How Social Ventures Successfully Mobilize Resources

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Abstract

Social ventures are a powerful force for socioeconomic development and self-determination around the world. However, resource scarcity places severe constraints on their impact. Existing literature has not yet adequately explored several key aspects of this phenomenon, leading to limited applicability and effectiveness of current theory.

This research endeavors to answer the central question:

How do social ventures leverage different resourcing strategies to overcome resource scarcity?

Related lines of inquiry are included to answer the sub-questions:

What are the implications of different resource mobilization strategies?

What effect does context have on social ventures' resource mobilization strategies?

By developing four organizational case studies across two countries that have successfully mobilized resources, this study builds understanding of what resource mobilization strategies are most effective. The analysis of the qualitative data followed the abductive approach and aligned with the constructivist paradigm. This method allowed for the centering of participants' perspectives, and exploration of the process of resource mobilization.

The findings highlight social capital as the most impactful and widely applicable resource mobilization strategy. After applying the Social Cohesion Perspective to the data, it was evident that two divergent approaches to social capital are present among the cases, with one approach centering bonding and bridging social capital, and the other relying on linking social capital. While both approaches have distinct tradeoffs, linking social capital dependence is shown to fuel a chain reaction of mission drift and degradation of bonding and bridging social capital. Meanwhile, strong networks of bonding social capital, combined with bridging social capital, facilitate continued mission alignment and organizational adaptability. Additionally, this later strategy contributes to increased utilization of bricolage practices to mobilize resources. Finally, the complex effects context exerts on social capital are outlined, showing particularly strong impacts on bonding and linking social capital.

This research contributes to theory by expanding the Social Cohesion Perspective, outlining key implications of different resource mobilization strategies, which highlight the

importance of diversified resource bases. The findings also show that dependence on linking social capital leads organizations towards a potentially hazardous sequence of events driven by mission drift. Further expansion on this theory includes the effects of context on various forms of social capital as well as the process of resource mobilization, and bricolage's ties to social capital.

1 Introduction

Social entrepreneurs can provide an avenue for systemically exploited communities to work in pursuit of achieving socioeconomic self-determination, and thus are a growing force in socioeconomic evolution across the globe (Elliott, 2019). Creating social value, a primary motivator for social entrepreneurs, is imperative in the current global socioeconomic landscape (Lashitew et al., 2023). Despite their potential for catalyzing socioeconomic change, many social entrepreneurial initiatives face severe challenges (Pillay & Mitra, 2015). Chief among social entrepreneurs' concerns is their ability to acquire resources, reinforced by their frequent situation within resource constrained environments (Desa, 2012). The nature of these resource constraints often confine social entrepreneurial impact by restricting the types and scale of the initiatives, resulting in diminished impact and leaving communities inadequately supported in addressing their needs.

While the phenomenon has wide recognition for its impactfulness, there remain substantial knowledge gaps around pivotal aspects related to the people, process, places, problems, and level of analysis included in research (Gupta et al., 2020). Social entrepreneurs from marginalized communities also remained marginalized in the literature (Sarkar, 2018). Additionally, understanding the process of social value creation is an "increasingly compelling" need (Mzembe et al., 2018, p.997). Relatedly, the process of how entrepreneurs overcome resource scarcity remains opaque (Sarkar, 2018). This opacity is perpetuated by the literature's "over-concentration on opportunity discovery," and under-researching resource assembly (Sarkar, 2018, p.439). The places included in research are not representative of where social entrepreneurship occurs, as "few recent studies have collected data from developing countries," and there is significant over-representation of the Global North in the literature (Gupta et al., 2020, p.210; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006). Building on this gap, much of the research on social entrepreneurship in resource scarce communities focuses on a "needs-based, problem-solving approach" which can be "devastating" (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005, p.177). This approach can fuel a dependency cycle on external actors and encourage communities to internalize a denigrating view of themselves (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005). Finally, research at the organizational level lags that at the individual level, and must of existing literature focuses on the dual logics of social enterprises (Dacin et al., 2011; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006; Schätzlein et al., 2023; Wu et al., 2020). The literature that is available on resource mobilization at the organizational level within developing economies emphasizes the importance of social capital and bricolage (Nilsson et al., 2022; Urban et al., 2024).

