

Towards a grounded theory of how and why founders vary in their scaling approaches:  
Alleviating period poverty

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## Ethics clearance and declarations

### Ethics clearance

Ethics clearance was obtained from the University of Cape Town's Ethics Committee prior to commencing the research and annually throughout the duration of the study. Clearance was granted following demonstration that study subjects will not be harmed, they are participating voluntarily, and they will be protected with respect to anonymity and confidentiality.

### Declaration

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## Abstract

I conducted a qualitative, inductive field study of nine founders alleviating period poverty. Iterating between data collected and analysed and literature, I adjusted my research question based on the data themes identified, enabling me to answer how and why prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in the context of extreme poverty. I conducted the study in South Africa, a nation characterised by high levels of inequality and widespread poverty, with women and children often bearing the brunt of these challenges. Although all founders engaged in alleviating period poverty, this study revealed that their responses were distinct, either person- or problem-oriented. Founders responding with the former endeavoured to broadly enhance the beneficiaries' lives, while those with the latter remained narrowly focused on alleviating period poverty. These differences were rooted in the founders' perception of the beneficiaries, which served as a powerful motivator for entrepreneurial action.

My main contributions are to the literature on scaling ventures oriented towards addressing social challenges. I contribute by introducing two distinct prosocial founder responses, person- and problem-oriented. Moreover, I develop theory that explains the motivation for these distinct responses. In addition, prior literature emphasises that the founders' degree of embeddedness shapes scaling outcomes. Instead, I demonstrate that founders may engage with embedded actors, external to the founders' ventures, to shape scaling outcomes. In addition, this study contributes to the literature on entrepreneurship in impoverished contexts. I demonstrate that prosocial founders engaged in ostensibly similar efforts may play very different roles in engendering social capital that connects actors from impoverished and resource-rich contexts. Through this social capital, beneficiaries accessed additional resources. Creating such social capital is crucial in contexts with high levels of inequality; since it represents initial social capital across different social classes.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

You have to be interested in inequality. The issue of inequality and that of poverty are not separable... Poverty is not just a lack of money; it is not having the capability to realize one's full potential as a human being.

- Amartya Sen

### 1.1. Problem statement

The twin challenges of poverty and inequality persist. Globally, strides have been made to alleviate poverty, yet in excess of 700 million people continue living in extreme poverty, earning less than USD 1.90 per day (Roser & Ortiz-Ospina, 2017). In addition, economic inequality has deepened, both within and between nations (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). Poverty and inequality bring with them innumerable political and social risks and challenges, including political instability, compromised social relations, and unfavourable health and educational outcomes (Coleman, 1968a; DiMaggio & Garip, 2012; Loury, 1981; Neckerman & Torche, 2007). Within contexts, inequality contrasts are often based on gender, ethnicity, and race (Coleman, 1968a, 1988; Loury, 1981; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020).

Women and children often bear the brunt of the compounding effects of poverty and inequality (World Bank, 2017). Key amongst these challenges is period poverty, which refers to the “lack of access to sanitary products, menstrual hygiene education, toilets, hand washing facilities, and, or, waste management.” (Sanchez & Rodriguez, 2019). Globally, approximately 500 million women and girls are affected by period poverty every month (World Bank, 2018), resulting in numerous undesirable yet avoidable socio-economic (Boosey & Wilson, 2013; Kettaneh et al., 2014; Pitt, 2018; World Bank, 2017).

### 1.2. Theoretical background

Policymakers and scholars rely substantially on founders, especially prosocial founders operating in developing economies, to address socio-economic challenges, such as poverty and inequality (European Union, 2016; National Planning Commission, 2011; United Nations,

2015). Many scholars regard prosocial founders as important in tackling socio-economic challenges, such as poverty, which they consider complex problems (Bacq & Lumpkin, 2021; Dorado & Ventresca, 2013; Vedula et al., 2022). Complex problems refers to interlocking or interdependent challenges that fuel vicious circles (Hirschman, 1958). Multiple simultaneous interventions are required to address these challenges (Hirschman, 1958). Scholars widely regard market-based solutions, particularly the bottom-up approach, as a way of alleviating poverty (George et al., 2012). However, in contexts of extreme poverty, some consumers are so poor that they cannot afford even basic goods (Seelos & Mair, 2005).

Prosocial founders may endeavour to enhance the lives of these impoverished consumers. These founders may endeavour to scale their social impact for widespread impact (Bauwens et al., 2020; Desa & Koch, 2014; Doherty et al., 2014). However, their limited resources may constrain their endeavours; since most founders, in most contexts, are resource-constrained (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006). The extant literature provides valuable insights into founders' options for overcoming their resource constraints to scale social impact (Bacq et al., 2015; Bruton et al., 2015; El Ebrashi & El-Batawy, 2021; Moss et al., 2018; Tracey & Jarvis, 2007). Typically, these options necessitate venture growth for scaling social impact (Uvin et al., 2000). However, prosocial founders may be interested in scaling social impact without pursuing significant venture growth (Bauwens et al., 2020; Desa & Koch, 2014; Uvin et al., 2000). These founders may influence actors, external to their ventures, to engage directly with beneficiaries to enhance the beneficiaries' lives (Uvin et al., 2000). Yet, few prosocial founders successfully scale social impact (Bloom, 2012; Smith et al., 2016).

### 1.3. [Research gap and question](#)

Prior literature on scaling ventures oriented towards addressing social challenges (henceforth: prosocial scaling literature) has focused on descriptions and typologies, with a few

studies explaining the rationale or motivation for scaling or differences in scaling approaches (Bauwens et al., 2020). Although an important antecedent to entrepreneurial behaviour, prosocial founders' motivation remains under-researched (Shepherd, 2015). In addition, little is known about prosocial founders' varying scaling approaches (Bauwens et al., 2020), especially in developing economies (Desa & Koch, 2014), which are sometimes characterised as having contexts of extreme poverty. Therefore, my research question is: How and why do prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in contexts of extreme poverty?

#### 1.4. [Research methods](#)

I investigated this question using a qualitative, inductive research design (Eisenhardt, 1989) using grounded theory methods, which enabled the exploration of novel context-specific behaviour patterns (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I conducted a comparative case study analysis of nine prosocial founders engaged in alleviating period poverty in South Africa. This context was well-suited for the study; since period poverty is widespread (Jeynes, 2016; Pitt, 2018), and several founders have responded to the challenge (Court, 2019; Mlaba, 2020; Omarjee, 2019; Ugwuode, 2020).

I gathered primary and secondary data. Primary data included 66 interviews and over 100 hours of fieldwork, while secondary data included the reviewing data internal and external to the FHP venture. For theory development, I engaged in an iterative process of data collection and analysis, and literature review. Guided by the themes that emerged in my data, I reviewed salient literature and adjusted the research question iteratively. Through the process, I explored a range of data, literature, and research questions, including those related to inclusive innovation, venture growth, and later scaling.

### 1.5. Findings

My investigation revealed that although all founders engaged in period poverty alleviation, they had distinct responses to the challenges related to period poverty: either person- or problem-oriented approaches. Founders responding with the former approach endeavoured to broadly enhance the beneficiaries' lives, while those responding with the latter remained focused on alleviating period poverty, thus answering the "how" question.

I developed theory to explain the motivation for variation in the founders' responses to the challenges related to period poverty. These were based on the founders' distinct beneficiary orientation, which refers to *the founders' perception of the beneficiaries*. Variation in the founders' beneficiary orientation drove them to enact distinct interpretations of the same objective challenges that beneficiaries faced (Weick et al., 2005), interpreting the problems as either simple or complex. The founders, who perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries, interpreted period poverty as a complex problem and had a person-oriented approach. In contrast, those who perceived themselves as different from the beneficiaries interpreted period poverty as a simple problem and had a problem-oriented approach. Thus, variations in the founders' beneficiary orientation answer the "why" question. Differences in their responses, in turn, shaped the founders' overall scaling approach, being relatively expansive or narrow.

### 1.6. Theoretical and practical contributions

My main theoretical contributions are to the prosocial scaling literature. I contribute by introducing two distinct responses of founders engaged in ostensibly similar efforts (Desa & Koch, 2014), being person- and problem-oriented approaches. I developed theory to explain the founders' motivation for their distinct responses (Bauwens et al., 2020), which is rooted in their beneficiary orientation. In addition, I highlight that while scholars may regard prosocial

founders as tackling complex problems, not all founders interpret the problems they tackle as complex. Furthermore, I formulated a way of analysing multiple scaling domains concurrently. The concurrent analysis enables scholars to determine the founders' overall scaling approach, which is useful for comparing founders' responses.

In addition, I make theoretical contributions to the literature on entrepreneurship in impoverished contexts. I demonstrate that prosocial founders engaged in ostensibly similar efforts may play very different roles in engendering social capital (SC) that connects actors from impoverished and resource-rich contexts. Through this social capital, beneficiaries accessed additional resources. Creating such social capital is crucial in contexts with high levels of inequality; since it represents initial social capital across different social classes. My study broadens our understanding of prosocial founders' role in engendering their beneficiaries' social capital.

My study also has practical relevance. Like scholars, practitioners may adopt the method developed in this study to analyse multiple scaling domains concurrently. Doing so will enable users to determine the founders' overall scaling approach. In addition, I do not valorise either the person- or the problem-oriented scaling approach. Instead, I provide valuable insights, noting examples of where each approach may be useful.

### 1.7. Thesis structure

My thesis proceeds as follows. In the theoretical background chapter, I examine what we know about prosocial founders, their operational context, and their resourcing and scaling approaches for social impact. In the research methods chapter, I explain how I engaged in the research process, including my research design, the context of the study, the sampling strategy, and the different rounds of data collection and analysis. In the findings chapter, I explain what I learned from my respondents, describing the founders' distinct beneficiary orientation, their

interpretations of the challenges related to period poverty, their responses to the challenges, their scaling approaches, and a summary of the paths followed by each group of founders. In the discussion chapter, I explain my contributions to the prosocial scaling literature and the literature on entrepreneurship in the context of extreme poverty. In addition, I discuss the boundary conditions of my study and suggest avenues for future research. Finally, I discuss the practical implications of my study before concluding.

## Chapter 2: Theoretical background

### 2.1. Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I define scaling. Next, I discuss how prosocial founders may alleviate poverty through market-based solutions. Here, I note two market-based solutions and the major challenges prosocial founders face in their endeavours to successfully implement market-based solutions in impoverished or bottom of the pyramid (BoP) contexts. After introducing prosocial founders and discussing market-based solutions, I discuss various scaling approaches founders may adopt to increase their social impact. In the discussion on market-based solutions and scaling approaches, I explore what is known about how founders increase social impact. Thereafter, I discuss prosocial founder motivation, which explores why prosocial founders endeavour to increase their social impact. I close the chapter with a summary and the research question.

### 2.2. Defining scaling

Traditionally, venture growth referred to changes in a venture's economic indicators, such as revenue and market share (Desa & Koch, 2014). These indicators were typically quantitative. Shepherd and Patzelt (2022) defined venture growth as “spreading excellence within an organization as it grows” (p. 25). Although Penrose (2009) recognised the significance of these measures, she was arguably the first to suggest a shift in emphasis, calling for consideration of qualitative measures (Bauwens et al., 2020). More recently, qualitative measures have been increasingly researched and may be significant to founders operating prosocial ventures (Bauwens et al., 2020; Shepherd & Patzelt, 2022). Shepherd and Patzelt (2022) acknowledged that the concept of scaling might also be applied to prosocial ventures and noted,

[I]t is important for scholars to be explicit about what is being scaled...whether scaling (i.e., the transfer of social solutions, often to new geographical locations) or to organizational scaling (i.e., the transfer of excellence within social ventures as they grow). (p. 9)

The former refers to scaling social impact and draws on qualitative indicators, while the latter refers to venture growth (Shepherd & Patzelt, 2022).

Qualitative indicators may be of particular significance to prosocial ventures; since they may provide information about the extent of their social impact (Desa & Koch, 2014; Doherty et al., 2014). Prosocial founders may purposefully prioritise social impact over economic growth (Bauwens et al., 2020) to reach additional beneficiaries and enhance their lives (Desa & Koch, 2014; Doherty et al., 2014). According to Dees (2008), scaling refers to increasing the impact of a social-purpose venture. In this study, I build on Desa and Koch's (2014) definition for scaling social impact (henceforth: scaling), which is "the process of expanding or adapting an organization's output to better match the magnitude of the social need or problem being tackled" (p. 148).

Next, I discuss two broad market-based approaches for poverty alleviation and some of the major challenges experienced by founders operating in impoverished contexts.

### 2.3. Prosocial founders and market-based solutions for poverty

Scholars widely regard prosocial founders as individuals who, through their ventures, tackle complex problems, such as poverty alleviation (Bacq & Lumpkin, 2021; Dorado & Ventresca, 2013; Vedula et al., 2022). Complex problems "are defined by their circular causality, persistence, absence of well-structured alternative solutions, relative lack of room for trial and error learning, constitutive of 'contradictory certitudes,' and harboring redistributive implications for entrenched interests" (Dorado & Ventresca, 2013, p. 69). These problems are interlocking or interdependent and fuel vicious circles (Hirschman, 1958, as cited in Dorado & Ventresca, 2013). Therefore, multiple concurrent interventions are required to address these

problems and break the vicious cycles (Hirschman, 1958, as cited in Dorado & Ventresca, 2013). In contrast, simple problems refers to “those [problems] that are not interdependent and [can be] easily decomposed into their separate components, which render them highly modular for subsequent problem-solving efforts” (Mount et al., 2020, p. 105).

Founders, including prosocial founders, have a significant presence in impoverished contexts (Kolk et al., 2014) and play a pivotal role in alleviating poverty (Bruton et al., 2013; Sutter et al., 2019). To do so, prosocial founders may engage in market-based solutions. Extant literature on the market-based approach for poverty alleviation may be categorised into two groups, either top-down or bottom-up. Scholars sometimes refer to these approaches as BoP 1.0 and BoP 2.0, respectively (Cañeque & Hart, 2017). The former regards the impoverished as consumers, while the latter regards the impoverished more broadly. Scholars sometimes refer to the bottom-up approach as inclusive innovation, defined as “innovation that benefits the disenfranchised, is a process as well as a performance outcome” (George et al., 2012, p. 661).

Although these approaches developed in parallel, they are presented separately. In addition, I discuss some of the major challenges founders operating in impoverished contexts experience.

### 2.3.1. Top-down approach

Traditionally, policymakers favoured a welfare-based approach to alleviate poverty (Kolk et al., 2014); however, Prahalad and Hart (2002) proposed a novel, market-based solution. Although initiators, such as founders, already had a significant presence in these contexts, Prahalad and his colleagues focused on multinational corporations (MNCs) (Kolk et al., 2014). The authors considered the impoverished to be at the bottom of the world economic pyramid; therefore, they referred to impoverished contexts as the bottom of the pyramid (Prahalad & Hart, 2002).

Initially, Prahalad and his colleagues regarded the impoverished as potential consumers, necessitating the development and marketing of low-cost products (Prahalad, 2004, 2006; Prahalad & Hammond, 2002; Prahalad & Hart, 1999, 2002). According to Hart (2017), the top-down literature is underpinned by the notion that poverty results from the impoverished lacking choice of products and regards the impoverished as consumers. Therefore, initiators developed low-cost products that they considered suitable for impoverished markets. This literature “focuses on adapting existing products, reducing price points and extending distribution to previously under-served or unserved customers” (Hart, 2017, p. 1-2).

Although in their later work, the authors adopted a more inclusive perspective (Hart, 2015; London, 2009; London et al., 2010; London & Hart, 2011), their initial perspective that a “lack of choice is what being poor is all about” (Hammond & Prahalad, 2004, p.36) attracted scholarly criticism (Arora & Romijn, 2012; Banerjee & Duflo, 2007; Hart, 2017; Kaplinsky, 2011; Karnani, 2007). Some scholars have describe the MNC-BoP poverty alleviation proposition as “the latest form of corporate imperialism” (Hart, 2017, p. 2) and as a “discursive curtain” for concealing unequal power relations (Arora & Romijn, 2012, p. 482).

Some scholars argue that MNC-led initiatives have offered limited or no enduring benefit, and MNCs providing access to products is inadequate for alleviating poverty (Arora & Romijn, 2012; Banerjee & Duflo, 2007; Kaplinsky, 2011; Karnani, 2007). Relatedly, Banerjee and Duflo (2007) found that access to additional products did not alleviate poverty. Instead, it simply shifted BoP spending from essential goods to sin goods, such as alcohol and tobacco products (Banerjee & Duflo, 2007). In addition, Seelos and Mair (2005) argued that sometimes BoP consumers were so poor that even low-cost products remained unaffordable.

Despite some scholars serious criticisms of the top-down approach, it remains the dominant perspective in the BoP literature (Hart, 2017). These scholars have made numerous

calls for the impoverished to be regarded more inclusively (Ansari et al., 2012; George et al., 2012; McMullen, 2011; Pansera & Owen, 2018). Therefore, literature with a bottom-up approach emerged and developed in a parallel narrative.

### 2.3.2. Bottom-up approach

The bottom-up approach or inclusive innovation regards the impoverished more broadly than simply being consumers (Cañeque & Hart, 2017). According to this approach, the impoverished have been regarded as producers (Karnani, 2007; Kodithuwakku & Rosa, 2002; London et al., 2010; Pansera & Owen, 2018; Sarkar, 2018), empowered agents of change (Pansera & Owen, 2018) and as partners or co-producers (Ansari et al., 2012; Pansera & Owen, 2018). In addition, they have held multiple concurrent roles, such as consumer and producer (Pansera & Owen, 2018). Some work has favoured developing BoP entrepreneurs (Bruton et al., 2013), promoting innovation led by the impoverished (Slade Shantz et al., 2018) and developing capabilities or skills within impoverished contexts (Ansari et al., 2012).

In this section, I build on Sutter and colleagues' (2019) typology; since this typology is based on the underlying difference in scholarly assumptions about the cause of poverty. Based on their systematic review of the role of entrepreneurship as a solution for poverty, the authors argued that there are three underlying scholarly perspectives of poverty alleviation through entrepreneurship; remediation, reform, and revolution. These perspectives are underscored by differences in key assumptions on the cause of poverty.

#### *(1) Remediation*

According to the remediation perspective, poverty results from resource scarcity, such as the lack of access to credit (Van Eijkel et al., 2011) and the lack of skills (Bruhn et al., 2010; Valdivia, 2015). Therefore, according to this perspective, the main focus is for external actors to provide the impoverished with access to resources, such as financial resources and training

and mentoring programmes (Sutter et al., 2019). External actors may play a role in alleviating resource scarcity in impoverished contexts. Focusing on mutual value creation, London et al. (2010) studied ventures that partnered with BoP producers to understand the constraints faced by BoP producers and the strategies adopted to overcome such constraints. The authors noted two broad categories of constraints; productivity and transactional, and six types of constraints. Productivity constraints refer to limited or no access to raw materials, financial resources, and production resources. In contrast, transactional constraints refer to limited or no market access, market power, and market security. The former impedes value creation, while the latter impedes value capture.

London et al. (2010) found that when BoP producers' constraints remain unaddressed, ventures may become trapped in a vicious cycle, resulting in limited or no growth. However, when external ventures supported BoP producers, adopting different sequences for addressing the constraints experienced by BoP producers, ventures grew. The ventures' transactional challenges were addressed by balancing the need for having a local presence with the value of economies of scale. The ventures addressed productivity challenges by coordinating available resources, including those not owned by the BoP producer. The ventures that addressed multiple local constraints concurrently generated greater economic returns.

In addition to production and transaction constraints, the impoverished lack knowledge and skills, which are widely considered essential for poverty alleviation (Ansari et al., 2012; Bruhn et al., 2010; Kodithuwakku & Rosa, 2002; Sen, 1983). Broadly, Bruhn et al. (2010) argued that developing countries lacked managerial capital or managerial skills. Relatedly, Kodithuwakku and Rosa's (2002), finer grain of analysis provided a more nuanced explanation of the skills deficiency. They found that managerial and entrepreneurship skills were complementary and interdependent. For example, some entrepreneurs appreciated that their

time was a resource. Accordingly, they managed their time (Kodithuwakku & Rosa, 2002). Similarly, Ansari et al. (2012), drawing on Sen's (1983, 1985) seminal work on capability development, argued that BoP entrepreneurs needed to develop capabilities for meaningful poverty alleviation.

## *(2) Reform*

The reform perspective regards poverty as the result of social exclusion (Sutter et al., 2019). This perspective focuses on the relationship between institutions and social structures, and poverty. According to this perspective, poverty may be alleviated or addressed by instituting social change (Mair et al., 2012). Although such social change focuses on market-based solutions (McMullen, 2011; Sutter et al., 2017), it includes policy and political reforms (Ghani et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2012).

Normative and cognitive institutions, such as legacy belief systems and practices, including culture and religion, may constrain entrepreneurial activities. In their study in rural Ghana, Slade Shantz et al. (2018) found that superstition and the belief that occupational identity was pre-destined constrained innovation. The authors noted, "the types of opportunities entrepreneurs pursue are largely seen as pre-destined and inherited rather than individually chosen. As a result, the pursuit of innovative opportunities may be significantly limited" (Slade Shantz et al., 2018, p. 416). Similarly, based on a Bangladesh study, Mair and Marti (2009) noted that patriarchal practices were widespread and often placed many constraints on women, including restricting income generation. For example, many women were forbidden from leaving their homes unless escorted by a male relative (Mair & Marti, 2009).

However, normative and cognitive institutions may be overcome. In their study in rural Bangladesh, Mair and Marti (2009) found that an external partner, an NGO called BRAC, crafted institutional rearrangements to bypass constraining social norms. They did so by framing

progressive practices and ideas in terms of legacy beliefs and practices. Therefore, BRAC facilitated women engaging in income-generating activities, such as rearing poultry. Women could conduct these activities without leaving their homes. Thus, BRAC introduced progressive practices without disrupting legacy beliefs and practices (Mair & Marti, 2009). In addition, Sarkar (2018), in an India-based study, found that some BoP entrepreneurs refused to observe their social norms. These entrepreneurs pursued entrepreneurial activities despite facing ongoing resistance from their families and communities (Sarkar, 2018).

In addition to normative and cognitive institutions, weak legal institutions may constrain economic activity (Hall et al., 2012; Sheth, 2011), by inhibiting the formal registration of ventures. Kistruck et al. (2015), based on their study of 299 entrepreneurs in Guatemala City, examined the role of venture registration in the context of weak legal regulations. The authors found that formal venture registration resulted in ventures attracting additional resources. However, in the context of weak legal institutions, it also resulted in ventures being targeted by criminals, resulting in additional resource appropriation from registered ventures.

### *(3) Revolution*

The revolution perspective is the least studied perspective (Sutter et al., 2019). According to this perspective, poverty is an outcome of capitalism. Therefore, this perspective challenges capitalism tenets, such as self-interest and the significance of economic outcomes (Calás et al., 2009, as cited by Sutter et al., 2019) and promotes alternative economic models. Such changes may be effected by groups, instead of by individuals (Dorado, 2013, as cited by Sutter et al., 2019), and with compassion, instead of self-interest (Miller et al., 2012, as cited by Sutter et al., 2019). These three perspectives may be regarded as being on a continuum, and there may indeed be overlap between them (Sutter et al., 2019).

Despite its promise as a solution to poverty, successfully implementing market-based solutions is challenging.

### 2.3.3. Challenges implementing market-based solutions

Implementing market-based solutions in impoverished contexts is fraught with challenges (Mair & Martí, 2006). Scholars have described these contexts as being “opaque” (Ansari et al., 2012, p. 821) or as a “black box” (Bacq, Nason, & Gras, 2017, p. 5); since they are often not well-understood by scholars and policymakers. They are sometimes characterised as being detached from more familiar contexts and have been described as being economically isolated and spatially separated (Turok, 2015) or as “island networks” (Slade Shantz et al., 2018, p. 416). These contexts are not limited to rural areas and may also be prevalent in urban and peri-urban areas (Bradley et al., 2012) and tourist destinations (Hall et al., 2012). Although impoverished contexts are pervasive, they remain challenging to navigate (Mair & Martí, 2006).

According to Desa and Koch (2014), there are three market-failure related challenges that prosocial ventures serving the poor in developing economies face: supply-side resource constraints, demand-side adoption challenges, and distribution channel or infrastructure challenges. The authors argued that supply-side resource constraints are possibly the most serious challenge. Indeed, in some cases, consumers are so poor that they cannot afford even the most basic products (Seelos & Mair, 2005). Desa and Koch (2014) argued that the prosocial ventures might attract philanthropic donors to fund low-cost innovation to address the supply-side resource constraints. The authors further noted that although it is difficult to attract donors, two factors may facilitate attracting donors. Prosocial ventures must effectively communicate the innovative aspects of the social value they create. These ventures must demonstrate the embeddedness of their social innovations as a sustainable solution.

The demand-side problem arises mainly because impoverished consumers cannot afford products developed for wealthier consumers (Desa & Koch, 2014; Prahalad, 2006). In such cases, prosocial founders may develop commercially viable products that are affordable to the impoverished (Desa & Koch, 2014). In addition, prosocial ventures must determine ways to bridge the gap between affordability and the product cost to address the demand-side constraints (Desa & Koch, 2014). The authors suggested practices such as low-cost innovation and innovative pricing strategies. Innovative pricing strategies include tiered pricing instalments and micropayments (Desa & Koch, 2014). Tiered pricing is a type of price discrimination where wealthier market segments subsidise poorer ones (Koch & Caradonna, 2006). This type of pricing refers to setting the selling price based on the beneficiaries' "ability to pay" (Koch & Caradonna, 2006, p. 198).

In addition to supply-side and demand-side challenges, impoverished contexts often lack established distribution channels and infrastructure to support economic activity (Desa & Koch, 2014). Such infrastructure includes "retailers, brokers, or raw materials suppliers" (Desa & Koch, 2014, p. 152), and infrastructure to support the last mile challenges (Cañeque & Hart, 2017). Therefore, the authors suggested that prosocial ventures engage in a "collaborative process and iterative learning" to formulate sustainable solutions.

More broadly, institutional and social changes must be carefully planned and managed, including those related to legislation and policies. Policymakers' and practitioners' well-intentioned but ill-conceived initiatives may result in adverse social, economic and environmental outcomes. Hall et al. (2012) cautioned against entrepreneurship policies that solely pursued economic growth. In their study of tourist destinations in Brazil, the authors found that policies solely supporting entrepreneurship growth resulted in detrimental environmental outcomes. In addition, Kistruck et al. (2015) argued that conforming to

regulative norms may present numerous opportunities. For example, by registering a business, entrepreneurs may gain access to loans from formal institutions, which, in turn, may facilitate venture growth. However, the authors found that business registration may also have undesirable consequences, such as attracting the unwanted attention of criminals in the context of weak legal institutions.

Notably, while providing resources, introducing market-based solutions or adopting alternative economic systems may be beneficial; on their own, these approaches may be overly simplistic responses to a complex problem. Market-based solutions may be challenging to implement in impoverished contexts. Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002), in a Sri Lankan study of 300 impoverished farmer entrepreneurs, highlighted the limitations of resource provisioning alone. The entrepreneurs in the study shared similar circumstances and were given similar resources. Yet, 10 years later, they had divergent outcomes: 40 were successful and operated several businesses. In comparison, the remaining 260 were unsuccessful, failing to retain their resources. These entrepreneurs remained in poverty (Kodithuwakku & Rosa, 2002).

