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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Why an Issue on Social Entrepreneurs?

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In its first issue, "Are NGOs Overrated" (1998), Current Issues in Comparative Education (CICE) initiated a debate on the significance, challenges, and purposes of various types of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in advancing social and educational change. This topic was triggered by the dramatic political and economic transformations of the 1980s and 1990s that shaped the relationship between states, civil societies and markets around the world (CICE, 1998). Authors argued that, among their serious weaknesses, NGOs had shown increased dependence on state funding and upwards accountability, thereby compromising NGO performance, and ultimately, their legitimacy (Edwards & Hulme, 1998), and that many had engaged in implementing prepackaged international reforms, rather than challenging these imported reform packages with alternative ones (Steiner-Khamsi, 1998). In addition, the contributions demonstrated that while certain indispensable functions of the state could not be replaced (Arnove & Christina, 1998), and NGOs had been 'overrated' by progressives, they continued to represent the most significant challenge to contemporary development strategies (Klees, 1998).

Seven years later, the issues raised by the debate on NGOs appear to resonate with the emerging discussion on social entrepreneurship, a term that has been increasingly incorporated into the discourses of practitioners, donors and policy makers in the development field since the late 1990s. The two are intimately linked in the discussion of potential and limitations for advancing social change. In fact, a growing number of donors have begun to support social entrepreneurs, rather than NGOs, based on a belief that social entrepreneurs are more effective and innovative in generating social change. The term social entrepreneur has therefore been increasingly incorporated into the debate on the strengths and weaknesses of NGOs. Attention to social entrepreneurship as a source of social innovation has also been recognized in the academe. An increasing number of programs--mostly Business and Public Policy Programs--are promoting research on the subject, and training social entrepreneurs.

This increasing interest of donors, practitioners and researchers inspired CICE to question why such heightened attention to social entrepreneurship is taking hold today. Indeed, Dees (2001) argues that social entrepreneurship is not new. Is the growing interest in social entrepreneurship therefore a reaction to the failed promises of NGOs, the most notorious of which being their detachment from the communities they serve? Since social entrepreneurs generally establish organizations to carry out their projects of social change, are these organizations and projects any different from NGOs? How does social entrepreneurship apply or manifest itself in the educational arena? And what are the implications of social change agents borrowing strategies from the business world and applying them to advance a social agenda through education?

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To analyze the implications of social entrepreneurship for research within the field of Comparative and International Education, first, we examine how social entrepreneurs are often conceived, since the concept of entrepreneurship has been "long hallowed in the context of business and economic ventures" (Brown et al., 2004, p. 260), and only recently has it increasingly been applied to social problem solving. As reviewed by Brown et al. (2004), social entrepreneurs are conceptualized in three related ways. The first understands social entrepreneurs as combining social impact with commercial enterprise. The second, represented by Dees (2003; 2001; 1998), focuses on the innovation of social entrepreneurs for social impact, regardless of the economic feasibility of their ventures. Building on definitions of entrepreneurship in economics and management theories, Dees provides an ideal type of social entrepreneurs. Thus, social entrepreneurs represent this ideal type in different ways, and to different degrees. For Dees, social entrepreneurs are change agents who adopt social missions, recognizing and pursuing new opportunities. They tackle roots of social problems, and work towards decreasing existing social needs more willingly than treating problems' manifestations, engaging in processes of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning. They act without being limited by existing resources at reach, and therefore, they might start working before they may have the necessary resources. In addition, they exhibit high accountability to the communities served and for the outcomes created (Dees, 2001; 1998). The third understanding is mainly concerned with their potential to "catalyze social transformation, well beyond the solutions of the social problems that are the initial focus of the problem" (Brown et al., 2004, p. 262).

The field of Comparative and International Education is concerned with issues of social change, and the role of civil society and its organizations in education. Inquiry into the implications of social entrepreneurship for education provides avenues to expand insights and bring new perspectives to these issues. Education--whether taking place inside or outside of schools--is one of the areas in which social entrepreneurs are said to be innovating and creating change. Whether their projects advance changes in school classrooms or outside of schools, ultimately, their practices do have implications for education and vice versa. However, most of the literature on social entrepreneurship is currently based in business and non-profit and civil society studies.

This issue of CICE seeks to stimulate debate on the ways in which social entrepreneurship is conceptualized and manifested within the field of education. The contributors tackle a wide range of questions, such as: how and where are social entrepreneurs developing opportunities and innovations in education, and for whom? How does a perspective of social entrepreneurship relate to teachers as catalysts for change? How do social entrepreneurs make use of networks to advance educational change? Can and should the educational innovations of social entrepreneurs at the local level be institutionalized? How can academic programs educate for a practice of social entrepreneurship that transcends the market metaphor?

In **From Entrepreneurship to Activism: Teachers as Agents of Social Change**, Steve Shara argues that while social entrepreneurship shares similar concerns with social justice activism, the business ethos in the idea of entrepreneurship is not suited to the social concerns that teachers and educators deal with in their everyday lives. The article identifies characteristics of social entrepreneurship that are shared with

the concerns of peace and social justice, but cautions against a rush to blur the distinctions between social entrepreneurship and education. Based on fieldwork conducted in Malawi, the article presents a historical context for peace and social justice activism in Malawi, and the ideas needed to promote teacher independence and activism to make teaching relevant to social change and innovation.

In **The Politics of Social Entrepreneurs in Access to Education: A Case Study of Shan Burmese Refugees in Southwestern Thailand,** Celina Su and Peter Muenning draw on Dees's characterization of social entrepreneurship to present a case study of Shan Burmese families in Northern Thailand. The thirty families they examine face hardships finding work, accessing healthcare and placing their children in schools. Two Thai nationals, Yai and Noi, assist this community by establishing a primary school. Over four years, this nonformal school succeeds in raising educational standards so that Shan children can be comfortably integrated into Thai schools. Yai and Noi promote academic achievement, and generate momentum throughout the community to keep the school sustainable. Their concomitant efforts to improve sanitation and healthcare for Shan families exemplify an innovative and adaptable social mission that improves refugees' qualities of life.

Jill Sperandio discusses how social entrepreneurs are developing educational opportunities outside the formal system of education for low-income children and women in **Social Entrepreneurs and Educational Leadership in Bangladesh**. Sperandio argues that social entrepreneurs innovate and experiment with new methods in the delivery of education, since they are less constrained by the 'educentric' paradigm. The article also points out that for countries that are struggling to provide disadvantaged groups with access to education, social entrepreneurship offers the potential of increasing the availability of education and of introducing innovations that may be adopted by the national education system.

In their essay entitled **Social Enterprise and re-Civilization of Human Endeavors**, Maria Humphries and Suzanne Grant remind us that the market as an organizing metaphor is increasingly used to organize the delivery of social services. They take Dees's (2003) distinction between social and economic entrepreneurs, to argue that that all economic activity is social activity; and suggest that the uncritical market metaphor may be seen not only as an inadequate disciplinary mechanism for the conduct of social enterprise, but as the generator of the social ills social entrepreneurs seek to address.

The potential of social entrepreneurship to advance education and social change has not been sufficiently explored by Comparative and International Education scholars. This issue of CICE contributes towards this end. It is expected that ultimately this will bring further vitality to our field and provide new insights to the research community studying social entrepreneurship.

Notes

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From Entrepreneurship to Activism: Teacher Autobiography, Peace and Social Justice in Education

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Abstract
This article argues that while social entrepreneurship shares concerns similar to those of social justice activism, the corporate and business ethos in the idea of entrepreneurship is not suited to the social concerns that teachers and other educators deal with in their everyday lives. The article points out characteristics of social entrepreneurship that are shared with the concerns of peace and social justice, but cautions against a rush to blur the distinctions between social entrepreneurship and education. Based on fieldwork conducted in four Malawian schools in 2004, this article places the historical context of peace and social justice activism in Malawi in the struggle for independence, and in the theoretical concept of *uMunthu*. Using autobiography as a research methodology, the article discusses the approaches and implications for promoting teacher independence and activism to make teaching relevant to social change and innovation in Malawi.

Introduction

Since 1994, Malawi has embraced a multiparty system of government, as well as liberalization of the economy, education, and social sector services. With support from international agencies and non-governmental organizations, the country has pursued a decentralization policy alongside a privatization agenda. The proliferation of non-governmental organizations working in education has taken the idea of entrepreneurship to a new level. Educational policy and practice have been caught up, perhaps unwittingly, in the process.

Given the prevalence of the idea of entrepreneurship and its penetration into education, and given the relative absence of the idea in educational scholarship, the time seems ripe for a discussion of the broad issues raised by developments in the field of social entrepreneurship. The lack of discussion on social entrepreneurship in educational scholarship easily creates the impression that the idea has nothing in common with education. Yet given global, historical and political developments in Malawi and around the world, particularly since the end of the Cold War, this is far from accurate.

This article argues that an understanding of social entrepreneurship and how it manifests itself in education needs to embody a concept of social justice. The article points out that rather than blur the social and the entrepreneurial, the corporate and business ethos found in entrepreneurship are not suited to the social concerns that teachers and other educators deal with in their everyday lives.

The first concern in this article is to caution against any rush to see an easy, unproblematic fit between social entrepreneurship and education. Some of the characteristics that define social entrepreneurship are indeed shared with the concerns of teachers who teach for peace and social justice. However, rather than see teachers as

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social entrepreneurs, as some scholars do (Bornstein, 2004), the article suggests that a more suitable fit may be to reconceptualize social entrepreneurship as peace and social justice activism. The article places peace and social justice in the historical context of the activism that informed the struggle for independence in Malawi, and in current efforts to make education relevant to social problems. Following this context is a discussion of the methodology and theoretical framework of the study. I then define social justice activism, and social entrepreneurship, before providing examples of incidents that reveal how injustice creates perceptions that make it difficult for teachers to be social justice activists in Malawi. The article suggests what ideas are needed to promote teacher independence, resilience, and *uMunthu/uBuntu*, the humanness that constitutes the human community and encompasses the awareness and activism necessary to make teaching relevant to social change and innovation.

The article ends with considerations of implications for policy, curriculum, and teacher education and development, in thinking of how to reconceptualize social entrepreneurship as social justice activism in Malawi. The question of how to make the move from entrepreneurship to activism is an important beginning point.

From entrepreneurship to activism

In Malawi, schools, teachers and communities already have to deal with issues and ideas spilling over from the global and historical contexts that have brought the idea of decentralization and privatization to the fore of development. Non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs) have been a major part of this (Fowler, 2000). Because teachers conventionally bear the expectation to implement educational policies, any discussion of how educational research should deal with the issue of social entrepreneurship should place teachers at the center.

Social entrepreneurs are said to operate with social impact as their main goal, and business acumen and efficiency as their strategy (Dees, 1998, 2001; Bornstein, 2004). The emphasis falls more on the entrepreneurship and less on the social, as pointed out by Dees (1998, 2001): “Social entrepreneurs are one species in the genus entrepreneur. They are entrepreneurs with a social mission” (p. 2). The implications for this definition in education are complex, and require a perspective that is capable of reconciling the apparent dilemma and contradiction of tying social change to profit, even if only as a means to a social end, as some scholars suggest (see Dees, 2003). If the idea of social entrepreneurship is going to be useful to education, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, it will need to be stripped of its current corporate-sounding and profit-making character, putting more emphasis on the social than on the entrepreneurship. To that end, in order for the “social” aspects of innovation and efficiency to be promoted in teacher education and development research and practice, this article suggests a reconceptualization of social entrepreneurship as peace and social justice activism. A peace and social justice identity shares several of the characteristics that social entrepreneurship espouses, but finds questionable the emphasis on entrepreneurship. The notion of entrepreneurship has strong connotations with profit making, and is distanced from historical and political contexts. Furthermore, just as there are several aspects in the idea of a social entrepreneur that share conceptual mutuality with the idea of a social justice activist, there are also aspects that do not. Some of the shared aspects deal with concern with and desire to solve social problems, pioneer social change, and promote community service.

Those aspects not shared between the two emanate from the entrepreneurial ethos associated with businesses. The two categories therefore do share overlaps, although their differences are significant enough to warrant caution in discussing their fit in education.

As with social justice activism, social entrepreneurship sees itself as "critical to solving current social problems in an increasingly globalized world" (Grenier, 2003, ¶2). Both social entrepreneurship and social justice activism tackle "the underlying causes of problems, rather than simply treating symptoms" (Dees, 1998, 2001, p. 4). As Thompson (2002) observes, social entrepreneurs:

> are people with the qualities and behaviors we associate with a business entrepreneur but who operate in the community and are more concerned with caring and helping than with 'making money'. In many cases, they help change people's lives because they embrace important social causes (p. 413).