These gaps in the research translate to practical implications in the support of socially entrepreneurial initiatives. Lacking understanding of the experiences of marginalized communities translates to decreased effectiveness of strategies aimed at supporting them. Additionally, insufficient knowledge of the process of how to successfully overcome resource scarcity leads to a lack of understanding of the nuances of what strategies are successful, and how they can be facilitated to support social entrepreneurship from resource scarce environments. Relatedly, approaching this area of research from a lens of problem-solving instead of appreciating what is successful, can cause significant negative impact on communities' self-image and decrease their self-determination by increasing their dependency on external actors. This knowledge gap is furthered by the limited inclusion of countries often facing the most severe resource constraints, leading to existing theory being applied to contexts from which it was not developed. There are broad consequences of this, including rendering initiatives far less effective than they could be by focusing on support strategies potentially not relevant to social ventures from these under-researched contexts.

This research is specifically designed to address these gaps in the literature, contribute to improving practical applications of theory and inform practitioners, facilitators, and policymakers, and elevate the perspectives of those from resource scarce environments. It is aimed at answering the central question:

How do social ventures leverage different resourcing strategies to overcome resource scarcity?

In line with the needs outlined above, this research also addresses two research sub-questions:

What are the implications of different resource mobilization strategies?

What effect does context have on social ventures' resource mobilization strategies?

In pursuit of advancing comprehension of these research questions and addressing gaps in the current literature, this research includes the perspectives of four social ventures successfully operating despite resource scarcity. Two organizations are based in South Africa and two are based in the United States to further understanding of contextual implications on theory. Qualitative data was collected with these organizations through semi-structured interviews and observations. The comparative case study method is deployed following the constructivist paradigm and an abductive approach using the critical appreciative process. These methodological choices allow for detailed analysis of each case and context, as well as elevating the research participants’ perspectives. Crucially, it facilitates analysis conducive to answering the research exploratory, process-orientated nature.

The findings aim to inform practitioners of effective resource mobilization avenues available to them, as well as the implications of different strategies they can deploy. In correlation, this research can assist ecosystem enablers of practical steps they can take to better support social ventures facing resource scarcity. Additionally, policymakers can benefit from these findings by using their increased understanding of this phenomenon to institute more effective support policies and remove superfluous obstacles facing social ventures in their jurisdiction. Finally, this research refines and connects theories in a number of pivotal ways, which can serve to improve future research in this sphere.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Social entrepreneurship is a dynamic and transformative agent of socioeconomic progress worldwide, empowering systemically marginalized communities to reclaim agency and pursue socioeconomic self-determination. Despite their transformative potential, social ventures, an organizational manifestation of this phenomenon, face numerous obstacles. Among these challenges, resource scarcity emerges as a critical, pervasive obstacle to their success, making it the central focus of this research.

Social ventures continuously demonstrate innovative tactics to overcome the resource scarcity of their environment and create social wealth for their communities. This research examines how social ventures leverage different resource mobilization strategies, including monetary, tangible, and intangible methods, in two distinct contexts. Through this exploration, effects of different resource mobilization strategies are identified, as well as contextual factors that affect the development and application of theory.

The study contributes to the existing literature by addressing several critical gaps in understanding the process of social ventures' resource mobilization across global contexts. While most research on social entrepreneurship focuses on the Global North, this study bridges the geographic divide by comparing social ventures in the United States, where the literature is well-developed, and South Africa, where research remains comparatively limited. By integrating these two contexts in one study, this study offers a nuanced understanding of how country-specific factors shape resource mobilization strategies. In addition to the contextual literature gaps, this research addresses the relatively limited literature at the organizational-level, allowing numerous factors affecting social ventures to come to light that may not be identified through individual-focused research, Finally, this paper addresses the critical gap in understanding the process of resource assembly. The lack of research around this process has significantly impeded understanding important constraints and enablers in the field, while also contributing to viewing communities in resource-constrained environments as a list of problems to be solved, rather than identifying critical enablers of success. These gaps in the literature affect policymakers' ability to effectively support the critical, transformative work of social ventures, having wide-reaching consequences. Therefore, the findings provide actionable insights for social ventures and policymakers to enhance the resilience and impact of social entrepreneurship in diverse environments.

This section begins with an exploration of social entrepreneurship, and social ventures' position within the broader field. Then the resource environment is explored by defining resource scarcity, types of resources, and crucially, prominent resource mobilization strategies for social ventures. Finally, the section concludes with an overview of the entrepreneurial ecosystems within which the social ventures of this research operate.

2.2 Social Entrepreneurship Field

Although it is a well-established phenomenon, social entrepreneurship first entered the literature in 1970 (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019). Since this first publishing it has become a popular field of research, while remaining phenomenon-driven (Janssen et al., 2018; Mair & Martí, 2006). Research in this area has continuously increased, especially over the past two decades (Gupta et al., 2020). This increase in interest is due in part to its ability to address several socioeconomic issues simultaneously (Robinson, 2006). As Robinson explains:

> "*Social entrepreneurship has the potential to bring an interdisciplinary array of actors together leading to various boundary-spanning research and practical activities. The result of such boundary-spanning is the rearrangement and recombination of the existing organizational forms and roles. This hybridization of organizational forms and roles follows the law of requisite variety: difficult problems require innovative solutions. Social entrepreneurs are engaged in creating these innovative solutions*" (2006, 96).