Despite the challenges prosocial founders experience in impoverished contexts, some founders may endeavour to scale their social impact to reach more beneficiaries and address or alleviate the multitude of challenges beneficiaries endure (Desa & Koch, 2014). Next, I discuss the scaling approaches available to founders.

#### 2.4. Approaches for scaling social impact

In this section, I discuss how prosocial founders may scale their social impact. First, I discuss various modes of scaling social impact, which relies on significant venture growth, necessitating access to resources (Uvin et al., 2000). Second, I discuss scaling social impact that does not require significant venture growth (Uvin et al., 2000).

#### 2.4.1. Scaling social impact with venture growth

In addition to contextual challenges, prosocial founders' scaling endeavours may be further constrained by their lack of tangible resources. Being resource-constrained is the most common circumstance shared by founders in most contexts (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006). Numerous studies offer insights into how prosocial founders may gain access to tangible resources for venture growth in order to scale social impact (Uvin et al., 2000). For example, founders may embed themselves in social networks and draw on their social capital and social networks (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986). In addition, founders may adopt various organisational forms to facilitate access to resources, including social franchising, social licencing (El Ebrashi & El-Batawy, 2021; Tracey & Jarvis, 2007), and joint social ventures (El Ebrashi & El-Batawy, 2021). They may also access resources through crowdfunding (Bruton et al., 2015; Moss et al., 2018) and resourcefulness practices, such as bricolage (Bacq et al., 2015; Baker & Nelson, 2005). These studies provide valuable insights into how prosocial founders may grow the prosocial ventures in order to scale social impact.

I survey the literature to determine how resource-constrained founders may gain access to tangible resources for scaling social impact. Next, I discuss embeddedness, social networks, and social capital, which may shape scaling social impact.

##### *(1) Embeddedness, social networks, and social capital*

In this section, I discuss the theoretical foundation of embeddedness, social networks, and social capital before surveying the literature on embeddedness, social networks, and social capital in the field of entrepreneurship.

i) Theoretical foundation

(a) Embeddedness

The concept of embeddedness is rooted in the work of Moreno (1941, 1947), who is considered the founder of sociometry. He was the first to recognise that embeddedness shaped an individual's influence (Tasselli & Kilduff, 2021). Embeddedness is defined as “the depth of involvement in a cohesive structure” (Moody & White, 2003, p. 112). Granovetter (1992) differentiated between relational and structural embeddedness,

“Embeddedness” refers to the fact that economic action and outcomes, like all social action and outcomes, are affected by actors' dyadic (pairwise) relations *and* by the structure of the overall network of relations. As a shorthand, I will refer to these as the relational and the structural aspects of embeddedness. The structural aspect is especially crucial to keep in mind because it is easy to slip into “dyadic atomization,” a type of reductionism. (p. 33, italics in original)

Granovetter (1992) further noted that structural embeddedness is related to an actor's degree of involvement in cohesive groups,

[T]o the extent that a dyad's mutual contacts are connected to one another, there is more efficient information spread about what members of the pair are doing, and thus better ability to shape behavior. Such cohesive groups are better not only at spreading information, but also at generating normative, symbolic, and cultural structures that affect our behaviour. (p. 35)

High degrees of embeddedness are related to dense networks (Gargiulo et al., 2009). Traditionally, these networks, based on trust and bounded solidarity, were widely considered necessary for gaining access to resources (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993). The entrenched social norms and the threat of social sanction enforce desirable and predictable behaviour (Portes, 1998). The benefits of embeddedness range from obtaining support for child-rearing (Coleman, 1988), gaining access to employment opportunity information, and preferential transactional costs (Portes, 1998).

The premise of embeddedness is that actors' ongoing social ties shape their expectations, motivations and decision-making (Granovetter, 1973, 1983). An actor's degree of embeddedness lies on a continuum ranging from deep to limited, based on social ties (Uzzi & Lancaster, 2003). Ongoing social ties are based on deep embeddedness, while arm's length social ties are based on limited embeddedness (Uzzi & Lancaster, 2003).

(b) Social networks

Granovetter (1973) extended the traditional perspective on embeddedness, according to which actors may gain resources by being deeply embedded in networks. The author theorised that embeddedness was more complex than prior work had considered. In his seminal paper, Granovetter (1973) argued that there was strength in weak ties. These ties bridge otherwise disconnected social networks and may effectively link members of different small groups. A bridge is defined as "the only path between two points" (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1364). Therefore, weak ties are not automatically bridges. However, all bridges are weak ties; since they may result in access to unique resources, including information, embedded in other actors' social networks (Granovetter, 1973). According to Lin (2002), Burt (1992) operationalised Granovetter's conjectures. Burt (1992) argued that actors or brokers might gain by actively keeping alters apart.

However, Obstfeld (2005, 2017) argued that differences in brokers' orientations are often underscored by differences in their motivation. Brokerage typically "involves an intermediary (the broker) who stands between two others (or alters) who do not have a tie to each other" (Obstfeld, 2017, p. 5). Obstfeld (2017) differentiated between three brokerage processes related to an actor's brokerage or network behavioural orientation: conduit, *tertius iungens*, and *tertius gaudens*. The conduit orientation refers to the ego facilitating tangible and

intangible resource flows between the alters without attempting to change the relationship between the alters.

*Tertius iungens* refers to “third who joins” (Obstfeld, 2017, p. 11). The ego connects alters; since the ego is interested in collaborative or facilitating behaviour. According to Obstfeld (2005),

[T]he *tertius iungens* orientation is a strategic, behavioral orientation toward connecting people in one’s social network by either introducing disconnected individuals or facilitating new coordination between connected individuals. Such activity is central to the combinative activity at the root of innovation (p. 102)

*Tertius gaudens* refers to the “third who enjoys” (Obstfeld, 2017, p. 11); since the ego actively separates the alters (Burt, 2001; Obstfeld, 2005) and engages in competitive behaviour. According to Obstfeld (2005, p. 103), “an actor positioned between two disconnected parties can manipulate or exploit those parties to the actor’s benefit.” Relatedly, Kwon et al. (2020) argued that both the behaviours, active separation and joining, could result in the *tertius* enjoying. Therefore, the authors proposed that active separation should be labelled accordingly as “*tertius separans*”, the “third who separates” (Kwon et al., 2020, p. 1096). Importantly, Obstfeld (2017) argued that an individual’s brokerage orientation was not fixed amongst different sets of actors. He noted that brokerage orientation was analogous to hosting a dinner party analogy; the individual inviting one group results in another group being excluded. Brokers may shape network diversity by introducing otherwise disconnected actors.

Overall, social networks are typically homogenous (DiMaggio & Garip, 2012; Kim & Aldrich, 2005), and prior literature has mainly focused on horizontal structuring. Horizontal structuring refers to relationships between actors with similar social statuses (Kwon & Adler, 2014). In impoverished contexts, horizontally structured homogenous networks may amplify differences in individual endowments and perpetuate or exacerbate social inequality (DiMaggio & Garip, 2012; Kwon & Adler, 2014; Loury, 1981). Cumulative advantage (CA) might help

explain inequality's perpetuating or exacerbating effects (DiMaggio & Garip, 2012; DiPrete & Eirich, 2006). DiPrete and Eirich (2006) explained,

Colloquial terms – “Virtuous cycles,” “vicious cycles,” “the rich get richer,” “the poor get poorer,” “success breeds success” – are also common in the literature. The central descriptive idea in the CA literature is that the advantage of one individual or group over another grows (i.e., accumulates) over time, which is often taken to mean that the inequality of this advantage grows over time. (p. 272)

The exacerbating or compounding effects of CA shape the behaviours or practices adopted by actors (DiMaggio & Garip, 2012). DiMaggio and Garip (2012) argued that the likelihood of actors adopting a practice or behaviour is a function of both their individual endowments and the extent to which those in the actors' social network have already adopted the practice or behaviour. The authors explained that social networks are homogenous due to homophily, and homogenous networks compound individual differences,

Networks are homophilous with respect to individual characteristics associated with adoption, so that likely adopters tend to associate with other likely adopters and likely nonadopters with other probable nonadopters. Under these conditions, advantages individuals obtain from initial endowments (e.g., financial or cultural resources) may be compounded by network influences, exacerbating intergroup inequality in the adoption of rewarding practices relative to what we would expect based on individual differences alone. (p. 94)

Noting the effect of cumulative advantage on inequality, Kwon and Adler (2014) called for future work to consider vertical structuring. Vertical structures refers to the hierarchical grouping of actors based on their social status (Kwon & Adler, 2014). Such structuring should capture “[t]he inequalities characterizing contemporary social relations – of wealth and income, between races and genders (Kwon & Adler, 2014, p. 417).

#### (c) Social capital

Coleman (1988) coined the term social capital. The scholar noted that the inequality of access to education was deeply contextual (Coleman, 1968a, 1968b), and he differentiated

between human capital and social capital (Coleman, 1988). Coleman argued that human capital developed through acquiring new skills and capabilities, while social capital developed by changing social relationships. He defined social capital by its function as “a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure” (Coleman, 1988, p. S98).

However, scholars criticised Coleman’s definition, and they have not agreed on a definition (Khayesi et al., 2014; Lin, 2002). Lin (2002) criticised the functional definition, arguing that it is tautological for the effect factor to define the causal factor. According to Lin (2002), obtaining resources through social relations is the foundation of social capital. In addition, social capital has two key components: its resources are embedded in social relations, distinguishing it from other forms of capital (Lin, 2002). Therefore, the author defined social capital as “resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 2002, p.35). Lin (2002) noted, “[t]hus conceived, social capital contains three elements intersecting structure and action: the structural (embeddedness), opportunity (accessibility) and action-oriented (use) aspects.

Relatedly, Adler and Kwon (2002) defined social capital broadly as “goodwill that is engendered by the fabric of social relations and that can be mobilized to facilitate action” (p. 17). Similarly, Kim and Aldrich (2005) also defined social capital broadly as “the resources available to people through their social connections” (p. 58). Notably, these broad definitions only consider the enabling or positive effects of social capital, neglecting the constraining or negative effects associated with social capital, such as over-embeddedness.

Therefore, I draw on Khayesi et al. (2014) definition of social capital; since their definition was more nuanced than the definitions suggested by other scholars. The authors

defined social capital as “a focal actor (individual or group) network of relationships, including the structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions that may facilitate and/or constrain its actions and outcomes” (Khayesi et al., 2014, p. 1325). Notably, this definition considers the enabling and constraining effects and the relationship between social capital and social network. In addition, it considers that the focal actor is not necessarily an individual.

Although widely respected by scholars, Coleman’s (1988) conception of social capital attracted scholarly criticism, broader than his functional definition. Portes (1998) argued that the term social capital recaptured the earlier sociological insight that group membership may yield positive results for the individual and the group. Furthermore, Portes (1998) argued that Coleman neglected to clearly differentiate between the possessor of resources, the source of social capital, and the resource, which is necessary for the systematic treatment of the term. Portes (1998) further argued that the recipients’ motivation is obvious; since they gain access to resources. The author noted,

More complex are the motivations of the donors, who are requested to make these assets available without any immediate return. Such motivations are plural and deserve analysis because they are the core processes that the concept of social capital seeks to capture. (p. 6)

Different motivations may be related to different types of social capital, which may serve different functions. These types are bonding, bridging, and linking (Woolcock, 2001). Bridging social capital refers to peripheral or intergroup ties (Ansari et al., 2012). This type of ties facilitates the flow of resources between groups. Linking social capital is similar to bridging capital; since it enables access to resources across networks. However, linking social capital refers to ties to formal or institutionalised groups (Woolcock, 2001). Bridging and linking social capital may be related to social capital’s structural or network dimension (Nahapiet & Goshal, 1998).

Bonding social capital refers to core or intragroup ties, resulting from actors being embedded in closely knit or dense networks. Typically, group members share common identities, norms and values (Ansari et al., 2012). According to Putnam (1993), these ties are underpinned by trust; since “Trust lubricates social life” (p. 4). Although useful in many contexts, bonding social capital is crucial in impoverished contexts with poor welfare systems, especially during times of strife (Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 2001).

Embeddedness, social networks, and social capital have broad applications, including in the study of entrepreneurship. Next, I examine the application of these constructs in entrepreneurship. In the discussion, I include a discussion on the negative effects of social capital and over-embeddedness.

#### ii) [Embeddedness, social networks, and social capital in entrepreneurship](#)

Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship are socially situated, and the social environment shapes many functions (Gedajlovic et al., 2013). Founders are embedded in social networks, essential for entrepreneurial processes and shape venture outcomes (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986), including resource mobilisation for venture scaling. Prosocial founders may place additional reliance on their social capital to obtain resources (Mair & Martí, 2006). Furthermore, they may rely on complex social networks with various actors engaged in prosocial change (Austin et al., 2006). For example, sometimes paying customers may be donors, while consumers may be beneficiaries (Arya & Lin, 2007; Bacq & Lumpkin, 2021). By being embedded in social networks, founders may draw on either their direct or indirect social connections for resources, such as information (Kim & Aldrich, 2005).

Scaling is related to the initiators’ degree of embeddedness (Bacq et al., 2015; Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009). According to Bacq et al. (2015), the founders’ degree of embeddedness may influence their scaling decisions. The authors argued,

Consistent with the core tenets of embeddedness, according to which the web of relations in which social entrepreneurs are embedded may influence their scaling decision[s]... [They] focus on local concerns... [Their] network consisting primarily of embedded ties to various stakeholders in a local community. While such a high degree of structural embeddedness fosters trust and bounded solidarity, it can also constrain the choices available to social entrepreneurs aspiring to scale their solutions in order to serve the communities in need better. (p. 285).

Scholars have theorised the relationship between embeddedness and spatial scaling. Zahra et al. (2009) developed a typology based on prosocial founders' motives and the extent and depth of social impact. The authors argued that prosocial founders' motives were diverse and grouped these founders into three broad categories based on the founders' motivation; the social bricoleur, the social constructionist and the social engineer. First, the social bricoleurs' motives are generally noble. These founders innovate to address local concerns. However, their resource constraints inhibit the scale and range of their impact. Second, the social constructionists' motives are more complex. While these founders serve beneficiaries, they also seek social change or reform. The range and scale of their impact are more significant than that of the bricoleurs. Third, the social engineers are "the most driven" (Zahra et al., 2009, p. 529), focusing on introducing revolutionary change. Sometimes, these founders are considered subversive.

Building on Zahra and colleagues' (2009) typology, Smith and Stevens (2010) proposed that spatial scaling bears an inverse relationship to the degree of the founders' embeddedness. Therefore, founders who are more embedded in a context may endeavour to address a multitude of local concerns. In contrast, those less embedded are likely to focus on fewer social challenges over a greater geographical area. Therefore, the founder's degree of embeddedness has a negative relationship to spatial scaling. The authors argued,

The three different types of social entrepreneurship tend to occur in different spaces of geography: the Social Bricoleur type focuses on creating social value at a local, even a community-wide level, the Social

Constructionist type often focuses on creating social value in regional or national boundaries and the Social Engineer type often addresses social issues in a transnational or global context... an increase in geographic scale and scope (i.e. from Social Bricoleur to Social Engineer) will often be accompanied by a decrease in the level of structural embeddedness, as finite relationship development and maintenance resources must be spread over an increasing geographic space. (p. 585)

Building on Smith and Stevens' (2010) proposition that embeddedness constrains spatial scaling, Desa and Koch (2014) distinguished between prosocial ventures' depth and breadth impact. Breadth impact refers to the broad spatial distribution of a single product or service, thereby reaching many geographically dispersed beneficiaries. In comparison, depth impact refers to providing many products and services, with limited spatial distribution to fewer beneficiaries. The authors found that embeddedness enabled a venture to gain access to local resources for depth impact. Desa and Koch's (2014) findings were largely consistent with Smith and Stevens' (2010) propositions. Furthermore, the authors also found that the venture's trust-based ties, based on being embedded in local contexts, provided the initial political support for subsequent spatial scaling (Desa & Koch, 2014).

In addition, to spatial or breadth impact, embeddedness shapes the pace of scaling. Kannothen et al. (2018) conducted their qualitative study based on data gathered from 12 impact sourcing service providers from Kenya, South Africa, India, and the USA. These ventures hired staff from disadvantaged communities. The authors identified two major growth orientations: "community-focused" or "client-focused" venture growth. The former refers to ventures embedded in the communities and integrating community and client relationships. The latter was driven by the desire to expand the client base while managing community relationships independently (Kannothen et al., 2018). The community-oriented ventures' growth, based on embeddedness, was slow, while the client-focused ventures' growth was fast-paced. Similarly,

Kim and Kim (2021) found that while embeddedness reduced the pace of scaling, its impact was more enduring.

However, Bauwens et al. (2020), building on Vickers and Lyon's (2014) typology, revealed that the prosocial ventures' degree of embeddedness was not related to spatial scaling. In their study of three Flemish renewable energy cooperatives, the authors found that the ventures' mission, at the time of founding, shaped their scaling approach (Bauwens et al., 2020). The authors argued that organisational missions were on a continuum ranging from mutual interest to general interest,

[D]ifferent scaling strategies can be understood through the choices made at the founding stage, in particular, how the organizational mission is positioned on the continuum between mutual interest, that is, serving the interests of the members, and general interest, that is, serving the broader interest of society or specific disadvantaged target groups. (p. 196)

General interest refers to serving venture members, while mutual interest refers to serving disadvantaged groups external to the organisation or society. The venture with a mutual interest was embedded in the community and realised breadth impact, while the venture with general interest was not embedded and realised depth impact. These findings were in direct contrast to those of Desa and Koch (2014). In Bauwens and colleagues' (2020) study, mutual influence, not the founders' degree of embeddedness, shaped scaling. The authors explained, "the scaling choices of each organization are also influenced by the positioning of the other organizations in the field" (Bauwens et al., 2020, p. 196). These findings were significant since they explained variations in the prosocial founders' scaling approaches and their rationale or motivation for the variation in scaling approaches.

In addition to the founders' degree of embeddedness, network diversity may facilitate founders gaining access to unique and diverse resources for scaling (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003; Kim & Aldrich, 2005). However, founders' social networks are typically homogenous (Kim &

Aldrich, 2005). The homogeneity is mainly due to egos being drawn to similar alters, social boundaries, and founders not being able to predict which ties will be fruitful (Kim & Aldrich, 2005). Hoang and Antoncic (2003) argued that the greater the network density, the lower the chance of gaining access to unique resources. Furthermore, resources will likely be recirculated instead of being redistributed (Hoang & Antoncic, 2003). Kodithuwakku and Rosa's (2002) findings were consistent with Hoang and Antoncic's (2003) argument. Based on their study of farmers in Sri Lanka, Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002) found that policies intended to support entrepreneurship resulted in the redistribution of resources amongst the beneficiaries rather than fostering a net increase in resources.

Founders may access resources through family, friends, and professional relationships (Kotha & George, 2012; Ruef et al., 2003; Uzzi, 1999). In their study of 611 founders in the USA, Kotha and George's (2012) findings highlighted that founders' related industry and prior start-up experience shaped the value of resources raised. Those with industry and start-up experience raised more resources through their social ties than those who lacked such experience. In addition, the founders' mix of professional and familial ties for obtaining resources varied based on the founders' experience. Those with both related industry and prior start-up experience acquired more resources through professional ties, while the remaining founders acquired more through familial ties. Relatedly, based on a study of 11 banks in Chicago, Uzzi (1999) found that ventures embedded in social ties with their lenders secured preferential interest rates (Uzzi, 1999). In addition to these tangible benefits or resources, founders may obtain intangible benefits by being embedded in their social networks.

Founders may draw on their social ties for knowledge and support. McKeever et al. (2014) studied 15 founders from a small town in Ireland. The authors' findings revealed that founders' social capital and mutual interest served as a platform for them to encourage and

share expertise with each other. Similarly, Jack (2005), based on her study in rural Scotland, demonstrated that founders relied on their networks for knowledge and information and to enhance their personal and their venture's reputation. Relatedly, Davidsson and Honig (2003) found that entrepreneurs with strong ties influenced their persistence in venture creation activities. During the venture creation phase, founders may draw on their social networks for ideas (Greve & Salaff, 2003; Ozgen & Baron, 2007; Singh et al., 1999). Greve and Salaff (2003), drawing on a large data set across four developed countries, found that entrepreneurs draw on social networks to varying degrees depending on the venture creation phases, being motivation, planning, and establishment phases. Founders relied most on their social networks during the planning phase (Greve & Salaff, 2003).

Similarly, in a study based in rural Sri Lanka, Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002) found that successful entrepreneurs drew on their social networks to access local knowledge and resources for resource mobilisation, contributing to their venture growth. Although not directly concerned with scaling, Desa and Basu (2013) found that founders' social networks played an important role in resource mobilisation in impoverished contexts.

Broadly, the benefits of having social capital include access to information, the ability to exert influence, validation of social credentials, and reinforcement of identity through recognition (Lin, 2002). However, social capital also has constraining effects, especially when actors are over-embedded (Gedajlovic et al., 2013; Portes, 1998).

Although largely touted as having positive consequences resulting from group membership on both the individual and the collective levels, social capital also bears negative consequences (Nahapiet & Goshal, 1998; Portes, 1998). At the individual level, Portes (1998) argued that social capital “[may result in the] exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward leveling norms” (p. 15).

Moreover, in the context of poverty, social capital's ill-effects may be self-perpetuating, resulting in intergenerational deprivation (Loury, 1981). At a collective level; that is, the organisational level, Uzzi (1997) found that the positive effects of social capital and embeddedness increase up to a threshold. Thereafter, social capital can result in negative economic performance; since the venture becomes vulnerable to external shocks from being insulated from information outside the network. Gedajlovic et al. (2013) noted, "social capital may also have negative implications for entrepreneurial and performance outcomes" (p. 460).

These negative consequences, including constraining venture scaling, may be especially applicable in rural and impoverished contexts. These contexts are characterised as having dense networks, with a prevalence of bonding social capital (Lin, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). In addition, actors often have a high degree of embeddedness with their family, kin, and community (Berner et al., 2012; Viswanathan et al., 2008). Actors in these contexts are likely to share cognitive social capital, which refers to "a common understanding of collective goals (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998), and is embodied in shared social norms, language, narratives and circumstances, and obligations towards the community" (Viswanathan et al., 2014, p. 219).

Empirical studies provide evidence, supporting the notion that entrepreneurial activity is constrained by cognitive social capital and over-embedded in impoverished contexts. In Slade Shantz et al.'s (2018) study of entrepreneurs in rural Ghana revealed that "insiders", founders embedded in the context, faced demands on their resources. They were "expected to act as a social safety net within communities by providing timely loans, provide a consistent supply of specific goods and services and mentor new entrant competitors" (Slade Shantz et al., 2018, p. 417). These demands placed on insiders inhibited their ventures' scaling. In contrast,

founders, whom the community regarded as outsiders, were less constrained by these demands (Slade Shantz et al., 2018).

Similarly, in their Uganda-based study of indigenous Ugandans founders and founders of Asian origin, Khayesi and George (2011) found that founders' communal orientation affected their resource accumulation. For example, founders with a shared identity with their community and a high communal orientation accumulated fewer resources. This finding was possibly due to them sharing their resources with needy community members. In a related study, Khayesi et al. (2014) found that founders' network size was positively related to the value of resources they raised. However, the associated costs were higher when the founders' shared identity with their social network was high.

These studies help explain why entrepreneurs in certain contexts raise more resources through their social capital, while those in other contexts raise less. Notably, these rural and impoverished contexts have dense networks that lack network diversity. Next, I survey other methods that prosocial founders may adopt to scale social impact, through venture growth.

## *(2) Other methods*

Prosocial founders may access tangible resources for growing social ventures in order to scale social impact. They may do so by adopting various organisational forms, through crowdfunding, and adopting resourcefulness practices, such as bricolage.

### *i) Organisational forms*

Founders may adopt different organisational forms to access the tangible resources necessary for growing social ventures so that these ventures may scale social impact. El Ebrashi & El-Batawy (2021) developed a typology of scaling approaches based on their study of 20 prosocial ventures in Egypt. The matrix, represented in figure 1 below, is based on the nature of interventions and the social impact drivers. The matrix comprises eight scaling approaches.

These were, controlled growth, stakeholder capacity building, joint social venture, consortium, value chain integration and intermediation, benchmarking, social licensing and social franchising, and formal institutionalization. Prosocial founders may gain access to the resources necessary for scaling social impact by adopting the scaling approaches mentioned in the matrix.

Nature of intervention	Recurring intervention	Controlled growth	Joint Social Venture	Value chain Integration Intermediation	Social licensing Social franchising
	Interim intervention	Stakeholder capacity building	Consortium	Benchmarking	Formal institutionalization
		Outreach	Holistic impact	Empowerment	System change
		Social impact drivers			

*Figure 1: Typology of social impact scaling approaches*  
 Source: (El Ebrashi & El-Batawy, 2021, p. 26)

More broadly, prosocial business models may scale either partially or through full replication (Dees et al., 2004; Weber et al., 2012). However, replication is complex (Dees et al., 2004). Based on their review of the prosocial scaling literature, Weber et al. (2012) noted that the complexity related to scaling could be reduced by first ensuring that the venture’s operational model is stable. Thereafter, the model’s core elements should be identified, and only those elements generating social impact should be replicated. Relatedly, Dees et al. (2004) noted alternatives to full replication. The authors suggested that either programmes or a set of principles may be replicated (Dees et al., 2004).

Social franchising is another way to scale partially while maintaining centralised control. Tracey and Jarvis (2007), based on their UK-based study of a prosocial venture, found that the prosocial venture’s motivation for the social franchise model was to gain access to resources. However, the venture’s dual commercial and social advancement goals created conflict between the franchisor and franchisees. Therefore, this model resulted in goal

asymmetries, resulting in fractured relationships between the franchisor and the franchisees (Tracey & Jarvis, 2007). Eventually, the venture collapsed (Tracey & Jarvis, 2007). Building on these findings, Giudici et al. (2020) found that the venture's social mission facilitated goal alignment and a shared identity between the franchisor and the franchisees. In turn, the shared identity shaped social impact scaling (Giudici et al., 2020).

#### ii) Crowdfunding

In addition, prosocial ventures may gain access to resources through crowdfunding. Bruton et al. (2015) argued that “crowdfunding emerged as a way of leveling the playing field and allowing individual investors an opportunity to pool relatively small amounts of money together in order to meet the funding requirements of new or expanding ventures” (p. 10). Crowdfunding occurs on social media platforms, where potential investors evaluate projects or ventures (Bruton et al., 2015; Moss et al., 2018). Moss et al. (2018) conducted a study based on ventures registered on a platform dedicated to prosocial ventures. Based on their large-scale sample of in excess of 83,000 founders in 60 countries, the authors found that ventures varied in the content they communicated to prospective investors. Founders who communicated a single rhetoric, emphasising social outcomes over economic ones, raised funds with greater efficiency than those founders who communicated both economic and social outcomes.