In this study, social justice was taken as a central perspective informing the analyses of educational practices that seek to make schooling relevant to the understanding of community problems and the contexts in which these problems occur (Ayers, 2004; Allen, 1999; Nieto, 1999; Peterson, 1999). The concept of "social justice" emerged out of the stories that participating teachers told and wrote in their autobiographies. The teachers narrated lived experiences that create a social justice and human security perspective, described as a "peace problematic" in the African scholarship on peace (Hansen, 1987, p. 2). Seeing teachers' lived experiences from this perspective provides a practical rationale for teachers to be given opportunities to redefine themselves in peace and social justice contexts. This stresses the social, rather than the entrepreneurial, a process that draws on the historical perspectives of social justice activism in Malawi. This activism made it possible for Malawi and other formerly colonized countries to overcome racist and colonial domination, and win the struggle for independence. The entrepreneurial spirit that went along with the struggle had a strong educational, socioeconomic and political motivation, whose self-emancipatory message does not appear as prominent in the current thinking about social entrepreneurship today.

Race awareness and historical context

Seeing teachers as social justice activists requires an understanding of the historical legacy of the anti-colonial struggle, and how colonized subjects used education and a critical awareness of racism to empower themselves (Chiume, 1983; Chipembere, 2001). The struggle for independence in many African countries provides an illustration of how a social justice perspective on the problem of race gives rise to an awareness of what actions were needed for African people to emancipate themselves from colonialism. In many cases, this critical awareness developed within the educational setting of colonialism. For teachers today, being aware of how education can be used for emancipatory and social justice purposes means doing away with pedagogical practices that fail to question the ideologies implicit in knowledge production and dissemination, and the globalization discourse these ideologies come couched in (N'zimande & Mathieson, 2000; Hallak, 2000; Popkewitz, 2000).

Part of the crisis in Malawi has been brought about by the abandonment of African perspectives on what constitutes community wealth and historical resilience, a

consequence of the capitalist global order, the creation of which colonialism played a pivotal role in (Sindima, 1995). A social justice perspective for teachers requires the awareness of the twin roles education played in the struggle for Africa, i.e., pioneering the independence struggle, while creating class differences based on elitism and the privileging of a foreign ideology over endogenous epistemologies. The methodology used in the study took this awareness into account.

Methodology and theoretical framework

I went into the field aiming to discover what genres of writing were best suited to teaching for peace and social justice in Malawi. The research focused mostly on 21 Malawian teachers in four Malawian schools, from February to August 2004. The research methodology involved classroom observations, interviews, and a writing workshop. The teachers had endless stories to tell about their lives growing up and going to school in Malawi under a dictatorship, and their lives now as teachers. Autobiography therefore turned out to be an important genre of writing for these specific teachers.

I worked with the teachers to plan lessons that would address Malawian problems from a peace and social justice perspective. In order for teachers to plan lessons and teach them from a peace and social justice perspective, it was necessary for them to define peace and social justice from their own perspectives, with the awareness of how other peace educators defined these concepts.

The data collected from the study comprised of teachers' autobiographies, interview transcripts, notes from classroom observations, and a journal I kept throughout my stay in the field. A four-part thematic framework has been used to analyze the data. In the framework, peace, social justice and human security are defined as the humanness that constitutes human identity. African epistemologies define this humanness as *uMunthu*, in the Chichewa language; *uBuntu* or *uMotho*, in some southern African languages (Musopole, 1994; Sindima, 1995, 1998; Ramose, 1996).

From these definitions come topical issues that contribute to the peace curriculum in the classroom and the school, informed, in part, by lived experience, told through storytelling and life writing. The peace curriculum enables a peace pedagogy, which leads to Praxis (Freire, 1970; Spence and Makuwira, 2005).

The peace and social justice framework used as its central assumption the idea that lived experiences provided teachers with a form of knowledge that enabled them to recognize social injustice. Social injustice was therefore seen as arising out of the denial of their humanness. In becoming activists for peace and social justice in their schools and communities, these teachers therefore sought solutions that started with autobiographical accounts of their lives as Malawians and as teachers, using their stories to confirm their humanness, as a starting point.

The research highlights new perspectives on teacher education and peace building in Malawi by bringing teachers' life writing to the fore and demonstrating the importance of African perspectives on lived experience (Assefa & Wachira, 1996; Prah, 1996; Ramose, 1996), in the formation of a peace-activist identity amongst teachers. It is this

peace and social justice activist identity that this article is pointing to as a reconstructed identity for teachers, sharing those social concerns that social entrepreneurs also see as needing innovations and solutions.

Defining social justice

When the participants were invited to take part in the study, the key terms that were used in introducing the project to them were teaching, writing and peace education. To make the connection from writing to education to peace and social justice, there was a need to investigate the contexts of the problems the teachers were talking about. A good number of the participants wrote about cases of social injustices committed against them as children, as teachers, and as members of society.

It is this revelation about the teachers' shared stories of injustices through which their life writing shares a connection with their teaching and social justice. According to Barash and Webel (2002):

> A society commits violence against its members when it forcibly stunts their development and undermines their well-being, whether because of religion, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual preference, or some other social reason. Structural violence is a serious form of social injustice (p. 7).

This understanding of social injustice and human insecurity underscores the need for a pro-active sense of peace: "creating material conditions which provide for the mass of the people a certain minimum condition of security, economic welfare, economic efficacy, and psychic well-being" (Hansen, 1987, p. 4). Thus awareness of contexts of injustice is considered in this article as the first step toward defining social justice activism, a process that is linked with personal narrative and lived experience. As stated earlier, social justice activism does share concern with social entrepreneurship, but the conceptual differences in the two constructs are equally significant.

Defining social entrepreneurship

Dees (1998, 2001) points out that although they have not always been labeled as such, social entrepreneurs have always been around, and have contributed to many of the establishments we have today. Dees defines social entrepreneurs as those who "play the role of change agents in the social sector" (p. 4), listing five characteristics that enable the creation of social value: the recognition of new opportunities; the promotion of innovation; adaptation and learning; the overcoming of resource limitations; and a heightened sense of accountability to constituents. Stressing social and lasting impact, Dees sees the social entrepreneur as someone who envisions opportunity where others see obstacles. Yet the emphasis on social entrepreneurship risks excluding schooling contexts, seeing social entrepreneurs in individualistic terms taken out of the social, political and historical settings of lived experiences. For teachers, this reconstruction cannot succeed without using real, lived experiences of teachers lives, many of which have, admittedly, little to do with business entrepreneurship.

The notion of entrepreneurship would appear to ignore the historical and racial contexts of schooling. A social justice notion would consider these contexts as important (Henry, 1998; Peterson, 1999; Nieto, 1999; Bigelow, 1999). In the next section I report one incident that I observed while conducting this research, which raises two issues that, as this

paper suggests, need to be examined further in reconstructing a social justice identity for teachers. The issues in question are passive resistance and perceptions of self and other.

Passive resistance; perceptions of self and other

The incident offers an example of an event that could have been seized upon by teachers to highlight the importance of social justice activism in their work. For reasons that showcase the political power relations the teachers deal with in their daily lives, this did not happen.

One Monday morning, I arrived at one of the four research sites, and was greeted with the news that seven teachers from Tsigado School had been removed from the list of returning officers for the forthcoming presidential and general elections that were to be held on May 20th, 2004. The teachers had been removed to make room for seven teachers from a neighboring school, who themselves were being moved from their school so as to make room for court clerks and other government officers who had also been recruited for the exercise.

The head and two other teachers from Tsigado went to their Teacher Development Centre [1], to ask for clarification from a primary education adviser (PEA). Primary Education Advisers in Malawi, formerly referred to as district inspectors of schools (DIS), serve as immediate supervisors of head teachers and their schools, and as liaisons between the schools and the district education office. The rest of the teachers were on "chalk-down"—they would not teach until the matter was resolved and their fellow teachers reinstated. In the week before, head teachers who would serve as presiding officers on Election Day had threatened to lock up all voting materials if the district commissioner were to go ahead with a plan to remove several head teachers and replace them with civil servants from other government departments. The commissioner got wind of the planned action and immediately reinstated the head teachers.

The incident does not necessarily depict the said teachers adopting an activist stance, but the fact that they did not seize the given moment to pursue a social justice stance points to the general absence of an activist culture amongst the majority of Malawian teachers and educators. A social justice stance would have involved a number of actions to raise awareness about the teachers' plight beyond the school: discussions with students, other teachers, and the community; letter writing campaigns; the involvement of the teachers' union; and so on.

In order to build a social justice consciousness in Malawi's education, there is need to begin with those teachers who already espouse change, peace and social justice as part of their teaching identity. The general absence of social justice activism shows how historical, ideological and political contexts have not been adequately interrogated in Malawian educational discourse. One particular teacher in the study talked about "teacher independence" as having contributed to how he began the process to reconstruct his teacher identity.

Teacher independence as social justice activism

In this section I discuss views expressed by two teachers who, in an autobiographical context (Chaunfrault-Duchet, 2004), exhibited an awareness of the need to build a peace

and social justice consciousness. All the teachers in the study expressed a sharp awareness of the problems besetting them, but they differed in the ways they reacted to them. With the earlier incident, the teachers were engaged in passive resistance, refusing to teach, but not taking their action further. With the two teachers I discuss below, their responses to the perceived injustices were different. Not only did they continue teaching during crises, they also sought connections and networks of support, by being actively involved in the reform process, and thinking of their students' welfare in their decision making process. They did not necessarily call themselves social justice activists, but their awareness of the injustice they face is an important step in the process to reconstruct and redefine teacher identities.

One of these teachers was Nduluzi, a teacher who was actively involved in the currently ongoing Primary Curriculum and Assessment Reform (PCAR) project, since its inception in 2001. During one workshop session, a number of teachers expressed reservations with the reform, saying teachers were hardly involved, yet they were the ones expected to implement the reforms. Nduluzi expressed shock that the teachers had not been involved in the reform process. He launched into a step-by-step description of the process that had led to the reform. He mentioned the sources from which the main concepts of the reform were being taken: the policy investment framework (PIF), the poverty reduction strategy paper, and the Vision 2020 paper, among others[2].

Nduluzi used the term "developing independence," narrating his experiences being involved at the highest level of the reform, while being a "mere primary school teacher", just like the others. He talked of how he developed his independence and stopped being under the spell of the abuse, exploitation and manipulation:

> I want to tell you that you have the opportunities. I'm not in the training profession by chance. I was trained. I qualified. When I get to a place, or even at the TTC I know they don't see my problem. So on my own I tell myself I am a teacher, I know how to teach. So that gives me confidence (Transcript, April 14, 2004).

Nduluzi said he did not let his frustration get in the way of his teaching. He told the teachers how to take the initiative and use the resources available to do school projects.

Another teacher who participated in the study, Pinde, also spoke of her resilience in the face of frustration and injustice. She gave examples of being denied deserved promotions and opportunities for further education, but said because of her self-motivation, she persevered and overcame feelings of hopelessness.

In the interview with Pinde, she said injustices were relevant content to discuss in the classroom with students, noting that when you as a teacher know what is going on, "you can handle these children properly, to prepare them so as not to have this kind of unjust attitude" (Transcript, July 22, 2004).

Pinde offered ways teachers could involve students in creating an awareness of injustices, using a specific example in which a group of teachers were cheated out of money that was due to them after they went on an international trip. The senior ministry

officers who also went on the trip all got their per diem money, but not the teachers. She said:

> When you are teaching them, you can use current events, things you hear outside the classroom. You can explain to them. Even this very story, you can bring it to them and make them discuss it. "With this problem, who was at fault? Was it the teachers, or was it their bosses?" The children can know that it wasn't the teachers' fault. It was the bosses' fault . . . If it were you, how would you handle it? So the children will grow up mindful of stories like these (Transcript, July 22, 2004).

While Nduluzi's and Pinde's experiences do not contradict the accounts of frustration and anger the other teachers expressed, Nduluzi and Pinde used an approach that asked "How can we surmount this obstacle?" (Dees, 2001, 2003, p. 4), as opposed to giving up in frustration. These incidents might sound anecdotal and isolated, but they are indicative of paralysis, resistance, resilience and independence as various responses to injustice. In thinking of the implications that this study raises for peace and social justice activism amongst Malawian teachers, and for considering the place of social entrepreneurship in education, a number of issues come to the fore.