Although there are a wide range of social entrepreneurship definitions, this research uses Mair and Marti's broad definition of social entrepreneurship "a process that catalyzes social change and addresses important social needs in a way that is not dominated by direct financial benefits for the entrepreneurs" (2006, p.36). While it can be argued that all forms of entrepreneurship have a social benefit, social entrepreneurship is distinct because it prioritizes generating social value above gaining monetary profit (Gupta et al., 2020). Gupta et al. 2020 also asserts that social entrepreneurship is a "novel activity that intends to create producer surplus by reducing negative externalities and/or creating positive externalities via the integration of the essence of social as well as entrepreneurship constructs" (p.209).

2.3 Social Ventures

Social ventures, as an organizational manifestation of the principles of social entrepreneurship, are used as the unit of analysis in this research. This section explains the rationale for this decision.

This research follows Mair and Marti's assertion that the main distinction of social entrepreneurship versus other types of entrepreneurship is the "relative priority given to social wealth creation versus economic wealth creation" (Mair & Martí, 2006, p.36). Therefore, a variety of legal organizational structures and relationships to profit are included in this research. This approach accounts for the wide range of "social needs addressed, the amount of resources needed, the scope for raising capital, and the ability to capture economic value" present across social purpose organizations (Mair & Martí, 2006, p.39).

There is a lack of consensus on definitions throughout social entrepreneurship research, especially regarding different types of organizations, which has led to a "proliferation of definitions" throughout the literature (Bacq & Janssen, 2011 p.373; Dacin et al., 2011; Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017). This discordance reflects the field's emphasis on researching social entrepreneurship at the individual level instead of at the organizational level (Dacin et al., 2011; Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017). Boundaries between organizational types are often delineated based on their profit and governance structures. Social businesses and social enterprises are regarded as for-profit ventures that have secondary pursuits of social purposes (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Gupta et al., 2020; Steiner & Teasdale, 2016). Community ventures, community-based enterprises, and collective social entrepreneurship are distinguished by their community ownership and governance structures and can include a range of relationships to profit (Haugh, 2012; Montgomery et al., 2012; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Vestrum & Rasmussen, 2013).

While there are many terms present in the literature to delineate categories of socially minded organizations, the term social venture was chosen to be intentionally broad in pursuit of including diverse organizational forms in the understanding of social value creation (Di Domenico et al., 2010). Social ventures are organizations dedicated to generating social wealth for the communities within which they operate, serving as an organizational manifestation of social entrepreneurship (Vestrum & Rasmussen, 2013). This research follows a broad definition of social wealth as including "economic, societal, health, and environmental aspects of human welfare" (Zahra et al., 2008). The defining characteristic of a social venture is its primary objective of generating positive social impact (Haugh, 2007). Social ventures are highly focused on their social goals, often involve many stakeholders, and can take a variety of legal forms (Vestrum & Rasmussen, 2013). While some social ventures engage in for-profit activities to remain financially sustainable, others use combinations of resource acquisition techniques including grants and donations (Haugh, 2007).

Although it can be challenging to identify the exact moment when a venture has been created (Haugh, 2007), this research will utilize Katz and Gartner's (1988) four properties framework to identify when an initiative has become an organized venture. The first property of an organization is intentionality, or the collection of information to be applied toward the goal of the organization. Resources, the second property, will be a core focus of this research, and involves identifying and collecting the tools needed to exploit an opportunity. Social exchanges are required to secure these resources, constituting the third property. Finally, boundaries emerge when there are clear distinctions between the emerging organization and other associations and organizations within their environment.

2.4 Resource Scarcity

Access to resources is an essential component of the entrepreneurial process, and is frequently cited as the most prominent challenge for emerging social ventures (Desa, 2012). This research does not include a focus on resource scarcity to suggest that the resource environment is deterministic of a social venture's experience, as there are numerous avenues of research showing how social ventures successfully overcome resource scarcity (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Bewaji et al., 2015; Desa & Basu, 2013; Gupta et al., 2020; Yunus, 2008). Rather, its inclusion results from its continued identification as the most critical challenge faced by early-stage social ventures, particularly those from exploited and marginalized communities, including developing economies (Desa & Basu, 2013; Gupta et al., 2020).