#### iii) Bricolage

Bricolage, a way of mobilising resources, shapes venture scaling. Building on Lévi-Strauss' (1967) work, Baker and Nelson (2005) defined bricolage as “making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities” (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 333). In their inductive field study, the authors demonstrated that although bricolage results in venture growth, reliance on bricolage across too many of what they labelled activity

“domains” did not. In the field of entrepreneurship, the study of bricolage has since burgeoned, including studies of prosocial founders and their ventures.

Bricolage is practised widely by prosocial ventures, as shown in Desa’s (2012) study of 202 technology social ventures located in 45 countries. Although this study was not concerned with scaling, it provides valuable insight into the motivation for practising bricolage. Desa (2012) differentiated between necessity-based and ideation bricolage. Necessity-based bricolage aligns with Baker and Nelson’s (2005) conception; since ventures used it when they were resource-constrained (Desa, 2012). In contrast, ideation bricolage refers to ventures using bricolage to facilitate integrating stakeholders’ ideas and skills (Desa, 2012).

In another large-scale, survey-based study of 123 prosocial ventures, Bacq et al. (2015) found that the practice of bricolage resulted in venture growth. However, in their post-hoc analysis, the authors found that the practice of bricolage over an extended time yielded diminishing returns (Bacq et al., 2015). These results were consistent with Baker and Nelson’s (2005). These findings suggest that bricolage constrains scaling if practised over time (Busch & Barkema, 2021).

However, more recent prosocial studies have extended our understanding of bricolage and scaling. Busch and Barkema (2021), in their study of a prosocial venture in South Africa, found that bricolage was practised over a long time, and the venture continued to scale. Sustained scaling was achieved by adopting bricolage as a replication process and adapting processes in diverse local environments. Relatedly, in their study of ventures mentored by two business incubators, Kim and Kim (2021) found that different modes of resourcing, either financing or bricolage, shaped spatiotemporal scaling. Ventures resourced through financing expanded rapidly and spatially. In contrast, those resourced through bricolage were locally embedded and gained access to locally embedded resources. Therefore, these ventures grew

slowly and had limited spatial impact. However, the locally embedded ventures had a greater depth impact. Moreover, their impact was more enduring than the impact of financed ventures.

These studies are valuable for understanding how prosocial founders may scale social impact through venture growth. However, prosocial founders may be interested in “expanding impact” and less interested in “becoming large” (Uvin et al., 2000, p. 1409).

#### 2.4.2. Scaling social impact without significant venture growth

Uvin et al. (2000), based on their study of five NGOs in India, suggested that social networks were important for scaling prosocial ventures. The authors identified five patterns for scaling social impact. These were expanding the size and geographical area served, increasing the range of activities performed, increasing indirect activities, broadening indirect impact, and enhancing organisational sustainability. Based on these patterns, the authors argued that initiators, such as founders, may opt for two types of activities, either direct or indirect. The former refers to initiators working with personal contact with beneficiaries to enhance their lives, while the latter refers to initiators endeavouring to influence actors, external to their prosocial venture, to enhance the well-being of the beneficiaries.

Uvin et al. (2000) argued that prosocial founders could engage in a combination of direct and indirect activities in order to scale social impact, without significantly growing the size of their ventures. Direct activities refers to initiators, such as founders, working with personal contact with beneficiaries, while indirect activities refers to founders influencing actors, external to the founders’ organisation, to work with personal contact with beneficiaries (Uvin et al., 2000). The authors argued that through indirect activities, initiators might “reach their target group only indirectly, through the actions and decisions of others... Indirect impact can occur through training, advocacy, knowledge creation, or advice” (Uvin et al., 2000, p. 1411). Indirect activities suggests that prosocial founders may leverage their social capital in order to

gain access to resources embedded in their social networks. Notably, instead of prosocial founders drawing on their social capital for resources to grow their ventures, Uvin et al. (2000) argued that they could draw on their social capital to have individuals in their social network conduct prosocial activities with beneficiaries. Thus, prosocial ventures may grow their impact without growing their size.

Although these studies are valuable for understanding scaling, many have focused on prosocial ventures in developed economies (Desa & Koch, 2014). Therefore, they do not consider or do not emphasise important factors that shape scaling specific to developing economies (Desa & Koch, 2014). These factors include the prevalence of institutional voids (Mair & Marti, 2009) and widespread and acute lack of skills (Ansari et al., 2012; Bruhn et al., 2010; Hall et al., 2012). Furthermore, while these studies explain how prosocial founders may scale social impact, few studies explain why they endeavour to scale their social impact (Shepherd, 2015; Smith et al., 2016).

### 2.5. Prosocial founder motivation

Many scholars regard prosocial founders as individuals who, through their ventures, endeavour to tackle complex challenges, such as poverty alleviation (Bacq & Lumpkin, 2021; Dorado & Ventresca, 2013; Vedula et al., 2022). In addition to endeavouring to tackle complex problems, Vedula et al. (2022), based on their systematic review of literature on entrepreneurship for the public good, argued that prosocial founders make “trade-offs between economic and prosocial motives” (p. 400). Shepherd (2015) defined prosocial motivation as “the desire to expend effort based on a concern for helping or contributing to other people” (p. 500). The author further argued that “[t]he notion of prosocial motivation appears to be a particularly relevant yet under-researched antecedent to the entrepreneurial actions that alleviate others’ suffering (Shepherd, 2015, p. 500).

Based on their systematic review of prosocial scaling, Weber et al. (2012) argued that the scaling process begins with the “commitment of the individuals driving the scaling process” (Weber et al., 2012, p. 755). Yet, few studies have explored what motivates prosocial founders to scale their impact (Smith et al., 2016). Some studies have theorised the factors that motivate such scaling. These include the founders’ attributes, such as the founder’s compassion (Miller et al., 2012), degree of embeddedness (Smith & Stevens, 2010), and moral intensity and desire for control (Smith et al., 2016). In addition, the founders’ motivation may shape their brokerage orientation within their social networks (Kwon et al., 2020; Obstfeld, 2017), which may, in turn, shape scaling.

According to Shepherd (2015), Renko’s (2013) study was a rare exception. Renko’s (2013) study was based on a sample of 45 prosocial and 148 commercial ventures, derived from the Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics II. The author found that prosocial motivation reduced the likelihood of a venture’s survival over four years. This effect was amplified when the venture’s product offering was new to the market. However, this study did not focus on explaining how the founders’ motivation shaped variations in their scaling approaches.

## 2.6. Summary and research question

Prosocial founders play an important role in alleviating complex social challenges, such as poverty (Bacq & Lumpkin, 2021; Dorado & Ventresca, 2013; Vedula et al., 2022). In their bid to alleviate poverty, founders may adopt either a top-down or bottom-up market-based solution (Cañeque & Hart, 2017). However, successfully implementing market-based solutions in impoverished contexts is fraught with challenges (Mair & Marti, 2009; Seelos & Mair, 2005). Key amongst these challenges is the limited resources of their consumers, who are sometimes so poor that they cannot afford even basic products (Seelos & Mair, 2005).

Despite these challenges, some prosocial founders may be interested in scaling social impact in impoverished contexts; since scaling will alleviate the multitude of challenges experienced by beneficiaries and reach more beneficiaries (Desa & Koch, 2014). Like their non-prosocial ventures counterparts, few prosocial ventures scale (Bloom, 2012; Smith et al., 2016). These founders' endeavours may be constrained by their limited resources; since being resource-constrained is the most common circumstance shared by entrepreneurs in most contexts (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006).

Numerous studies offer insights into how prosocial founders may gain access to resources for venture growth in order to scale social impact. Many studies stress different modes founders may use to gain access to the resources necessary for scaling. For example, the founders' social capital, social networks, and degree of embeddedness in social networks may shape their access to resources. In addition, founders may adopt various organisational forms, raise funds through crowdfunding (Bruton et al., 2015; Moss et al., 2018), and adopt resourcefulness practices, such as bricolage (Bacq et al., 2015; Baker & Nelson, 2005). These studies provide valuable insights into how prosocial founders may use the resources they access to grow the prosocial ventures in order to scale social impact.

However, prosocial founders may prioritise scaling social impact over venture growth (Bauwens et al., 2020; Uvin et al., 2000). To do so, prosocial founders may engage in a combination of direct and indirect activities, thereby scaling social impact without requiring significant venture growth (Uvin et al., 2000). These founders may draw on their social capital, which is related to social networks and embeddedness, to conduct indirect activities (Uvin et al., 2000). Indeed, social capital, social networks and embeddedness are closely related.

The differences in founders' motivation may shape their brokerage orientation within their social networks (Kwon et al., 2020; Obstfeld, 2017), which, in turn, may shape how they

endeavour to scale social impact. Although scaling begins with the individual driving the process (Weber et al., 2012), few studies have explored what drives prosocial founders to scale social impact (Shepherd, 2015; Smith et al., 2016). Moreover, fewer studies explain how the prosocial founders' motivation shapes differences in their scaling approaches (Bauwens et al., 2020). This is especially so in the context of developing economies (Desa & Koch, 2014), where consumers are sometimes so poor that they cannot afford even basic products (Desa & Koch, 2014; Seelos & Mair, 2005). Therefore, my research question is: How and why do prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in contexts of extreme poverty?

## Chapter 3: Research methods

### 3.1. Chapter introduction

This chapter has four main sections. The chapter opens with an overview of the research design adopted, followed by a discussion of the research context. Thereafter, I discuss the sampling strategy, followed by data collection and analysis. Data collection and analysis occurred over three discrete rounds, and I discuss each round. The processes of data collection, data analysis, and literature review were iterative. As themes emerged in the data, I reviewed salient literature and adjusted the research question, iteratively.

### 3.2. Research design

This study explored the research question: How and why do prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in contexts of extreme poverty? There is a limited theoretical understanding of this subject. Therefore, an inductive, qualitative design based on comparative case studies was adopted (Eisenhardt, 1989). Grounded theory methods were adopted; since they enable the exploration of novel patterns of behaviour that are context-specific (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) argued that readers may be confused by the meaning of ground theory; since scholars refer to grounded theory to mean different things. Therefore, I clarify, my interpretation of grounded theory. I draw on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) conceptualisation of grounded theory, focuses on the “interpretation of meaning by social actors” (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 30).

### 3.3. Study context

South Africa makes for an interesting research site. The nation is characterised as having a dual economy (Turok, 2015), with disparate economic development and empowerment levels. This disparity results in the citizens from each economy bearing sharply contrasted existences (World Bank, 2019). Empowerment and economic development are “closely related” (Duflo,

2012, p. 1051). On the one hand, the developed economy contributes significantly to the African economy (Statistics SA, 2018), and many of its citizens are empowered and enjoy a relatively high GDP per capita. On the other hand, the impoverished from the developing economy are often unempowered, face high levels of unemployment (Statistics SA, 2021), and are structurally excluded (Turok, 2015). The nation's deepening inequality (World Bank, 2020) often reduces citizens from the developing economy to a disadvantaged status.

The nation has amongst the highest levels of inequality globally, with in excess of 55% of its population living in poverty (International Monetary Fund, 2020; World Bank, 2020). The geographic separation and economic isolation of historically disadvantaged networks, a legacy of the apartheid<sup>1</sup> regime and characteristic of the nation's dual economy, persist and exacerbate the situation (Turok, 2015). Women and children often bear the brunt of the compounding ill-effects of poverty (World Bank, 2017), including enduring unequal educational opportunities. According to Amnesty International (2020),

Many schools and the communities they serve continue to live with the consequences of the political and economic decisions made during the apartheid era. The result is that a child's experience of education in South Africa still very much depends on where they are born, how wealthy they are, and the colour of their skin... Within this context it is not surprising that in terms of outcomes South Africa has one of the most unequal school systems in the world, with the widest gap between the test scores of the top 20% of schools and the rest. Children in the top 200 schools achieve more distinctions in maths than children in the next 6,600 schools combined. (p. 7)

Furthermore, period poverty exacerbates the social and economic exclusion of women and children. Period poverty refers to the "lack of access to sanitary products, menstrual hygiene education, toilets, hand washing facilities, and, or, waste management." (Sanchez &

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<sup>1</sup> "Apartheid ("apartness" in the language of Afrikaans) was a system of legislation that upheld segregationist policies against non-white citizens of South Africa." The oppressive system formally ended in 1994, when South Africa held its first democratic elections. History.com. (2020, March 3). Apartheid. <https://www.history.com/topics/africa/apartheid>

Rodriguez, 2019). Sanitary products or feminine hygiene products (FHPs) refers to “disposable sanitary pads, reusable sanitary pads, tampons and menstrual cups” (Department of Women Youth & Persons with Disabilities, 2019, p. 3). Notably, the lack of access to and affordability of FHPs results in a multitude of undesirable yet avoidable socio-economic outcomes. Menstrual absenteeism has the ripple effect of compromising education and economic participation for girls and women (Boosey & Wilson, 2013; Kettaneh et al., 2014; Pitt, 2018; World Bank, 2017).

In South Africa, period poverty affects many women and girls (Boosey & Wilson, 2013; World Bank, 2017). For example, an estimated 2.6 million schoolgirls are affected by period poverty (Jeynes, 2016). Moreover, many women and girls, who lack access to or cannot afford FHPs, use alternatives, such as cow dung, leaves, and cloth (Cut from a different cloth, 2013; World Bank, 2017). These alternatives sometimes bear health-related risks for the users, including reproductive health problems, urinary tract infections and toxic shock syndrome (Boosey & Wilson, 2013). Indeed, sometimes the consumers are so poor that they cannot afford basic products (Seelos & Mair, 2005), necessitating external intervention, such as by the state or ventures founded to address period poverty.

However, the South African government has experienced challenges and has lagged behind other nations in adopting and implementing period poverty. For example, Scotland was the first country to offer FHPs free of charge to all (Diamond, 2020). Shortly thereafter, New Zealand also offered FHPs at all schools (Treisman, 2021). Although there have been some state-led reforms in recent years, the adoption and implementation of policies have sometimes been sluggish and ineffective (Jeynes, 2016; Masuku, 2020; Mouneimne, 2017; Pilane, 2018; United Nations Population Fund, 2021). For example, the South African government’s policies to supply FHPs free of charge are applicable at schools that have mainly impoverished learners

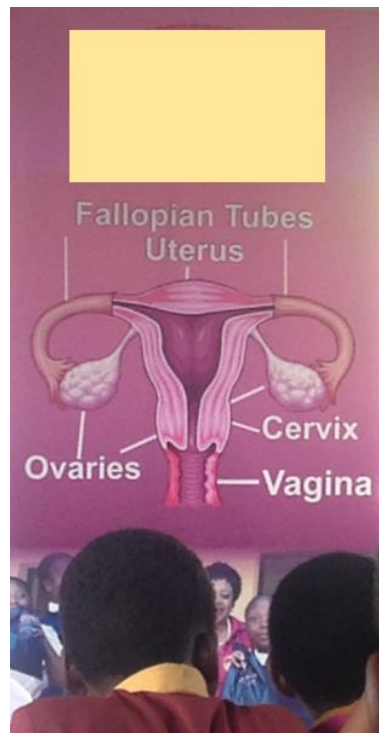
(South African Government, 2019). Yet, there may also be impoverished learners, such as bursary holders, in the remaining schools (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2020). Furthermore, until recently, the South African government continued levying taxes on the sale of FHPs, lagging behind several of its African counterparts, who had already abandoned this practice (Mouneimne, 2017).

Notably, during the last quarter of 2018, the Minister of Finance announced two reforms: (1) sanitary pads would be zero-rated for value-added taxation, and (2) sanitary pads would be distributed free of charge to poor female learners in South Africa (Pilane, 2018). However, even with the support of enacted legislation and allocated funds, implementing the latter reform remains less than satisfactory (Fokazi, 2021; Hlope, 2020; Jeynes, 2016; Masuku, 2020; Mouneimne, 2017; Pilane, 2018). For example, funds intended for period poverty alleviation were mismanaged (Hlope, 2020). In addition, more than 3,000 schools continue to have inappropriate sanitary facilities (Fokazi, 2021; Ramaphosa, 2019). Several incidents occurred when children have drowned in pit latrines while attending school (Fihlani, 2018; Ramaphosa, 2019; Saba et al., 2018). Such inefficiencies and ineffectiveness place additional demands on external actors, such as founders of prosocial ventures.

Indeed, in developing countries, such as South Africa, venture founders play a pivotal role in alleviating many of the socio-economic challenges faced (National Planning Commission, 2011), such as period poverty (Cut from a different cloth, 2013; World Bank, 2017, 2021). In South Africa, period poverty has sparked a nascent product category for the impoverished, with some founders actively engaged in alleviating the challenge. Through their FHP ventures, some founders endeavoured to alleviate period poverty by facilitating the supply of FHPs and conducting feminine health and hygiene training (FHHT). Although the contents

of each venture's feminine training programme varied, it typically included information about puberty, menstruation, sex education, and product use and care instructions.

The founders' endeavours had several common characteristics. Through their FHP ventures, they endeavoured to alleviate period poverty by facilitating the distribution of FHPs. In parallel, the founders conducted FHHT for the impoverished. Figure 2 below is an example of a banner used during the FHHT. The impoverished schoolgirls and women were historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs)<sup>2</sup>.



*Figure 2: FHHT banner*

At distribution events, FHP ventures distribute FHPs to, and conduct FHHT for, the impoverished. These events occur at beneficiary sites, such as schools, NGOs, churches, homeless shelters, orphanages, and places of employment. Figure 3 below provides an example,

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<sup>2</sup> In South Africa, historically disadvantaged individual “refers to any person, category of persons or community, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination before the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Act No. 200 of 1993) came into operation.” South Africa. (2004, August 13). General Notice 1639 of 2004: Scorecard for the Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South African mining industry. *Government Gazette*.  
<https://www.mqa.org.za/sites/default/files/Mining%20Charter%20August%202004.pdf>

of an orphanage as the distribution site, through photographs taken during a field trip. FHP ventures either source or manufacture the FHPs. Then, founders supply these products to the impoverished free of charge. A combination of donations collected, commercial sales to people with means (PWMs), and the founders' personal resources fund the purchase of the FHPs. Donors include corporates, professional bodies, private individuals, and NGOs.



*Figure 3: Beneficiary site - Orphanage*

#### 3.4. Sampling strategy

In order to respond to the research question, I studied nine cases. Initially, I identified potential cases via internet and social media searches, using various permutations of keywords, such as “South Africa”, “sanitary pads”, and “feminine hygiene”. I identified additional cases through snowball sampling. During the early stages of this study, I explored venture growth, and my research question was, how and why do founders grow their inclusive innovation ventures? Cases were then selected based on pre-defined similarities in order to answer the research question (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Gehman et al., 2017): (a) the ventures were founder-run, (b) the ventures were based in South Africa, and (c) the ventures sell FHPs to impoverished consumers, (d) the ventures engaged in inclusive innovation, (e) the ventures had limited tangible resources at inception; since the availability of tangible resources may facilitate growth, and (f) all founders aspired for growth; since founders' aspiration is a key predictor of venture growth outcomes (Wiklund & Shepherd, 2003). I hoped to find

variation in the ventures' growth rates; since this was the construct under investigation (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Gehman et al., 2017).

I screened 35 potential cases and identified 12 cases that both met the selection criteria and where the founder was willing to participate in the study. At the end of the first round of data collection, two founders left the study: one requested to no longer participate, and the other stopped responding to my attempts to make contact. Relatedly, during the third round, another founder stopped responding to my requests for a follow-up interview. Therefore, the final sample comprised nine cases. Table 1 below arrays the case descriptions and primary data collected. I anonymised the founders and the ventures. Next, I discuss data collection and analysis.

*Table 1: Case descriptions and primary data collected*

Case #	Founder	Venture	Number of Interviews			Hours of fieldwork
			Founders	Employees	Total	
1	Petra (#1)	Ava Cups (AC)	6	2	8	16
2	Angela (#2)	Pay Forward Pads (PFP)	8	2	10	29
3	Isabelle (#3)	Ripple Products (RP)	2	0	2	3
4	Nicki (#4)	Castro Pads (CP)	10	7	17	27
5	Lynn (#5)	Faith Pads (FP)	8	1	9	11
6	Sally (#6)	Lean Mommy Pads (LMP)	4	0	4	6
7	Didi (#7)	Dedicated Solutions (DS)	4	0	4	4
8	Jane (#8)	Yuppie Pads (YP)	5	0	5	5
9	Divina (#9)	Divine Pads (DP)	7	0	7	5

Although the research question was later adjusted, the sample remained unchanged. The research question was adjusted when I could not identify discernable patterns in the data, and when I did not observe interesting phenomena. With each adjustment to the research question, the sample remained theoretically relevant; since there was variation in the outcome being studied. Table 2, below arrays the research question applicable for each round, including the date range of each round.

*Table 2: Adjustments to the research question*

Round	Date range	Research question	Reason for change in research question
1	Mar-2019 to Oct-2019	How and why do founders grow their inclusive innovation ventures? ↓ How and why do founders grow their prosocial ventures?	No discernible pattern between inclusive innovation and venture growth was identified. Therefore, the RQ was changed to investigate venture growth more broadly.
2	Nov-2019 to Mar-2021	How and why do founders grow their prosocial ventures? ↓ How and why do differences in founder identity shape structural overlap?	A novel pattern, with theoretical significance was identified; that is, founders who perceived themselves as being the same as the schoolgirls brought about structural overlap, while those who perceived themselves as different did not.
3	Apr-2021 to Oct 2021	How and why do differences in founder identity shape structural overlap? ↓ How and why do prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in contexts of extreme poverty?	Following an intensive interrogation with an identity theory lens, identity dynamics could not explain the observed outcome. Therefore, the RQ was framed to investigate the interesting phenomena observed; that is some founders brought different set of key actors together, while others did not.

### 3.5. Data collection and analysis

In this exploratory study, the emergent findings and the literature iteratively shaped the research question, sampling criteria, and data collection. Data collection occurred over three discrete rounds, enabling me to formulate novel and defensible findings. For each case, data were collected from various sources, as is typical for theory-building, enabling me to induct theory through iterative case study analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 2009). Therefore, I gathered data from primary sources and secondary sources.

Interview and observational data formed the core of the primary data collected. Although real-time observation is time-consuming, it provides rich insights into human and organisational behaviour (Myers, 2013). I gathered real-time observational data as I studied the interaction between stakeholders, such as employees and customers, and venture activities, unobtrusively. I captured the observational data through detailed field notes (Miles et al., 2014) on the same day the observations took place. These field notes captured my first impressions and stimulated further thinking (Eisenhardt, 1989). I supplemented observational data with interview and secondary data, described below.

Between 2019 and 2021, I conducted 66 interviews. These interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed into more than 1,000 single-spaced pages. The average duration of the interviews was 35 minutes, with interviews ranging in duration from 5 to 108 minutes. I conducted multiple interviews with the founders. In some cases, the founders allowed me to conduct employee interviews, while in other cases, the founders did not. I only interviewed employees during round 1; since I did not need additional data thereafter. I did not collect data from other key actors; since many founders refused to allow me to engage with these actors. I did not consider these refusals a significant obstacle; since my research question concerned the founders' perspectives. Initially, the interviews were semi-structured, and I posed open-ended questions. As emergent patterns came to the fore, interviews became more structured. Table 1 above arrays the primary data collected for each case.

I supplemented primary data with secondary data, including data generated internally and externally of the FHP ventures. Internal data sources included the ventures' websites, social media sites, and documents, such as strategic plans. I frequently monitored the FHP ventures' websites and social media accounts. During the study's early stages, I did so to strengthen my understanding of the FHP product category in the impoverished context. Later, I did so to determine if there were variations in the ventures' practices and as a way of triangulating the data. For example, I initially noticed that some founders included donors at distribution events, while others did not. I scanned the FHP ventures' social media posts as a first step toward confirming my observation. Later, I probed the observation in more detail. External data included media reports and government policy documents.

I conducted data analysis through iterative within- and cross-case study analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) and coding transcripts and field notes to identify patterns. I conducted coding in Nvivo 12. Initially, I analysed the data using open in

vivo codes and coded everything. Next, I searched for patterns in the data to explain the relationship between constructs. I developed a few hundred tables, exploring and analysing the patterns identified.

Overall, there were a few differences in data collection and analysis processes over the three rounds. During the first two rounds, I collected data and analysed it, with little overlap between the processes. In contrast, during the third round, the data collection and analysis processes overlapped as the conceptual model emerged. In addition, soon after the commencement of the second round, following the first reported case of the coronavirus (Covid-19) in South Africa (National Institute for Communicable Diseases, 2020) and the World Health Organization’s declaration of a pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020), the South African government implemented one of the strictest lockdowns globally (Felix, 2021; Harding, 2020; Magome, 2020). These restrictions and delayed rollout of vaccines significantly obstructed observational data collection during rounds 2 and 3. Therefore, I conducted interviews via virtual platforms, such as Zoom. Table 3 below arrays the data collection and analysis approach for each round. Below, I discuss the steps followed in each of the three rounds of data collection and analysis.

*Table 3: Data collection and analysis approach for each round*

Details		Round		
		1	2	3
Data collection	Primary data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interview data</li> <li>- Semi-structured</li> <li>• Observational data</li> <li>• Field notes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interview data</li> <li>- Few structured questions</li> <li>• Field notes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interview data</li> <li>- More structured questions</li> <li>• Field notes</li> </ul>
	Secondary data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social media posts</li> <li>• Internet</li> <li>• Media</li> <li>• Venture documents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social media posts</li> <li>• Internet</li> <li>• Media</li> <li>• Venture documents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social media posts</li> <li>• Internet</li> <li>• Media</li> <li>• Venture documents</li> </ul>
Data analysis	Data coding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coding, anything interesting</li> <li>• In vivo codes</li> <li>• Poor theoretical links</li> <li>• Elusive causal mechanisms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iterative coding, focused</li> <li>• In vivo codes → Thematic</li> <li>• Moderate theoretical links</li> <li>• Elusive causal mechanisms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iterative coding, focused</li> <li>• In vivo codes → Thematic</li> <li>• Good theoretical links</li> <li>• Elucidated causal mechanisms</li> </ul>

Details		Round		
		1	2	3
Other methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Journaling, &amp; memos</li> <li>• Within- and cross-case analysis               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Written</li> <li>- Spreadsheet analysis</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Speculative hypotheses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Journaling, &amp; memos</li> <li>• Within- and cross-case analysis               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Written</li> <li>- Spreadsheet analysis</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Speculative hypotheses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Journaling, &amp; memos</li> <li>• Within- and cross-case analysis               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Written</li> <li>- Spreadsheet analysis</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
Other comments	Data collection and analysis were conducted sequentially	Data collection and analysis were conducted sequentially	Data collection and analysis were conducted iteratively	
Outcome measurement	Attempted to find a single quantitative measure for venture growth	Attempted to find a single quantitative measure for venture growth and a measure for identity	Measured scaling qualitatively, using a multiplex, ordinal measure	

### 3.5.1. Round 1

#### *(1) Objective*

The first round of data collection and analysis objectives were to build rapport with founders as data were collected, identify emergent themes through data analysis, and gain deeper insights into the FHP product category related to impoverished consumers.