New directions

Currently Malawi is in the grip of a drought that has brought about a severe food crisis, for the second time in four years. Coupled with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and a highly contentious political atmosphere with unresolved issues from the 2004 presidential election, NGOs and international aid and cooperation agencies are actively involved in attempts to deal with Malawi's problems. It is already known that the participation of the people on whose behalf such interventions are justified is more of lip service than a practicality (Makuwira, 2004). It thus remains to be seen, on the one hand, what impact the decentralization and privatization agenda is going to have on education in the long run. On the other hand is the undeniable need for funds and resources that Malawian schools are in dire need of. A spirit of entrepreneurship among school and community leaders would offer some solutions toward the problem of crumbling school infrastructure and dwindling supplies. How to reconcile this reality with the necessity for a social conscious poses a problem educational scholarship is yet to tackle.

Social justice activism thus entails finding alternative ways of continuing to produce excellence in teaching, while enhancing awareness of injustice, its contexts, and how to deal with it. This article has argued for a reconceptualization that places more emphasis on social justice activism than on entrepreneurship in teachers' work. The paper has argued for the centrality of teachers and their lived experienced, and has urged caution against haste in considering the place of social entrepreneurship in education. The paper has pointed out that while social entrepreneurship and social justice activism share similar ideals for social change and innovation, they have significance differences that educational policy and practice cannot overlook.

At the policy level, the implications call for further interrogation of how international aid and cooperation agencies are pushing the decentralization, privatization and entrepreneurship agenda in Malawi, and how that agenda is impacting education. At the curriculum level, the implications call for the need to identify and enhance

understanding of the historical, socioeconomic, political and autobiographical contexts of activism in Malawi. At the teacher education and development level, the implications for peace and social justice activism amongst Malawian teachers raised by this study call for further considerations of how a praxis rooted in a peace and social justice curriculum and pedagogy, informed by autobiography, and the endogenous epistemologies of *uMunthu*, play a role in restoring human dignity and promoting peace and social justice amongst Malawians. It is in these directions, among others, that a reconceptualization of social entrepreneurship as social justice activism in Malawian education needs to proceed.

Notes

1. Teacher Development Centers were introduced in the late 90s, to serve as central locations where as many as 15 schools per zone cluster for zone-level professional development, conferences, meetings, and other school-related programs and activities.

2. Vision 2020 was a United Nations Development Program project in which Malawian experts drew plans for the achievement of specific development goals.

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Social Entrepreneurs and Educational Leadership in Bangladesh

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Abstract
Social entrepreneurship, with its focus on innovative leadership, mirrors current interest in leadership for change in the field of education. In countries where national governments lack the resources to meet the educational needs of their populations, social entrepreneurs can develop innovative ways of providing access to education, and innovative methods of delivering education, to disadvantaged social groups. This article uses studies of educational projects in Bangladesh to consider the range of social entrepreneurship and what can be done to encourage and nurture social entrepreneurs in the field of education worldwide.

Introduction

Social entrepreneurship has become a universally embraced concept that is increasingly associated with education. National governments, including that of Britain, have called for the support of social entrepreneurs to meet the needs of disadvantaged groups that national budgets or social services have failed to help. Social entrepreneurship is seen by these governments as having the potential to renew interest in community action and non-formal education to solve local problems in increasing complex and rapidly changing societies (Danaher, Moriarity, & Danaher, 2003; Oyanagi, 2003). In many developing countries (defined for the purposes of this article as those having low levels of economic wealth resulting in limited development of educational services), financially strapped governments are struggling to meet their goals of providing socially disadvantaged groups with access to education through publicly funded education systems. This has led to an increased willingness to let other groups, both for-profit and in the voluntary or non-profit sectors, develop alternative methods of offering education. To these governments, social entrepreneurship offers the potential of increasing the availability of education and of introducing innovations that may be adopted by the national education system to improve its quality and effectiveness.

A recent theme in educational research has focused on the ability of educational institutions and systems to adapt to a rapidly changing, technologically complex society. This research has considered issues of effective school leadership, of understanding the process of introducing and sustaining innovation within schools, and of guiding changes necessitated by changing social and cultural environments (Fullan, 1991,2001; Evans, 1996; Gardner, 2004; Senge, et al., 2000). While the primary goal of this research has been to improve and develop public education, it can potentially inform educational development in the private and voluntary sectors. The research might be guided by experience gained in the voluntary and non-profit sectors, including the work of social entrepreneurs involved in innovative education-based projects.

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This article will examine the contributions of social entrepreneurs to initiating educational change in Bangladesh and the implications of their work for education worldwide. Studies of four projects undertaken by individuals and non-profit groups to enhance the educational opportunities of low-income children and women in Bangladesh will be described and analyzed for insights about the nature of social entrepreneurship in the field of education, and how it can best be utilized and promoted. The studies will be used to initiate a discussion of the contributions social entrepreneurs can make to the Bangladeshi goals for improving access to education for deprived groups, and to increasing quality of education throughout the national system. The article will consider how the case studies can contribute to improving educational quality and enhancing our understanding of educational change worldwide.

Conceptual Framework

Definitions of social entrepreneurship and most models of effective leadership of educational change have their origins in studies of corporate practice in highly industrialized countries. Fullan (2001) notes "the requirements of knowledge societies bring education and business leadership closer than they have ever been before. Corporations need souls and schools need minds (and vice versa) if the knowledge society is to survive -- sustainability demands it." (p.137). Entrepreneurship, which Dees (2003) notes has a simple dictionary definition of 'an undertaking, especially one of some scope and complication' (p.3), has come to assume a place of considerable importance in the business literature. Its definition by the business community frequently links individual creativity and innovation with an ability to sustain a business enterprise by good management and income generation. Kanter (1983) states "corporate entrepreneurs ...have something in common: the need to exercise skills in obtaining and using power in order to accomplish innovation. Beyond this, there is no one model for an entrepreneur."(p.212). Bhide (1999) states that apart from some combination of a creative idea and a superior capacity for execution, there is "no ideal entrepreneurial profile."(p.63).

Entrepreneurship within the field of social improvement has been defined in several ways (Institute for Social Entrepreneurs, 2002). One interpretation focuses on the simultaneous pursuit of both financial and social returns on investment, or using earned income strategies to achieve a social objective and seeking to sustain an organization committed to social improvement through earned income rather than donations or subsidies from individuals or the public sector. Fowler (2000) discusses this issue of earned income as an integral part of social entrepreneurship, noting two strategies that are frequently employed. Non-profit social organizations can incorporate commercial ventures to generate more self-finance for their operations, or commercial enterprises can generate a surplus that can cross-subsidize quite separate social development activities. These strategies ensure the health of the organization and its ability to operate free of the constraints that donors frequently require as a prerequisite for their support. The innovation and creativity of the entrepreneur may be exhibited both in the method of addressing the targeted social problem and in the way financial independence and project sustainability is achieved.

Other definitions of social entrepreneurship focus on the importance of innovative practices and leadership that can change how social institutions operate, rather than

their ability to self-finance. Leadbeater (1997) discussed the role of imaginative community initiatives, led by enterprising peoples, in filling 'gaps' in the British welfare system. Thompson, Alvy and Lees (2000) use examples from Britain to shape their definition of social entrepreneurs as "people who realize where there is an opportunity to satisfy some unmet need that the state welfare system will not or cannot meet, and who gather together the necessary resources (generally people, often volunteers, money and premises) and use these to 'make a difference'" (p.328). Bolton and Thompson (2000) define entrepreneurs as "people who habitually create and innovate to build something of recognized value around perceived opportunities" (p. 413).

Thompson (2002) acknowledges the similar characteristics that social entrepreneurs share with entrepreneurs in the field of business, including creativity, innovation, and good management skills. He notes, however, that the former operate in the community and are "more concerned with caring and helping than with 'making money'… They help change people's lives because they embrace important social causes." (p. 413). Like corporate entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs show diversity in both their experience of leading projects and their motivation for doing so. Some may be experienced and successful business people who wish to contribute to the societies that have enabled them to prosper on a personal level. Others are seeking to satisfy a strong personal desire to help and improve their societies, but with only limited experience of the practicalities of leading projects.

Dees (2003) advances the uncoupling of social entrepreneurship and financial return on investment a stage further. Noting that "far too many people still think of social entrepreneurship in terms of nonprofits generating earned income" (Dees, 2003, p. 1), he warns of detracting attention from the intended social outcomes and from the innovative ways of achieving social impact. Unlike the business approach to social entrepreneurship that embraces the "double bottom line" putting equal emphasis on income generation and social benefit, Dees suggests innovation and social impact must be the measure of sound social entrepreneurship, which should be promoted broadly with the intent of improving the world. He notes that creative resource strategies that enhance social impact need not be entirely profit oriented because "an enterprise is not necessarily a business" (p.3). Dees suggests that compassion, voluntary sharing of wealth, and interdependence should be at the heart of social entrepreneurship.

In the field of educational research, the language of social entrepreneurship resonates most strongly with that of the 'leading in and for change' literature emerging from national and state school reform movements in the developed world, despite the very different social contexts in which social entrepreneurship and school reform currently take place. Case studies of successful innovation in the corporate world have been used to model the nature and process of change; these models have been transferred to educational setting to consider how change and innovation can be introduced and guided in a school or national education system. Senge et al., (2000) discuss the "diverse innovations needed to lead to a coherent overall pattern of deep change" (p. 53). Fullan (1990) notes the need for everyone in the educational system to understand the process of change if schools are to become congenial to innovation, an idea echoed in the model of self-renewing schools and learning communities postulated by Joyce, Wolf and Calhoun (1993).

Many models of effective educational leadership for change and innovation draw on corporate studies. Evans (1996) defines effective leadership for change as requiring a quest for integrity, an effort that is at once moral, philosophical, and practical, and that is binary, both top-down and bottom-up. Schwahn and Spady (1998) note the importance of leaders empowering others if they are to achieve their goals by stating, "Empowerment honors the intrinsic motivation of people to use their expertise to best advantage and gives them a direct stake in achieving personal and organizational success." (p.6). Fullan (2001) asserts that charismatic leaders alone cannot produce deep and sustained reform as this depends on organizational, rather than individual, understanding of the need for change. He postulates a model of leadership for innovation focused on five leadership traits – maintaining a clear moral purpose, understanding the change process, sharing knowledge, cultivating relationships, and setting a vision and context for innovation.

Understanding the need and purpose for change and innovation, being guided by a clear moral purpose, communicating a strong vision of projected outcomes, procuring or leveraging resources, and managing these resources to support innovation effectively are commonly occurring themes in literature of social entrepreneurship and educational change. As such, social entrepreneurs might be expected to be potentially effective innovators and leaders of change in formal and non-formal education in the developed and developing world.

The Case Studies

The four case studies that follow describe non-profit projects attempting to address issues of access to education and the empowerment of women and girls, issues for which Bangladesh continues to seek solutions. There are high levels of illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty amongst the country's population of 144 million people. It is estimated that 40% of children eligible for primary education do not participate in the full five-year cycle of schooling despite government efforts to achieve universal primary education and non-government organization efforts to provide for children neglected by public sector schools. Additional problems of schooling in Bangladesh include the fact that teachers in public schools deliver a prescribed curriculum by emphasizing rote learning, and a third of children who do attend school remain non-literate or semi-literate (BRAC, 1999). These problems are greater in urban slum areas with highly transient populations.

Each case study will be examined for characteristics assigned to social entrepreneurship and leadership for educational change: innovativeness, vision and moral purpose in leadership, the building of relationships, the effective use of resources and building of sustainability, and the transferability of innovation and organizational features to other situations.

Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee

In the context of education, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) closely fits both the model of social entrepreneurship and that of educational change. BRAC's founder, Fazle Hazan Abed, has used many of the techniques employed by Mohamed Yunus, recognised as a pioneer of large-scale social entrepreneurship and

advocate of a social-consciousness driven private sector. His vision is reflected in the activities of the Grameen Bank, which initiated a highly successful process of making of small interest-free loans available to rural Bangladeshis.

BRAC similarly includes many different enterprises that generate income for loan programs, but the organization has also pioneered large-scale social entrepreneurship in the field of education. BRAC's Educational Program (BEP) focuses on combating the high dropout rate from government schools (30% by fifth grade) and providing education for children of the rural poor who have never attended school due primarily to their parents' need for their labor (Walden, 2003). In 1985, the program began with 22 schools, and it now serves 34,000 schools with 1.1 million students. Children pay no fees, and BEP provides their school materials (BRAC, 2005).

BEP has clear and noteworthy outcomes. In addition to equipping over 1 million children with basic literacy and mathematical skills, BEP schools have been of particular benefit to girls in a country where female literacy is 29%. Girls make up 70% of the students of the BRAC schools, which is especially significant considering that research from other developing countries indicates that improved educational opportunities for girls may help them delay marriage and childbirth (BRAC, 1999).

