and power asymmetries in negotiations that favor paying stakeholders). Again, it is important to underline that business models of social ventures deal with social challenges and their solutions (see chapters 2, 3 and 4). Thus, it becomes a necessity to escape from the plain ontological level. Taking into account, the imperative of partnering with strong organizations, the forging power of partners in the

[1] For a broader understanding of estrangement see the theory of social alienation (Marx and Engels, 2011).

development of social ventures in Impact Hub Vienna and the sociopolitical content of social entrepreneurship, makes safe to suggest that business models in our case are performative in one more sense. They constitute the artifact that translates financial resources into knowledge deemed as relevant to decide what a social problem is and how it can be solved. In other words, they translate financial capital into expertise and in this fashion they translate partners into experts on sociopolitical matters.

To sum up, business models of social entrepreneurship encompass a process of objectification, which is better to be understood as estrangement of target groups, if we want to acknowledge the sociopolitical gravity of the matter at hand. Furthermore, business models of social ventures are performative, but they do not affect the network they construct in an empty manner. All things considered, business models put in motion a process of expertization of partners.

Inside the realms of Science and Technology Studies the special importance of the topic of expertise is self-evident. Mostly because (scientific) expertise is at stakes with and neglects a broader, active and genuine participation of citizens in topics, which can hardly be considered strictly technical and/or exclusively scientific (for example see Wynne & Lynch, 2015; Sismondo, 2010). Taking into account the central role of expertise, the question that arises now is how the process of expertization of partners informs our understanding of the social innovation paradigm of Impact Hub Vienna.

Expert status by being a main avenue towards legitimization, becomes very important in matters with intense sociopolitical content. Legitimization in this type of social innovation does not derive from the target groups and/or the public(s), as the narrative illustrated through the workshops materials (see first empirical chapter) puts forward. Also, legitimization does not come from the abstract mechanism of the market that allocates resources based on the relevance, the depth of scope and the reasonability of the proposed social venture and its business model, as one of the four interviewed persons explained (IP4). Constructed as experts, partners become the source of legitimization of social ventures. Subsequently, paying stakeholders become the primary source of legitimization of this type of social innovation enacted in the site under discussion.

By attaching expert status to partners and rendering them a source of legitimization in topics relevant to social challenges and their solution, a new kind of social governance arises (or particular nuances of the present governmental system are being reinforced). In this ensuing type of governance not only state organizations by also private corporations are embraced and openly called to participate in exercising sociopolitical power *on behalf of* and *on* the many.

11. Social innovation: a concept for progress or for regression?

11.1 Introduction

In the second part of my thesis, I stated why social innovation is a timely relevant and an interesting topic for research. Namely, I touched upon current discussions on the concept at hand and showed that social innovation is a notion whose semantics and meanings are being (re)negotiated. The shifting boundaries of the concept of social innovation are not only relevant for academia. Far more importantly, they manifest a political struggle (Sigl, 2016, p.24; Moulaert & Van Dyck, 2015, p. 478). In the chapters nine and ten, I pointed out:

i. the unfavorable ways that target groups are represented,
ii. the sociopolitical power reserved for partners during the production of social ventures and
iii. the fashion that partners are constructed as experts and thus sources of legitimization in sociopolitical matters, making space for a co-joint model of social governance including state and private stakeholders.

Some readers may think that the above mentioned findings do not attach a sociopolitical gravity to social innovation. Some readers may even find it a positive development that entities of the private economy are now actively involved in the social challenges, be it unemployment, food waste, you name it. As my period of participatory observation in Impact Hub Vienna showed and as a lot of everyday discussions with persons not having a social sciences background indicate, large parts of society share such positions.

What we call in Science and technology Studies (STS) "entanglement" (raising thus skepticism about an issue), other fields of study (like management and entrepreneurship studies) or institutions of practice (as Impact Hub Vienna) call it "synergies" or "collaborative action". Outside the framework of STS, boundary work, either in the proper sense (Gieryn, 1983) or with a broader understanding, is not a historical and political process shaped by the interests of the social groups carrying it out. It is conceived as a natural process that secures the prevalence and dominance of the most "efficient" societal actors. Involvement of private companies in sociopolitical matters is understood in Impact Hub Vienna and by a lot of people as an outcome of the incapability of the states and the conventional third sector economy to cope effectively with the current unfavorable social developments[1]. Considering that, in order our findings to trigger sociopolitical reflection and give us insights into the character of this paradigm of social innovation, two more aspects must be discussed. The first relates to individualism that ostensibly surrounds social entrepreneurship -the currently dominant way of striving towards social innovation. The second touches upon the potential for empowerment and emancipation through the concept under discussion.