#### *(2) Data collection*

I collected data from primary and secondary sources. These interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. They were semi-structured, and I posed open-ended questions. Initially, I asked respondents to tell me about themselves and enquired about the story of their respective ventures. The responses that I received informed additional questions that I posed. I developed an interview guide outlining the information I was interested in learning from founders and their employees, as noted in Annexures 1 and 2, respectively. In addition, I gathered observational data through field trips, such as visiting founders' ventures and attending distribution events. I captured these observations in field notes. Secondary data supplemented primary data were collected from multiple sources, including media reports and the ventures' internet and social media sites.

### *(3) Data analysis*

Initially, I analysed the data by coding transcripts and field notes using open in vivo codes, and I coded everything. I searched for patterns in the data to explain the relationship between inclusive innovation and venture growth. I explored potential patterns in detail by developing numerous tables and documenting numerous speculative hypotheses. I noted that some founders adopted inclusive innovation or a bottom-up market-based approach, while others adopted a top-down market-based approach. Some data patterns explored were; how founders' partnering strategies might shape growth, and how a venture's resource configuration might shape growth. I wrote case reports for within-case and cross-case analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). including those related to inclusive innovation. Initially, as a PhD student, I did so without establishing theoretical links.

#### *Coding and measurement*

Over time, I attempted enfolding the emergent patterns with literature (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The founders' personal experience appeared significant; since it was a recurring motivation for founders. Some founders related their personal experiences to the beneficiaries, while others did not. Initially, I coded these as "relatable personal experience" and "no relatable personal experience", respectively. However, as a PhD student, I struggled to define these constructs. Furthermore, my search to relate inclusive innovation practices to venture growth outcomes proved fruitless. I struggled to define venture growth concisely.

I attempted to measure the venture growth outcome quantitatively, based on the ventures' social impact. I considered this measurement necessary for a consistent assessment of all ventures. However, the ventures were effecting social impact in a variety of ways. For example, some ventures engaged impoverished women, many of whom were previously unskilled and unemployed, in the ventures' operations, effecting empowerment through job

creation, while others did not. Furthermore, some ventures employed impoverished women on a full-time basis; some only contracted the women on a part-time basis, and some outsourced production to sewing centres that contracted impoverished women. Figure 4 below provides an example of a sewing centre through photographs taken during a field trip.



*Figure 4: Sewing centre*

Similarly, finding a comparable measurement for the social impact resulting from the distribution of FHPs proved challenging. For example, some ventures distributed reusable FHPs, while others distributed disposable FHPs. A single venture had multiple pack sizes, products had varying lifespans, and one founder supported unrelated other founders to set up FHP ventures for more widespread impact. Typically, I drew on the self-reported changes in the number of FHP packs distributed to impoverished schoolgirls or changes in the value of donations received as a proxy for venture growth. However, this information was not always available. Notably, these proxy measures ignored retail sales, which founders sometimes used to fund further donations of FHPs. The measurement challenge persisted during the second round of data collection.

### 3.5.2. Round 2

#### *(1) Objective*

The second round of data collection aimed to develop the temporal span of data for each case, identify patterns in the data, and establish theoretical links. I was especially interested in growth indicators, such as changes in the value of donations received and the number of employees. However, I could not identify discernible patterns between inclusive innovation and venture growth. Therefore, I expanded the search by not limiting myself to inclusive innovation-related explanations for venture growth. I broadened the research question to: How and why do prosocial founders grow their ventures?

#### *(2) Data collection*

Although interview and secondary data were collected, the pandemic significantly obstructed observational data collection. Therefore, I placed additional reliance on interview data for the remainder of the study. I collected interview data via virtual platforms, such as Zoom and Skype. These interviews were a little more structured than in the previous round. I commenced with a broad, open-ended question, enquiring about what had happened since our last interview. Thereafter, I probed for venture growth-related information, such as the number of FHPs distributed and the number of HDI employees employed at that time. Refer to Annexure 2 for the interview guide used.

#### *(3) Data analysis*

I continued exploring patterns in the data, such as how founders organise their ventures to reflect their emotional personal experiences, how prosocial ventures trade-off value creation and value capture, and considered theory related to mission drift, identity theory and founder identity theory. Notably, I adopted the identity theory and founder identity theory lenses, which were useful for making a few theoretical links. Founder identity theory (FIT) bridges

entrepreneurship and identity theory (Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007). It has been defined as the set of chronically salient identities prevalent in the founder's day-to-day activities and is about "who I am" and "who I want to be" (Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017). Although FIT is burgeoning (Baker & Powell, 2020a), little is known about multiple identities (Drencheva & Topakas, 2018; Ramarajan, 2014). Typically, studies of multiple identities are limited to the pairs of identities (Ramarajan, 2014) and limited to work-related identities (Drencheva & Topakas, 2018), with few studies considering the interplay between work-related and supposedly non-work-related identities (Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017). Given the complexity of analysing multiple identities, these studies are usually largely limited to the analysis of the interaction of pairs of identities (Powell & Baker, 2014, 2017), with very few studies considering founders' having more than two identities (Mathias & Williams, 2017, 2018).

Typically, founder identity empirical studies have been conducted in a wide range of contexts, including those that have endured prolonged adversity (Powell & Baker, 2014), nascent industry formation (Zuzul & Tripsas, 2020), rural or impoverished settings (Slade Shantz et al., 2018), and prosocial venturing (O'Neil et al., 2020; Wry & York, 2017). However, extant literature has not considered founder identity in a dual economy, which has features of both a developed and developing economy (World Bank, 2019).

#### Coding and measurement

At this stage, I coded without giving importance to nuances between role and social identity. In addition, I neglected to define many constructs clearly. I coded and analysed data iteratively, considering the literature. I coded using first- and second-order codes (Miles et al., 2014). Three promising and ostensibly unrelated ideas seemed to converge. First, I wondered how Mead's (1934) dictum – society reflects self and self reflects society (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Vryan, 2003) and social structures (Stryker,

1980, 2008) – related to the founders, given that the founders operated in a dual economy. Initially, I thought the founders acted as bridges between the two economies, thus facilitating the flow of resources from the resource-rich developed economy to the resource-constrained developing economy. Notably, this idea developed as analysis progressed and my understanding of the extant theory deepened.

Second, connecting to the theory, I recoded “relatable experience” to “Who I used to be” and “no relatable experience” to “Who I might have been”. This was significant; since it expanded the temporal span of founder identity. According to Baker and Powell (2020), extant literature considers founder identity to be “about who I am and who I want to be and about who we are and who we want to be (Powell & Baker, 2014; 2017)”. My observation that founder identity is also about the founder’s past selves or “Who I used to be” and “Who I might have been” expanded the temporal span of founder identity.

After recoding, my gut response was that the founders who had “relatable experiences” had a greater number of identities than those who did not. Therefore, I analysed the data further. I arrayed the founders’ identities and attempted to make further theoretical connections. Once more, I reflected on Mead’s dictum and the social structures associated with the dual economy of the research context. I initially explored the notion of abstracting identities as being related to the developed economy or the developing economy. For example, first-order codes, such as “vulnerable child”, “helpless child”, “abused wife”, and “voiceless businesswoman”, were abstracted into the second-order code of “developing economy identities”. In contrast, “strong businesswoman”, “financially independent woman”, and “mentor” were abstracted into the second-order codes of “developed economy identities”.

As I continued to analyse the data, I realised that many of my first-order codes were applicable to both the “developing economy identities” and “developed economy identities”.

For example, “mentor” applied to both the second-order codes. Therefore, I relabelled the “developed economy identities” and “developing economy identities” to “empowered identities” and “unempowered identities”. Closer analysis revealed that the group I had initially thought to have more identities had, had both empowered and unempowered identities, while the other group had only empowered identities. I noted the common thread amongst the unempowered identities. These identities were related to deprivation or the lack of choice. Much later, once again connecting to the theory, I noted that founders with unempowered identities had their roles and role expectations imposed upon them (Stryker, 1980). In contrast, founders with empowered identities negotiated their roles and role expectations (Stryker, 1980). Table 4 below arrays the cases, and the founders’ experiences, identities, and groups assigned as the study progressed.

Third, my most significant observation was that some founders engaged both beneficiaries and donors concurrently, while others did not. Later, through further analysis, I realised that the donors were from the developed economy, and the beneficiaries were from the developing economy. I noted that founders with both empowered and unempowered identities engaged with donors and beneficiaries concurrently, while those with only empowered identities engaged with each stakeholder group separately. Moreover, I related this behaviour to the theory: concurrent engagement with otherwise analytically distinct social networks is referred to as “structural overlap” (Stryker, 1980).

I interrogated the novel pattern: founders with both empowered and unempowered identities brought about structural overlap, while founders with only empowered identities did not. I found that the pattern applied to all cases. My review of extant literature indicated that structural overlap had not been explored with founder identity theory. Therefore, I revised my

research question to, how and why do differences in founder identity shape structural overlap in prosocial ventures?

I probed the novel pattern further; however, the causal mechanisms remained elusive. Therefore, I considered an alternative approach for the third and final round of data collection. Based on the observation that some founders engaged with donors and beneficiaries concurrently, I considered other founder engagements and engagements that the founders promoted. Instead of drawing on identity theory, I drew on social capital and social network theory.

*Table 4: Founders' experiences, identities, and groups*

Case	Round 2: Founder experiences	Round 2: Founder identities	Round 3: Founder groups
Petra (#1)	Relatable experiences	Developed economy + Developing economy identities → Empowered + Unempowered identities	Relator
Angela (#2)	Relatable experiences	Developed economy + Developing economy identities → Empowered + Unempowered identities	Relator
Isabelle (#3)	Relatable experiences	Developed economy + Developing economy identities → Empowered + Unempowered identities	Relator
Nicki (#4)	Relatable experiences	Developed economy + Developing economy identities → Empowered + Unempowered identities	Relator
Lynn (#5)	Relatable experiences	Developed economy + Developing economy identities → Empowered + Unempowered identities	Relator
Sally (#6)	Relatable experiences	Developed economy + Developing economy identities → Empowered + Unempowered identities	Relator
Didi (#7)	No relatable experiences	Developed economy identities → Empowered identities	Differentiator
Jane (#8)	No relatable experiences	Developed economy identities → Empowered identities	Differentiator
Divina (#9)	No relatable experiences	Developed economy identities → Empowered identities	Differentiator

### 3.5.3. Round 3

#### *(1) Objective*

The main objective of the third and final round of data collection was to formulate and develop a defensible theoretical model that answers the research question. The research question was: How and why do prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in contexts of extreme poverty?

### *(2) Data collection*

Round 3 had three features that differentiated it from earlier rounds. First, unlike earlier rounds in which data were collected and then analysed, data collection and analysis overlapped and occurred iteratively during this round. In so doing, gaps in the data were closed as I developed the emergent theoretical model. Second, in order to close data gaps, interviews were more structured. Third, I enfolded theory during data collection and data analysis.

Given that the causal mechanisms remained elusive, I investigated the cause of the novel patterns, without attachment to identity theory. In order to do so, additional data were collected, probing the observation that some founders engaged with donors and beneficiaries concurrently, while others did not. Typically, interaction took place at distribution events. This observation seemed important; since it presented an opportunity for the impoverished to develop social capital with people with means. Therefore, I probed further to determine if there was indeed a ripple effect of bringing these two, otherwise socially disconnected, groups together. I also probed the underlying reason for bringing the otherwise disconnected sets of actors together.

Importantly, I did so by enfolding theory. Given that I was concerned with the interaction of otherwise disconnected sets of actors, network theory and social capital were considered appropriate. I probed the nature of the founders' interactions with other key actors, noting patterns in the data. As I had done with the donors, I considered the impact of, and the underlying reason for, the varying approaches to engaging with key actors. In so doing, my analysis revealed several more interesting patterns. Refer to Annexure 4 for the interview guide used.

### *(3) Data analysis*

I conducted data collection, data analysis, and literature review iteratively. Through data analysis, including abstraction, I identified patterns in the founders' behaviours and perceptions, the key actors involved in the scaling process, and the domains in which scaling

occurred. Guided by the principle of greater inclusivity of HDIs, I determined measurement criteria for each of the scaling domains identified, which I discuss below. Once clear patterns between the founders' perceptions and responses to the challenges related to period poverty were identified, the founders' responses were further abstracted. The process I followed to understand the founders' beneficiary orientation, the founders' interpretation of the challenge, the key actors involved in the scaling process, the founders' responses, and the scaling approach, including the measurement strategy, domains and measurement criteria, are each discussed in turn.

#### Coding and measurement

##### i) Founders' beneficiary orientation

The founders were labelled based on variation in their beneficiary orientation. Some founders perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries and were labelled *relators*. The remaining founders perceived themselves as different from the beneficiaries and were labelled *differentiators*. *Perceived similarity* and *perceived difference* are closely related to social identity theory (SIDT), which is rooted in the work of Tajfel (Hogg et al., 1995).

Tajfel was primarily concerned with intergroup prejudice and social conflict, which he ascribed to differences in social identities (Tajfel, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). He loosely defined social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). However, Tajfel (2010) and other scholars (Abrams & Hogg, 2010; Jackson & Smith, 1999) noted limitations of this definition, including the difficulty to operationalise it.

Although founders self-categorised as either similar to or different from the beneficiaries, I struggled to measure social identities. Part of the challenge was that some

founders' self-categories referred to past-selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986), while others did not. In addition, I could not determine how identity theory related dynamics shaped the responses I was observing. Therefore, I define perceived similarity and difference and explain how I identified these constructs. Perceived similarity refers to the founders' belief that they were similar to the beneficiaries. This perception was captured in the founders' expressions, noting that they either shared similar circumstances or had familial-like ties to the beneficiaries. For example, Nicki (#4) read out messages she had received from her HDI employees on Mother's Day. She explained how she perceived herself in relation to her HDI employees, who were also her beneficiaries,

She [an HDI employee] says, "I would like to say happy Mother's Day to ma'am [Nicki]. For me, she [Nicki] is everything. My mother, my sister, my boss, my mentor. She has nurtured me in a way that I still don't believe. May the Lord keep you and bless you ma'am. You are the best." ... One of the other girls [another HDI employee] sent me another message privately. And this is one I didn't expect, hey. Um she said, "Actually, I wanted to be the last daughter to wish you a blessed Mother's Day. May God bless you, and I am blessed to call you my mom. Love you so much. God bless you and your family. Love you." ... I was so emotional. So ja, you know. So, we're a real family here.

In comparison, perceived difference refers to the founders' belief that they were different from the beneficiaries. This perception was captured in the founders' expression that they were different from the beneficiaries; since they did not share similar circumstances. Furthermore, these founders did not express having familial-like ties to the beneficiaries. For example, Didi (#7) explained how she perceived herself in relation to her beneficiaries, "I am a white person, I am in my fifties, and uh and I'm a foreigner and standing in front of 140 thirteen-year-olds um mostly dark faces."

## ii) Founders' interpretation of challenges

I noticed that some founders regarded the challenges associated with period poverty as easy or simple to address period poverty. They believed the problem could be addressed by a single intervention, being the supply of FHPs. In contrast, other founders regarded the challenges associated with period poverty as complex, believing that multiple interventions were needed to address the problem. I cycled back to the literature to connect the different founders' interpretations to extant literature.

Recall, complex problems “are defined by their circular causality, persistence, absence of well-structured alternative solutions, relative lack of room for trial and error learning, constitutive of contradictory certitudes, and harboring redistributive implications for entrenched interests” (Dorado & Ventresca, 2013, p. 69). These problems are interlocking or interdependent challenges that fuel vicious circles (Hirschman, 1958, as cited in Dorado & Ventresca, 2013). Therefore, multiple concurrent interventions are required to address these problems and break the vicious cycles (Hirschman, 1958, as cited in Dorado & Ventresca, 2013). In contrast, simple problems refers to “those [problems] that are not interdependent and [can be] easily decomposed into their separate components, which render them highly modular for subsequent problem-solving efforts” (Mount et al., 2020, p. 105).

Therefore, I coded the founders' expressions, noting that a single intervention was necessary to alleviate period poverty as “simple problems”. In contrast, I coded founders' expressions noting that multiple interventions were necessary to alleviate period poverty as “complex problems”.

## iii) Key actors and key engagements

An early observation was that some founders included donors at distribution events, while others did not. Donor inclusion was considered important; since it presented HDIs with

the opportunity to engage with PWMs, creating the potential for HDIs to develop social capital with PWMs. Therefore, I considered other engagements between the founders and actors and interactions between actors that the founders facilitated. I observed patterns in these engagements and identified four sets of key actors; supporters, HDI beneficiaries, competitors, and suppliers.

Supporters refers to *individuals and organisations, external to the FHP venture, that helped advance the founders' shared goal of alleviating period poverty*. This group comprised two sub-groups: donors and other supporters, such as NGOs, social media influencers, and faith-based organisations. Competitors refers to *other founders who supplied FHPs to HDIs*. Suppliers refers to *individuals or organisations from whom founders sourced and paid for raw materials or finished products*.

HDI beneficiaries comprised two sub-groups: those who were recipients of FHPs (henceforth: recipients) and those who were employees. The HDI employees held both part-time and full-time employment and held either non-bridging or bridging roles. Non-bridging roles referred to roles in which the HDIs' interactions were limited to the interactions with other HDIs, thus limiting their opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs. In contrast, bridging roles referred to roles that necessitated interaction between HDIs and PWMs, such as supporters. Such interactions were considered important; since they presented the HDIs with opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs.

Prior literature has referred to key engagements in several ways. In education research, scholars sometimes interchange the terms student engagement and key engagement. According to Robinson and Hullinger (2008), "Student engagement pertains to the time and physical energy that students expend on activities in their academic experience" (p. 101). The authors considered key engagement on dimensions, such as active and collaborative learning, enriching

educational experiences, and student-faculty interaction, to measure the level of student engagement. In marketing research, customer engagement or key engagement refers to meaningful interaction between the customer and a brand (Hollebeek et al., 2016). According to Hollebeek et al. (2016), key engagement properties, include the duration, intensity, and frequency of customer interaction with a brand.

In human resources research, Kowske et al. (2009) defined employee engagement as “the extent to which employees are motivated to contribute to organizational success and are willing to apply discretionary effort to accomplishing tasks important to the achievement of organizational goals.” (Kowske et al., 2009, p. 50). Employee engagement, which has a positive relationship with organisational performance, may either increase or decrease (Carter & Baghurst, 2014). According to Carter and Baghurst (2014, p. 461), “Key engagement drivers often include open and honest communication, support to do one’s job, recognition and appreciation for work contributions, opportunity for growth and development, feeling valued, and knowing one’s contributions count.”

In sum, key engagements refers to interactions intended to shape important outcomes. In the context of prosocial venturing, key engagement refers *to the interaction between different sets of actors intended to shape scaling.*

#### iv) Abstracting founders’ responses

Through data analysis, I observed variations in the data patterns based on founders’ responses to the challenges related to period poverty. Some founders endeavoured to enhance the lives of the beneficiaries by alleviating or addressing a multitude of challenges experienced by the beneficiaries, while others focused on alleviating period poverty. These responses were labelled *person-oriented* and *problem-oriented*, respectively. In order to define these constructs, I referred to prior literature, noting similarities to its application in healthcare.

Prior literature refers to person-oriented or person-centred (henceforth: person-oriented) and problem-oriented or problem-centred (henceforth: problem-oriented) in several ways, in various fields. For example, these orientations have been explored in healthcare (McCormack & McCance, 2006; Reuben & Tinetti, 2012; Santana et al., 2018; Starfield et al., 2003), psychology and psychotherapy (Breunlin et al., 2011; Coghlan, 1993; Epstein & Bishop, 1981; Kirschenbaum & Jourdan, 2005; Pinosof et al., 2011; Rogers, 1961), and education (Cobb et al., 1991; Wood & Sellers, 1996, 1997), policing (Goldstein, 1979, 1990). In addition, scholars sometimes refer to these orientations to describe methodological approaches for research (Ahola et al., 2014; Bergman et al., 2006; Bergman & Trost, 2016). I build on how healthcare scholars and practitioners apply the person- and problem-oriented.

In healthcare, person-oriented and problem-oriented have sometimes been referred to as patient-centred or patient-oriented and disease-centred or disease-oriented, respectively. Being disease-oriented refers to focusing on a specific disease. It is important; since in appropriate contexts, it may have positive health outcomes (Barry & Edgman-Levitan, 2012). Yu et al. (2010) argued that a disease-centred approach enabled researchers to identify the genes associated with specific diseases.

In addition, disease-oriented patient care could also have positive health outcomes. Disease-oriented treatment is appropriate as a preventative measure. For example, smokers may reduce tobacco consumption through smoking-cessation counselling (Reuben & Tinetti, 2012). In addition, Sack et al. (2012) found that proactive, rather than reactive, disease-oriented treatment improved patients' well-being, resulting in decreased utilisation of healthcare facilities. Relatedly, Okamoto et al. (2011) argued that developing integrated disease-oriented clinical care pathways amongst healthcare providers, such as primary care practitioners, acute care hospitals, and long-term care facilities, improved patients' treatment. For example,

integrated electronic systems enabled all healthcare providers to access patients' comprehensive historical health records. Access to these records enabled healthcare providers to make improved disease treatment decisions, thus improving patients' well-being.

Although Reuben and Tinetti (2012) noted that disease-oriented care was suitable for "healthy patients with single diseases" (p. 777), they argued that person-oriented care is especially important when patients have multiple diseases; since the treatment of one disease may compromise the treatment of another. In such situations, consultation with the patient is necessary to determine the "individual patients' goals and preferences in the face of trade-offs." (Reuben & Tinetti, 2012, p. 777). However, Starfield et al. (2003) argued that the prevalence of comorbidities, even in non-elderly patients, called for an alternate approach other than a single disease strategy. Therefore, the authors called for patient management to have increased orientation on patients' overall health care.

Person-oriented care is intended to improve the well-being of patients by improving the performance of health systems and health outcomes (McCormack & McCance, 2006; Santana et al., 2018). According to Barry and Edgman-Levitan (2012), the Picker Institute was the first to suggest a person-oriented approach in healthcare, which they defined as, "Understanding and respecting people's values, preferences and expressed needs is the foundation of person centred care." (Picker Institute, 2021). To deliver person-oriented care, the Picker Institute identified eight important characteristics of care. These were "respect for the patient's values, preferences, and expressed needs; coordinated and integrated care; clear, high-quality information and education for the patient and family; physical comfort, including pain management; emotional support and alleviation of fear and anxiety; involvement of family members and friends, as appropriate; continuity, including through care-site transitions; and access to care." (Barry & Edgman-Levitan, 2012, p. 780).

Practitioners and scholars have widely applied the person-oriented approach in healthcare. For example, building on the Picker Institute's notion, the Institute of Medicine noted that person-oriented care necessitated enlisting support from both the patients and their families. The Institute of Medicine (2001) defined patient-centred as "respectful of and responsive to individual patient preferences, needs, and values, and ensuring that patient values guide all clinical decisions." Santana et al. (2018) developed a framework for implementing person-oriented care, intended to be a comprehensive guide. This framework emphasises the context in which patients receive care. In addition, the person-oriented approach has also been widely used in nursing (McCormack & McCance, 2006). McCormack and McCance (2006) emphasised the importance of creating a therapeutic environment, which they argued may be beneficial to patients. These benefits include patients experiencing higher satisfaction levels with the quality of care received and experiencing improved feelings of well-being.

I draw on the application of person- and problem-orientation care in healthcare and enfold my empirical observations to define founders' response to the challenges related to period poverty. In healthcare, there are two important differences between the orientations. The first difference refers to the extent of patient challenges the service provider intends to address. Problem-oriented care endeavours to treat a patient's specific disease. It is well-suited for treating relatively healthy patients, with a single disease (Reuben & Tinetti, 2012; Starfield et al., 2003). In comparison, person-oriented care endeavours to provide patients with broader care. It is suited for patients, who endure multiple health challenges or comorbidities (Reuben & Tinetti, 2012; Starfield et al., 2003).

The second difference refers to the actors responsible for patient care. According to problem-oriented care, healthcare practitioners manage patient care (Okamoto et al., 2011). In comparison, person-oriented care involves enlisting support from others, such as family

members. Enlisting support from others is especially applicable when patients experience multiple health challenges (Barry & Edgman-Levitan, 2012; Institute of Medicine, 2001).

These differences and the patterns observed in the data, were the basis for defining the distinct approaches in the founders' responses to the challenges experienced by the beneficiaries. A person-oriented approach refers to *a combination of direct and indirect activities adopted, adapted, and implemented in an endeavour to address or alleviate the multitude of challenges experienced by a target individual or group of individuals* (henceforth: beneficiaries). Notably, these activities include opportunities for HDIs to develop social capital with PWMs through interactions and enlisting support from other actors. In comparison, a problem-oriented approach to a social challenge refers to *a set of predominantly direct activities adopted, adapted, and implemented in an endeavour to address or alleviate a specific social challenge experienced by beneficiaries*. Founders may express their problem-oriented approach by focusing their activities, including their interactions, to address a specific challenge experienced by the beneficiaries.

#### v) Scaling approach

Scaling approach refers to *the way in which founders endeavour to increase impact*, being broad or focused at the domain level and narrow, blended, or expansive at the overall level. Notably, on the domain and overall levels, the scaling approach was measured on a relative rather than absolute basis. According to Desa and Koch (2014), prosocial ventures may realise depth impact “through social and economic empowerment from offering a wide range of products or services” (p. 147), while they may realise breadth impact through broad spatial dissemination of a single product. Founders' scaling approach may be analysed at a scaling domain or overall level. Scaling domain (henceforth: domain) refers to *a category of venture output related to addressing or alleviating the social challenges experienced by beneficiaries*.

Examples include employment opportunities for beneficiaries, opportunities to choose products, and opportunities to gain access to additional resources (henceforth: additional resources). The scaling approach may be effected through key engagements.

Next, I discuss how I measured scaling approach at the domain and overall levels. First, I discuss the measurement strategy. Thereafter, I discuss the measurement.

#### (a) Measurement strategy

I followed four steps to measure the founders' scaling approach. First, I identified three scaling domains. These were: additional resources, employment opportunities, and spatiality (to be defined below). Second, measures of the scaling approach for each domain were formulated, being a broad or focused scaling approach. Third, each founder's data were analysed to determine their scaling approach on each domain. Finally, the founders' overall scaling approach, being expansive, blended, or narrow, was determined by jointly analysing their scaling approach in all domains. Next, I discuss the domains, followed by the scaling measurement at the domain and overall levels.

#### (b) Scaling domains

In addition to providing FHPs and conducting FHHT, I learned that some founders created additional opportunities for beneficiaries. Through analysis, I initially identified five domains on which some founders endeavoured to have depth or breath impact. These were opportunities to gain access to additional resources, employment opportunities, opportunities to have access to FHPs over a broader spatial area, opportunities to choose FHPs (henceforth: FHP choice), and the opportunity to have access to the same quality product as consumers with means (henceforth: same quality). Further analysis revealed no clear patterns between the same quality and FHP choice domains and the emergent conceptual model. Therefore, I focused on additional resources, employment opportunities, and the geographical area served by the

founder (henceforth: spatiality). I discuss and define these scaling domains, their measures, and the founders' overall scaling approach.

