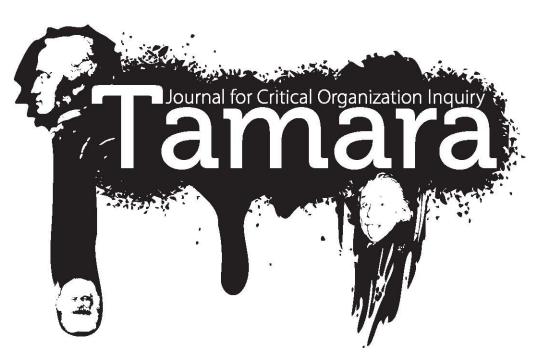
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# Soci(et)al Entrepreneurship: The Shaping of a Different Story of Entrepreneurship

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## **Abstract**

The interest in societal forms of entrepreneurship has increased in recent decades, emphasizing different kinds of prefixed such as "social" "ecological", "sustainable", "regional". In this article societal and social is at stake. Taking a point of departure in the prefix stories of entrepreneurship we read a wish to break with the grand narrative of entrepreneurship as well as attempts to feed into and draw legitimacy from the grand narrative. In this article we take a point of departure in an initiative taken in Sweden to introduce and finance a program labeled "Societal entrepreneurship". The purpose is to create knowledge about, as well as conditions for, initiatives aiming at improving what is missing or does not work in public structures, and finding new and innovative solutions in order to create an economically, socially and ecologically sustainable society. Applying Burke's pentad it is illustrated that the grand narrative of entrepreneurship consists of the heroic entrepreneur (agent) who creates a kingdom (act) by way of establishing a company (agency) on the market in order to make a profit and contribute to growth (purpose). Applying the concept of Tamara, introduced by Boje, it is further illustrated how the grand narrative of entrepreneurship emphasizes capitalism, rationality and hierarchy in line with the epoch of industrialization, whilst the antenarrative of societal entrepreneurship gives priority to both premodern and postmodern discourses. The importance of community, of non-economic values, artisan craftsmanship is stressed, but also of how societal structures must be changed. The story of societal entrepreneurship thus de-centers human agency seeking to create instability as well as openings for enactment.

## Introduction

The interest in soci(et)al forms of entrepreneurship has increased in recent decades, as have all the discussions on entrepreneurship with or without a specific prefix. Entrepreneurship often shows up as the missing piece in the puzzle - the Holy Grail - which could put everything back on track again. In putting "soci(et)al" as a prefix to entrepreneurship we interpret a wish to emphasize initiatives and endeavors that create social change and develop our society. Discussions on

"soci(et)al" seem to address an increasingly up-coming need to rely on citizens' ability to organize in order to create structures that move beyond traditional divisions of the public and private sectors (e.g. Giddens, 2003).

Arguably, we live in a time when it is not obvious if we should, not to mention how we could, take off from historic patterns and reproduce them. Recently, there have been world-wide discussions about climate changes and financial crises, which seem to affect each and every one in the blink of an eye. People engaged in the environmental movement claim that we have to be aware that economy means economizing with resources – we cannot waste all the resources at our disposal (e.g. Beck, 1998). From financial crises we have learnt that there is a need to reconstruct our conception of the "good company". The debate on Social Corporate Entrepreneurship emphasize for example in what ways enterprises can create values, beyond profit, for their shareholders (Carroll, 1999; Schwartz and Carroll, 2003; Commission of the European Communities, 2001; Margolis & Walsh, 2003; Roome, Halme & Dobers, 2006). Moreover, the labour market is often pinpointed as the grand reason for the breakage, as it has turned into being increasingly movable, which calls upon the workforce to become creative and flexible (Florida, 2002). We simply need to rely on human creativity and not on the robot-like human being that was required during the era of Taylorism and mass production (Eliasson, 2006).

Hence, we seem to be part of a time when we are urged to negotiate established patterns and create new ones for coming generations. In the discussions mentioned above, entrepreneurship is addressed – in one way or the other – as the missing piece in the puzzle; a prerequisite for creating new visions of tomorrow, but most importantly, perhaps, for effectuating them. Entrepreneurship is presented as *the* solution in the grand narrative, irrespectively of the problem addressed (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). Several stories of entrepreneurship do exist, but contrast with the grand narrative of entrepreneurship in different ways (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). In the upcoming "prefix definitions" of entrepreneurship, we read a wish to break with the grand narrative of entrepreneurship. Our interest in this article is to elaborate on how this breakage is created.

In the grand narrative of entrepreneurship, economic growth and development constitute inherent assumptions with regards to entrepreneurship and are consequently the dominant reasons for studying it (Ahl, 2002). Nonetheless, little is known about how new businesses influence economic performance (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999). In stories without the soci(et)al prefix the entrepreneur becomes the prominent actor who creates growth by way of introducing a new product or service on an already existing market, or by establishing a new market. Entrepreneurship has become the story of creation of our time, elevating to a lofty position entrepreneurs (Berglund & Johansson, 2007; Meier Sørensen, 2008) who might nevertheless fall into the abyss within a second (Nicholson and Anderson, 2005). Notwithstanding, it seems hard to escape the grand narrative of entrepreneurship, constantly emphasizing the heroic, profit-making entrepreneur, and the creation of fast growing firms that can play powerful games in a market-driven society.