BEP cites five features of its program as being innovative in the context of the Bangladesh education system: gender focus, flexible school timing, appealing learning environment, community schools, and class size. The focus on gender includes the recruitment of women teachers to help retain female students. Class size is limited to 33 students taught by the same teacher during the three or four year course, to promote a friendly relationship between the teacher and students. Flexible school timing allows children to contribute their labor to the family as well as attend school, which contributes to high attendance and low dropout rates of the schools. Developing small neighborhood schools allows easy accessibility for students and parent and community involvement. The attractive learning environment includes a curriculum tailored to rural life, which encourages a learner-centered participatory approach, group activities, child-to-child activities, a design that promotes creativity, and an emphasis on critical thinking and problem solving abilities.

Initial funding for the BEP was drawn from BRAC's commercial activities, but the success of the educational enterprise and effective marketing to international aid organizations has led to high levels of donor funding. At present, 96% of its operating costs come from a consortium of international donors, and targeted donations contribute as well. Interviews with the project manager at the BRAC headquarters in Dhaka suggest that this support, while vital to expanding the educational schemes, does not jeopardize the organization's integrity (Sperandio, 2005A).

In the process of fulfilling its primary purpose of providing access to education for the children of the rural poor, BRAC has provided work opportunities for 34,000 teachers, the majority of whom are women. Female teacher trainers on bicycles or motorbikes visit women teachers in village schools around their district. For these women, involvement in the organization has been an empowering experience, given the traditional status of

women in Bangladeshi society and the limited employment opportunities available to them. As a result, they are thoroughly invested in the success of the organization.

The transferability of BEP is illustrated by the interest expressed by a number of other countries seeking to extend access to primary education and to increase girls' access to education, and by its replication in countries such as Afghanistan, Mali, and Zambia.

Society for Lowest Urban Mass

A one-man initiative to provide basic education for children from the poorest families has been started in one of the shantytowns in the northeast section of the city. Chitto Halder runs a two-room school; an additional room of the organization houses several sewing machines and tables; a fourth is a small office, complete with a computer
This school, the Bright Stars Project, is operated by the Society for Lowest Urban Mass (SLUM), a group Halder has organized to act as a school board. Started in 2003, the school provides a free education for 5-14 year old underprivileged children who have either dropped out of or have never attended government schools. The children meet each afternoon in the two classrooms, with 20 children and one teacher per class. The students receive school uniforms, snacks, books and stationary, and the opportunity to participate in art competitions and sports. Halder has used his knowledge of the community, gleaned through visits to the families of the students, to design an educational package that is attractive to parents faced with the prospect of reduced income from the lost labor of their children attending school. In addition to the educational package, mothers and elder sisters of students can participate in six months of sewing and tailoring training at the school (SLUM, 2004).

Both the free classes and the sewing training are financed by an English medium kindergarten school that operates in the same premises for the children of a slightly higher social group that is able to pay a small amount for schooling. For this social group, the school is seen as an excellent preparation for the government schools. The small class size, attention to English language teaching, and use of the books and curriculum used in the government elementary schools create a demand for places in the school.

Another innovative aspect into the Bright Stars Project is the links forged by its founder to several private international schools catering to the expatriate and high-income Bangladeshi families in the area. This has provided the Bright Stars project with access to a source of teacher training for its teachers, who are given the skills to adopt child-centered teaching techniques and create simple teaching aids from local materials. As a result, the classroom activities look very different from those found in the local government schools that are highly dependent on textbook-based rote learning.

Halder hopes to expand, but only within the small slum community in which he currently operates. He plans to set up two community centers, each containing a school, a health center and a vocational training center. In these centers, services for those unable to afford to pay will be financed by those who can and from the sale of goods produced in the training center. Loans or donations would allow the purchase of the building and the payment of the salaries until the centers became established and self-supporting (Society for Lowest Urban Mass, 2004).

Quality Teaching Project

The links forged by Halder to the benefit of the Bright Stars Project lead back to a teaching training scheme initiated by a British teacher trainer in conjunction with the administrators and owners of a large for-profit international school with a strong community service ethos. The teacher training program--Quality Teaching--was designed to improve teaching techniques for teachers in the privately operated, government supported non-formal primary education sector (ATWUC, 2004). It focuses on teaching skills that foster student participation and cognitive development. The underlying assumptions of the training are that by helping teachers to develop student skills such as understanding, analysis, organization, prioritizing, planning, evaluation, communication and reasoning, teachers help underprivileged children access their rights to protection and survival while giving them the tools for life long learning. Participants in the training scheme study in an environment in which they can think about teaching and learning, and network and bond with other teachers in similar circumstances.

The Quality Teaching Project (QTP) was collaboratively developed by the teacher training school and the international school, in order to make this training available to groups of teachers from local schools serving low-income students. Beneficiaries of the training are expected to progressively take on the leadership, training, and communication roles initially adopted by the expatriate trainer and teachers at the international school. Opportunities for teachers who have completed the training to meet and share experiences, support and encourage one another, and generate ideas and solutions, have also been provided. An association of the teachers who have completed the training was founded in June 2004 with the motto 'Working Together', and the association now produces a newsletter and organizes meetings and social events.

Although the founders of the training scheme have now left the country, the international school continues to host the training and meetings, and act as banker for the association. The fee paid to teachers who now lead the training sessions is recovered from groups, often non-government organizations (NGOs) or private aid organizations such as World Vision, that view the project as an important way to improve delivery of their own educational services, and that indirectly finance teachers who do not have the benefits of organizations like QTP.

The QTP introduces teaching methods that are innovative in the context of Bangladesh's traditional education system to people without formal teaching certification who are using them to help disadvantaged children obtain an effective education. It uses a social network that includes volunteer expatriate teachers and trainers, the infrastructure of a private school, local NGOs and charity organizations who buy the training and fund individuals who cannot pay, and has been expanded by an association of 'graduates' of the course to provide sustainability and support. If, however, demand for the course by the outside agencies that can pay for it ceases to exist or if the international school withdraws support, QTP may not prove sustainable (ATWUC, 2004).

The ASHA project

A final case study, from the same area of Dhaka and with connections to the two small projects previously examined, is the ASHA Project, an initiative of a British couple. They

established a hostel for illiterate street girls found working in the markets of a squatter settlement, where they were employed to sort rags, carry bundles, or break bricks. Meider Jonno Asha 'Hope for Girls' (ASHA) provides an education in both English and Bangla for the 20 girls living at the hostel and nearly 100 more who walk to the hostel every day. The mission of the hostel founders is empowering the girls through education to escape the early marriage, early child-bearing, and low paid work that are common among their social class. A small payment is made to parents of the older girls to encourage them to allow the girls to continue to attend school, and regular open days and events are held to bring the parents into the community of the hostel.

Teachers at the hostel are either international volunteers or untrained Bangladeshis from the surrounding community, who provide lessons that range from science to training in the production of handicrafts. The older girls are expected to help educate the younger, in the "pupil teacher" structure of the hostel. The hostel is registered as a charity in Scotland and receives most of its funding from Scottish church donations, although a small amount of money is raised by selling the craft work of the girls in the hostel shop.

The oldest cohort of girls, now 17 and 18 years old, have spent four years in the hostel, and are highly literate in Bangla, have a good command of English language skills, and receive training in handicrafts and teaching skills from their work in the hostel. Seeking an opportunity to raise the expectations of the girls, and give them a realistic understanding of modern work environments, the hostel leaders and the international school involved in the Quality Teaching Project collaborated to offer the girls an opportunity to take part in a "work for women" initiative. This involved the girls attending the international school two days a week for two months, shadowing women employed there in a variety of work in order to learn about their lives and careers as well as their daily experiences in the classroom. These women, who are all volunteers, served as role models and mentors for the girls during the visits, and supported their participation in classroom-based tasks.

The people involved in the ASHA project and "women and work" collaboration might describe their efforts as charity or community service. However, the ASHA project involves many elements of social entrepreneurship and leadership for educational change. The hostel is innovative in that it offers girls an opportunity to reject an environment that disadvantages them in favor of one where they are safe and can concentrate on acquiring skills to improve their lives. The combination of non-formal teaching and peer teaching has enabled the girls to become literate in two languages in four years, and gain a basic understanding of mathematics, science, and some craft training.

The "women and work" project was innovative in that it provided adolescent girls with an opportunity to see themselves in a modern work environment, and to receive encouragement from women they admire. The girls' diaries clearly indicate the empowering nature of the experience. One noted that her mentor "…boosted [her] confidence by saying that [she] can achieve what [she] truly want[s]. [The mentor] fed [the girl's] dream by pointing out that there are plenty of female teachers and [she] can become one of them too. If [she does], [she does] not have to depend on anyone." (ASHA Participant diary). Moreover, few Bangladeshi girls would have the opportunity to see a

computer-based work place and interact with women from different social classes and different countries as these girls have done.

The sustainability of these initiatives is questionable, because they are dependent on the goodwill of donors of both money and facilities, and on the leadership of the hostel and international school. The innovation is also highly situational; it has proven to be successful for this group of girls in a particular place at a specific time. However, the projects offer insight for effective methods of improving the education of disadvantaged girls, which could guide other educational endeavors in other contexts.

Analysis

These case studies describe enterprises differing significantly in scale and resourcing that are driven by the same vision: the empowering of disadvantaged individuals, particularly girls and women, through the provision of basic education and opportunities to learn marketable skills in a country where access to education and employment is limited for many people. The leaders of these enterprises are innovative in their use of available resources. They employ innovative approaches to the delivery of education, although it could be argued that they are innovative only when compared to the formal educational system of the country in which they are situated. Several of the projects described are financially self-sustaining, and all of them generate some level of self-funding.

From the standpoint of initiating and leading educational change, these projects demonstrate how much can be done with very limited resources when the vision is clear and the individuals concerned with achieving this vision are driven by a strong sense of moral purpose. The leaders involved with these projects perceived a need and then acquired the knowledge necessary for tackling the problem, and they were willing to employ unconventional methods to achieve their goals for improving educational in Bangladesh. In the process they developed relationships and networks that expanded, supported, and sustained the enterprise.

Discussion

These case studies suggest that social entrepreneurship has the potential to make major contributions to education in three key areas: experimenting with innovative methods of teaching and learning; developing models of collaboration including support networks and partnerships with educational enterprises in the private sector, and modeling non-traditional leadership for educational institutions. A more detailed examination of each of these areas is warranted, as they also suggest ways in which educational social enterprise can be encouraged and nurtured.

Innovative methods of teaching and learning

The case study projects suggest how the non-formal education sector, with innovative leadership, can lead the way in advancing educational change within a country. In the national or formal education sector, introducing educational change, particularly in teaching methodology, requires realigning training colleges and certification, re-educating school administrators, and retraining the existing teaching force, all of whom are hampered by traditional practices, professional organizations, and lack of financial resources.

Social entrepreneurs seeking to develop new educational structures or experiment with new methods are less constrained by this paradigm. They may be free of the constraints placed on government-regulated schools that require public approval for change, and on private sector schools where change is conditional on increasing income. Social entrepreneurs are often 'starting from scratch', rather than restructuring, renewing, or reforming. If they are outside the formal system, they do not have to cope with organizational memory and tradition, or with the associated feelings of loss as traditional, trusted methods are discarded and new ideas and mindsets are introduced. New enterprises find it easier to involve individuals on the basis of their interest and commitment, and to train them to use innovative teaching methods that do not rely on expensive teaching aids or textbooks. If new methods are seen to be effective in allowing disadvantaged groups to achieve academically, demand will increase for teachers trained in the methods and for institutions offering the methods. The financial resources necessary to scale up will follow.

Building social networks and collaborating with commercial educational enterprise

The case studies raise the issue of scale in relationship to the effectiveness of a project, where scale is defined by the numbers of people who benefit. While all the projects appear very successful when measured by outcomes for participants, BEP is clearly free of the concerns about sustainability and income generation that the other projects face. The very size of the BEP operation attracts attention; the numbers of people it serves, the clearly delineated organizational structure, the business expertise that it can summon, and the amount of time its leader devotes to promoting the project, have accrued funds that not only sustain the program but allow it to expand and contemplate new projects.

The smaller projects are only a few among many small projects operating in the urban areas of Dhaka, and as such are much less visible and find it much harder to generate and attract income. The case study enterprises suggest that lack of financial resources can be offset in other ways. Innovative project leaders develop links to community resources, both public and private, knowing that use of just one computer and printer, for example, will allow the production of teaching materials, access to the internet, a training tool for computer use and typing, and a way of locating new resources that can assist teachers in a number of one classroom schools.

In three of the case study projects, the sharing of the modern infrastructure and access to services of private sector international schools--the use of buildings, auditoriums, banking, and volunteer help of teachers and students trained in progressive teaching and learning--helped anchor the projects. The high status international schools' recognition and endorsement gave the projects a higher profile in the community and to donors, which helped them lever other resources. The international school community benefited from the collaboration by having the opportunity to share skills and develop awareness and compassion in line with the schools' declared mission to be involved with the wider community.