The first domain (additional resources) refers to the impoverished gaining access to additional resources or products, a central tenet of the BoP literature (Hart et al., 2016). Prior work on BoP consumers gaining access to resources has focused on the resources provided by initiators, such as MNCs, founders, NGOs, and BoP entrepreneurs (Kolk et al., 2014). Initiators supply low-cost products and / or employ pricing strategies to facilitate the impoverished gaining access to additional resources (Desa & Koch, 2014; Ernst et al., 2015; Prahalad, 2006). However, extant literature does not consider initiators' facilitating access to products or resources that were neither produced, sourced, or owned by the initiator. In this study, the initiator is the founder. Access to additional resources refers to the initiator facilitating the acquisition and / or use of resources that were not produced, sourced or owned by the initiator.

In this study, recipients sometimes had direct and indirect opportunities to gain access to additional resources. Direct opportunities included gaining access to school uniforms, stationery, and food. Indirect opportunities included the potential to develop social capital with donors and to gain access to important information, such as information about career opportunities and bursaries. Another indirect opportunity was recipients having access to upgraded beneficiary sites. For example, donors replaced or repaired broken desks and windowpanes and painted classrooms or orphanages. These upgrades enabled recipients to study or live in improved environments.

The second domain (employment opportunities) refers to the employment opportunities for the impoverished. This domain is important; since HDI job creation may result in economic empowerment (Banerjee & Duflo, 2007), which allows them to gain access to additional resources. Employment opportunities were especially significant when HDI employees had

opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs (Ansari et al., 2012). I analysed this domain based on the types of roles that HDIs held in FHP ventures. I distinguish between roles in which HDI employees had opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs and those which they did not. I introduce the concepts of bridging and non-bridging roles.

As mentioned in the literature review, social capital is defined as “a focal actor’s (individual or group) network of relationships, including the structural, relational, and cognitive dimensions that may facilitate and/or constrain its actions and outcomes.” (Khayesi et al., 2014, p. 1325). It may be applicable between individuals and at the group level and helps explain processes and outcomes in diverse contexts (Gedajlovic et al., 2013). Different types of social capital serve different functions, and its application may be context-based (Woolcock, 2001). Bridging social capital are relationships that span the boundaries of a collective to other individuals of collectives (Gedajlovic et al., 2013). These relationships have been described as external ties (Payne et al., 2011), peripheral ties, or intergroup ties (Ansari et al., 2012). They facilitate the flow of resources between groups (Gedajlovic et al., 2013). Bonding social capital refers to the relationships of individuals within a collective and refers to internal ties (Payne et al., 2011) or intragroup ties (Ansari et al., 2012). Actors embedded in closely knit or dense networks give rise to this type of ties (Coleman, 1988). Group members likely share common identities, norms and values (Ansari et al., 2012). Their ties are based on reciprocity and are effective social norms for collective reward and sanction (Coleman, 1988), and trust (Putnam, 1993). Bonding social capital is crucial in impoverished contexts with poor welfare systems, especially during times of strife (Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 2001).

The literature on impoverished or BoP contexts has regarded the impoverished with greater inclusivity than when the literature was initially conceived (Hart, 2017). Greater inclusivity may be realised by developing the knowledge and skills of the impoverished and

engendering social capital that connects actors from impoverished and resource-rich contexts (Ansari et al., 2012; Hall et al., 2012). Such social capital is important since it may result in resource flows from resource-rich to impoverished contexts (Ansari et al., 2012; Hall et al., 2012).

Scholars have explored the notion of employees interacting amongst themselves or with external actors in the human resources and marketing literature. Inward-facing roles refers to roles in which employees interact with other employees exclusively (Glover & Guerrier, 2010). In contrast, in market-facing or outward-facing roles, employees interact with external actors, such as suppliers and clients (Glover & Guerrier, 2010). However, these labels do not necessarily refer to the interaction between HDIs and PWMs.

In this study, drawing on the social capital and BoP literature, I differentiate between bridging and non-bridging roles. Notably, both bridging and non-bridging roles may be outward-facing. Bridging roles refer to income-earning positions in which HDIs had opportunities to engage with PWMs. Although such interactions are not necessarily essential to the HDIs' roles, the interactions create the potential for the impoverished to develop social capital with PWMs. In comparison, non-bridging roles refers to income-earning positions where HDIs interact exclusively with other HDIs. These interactions include those with external actors, such as HDI customers. In these roles, HDI employees did not have opportunities to interact with PWMs. Therefore, the employees could not develop social capital with the PWMs.

The third domain, spatiality, refers to the geographical area served by the founder. Spatiality is important and relevant to the study of entrepreneurship (Giddens, 1984; Steyaert & Katz, 2004). In prosocial venturing, spatiality influences the areas in where beneficiaries may access the benefits and opportunities offered by their ventures (Desa & Koch, 2014). Spatial

scaling refers to ventures operating in a larger geographic area (Desa & Koch, 2014). Prosocial founders' have diverse motivations, and their motivation to scale spatially may be related to their degree of embeddedness (Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009).

Building on Zahra and colleagues' (2009) typology, Smith and Stevens (2010) proposed that spatial scaling has an inverse relationship to the degree of the founders' embeddedness. The authors argued, "an increase in geographic scale and scope (i.e. from Social Bricoleur to Social Engineer) will often be accompanied by a decrease in the level of structural embeddedness, as finite relationship development and maintenance resources must be spread over an increasing geographic space" (Smith & Stevens, 2010, p. 585).

In this study, founders operated in different geographical areas, often varying in size. Some founders focused on only a few communities, that were proximal and within the provincial boundaries of their operational base. Other founders served in a few provinces or nationally. A few also operated beyond the national boundaries.

#### (c) Scaling measurement

The guiding principle for measuring the founders' scaling approach on each domain was HDI inclusivity. Reaching geographically dispersed beneficiaries and providing beneficiaries with opportunities to develop social capital are related to greater inclusivity. Therefore, the interaction between HDIs and PWMs is an important component of inclusivity; since it creates the potential for HDIs to develop social capital with PWMs. Here, I discuss the measurement criteria for each scaling domain and the founders' overall scaling approach. Notably, these scaling domains are qualitative, not quantitative. Therefore, my analysis does not reveal which group of founders scaled more than the other.

First, in the additional resources domain, I considered founders who created these opportunities for recipients to gain access to additional resources to have a broad scaling

approach, while those who did not have a focused scaling approach in the additional resources domain. Typically, recipients gained access to additional resources when donors attended distribution events. Some founders encouraged donor involvement. In contrast to other founders, donor involvement was optional at, or they excluded donors from, the distribution events. Second, I determined the scaling approach in the employment opportunities domain by analysing the types of roles that HDIs held in FHP ventures. I considered founders who employed HDIs in bridging roles to have a broad scaling approach. In comparison, for those who employed HDIs in non-bridging roles exclusively, or did not employ HDIs, I considered having a focused scaling approach.

Third, I used provincial boundaries to delimit spatiality. The provincial boundaries is an imperfect criterion for measuring spatial impact; since the provincial areas and provincial population are not equal (Galal, 2021; South African Government, 2021). However, I considered the measurement appropriate; since it is objectively defined. Therefore, I considered ventures as having a broad scaling approach when the ventures, or their representatives, operated in more than one province of South Africa or beyond the South African borders. In contrast, I considered ventures as having a focused scaling approach in the spatiality domain when the ventures or their representatives operated exclusively within the provincial boundaries of the ventures' base.

Broad scaling approaches may be related to the scaling types, depth or breadth impact. A broad scaling approach in the spatiality domain is related to breadth impact; since it refers to the provisioning of products across a wide geographical area (Desa & Koch, 2014). Broad scaling approaches in the employment opportunities and additional resources domains are related to depth impact; since these domains are related to the social and economic

empowerment of HDIs, through the provision of a wide range of products or services (Desa & Koch, 2014). Table 5 below arrays the scaling domains, their measures, and the scaling type.

*Table 5: Scaling domains and measures*

Scaling domains: Beneficiary	Measures		Scaling approach: Scaling type
	Focused	Broad	
Additional resources: Recipients	Opportunities to gain access to FHPs and information shared in FHHT	Opportunities were created for recipients to gain access to additional resources	Broad = Depth
Employment opportunities: HDI employees	No HDI employees or HDI employees held non-bridging roles	HDI employment prioritised and HDIs held bridging roles	Broad = Depth
Spatiality: HDI employees & recipients	Opportunities available within the provincial boundary of the venture	Opportunities available beyond the provincial boundary of the venture	Broad = Breadth

The founders’ overall scaling approach was determined by jointly analysing their scaling approach in all domains, being narrow, blended, or expansive. An expansive overall scaling approach refers to *having a broad scaling approach in all domains*; a blended overall scaling approach refers to *having a broad scaling approach on two domains*; and a narrow overall scaling approach refers to *having a broad scaling approach on one or fewer domains*.

3.6. Research methods summary

My research design was qualitative and inductive, using grounded theory methods; since little is known about the phenomenon under investigation. Guided by my data themes, I followed an iterative process of further data collection, data analysis, and literature review. I adjusted the research question based on the data themes identified and the review of salient literature. This iterative process culminated in me formulating a conceptual model that answers the research question: How and why do prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in contexts of extreme poverty?

Next, I discuss the conceptual model.

## Chapter 4: Findings

### 4.1. Chapter introduction

The most significant fundamental finding is that differences in the founders' beneficiary orientation shaped their overall scaling approach. Differences in the founders' beneficiary orientation shaped their interpretation of the challenges related to period poverty, in turn, shaping their responses and overall scaling approach. Figure 5 below diagrams the process flow. Letters A-H index the data tables illustrating the inducted steps (Miles et al., 2014). Within the process, I theorise two distinct paths. The relators, who perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries, followed the path [A] to [D]. In comparison, the differentiators, who perceived themselves as different from the beneficiaries, followed the path [E] to [H].

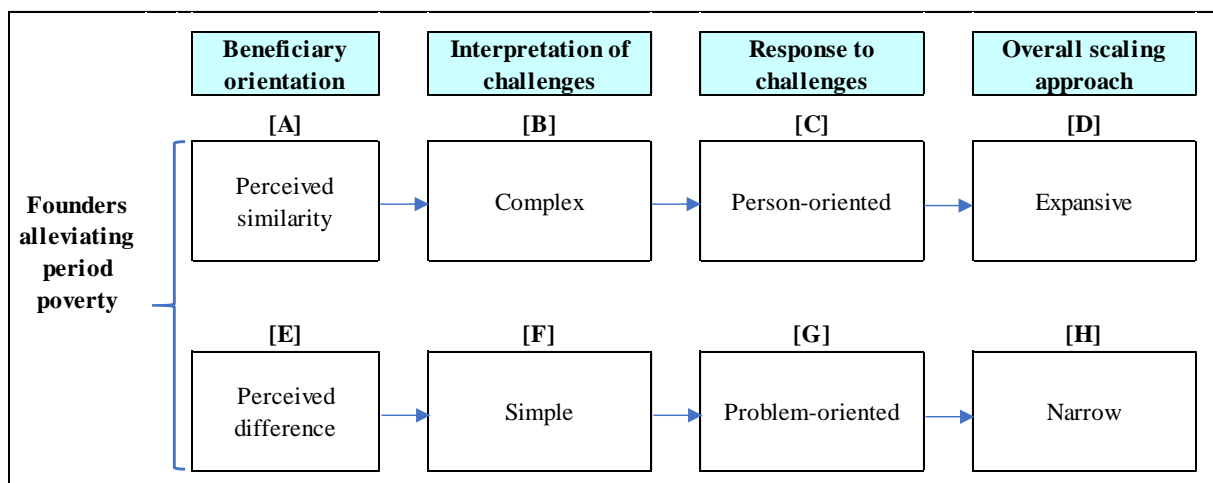


Figure 5: Process flow diagram

The starting point is that all founders engaged in alleviating period poverty. However, variation in their beneficiary orientation shaped distinct interpretations of the challenges related to period poverty, being complex or simple problems. These interpretations, in turn, shaped the founders' responses to the challenges related to period poverty, either person- or problem-oriented approaches. Recall, a person-oriented approach to a social challenge is defined as a combination of direct and indirect activities adopted, adapted, and implemented in an endeavour to address or alleviate the multitude of challenges experienced by beneficiaries. In

comparison, a problem-oriented approach to a social challenge is defined as a set of predominantly direct activities adopted, adapted, and implemented in an endeavour to address or alleviate a specific social challenge experienced by beneficiaries. Variations in the founders' responses to the challenges, in turn, shaped their overall scaling approach, being relatively expansive or narrow.

Table 6 below arrays the cases and the process elements. Next, I discuss each step of the process model in turn.

*Table 6: Process model elements*

Case	Group	Beneficiary orientation	Interpretation of challenges	Response to challenges	Overall scaling approach
Petra (#1)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Expansive
Angela (#2)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Expansive
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Expansive
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Expansive
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Expansive
Sally (#6)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Expansive
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Simple	Problem-oriented	Narrow
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Simple	Problem-oriented	Narrow
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Simple	Problem-oriented	Narrow

#### 4.2. [Beneficiary orientation \[A\] and \[E\]](#)

Some founders, the relators, perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries. These founders related their personal experiences to those of the beneficiaries and noted similarities, or they expressed having familial-like relationships with some beneficiaries. For example, Angela (#2), whose overpowering father did not allow her to attend high school, explained that she perceived herself to be similar to the beneficiaries; since her opportunities for formal education had been compromised,

When I was in primary school around the time when I finished off standard 4 [grade 6], he [my father] said to me, “Well you know next year’s going to be your last year of school... You will be at home and your mom, [who] will be there to guide you, groom you and mould you to what we actually need and my expectation of what our Indian girls should be all about.” So, you know there was no question of us ever

arguing back with him or debating it with him. You know because it was his law... My dad was adamant, and he said there was no ways that he would send me to school... I always said I would like to do social work. That was always my dream.

Relatedly, Nicki (#1) expressed her perceived similarity to the impoverished, noting that she had familial-like connections to the beneficiaries,

They're like my children. It's like you know which of your kids you can put in a cart together and which ones you can't [laughter]... The other day... I said "You guys... You are my children... I love you, and I care about you, and I worry about you... When I'm shouting about the fact that you burnt the carpet, I'm not shouting at you, I'm shouting at what you did... When you guys piss me off, I'm gonna shout at you, but it doesn't change the fact that I love you."

In comparison, the differentiators perceived themselves as different from the beneficiaries. The differentiators contrasted their experiences or circumstances with those of the beneficiaries. In addition, the differentiators did not express having familial-like relationships with the beneficiaries. In Didi's case (#7), she contrasted her experiences with those of the beneficiaries,

Both of them [Didi's parents] found it important that my brother and I, we were two children; that my brother and I got um a proper education... And when I had found, when I had found out, and I talked to South Africans about that problem [period poverty], everybody, everybody acknowledged it and said, "Yes, this is a big problem."...And I thought, wow, um how lucky I have been. My parents were also poor, but um I was very lucky, as a girl... Then, I thought, as I said earlier, um girls that might be bright enough to learn and get a proper education if only they had the chance to go to school regularly.

Relatedly, Jane (#8) also differentiated herself from the beneficiaries. Instead of conducting the FHHT at distribution events herself, she drew on representatives of an NGO, LifeSkills. Jane did so believing the recipients would relate to the representatives from LifeSkills, given the similarity of their circumstances, which Jane did not share. She explained,

LifeSkills, um you know so, they would give those talks [FHHT]... Sometimes like have like um you know inspirational speakers or ladies... come and talk to girls. Um these women were always kind of um uh you

know women who had come from very similar circumstances. Um so, for me that was incredibly important you know to have somebody that looks like me and ideally from a region, from the same region you know. Um to say, “Hey, look at me! You know I’m, I don’t wanna say I made it out, but I made something of myself. You know, I’m a business owner, I run salons, I’m a fashion designer or whatever the case may be.”

Table 7 below provides illustrations of founders expressing their beneficiary orientation.

*Table 7: Founders’ beneficiary orientation [A] and [D]*

Process element	Case	Illustration
Perceived similarity [A]	Petra (#1)	Petra (#1) expressed her perceived similarity to the beneficiaries, noting familial-like connections to the beneficiaries, “I am surrounded by kids, and they could be mine. These are my kids. If my child was lost somewhere, I want a stranger to help them, not hurt them... We’re always thinking of new ways to get the girls excited... our sessions [distribution events] ... it’s so much fun... We sing, and we dance... we just get to know the girls on a different level, to a point that when we leave them, we’ve become a part of the family.”
	Angela (#2)	Angela explained that she had felt trapped in an unhappy marriage; since she had children to support and had no formal education, “I got married at the age of 17... [My husband] said to me, “Where do you think you’re gonna go to with your three children, alone and live a life without a husband, when you have no education?” So again, that no education thing again came up glaringly in my face, that people actually realise that when you don’t have an education, very often that you don’t have much of a future.” Many years later, after developing a sales network within a direct selling company, Angela became financially independent and divorced her husband. She explained that she and impoverished women had shared similar experiences, “I found what I was always looking for from the time I was a young child, when I was deprived of an education; [that] is to help and develop women and to uh coach them and to guide them.”
	Isabelle (#3)	Isabelle expressed perceived similarity to the beneficiaries by noting similarities in the experiences. Isabelle explained that these similar experiences were especially pertinent during menstruation, when she felt vulnerable, “Well, being a woman myself, uh um experience your own vulnerability during that time of the month. Uh I thought you can do a lot of, you can talk to girls about their identity, belonging, purpose and about having dignity but if you don’t have the essentials, if you don’t have during that period of the month you do not feel supported then that, that would destroy all other work that you are trying to build up in a whole month.”
	Nicki (#4)	Nicki expressed perceived similarity to the beneficiaries, noting the strong familial-like ties she had to her HDI employees. She explained that these ties motivated her to persevere when she had experienced dire financial challenges, “I was depressed, hey! Depressed, depressed, depressed, depressed. I was, we were so broke. I was on the verge of having my car repossessed. The sheriff actually came to drop off the paperwork. It was very serious. I was, my parents were telling me to go and get a job, and everybody was telling me, “You know you’ve tried your best. Just give it up. Get a job.” I wasn’t in a good state of mind. So, um I worked every day. I didn’t stop... I love them as if they’re my family and the thought of them not having money, not having jobs, you know is just devastating. I just, that’s what gets me going, gets through every month. That’s what drives me to bring in all the sales is to make sure that I can pay all of them... What I want for the girls is, I just want them to be on equal playing fields.”

Process element	Case	Illustration
Perceived similarity [A]	Lynn (#5)	Lynn expressed perceived similarity to the impoverished schoolgirls by expressing familial-like ties with them. For example, on a field visit, Lynn introduced herself to the schoolgirls as Aunty Lynn. Subsequently, in an interview, she explained that she grew up in an impoverished context, similar to the beneficiaries, “I grew up in what was called today as the Cape Flats... We grew up poorly; but we grew up... in a home that was really [had] no food but filled with love... Today’s children, I find the ones that we engage with, they’re not only poor. Communities are dysfunctional. I had a community. I had what was called aunts that I could always go to um, and today that’s a struggle. So, girls have always been very close to my heart.”
	Sally (#6)	Sally explained her perceived similarity to the impoverished schoolgirls; since they had shared many similar experiences. These experiences included learning about puberty and menstruation without proper guidance, “Um, I think my desire, my need, my drive to help less fortunate girls... Well, I wasn’t parented at home. So, I could basically say, I was from a child-headed home, and I had to endure puberty and menstruation all on my own. And, I know how tough it is. So, um ja I’m good to help girls and having daughters, you know... So, I want to put everyone on an even keel. So, it’s great to know that you are empowering someone... My father, my father committed suicide when I was 11... By the time I was about 13, 14, my mother had a mental breakdown, and she was committed to a mental institution. So, she was in hospital.”
Perceived difference [D]	Didi (#7)	Didi explained that she perceived herself as different from the beneficiaries, “I am a white person. I am in my fifties; and uh and I’m a foreigner and standing in front of 140 thirteen-year-olds, um mostly dark faces... I said earlier, um girls [impoverished schoolgirls] that might be bright enough to learn and get a proper education if only they had the chance to go to school regularly.”
	Jane (#8)	Jane perceived herself as different from the beneficiaries; since her parents had formal education, which enabled her to have a middle-class lifestyle. She related the experience of her mother, who was an immigrant, to those of impoverished women. Jane noted differences: her mother could provide adequately for her children, while the impoverished mothers struggled to do so, “So, they [my parents] were both qualified [had formal education] and that was something that and because of that, they were able to give us a very sort of more middle-class life... Education has always been something that’s been close to my heart. And I think why this has affected me, so the issue around menstruation and absenteeism has affected me so badly because of my own personal experiences, and the experiences of my mother, um who was able to. Because she was educated kind of give her children a decent life. That, I think a lot of um women would love to offer their children. But, they can’t. And we kind of get this poverty-trap but um that happens.”
	Divina (#9)	Divina perceived herself as different from the beneficiaries. She believed that she lacked insight into the recipients’ lives; since she had not lived in an impoverished community as the recipients had. Therefore, she drew on community leaders, who better understood the circumstances in impoverished contexts. Divina explained, “I’ve gone into the [impoverished] communities which, which has been wonderful. Um you know it’s also just getting the education right, getting the right information, the right way of reaching, reaching the girls. Which I’ve realised is through actually finding a prominent community leader. And having them [the community leaders] actually do, do the majority of it [the distribution event]. Because they [the community leaders and the recipients], you know they kind of speak their language. And it’s more on their [recipients’] level. And [the community leaders] know where they’re [the recipients are] coming from. More than sort of me... I don’t know, I’ve never lived in the [impoverished] communities out there. I don’t know you know to, to be able to meet them [the recipients] where they are at. I feel like there might be a gap. Whereas, if there’s a community leader and somebody strong in the community, that the girls look up to and will listen to.”

Notably, the founders’ beneficiary orientation shaped how they interpreted the challenges related to period poverty.

#### 4.3. Interpretation of challenges [B] and [F]

Although all founders engaged in alleviating period poverty, differences in their beneficiary orientation drove them to enact distinct interpretations of the challenges related to period poverty. Enactment manifested as “bracketing” (Weick et al., 2005, p. 411), where the challenges related to period poverty were either emphasised or de-emphasised by the relators and differentiators, respectively. Founders had two distinct interpretations of the challenges, either a complex or simple problem. Recall, complex problems refers to interlocking or interdependent challenges that fuel vicious circles (Hirschman, 1958). According to Hirschman (1958), in order to address complex problems, “many different conditions must be filled simultaneously” (p. 5). In comparison, simple problems refers to “those [problems] that are not interdependent and [can be] easily decomposed into their separate components, which render them highly modular for subsequent problem-solving efforts” (Mount et al., 2020, p. 105).

Recall, how I coded founders’ interpretation of challenges. I coded founders’ expressions that noted a single intervention was necessary to alleviate period poverty as “simple problems”. In contrast, I coded founders’ expressions that noted that multiple interventions were necessary to alleviate period poverty as “complex problems”. I found that the relators interpreted the challenges as complex, necessitating multiple and concurrent interventions. Their interpretation was rooted in the founders’ perceived similarity to the beneficiaries, and the relators sometime experienced similar challenges to the beneficiaries. Therefore, they considered multiple interventions to enhance the lives of their beneficiaries, based on the founders’ experiences.

In comparison, the differentiators interpreted the challenges as simple, believing that a single intervention, being the supply of FHPs, could address the challenge. This interpretation was rooted in the founders’ perceived difference from the beneficiaries and these founders not

sharing similar challenges as those experienced by the beneficiaries. Given their lack of shared experience, the differentiators do not consider additional ways to enhance the lives of their beneficiaries. Therefore, the differentiators focus on a single intervention, being supplying FHPs.

For example, Angela (#2), a relator, explained that she interpreted the challenges related to period poverty as requiring multiple interventions, including empowering women,

I realised there were so many women that were in similar situations like myself, where they were probably in an unhappy marriage, or they were widows, or they were divorcees. And they didn't know how to go out and do something for themselves... I looked at it as an opportunity to empower women and to teach women how to grow and to build themselves through an earnings opportunity.

In comparison, Didi (#8), a differentiator, interpreted the challenges as needing a single intervention to address the challenges related to period poverty. Didi explained that supplying FHPs would address the challenges,

I thought, no, I just can't believe that a thing as simple as a sanitary pad would keep a girl away from education, from, from getting a good job, from um ja. As I said, maybe being our next political leader.

Table 8 below provides additional illustrations of the founders' interpretation of the challenges related to period poverty.

*Table 8: Founders' interpretation of challenges*

Process element	Case	Illustration
Complex problem [B]	Petra (#1)	Petra explained that she interpreted period poverty as a human rights violation. She explained that multiple interventions, including educating men, are necessary to alleviate the challenges related to period poverty, "Girls are missing out of school because they can't afford sanitary towels. It's fundamental to human rights. It's a basic human right. You don't choose to have a period. Whether you come from a wealthy environment or a rich, [or you are a] poor village girl, you're gonna get a period when you hit puberty. So, you know, every girl will reach puberty, and every girl will get a period. So, it affects even the economy. Because, in some countries, women will be using unhygienic means to manage periods are not going to work for at least a week because of infections. So, you know you think it's not a big deal, but it is. And, basically, we go around educating men and women, talking about periods. Making it comfortable. It's not [a] taboo anymore, and we need as much help as we can to reach more girls."