This article is about how the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship is being shaped in relation to the grand narrative. We use Burke's (1962) pentad to analyze how the five terms - actors, arenas, means, actions and goals - are constructed. Thus, we aim to understand how the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship is constructed, but also how this story may be understood in light of the grand narrative of entrepreneurship. Empirically, our point of departure is an initiative taken in Sweden by the Knowledge Foundation, a research foundation supporting regional higher education institutes in Sweden. It has initiated and financed a program labeled "Societal entrepreneurship" with the purpose of creating knowledge about, as well as conditions for, initiatives aiming at improving what is missing or does not work in public structures, and finding new and innovative solutions in order to create an economically, socially and ecologically sustainable society. One part of the program is a one-year think and do tank, consisting of politicians, researchers and social entrepreneurs. Activities taking place in the think and do tank are focused on in this article. By referring to "soci(et)al" we thus refer not only to this specific initiative, but also to ongoing discussions on social entrepreneurship in research (Austin, Stevenson, Wei-Skillern, 2006; Mair & Martí, 2006).

Our purpose is to show if and how a new account of entrepreneurship is constructed. We thereby hope to make a contribution to the entrepreneurship field, by relating to the linguistic turn and giving an alternative account of "soci(et)al entrepreneurship". Arguably, by understanding the gap between the dominant and the deviant, we can find out how scope of action is made for entrepreneurial endeavors in the future. Moreover, there is a story between the lines on the role institutions can play in formulating new paths for entrepreneurial endeavors.

The article consists of five sections. First, we introduce the reader to the field of entrepreneurship research by highlighting central concepts and terms used in the development of the grand narrative of entrepreneurship (cmp. Boje, 2001). The following section on methodology discusses what we mean by stories as well as grand narrative. Furthermore, we provide an overview of the ethnographic approach taken in this project, having followed the activities of the think and do tank for a year. We also introduce Burke's (1962) pentad, which has been our tool in analyzing the empirical material of the study. Thirdly, we take up the empirical stories of the study, that is to say, the soci(et)al entrepreneurship initiatives

that the politicians in the think and do tank carried out during the year. We analyze, discuss and structure those stories in relation to Burke's pentad. Thereafter, we present our results, where we show how our empirical stories, concepts and terms go in line with, or deviate from, the terms that construct the story of the grand narrative. Finally, we relate back to our purpose and to the theoretical field of entrepreneurship and discuss in what ways we can understand the different versions of entrepreneurship and how new paths for social change can be made by telling the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship.

# The grand narrative of Entrepreneurship – theoretical point of departure

Entrepreneurship has in our times become a frequently used word in describing how to come up with new solutions in the development of society. Besides being surrounded by a lot of stories of how it has been accomplished in modern times, entrepreneurship has also become a popular word around which models are developed - in policy as well as in research in creating conditions for entrepreneurial endeavors to come true. In this section we are interested in sketching the grand narrative of entrepreneurship; that is, discussing the assumptions that make stories of entrepreneurship possible in the first place. By taking a social constructionist stance, neither society nor humans are viewed as 'natural observable facts', but as social constructions which are constantly produced, reproduced and transformed in interaction (e.g. Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). Hence, the grand narrative tells us about the very basic assumptions made in stories of entrepreneurship, regardless if they aim to talk about accomplished entrepreneurship or if they serve to predict the future. The point is thus to open up for a visual field concerning where stories on soci(et)al entrepreneurship have to move from.

The interest in entrepreneurship is escalating, emanating from the industry sphere and Schumpeter's (1934) thesis on economic development based on the model "the carrying out of new combinations", which emphasizes how innovative activity breaks with the Walrasian equilibrium. Schumpeter claimed that, by way of entrepreneurship, something new was introduced in society while something of the established faded away in the processes of creative destruction. Today the focus has shifted towards how opportunities can be transformed into new companies (e.g. Shane and Venkataraman, 2000), putting the creation of "business" in the limelight, and not the creation of organizations in a wider perspective (Gartner, 1993). The argument seems to be that new companies are assumed to be of value as they generate growth, and growth is assumed to be good as it leads to development for society. These assumptions also make up the dominant reasons for studying entrepreneurship (Ahl, 2002). Although little is known about how new businesses influence economic performance (Wennekers and Thurik, 1999; Davidsson et al., 2001), entrepreneurship is often held forward as the grand solution, in research as well as in policy (Meier Sørensen, 2008). Thus, economic growth and development seem to be walking hand in hand and constitute inherent assumptions with regard to the grand narrative of entrepreneurship.

According to a discourse analysis, there are three assumptions that unite mainstream entrepreneurship research (Berglund & Johansson, 2007). First, the entrepreneur has come to be seen as an extraordinary person; a person doing extraordinary things by transforming opportunities into new flourishing businesses - or, to talk to Schumpeter, a person who creates a kingdom. An entrepreneur is thus not seen as a group of people, but as a solitary creature taking advantage of an opportunity. Second, the entrepreneur needs resources in order to accomplish this task, which includes creating access to money, knowledge and other people. The third assumption, which is also a combination of the first two assumptions, deals with the notion of networking, which implicitly says that the entrepreneur cannot really accomplish this task on her or his own, but needs to bring about the new in relations with other people.

We thus seem to be inclined to view certain individuals as entrepreneurial, but we often seem to forget that this figure is made up by assumptions that are gender-biased (Ahl, 2002; Bruni, Gherardi & Poggio, 2004, Holmquist & Sundin, 2002) and ethno-centrically determined (Ogbor, 2000). Accordingly, those who do not view themselves as "entrepreneurial" might have some difficulties in dressing in the clothes of the entrepreneur. The stereotyped image of the entrepreneur – made up by dominant assumptions - simply leads to idealized versions of the individual that many find difficult to relate to (e.g. Jones & Spicer, 2005). Consequently, stereotypes foster processes of exclusion and, as a result, entrepreneurship as a social process is stifled. This implies that we need to broaden our view and create possibilities for multiple entrepreneurial identities (Warren, 2004).