Social ventures often operate within resources-constrained environments due to several factors including charging below market value for goods and services, limited access to capital, and local socio-economic realities (Desa & Basu, 2013; Di Domenico et al., 2010). While some studies suggest that resource scarcity can have consequential effects on organizational failure rates, these resource dependence studies are "built on the image of a powerful environment of objective resource constraints [and] provide an inadequate basis for explaining the survival and occasional success of entrepreneurs who embrace new challenges while employing the constrained set of resources they have at hand." (Baker & Nelson, 2005, pp. 331-332).

Key characteristics of resource scarce environments include limited access to capital, reliance on informal networks, and high levels of inequality (Smallbone & Welter, 2001). These challenges are exacerbated for social ventures situated in developing economies (Desa, 2012). To overcome these obstacles, social ventures in resource scarce environments often use experimental models, informal resource acquisition strategies like bricolage, and go outside their environment to access resources (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Smallbone & Welter, 2001). Social ventures in resource constrained environments typically have decreased access to formal capital acquisition avenues like angel investing, contracts, and in some cases grants, while they rely more heavily on bricolage, bootstrapping, and improvisation, which are explored below in the resource mobilization strategies section.

Research around resource scarcity often follows the perception of monetary resources as the most important resource, especially in relation to a social venture that is not profit-driven (Gupta et al., 2020). However, there are diverse types of resources that are essential for a social venture's operation. While there are several ways to delineate resource categories, this research follows Mohiuddin and Yasin's (2023) five categories of capital, namely human capital, knowledge, technological capital, physical capital and financial capital. Human capital is comprised of the people that are paid to work for and volunteer for an organization, as well as training and mentoring those individuals (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Knowledge includes communication, know-how, know-what, know-who, and learning (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Technological capital encompasses all improved use of technology and computer and internet facilities (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Physical capital refers to physical infrastructure an organization uses, like meeting spaces (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Financial capital is money available to the organization (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023).

2.5 Resource Mobilization Strategies

Despite social ventures' frequent situation within resource-scarce environments, facing fewer opportunities to generate revenue when compared to profit-driven ventures, Baker and Nelson assert that the resource environment within which a social venture operates is not as prescriptive as it may appear (2005). Organizations facing resource constraints can become viable and sustainable through maximizing the utility of the surrounding resources through effective resource mobilization (Gupta et al., 2020). Resource mobilization is the process of gaining access to needed resources from the resource provider, and can involve employing a wide variety of mechanisms (Golhasani & Hosseinirad, 2016). While much of the literature focuses on monetary resourcing, accessing physical resources as well as intangible resources are all important (Ghalwash & Ismail, 2022; Gupta et al., 2020). Prominent established strategies for resource mobilization in social ventures are examined below and categorized by monetary, tangible, and intangible resourcing methods.

The adoption of monetary, tangible, and intangible resource categorizations, rather than the five-capital framework employed in the findings, serves several analytical and methodological purposes in structuring the literature review. These broader categories provide optimal delineation of resource mobilization strategies by creating distinct analytical boundaries that prevent the conceptual overlap that would occur if venture activities were classified according to the more granular five-capital typology. Specifically, the tripartite categorization offers sufficient breadth to encompass multiple related strategies within each category while maintaining clear conceptual distinctions between strategy groups, thereby avoiding the potential for individual resourcing approaches to span multiple categories in ways that would complicate theoretical clarity. The methodological decision to employ different categorization schemes across sections reflects the distinct analytical requirements of literature review versus empirical analysis. While the five-capital framework proves more theoretically relevant for analyzing and discussing empirical findings—particularly in capturing the nuanced relationships between different capital types observed in the data—the monetary, tangible, and intangible categorization provides superior organizational structure for presenting existing literature. This approach facilitates clearer conceptual organization of diverse theoretical perspectives and empirical studies within the literature review, enabling more coherent synthesis of existing knowledge while establishing a foundation for the more detailed capital-based analysis that follows in the findings and discussion sections.

2.5.1 Monetary Resourcing Methods

Resource mobilization literature has a tendency to emphasize monetary resourcing methods in the process of social entrepreneurship (Gupta et al., 2020). Within this space, specific attention is paid to what is often categorized as competing dual missions of social ventures – the ability to successfully gain access to financial capital while staying aligned with social aims (Gupta et al., 2020). Although accessing monetary resources can be a challenge for social entrepreneurs, a specialized financial market has begun to emerge aimed at meeting the specific needs of social entrepreneurs (Lehner, 2013). This section focuses on exploring widely used mechanisms for social ventures to successfully access financial capital.