Process element	Case	Illustration
Complex problem [B]	Angela (#2)	Angela (#2) explained that multiple interventions, including empowering women, were important for alleviating the challenges related to period poverty, “I thought gosh, I’ve gotta find a solution for these girls... I’ve got to find something for these women to do... I’ve gotta give them a product that they can sell or a product that they can use that will at least allow them to send their daughters to school... I looked at it as an opportunity to empower women and to teach women how to grow and to build themselves through an earnings opportunity.”
	Isabelle (#3)	Isabelle explained that multiple interventions, including comprehensive training for women and girls, were necessary to alleviate the challenges related to period poverty, “Uh, I start looking at like why would a nation like China and India abort female fetuses ( <i>sic</i> )? What are the underlying beliefs? Why are women so degraded and almost like brutally assaulted in the world? What are the underlying issues here?... I really cried out in agony. Like this Ripple baby needs to be born. And with that, the Ripple Pads was born; [it] became a reality... And so, then we would also teach these women how to do events with girls in the community. So, there’s a Ripple day. So where the women are doing a Ripple day event in the community with girls where they focus on identity, belonging, purpose, body puberty, menstrual cycle, reproduction and menstrual management, and then they can follow through with a 12-week life skill programme.”
	Nicki (#4)	Nicki explained that multiple interventions were necessary, including empowering the women employed in her supply chain, to alleviate the challenges related to period poverty, “It’s, yes of course it’s about keeping girls in school. That’s the ultimate goal, but I have to empower the entire supply chain. Otherwise I’m just failing. It’s just smoke in mirrors. And to me, that’s why they get paid so much. Because I can’t empower somebody at R3,000 <sup>3</sup> a month. That’s not empowerment. That’s a joke... They need money. They need money, they need training, they need to be empowered.”
	Lynn (#5)	Lynn explained that multiple interventions, including job creation, were important for alleviating the challenges associated with poverty alleviation, “I do believe um while period poverty is really not a real issue... So, there’s not a lot of noise [being] made about it... I was thinking... instead of addressing period poverty, we must speak about job creation.”
	Sally (#6)	Sally explained that multiple interventions, including job creation, were necessary to alleviate the challenges related to period poverty, “It’s women [who] need to achieve as well, especially in the space that our rural ladies are in. Um, they’re not treated as equals. I mean, women are subservient to men in their communities. So, you know, and if they’re less educated, they’re less empowered... We have community workers manufacturing it. So, it’s about uplifting and ja, community people to have a job. So, it’s employment as well as uplifting girls in schools... They [schoolgirls] miss school for [a] week [every] month, which is a whole term a year. So, they are dropping out [of] the system, falling pregnant, spreading HIV. Just not keeping up with where a young girl should be. They’re not empowering themselves. And it’s for something totally, that’s totally not their fault. It’s a natural process to menstruate.”
Simple problem [F]	Didi (#7)	Didi explained that a single intervention, being the supply of FHPs, would address period poverty, “I came across um an article on the internet that was an eye-opener to me. It said that millions of girls in South Africa are not able to go to school during five or more days every month because they cannot afford to buy sanitary pads when they menstruate. And, I mean girls that might be, so, instead, they stay at home during that time and um they miss important, important topics at school. And they um, when they return to school they might, they might drop out completely, or they might er write bad exams. So, they will not be able to get a job after school. So, I mean it’s, I’m speaking about girls that might be bright enough to um leave school with a decent, with a decent um degree so they can find a proper job after school... Um girls that are bright enough to become managers or entrepreneurs or even our next political leaders... And that was, that was really horrifying to me, that it broke my heart to read something about that. And so, um I decided I wanted to help.”
	Jane (#8)	Jane explained that a single intervention, being the supply of FHPs, would address period poverty, “I remember hearing about the problem [period poverty], and I went, and I did research... I was just angry that you know boys you know could get free condoms to whoever, and we couldn’t get sanitary pads to girls. And, this [menstruation] is something that’s affected by a biological process that you have no choice in, whereas sex is a choice. So, I really wanted to do something.”

<sup>3</sup> R 3,000 is approximately USD 200.

Process element	Case	Illustration
Simple problem [F]	Divina (#9)	<p>Divina explained that a single intervention, being the supply of reusable FHPs, would address the challenges associated with period poverty,</p> <p>“I’ve always had huge respect for nature and for the environment and animals... And, we really are so aware of just, I mean it takes 500 to 800 years for one sanitary pad to decompose, and I mean a woman uses probably 14 500 in her lifetime. And, that’s just one woman. So, that’s a lot of pads taking a very long time to decompose... The environment is pretty much [my] number one [concern]... Well, a lot of women don’t have any menstrual products at all. So, they are busy using newspaper and leaves. And terrible, you know it’s a terrible, a terrible situation when you’re bleeding and you’ve got no, nothing to use. And, I think it’s you know the poverty is, is, is real. It’s a pretty huge reality, and I think a lot of families you know food is first and foremost. So, pads and stuff are not really, are not really up there on the list. And just ja, so that’s also I mean from an environmental aspect as well. Just so that they’re not using pads and throwing them. And, you know because our pads last for so long, I mean they last for years... Because there’s a lot of drives out there where there’s a lot of disposable pads... And then every month they need more pads and more pads and more pads. So, it’s not a sustainable solution... They’re doing it [donating], but instead of doing the disposables, [they’re] offering them the reusables... So, I’m hoping... we can give the [reusable] pads to, to the communities, that will last for many years as opposed to pads that last for four hours.”</p>

#### 4.4. [Response to challenges \[C\] and \[G\]](#)

Differences in the founders’ interpretation of the challenges shaped their distinct responses to challenges related to period poverty, being a person- or problem-oriented approach. The founders, following a person-oriented approach, endeavoured to address or alleviate the multitude of challenges experienced by the beneficiaries. This response was rooted in the founders’ interpretation that multiple interventions were necessary to address the challenges related to period poverty. In comparison, the founders with a problem-oriented approach focused on a single intervention, being the supply of FHPs. This response was rooted in founders’ interpretation that a single intervention was necessary to address the challenges related to period poverty.

A key difference in the founders’ responses was that some founders created opportunities for interaction between different sets of actors, including beneficiaries, while others did not. Recall, in the context of prosocial venturing, key engagements refers to the interaction between different sets of actors intended to shape scaling. I identified three types of key engagements. Each type shaped a different scaling domain. The interaction between HDI employees and PWMs shaped the employment opportunities domain, the interaction between

recipients and donors shaped the additional resources domain, and the engagement with other supporters shaped the spatiality domain.

4.4.1. Additional resources

Variation in the founders’ beneficiary orientation shaped founders’ response to the challenges related to period poverty, including key engagements between donors and recipients. Donor inclusion refers to the interaction between donors and recipients. Through donor inclusion, recipients sometimes gained access to additional resources. Table 9 below arrays the founders’ response to the challenges, domain level response, and whether recipients gained additional resources.

Table 9: Scaling domain – Additional resources

Case	Group	Beneficiary orientation	Founders’ response	Domain level response	Gained access to additional resources
Petra (#1)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes
Angela (#2)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes
Sally (#6)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	No donor inclusion	No
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	Optional donor inclusion	No
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	Optional donor inclusion	No

The relators encouraged donor involvement, especially at distribution events. Doing so sometimes resulted in donors becoming more involved and providing both direct and indirect opportunities for the recipients. Direct opportunities included recipients gaining access to additional resources, such as stationery and information. Indirect opportunities included having access to upgraded beneficiary sites, such as schools or orphanages. Furthermore, through interaction with donors, recipients could develop social capital with PWMs. Lynn (#5), a relator, explained the reason she encouraged donors to attend the distribution events,

Some of us (Some people with means) have lost touch with reality, and this is just bringing you right back to um what is out there, and you know period poverty affects everybody. So many people and it's not your average Black or Coloured person with your fly on your face. It's your normal looking girl with a beautiful uniform all dressed up, and she just perhaps don't have money for pads. It's as simple as that, because her periods came a week before her mother got paid or her dad got paid. And she doesn't have nothing, and she wears something... So, we introduce them to different faces.

Similarly, Isabelle (#3), a relator, explained the reason she encouraged donors to attend the distribution events,

Let's say um a big company sponsors us. Then we say, "As a woman, just join us. Join us anonymously." I mean uh and then be part of the experience. Be for instance, even a table facilitator, just sitting with a little group of, of, of girls. And then, our facilitators will know what to do, but just join us. Get the feeling... We always say, "Be a girl amongst the girls" ... I believe um empathy [chuckle] just like ja, empathy just grows. Um for them to have a face and not just a face on a photo, but a real person really does something with your heart.

Relatedly, Angela (#2), a relator, explained how a donor became more involved after accompanying her to a distribution event. The increased donor involvement resulted in donors upgrading a beneficiary site, which indirectly benefited the HDI recipients,

Um with Super Retailer, I did a handout with them... [at] the same orphanage that we did the handout... This year, we went, they came back, and they offered to... do a whole um restoration of the orphanage. So, they brought staff. They did a clean-up. You know, hygienic clean-up in the bathrooms, toilets... painting or ceiling work... So, there's lots of nice things that come out of you know, one little simple handout that we manage to do.

Angela also explained that donors sometimes became more involved after accompanying her to a distribution event, enabling HDI recipients to gain access to additional resources, such as stationery and information,

When I did one of the other [distribution events] ... It [The donor] was a corporate uh they were electrical. You know, they were engineers...After we did the handout, a month later, we went back again. And, it was also career day. And, they [the donor] spoke about what um their company could offer in terms of student

uh bursaries and things... They gave all of the kids a little booklet... Obviously, the following year they went back again and then they did a um a stationery [distribution]... for the children. So, that was quite nice.

In comparison, the differentiators either offered the donors the option to attend distribution events or did not include the donors at all. In so doing, the recipients had limited or no opportunity to access additional resources, neither directly nor indirectly. Didi (#7) explained her reason for not including donors at distribution events,

Ummm no, because the um these contacts were very brief and um it was just like the handover of um of material. But of course, I published um what I made from that material. And I um, I also thanked them, and when they were not on Facebook, I sent them, I sent them pictures and extra thank yous... But mm no, no, no and um there is, there is one guy who... who gives me all the um the, the, the, the... tulle material so I can make the mesh bags... Um his, his business is completely different from, from the pads things... And we never, we never spoke about um him coming along... On the other hand, we didn't, we never spoke about me coming along when he goes to the, um to the hospitals... I'm just, I'm now you know um this, this just brings a process into, into working mode now because I'm now thinking of why haven't I thought about that, ever [chuckle]... On the other hand, it's like um tsk<sup>4</sup> when I, when I speak to the girls, I'm not sure if they want um other people.

Relatedly, Divina (#9) explained that she offered donors the choice of attending the distribution events,

I'll ask them [the donor]. I'll say, "This is how we do it [the distribution event]. Do you wanna be there? How do you wanna do it?" ... The people who are doing the funding, they've of course got the option to come with us. But um like the Lantern Motel... Because I said, "I'll send you photos, I'll do..." They said, "We believe in you, we trust you a hundred percent. You just do your thing." So, it'll be very individual to each funder... So, it's very, it's very specific... So, if the donor doesn't really wanna be involved so, that's their choice.

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<sup>4</sup> South Africans sometimes include tongue clicks when they speak English. This practice was derived from African languages. Traill, A. (2015, November 9). *Click languages*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/click-languages>

Table 10 below provides additional illustrations of key engagements related to the additional resources domain.

*Table 10: Key engagements – Additional resources*

Process element	Case	Illustration
Encouraged donor involvement [C]	Petra (#1)	<p>Petra explained that she encouraged donors to attend distribution events to provide accountability and provide donors with insights into the plight of the impoverished. She also mentioned that following donor participation; donors sometimes provided additional resources to the recipients,</p> <p>“We prefer donors to come with us is because they must come and see what their money’s doing. They must come and see if it’s worth their while... You know uh, even though we give them a report, if you’re not part of it, you won’t know the impact unless you are there. I can tell it to you, but it’s better if you see it with your own eyes... So, you get your own view not just, it’s not just what I’m saying it’s what you’re seeing, and you can ask your own questions... making them sensitive to the kind of work that we’re doing... If they [the donors] go back... [they] replenish toiletries... collect clothing or food for babies... So, I have found that most of the donors, like it’s not even the donors, it’s women in the organisations, that might collect clothing or foodstuff for the kids in the shelters... Some on their own and some through us as well.”</p>
	Angela (#2)	<p>Angela explained that she encouraged donors to attend distribution events so that donors could gain insights into the plight of the impoverished. She also mentioned that following donor participation, donors sometimes provided additional resources to the recipients or upgraded beneficiary sites,</p> <p>“They’re (The donors are) so motivated to be there and when they see the joy on those girls faces... [Attending the distribution event] gives them [the donors] an idea of what the other side of the world looks... We live in our little bubble, and we think all the schools have got the standards that we have. Until you actually go into an area that’s 20 minutes away from your home. And the school definitely doesn’t have the same environment for students like your school would have probably had for your child you know... They [the school] can get that kind of donors coming back in to help do all that [fix things that are not working], because the government doesn’t do all of those things. They don’t fix the toilets for them you know... So, that’s where these donors then come in more as a corporate sponsorship, and they come, and they fix these things up for the schools.”</p>
	Isabelle (#3)	<p>Isabelle explained that encouraging donors to attend distribution events facilitated Ripple Pads developing relationships with the donors. RP and the recipients benefited from repeat donations,</p> <p>“What has happened is that um we have had people that would come to an event and, and they would come because of their company, but they would end up asking when the next training is uh [chuckle] because they say, “Oh, could we do your training?” Um or “When you have an event again, could I bring my daughter?” For instance, or something like that... I do see is that they uh stay in contact with us as Ripple Products... They are more wanting then, to build a relationship with us, um which is wonderful of course.”</p> <p>In addition, Isabelle described the contents of one of the packs distributed,</p> <p>“So, we actually raised sponsorship, 2,000 of those packs. And a little pack that has um three washable pads in it, it had a bar of soap in it, it had a face cloth in it, it had a little information booklet in it and it had a magazine in it for teenage girls. Um that was uh that magazine was made by a group of women, who did our training... The first magazine was all about how do you keep yourself safe during Covid. [It included] What are some things that you can do to keep your mind being healthy What can you do to keep yourself physically um safe, because a lot of girls were um in very unsafe situations.”</p>

Process element	Case	Illustration
Encouraged donor involvement [C]	Nicki (#4)	Nicki explained that she encouraged donors to attend distribution events, and donors sometimes provided additional resources for recipients, “We make a big fuss of our sponsors as well, when they do sponsor, particularly on Facebook. And, we have quite a loyal following. Um, I mean, I’ve... a lot of our sponsors have come back lots of the times... Um, I do make a big fuss of, of promoting the sponsors. I... we put their logo on the packages, um, we make a big fuss on the day of the event. You know, and I also say to them, “You know, you, you want to be recognised for what you do, but you don’t want to be bragging about it yourself. Let me brag for you. Let me brag about how wonderful you are in what you’ve done. Then it’s not you bragging.” So, I do that. I make a big fuss of them. I do press releases and everything on their behalf. Just talk about what they’ve done... I’ve been very pleased at how many repeat sponsorships we’ve had, because that just gives me a good indication that people are happy with our service, our quality, our product and when they want to donate pads... I got them [the donor] to give me a conference room for free with food, which was great. So, the girls [the recipients] had a fantastic day. Like, they had... they were spoilt. They had, like, hors d’oeuvres and, like, really, really spoilt... We took photographs of the girls individually and gave them personalised bookmarks”
	Lynn (#5)	Lynn explained that donors sometimes become more broadly involved with the recipients, following donors’ participation at distribution events. For example, Lynn explained that a donor invited a medical doctor to share information with the schoolgirls. Furthermore, the donor engaged with the school’s social worker, “The sponsor [donor] paid for the product and we then had the product delivered to them and they, in turn, put it into care packages that comprise er a sanitary pack,... roll-on [anti-perspirant], and those kind of things... They [the donor] had a doctor there that did a talk on puberty, which was beautiful. And, her talk led into menstruation... It was an absolute celebration of your period. If none of them are excited about getting their period, then nothing will get them excited... I know that the social worker at the school and the funder [donor], they were communicating with each other... They [the donor] would also be getting feedback on their gift packs and on the product... It’s not just about supplying the product and then walking away. I have to get six monthly feedback in terms of what the, what the benefits are, or what the feedback the com... ja from the students were. So, it’s a relationship has to be formed.”
	Sally (#6)	Sally explained that she thought donor involvement was important for donors to understand the extent of deprivation at beneficiary sites. She mentioned that sometimes following a visit, donors became more involved in supporting the schools, “I think it’s important for the donors to see where their money’s going... They must come with, to the schools, see the girls, meet the girls. You know see what good their money is doing and how they are assisting and how rural and how deprived these um rural children are in the education system... They [the donors] will reconnect again... A lot of donors just like to go with to the schools you know to, you know witness the whole [distribution event] and be with the girls and know that they are doing some good in the community... Some will do a big project where pads is only a part of the project... They’ll go back to feeding schemes, fix windows, paint buildings... They [the donors] will; for example, [they will] go back to the same school and do the Grade 8s. So, every year. The new girls coming in will get the packs of the sanitary pads.”
Optional/No donor involvement [G]	Didi (#7)	Didi, who did not think about including donors at distribution events, explained that after having little success attracting local donors through social media, she hoped to attract international donors using the same approach, “So, [we identified] 75 ladies from, from the, from the community that um want to use the washable sanitary pads... We’re going to um promote this project on uh a specific website, um tsk a specific Facebook group... whose members are mainly um Europeans who love South Africa, who travel here a lot and who also know about the problems here and who also want to help... So, this is the ideal um uh, the ideal group to direct this type of um, of requests to... The main item there [on the Facebook posts] is um, a thermometer that’s got 75 um a scale of, of 75... So, we will just put marks on how many sets of pads have been sponsored already... When we have the 75 together, or maybe at one third, or at half time... we will, we will have a um gathering with, with these, with these women and uh take pictures um about the handover. And also publish that on the Facebook group to thank the sponsors, and to show them um where their money has gone to. And um that it really has reached the uh, the destination where it was meant to go and ja.”
	Jane (#8)	Jane explained that she offered donors the option of attending distribution events as a way of being accountable to them, “There are um companies that um request, and the others that don’t. Um we, we say to them, “You know, you’re welcome to come.” I mean it is their money at the end of the day, and it’s going to a cause that they um, that they um feel strongly about.”

Process element	Case	Illustration
Optional/No donor involvement [G]	Divina (#9)	Divina explained that she offered donors the option of attending distribution events as a way of being accountable to them, “‘Well, if they [the donors] wanna be involved, they must be involved. If they don’t, they don’t have to be. You know that is very much a personal, individual you know. Some corporates, or some individuals, they’re not interested in what comes after. They just wanna give the money, and that’s enough for them. And then, some of them are really wanna go to grassroots level. And, they really wanna get involved. But that’s very much individual. So, they have the option you know if they wanna come, and they wanna do a workshop with me, and they wanna meet the girls. Absolutely! And if they don’t, then not a problem, you know. I’m, I’m doing it anyway. So, if they wanna come along. And, it’s very individual.”

#### 4.4.2. Employment opportunities

Differences in the founders’ beneficiary orientation shaped their response in the employment opportunities domain. The relators employed HDIs in bridging roles, creating opportunities for their HDI employees to interact with PWMs. In comparison, the differentiators either did not employ HDIs, or their HDI employees held non-bridging roles exclusively. Table 11 below arrays the cases, the founders’ response, and their domain level response for the employment opportunities domain.

*Table 11: Scaling domain – Employment opportunities*

Case	Group	Beneficiary orientation	Founders’ response	Domain level response
Petra (#1)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging roles
Angela (#2)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging and non-bridging roles
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging roles
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging roles
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging and non-bridging roles
Sally (#6)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging and non-bridging roles
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	HDIs in non-bridging roles → No employees
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	HDIs in non-bridging roles
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	No HDI employees

The relators often employed HDIs in bridging roles, giving them opportunities to interact with donors and other PWMs. In Angela’s (#2) case, she invited her HDI sales agents to her birthday celebration, held at a beauty spa. Angela explained that she invited 40 women, HDI employees and PWMs, such as her family and friends, to interact and develop

relationships. Thereafter, Angela continued to create opportunities for the same group of people to continue engaging,

So, it [the spa day, in 2018] was a lovely session... because you need a circle of women in every walk of life... So, you know it was two, two, two in like a hut [beauty treatment space] for a massage, or so it was a lovely mix. It wasn't like my sales agents only were going with the sales agent for a massage. So, it was like maybe my sales agent and my daughter, and it was my aunt with my teacher, you know. So, each one had some new partner that they were with and it was lovely to see how they engaged with each other; because some of them had never known each other before that... They really, really came together... The whole idea there was the 40 to mingle and to actually get to know each other... I've actually seen a lot of them have made friends... [They] have connected again after that you know... I had one of my [product] launches in 2019. So, a lot of them came again, and they connected again there. And then in 2020... we've kind of engaged on small coffee things. So, like if I knew this one got along well with that one. I have kind of motivated a few coffee afternoons together, and we've just gotten together as friends. More to support each other.

Similarly, in Petra's (#1) case, Dana, an HDI office assistant, explained that she interacted with PWMs, such as the accountants and donors,

I deal more with the accounting. I'm not a bookkeeper; but I work closely with the bookkeeper... So, I think I've more streamlined it [accounting processes] for her [Petra and] the accountants... If they [the accountants] need anything, we don't need to be running to her [Petra] all the time. They just come to me. I sort it out there and then... So, it [streamlining the accounting processes] frees me up in terms of my books and to be with Petra, because I have to accompany her a lot on her meetings, um going out meeting new clients [donors] or whatever the case might be.

In comparison, the differentiators either did not employ HDIs, or when they did, HDIs held non-bridging roles. In these roles, the HDIs engaged exclusively with other HDIs. For example, Jane (#8) explained that her 15 HDI distribution agents maintained relationships within their HDI community and did not interact with PWMs,

We have about 15 ... We want them to have the income, and to be the you know agent, or the sale point of choice within the community... Our direct agents would kind of do the door-to-door, but then they would supply like a school in the area... So, they were very much like our instituted middlemen, middle ladies.

Similarly, Didi (#7) recruited HDIs to sew sanitary pads on a part-time basis. These employees held non-bridging roles; since they worked together in a community hall, where they interacted amongst themselves, exclusively. Didi explained,

I did start um a cutting team where I supported the community of Poorton... I was allowed to use the community hall once a week... I packed everything in my car. We unpacked everything there in the hall.

However, Didi encountered numerous unexpected challenges with her new recruits. So much so that Didi opted to work by herself and not have any employees,

But unfortunately, it did not work out so well. It was not very productive. Um the ladies were, they came, and then they did not come again, and then um a lot of stuff was broken. Um there was also theft... I decided I have to; I have to close this down. Um I have to um go back and do it on my own from home... I realised how difficult it is to um get people um trained to, just to be on time, and to come regularly, and to um be careful with the tools, and not even speaking of um working productively, or learning new skills. This is really, this is a task I that I didn't, I hadn't, I hadn't um expected this to be so difficult.

Table 12 below provides additional illustrations of key engagements related to the employment opportunities domain.

*Table 12: Key engagements - Employment opportunities*

Process element	Case	Illustration
HDI employees in bridging roles [C]	Petra (#1)	Olivia, an HDI employee, explained that her role entailed interaction with PWMs, such as distributors and campaigners, “I’m more doing logistics to do with Ava. So, distributors, um talking to campaigners, talking to, it depends because everything is so very vastly different. I mean, I could be in a meeting with one advertising agent today and then be in a meeting with another the next day.”
	Angela (#2)	Angela invited her HDI sales agents and PWMs, from her social network, to her office launch, “So, my launch of the office will obviously be [with] my very close friends... and then all my... and PFP sales agents... They [the sales agents] were instrumental in doing the sales so that I had the turnover to be able to renovate my office... Obviously, my family would be a big part of my opening... I would hope that on the day of my launch I would have 50 people from all, all you know, all uh aspects of my life. Whether it’s childhood, whether it’s my religious background, ... [and] my Mountain Climber’s hiking group.”

Process element	Case	Illustration
HDI employees in bridging roles [C]	Isabelle (#3)	Isabelle explained that she introduced HDI facilitators to PWMs, such as donors. These different sets of actors interacted with each other, “We teach them [the HDI facilitators] how to fundraise and market for their distribution event... How to write an appeal letter [to a donor]. Uh how to, how to be financially accountable. Uh how to do proper thank yous afterwards. Um we make them aware what donors want, uh because donors want to be made to look good.”
	Nicki (#4)	Nicki invited donors to her premises, where they were served lunch and toured her factory. These meals were prepared and served by her HDI employees, enabling employees to interact with the donors. Nicki explained that she considered these tours and lunches to be important; since these events were opportunities to develop relationships with the donors, “So, we’ve had like a factory tour where we show them around, and then we have a lunch outside on the patio. And, the staff make the lunch and serve the lunch. And, I think it’s been a very good thing to create that personal touch with our clients [donors]; so that they get to see who we are, know who we are um and build that relationship. So, ja I think it’s, it’s just consistency and persistence, hey. That’s it... I’ve been very pleased at how many repeat sponsorships we’ve had. Because, that just gives me a good indication that people are happy with our service, our quality, our product. And, when they want to donate pads, we’re the first people they think about, which is, which is really encouraging for me.”
	Lynn (#5)	Lynn explained that she introduced PWMs, such as potential purchasers, to HDI sales agents, allowing them to interact, “Whenever there’s... a sales um opportunity, that is referred by one of the two ladies. If we use them, those distributors [sales agents] then a portion of the sale goes [to them]. They get R10 per pack. So, um recently, and through the workshop, which was the connection [to a purchaser], we sold 100 packs... She [the sales agent] earned R1,000 on that... So, it was three times the SASSA payment <sup>5</sup> . And, she initially thought it was going to be a once off um opportunity for her. But, whatever sales comes through her networking point, she will continue to earn an income.”
	Sally (#6)	Sally explained that Kayla, an HDI employee, was responsible for activities that necessitated interaction with PWMs, “She’s she, she does fundraising. She does, manages all the activation [distribution events]. So, she’s like the project coordinator. She’ll coordinate anything to do with the Lean Mommy Pads. And, Lean Mommy Pads is, remember I said to you, it’s the funding, it’s the distribution of the packs, it’s the education program. So, she manages all that.”
HDIs not employed or in non-bridging roles [G]	Didi (#7)	DS has no employees - discussed above.
	Jane (#8)	Jane employed HDI distribution agents, who sold and distributed FHPs to impoverished consumers within their communities exclusively. Therefore, Jane did not give the HDI employees opportunities to interact with PWMs, “So, that would be a core, central group of women again, focused on women but again it would be women from the community... They’re almost like distribution agents... So, we still want those women to be a central pillar of our sales and distribution model.”
	Divina (#9)	DP had one employee, a skilled non-HDI seamstress, Fiona. Divina explained her reason for recruiting and retaining Fiona’s services, “Because she makes the best pad around.”

#### 4.4.3. Spatiality

Variation in the founders’ beneficiary orientation shaped their spatiality. I delimited spatiality by the provincial boundaries of the ventures’ operational base. The relators scaled beyond the provincial boundaries by enlisting, or promoting the enlisting of, other supporters.

<sup>5</sup> SASSA payment refers to social grants paid by the South African Social Security Agency. <https://www.sassa.gov.za/>

In comparison, the differentiators attempted to scale spatially by themselves, without enlisting other supporters. They continued to operate within the provincial boundaries of their ventures' operational base. Table 13 below arrays the cases, the founders' response, domain level response, and spatiality for the spatiality domain.

*Table 13: Scaling domain – Spatiality*

Case	Group	Beneficiary orientation	Founders' response	Domain level response	Spatiality
Petra (#1)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international
Angela (#2)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	Several SA provinces
Sally (#6)	Relator	Perceived similarity	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	Did not enlist other supporters	Within provincial boundaries
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	Did not enlist other supporters	Within provincial boundaries
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Perceived difference	Problem-oriented	Did not enlist other supporters	Within provincial boundaries

The relators drew on other supporters to conduct some key activities, thereby partially replicating and broadening their ventures' spatial scale. They enlisted the support of, or promoted enlisting support from, other supporters, such as NGOs, faith-based organisations, and social media influencers. For example, Angela (#2), a relator, responded to requests for help, even if the sites were not in close proximity to her. She offered training and employment opportunities to geographically dispersed HDI women in all provinces. Angela explained that she was able to do so by partnering with geographically dispersed NGOs,

When I get the callout [request for FHPs], when it's out of my geographic uh area uh, I look at that as an opportunity to be able to educate people about the opportunity that's available with um the fact that we handout the washable sanitary pads. So, you know I never, ever say no to any opportunity that's out there...

Empowerment is important to me; because I just feel that there is such a, women have such a disadvantage

in terms of being given opportunities... All these sewing skills centres have already, remember they're NGOs. So, they've got, they've got um skilled seamstresses that do a SETA<sup>6</sup> program with their, with their ladies that are there, that enrol with them...The lecturers, they've been teaching these skills centres.