Moreover, we tend to equate entrepreneurship with business start-ups and development. Other forms of entrepreneurship are suppressed, e.g. entrepreneurship in the public sector, co-operatives, and non-profit organizations. The latter are often disregarded in the media as well as in policy-making and research. Even though entrepreneurship is considered to embrace processes that could create substantial changes in different sectors of society, the funding for entrepreneurship research has economic growth or performance as a main focus and not other possible outcomes such as a more equal society, environmentally improved processes, and so forth. Consequently, entrepreneurship tends to represent

the becoming process of a company, an act ascribed to one person only – the entrepreneur - rather than to a group of people.

In addition, entrepreneurship seems to make up an important piece in the grand narrative of modernity, which can be described as a vision of a world with clear descriptions for each and every situation, and where no single situation is left without a description. In such a world, development is not only perceived as change but also as "progress" (e.g. Foucault, 1980; Lyotard, 1984; von Wright, 1993). As Friman (2002) demonstrates, the concept "development" has become equated with one particular value, namely economic growth. The logic of our epoch thus prioritizes economic values. Considering the idea of sustainable development, social as well as environmental dimensions seem to hold a secluded position in discussions of how our society could develop. Consequentially, social and environmental values, if not disregarded, are not seen to impel entrepreneurial decisions and activities. For soci(et)al entrepreneurship this implies rethinking and retelling how entrepreneurship may be practiced in different organizational forms and sectors and thereby contribute, beyond the economic logic, to the development of society.

In the research community entrepreneurship has come to be regarded a discipline (e.g. Acs & Audretsch, 2003; Davidsson, Low & Wright, 2001, Steyaert and Katz, 2004). Even though it is an interdisciplinary field, it is not a research field which has been influenced by a multitude of research paradigms. How we methodologically study the world is determined by scientific-theoretical assumptions, as Burrell and Morgan (1979) once pointed out. In most cases research on entrepreneurship seems to be stuck in a functionalistic paradigm (e.g. Grant and Perren, 2002). The fact that all theory is based upon some sorts of philosophical assumptions regarding ontology, epistemology and the nature of the human being has not (yet) been received with an extensive discussion in mainstream entrepreneurship research. Obviously this research is influenced by a strong scientific approach where robust methods are advocated in order to say something about – and probably also with a will to improve - society from some aspect. The line of thought within social science emphasizing change and a more critical stance towards prevailing orders, for example by questioning taken-for-granted assumptions (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000), or engaging in dialogues with local communities in order to contribute to changing the relation between society and people (Flyvbjerg, 2001), does not seem to belong in entrepreneurship research.

There seems, however, to be a tendency towards taking a point of departure in other paradigms but the functionalistic, proclaiming that entrepreneurship research should bring forward new perspectives of entrepreneurship (e.g Ogbor, 2000; Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert, 2001; Steyaert and Katz, 2004; Howorth, Tempest and Coupland, 2005, Jennings, Perren and Carter, 2005). Some postulate that the entrepreneur has become an idealized identity that is hard to reconcile with (Ahl, 2002; Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio, 2004), while others make us aware of the deadlock of entrepreneurship in the economic dimension (Hjorth, 2003), and that entrepreneurship certainly should not be seen as a solitary activity but as a joint action (Johannisson, 2005).

#### Methodology - The grand narrative versus micro stories

In 2009 we were invited to participate in the think and do tank, called the Smithy. It was initiated by two Swedish governmental bodies and a public-private sector partnership. The two governmental bodies were The Knowledge Foundation and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions. The Knowledge Foundation's aim is to "aid the business community, higher education institutes and research institutions in developing leading knowledge and competence environments in priority areas" (www.kks.se). It was founded in 1994 and has since then invested more than SEK 6 billion in more than 2 000 projects. Focus has been on competence development projects in the business sector, learning and IT. Furthermore, new higher education institutes as well as other institutions have been supported. The main objective of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions is to "safeguard the interests of Swedish local and regional authorities" (www.skl.se). The organization contributes to "the improvement of the conditions of Swedish municipalities, county councils and regions with regard to their functions as employers, service providers, supervisory authorities and community developers" (ibid.). The public-private sector partnership is called Arena for Growth and is owned by a Swedish bank, a Swedish grocery chain, and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions.

The starting point for the Smithy was a national program of societal entrepreneurship initiated by The Knowledge Foundation in 2008. As part of this program the think-tank was initiated, with the aim of working with local politicians and social entrepreneurs to identify impediments to social entrepreneurship on the local level. The main issue for the Smithy to focus on during the year was to investigate how municipalities could support soci(et)al entrepreneurs, and eventually identify impediments to increased soci(et)al entrepreneurship on municipality level.

As researchers we were invited to follow the process by participating in and contributing to the think-tank's work. We concluded at an early stage that the process was about making sense of what the concepts social/societal entrepreneurship actually represents, that is to say, how the concept during the year became materialized in the Smithy, partly through the

projects that were carried out. The process consisted of several meetings, and our role was to draw some learning from the process. In total the process consisted of five one-day meetings and a study trip to the UK and London to learn how the UK is dealing with social enterprises. The study trip lasted for two and a half days during autumn 2009.