[1] The theory of social entrepreneurship (see chapter four), the introductory slides of the first workshop of Social Impact Award, discussions that I had with people in Impact Hub Vienna, materials published by the institution at hand and an examination of the discourses found in media can account for this claim.

11.2 Social entrepreneurship: an individual or a class enterprise?

In the parts three and four became clear that social entrepreneurship is understood as a means to achieve social innovation and more specifically as the most promoted one in contemporary times. In the part 4.4, I explored the criticisms against social entrepreneurship that depart from concerns relating to efficiency and touch upon its sociopolitical dimensions. From the literature examination (Dey and Steyart, 2010; Cho, 2006), it became clear that social entrepreneurship is promoted as an apolitical concept of social change, which conceives the individual as the main social actor and establishes in a monological fashion what common good is. In other words, such accounts stress the individualistic character of social entrepreneurship. To understand whether social entrepreneurship and consequently this type of social innovation have an individualistic character, one should ask who is the actor finding a social problem, forming a solution and creating a new more favorable equilibrium. In other words, who is the "social innovator" in our case study?

To answer that, let us now put some findings of the master thesis in hand next to each other:

i. the view communicated in incubation programs of Impact Hub Vienna on how the world becomes a better place
ii. the ways that social enterprises come into being and are further developed

One the one hand, delineated through the epistemic facets of social entrepreneurship performed in Impact Hub Vienna, we have the discourse that displays participants of workshop as sensible, capable and places them in the center of Impact Canvas. This flattering representation suggests that the participants (the prospect social entrepreneurs) are the actual social innovators. On the other hand, there are four aspects to consider. First, we have concrete practices showing that incubation programs are not made for the participants per se, but instead they are engaging in generating and developing social ventures. Second, tools used to boost social entrepreneurship carry in them the imperative of partnering with well-established institutions to be fulfilled by social entrepreneurs. Third, there are dynamics in the funding structures, which prioritize the will of the benefactors. Fourth, the funding parties are rendered experts capable to provide legitimization to social ventures. These four points make more plausible the hypothesis that the financing bodies are the "social innovators" in this enactment of social innovation.

Exactly here lies one basic element of the character of social entrepreneurship and the social innovation that it performs. There is nothing individualistic in this paradigm of social innovation, except for its ideological investments. The picture promoted by Impact Hub Vienna (see 9.1) and by the theory of social entrepreneurship (see chapter four, mostly part 4.2) that the world moves forward by some extraordinary individuals is just a view being communicated; an ideological component of

social entrepreneurship. The ideology of individualism is the veil that surrounds the practices orchestrating the current model of social innovation and directs the attention away from the strong class character that this notion has.

In this regard, the argument sketched out by Cho (2006) that the word "social" is an ideological device to present the interest of the individual entrepreneur as the interest of the community is insufficient and misleading. The findings of the thesis in hand suggest that the ideology of social entrepreneurship has two basic components: "social" and "individualism". These two devices present the interests of the local elites, the local capitalist class and their bureaucrats, as the common interest of the community. These are the ones that challenge the democratic ideals and the broad public participation in sociopolitical matters and not some (young) individuals trying to build a career and find their way into life.

11.3 The envisagement of access to consumption goods and labor. Right or privilege?

As some people claim, shopping from a social supermarket is better than not having food at all. More interestingly, access to employment secured by such expressions of social innovation is portrayed as empowering and emancipatory. Whereas not having access to food in our times is very disturbing and the negative effects of unemployment on the individual and her/his community are well-known and documented (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel, 2017), I would like to reflect on the topic of empowerment and emancipation through my empirical findings and more specifically through the imperative of gratefulness, which is imposed on target groups. Let me briefly explain what I mean by gratefulness and how it was identified.

In my first empirical chapter, I discussed the theory of business modelling presented in Impact Hub. I showed that business models of social entrepreneurship never succeed in extinguishing power asymmetries between their components. Either power asymmetries are to be found in their epistemic premises (open business models) or they are reintroduced through the practice of selective bracketing (closed business models). The practice of selective bracketing captures two interrelated processes. On the one hand, when target groups are discussed, the value they infuse in the market interaction is moved into the background. On the other, when partners and social entrepreneurs are mentioned, the value they put in is being highlighted. Selective bracketing promotes the idea that target groups should be grateful for the venture. It introduces the imperative of gratefulness in the center of the theory of social entrepreneurship and imposes it on target groups. The imperative of gratefulness to be fulfilled by target groups is not only to be found in workshops materials; any target group member depicted shopping from a social supermarket or finding a job in or through a social start-up is portrayed as the entity in need, as the most benefited component of the business plan and the social venture.