Similarly, Isabelle (#3), who trained HDI facilitators from many different countries, explained that she encouraged the facilitators to draw on NGOs and other organisations in their home countries for support,

So, on Sunday, 25 women from all over Africa will be joining us... And we will train them into Ripple facilitators, and then they take the seed of Ripple back to their native country and plant it in their soil... And then we come alongside them to help them to start that in their own country. We don't go there to do it for them. We are saying, "You have the seed now. And yes, the seed is very small. But you just plant it first, and you start creating awareness in your own country. And then you start seeing what can you do with that little bit of practical... You go back to your community and in partnership with an NGO, or in partnership with a church, or in partnership with a faith-based organisation, or a community organisation, you say, "I want to do a distribution event."

In comparison, the differentiators endeavoured to scale their ventures by themselves, without engaging other supporters. Their spatiality was determined based on areas that the founders could serve by themselves, and they operated within the provincial boundaries of their ventures. Therefore, the differentiators served areas proximal to their ventures' operational base and within the provincial boundaries. For example, Didi (#7) explained that she worked proximal to her base of operation because her capacity was limited,

Um well, it was, no um so far, it's [distribution events have] been um only in the, in the Western Cape... It's um because, because I live here. And it's because of capacities. So, the um I'm not able to um uh to produce large quantities yet. So, um and there's a lot of need around me. So, I don't have to go very far away.

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<sup>6</sup> SETA refers to the Sector Education and Training Authority in South Africa. See <https://www.vocational.co.za/>

Similarly, Divina (#9) explained that she visited all the schools herself. Therefore, she selected schools proximal to her location and within the provincial boundaries, So, it was just kind of just following the thread of, of, of um leads that we got...Uh Greenie High is a private school. I think Abhor High is actually private as well, but we're gonna be going through to all schools. There's no, there's no specific ones [schools targeted]. Those just happen to be the first ones that we reached...Um there's quite a few in Townsville [a nearby town]. So, it would need to be obviously in the surrounding area because I need to go in person to the schools. Um so, we've been to a few in Homeville [the town in which Divina lives] but nothing, nothing came from that, besides one or two sort of individual orders. Um so, there's quite a few, quite a few out in Townsville side. So, that would probably be the next sort of round that I would do.

Table 14 below provides additional illustrations of key engagements related to the spatiality domain.

*Table 14: Key engagements - Spatiality*

Process element	Case	Illustration
Other supporters enlisted [C]	Petra (#1)	Petra explained that she relied on other supporters, especially NGOs, that operated internationally to scale spatially, “We made a lot of international friends, more than usual. You know, a lot of organisations [NGOs] that have known about the work that we do and have partnered with us. We’ve partnered with organisations like The Gift of the Givers, Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, Xolisa... We trained their staff, and we gave them cups to um donate in the community. And, those are ongoing partnerships that even now uh, uh you know we’re working towards ending period poverty together... We made a lot of friends [NGOs partnerships] internationally, locally, and we’re just doing our thing... Uh Spain, the US. We’ve given out [our] cups in the US, to um the homeless, uh.”
	Angela (#2)	Angela, a Johannesburg founder, explained that she trained supporters, such as teachers and NGOs, to conduct distribution events beyond the provincial boundaries of the founder’s operational base, “So, I would never just give it to somebody and say, “You go and do the handout.” It had to be someone that had done a handout with me, so that they understood how to do it in the, in the process in which and in the manner in which we do it because it’s quite sensitive. Sometimes when you go into a classroom of 30, 40 girls, and you get a bit overwhelmed with the questions... So, I’ve always made sure that it’s been, either a young you know woman that’s been with me to one or two handouts, or it’s somebody that’s already you know a teacher in the school, understands the children um. And then she’s, I’m quite comfortable to hand over to her to do the handout for me... Help for All [an NGO, based in Port Elizabeth <sup>7</sup> ]... were very keen to get involved... Then, obviously when they did their handout [distribution event] um, it was also based on video clippings that I sent him in terms of how I did the handout and what I did at the handout. And, he had actually witnessed one of my handouts here.”

<sup>7</sup> Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth are cities in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape province, respectively.

Process element	Case	Illustration
Other supporters enlisted for spatial scaling [C]	Isabelle (#3)	Isabelle explained that she paired some facilitators with supporters such as, NGOs and faith-based organisations. The facilitators and the supporters were located in close proximity to each other, so the facilitators could be supported more efficiently in their respective communities. This approach enabled Isabelle to serve more communities and scale spatially, “The single woman on her own struggles to implement and that also has to do with the lack of resources... in that regard that NGOs and churches are more successful... So, let’s say you are being trained as a facilitator. You go back to your community and in partnership with an NGO, or in partnership with a church, or in partnership with a faith-based organisation, or a community organisation... For instance, we had just had two young women, who we trained in the Crossroads area... We could see, because of their um position, their financial position, and their capacity, that it would be better to link them up with an organisation like Beautiful Gate. Beautiful Gate is a child and family resource centre in uh in Crossroads, and so we have linked them up. So, they have, they have the choice. They can try and do something on their own. But if they want to be linked up with a church or with an organisation, then we will help them to find the best organisation that suits them... Because often we already have contacted those organisations because the organisations have done training with us.”
	Nicki (#4)	Nicki explained that she would be partnering with an NGO that operated in many other countries. This partnership enabled Castro Pads to scale spatially, “We recently won an international service project with a big NGO um, which is for 2 years. And it’s, well it says all 22 countries... Like Germany and Norway and Luxembourg and Switzerland.”
	Lynn (#5)	Lynn drew on social media influencers, willing to promote FP on a pro bono basis, to scale spatially, “Oh I, I, I think we are overjoyed when we hear that people in different provinces have heard of our product and um if we can, [we’ll] definitely supply it nationally... Um obviously, it just increases our footprint, um it creates more of an enquiry in terms of our, an interest in terms of our brand... Reach more beneficiaries [recipients], reach more girls... That’s always the key goal... We have brand ambassadors... they have stock on consignment... When they get enquiries, because they are users of the product as well, and they promote it very randomly. I mean, when I check on their [social media] profiles, you will find something Faith Pads related on there. And, instead of them having to come to the office to come and get a box for this one... we’ve issued them with consignment stock. And um they will then whatever enquiries they get, they will then supply and just transfer the money into [our account].”
	Sally (#6)	Sally, who is Johannesburg-based, explained that she collaborated with a Cape Town-based NGO to scale spatially, “We have partners from Cape Town that assist with education programmes... So, we grow a partnership and that develops... Okay, so Sonke [Sonke Gender Justice is an NGO] is from Cape Town, and they assist us with educations [the feminine training conducted at distribution events] in the Cape-area. So, if our ambassadors can’t go and do the education programme, we will rely on Sonke. So, we have quite a good partnership, where we support them with pads, if we have donations, and they support us with education programmes.”
Spatiality limited by founder’s capacity [G]	Didi (#7)	Didi explained that she focused on communities in close proximity to, and within the provincial borders of, her operational base; since she did not believe it was possible to help everyone, “We can’t help everyone, and we can’t. It’s just not possible. Not even the richest man on earth can help everyone. So, but we can make a difference in our community.”
	Jane (#8)	YP, a Johannesburg-based venture, distributes FHPs in two communities proximal to, and within the provincial boundaries of, the venture’s operational base. There is no evidence that YP enlists support from other supporters. Jane explained, “The base did start in Soshanguve um so, we’re still working with them even though the factory moved um to, to um Soweto, but they, then even when we started, they had some ladies in Soweto as well, family members and stuff that were then selling in Soweto. So, it’s a nice uh for us it was a great way to kind of get into the two major sort of areas that we saw playing.”
	Divina (#9)	There is no evidence that DP enlisted support from other supporters for spatial scaling. Divina mentioned that she focused on schools proximal to, and within the provincial boundaries of, her venture’s operational base; since she serviced the schools by herself, “We’ve got a couple of schools that are interested, um local community schools. So, we’re also just waiting to hear back from there.”

#### 4.5. Founders' scaling approach [D] and [H]

Scaling approach refers to the way in which founders endeavour to increase impact and is applicable a domain level and an overall level. Below, I determine the scaling approach for each domain, being broad or focused. Thereafter, I determine the overall scaling approach, being expansive, blended, or narrow.

##### 4.5.1. Additional resources

In the additional resources domain, I considered founders who created opportunities for recipients to gain access to additional resources to have a broad scaling approach, while those who did not have a focused scaling approach. Related data, including those presented in section 4.3.1, were analysed to determine the founders' scaling approach in this domain. Founders with a person-oriented approach had a broad scaling approach; since recipients gained access to additional resources. In comparison, a problem-oriented approach had a focused scaling approach; since recipients did not gain access to additional resources. The founders' scaling approach is arrayed in table 15 below.

*Table 15: Scaling approach - Additional resources*

Case	Group	Response to challenges	Domain level response	Gained access to additional resources	Scaling approach
Petra (#1)	Relator	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes	Broad
Angela (#2)	Relator	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes	Broad
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes	Broad
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes	Broad
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes	Broad
Sally (#6)	Relator	Person-oriented	Encouraged donor inclusion	Yes	Broad
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	No donor inclusion	No	Focused
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Optional donor inclusion	No	Focused
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Optional donor inclusion	No	Focused

##### 4.5.2. Employment opportunities

In the employment opportunities domain, I considered founders who employed HDIs in bridging roles to have a broad scaling approach, and those who employed HDIs in non-bridging

roles exclusively, or who did not employ HDIs, to have a focused scaling approach. Related data, including those presented in section 4.3.2, were analysed to determine the founders' scaling approach in this domain. Founders with a person-oriented approach had a broad scaling approach; since they employed HDIs in bridging roles. In comparison, the founders with a problem-oriented approach had a focused scaling approach; since they either did not employ HDIs, or when they did, then HDIs only held non-bridging roles. The founders' scaling approach is arrayed in table 16 below.

*Table 16: Scaling approach – Employment opportunities*

Case	Group	Response to challenges	Domain level response	Scaling approach
Petra (#1)	Relator	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging roles	Broad
Angela (#2)	Relator	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging and non-bridging roles	Broad
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging roles	Broad
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging roles	Broad
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging and non-bridging roles	Broad
Sally (#6)	Relator	Person-oriented	HDIs in bridging and non-bridging roles	Broad
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	HDIs in non-bridging roles → No employees	Focused
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	HDIs in non-bridging roles	Focused
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	No HDI employees	Focused

#### 4.5.3. Spatiality

In the spatiality domain, the provincial boundaries of the venture's operational base served as a delimiter. I considered founders who operated beyond the provincial boundaries of the venture's operational base to have a broad scaling approach, while those who operated within the provincial boundaries to have a focused scaling approach. Related data, including those presented in section 4.3.3, were analysed to determine the founders' scaling approach in this domain. Founders with a person-oriented approach had a broad scaling approach; since their ventures operated beyond the provincial boundaries. In comparison, the founders with a problem-oriented approach had a focused scaling approach; since their ventures operated within the provincial boundaries. The founders' scaling approach is arrayed in table 17 below.

Table 17: Scaling approach – Spatiality

Case	Group	Response to challenges	Domain level response	Spatiality	Scaling approach
Petra (#1)	Relator	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international	Broad
Angela (#2)	Relator	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international	Broad
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international	Broad
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces, Some international	Broad
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	Several SA provinces	Broad
Sally (#6)	Relator	Person-oriented	Enlisted other supporters	All SA provinces	Broad
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Did not enlist other supporters	Within provincial boundaries	Focused
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Did not enlist other supporters	Within provincial boundaries	Focused
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Did not enlist other supporters	Within provincial boundaries	Focused

#### 4.5.4. Overall scaling approach

I considered the scaling approach on all three domains to determine the founders' overall scaling approach. Recall, an expansive overall scaling approach refers to having a broad scaling approach in all domains, a blended overall scaling approach refers to a broad scaling approach in two domains, and a narrow overall scaling approach refers to a broad scaling approach in one or fewer domains. Notably, the relators' scaling approach was broad in all scaling domains, while the differentiators' scaling approach was focused in all scaling domains. Therefore, I considered the relators to have a relatively expansive overall scaling approach and the differentiators a relatively narrow overall scaling approach.

Notably, I did not measure the founders' social impact quantitatively. Therefore, my results should not be interpreted as one group of founders scaled more than another. Instead, my qualitative measures provide insight into how founders differ in scaling social impact.

Table 18 below arrays the scaling in each domain and the scaling approach for each case.

Table 18: Scaling approach

Case	Group	Response to challenges	Scaling approach in domains				Overall scaling approach
			Additional resources	Employment opportunities	Spatiality	Count of Broad	
Petra (#1)	Relator	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Angela (#2)	Relator	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Isabelle (#3)	Relator	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Nicki (#4)	Relator	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Lynn (#5)	Relator	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Sally (#6)	Relator	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Didi (#7)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Focused	Focused	Focused	0	Narrow
Jane (#8)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Focused	Focused	Focused	0	Narrow
Divina (#9)	Differentiator	Problem-oriented	Focused	Focused	Focused	0	Narrow

#### 4.6. Summary of the two paths

Although the relators and differentiators were engaged in ostensibly similar efforts, they had distinct scaling approaches. Two types of behaviour distinguished the relators from the differentiators. These behaviour types were the type of activities, either direct or indirect (Uvin et al., 2000), and the founders' brokerage orientation between HDIs and PWMs (Kwon et al., 2020; Obstfeld, 2017). I discuss the paths of the process model followed by the respective groups of founders.

##### 4.6.1. Relators' path

The relators perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries; since they either shared similar experiences or circumstances, or they expressed having familial-like ties with the beneficiaries. The relators' perceived similarities drove them to interpret the challenges as being complex. This interpretation served as a powerful motivator for the founders to endeavour to address or alleviate the multitude of challenges experienced by the beneficiaries. Therefore, these founders' approach to the challenges was person-oriented.

The relators' person-oriented approach involved a combination of direct and indirect activities. Direct activities refers to founders working with personal contact with beneficiaries in a bid to directly enhance the beneficiaries' lives (Uvin et al., 2000). Indirect activities refers

to founders influencing other actors to enhance beneficiaries' lives (Uvin et al., 2000). The relators' indirect activities included engaging actors, such as donors and other supporters. Importantly, indirect activities often involved a *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation (Obstfeld, 2017) between HDIs and external actors, such as PWMs. The *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation applied to all domains, with each domain having a different type of key engagement. Recall, key engagements refers to interactions between different sets of actors intended to shape scaling.

First, in the additional resources domain, the relators engaged in a combination of direct and indirect activities (Uvin et al., 2000) and had a *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation (Obstfeld, 2017). The founders interacted directly with the recipients and encouraged donor involvement at distribution events. At these events, donors were introduced to, and interacted with, recipients. These interactions were important; since they presented the recipients with the opportunity to develop social capital with the donors. In addition, sometimes, donors provided recipients with access to additional resources, such as stationery, school shoes, career-related information, and upgraded beneficiary sites. Importantly, recipients gaining access to additional resources were often a result of indirect activities; since donors sometimes returned to distribution sites independently of the founders. Given that the recipients gained access to additional resources, the relators had a broad scaling approach in this domain.

Notably, the relators were not embedded in the context they served, yet they had depth impact (Desa & Koch, 2014). The relators realised depth impact; since recipients gained access to a broad range of additional resources. They realised depth impact by acting indirectly through the donors. The evidence suggests that sometimes donors had been embedded, or became embedded, at beneficiary sites. The donors' embeddedness may be gleaned from their behaviour. Sometimes they requested founders to serve a preselected school that the donors had

been serving in diverse ways. These schools were referred to as schools that the donors had adopted. In addition, donors returned to the same beneficiary sites to address the multitude of challenges experienced by the beneficiaries repeatedly.

Second, in the employment opportunities domain, the relators prioritised HDI employment, and HDI employees often held bridging roles. The relators had a *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation between HDI employees and PWMs; since these founders created opportunities for the two otherwise disconnected groups of key actors to interact. In so doing, the relators presented the HDI employees with opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs. Since the relators employed HDIs in bridging roles, they had a broad scaling approach in this domain.

Third, in the spatiality domain, the relators enlisted support from other supporters by either engaging directly, or promoting HDI engagement, with the other supporters. These founders acted indirectly through other supporters, who were often geographically dispersed and sometimes embedded in distal sites, beyond the provincial boundaries of the FHP venture. The founders had a *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation between beneficiaries and other supporters. Notably, not all other supporters were PWMs. The other supporters, either conducted key activities on the founders' behalf or promoted the FHP venture. By doing so, the other supporters helped the founders to scale spatially, serving distal locations beyond the FHP ventures' provincial boundaries. Importantly, the relators operated beyond the provincial boundaries or the ventures' operational bases; therefore, they had a broad approach in the spatiality domain.

Based on the measurement criteria described in the research methods chapter, the relators had a broad scaling approach on all three domains. Therefore, their overall scaling approach was relatively expansive. Next, I discuss the path followed by the differentiators.

#### 4.6.2. Differentiators' path

The differentiators perceived themselves as different from the beneficiaries; since they expressly noted differences between their experiences or circumstances and those of the beneficiaries. Furthermore, they did not express having familial-like ties with the beneficiaries. The differentiators' perceived difference shaped their interpretation of the challenges related to period poverty as being simple. This interpretation acted as a powerful motivator for these founders to remain focused on addressing or alleviating a specific social challenge experienced by beneficiaries. Therefore, these founders had a problem-oriented approach to alleviating or addressing the challenges related to period poverty. As mentioned above, the distinction between the differentiators' and the relators' responses was based on observing two behaviour types.

The differentiators focused on addressing or alleviating period poverty by engaging mainly in direct activities (Uvin et al., 2000), and their brokerage orientation was mainly a combination of *tertius separans* (Kwon et al., 2020) and conduit (Obstfeld, 2017). They had limited key engagements in all domains. First, in the additional resources domain, the differentiators had either a conduit (Obstfeld, 2017) or *tertius separans* (Kwon et al., 2020) brokerage orientation between donors and recipients. They either offered donors the option to attend distribution events or did not include donors. In so doing, the recipients did not gain access to additional resources, nor were they presented with opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs; since the differentiators rarely introduced HDIs to PWMs. Furthermore, no evidence indicates that donors embedded themselves at beneficiary sites.

Second, in the employment opportunities, the differentiators either did not create employment opportunities for HDIs or when they did, HDIs held non-bridging roles. The non-bridging roles highlight the founders' *tertius separans* brokerage orientation between HDI

employees and PWMs (Kwon et al., 2020). It is unlikely that HDI employees developed social capital with PWMs; since the differentiators did not give the actors from distinct social networks opportunities to interact. Therefore, the differentiators had a focused scaling approach in this domain.

Third, in the spatiality domain, the differentiators engaged mainly in direct activities, focusing on communities they could serve by themselves. They sometimes engaged other supporters, who were HDIs, to address recipients at distribution events. This *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation was between two groups of HDIs; the recipients and the other supporters. The differentiators did so, believing that the recipients would relate more easily to the HDI supporters than to the founders. However, the differentiators did not engage other supporters for spatial scaling. The differentiators' distribution areas were limited by their personal capacity to serve specified geographical areas. Hence, these founders focused on a few communities, proximal to, and within the provincial boundaries of, their operational base. They did not scale beyond the provincial boundaries of their ventures' operational base. Therefore, the differentiators had a focused scaling approach in the spatiality domain.

Based on the measurement criteria described in the research methods chapter, the differentiators had a focused scaling approach on each of the three domains. Therefore, their overall scaling approach was relatively narrow.

In order to further compare the person- and problem-oriented approaches, I build on the analogy of planting seeds mentioned by a respondent, Isabelle (#3), a relator who stated:

So, on Sunday, 25 women from all over Africa will be joining us... And we will train them into Ripple facilitators, and then they take the seed of Ripple back to their native country and plant it in their soil... And then we come alongside them to help them to start that in their own country. We don't go there to do it for them. We are saying, "You have the seed now. And yes, the seed is very small. But you just plant it first, and you start creating awareness in your own country. And then you start seeing what can you do with that

little bit of practical... You go back to your community and in partnership with an NGO, or in partnership with a church, or in partnership with a faith-based organisation, or a community organisation, you say, “I want to do a distribution event.”

The person-oriented approach involved a combination of direct and indirect activities. Indirect activities included introducing otherwise disconnected actors, allowing them to interact, and enlisting supporters. The relators shared their seeds with the donors, who supported the founders to plant these seeds, and sometimes the donors also planted seeds of their choosing, repeatedly and in the same fields. This meant that donors might have sometimes become embedded in the fields they served. Enlisting other supporters, who were geographically dispersed, enabled many fields to be sowed and tended concurrently. Such labour yielded a variety of fruit, which geographically dispersed beneficiaries could enjoy. In comparison, the problem-oriented approach involved mainly direct activities. The differentiators planted a single type of seed and tended a few proximal fields within their provincial boundaries, by themselves. This meant that the yield was a single type of fruit to be enjoyed by beneficiaries proximal to the ventures’ operational base.

Table 19 below arrays the domain level response and the scaling approach related to each type of response.

*Table 19: Domain level response and scaling approach*

Domain	Person-oriented			Problem-oriented		
	Domain level response	Outcome	Scaling approach	Domain level response	Outcome	Scaling approach
Additional resources	Encouraged donor involvement	Recipients sometimes gained access to additional resources & were given opportunities to develop SC with PWMs	Broad	Optional or no donor involvement	Recipients did not gain access to additional resources & were not given opportunities to develop SC with PWMs	Focused
Employment opportunities	HDI employment prioritised & HDIs often given bridging roles	Job creation & HDIs given opportunities to develop SC with PWMs	Broad	HDI employment not prioritised or HDIs give non-bridging roles	No employment opportunities for HDI, or HDIs held non-bridging roles	Focused
Spatiality	Other supporters enlisted	Ventures scaled beyond provincial boundaries	Broad	Other supporters not enlisted	Ventures did not scale beyond provincial boundaries	Focused

## Chapter 5: Discussion

### 5.1. Chapter introduction

I conducted a qualitative study in South Africa in which I examined how and why prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in the context of extreme poverty. The answer to the “*why*” question was that each group of founders perceived the beneficiaries distinctly. Variance in their beneficiary orientation drove them to enact distinct interpretations and responses to the same objective challenges that beneficiaries faced. Their interpretations resulted from founders differentially “bracketing” (Weick et al., 2005, p. 411), either emphasising or de-emphasising, the features related to period poverty. As was the case of the nurse mentioned by Weick et al. (2005), the founders’ “bracketing [was] guided by mental models” (p. 411), acquired through their training and their work and life experience.

Consistent with Powell and Baker’s (2014) findings, the founders’ enactment of distinct interpretations of the challenges informed “*how*” they responded. “This enacted lens on “What’s going on here?” and questions about the appropriate course of action – “What do I do next?” – are inextricably intertwined (Weick et al., 2005: 412)” (Powell & Baker, 2014, p. 1426). The “*how*” question was answered by demonstrating that founders’ responded to the challenges related to period poverty with two related and overlapping behaviour types. These types of activities were either direct or indirect (Uvin et al., 2000), and the brokerage orientation (Kwon et al., 2020; Obstfeld, 2017) between HDIs and PWMs. These are arrayed in Table 20 below.

*Table 20: Behaviour types*

Behaviour types	Person-oriented approach	Problem-oriented approach	Literature
Type of activities (Direct or indirect)	Combination of direct and indirect activities	Mainly direct activities	Uvin et al. (2000)
Brokerage orientation between HDIs and PWMs	<i>Tertius iungens</i>	<i>Tertius separans</i> and conduit	Obstfeld (2017); Kwon et al. (2020)

The differences in these behaviour types shaped their scaling approach on both the domain and overall levels. At the domain level, founders had two distinct scaling approaches, either broad or focused. At the overall level, scaling approaches were relatively expansive or narrow. Table 21 below arrays the process flow elements for each group of founders and provides information for each domain.

*Table 21: Process flow elements and scaling approach*

Group	Beneficiary orientation	Interpretation of challenges	Response to challenges	Scaling approach at domain level				Overall scaling approach
				Additional resources	Employment opportunities	Spatiality	Count of Broad	
Relator	Perceived similarity	Complex	Person-oriented	Broad	Broad	Broad	3	Expansive
Differentiator	Perceived difference	Simple	Problem-oriented	Focused	Focused	Focused	0	Narrow

In the sections that follow, I discuss the theoretical contributions, boundary conditions, future research, and practical implications.

**5.2. Theoretical contributions**

This study makes four theoretical contributions. These contributions are to the prosocial scaling literature and the literature on entrepreneurship in impoverished contexts.

**5.2.1. Founders’ response and interpretation**

I contribute to the prosocial venture scaling literature by introducing two types of founder responses to social challenges, being person- and problem-oriented approaches. These concepts explain the prosocial founders’ distinct responses to their beneficiaries’ challenges. Recall, a person-oriented approach refers to a set of direct and indirect activities adopted, adapted, and implemented in an endeavour to address or alleviate the multitude of challenges experienced by beneficiaries. In comparison, a problem-oriented approach refers to a set of predominantly direct activities adopted, adapted, and implemented in an endeavour to address or alleviate a specific social challenge experienced by beneficiaries.

The founders, with a person-oriented approach, the relators adopted a combination of direct and indirect activities (Uvin et al., 2000) and a *tertius iungens* (Obstfeld, 2017) brokerage orientation between beneficiaries and external actors, especially PWMs. This response included encouraging donor involvement, prioritising HDI employment, with HDI employees often holding bridging roles, and enlisting support from others. In comparison, the founders with the problem-oriented approach, the differentiators predominantly adopted direct activities (Uvin et al., 2000) and *tertius separans* (Kwon et al., 2020) and conduit (Obstfeld, 2017) brokerage orientation between HDIs and PWMs. This brokerage orientation meant that differentiators either offered donors the options to attend distribution events or excluded donors, did not employ HDIs or placed HDIs in non-bridging roles, and did not enlist other supporters for spatial scaling. In the rare instances when founders had a *tertius iungens* brokerage orientation between HDIs and external actors, the external actors were also HDIs.

Importantly, I do not simply demonstrate how founders vary in their responses to the same objective challenges; I also develop theory to explain the reason for the variance. These findings highlight that “context is not something that just is for entrepreneurs but instead is something they enact and construct, often in idiosyncratic ways, typically through routine interactions” (Baker & Welter, 2018, p. 16). According to Baker and Welter (2018), “Entrepreneurial agency in such cases is more a matter of enacting the environment one inhabits by bracketing some features and highlighting others as the context to which one will respond (Powell and Baker 2014, 2017; Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld 2005)” (p. 17).

These findings were similar to those of Powell and Baker (2014). The authors demonstrated that although founders endured the same objective challenge, being sustained adversity, variance in their identity structures drove their definition of the situation and shaped their subsequent responses (Powell & Baker, 2014). Similarly, I found that differences in

beneficiary orientation drove the founders' interpretation of the challenge, shaping their responses. In this study, founders interpreted the challenges related to period poverty as either simple or complex problems.