The members of the think-tank, apart from the researchers, were active local politicians and societal entrepreneurs. Each member of the think-tank had been individually asked to participate. In total the think-tank had 13 members, apart from the organizers and the researchers. Ten municipality commissioners and three societal entrepreneurs participated. Initially, the participants were one person from the Knowledge Foundation, one from the Swedish Foundation of Local Authorities and Regions, and one from Arena for Growth. During the year the Knowledge Foundation restructured its organizational goals, and decided to cease its involvement in the think-tank, but continued to finance the project. The focus in the Smithy has not only been on "thinking", but also on doing. An important task for the participants has therefore been to put their thoughts into practice by discussing and granting five projects aiming to effectuate societal entrepreneurship "on the ground"; that is, in their municipalities.

We have interacted with the participants over a one-year period. Sometimes we have taken roles as passive listeners and sometimes as co-producers of the stories performed, as "most storytelling is done in conversation and involves the listeners in various ways" (Boje, 1991:107). Besides studying the construction of soci(et)al entrepreneurship from our ethnographic notes, meeting protocols, pictures, and artifacts, we have also focused on the five projects that received grants from the Smithy. They, themselves, tell stories on the subject. In this article we concentrate on studying the five projects by using Burke's (1962) pentad. Our contextual knowledge is important for understanding how entrepreneurship is "re-storied" in this specific context. Micro stories have been central in our previous entrepreneurship research, in which we have focused on creating understandings beyond hegemonic "grand narratives" of entrepreneurship.

In this article we focus on stories, rather than on discourse. Moreover, we approach stories from a somewhat different angle by turning to Burke (1962), who asserts that action speaks louder than words (For studies adopting Burke in entrepreneurship we refer to Downing (2005) and O'Connor (2007) and for a more detailed treatment of Burke's textual–analytic methods we refer to Hart and Payne, 1990). According to Burke, action is one way of communicating. For instance, we can tell someone that we are in love with her or him, but we can also show it with actions. However, when it comes to "entrepreneurship", actions and language seem to have become enmeshed, perhaps due to the fact that entrepreneurship is used by policy-makers in setting up programs and projects for entrepreneurship, which involves a lot of talking and writing. Talking about entrepreneurship, or picturing ourselves as entrepreneurs, is quite easy. But, to "do entrepreneurship", or talk about what actions characterize entrepreneurs, seems to have become more and more fuzzy. Arguably, entrepreneurs are moving into becoming "talking people" and policy makers into entrepreneurship writers. However, keeping in mind Austin (1975), who claimed that talking is also action, the potential incompatibility is dissolved, and the relation between talking and acting has come full circle.

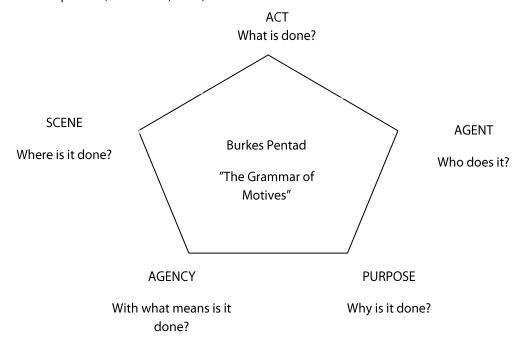
Our wish is to contribute to an understanding that we do not yet possess. By listening to multi-voices, to both microstories and the grand narrative, we see a way to give voice also to what, as well as those, that are neglected or, according to Freire, (1970) silenced. Paying attention to microstories is "to reclaim the stories of the 'little people'" (Boje, 2001:61), the ones doing the work and making the show happen. If we understand in what ways the microstories of entrepreneurship are told differently, we believe that the dominating grand narrative can be re-narrated in a more multivoiced text, one that includes the tragic as well as the heroic, romantic and comic. As the thought figure, in all stories of entrepreneurship, may be described as our time's "story of creation" (Berglund & Johansson, 2007), the negotiation and reconsideration that the microstories of entrepreneurship open up to concern nothing less than how we can visualize the creation of tomorrow.

As mentioned in the section above, Burke (1962) asserts that action speaks louder than words, and action is one way of communicating. The empirical material in this article has been analyzed in relation to Burke's pentad, which is presented below. Departing from the linguistic turn, and focusing on stories, we argue that Burke's perspective can help to fruitfully contrast the grand narrative of entrepreneurship.

Burke's (1962) theory on interaction and communication is constructed according to a "dramatistic pentad", containing five elements and questions, which all refer to a drama (see figure 1). The pentad constitutes the main figure in Burke's dramatistic method, in which the theater is rather more synonymous with life than a metaphor for life. Despite that, we find the metaphor of Tamara, introduced by Boje (1995) to illustrate the plurivocality of organizations and the potential of multiple interpretations, applicable in explaining how we think about "the drama of entrepreneurship". Tamara is a long-running play in Hollywood, in which the audience decides which character to follow. Depending on which character the audience follows, the story is interpreted differently. We find the idea of Tamaraland, in some sense, applicable to Burke's pentad as both relate to the idea of drama. In saying something about "the drama of

entrepreneurship", we are interested in listening to the stories on entrepreneurship which can be grasped by following an "other" (or odd) character in Tamaraland. We have labeled this character "soci(et)al entrepreneurship". Another way to see it would be to think of soci(et)al entrepreneurship as a drama put up in some odd place out in an unfamiliar suburb, compared to the grand story performed on Broadway. Tamara, in our case, is thus spread over a large geographical landscape as well as over cultures, age, ethnicity, gender, and so forth.

Figure 1. Burkes pentad (from Burke, 1962).