The links between the case study projects illustrate the importance of networking and collaboration for small enterprises to increase their sustainability and access to resources--Bright Stars teachers benefited from the Quality Teaching Project; their school provided a demonstration site for the teaching methods being advocated and supplied

trainers and organizers for the training scheme. In addition, the scheme is linked to the ASHA project to provide training and an opportunity to find teaching positions in non-formal education for the low-income ASHA participants. Helping foster such links and networks could be an important method for nurturing the work of social entrepreneurs.

Educationally informed leadership
The cited examples of social entrepreneurship demonstrate the importance of leadership from outside the formal education sector. Recognition of the importance of introducing non-traditional leadership in school systems in the United States has been a recent issue. Hess and Kelly (2005) note "…efforts to bring non-traditional principals into school systems often attract candidates whose experiences and strengths are in short supply… An infusion of such principals who can pioneer new routines and mentor their peers can provide workable examples of entrepreneurial leadership and help transform school management" (Hess & Kelly, 2005). BEP's work with rural schools demonstrated the effectiveness of leaders with business backgrounds, while highlighting the need for these leaders to experience modern educational thinking and methodology in order to avoid replicating an existing system that has failed a large proportion of the population.

Conclusion
Bangladesh is home to varied examples of social entrepreneurship focusing on the provision of basic education to disadvantaged sectors of the population. While the definition of social entrepreneurship is still evolving, the case studies examined in this article suggest evidence of congruity with evolving theories concerning effective leadership and change in educational settings. The use of corporate examples in the developed world for informing the construction of models of such leadership could be augmented by studies of effective social entrepreneurship in the field of education and the organizational structures that enable social entrepreneurs to empower people.

Social entrepreneurship has the potential to provide a laboratory for developing innovative approaches to many aspects of education and educational change, including teacher training, classroom and school organization, and community involvement. As such, it warrants further research, particularly that which may contribute to clarifying the definition of educational innovation. Are the innovative educational practices adopted by social entrepreneurs situation-specific to the localities in which they are developed, or can all countries learn from them as they attempt to meet the challenges of sophisticated technology and rapidly changing lifestyles?

Fostering social entrepreneurship in education is clearly desirable, but how this is best accomplished is unclear and needs further research. The case studies from Bangladesh suggest that help with initial start up costs is useful, as are opportunities to develop links and networks with other entrepreneurial projects, whether formal education initiatives or the private education sector. How to provide social entrepreneurs the freedom to experiment and innovate while ensuring the safety and rights of children affected is also an issue that needs to be addressed. Publicizing examples of educational excellence produced by social entrepreneurship, and of the entrepreneurial educational leaders who create successful projects, will offer an opportunity to enhance local and national educational systems worldwide.

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The Politics of Social Entrepreneurs in Access to Education: A Case Study of Shan Burmese Refugees in Northwestern Thailand

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Abstract
This paper examines social entrepreneurship in a Burmese refugee community as it strives to provide primary education to its children[1]. Despite facing discrimination and fearing Thai authorities, our project leaders exemplified social entrepreneurship, most notably building social capital and agency within the refugee community, and surprisingly resolving intractable problems. Key processes included helping parents claim ownership of the program, depoliticizing the children's access to education, and encouraging high expectations of school performance. Social relationships built an internally sustainable project at virtually no cost and established bridges across antipathetic parties. We argue that the social entrepreneurship model is useful in contexts where poor communities cannot access non-governmental organizations or government agencies.

Introduction

The Shan are an ethnic group persecuted by the national government in Burma (Myanmar). The Burmese government, now ruled by the military State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) dictatorship, has banned the Shan language from all public institutions, pitted Shan against other ethnic minorities to forestall organized dissent, and captured many Shan as forced labor for the national army (Karen Human Rights Group, 2000). By some estimates, there are hundreds of thousands of ethnic Shan displaced from Burma (Win, 2001) who form communities in the mountains of northwestern Thailand. Most of these displaced persons earn barely sustainable wages (Human Rights Watch, 1998).

Despite consistent reports of human rights abuses against Shan in Burma (Shan Human Rights Foundation, 1998; Mirante, 1989), the Thai government claims that most Shan leave Burma for purely economic reasons (Khuenkaew, 2001). The Thai government does not abide by United Nations regulations regarding refugees, since it never signed on to the 1951 Refugee Convention. It has openly ordered the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to stop processing applications for refugee status in Thailand (Martin, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 1998). The Thai government fears that official recognition of the Shan refugee crises would result in an uncontrollable refugee situation (Hynd, 2002). Limits on immigration are also needed to prevent drug trafficking, unsustainable population growth, and damage to economic and political ties with Burma (Macan-Markar, 2003; Son & Poonyarat, 2002).

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In truth, the government allows most Shan Burmese refugees who pay for their work permits to stay. Rights officially associated with these work permits, however, are rarely known by the Shan or protected by Thai officials (Martin, 2005; Martin, 2004). Rather, work permits serve primarily to protect employers ensuring them workers if there is an immigration raid. Permits are costly, with renewable annual fees of approximately $100. Since some households earn an average of $1-2 a day, the permits impose a formidable burden. In contrast, the minimum wage for a Thai worker in the northwestern provinces is approximately $5-6 a day (Bank of Thailand, 2005).

Families without work permits fear discovery by Thai government officials or locals. Many such families resort to bribing officials to escape "police detection" (Wong, 2001), and are sometimes not paid for their work since they have no recourse for complaint. Because they wish to remain in Thailand, the refugees accept whatever work they are given, even if a job compromises their health. Prolonged exposure to polluted water and unprotected application of pesticides are common hazards they face.

The Shan appear to be tolerated by the Thai populace, partly because they provide cheap labor (Sparkes, 1995). Still, some Thais may regard them as "illegitimate" foreigners. Moreover, their low income results in de facto marginalization from their Thai neighbors. The Shan refugees might be trapped in subordinate roles because some Thai nationals resent their transcendence (i.e., by pursuing their own businesses in the informal sector) (Human Rights Watch, 1998; Karen Human Rights Group, 2000). Nevertheless, the Shan may have an easier time assimilating into Thai society than other Burmese minorities because they are considered "ethnic cousins" of the Thai; they practice Theravada Buddhism, and their languages are related (Wansai, 2005). Although 90% of the adult refugees receive no formal education in Burma and only a handful can read or write, almost all of them recognize that education would help their children thrive economically. While Thai laws technically allow Shan children to attend Thai schools, parents are unfamiliar with the bureaucracy, do not speak Thai well, and cannot afford books or school uniforms (Ruiz, 2002).

Formal non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are reluctant to provide services to this population, and local politics are extremely volatile. Therefore, because no top-down formula can be implemented in a sustainable way, innovative social entrepreneurship models are needed to address the obstacles faced by the Shan. In this paper, we use quantitative and qualitative data collected from a community of Shan refugees in Thailand to demonstrate that social entrepreneurship provides a useful model for addressing gaps that traditional NGOs and aid agencies do not fill. In this case study, we study how the disparate Shan and Thai communities united via innovative social entrepreneurship on the part of Thai project leaders.

Social Entrepreneurship

Fowler (2000) employs a very narrow characterization of social entrepreneurs by only considering projects where financial profit can help social entrepreneurs raise money to work towards a social goal. Economics plays prominently in his definition of social entrepreneurship as "the creation of viable [socio-] economic structures, relations,

institutions, organizations and practices that yield and sustain social benefits" (p. 649). He contends that the social entrepreneurship model is "less sensitive to loss in public trust," or loss of support from the local community, because it centers on commercial enterprises that prioritize market forces more than local social relations. Fowler contrasts this with a model of "civic innovation," whereby existing conventions and institutions are remolded for civic benefit via "on-going, self-willed citizen engagement and support" (p. 649). In contrast, we primarily draw from Dees (1998, 2003), who maintains that the following conditions are present in social entrepreneurship:

> adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value); recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission; engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning; acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand; and exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created" (1998, p. 4).

Dees is careful to emphasize that social entrepreneurs do not necessarily engage in commercial enterprises in their pursuit of social goals. In this paper, we agree that social entrepreneurship emphasizes creativity, flexibility, and collective work to accomplish community goals.

We argue that the social entrepreneurship model should be broad enough to include non-commercial enterprises and key elements of the civic innovation model; that its very strength and flexibility stem from a reliance on local social relations and trust-building, without which little can be accomplished without financial resources such as development aid or market profit. In our case study, Shan Burmese refugees had little access to financial aid or capital in Thailand, but they managed to gain access to education by focusing on social relations and fostering public good in their means as well as their ends.

Methodology

We obtained descriptive information on the sociodemographics, education, and health of all refugee households using a census form translated into Shan. A local Shan schoolteacher collected data via door-to-door interviews, ensuring inclusion of all houses within the community. In addition, the authors spent between one and two months a year for four years between 2001-2005 conducting open-ended interviews with the project directors (our "social entrepreneurs") and community members. These data were consistent with the data collected at the time of the original census. The schools collected height and weight, and recorded behavioral and academic performance at the end of each semester in student logbooks. Data from these logbooks were collected and tabulated annually. Where data were missing, the project directors obtained height and weight of the children in the community themselves.

Qualitative data were collected via direct observation, interviews with approximately 30 households, and repeated question sessions between the project leaders and community members. To respect confidentiality, this paper uses pseudonyms of interviewees. The authors helped with fundraising for project operations and provided advice, but were not directly involved in day-to-day operations or the collection of data. While the researchers' financial involvement in the project could bias the reporting of project

outcomes in some settings, our objective is to relate a model of social entrepreneurship that formed naturally and produced clear outcomes.

Project History

At the project's 2001 inception, a local Thai national, Yai, volunteered to teach Shan children for two hours each day. Classes took places in a small thatch-roofed hut with logs laid sideways as tables. Start-up costs were negligible since the space was available, classroom materials were donated, and Yai himself did not have full-time employment. Yai focused on his teaching responsibilities full-time, garnering school supplies and constructing lessons outside of classroom hours. He was supported by Noi, who ran a small cooking business out of their home. Some of the Shan refugees contributed time for school help and pooled financial resources for notebooks and school supplies. In keeping with a social entrepreneurship model, Yai and Noi's project reflected high levels of effectiveness in working together with the Shan community to provide an education for their children; they created a resource worthy of investment.

This school operated for two years, and most Shan children in the area attended. Although the number of children in the vicinity varied due to migration fluctuations, there were always between 35 and 46 children in this informal school. The students in the classroom were between 4 and 14 years of age. Because all children were taught at the same time, younger students were able to learn more advanced math skills, while the older students were often instructed well below age-appropriate levels. While the beginning pupils practiced writing the alphabet, the most advanced students practiced reading by themselves.

Yai and Noi demonstrated qualities of social entrepreneurship by focusing on routine structured activities, trust-building and cultural respect rather than financial costs of running a school. They accomplished this by engaging in conversations on what a school meant to the families, and what the children expected, rather than imposing set projects, curricula, or programs. Yai and Noi built social capital by encouraging the children to study in groups outside of class, with more advanced children helping the relative newcomers. By the end of the two years, all students attending the school were reading and writing Thai. Non-compulsory attendance among these local Shan refugee children was near 100%. We do not mean to infer that up-to-date school materials are not important, or that the dignity that comes with a positive, well-supplied, school is insignificant. Rather, we highlight Yai and Noi's willingness to move forward, running an informal school despite obstacles.

The school and Yai acted as social linkages between the refugees and the greater Thai community. The school lent the Shan legitimacy in the eyes of Thai locals. It was significant that all of the children from the four clusters of refugees we studied attended the school every day; this convinced local Thais that the Shan refugees had collective rather than merely individual needs. By the same token, the informal school helped to convert primary education into a public concern, potentially protecting the refugee families from local officials by eliciting the sympathy of the greater Thai community. Yai's knowledge of Thai customs and laws, coupled with the Thai community's support of the children's education, created new opportunities for innovation. Locals even sent their own children to Yai's school during the summers. This exemplifies how the social

entrepreneurship model paid off, as the refugee children attained literacy and made unprecedented connections with Thai children.

While the school linked Shan refugees with their Thai neighbors, garnering the district government's support along the way, it remained endangered. Its overt operations risked attracting attention from the larger provincial government located in a nearby town. The fear of discovery prompted the district government to close the school after two years of operation. Yai and Noi, by that point epitomizing social entrepreneurship so well that their "reach exceed[ed] their grasp" (Dees, 2001, p. 2), then faced a new challenge in facilitating primary education access. Rather than acquiesce to defeat, they sought new opportunities to ensure schooling for Shan refugees.