Many scholars regard prosocial founders as individuals who endeavour to tackle complex problems (Bacq & Lumpkin, 2021; Dorado & Ventresca, 2013; Vedula et al., 2022). Complex problems are interdependent challenges that require multiple concurrent interventions to address these problems (Hirschman, 1958). In contrast, simple problems are not interdependent and may be addressed with a single intervention (Mount et al., 2020, p. 105). Contrary to the scholarly perspective, my findings revealed that not all founders interpreted the challenges related to period poverty as complex. Indeed, some founders, the differentiators, interpreted the problem as simple. This finding is significant since it helps explain why founders varied in their responses. The relators, who interpreted the problem as complex, endeavoured to address or alleviate the challenges in multiple domains. They did so by creating employment opportunities for HDIs in non-bridging roles, opportunities for recipients to gain additional resources, and opportunities across a broader spatial area. In contrast, the differentiators, who interpreted the problem as simple, focused on supplying FHPs in locations proximal to, and within the provincial boundaries of, the ventures' operational base.

Relatedly, Sutter et al. (2019), based on their systematic review on the role of entrepreneurship as a solution for poverty, highlighted that scholars have different perspectives about the cause of, and solution to, poverty. Similarly, my study demonstrates that founders also have different perspectives about solutions to poverty.

#### 5.2.2. Founders' scaling approach and motivation

Although a few studies note differences in scaling approaches, these studies have been conducted mainly in developed economies (Battilana et al., 2012; Bauwens et al., 2020;

Kannothra et al., 2018; S. Kim & Kim, 2021; Vickers & Lyon, 2014). Among the rare exceptions is the study conducted by Desa and Koch's (2014) India-based study. This study contributes to the prosocial scaling literature by introducing two distinct scaling approaches, expansive and narrow, based on a study conducted in a developing economy. My study builds on Desa and Koch's (2014) conceptualisation of the scaling types, depth and breadth impact. A broad scaling approach on each scaling domain is related to either depth or breadth impact. Additional resources and employment opportunities are related to depth impact; since a broad scaling approach in these domains results in beneficiaries gaining access to additional resources. The spatial domain is directly related to breadth impact; since it refers to the geographical area in which beneficiaries gain access to opportunities offered by the FHP venture. At the domain level, broad scaling approaches may be related to Desa and Koch's (2014) conceptualisation of depth and breadth impact. Either depth or breadth impact applies to the broad scaling approaches on each domain (Desa & Koch, 2014), as illustrated in the column labelled Scaling approach: Scaling type in table 22 below.

The domain-level analysis developed in this study enables analysts, such as scholars and practitioners, to conduct a fine-grain analysis of depth and breadth impact. For example, depth impact applies to multiple domains, such as additional resources and employment opportunities. These domains may be analysed separately instead of grouping them together. In addition, analysts may determine who benefitted, what benefit was derived, and who were the external actors engaged for each scaling domain, as noted in table 22 below. Furthermore, domain-level analysis is not limited to depth and breadth impact, which are related to the broad scaling approach. It also considers the focused scaling approach, as noted in table 5 above. Notably, a focused scaling approach does not imply little or no scaling; since I did not measure

scaling quantitatively. For example, a differentiator serving a few proximal communities may supply more FHPs than a relator serving all provinces.

In addition, this study demonstrated that the founders' overall scaling approach was relatively expansive or narrow. Expansive and narrow represent points on a scaling approach continuum. The different scaling approaches observed in my study have distinct degrees of intensity for a set of scaling dimensions, resulting in the relators and differentiators having distinct scaling approaches. This categorisation of scaling approaches allows multiple domains to be analysed concurrently, providing insight into the founders' overall scaling approach. Concurrent analysis of multiple scaling domains enables analysts to compare how ventures scale their social impact. Furthermore, the concurrent analysis accommodates prosocial founders pursuing both depth and breadth impact, as is the case with the relators, who have an expansive overall scaling approach. Prior literature considers that a founder may pursue either depth or breadth impact (Bauwens et al., 2020; Desa & Koch, 2014; S. Kim & Kim, 2021), not both.

*Table 22: Scaling domains: Fine grain analysis*

Scaling domains	Beneficiaries	Beneficiary benefits	External actors	Scaling approach: Scaling type
Additional resources:	Recipients	Opportunities were created for recipients to gain access to additional resources	Donors	Broad = Depth
Employment opportunities:	HDI employees	HDI employment prioritised and HDIs held bridging roles	PWMs, including donors	Broad = Depth
Spatiality:	HDI employees & recipients	Opportunities available beyond the provincial boundary of the venture	Other supporters	Broad = Breadth

Although our understanding of various scaling approaches has deepened, few studies explore the founders' motivation to scale social impact (Smith & Stevens, 2010). For example, the founder's compassion (Miller et al., 2012), degree of embeddedness (Smith & Stevens, 2010), and moral intensity and desire for control (Smith et al., 2016) has been theorised as shaping scaling. There is a dearth of empirical support to explain how differences in the

founders' motivation shape differences in the scaling approaches (Bauwens et al., 2020). Bauwens and colleagues' (2020) study of three Flemish renewable energy ventures is a rare exception. Building on Vicker and Lyon's (2014) typology, Bauwens et al. (2020) introduced the concepts of mutual-interest or general-interest as scaling approaches. The authors, through their interorganisational level analysis, demonstrated that the venture's mission and the mutual influence of other prosocial ventures shaped the venture's scaling approach.

Importantly, I do not simply introduce another typology to the prosocial scaling literature. I develop theory to explain the motivation for the variations in the founders' scaling approach, which few studies do (Bauwens et al., 2020). This study demonstrated that differences in the founders' beneficiary orientation served as a powerful motivation for shaping their scaling approaches. Importantly, I demonstrate the underlying motivation that shapes differences in responses and scaling approaches, deepening our understanding of prosocial motivation. In Bauwens and colleagues' (2020) study, the founders' motivation for shaping their scaling approach was their response to external factors, being their mutual influence. In contrast, my study revealed that founders' motivation for shaping their scaling approach was based on their perceptions of the beneficiaries. These findings contribute to our emergent understanding of the plurality of founder motivation and how motivation shapes variations in scaling approaches.

### 5.2.3. Embeddedness and scaling

This study contributes to the prosocial scaling literature by demonstrating a nuanced and counterintuitive perspective of the relationship between embeddedness and scaling depth or breadth impact. Scholars theorised that founders' degree of embeddedness shapes their scaling and scaling decisions (Bacq et al., 2015; Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009). Broadly, the founder's degree of embeddedness has a positive relationship to depth impact and

a negative relationship to breadth impact (Smith & Stevens, 2010). Recent empirical studies provide evidence that the relationship between the founder's degree of embeddedness and depth and breadth impact is more nuanced (Bauwens et al., 2020; Desa & Koch, 2014; Kannothra et al., 2018; S. Kim & Kim, 2021).

My findings revealed a more nuanced perspective on the relationship between embeddedness and depth and breadth impact. These different types of impact are important since the former results in beneficiaries gaining additional resources, and the latter results in additional beneficiaries being reached (Desa & Koch, 2014). Prior literature has focused on the relationship between the founders' degree of embeddedness and scaling depth or breadth impact (Desa & Koch, 2014; S. Kim & Kim, 2021; Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009). However, prosocial founders may engage in indirect activities (Uvin et al., 2000) through actors who are embedded in their contexts.

In my study, the relators were not embedded in the contexts they served, and they realised depth and breadth impact. Relators achieved concurrent depth, and breadth impact through indirect activities, often working through actors who were external to the FHP ventures. These actors were sometimes either embedded or became embedded at beneficiary sites, which shaped depth and breadth impact. For example, donors sometimes either became embedded or were already embedded at beneficiary sites; since they repeatedly worked at the same sites. Through these embedded donors, recipients sometimes gained access to additional resources, which is related to depth impact. In addition, the relators worked indirectly through other supporters. The other supporters were sometimes embedded in distal sites, beyond the FHP ventures' provincial boundaries. Acting through embedded other supporters, the relators realised breadth impact. These findings highlight that it is not necessary for founders to be embedded in their contexts for depth impact, provided they conduct indirect activities through

embedded actors. In addition, indirect activities conducted by geographically dispersed embedded actors may facilitate breadth impact.

Prior research highlights that prosocial founders may achieve either depth or breadth impact, based on their degree of embeddedness (Desa & Koch, 2014; Kannothra et al., 2018; S. Kim & Kim, 2021). This study highlights that prosocial founders may concurrently achieve both depth and breadth. The relators achieved concurrent depth and breadth impact by engaging in indirect activities, with external actors embedded at beneficiary sites. These findings are similar to those of Bauwens et al. (2020); since both studies demonstrated that factors other than the founders' degree of embeddedness shape depth and breadth impact. Bauwens et al. (2020) demonstrated that ventures' mutual-influence shaped their scaling approaches, while my study demonstrates that the founders' beneficiary orientation does so. In addition, my findings are counterintuitive. Given that the differentiators, with their problem-oriented scaling approach, are not embedded in the context in which they operate, one might expect that the differentiators would have a breadth impact. Instead, the differentiators focus on communities proximal to their base of operation.

I contribute to the prosocial scaling literature by extending our understanding of the relationship between embeddedness and scaling. Prior work emphasised the founders' degree of embeddedness and how it shapes scaling. My findings highlight that the founders' degree of embeddedness may not necessarily shape scaling outcomes. Instead, the degree of embeddedness of actors conducting prosocial activities may shape scaling outcomes. In this study, the actors were external to the FHP venture. In addition, my findings highlight that prosocial founders pursuing scaling do not necessarily have to choose between depth and breadth impact. Both scaling types may be realised concurrently through embedded external actors.

#### 5.2.4. Beneficiaries' social capital

This study extends our understanding of prosocial founders' role in engendering beneficiaries' social capital, thereby contributing to the literature on entrepreneurship in the context of poverty. Prior work in impoverished contexts has noted that actors living in these contexts often have dense network structures and exceptionally homogenous social networks (Kwon & Adler, 2014; Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Although the dense network structures may offer its members benefits, especially during times of strife (Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), over-embeddedness in these social networks may constrain actors and their economic progress (Khayesi et al., 2014; Khayesi & George, 2011; Slade Shantz et al., 2018).

In addition to impoverished actors' over-embeddedness and their homogenous social networks, social structures constrain resource flows into impoverished contexts. These contexts often represent "island networks", geographically separated and economically isolated (Turok, 2015). For example, villagers were given similar resources in an upliftment project based in Sri Lanka. Although the villagers that started the project "[f]rom equal beginnings, the village had polarised 10 years later into a majority of economically unsuccessful villagers" (Kodithuwakku & Rosa, 2002, p. 431). The resources injected into the impoverished village were simply recirculated amongst the villagers, and the majority of the villagers remained impoverished. This outcome highlights the ill effects of economic isolation and the need for resource flows between impoverished and resource-rich contexts.

Indeed, the market-based approach to poverty alleviation may disrupt the economic isolation of the impoverished (Ansari et al., 2012; Hall et al., 2012). For example, the practitioners adopting the bottom-up approach may include the impoverished may participate in global value chains (Hall et al., 2012). Underscoring such participation is social capital that

connects actors from resource-rich and impoverished contexts (henceforth: beneficiaries' social capital). Ansari et al. (2012) argued that MNCs should engender beneficiaries' social capital. The authors considered such social capital crucial for poverty alleviation; since it may facilitate knowledge transfer to the impoverished. Furthermore, it may result in increased flows of resources between resource-rich and impoverished contexts (Ansari et al., 2012).

Extant literature highlights that impoverished contexts are economically isolated, and beneficiaries' social capital may disrupt the economic isolation. This study provides evidence that founders creating opportunities for beneficiaries and PWMs to interact presented beneficiaries with opportunities to develop social capital. These findings highlight that founders may play a pivotal role in engendering social capital that connects beneficiaries and PWMs. For example, the relators created opportunities for the beneficiaries to interact with donors, encouraging donor involvement. In contrast, the differentiators did not create opportunities for the beneficiaries and donors to interact; since these founders either offered donors the option to attend or excluded donors from distribution events. Therefore, the differentiators' beneficiaries did not gain access to additional resources.

Although this study does not measure social capital, it provides evidence that actors from otherwise disconnected social networks, resource-rich and impoverished contexts, were introduced and were made to interact. These introductions and interactions sometimes resulted in additional resources flowing to the impoverished. This preliminary evidence suggests that social capital was created between actors from otherwise disconnected social networks. Arguably, such introductions and interactions serve, at the very least, as nascent social capital.

My findings contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in the context of poverty by building on Ansari and colleagues' (2012) notion of engendering social capital that connects actors from impoverished and resource-rich contexts. My findings highlight that in addition to

MNCs, prosocial founders may play a pivotal role in engendering such social capital. In addition, I demonstrate that not all prosocial founders have a proclivity for engendering such social capital. Importantly, I explain the motivation that underscores differences in founders' responses. Differences in the founders' beneficiary orientation shape the founders' response to engendering beneficiaries' social capital or not.

### 5.3. Boundary conditions and future research

The sample for this study comprised nine founders based on theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The theoretical sample enabled theoretical generalisability (Eisenhart, 2009) for theory building (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Although the sample size was small, the in-depth exploration of these cases, including multiple interviews and diverse data sources for each, was useful for probing emergent themes, necessary for developing grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Eisenhardt, 1989). As is common in grounded theory, I developed theory, supported by theoretical sampling. As such, "the process of theoretical sampling... [I] followed restricts the direct empirical generalizability" (Powell & Baker, 2014, p. 1429). For example, all ventures in the sample were led by a single founder. It is possible that ventures led by teams, or multiple founders, would have different results; since founders within a venture may have distinct beneficiary orientations. In such cases, the founders' scaling approach may be negotiated rather than being driven by the founders' beneficiary orientation.

In addition, my study was limited to a single country context, South Africa. The nation is characterised as having high levels of inequality and poverty, and an under-developed social welfare system (Mubangizi & Gray, 2011). These features result in the impoverished having a multitude of needs that are not being alleviated or addressed. Therefore, there are many ways in which founders may serve the impoverished. Future studies could use quantitative methods to test the patterns highlighted in this study. Such as study will enable the analysis of larger

data sets across multiple countries. For example, it would be interesting to know if founders' beneficiary orientation shapes their scaling approach in other countries. In developing countries, that share features such as high levels of inequality and poverty, and an under-developed social welfare system, the beneficiaries' multitude of needs may also not be addressed. Therefore, prosocial founders may also play an important role in alleviating the beneficiaries' challenges. In such contexts, the founders' beneficiary orientation will likely shape their scaling approaches. It may be useful to compare the findings from developed countries, with robust social welfare systems, with those of developing countries. It is likely that in the context of robust social welfare systems, many of the beneficiaries' needs will be addressed by the state. Therefore, founders' beneficiary orientation may not shape their scaling approach.

This study demonstrated that founders' beneficiary orientation shaped the founders' responses. The relators, who perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries, had a person-oriented approach. In comparison, the differentiators, who perceived themselves as different from the beneficiaries, had a problem-oriented approach. This insight broadens our understanding of what drives founders to scale social impact (Smith et al., 2016) and what drives differences in founders' scaling approaches (Bauwens et al., 2020). The relationship between founders' beneficiary orientation and spatial scaling could be explored further in future research. My study offers important insight into why differentiators' beneficiary orientation drives them to scale spatially. However, my work does not fully explain why the differentiators' spatial scaling is constrained. Future work could explore other factors that drive founders' responses. For example, team dynamics are known to shape venture outcomes and even the founders' identity (Powell et al., 2018; Powell & Baker, 2017). Future work could explore how

the founders' beneficiary orientation, together with team dynamics, shapes the founders' response.

In addition, this study identified two overlapping and related behaviour types associated with the founders' response: type of activity and brokerage orientation. Future studies could reveal additional behaviour types related to the founders' responses to challenges. For example, bricolage is known to shape venture growth (Bacq et al., 2015; Baker & Nelson, 2005) and is widely used by prosocial ventures (Desa, 2012). In the context of resource-constrained ventures, some founders respond by practising bricolage, while others do not (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 354). The practice of bricolage is based on the founders' "ability and willingness to refuse to enact commonly accepted limitations" (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 354).

In this study, only one founder, a differentiator, practised bricolage. Many founders indicated that the intimate nature of FHPs demanded high-quality standards, which they were unwilling to compromise on. It would be interesting to explore the practice of bricolage in another context, where the quality of the product supplied is not as sensitive, such as low-cost computing equipment or school uniforms. Future work could examine if the practice of bricolage may be related to the founders' beneficiary orientation in other contexts, where founders supply other products.

In this study, I found that engagement between different sets of actors resulted in a broad scaling approach for different domains. The relators engaged with, and promoted engagement between, different sets of key actors and had a broad scaling approach in all domains and a relatively expansive scaling approach on the overall level. In contrast, the differentiators, who had limited engagements with, and limited promotion of engagements amongst different sets of actors, had a focused scaling approach on the domain level and a narrow overall scaling approach. Future studies could investigate whether engagement with more sets of key actors

continues to broaden the founders' scaling approach. For example, founders engaging with additional sets of actors may create complexity for the founder; since the founder may have to endure conflicting demands from the different sets of actors. The conflict between the different sets of actors could impede or even cause regression in scaling interventions, thus, culminating in a narrowing of the founder's overall scaling approach.

Kwon and Adler (2014) noted that most social capital studies focused on horizontal structures, which refers to groups of actors with a similar social status. They called for studies to consider vertical structuring, especially where inequality between social structures is prevalent. Vertical structuring refers to the hierarchical grouping of actors based on their social status. Inequality between groups may be based on factors such as gender, income, or race (Kwon & Adler, 2014).

This study provides initial evidence that founders introducing beneficiaries to PWMs and facilitating their interactions, the beneficiaries had opportunities to gain access to additional resources. This finding suggests that these introductions and interactions may engender social capital that connects actors from impoverished and resource-rich contexts. This finding opens up interesting avenues for future research. Longitudinal studies could compare the effect of the practice of introducing, and facilitating interactions between, the actors from the two contexts with the practice of not introducing them. It would be interesting to understand if such interactions have long-term benefits. In addition, the founders' social capital could shape their motives and approaches to engendering beneficiaries' social capital. Future research could explore the relationship between the founders' social capital and their motives and approaches to engendering beneficiaries' social capital.

#### 5.4. Practical implications

In my study, I developed grounded theory that helps explain why founders have a relatively expansive or narrow overall approach to scaling. Founders' beneficiary orientation shaped their scaling approach. The two groups of founders had distinct scaling approaches at the domain and overall levels. The relators had a broad scaling approach at the domain level and a relatively expansive one at the overall level. In contrast, the differentiators had a focused scaling approach at the domain level and a relatively narrow scaling approach at the overall level. These findings are not intended to valorise one or other scaling approach or beneficiary orientation. Notably, the founders' scaling impact was not measured quantitatively. Therefore, it is not clear which group of founders had greater social impact. Instead, these findings are significant since they highlight the sense of coherence between founders' orientations and their scaling strategies.

These findings interest government officials, policymakers, donors, and practitioners, such as aid organisations and business incubators. For example, founders supported through development programmes may be selected based on their beneficiary orientation. Policymakers' or practitioners' desiring a particular outcome, being a relatively expansive or narrow overall scaling approach, may consider the founders' beneficiary orientation when selecting founders for their programmes. For example, in the aftermath of a natural disaster, such as a flood or hurricane, aid organisations may prefer selecting person-oriented founders to address the multitude of challenges faced by the afflicted. These challenges may include lack of accommodation, food, and medical care. In contrast, during a pandemic vaccine roll-out phase, government officials may prefer working with problem-oriented founders. These founders are likely to focus on vaccines and not expend resources, including time, on alleviating other challenges experienced by the targeted beneficiaries.

In addition, these findings may be of interest to the founders themselves. Founders may not have insight into their proclivity for a specific type of scaling approach. The theory developed in this study may help raise their awareness about their proclivity based on their beneficiary orientation. The founders may then consciously adapt their behaviour and scaling approach, if they wish to do so. For example, donors may be interested in outcomes related to a single intervention, such as providing clean drinking water. Armed with the insight of their proclivity, a founder with a person-orientation may consciously adjust their style to act in a problem-oriented manner, thus better aligning with the donors' objectives.

This study highlighted the significance of introducing, and facilitating interactions between, beneficiaries and PWMs. In so doing, founders presented beneficiaries with opportunities to develop social capital with PWMs. Practitioners may draw on this insight to proactively create opportunities for HDIs to engender social capital with PWMs. For example, founders could modify non-bridging roles to incorporate events, activities, and functions that necessitate interaction with PWMs.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

Many scholars regard founders, especially prosocial founders, as important for alleviating complex social challenges, such as poverty and economic inequality. Scholars consider market-based solutions, particularly the bottom-up approach, imperative for poverty alleviation. However, in contexts of extreme poverty, consumers are sometimes so poor that they cannot afford even basic goods. Women and children often bear the brunt of challenges related to poverty. Key amongst their challenges is the lack of access to FHPs; since the lack thereof results in a multitude of undesirable, yet avoidable socio-economic outcomes. Prosocial founders may be interested in alleviating the challenges experienced by these impoverished consumers by scaling their social impact, without having significant venture growth.

Few studies consider differences in founders' scaling approaches. Moreover, the reasons underlying the differences in the founders' scaling approaches are not well-understood. Therefore, my thesis explored how and why prosocial founders vary in their scaling approaches in the context of extreme poverty. I explored this question by conducting a qualitative, inductive study, using grounded theory methods. The sample comprised nine prosocial founders engaged in alleviating period poverty in South Africa. This context is well-suited for this study; since period poverty is widespread, and several founders have responded to the challenge. The nation has amongst the highest levels of inequality globally and has acute and widespread poverty.

I iterated between data collection and analysis and the literature to identify patterns in the data. Guided by these patterns and the literature, the research question was adjusted iteratively. Primarily through interviews and observations, I noted that some founders perceived themselves as similar to the beneficiaries, while others did not. In addition, the former group included donors at distribution events, where the donors interacted with recipients, while the latter group did not. I probed these themes further to identify other interactions that the founders

facilitated or promoted and the outcomes of those interactions. Iterating between the data and the literature enabled me to answer the research question.

My main theoretical contributions are to the prosocial scaling literature. Here, I introduce two distinct founder responses to the same objective problem, being person- and problem-oriented. Importantly, I also developed theory to explain the motivation for the variations in founders' responses, which was rooted in their distinct beneficiary orientations. Although founders engaged in ostensibly similar efforts, they enacted distinct interpretations based on their beneficiary orientations. Indeed, founders' beneficiary orientation served as a powerful antecedent for their responses and scaling approaches. Although many scholars argue that prosocial founders endeavour to tackle complex problems, these findings highlight that not all prosocial founders interpret the problems they tackle as complex.

I contribute to the literature on entrepreneurship in impoverished contexts. I demonstrate that prosocial founders engaged in ostensibly similar efforts may play very different roles in engendering social capital that connects actors from impoverished and resource-rich contexts. Through this initial social capital, beneficiaries gained access to additional resources. I introduce a method to analyse multiple scaling domains concurrently, enabling scholars to determine the founders' overall scaling approach. I note that person- and problem-orientations have relevance under different circumstances. Furthermore, this study highlights a nuanced perspective on embeddedness. Prior work focuses on how the founders' degree of embeddedness shaping scaling. This study highlights that while embeddedness shapes scaling, the founders' embeddedness is not necessarily significant. Instead, founders may engage embedded actors to conduct indirect activities for scaling social impact.

In addition to theoretical contributions, this study's findings have practical relevance. The method to analyse multiple scaling domains concurrently may also be useful to

practitioners. This method enables practitioners, such as founders, to determine their overall scaling approach. Founders may consider the proclivity and adjust their scaling approach under different circumstances. Practitioners may draw on the insights presented in this study to make important decisions that could bear significance on social impact outcomes.

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## Annexures

### Annexure 1 – Round 1: Interview guide for founders

Questions	Explanations
<b>Introductory questions</b>	
1. Tell me about yourself.	These questions were ice-breaker questions, intended to put the respondent at ease. They also allowed the founders to respond, without being primed.
2. Tell me about your venture.	
<b>Information that I would like founders to share</b>	
3. What is the chronology of the venture's development?	To determine the sequence of events, so that causation may be established.
4a. What has "worked" for your venture? b. What hasn't "worked" and how did you respond?	To learn about strengths and constraints of the venture and how these are managed.
5. How did you (the founder) go about establishing the venture?	To learn about the founders' motivation.
6. Who are the key stakeholders and what is their role?	To gain insights about inclusive innovation practices.
7. What role have customers played in shaping the venture?	
<b>Information that I would like customers to share</b>	
8. What is or has been the customers' role in relation to the venture?	To gain insights about inclusive innovation practices.
9. What impact has the firm had on the customers' overall circumstances?	

### Annexure 2 – Round 1: Interview guide for employees

Questions	Explanations
1. Tell me about yourself.	These questions were ice-breaker questions, intended to put the respondent at ease. These questions allowed the employees to respond, without being primed.
2. Tell me about your role at <name of the FHP venture.>	
3a. What are things that you like about your job? b. What are things that you don't like about your job?	To learn more about the venture and the respondents' experience working for the venture.

### Annexure 3 – Round 2: Interview guide for founders

Questions	Explanations
1. Tell me about what has been happening since the last time we spoke.	To obtain information about what has happened since my last interview.
2. Tell me about the change in quantity of FHPs distributed, sales volume, and number of employees since the last time we spoke	To assess venture growth.
3. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me?	To determine if there is any key information that has not been discussed.

### Annexure 4 – Round 3: Interview guide for founders

Questions	Explanations
1. Tell me about what has been happening since the last time we spoke.	To obtain information about what has happened since my last interview.
2. Describe a distribution event. o How did you decide who should be attend? o What is the donors' role at the distribution event? o Do donors stay in touch with you or the beneficiaries?	To determine if: - there were opportunities for HDIs and people with means were given the opportunity to interact. - recipients gain access to additional resources.
3. How did you decide which beneficiary site to go to? o Who conduct the FHHT at these different sites?	To determine: - the spatial impact of the venture. - how the founders have spatial impact.
4. Other than the distribution event, when else do HDIs (recipients and employees) and people with means interact?	To determine if there are other opportunities for the HDIs and PWMs to interact.
5. How do you decide who to recruit as employees and describe their roles.	To determine if HDIs were employed. If so, to determine if they held bridging or non-bridging roles.
6. Have you ever worked with a competitor? o What products are distributed at distribution events? o How do your products compare to other products in this product category? o What do you consider to be your trade secrets? o Tell be about information you shared with competitors.	To determine the founder's competitor approach.
7. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me?	To determine if there is any key information that has not been discussed.

Annexure 5 – Ethical clearance



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UCT Commerce Faculty Office

06 01 2021

Nishana Bhogal

Graduate School of Business

University of Cape Town

REF: REC 2021/01/001

Growing founder-led prosocial ventures

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid until 31-Jan-2022 .

Your clearance may be renewed upon application.

Please be aware that you need to notify the Ethics Committee immediately should any aspect of your study regarding the engagement with participants as approved in this application, change. This may include aspects such as changes to the research design, questionnaires, or choice of participants.

The ongoing ethical conduct throughout the duration of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

We wish you well for your research.

2021.01.06

16:37:21 +02'00'

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