It is the Broadway show that we have labeled "the grand narrative", which is also synonymous with "macro story" or "dominant discourse". What they all have in common is that they try to address how some things have become taken for granted. In listening to an odd drama, such as the one on soci(et)al entrepreneurship, we not only better see what is taken for granted in the grand narrative of entrepreneurship, but also how the drama on Broadway could be performed differently, as well as what other options would follow such a shift As Boje et al. (1999) so eloquently puts it, the grand narrative cannot camouflage the meanings of all microstories entirely. Perhaps, as researchers, we can also contribute to setting the scene for a shift at Broadway's grand narrative on entrepreneurship by unveiling microstories on soci(et)al entrepreneurship.

The pentad gives us an opportunity to structure our analysis considering the projects granted within the think and do tank. By analyzing who the actor is (agent), with what means the action is seen to be effectuated (agency), why it should be done (purpose), where it is to be done (scene) as well as how it is done (action), we get an opportunity to study how the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship is constructed from these five components. According to Burke (1962), it is important for the story to be consistent to be comprehensible, because if it is inconsistent it often causes confusion, irritation, doubt and so on. As Schwartz (1997) states in her study of how companies adjusted according to environmental demands, a case that involved Volvo, there would not exist a story of a company that manufactures cars if the story did not include assembling (action) of cars, assemblers (actors), a factory (the scene), material, machines or tools (means) and a reason (purpose) for manufacturing cars. Applying Burke's pentad, we arguably have to make a closer examination of the components making up the grand narrative, as well as how these components are used by the participators in the Smithy in constructing a story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship. Moreover, we also get an opportunity to see on what grounds the stories of soci(et)al entrepreneurship match or mismatch the grand narrative of entrepreneurship.

# The stories of societal entrepreneurship in the Smithy

As mentioned above, the focus in the Smithy was not only on "thinking", but also on putting thoughts into practice. For that purpose the think-tank had a budget to be used for financing a number of local projects. The purpose was that lessons should be learned from those projects regarding how local municipalities could support societal entrepreneurship; this part of the think-tank was action-oriented. However, only the politicians participating in the think-tank could apply for

the money, implying that only ten municipalities could send in applications. When the work of the think-tank started in early 2009, the politicians in the Smithy were invited to hand in project applications, which were later assessed by the members of the think-tank. The assessment took place during the physical meetings. Projects that were supported by the majority of the members in the think-tank were granted money. The criteria that were followed were handed out beforehand by the organizers of the think-tank and emphasized that the chosen projects: (1) should capture attitudes; (2) involve the municipality or the region; (3) challenge present structures and be of the kind that falls between different sectors; (4) should be possible to show results from during the year; (5) and to document and communicate contextual success and failure factors from; (6) should be creative; (7) have a societal focus; (8) should be unique for the contexts in which it is to be carried out; finally, (9) should represent a variety of activities.

In total five projects, all well-anchored in their local communities, received financial support from the think-tank. Quite unique for the selection process was that the applicants were present when the decisions were made and they could answer questions regarding their project. The applicants were not allowed to vote, but the selection process was not at all as strict as is common when public money is granted, as the applicants could intervene by means of their answers. The amount granted by the Smithy was then doubled by each of the applicants. Below follows a brief description of the projects.

#### Case 1 - SET – societal entrepreneurship in three municipalities

This project uses societal entrepreneurship aimed at upper secondary school and folk high school, and create a gala to celebrate societal entrepreneurs, with a special focus on women's societal (and unrecognized) entrepreneurship. The purpose is to make societal entrepreneurship visible in schools and reach out to students so that they can learn how to make use of their ideas. In order for municipalities to support societal entrepreneurship, they must translate what it can be in practice, which is also focus of this project. The municipality hosting the project is an industrial community, located in the central part of Sweden. The project was initiated by the municipality council, NGOs working in education, and the local newspaper. It lasted for six months and the financial support from the Smithy was 84 000 SEK.

#### Case 2 - Green handicraft and smith-work

The purpose of this project is to build empowerment among young people with mental disorders, or young people who are socially excluded, by introducing them to work in an open-air smithy. The idea is to work with these groups and give them an opportunity to learn traditional smith-work, which is much coveted, and manufacture products to be sold on the local market. As a local building, the smithy is thought to be a symbol of societal entrepreneurship. Green handicraft and smith-work are examples of how entrepreneurship can be promoted among groups who are not, according to the grand narrative, obviously recognized as entrepreneurs. The project is not so much about creating smith workers as it is about turning passivity into activity and getting ideas for how each and everyone can create an own life path. The project was initiated by the municipality council. The county council, a smith, and handicraft consultants are also involved, besides the people being trained in the project. The geographical location of the project is central Sweden, and the smithy is in the population centre of the municipality, which is the eighteenth largest in Sweden. The financial resources from the Smithy amounted to 320 000 SEK.

## Case 3 - Quick start for societal entrepreneurs

The purpose of this project is to facilitate establishment in society and working life by introducing young people (16-24 years old) to societal entrepreneurship. The municipality, hosting the project, supplies money to young entrepreneurs who have projects they want to launch. The projects that receive financial support should focus on changes, in areas like healthcare services, climate, living, segregation, poverty, etc. By working on the projects, the municipality hopes youths will acquire an enterprising spirit and training in how a project works. The type of project that is likely to receive financial support is one that falls between sectors. One aim of the project, for the municipality, is to identify how young inhabitants in the municipality can be contacted. The host of the project is the municipality council, but an organization working with youths is carrying out the administrative part of the project. The municipality hosting the project is located in the very south of Sweden. The project was granted 163 000 by the Smithy.