The Dividends of Social Entrepreneurship

Yai and Noi assessed what the community did possess: 1) a body of children eager to learn who were now proficient in Thai, and 2) a trusting group of parents willing to contribute whatever they could to their children's learning. Further, they saw a political opportunity in the fact that Thai laws do not technically prohibit Shan children from attending Thai schools. Yai and Noi therefore went to each local Thai primary school to assess capacities. They found that classrooms did indeed have empty seats, and that local teachers (moved by the children's struggle to learn) would be willing to admit Shan children into their classrooms provided that they purchased mandatory school uniforms and books. In keeping with social entrepreneurship principles, the education gap was not filled by formulating a new policy per se, but by bridging existing norms in civil society and innovatively working with existing policies and resources. The fact that teachers were sympathetic highlights the notion that government was not monolithic, and Yai and Noi did not see it as such. Therefore, they were able to work with public school teachers to leap a barrier erected by other public officials.

Signs of sustainable social value began to emerge. For instance, little by little, it appears that the children themselves took on the school-training roles of Yai and Noi. During one visit to household clusters, Noi met new Burmese arrivals who had heard all about this place called "school". The children were eager to participate, and had started to learn basic Thai phrases by playing "student" as other children played "teacher" (Personal communication, February 2004). This is evidence of the enduring social capital that was built not only among adults in the community, but also among children.

A few barriers nonetheless remained. Though the children learned to speak Thai without an accent, they were still easy to identify because they were undernourished. Their precarious health status also made learning difficult. The next priority, then, was to dig latrines in each of the communities and to repair or build wells and water pumps to reduce the incidence of diarrhea. Children were vaccinated and provided with de-worming pills to eliminate intestinal parasites. They were also given vitamins to address micronutrient malnutrition, which n turn improved their school performance. These public health interventions epitomize how social entrepreneurs draw upon existing (sometimes surprising) resources. They also highlight the idea that social entrepreneurs do not operate in centralized ways, via pre-programmed agendas. Rather, needs and capacities are frequently reevaluated, and creative solutions present themselves alongside the emergence of new problems.

Avoiding sense of dependency within the community was paramount. Yai and Noi therefore encouraged refugee families to articulate and accomplish goals themselves. For instance, they explained the benefits of having latrines, and provided instruction on their construction, but they largely stood aside when it came to building them. Yai and Noi's persistence in maintaining a sense of collective purpose helped to instill a sense of social entrepreneurship and ownership in the community households as well. It wasn't long before the community members were participating in creative decision-making, cobbling together various means of transport (ranging from bicycles to an employer's lorry) to get the kids to school.

Today, as in its inception five years ago, the project operates for under US $3,000 per year (in constant 2005 dollars) despite having grown to serve almost 50 children and roughly 150 adults. This is especially impressive given the institutional limitations; there was no way to generate supplemental income within the community without breaking national laws and changing local Thai opinions to favor the Shan community.

Perhaps more remarkably, Shan children have taken the top three academic spots at one of the schools, they have generally outperformed Thai children academically in the past three years, and one has won a national essay contest (garnering the equivalent of three months' wages for his parents). This exceptional academic performance likely arises from the children's history of self-study, the after-school tutoring provided by Yai and Noi, and both the children's and parents' appreciation of the value of schooling.

This social entrepreneurship model helps the refugee children and their families to build the kind of relationships with Thai nationals that helped them access public schools in the first place, and to potentially overcome antipathies between refugees and locals. The refugee children's participation and success in the larger context of Thai schools also helps to reinforce the goodwill that persuaded public school teachers to allow these children to enroll initially, thus "[reproducing] the conditions" that make education accessible to new arrivals (Giddens, 1984).

The social and human capital created by social entrepreneurs pays dividends. Public school enrollment provides the children with the cognitive abilities and social credentials that they will need to survive. Educational attainment is highly correlated with longevity and higher health status (Ashenfelter, 1991; Tofler et al., 1993; Antonovsky, 1967). Further, reading and writing are essential skills that will help them access higher wage opportunities. In this case, educating Shan children clearly has benefits for the individuals and families. Yet it also impacts the local Thai community by providing higher baseline rates of education and thus higher rates of job creation and productivity (Ashenfelter, 1991; Glewe, 1991). If the Shan are seen as hard workers that contribute to the economy in the first generation and provide entrepreneurship and technical skills in the second generation, they are more likely to become accepted within Thailand.

Conclusions

In this paper, we explored how specific lessons from social entrepreneurship—creating social capital, a sense of ownership, agency, and collective buy-in—can build a strong

social program with the momentum and initiative to adapt to changing circumstances. We also showed how the social capital built by fostering community enthusiasm for children's education elicited the larger Thai community's sympathy for the project. These two factors helped allow the project to adapt to radical changes in environmental conditions, turning a death knell (the government's closing the informal school) into a great opportunity for advancement.

As addressed by researchers focusing on NGOs, "civil society" is not comprised of a monolithic mass but of often competing groups living in varying political circumstances, and universal formulas for fostering civil society, especially via top-down programs, are rarely successful (McIlwaine, 1998). The social entrepreneurship model's emphasis on flexibility and change, then, is useful in analyzing efforts by poor communities with no access to help from NGOs or governmental agencies. In this case study, the refugees' political status was ambiguous and constantly shifting; the social entrepreneurs therefore focused not on formal programs but on building the types of relationships that could then generate the popular support and acceptance that would facilitate surreptitious public school enrollment.

At first glance, the Shan Burmese refugees' ability to remain in Thailand might seem especially precarious. They have no designated land on which to reside, and they do not have the protection of refugee status. Yet from a social entrepreneurship perspective, the uncertainty and ambiguity of their standing in Thailand can be used to their advantage, giving them the socio-cultural space for self-determination. Likewise, it was the project's organic development, flexibility, and lack of official NGO status that rendered it more effective than a formal institution might have been. Though refugees' assertions of basic rights are usually perceived as treacherous political moves by Thai officials, social entrepreneurship has successfully shifted the political implications of school attendance in the case study community, even de-politicizing this assertion of human rights in the local Thai community's eyes.

In keeping with Dees' definition of social entrepreneurship, this project helped not only to meet education needs in the Shan Burmese refugee community, but it reduced Yai and Noi's burden of teaching the children and providing social services (Dees, p. 4). It also helped the community organize itself, so that momentum endures long after Yai and Noi had finished their work there. Finally, this combination of human and social capital hopefully facilitated the assimilation of the Shan immigrants into the Thai community for generations to come, with minimal friction and xenophobia.

We note that this case study fits well with Dees' description of social entrepreneurship (2003), but not with that of Fowler, who focused on the hybridization of market and commercial enterprises with social ends (2000). We suggest that further articulation of the social entrepreneurship model is needed. Based on our analysis, the social entrepreneurship model must explicitly include efforts that abide by its principles but do not include commercial ventures or a financial focus. Yai and Noi are successful social entrepreneurs specifically because they did not focus on, and were not held back by, financial costs; they did not focus on financial redistribution, but on the sharing of existing resources and creation of bridging social capital.

Nevertheless, some of the very risks articulated in earlier articles about NGOs and civil society remain for social entrepreneurs (McIlwaine, 1998; Fowler, 2000). Ironically, while the refugees' potential to become active members of the larger community increases with greater access to primary and secondary education, this education might also encroach upon the space they have to live as Shan Burmese. The road to assimilation is much easier for them than for other refugees, and it might substantially raise their collective standard of living. Higher standards of living and basic human rights should not automatically preclude the preservation of Shan Burmese culture. The Shan will need to explore different ways of strengthening social networks within their community, so that new connections are not built at the expense of those within their culturally indigenous community (Woolcock, 1998). In short, the next challenge surrounds how to maintain culture and heritage, so that the Shan will have a link to their past as they build their future.

This article, then, presents three clear potential avenues for further research. First, what are the tensions between short- and long-term effectiveness in social entrepreneurship? We have evaluated short- and some medium-term results of a project aimed at increasing access to education, but we have not yet evaluated the project's long-term impact on tensions regarding the refugees' assimilation into Thai society, preservation of Shan culture, and possible participation in a post-SPDC, democratic Burma. Long-term impact is therefore linked to larger nation-building debates, such as whether Shan State will pursue secession (Sen, 2001), and whether Burmese transitional justice should follow the model of post-Pinochet Chile, post-apartheid South Africa, or another framework (Rothenberg, 2001). Second, future research might explore the ways in which the social entrepreneurship itself helps to shape the needs and identity of constituents over time. To what extent will the goals and norms of the Shan refugee community change as school enrollment continues and increases? Even without government funding, questions of accountability and independence remain. Finally, further investigation is needed into the kinds of circumstances where social entrepreneurship thrives, and where it is not as appropriate. We believe that the strengths and lessons highlighted in this article's case of social entrepreneurship can be replicable, but they were highlighted in a case with malleable political and social contexts. This case, then, is more helpful in highlighting the strengths of the principles of the social entrepreneurship model than in articulating its limits.

Notes

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ESSAY

Social Enterprise and Re-Civilization of Human Endeavors: Re-Socializing the Market Metaphor or Encroaching Colonization of the Lifeworld?

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Abstract
An implicit normalization of the capitalist market model—in both the facilitation of human endeavors and our relationship to the earth—is clearly evident in the work of J. Gregory Dees, as it is in much organizational theory and education. To better understand the effects of this market mentality, a more critical approach to Social Entrepreneurship is required. In this article, we re-conceive Dees's characterization of Social Entrepreneurs as potentially achievable by all human beings and as a part of all their activity. This re-conception transforms what is possible in the human. We advocate for the elaboration of a relational ethic as the means to achieve Habermas' "communicative action" in order to counter the instrumental logic of "the system" that, we argue, puts all at risk.

Introduction

The growing gap between rich and poor within and among countries, and the devastation of the natural environment have been attributed to the predominance of economic development through a free market metaphor by thinkers from all but the most conservative positions on the political spectrum (Baumann, 1998; Chomsky, 2003, 1996; George, 2002; Kelsey 2002, 1999; Korten, 1996; Shiva, 2000, 1993; Stiglitz 2003, 2002). "The free market" as an organizing metaphor, has been taken up by or imposed on many countries to inform all trading activities. It is increasingly used to organize the delivery of social services through the ever extending commodification of human social needs such as the opportunity to learn, the desire for companionship, the need for care when we are unwell and so on.

In previous work (Martin et al, 2004) we likened the "free market" to a single hulled ocean going vessel which stifles diverse ways of knowing and being. In this paper we argue that we are at risk of allowing this vessel to harness the concept of Social Enterprise to the redress of human needs and that this harnessing will stifle the generation of creative ways of being human. The appeal of Social Enterprise as a market(able) solution to social and environmental concerns stealthily draws our mind to the belief that ever more of the human endeavor can be achieved through the market; that evermore of the social and environmental costs of a market approach can be met through the extension of that very metaphor. We suggest that by encouraging a more fluid concept of social enterprise and by working to make more fluid our thoughts about

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the best way to co-ordinate human endeavors in general, we will enrich the human experience and perhaps contribute to a safer, fairer society.
In this paper we review the discussion of the concept of Social Entrepreneurship provided by J. Gregory Dees. Dees (2001) provides a broad ranging discussion of the emergence of the concept of entrepreneurship and its usefulness as a response to social issues. Drawing on the work in business of such leading figures as Say, Schumpeter, Drucker, and Stevenson, he argues that their ideas are "attractive" because they can be as easily applied in the social sector as the business sector. They describe a mind-set and a kind of behavior that can be manifest anywhere" (p.2). He advocates building the notion of social entrepreneurship on this strong tradition in the market sector. He recognizes, however, that social entrepreneurs differ from other entrepreneurs because they have a social mission and it is this social mission that provides them with some "distinctive challenges" (2001). In general, we diverge from his thinking in terms of our more limited confidence in the appropriateness of the contemporary market metaphor. We further disagree with his suggestion that the characteristics observed in a group of social entrepreneurs somehow characterize a group of people with essential and unique qualities.

Dees (2001) acknowledges the inadequacy of the market metaphor for the social entrepreneur:

> …markets do not do a good job of valuing social improvements, public goods and harms, and benefits for people who cannot afford to pay. These elements are often essential to social entrepreneurship….it is much harder to determine whether a social entrepreneur is creating sufficient social value to justify the resources used in creating that value (p. 3).

He demonstrates that markets do not often provide the right disciplines for social entrepreneurs. Their resources may come from a mixture of variously focused consumers, grant givers, volunteers and so forth and these further muddy the waters of the supposedly useful market disciplines in the profit focused sector. Thus Dees calls for a definition of social entrepreneurship that reflects the need for a "substitute for the market disciplines that works for business entrepreneurs" (p. 3).