Taking into account the above, the question that arises is not whether target groups should say thank you or not. The question that arises is how access to consumption goods and labor is envisaged in this model of social innovation. To make that more concrete one should ask her/himself whether participating in the process of production and consumption is imagined as a *right* or as a *privilege*. Let me provide a compact working definition for both.

Rights and privileges have a very decisive difference. The former are acquired by birth or by entering adulthood, they are not to be taken away from a person and are universal (at least among members of a social entity). The latter are acquired if a person satisfies particular criteria (formal or tacit) and can be revoked. In other words, rights are considered a given. On the contrary, privileges are mainly understood as opportunities and advantages granted upon selected individuals.

Considering the above, privileges and not rights are to be accompanied by smiles, actions to maintain them and gratitude. Thus, it seems safe to suggest, that gratefulness as an imperative stimulates imaginations that conceive access to consumption goods and participation in the process of labor as privileges. Consequently, simultaneously and more importantly, gratefulness neglects aspirations that may conceptualize these two as fundamental human rights.

What are the sociopolitical implications of labor and food being primarily identified as privileges? The exclusive and revocable status of privileges indicates that they can potentially serve as a means for pressure. In this fashion, privileges support, maintain and reinforce unequal sociopolitical relations by ensuring leverages for the ones being able to lift them. I would like to stress that point: the issue with privileges is not that can be taken away, but rather that *someone*[1] can *sometime* take them away. The revocability is the differentiation marker between rights and privileges; but the power that privileges reserve for the authority are found in the right **not**-to-revoke them. It is not the potential action of revoking the privileges and its repercussions (hunger, unemployment) that should be of major concern. The formal and tacit expectations that privileges may impose to the ones enjoying them are of sociopolitical interest. Inside these expectations may reside rules, norms and cultural patters that are external to target groups -and as the chapters nine and ten show, they are external to the target groups. Conforming to them, accepting them and embodying them, so as to secure the privileges, would signalize that members of the target groups lose the ability to determine themselves. Exactly this suggests that the paradigm of social innovation performed, enhanced and promoted through a social entrepreneurship infrastructure has little to do with empowerment and emancipation.

[1] A few examples: social entrepreneur, funding organization, a state agency that certifies the eligibility of person to shop from a social supermarket, state employment agencies that categorize the labor force.

11.4 Conclusions

In this chapter took place a reflection on the so-called individualism of social entrepreneurship and the potential for empowerment as well as emancipation, which current social innovation ostensibly bears. As the empirical findings and the further discussion suggest, this paradigm of social innovation is colonized by elites, installing simultaneously barriers to a universal ability to determine oneself. These two make safe to argue that the notion under interrogation cannot be considered as contributing to progress in sociopolitical relations. At least, a model of social progress that ensures active participation in the shaping of inclusive futures is not in sight through this paradigm of social innovation. Consequently, positive changes that this social innovation ensures for broader parts of the population are merely to be interpreted as concessions and not as the first steps of a process of positive social transformation.

12. Epilogue

In the above pages took place a qualitative analysis of the enactment of social innovation in a very particular space of practice: Impact Hub Vienna. The findings and the theoretical discussions point to the direction that business models of social enterprises entail the processes of estrangement of target groups and expertization of partners. The latter process implies that legitimization of social ventures in particular and this model of social innovation in general derives from the paying stakeholders. Additionally, it signalizes the emergence of a new form of social governance, in which private actors are invited to play a decisive role in issues with heavy sociopolitical content. In the reflection on the sociopolitical character of this model of social innovation, I argued that this concept does not serve a progressive and inclusive agenda. Nevertheless, the topic of social innovation offers a lot of ground for further research. Particularly interesting for futures projects would be a focus on individual social start-ups, allowing to sketch out the very content of negotiations between social enterprises and investors, the concerns of social entrepreneurs starting their careers in the field as well the logics that investors use to assess the potential of social start-ups. Finally, important is to examine how social innovation is performed in spaces different than those of social entrepreneurship.

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