## Case 4 - To be creative

The purpose of the project is to develop a role play, which the initiators see as a tool that can be used in elementary school. The role play should stimulate creativity, and by participating it should be possible to learn about the different roles actors have in creative and entrepreneurial processes. The main target group for the role play is teachers, who meet and interact with students. It may also be played by students but they are not the main target group. One advantage of the

role play being developed is that it can be used by several actors, also located in other municipalities, since it is a physical product that is being developed. The project lasts for about six months, during which the role play is developed. Evaluations of the role play take place only when it has been used in a real setting, which happens after the project period. There was no discussion or agreement on intellectual property rights in the application. The geographical location of the project is about 100 kilometers north-east of Gothenburg, Sweden's second largest city, located on the west coast of Sweden. The project was granted 280 000 SEK by the Smithy.

## Case 5 - Entrepreneurship academy in Botkyrka municipality

The purpose of this project is to evaluate if it is worthwhile creating a so-called "one-stop-shop" for all different types of activities and initiatives related to entrepreneurship in the municipality. Creating such a platform is a vision in the municipality. The application stressed that it should be a platform where people feel welcome and included. Entrepreneurship is broadly defined in the project and includes profit-driven entrepreneurship activities as well as societal entrepreneurship activities (here defined as non-profit driven activities). The initiators hope to learn about entrepreneurship in general, and also to see if it is possible to organize joint activities for business-oriented entrepreneurs and societal entrepreneurs. The municipality hosting the project is located nearby the capital of Sweden. It is well-known for its socially segregated structure, with a high number of immigrants and high unemployment. Apart from the municipal council and the societal entrepreneurs, the local business actors, NGOs, Almi, the Knowledge Foundation, and the local university are part of the project. The project received money to evaluate how to proceed as the overall aim of creating a "one-stop-shop" is not doable for the Smithy within the time period. The project was granted 200 000 SEK from the Smithy.

The table below summarizes the five projects that have received financial support from the Smithy. The table is structured according to the questions raised in Burke's pentad: What is done; who does it; where is it done; with what means is it done; and why is it done. The table partly complements the five presentations of the cases above.

Case	ACT	AGENT	SCENE	AGENCY	PURPOSE
	What is done?	Who does it?	Where is it done?	With what means is it done?	Why is it done?
1	Create new role models	Public organization, NGO and a local newspaper	The school	Time, knowledge, finances from the Smithy	New outlook on enterprising
2	Produce diverse products in the smithy	Young people with mental disorders, or those who are socially excluded, county council employees, and a handicraft consultant	The handicraft smithy	Time, knowledge, finances from the Smithy	Inclusion and empowerment
3	Carry through different ideas	Young people	Navigator centre	Money	Establish a link between school and working life
4	A role-play	Teachers and pupils	The school	Time, knowledge, finances from the Smithy	New outlook on enterprising
5	Public organizations, NGOs and a university		Botkyrka municipality	Time, knowledge, finances from the Smithy	To create a structure for societal entrepreneurship

# Soci(et)al entrepreneurship: an alternative account?

We have now outlined the grand narrative of entrepreneurship and made a presentation of the empirical setting in which five societal entrepreneurship projects were launched. By structuring the projects according to the questions in Burke's pentad, we have presented an idea of what the terms consist of. Our aim now is to discuss each and every one of the terms in relation to the grand narrative.

#### Term: Act

When analyzing the projects related to the key term "act", i.e. what is done, we find that one of the projects, case two, has a focus on setting up a cooperative, aiming at producing physical products in a smithy constructed in the municipality. A key element of this project is to engage the participants in the process and train them in smithy work. After achieving the skills, they are expected to produce products to be sold on the market. This project uses the same logic as a more traditional entrepreneurship case, i.e., products are produced and then offered and diffused on a market. On the other hand, "the product", may be seen to be empowered people, which is explicitly stated in the project application. The "product" can thus be interpreted in two ways. The first one is in line with the grand narrative, while the other one constitutes a "nante-narrative". Similarly, case four has a partly defined output, i.e., the role play to be developed, but the result and lessons learned from participating in the role play are most important.

Generally, the projects are aimed at supporting entrepreneurship, for example by identifying local role models, financially supporting entrepreneurial projects and changing attitudes. However, the projects do not define what societal entrepreneurship could possibly be, and do not give any examples either. One exception is case three, which mentions health care, climate, and poverty as potential areas for societal entrepreneurs to relate to. Common for all five cases is that they all want to initiate some kind of change in society. In relation to the grand narratives account of creating a kingdom (or business), or bringing about new entrepreneurs (creating a hero), this term is redefined in societal entrepreneurship.

### Term: Agent

Regarding the key term "agent", i.e., who does it; we find that it is often a group of actors involved in the projects, not only one individual. Furthermore, actors from public organizations are involved in the projects. In the grand narrative, however, the entrepreneur is highly visible and outspoken. However, few of those involved in the projects would probably call themselves entrepreneurs, or soci(et)al entrepreneurs. This picture of a human being is quite a contrast to the heroic lone wolf who, in Ogbor's words, "conquers the environment to survive in a Darwinian world" (Ibid: 618). According to Nicholson and Anderson (2005), there is an everyday conception that holds us back from identifying with the entrepreneur; one that is strongly interlinked with a mythisized figure. In particular, this figure has consequences for women's abilities to identify with being involved in innovative and entrepreneurial endeavors (e.g. Warren, 2004)

#### Term: Scene

Regarding the key term - the scene - where it is done, we learn that two of the soci(et)al entrepreneurship projects take place in schools. Two of the projects, case two and case five, are located in physical places where the municipal council is operating – or at least paying for the location. In Case two, the smithy is an exception; this is a new physical place that is being built in the municipality. The smithy as such will probably be a symbol and artifact for soci(et)al entrepreneurship in the municipality. We can conclude that all the projects take place in public arenas; public space is used for the projects. This implies that they are accessible for all inhabitants in the municipality; they become public. For traditional entrepreneurship projects, on the other hand, the scene is the market. Those projects and ventures survive if they can manage to sell their products on a market. In the soci(et)al entrepreneurship projects there seems to be an agreement among the different actors involved beforehand, which implies that the projects have already been marketed and sold.