For those who see "markets" in a more critical way, the metaphor may be seen not only as an inadequate disciplinary mechanism for the conduct of social enterprise, but may be seen as the *generator* of the environmental and social ills that Dees understands social entrepreneurs seek to address. It is the further naturalization of the use of this uncritical market metaphor—and its implicit de-socialization of economic activity – that underlies our deepest concerns—and on which we attempt to engage a discussion in this essay.

Dees characterizes the "ideal" social entrepreneur as:

- adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value);
- recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities that serve that mission;
- engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation and learning;
- acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand; and
- exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created (Dees, 2001, p. 4).

We agree that the characteristics depicted here are currently not generalized among the population. We do not, however, declare this to be evidence of a naturally occurring limited subcategory of humanity. We would argue that rather than being a set of characteristics found only in a small group of exceptional people as indeed may be the case now (Dees, 2001), many of these characteristics could be encouraged to flourish among more people through education, through different employment policies, and through the vitalization of a more relational ethic in societies generally. Instrumentality and managerialism predominate today. This has been achieved through the historical emphasis on the education of human beings as functionaries for capitalism; through the implied and insidious and limited re-definition of human beings as producers and consumers, agents in contracts, or human resources. The recognition of these concepts as the social fabrications of a specific time and place, serving a specific form of society, and the understanding that we might create something different, suggest that educators could advocate that current emphasis might usefully be reconsidered. We could, for example, re-conceive Dees's ideal characteristics as potentially achievable by all human beings, expressed in all their activity, and through such re-conception, transform what is possible in the human.

We concur with Professor Dees that it is by focusing on the social mission of entrepreneurs that we have the starting point for a creative turn in our thinking. We suggest, however, that the distinction Dees makes between social and economic entrepreneurs in his paper could be taken in another direction. We would argue that all economic activity *is* social activity. It is its reduction in the context of the predominating market metaphor that allows us to think of "profit" as a "legitimate objective," a statistic on a page, rather than a complex social construct that represents (or perhaps obfuscates) the harnessing of human ingenuity, struggle, and even pain and their transformation to a financial equation or abstraction. This, in our view, is a flaw in the deeply naturalized acceptance of "the market" as a reasonable conduit for the coordination of the vital interactions of humans with each other and the earth that sustains us. We explore this view more fully in this essay.

We suggest that without a critical perspective, Social Enterprise will not have the capacity to address the organizational and environmental issues before us with the wisdom generated from an awareness of the relationality among all aspects of the social, political, financial and spiritual aspects of being. This task, if it were to be undertaken, would be enhanced if education in general were more critical of currently naturalized metaphors for social organization—metaphors that might be different. Dees (2001) provides us with a good platform from which to begin. We would endorse his call, but not limit our thoughts to the distinguishing of social enterprise from markets in general. Rather, we would suggest the use of his idealized definition of a social entrepreneur to enquire into the predominating market metaphor more deeply; to propose the generation of alternative metaphors of social, economic and environmental coordination that would require the fabrication of a different human being. We would encourage an increasing normalization of his ideal social entrepreneur as a typical human being.

In the next section of this essay we invite consideration of our call to transform the predominant instrumental ethic that drives much human engagement. We are

particularly interested not only in the concern with the instrumentalization of people and the earth but in the transformation of this predominant ethic to one of relationality. We propose the amplification of a relational ethic that may bring the spirit of humanity implied in Dees's definition of social entrepreneurs, not only to understand his segregation of social enterprise from the market "proper" but to encourage a critical transformation of that very market in ways that amplify the values articulated by Dees (2001, p. 1) across all the sectors, whose boundaries are indeed blurring.

We do this by drawing more fully on the characteristics of a social entrepreneur provided by Dees (2001, p.4), and on the organizational critique and the transformational aspirations of critical theorists, particularly through our interest in the work of Jürgen Habermas. Habermas is concerned about the increasing colonization of "the lifeworld" by the encroaching instrumental logic of markets in all spheres of human endeavors and so are we. He suggests that new social movements such as environmentalism, feminism, and post-colonialism, provide avenues for the development of new values and identities. He argues that these movements represent transition from old politics based on economic and military security to new politics involving the enhancement of quality of life, equality, and enhanced political and social participation.

We concur with Habermas. There are many voices challenging liberal capitalism. We believe that the changes they call for may bring us a more human and environmentally sound future if the concerns expressed by these voices are not merely assimilated into, but leaving largely unchanged, the predominating market modality of instrumentalism (Grice and Humphries, 1997). This instrumentality, garbed in the cloak of functionality, is expressed as a commitment to efficiency, productivity and growth. However, it largely serves a limited assumption for the right (and espoused duty) of capital to seek places and processes through which to maximize return on investment, and the necessity for all to be in its service. We refer readers to the integration of the concept of "flourishing," a concept that entails wellbeing, dignity and the achievement of one's creative potential and we draw towards an appreciation of a relational ethic.

By a relational ethic, we mean a prioritization of concern about who we are to each other, what we might legitimately expect from each other as human beings—always in relation one to another and to the earth. This way of being invites a subtle shift from an instrumental ethic that assesses how we might harness the energies of others to extract the maximum value of the relationship for our own benefit. It means treating each human being as fully human—as purposeful and free—not as a means to our own ends. This shifting of focus could only be achieved, in our view, by paying overt attention to and transforming the instrumental ethic dominating the contemporary organizational modalities now reaching into all aspects of human endeavor and by collaboration with human communities whose interests and needs are proposed to be channeled through a Social Enterprise paradigm. If this is not to be done through a functionalist discourse, or with a presumption that "free markets know best" then the relationships between Social Entrepreneurs and their communities must be complex and must have emancipatory intent. This context requires the dialogue that Habermas advocates.

Of Markets and the Lifeworld

Habermas introduces the distinction between "the life world" and "the system" to focus of the differing ways social cohesion may be fostered (Ingram, 1987, p. 115). "The life world" is the sphere in which social relationships form the binding/bonding processes of communities. It is the world of magic and metaphor, of emotions, and of varied forms of articulating entitlement and the caretaking responsibilities of one for another and the earth. "The system" refers to the economic and bureaucratic practices that characterize contemporary western societies. In this sphere, the binding/bonding effect is intended to be met through largely mechanistic or instrumental arrangements we refer to as "the market." The "contract" is its most articulated vehicle. In western society, argues Habermas, what is left of "the life world" is being encroached by the logic of "the system." He calls this encroachment "colonization." We can see this most explicitly when we look at the transformation of various care-taking responsibilities from families to professional service providers who win and serve "contracts" in health care and disability services, education, eldercare, and so much more. Habermas has some concerns about this colonization that we share:

> To the degree that the economic system subjects the life-forms of private households and the life conduct of consumers and employees to its imperatives, consumerism and possessive individualism, motives of performance, and competition gain the force to shape behavior… (Habermas, 1987, p. 325).

Working in, and responding to, the Frankfurt School of critical theory, Habermas developed a concern for emancipation particularly in response to Adorno and Horkheimer and their deeply pessimistic view of contemporary western society (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2002, p. 275). Critical theorists, in this tradition often link the predominant ways in which power is formulated and institutionalized in these societies to the exacerbation of the problems humanity must address. They want to do this in a way that generates emancipatory change (Carr, 2000, p. 208). From a transformational perspective, this is to make a contribution to the emancipation of humanity, the creation of just societies and the responsible stewardship of the earth. The ideas, the hope and the inspiration that are needed for the deep transformation of western society are more likely to emerge from the lifeworld than from "the system." Subjecting the life world to the logic of the system is thus likely to dry up the very source of creativity needed for such transformation. Enlarging the group of people that are committed to developing the character traits Dees describes, would be a marvelous contribution that educators could make.

For Habermas, the boundary between the two spheres, "the lifeworld" and "the system" is marked by the contrast between "communicative and functional rationality" (Jackson, 1999, p. 45) While the latter emphasizes "the search for instruments of effectiveness", the former offers the "potential for using reason for more noble ends" (Jones, 2003, p. 169). Habermas is deeply concerned with the pathologies that emerge when the system "colonizes" the lifeworld, when rational instrumental processes invade "areas of social life that have been or could be co-coordinated by the medium of understanding" (White, 1995, p.8). This medium of understanding requires education in elaborated ways of thinking and being; it requires a different tack than that of the single hulled vessel.

Could a critical approach to Social Enterprise provide a different tack, a tack that may put the single hulled vessel on a path on which it may morph into a more sophisticated vessel for a mutually beneficial future? We propose that by reconceiving the metaphorical vehicle in which we journey through our human life and from which we navigate our human experience to a multi-hulled vessel, we endorse diversity and relationality in ways a single hulled craft does not. For illustrative purposes, let this imaginary new vessel be a two hulled craft. Each hull must be stable and sound in its own right, the bridge that binds them and holds the steering house must be robust and the navigators elected to this steering house must understand the necessity of the wellbeing of each hull and its occupants to the wellbeing of the whole. A fabulous further reflection on this craft is that its direction is set "by the space between"—the space we are calling "the relationship." It is the relationship between us that is both the destiny and the process. (Martin et al, 2004; Humphries and Martin, 2005). The possibility of such morphing of our vehicle requires both critical thinking and transformational action. We believe the work of Habermas provides us with some theories towards such a move.

Habermas seeks to retain the potential of the contribution of critical theorists to achieve a just or "emancipated" society (White, 1995). We tend to hold a similar view. However, rather than seeking to maintain the demarcation that allows for an instrumental ethic to prevail in the sphere of the market, as do Habermas and Dees, we would invite a reconsideration of the very validity and limited insight that currently endorse a de-spiritualized, de-socialized mode of being in an arena as significant as our economic activities. We would see Social Enterprise as the process through which we can invest all human activities, including our economic activities, with respect for human dignity and responsibility for the earth that sustains us.

Dialogue and communication are at the heart of Habermas's project and represent one of his most significant departures from the Frankfurt theorists. "What raises us out of nature is the only thing whose nature we can know: language." Through interactions between people, meaning is created. Meaning is not to "be read off the world." And it is in this turn in the analyses that we depart from Dees's empiricist approach to a characterization of social entrepreneurs. We see such people not as a discrete category of human beings who display unique natural traits, but as examples of people expressing values and ways of working that might be more generalized through education.

This is an evolutionary point of view: under the right conditions, the power of uncoerced and free conversation will contribute to emancipatory movements towards a more truly democratic society. In the last section of this essay we apply the complex ideas discussed above to our interest in developing a relational ethic that would help shift consciousness from the transaction/functionalist ethic that predominates in management education and that has become so "normalized" that it appears as the natural way of doing things. It is this very naturalization, through education, that brings to the social sphere, entrepreneurship that may have the colonizing effects Habermas is concerned about.

A Relational Ethic- Attention to the Space Between
Habermas is among those theorists who not only challenge the subtle processes of systemic control as violation of the principles of mutuality (Habermas, 1977), but also propose working towards societies that are based on mutual respect through what he calls communicative action (Habermas, 2001 [1984]). Habermas (2001 [1984], 1977) challenges (hegemonic) practices oriented to achieving pre-established objectives of specific interest groups through instrumental action and advocates instead mutual understanding generated from inter-subjectively agreed and recognized relationships, calling on ideals which espouse full emancipation for all human beings. Actions are *communicative* "when the participants coordinate their plans of action consensually, with the agreement reached at any point being evaluated in terms of the inter-subjective recognition of validity claims" (1990, p. 58). Habermas "relies both on the possibility and the transformative capacity of dialogue" (Kersten, 2000, p. 236), so that the learning processes in "the family, the public sphere, community life, and cultural expressions" (Welton, 1995a, p. 28) may be reappropriated from the control of technical, instrumental rationality and put back in the hands of those engaged in consensus building and dialogue. He argues that it is only through communication and interaction that people can master society, form social movements and achieve power. Along with Arendt (1970), he argues that "common conviction in unconstrained communication" (Habermas, 1977, p. 4) may provide the capacity of a people to achieve collective goals of agreement.