## Term: Agency

The term agency relates to the means by which it is done. The resources needed for carrying through the projects are rather similar to the resources emphasized in more traditional entrepreneurial projects. One main difference is that the money in the soci(et)al entrepreneurship projects is primarily public money. Case three only emphasizes the need for financial resources, money. The other four projects emphasize human resources, time and knowledge apart from financial resources. Case two has invested in a new physical building, the smithy; the other projects make use of already existing structures, e.g. schools and already existing organizations in the municipalities. A main difference between traditional entrepreneurship projects and soci(et)al entrepreneurship projects is that the resources are anchored and embedded in the firm in a traditional entrepreneurship, while the abode for the resources is the project in soci(et)al entrepreneurship. While the firm is a legal unit, the project is not. This implies that the ownership of resources may be interpreted as being more

blurred and vague in soci(et)al entrepreneurship projects, but, on the other hand, traditional entrepreneurship literature refers to bootstrapping (Winborg and Landström, 1997) as a strategy for firms to attract resources, which also implies quite unclear ownership.

## Term: Purpose

Why it is done relates to the term purpose. Common purposes for the different projects are a new outlook on enterprising, trying to create structures, and links between different institutions in society, e.g. between school and working life; between unemployment or sick-leave and employment. There seems to be a will to bridge institutions and organizations that have partly been acting as isolated units in society. The projects become either a way to trace out possible paths for people, for how they can feel and become included in society again, or a way to solve social problems in society. The overall purpose seems to be to create a better society, and this is done by helping people to solve social and societal problems. The social problems are either solved by empowering the individual or by training people in seeing alternative opportunities, which relate to social and societal problems and challenges. Through soci(et)al entrepreneurship a new outlook on enterprising becomes distinct and visible.

The purpose in traditional entrepreneurship is profit and growth. Still, there are large numbers of entrepreneurs (owner-managers) who earn enough money for a livelihood, but do not generate a great profit. They are, on the other hand, not representative of the firms that are regarded as desirable in the media and in the public debate, i.e., growth firms that significantly contribute to the national wealth.

Aiming at betterment of society, as soci(et)al entrepreneurship does, implies that there are actors in power positions who can help and empower those who are not. The norm of what a good society is becomes explicit, e.g. being active, being included, having something to do that counts in society, showing the ability to take action, etc. In the end, the projects only partly challenge the hegemonic norm, which implies that the purpose of soci(et)al entrepreneurial projects is not that far from the purpose of more traditional entrepreneurial projects. In line with research in entrepreneurship, the purpose in traditional entrepreneurship is a successful venture, which, according to the literature (Davidsson, 2003), is good for the individual and good for society. As Anderson and Smith (2007) shows however the "good" is always contextualized and moral spaces "lies in the ways that the private practices of entrepreneurship enter the public domain". (Ibid: 493). The "good" could, from this reasoning, not be interpreted from if there is a prefix added or not, but from how entrepreneurial activity is embedded in a context.

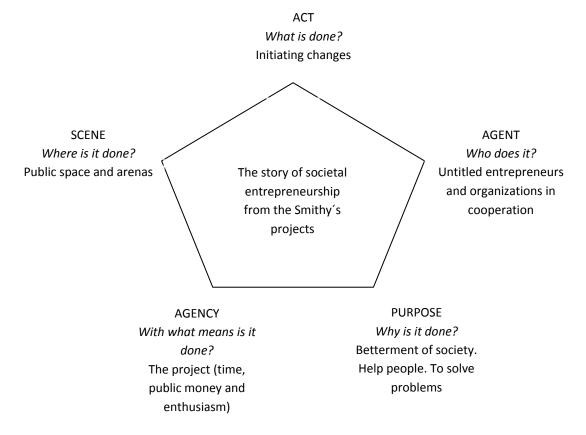


Figure 2. A summary of the empirical findings according to the pentad.

# Concluding discussion

This article takes its point of departure in the grand narrative of entrepreneurship. By listening to multi voices from the smithy initiative in Sweden, we argue that a narrative of soci(et)al entrepreneurship is being shaped. Our analysis shows that the grand narrative of entrepreneurship, consisting of the heroic entrepreneur (agent) who creates a kingdom (act) by way of establishing a company (agency) on the market in order to make a profit and contribute to growth (purpose), stands quite in contrast to the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship as interpreted from the projects in the smithy. In the smithy the story told is about how untitled entrepreneurs and organizations in cooperation (agent) initiate changes (act) in public arenas (scene) by way of projects (agency), and thus contribute to a better society (purpose).

That a more multifaceted role of entrepreneurs is taking form is also acknowledged in the research community. For example, we can read and listen to stories about how entrepreneurs in the public sector act entrepreneurially (Sundin, 2004), the collective form of entrepreneurship that characterizes public organizations (Mühlenbock, 2004), and a societal entrepreneurship which puts democratic aspects in focus (Gawell, 2006). There is also a growing discussion on ecological (sometimes also called sustainable) entrepreneurship, where the logic is to preserve our planet's natural resources (e.g. Albrecht, 2002; Pastakia, 1998). The topic of social entrepreneurship has attracted much attention in the research community as well as in newspapers. Muhammad Yunus is one of the examples held forward as a social entrepreneur (e.g. Bernasek, 2003). In these discussions there is an emphasis on empathy, solidarity and how relations may be created in order to solve problems of social exclusion and bad conditions (Duhl, 2000; Wallace, 1999). In line with these discussions there is a rising awareness of indigenous entrepreneurship and how indigenous people create opportunities to restore almost ruined societies in line with their cultural codes (Anderson, 2002). In addition, there is an argument that entrepreneurship is a history-making process which not only changes material conditions, but first and foremost the thought-structures that uphold certain practices (Spinosa, Flores och Dreyfus, 1997).

Inspired by Boje (2001) we ask ourselves why the stories of soci(et)al entrepreneurship have gained a hold at this stage in history? One possible answer is probably that we live in a time when we are surrounded by several crises such as industrial changes, climate, financial crises and lack of morality in business. In the words of traditional entrepreneurship language, one could say that a "window of opportunity" has opened to rewrite the grand narrative and to challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions. The rewriting also opens up for people, who perhaps would never refer to themselves as entrepreneurs, to become engaged and involved in entrepreneurial activity. Stories of soci(et)al entrepreneurship describe not just an act of a hero, or an engine of economic growth, but also a movement that can transform our society at large.

Changing the grand narrative of entrepreneurship should by no means be considered as stepping onto a fast train. Arguably, entrepreneurship is a highly positively charged concept connected to strong beliefs regarding how the future is to be created. Moreover, it is a story which draws from – or is strongly interwoven with - our grand discourses on development (Lyotard, 1984). In addition, the entrepreneur has become a person of "ontological status" in du Gay's (1986) terms, which points to the fact that the outlook of people in our time goes in line with the descriptions of entrepreneurs. As individuals we should take charge of our lives and seek opportunities to develop our career, family, interests and the like. Changing the narrative will probably meet some resistance to keeping the story intact, making the narrative stronger in some contexts, as in Dragon's Den, On the other hand, there are also potential openings for stories on soci(et)al entrepreneurship to get a foothold. Not least, the "crisis" has come to serve as some sort of reflection regarding what future we want to create and how entrepreneurship could be the means of achieving something else. In this line of reasoning the grand narrative of entrepreneurship will inevitably become affected by the notion of an "other" entrepreneurship narrative; either becoming stronger (in some contexts) or by becoming re-told (in some contexts). Eventually, however, the narratives might integrate into a new grand narrative consisting of other terms than the ones in charge, making new paths visible for how we could be part of creating the future.

Noting that both social and societal are abstract and thus quite vague concepts, we acknowledge a challenge for these new stories of entrepreneurship to transform into a new grand narrative, as the implication is that almost anything can be defined as soci(et)al entrepreneurship. Other prefixes used in relation to entrepreneurship are: "women", "immigrant", "academic", and "green". Common for those words is that they represent something that is quite easy to define, at least in relation to soci(et)al entrepreneurship. On the other hand, what the indistinctness in soci(et)al entrepreneurship stories teaches us is what it really means to *do* entrepreneurship. Considering that "the project" is in focus, stories of soci(et)al entrepreneurship arguably open up for the processual knowledge. Lindgren and Packendorff (2003) argue for a project-based view of entrepreneurship claiming that entrepreneurial acts are "characterized by a creative an influential step outside existing practices" (Ibid: 86). Entrepreneurship should thus be considered to be synonymous with the notion of a project. When we no longer see what is going on as a project, we stop asking questions regarding whether we should move on and how we should do it, which accordingly are central questions in entrepreneurial processes. When those

questions are no longer necessary to pose, continuity has been created and we start to refer to the project as an organization or a company (Ibid.). Perhaps the account of soci(et)al entrepreneurship opens up the black box of what entrepreneuring means (Steyaert, 2007). In other words, the myth becomes less mythic and the mystification turns into the mundane, making each and every one of us a creator of our times in the stories told on soci(et)al entrepreneurship (cmp, Steyaert and Katz, 2004).

By recognizing the assumptions made in the grand narrative, it is possible to see, hear and read the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship, which make up an "other" account of entrepreneurship. For the involved actors in the Smithy, the story has contributed to numerous reflections regarding how to break certain patterns in their own surroundings. For us as researchers, we have been able to gain knowledge about "the break", i.e., in what ways the story of soci(et)al entrepreneurship is constructed differently from the grand narrative.

To sum up, the concept entrepreneurship has been "travelling" the last few decades, which has opened up for stories of soci(et)al entrepreneurship to be told in research and in practice. As a consequence, there seems to be some confusion regarding what the concept entrepreneurship really "contains". In one way all of the stories, including the grand narrative, are about development of our society, but they offer for sure different views on how we can picture the entrepreneur, as well as what road we should take into the future. In line with recent scholarly debate on entrepreneurship, we argue that our understanding of entrepreneurship must be expanded to embrace non-economic dimensions (Steyaert and Katz, 2004), that we as researchers must be more aware of what assumptions we tend to reproduce (Jenings, Perren & Carter, 2005), but that in using narrative approaches we can methodologically avoid the pitfall of strengthening assumptions that make us blind to certain activities (e.g. Steyaert & Hjorth, 2004; Gartner, 2007), such as perceiving that entrepreneurship can also be an act of empowerment (Violina, Daved, Ketchen, 2009) in breaking free from some assumptions and thereby creating new ones (Cala's, Smircich Bourne, 2009). Hence, stories of soci(et)al entrepreneurship can make us aware of the importance of individuals who organize in order to meet the demands for creating new patterns in transforming societal structures at large.

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