Legitimate power does not co-opt others through deceptive means, it is driven by mutuality of agreement and understanding; a concept Habermas (1977) terms intersubjective agreement. We come to such agreement through communication. He suggests that the "very possibility of language implies a deep reciprocity between speakers" (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2002, p. 275). This view allows Habermas to postulate an "ideal speech" situation where his concern for an egalitarian approach to voice and discourse leads him to conclude that democracy and emancipation require a public sphere where "all participants have equal power, attempt to reach understanding, do not act manipulatively or strategically, and understand their obligation to offer reasons" (Stephens and Cobb, 1999, p. 26). That is to say, he imagines places where all participants have reciprocal rights to question each other as to the "sincerity, factual accuracy and meaning of what they say as well as their moral right to say it" (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2002, p. 74). Stephens and Cobb (1999, p. 26) also suggest that the ideal speech situation creates spaces where true democracy is ethically possible: a place where "every stakeholder is accorded equal opportunity to be heard" and space is preserved for critical thought which is not "subject to the contextualized pressures of particularized interests or power" (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2002, p. 118). Habermas offers "a guiding metaphor for bringing about social change" (Stephens and Cobb, 1999, p. 27) where "the paradoxes produced by a self-referential critique can be avoided if we develop a concept of communicative reason that emphasizes intersubjectivity and dialogue" (Fleming, 1997, p. 16) This requires, among other things, an education in the art of dialogue rather than in the processes of achieving and retaining control.

Kersten (2000, p. 239) notes that dialogue requires at least three things to build faith in human capacity to regain control over economic, social and political affairs—rather than handing responsibility for these to the vagaries of "the system." These are: a critical and

reflective understanding of one's own world; an emphatic grasping of the world of the other; and the shared building of a joint world, based on undistorted social consensus. This form of dialogue speaks to us of human potential and the power of communication to generate a world worthy of our self-respect. It speaks to us of our responsibility. If Social Enterprise moves us in this direction, we welcome its higher profile. We have proposed that developing an ethic of relationality, rather than complying with the instrumental ethics of the dominant market modality will move us towards the manifestation of such an ideal. Dees (2001) provides us a platform to explore these ideas further.

In this essay, we have expressed our concern about the move of social responsibility from civil society to its expression through a market modality and the disciplinary effects of the associated technical logic. This expression of concern is not to suggest that "the market" should not be more socially responsible, responsive, and response-able to social and environmental values of communities. The *mind-shift* sought here is the empowering of communities to ensure that our processes of trade and exchange are governed by guiding principles of democracy. This requires the generation of a civil society strong enough to instruct its governments, and governments robust enough to facilitate the mutuality necessary for a just society.

To begin the work of the transformation, we envisage an open and broad ranging critique of the ideological principles that are increasingly governing all aspects of our human existence and our relationship to the earth. We advocate against an uncritical promotion of the instrumental gospel of market speak, and the showcasing of fabulous achievements with no broader political analysis, that leave significant issues untouched by human consciousness and thus human conscience. We suggest that such a critique be developed across the educational spectrum, at all ages and in all disciplines. To limit this discussion to the arena of "social enterprise" is to risk limiting the discussion to a small group of predefined social activists—and to allow the rest of us to deflect or diminish our responsibility for a safer, fairer world for all.

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COMMENTARY

Social Entrepreneurs and Education

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When I was first approached about an issue of CICE devoted to the topic of social entrepreneurs and education, I was encouraged by the interest in a topic that has been the focus of my work for the past decade, but curious about the kinds of papers that might be submitted. Social entrepreneurship is still very new to the academic world, especially outside of business and public policy schools. Academic attention to this "field" is only about a decade old. Most courses and research efforts were started in the past five years, with the vast majority occurring in business schools. Only recently has this topic been attracting the attention of scholars in disciplines such as education, public health, and social work.

Outside of business schools, initial reactions are often mixed and occasionally negative. People dedicated to social issues can be put off by the connotations of the term "entrepreneur," especially because of its association with business. Business is often seen as part of the problem, not the solution. It is not unusual for the concept of "social entrepreneurship" to raise the specter of market hegemony. The concept may also bring to mind the worst aspects of business, forms of abuse and exploitation that can accompany the pursuit of profits.

Since my work was cited in the Call for Papers for this issue, I have been given the honor of making some closing comments. Overall, I want to congratulate the authors and the editors for balancing constructive, inquisitive, and critical perspectives. The work presented here should advance our thinking about social entrepreneurship in general, not just in the world of education. The four papers that made it into this issue are encouraging and thought provoking. They suggest that there is a positive role for social entrepreneurship in education, but they also raise a number of important issues and tensions that need to be addressed, as this construct gets further refined, developed, and extended into new domains.

The case studies from Bangladesh and Thailand illustrate the potential power of social entrepreneurs to identify opportunities to make a difference and to use their social resources to pursue these opportunities effectively, often under adverse conditions. Sperandio's analysis of four examples illustrates the wide variations that exist among social entrepreneurs even in a single country working on similar problems. These cases differ in their strategies for achieving impact and their strategies for attracting resources to support their work. They will also differ in the magnitude and sustainability of their impact.

Su and Muenning construct a richly detailed study of social entrepreneurs addressing the educational needs of Shan Burmese refugees in Thailand. This depiction offers deep

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insights into entrepreneurial resourcefulness and adaptability. One of the remarkable skills of entrepreneurs in any sector is their ability to draw on social connections and other intangible assets to mobilize the tangible resources (money, people, facilities, etc.) that they need to carry out their work. They persuade others to contribute resources and are creative in getting the most out of the resources they mobilize. Entrepreneurs also constantly innovate and adapt to changing circumstances and needs. Yai and Noi, the two social entrepreneurs in this case, provide powerful illustrations of these entrepreneurial virtues.

Both of these case-based papers also raise intriguing questions for further research. One question concerns the tension between crafting specific localized solutions and generating scalable ideas that have the potential to address social needs on a widespread basis. Needs are often much greater than any one local effort can address, but it can be difficult to achieve scale with solutions that are tailored to local conditions. This question of scale is particularly challenging for social entrepreneurs. Another question concerns the sustainability of new, resource-constrained initiatives, especially those that challenge the status quo. Keeping promising social ventures alive long enough to create sustainable impact is no easy task. It is a matter of finding the right operating model and resource strategy. Sustainability and scalability are two cardinal issues on which we need more rigorous research.

While the two remaining papers approach the topic from a more critical perspective, both are highly instructive and should help move the discussion of social entrepreneurship forward. By juxtaposing social entrepreneurship with social justice activism in the context of Malawi, Sharra reminds us that social entrepreneurship alone is not a substitute for activism. Fortunately, many social entrepreneurs are recognizing that effecting social change requires advocacy and in some cases the creation of a social movement, not just launching a social venture. These approaches are not substitutes, but can be complementary to one another. Sharra also raises questions about the fragmentation and decentralization that can come from various individuals and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) pursuing their own entrepreneurial solutions with little coordination. One of the virtues of social entrepreneurship is that it permits different experiments to be conducted in the search for better ways of serving social needs, such as education. The challenge is how to spread effective ideas and practices when they are discovered. If social entrepreneurship is about achieving impact, as I have argued elsewhere, then many social entrepreneurs will have to find ways to join with others to share useful knowledge and act in common cause to trigger broader social change. We do not have to choose between social entrepreneurship and social activism; we should encourage and equip citizens to do both. Both of these paths are best served when grounded in live experience, as Sharra recommends. Though he does not study social entrepreneurs, I am certain he would find that many of them pursue visions grounded in lived experience.

Both Sharra's article and the intriguing essay by Humphries and Grant express reservations about the term "entrepreneur" because of its link to a corporate, business, and market ethos. Together they raise the issue of how we can embrace "social entrepreneurship" without turning all human relations into crass market transactions. In

the end, Humphries and Grant strike a hopeful note, but I want to address this concern further.

As noted by these authors, I have been quite explicit in my rejection of the definition of social entrepreneurs that focuses only on the use of commercial methods. While some social entrepreneurs will find a commercial approach well suited to their purposes, others will not. Markets have their limits and, as we have seen in the case studies offered in the two other papers, there are many ways for social entrepreneurs to structure their organizations and relationships in order to achieve their intended social impact. However, I am certainly more comfortable with the connotations of the term "entrepreneur" than these authors.

The term "social entrepreneur" is not meant to convey the mindset common to large business corporations. Entrepreneurs, even in business, are the subversives. By "reforming or revolutionizing the pattern of production," as economist Joseph Schumpeter put it, they are the agents of "creative destruction"--out with the old and in with the new. Howard Stevenson, a professor of entrepreneurship at Harvard, explicitly contrasts them with "administrators" who preserve the status quo. Entrepreneurs may be part of what Habermas calls "the system," as Humphries and Grant suggest, but they are not corporate or bureaucratic. They promote change within the system, and some of them actively work to change the system. Yes, most business entrepreneurs are concerned about profit. Without it they cannot survive. But for many entrepreneurs this is not the primary motivation. By marrying the concept of entrepreneurship with the word "social," I hope to describe someone who focuses on social change instead of profit as the goal, and approaches this goal with an entrepreneurial spirit, one of determination, innovation, and resourcefulness.

Also, I do not see markets as negatively as these authors appear to see them. To me markets are mechanisms that are suitable in certain circumstances and not suitable in others. It is too easy to lay the world problems at the feet of the abstraction called "the market." Any student of history knows that non-market institutions have been just as harmful. Governments, including both political leaders and the military, have been responsible for their share of horrors and injustices. The problems facing the Burmese Shan in Thailand are not the result of market, but of the Burmese government and longstanding ethnic animosities. History is littered with many more examples, including many involving governments hostile to markets. Consider Thailand's other neighbor, Cambodia, for a rather dramatic example during the reign of the Khmer Rouge. Religion, despite its moral impulses, has also served as an institutional setting and justification for terror, injustice, prejudice, and abuse. Think of caste systems, inquisitions, crusades, widespread oppression of religious minorities, and terrorist activities justified on religious grounds. Ethnic, tribal, and family conflicts have also contributed to grave injustices and deep prejudices. Many so-called market atrocities are simply the acting out of these non-market conflicts in the setting of the market.

Markets have their flaws, but when conditions are right, they have produced enormous benefits. When customers and workers have the freedom to choose among competing firms and can do so armed with the information to make sound decisions, markets work reasonably well. They feed, clothe, and shelter millions without resorting to government

coercion or treating people as the object of someone's charity. The profits generated in markets provide the financial resources for government programs and for charity. Unless goods and services are sold for more than they cost to produce, namely at a profit, there is no economic surplus with which to pay for shared public goods, to supplement the incomes of those who cannot work, or to create reserves for bad times. Markets can even provide financial incentives to get past prejudices when these get in the way of good business. These incentives are not always strong enough to overcome ethnic and religious biases, but they move actors in the right direction. They also engage people in crafting their own lives by offering choices. We can debate whether they offer too much choice, but some level of choice is a generally good thing. Finally, there is a kind of decency, autonomy, and respect in market transactions, when markets are working well, that is very attractive to most of us. Customers have a standing to complain or take their business elsewhere. Recipients of charity are expected to accept the gift with gratitude. We say, "Do not look a gift horse in the mouth." Much as we may admire charity, it is a power relationship, one that can be demeaning to the recipient.

My point is not to defend markets as the right organizing principle for all human affairs. They are not that. Profit-seeking behavior in markets has motivated egregious behavior. My point is simply that the situation is not simply black and white, with markets being bad and other social institutions being good. Markets have virtues that can be channeled into social good. At the same time, the social relationships in Habermas's "lifeworld," as Grant and Humphries refer to it, are not always healthy or conducive to human flourishing. Consider the abuse and conflict even within families. I fear that blaming an abstract version of "the market" or "the system" allows us to avoid addressing deeper problems in human relations.

When it comes to improving society, I am a pragmatist who believes in experimentation and innovation as important methods for finding better ways to promote human flourishing. More than ever, I am convinced that we need to break down the walls between our economic and social lives, not to advance the hegemony of "the market" but to integrate our lives and better serve our personal and shared purposes. Markets should be one tool in our toolkit for creating the kinds of communities and societies in which we want to live. This tool can be modified and refined to better serve our social needs. Social entrepreneurs should be creative and critical in their use of markets and the design of their ventures.

Though we start with different views of the world and travel different paths to get there, I have come around to a view that is consonant with the final vision sketched by Humphries and Grant when they speak of investing "all human activities, including our economic activities, with respect for human dignity and responsibility for the earth that sustains us" (p. 46). I share their hope that breaking down the boundaries between different spheres of life will result in more effective social institutions as well as more socially beneficial forms of economic exchange. Though I think social entrepreneurship is currently relatively rare, I happily embrace their suggestion that the values and characteristics inherent in social entrepreneurship should serve as aspirations for all human beings.

Let me close by saying that I am heartened by thoughtful critical attention that the authors in this issue of CICE have given to the construct of "social entrepreneurship." A decade ago, there were only a handful of people using this terminology. With a lively intellectual debate and a robust research agenda, I am optimistic about the prospects for this field of inquiry going forward. I believe that the social entrepreneurship construct has great potential for helping us mobilize resources for the social good and for stimulating new thinking about economic and social institutions. I hope that this issue of CICE is just the beginning of a longer constructive and critical conversation.

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