2.5.1.1 Grants and donations

For organizations that are not independently financially sustainable, receiving grant funding and donations can be crucial in enabling operations to continue (Haugh, 2007). This is especially true for social ventures in urban areas, where the Castellas et al. (2018) found that the overwhelming majority of organizations were dependent on a mix of grant funding and contracts. Social ventures in developed economies have been shown to be more dependent on grants and donations, due in part to their role in providing social welfare support and acting as an intermediary between public and private sectors (Lehner, 2013).

Grant funding can also help social ventures access subsequent debt financing and increases employment (Lall & Park, 2022). This suggests that grant funding can allow social ventures to invest in human capital without increasing the organizational focus on short term financial returns (Lall & Park, 2022). Grants are especially critical to social ventures when other capital sources are less accessible due to economic conditions (Lall & Park, 2022; Lehner, 2013).

Although they can be a great opportunity for social ventures to receive funding for their work, organizations are growing increasingly dissatisfied with relying on receiving funds this way, citing increased demand for the funds and money being dependent on specific outcomes determined by the funder (Castellas et al., 2018). Grant funding also fails to affect social ventures' revenue and access to equity, which may show that equity financiers do not interpret receiving grant funding well (Lall & Park, 2022).

Related to grants, donations come to an organization without the expectation of a financial return. Typically, donations are given freely, but donors may expect a reward such as notification that promised social impact is achieved or increased societal standing from donating (Lehner, 2013). Donations can be seen as the result of building strong social and relational capital, and can be accessible at all stages of an organization (Scuotto et al., 2023). While many social ventures rely at least in part on donations, growing competition is increasing their scarcity

(Lehner, 2013). However, crowdfunding, which is explored below, remains an effective way of collecting individual donations, along with other more traditional strategies (Lehner, 2013).

2.5.1.2 Crowdfunding

Crowdfunding involves asking a large number of people for small amounts of money to fund a project or venture (Lehner, 2013; Schwienbacher & Larralde, 2010). Individuals that typically contribute to a crowdfunding campaign often do not review the businesses plans or collaterals as deeply as a debt or equity financier, but are typically more interested in the ideas central to the organization (Lehner, 2013). This approach addresses common issues some social ventures face with more institutionalized financing applications (Lehner, 2013). A successful crowdfunding campaign both requires and can help create strong social capital, while addressing concerns that social ventures can be too capitalistic (Lehner, 2013). Crowdfunding can take many forms, from purely donation-based, to providing funders with a benefit related to the organization's work, to providing equity to funders (Lehner, 2013; Schwienbacher & Larralde, 2010).

2.5.1.3 Angel Investments

Angel investors are wealthy individuals who are willing to invest substantial money in small ventures (Lehner, 2013). These investors typically have a business orientation but are willing to invest in projects that align with their personal values and agenda (Lehner, 2013). While they can be an excellent source of capital, especially for early-stage ventures, the networks are often scarce and difficult to tap (Lehner, 2013).

2.5.1.4 Micro-financing

Banks including Grameen Bank and Kvia have emerged to provide organizations with small loans for socially desirable endeavors (Lehner, 2013; Yunus, 2008).While these injections of capital can be incredibly beneficial for ventures, these typically require a venture to make a profit to meet specific payment terms and prepare formal business documents (Lehner, 2013; Yunus, 2008). These requirements can be a challenge for organizations looking to avoid marketization, with minimal profit potential, or limited formal business education (Lehner, 2013).

2.5.1.5 Contracts

In addition to their reliance on grants, many social ventures rely heavily on contracts, typically from government entities (Castellas et al., 2018). Contracts can be the main source of funding, or part of a mix of revenue sources, and are often for service delivery related to the organization's mission (Haugh, 2007). However, in times of high environmental uncertainty, organizations that rely on contracts can be especially hesitant to pursue growth strategies, limiting their impact when there may be the highest demand for their work (Castellas et al., 2018).

2.5.2 Tangible Resourcing Methods

2.5.2.1 Bricolage

Bricolage is one method of overcoming perceived resource scarcity and can be defined as "making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities" (Baker & Nelson, 2005. p.333). The practice of bricolage "focuses on addressing opportunities and problems with existing undervalued, slack, or discarded resources that are often available for free or cheaply" (Desa & Basu, 2013, p.29). Widely credited with the original expression of bricolage practices, Lévi-Strauss highlights three characteristics of bricolage: utilizing resources at hand, combining existing resources in novel ways, and making do with resources currently available (1962).

Bricolage became a familiar term in entrepreneurship literature in the early 2000s, where it refers to "a mobilization and problem solving in order to create social value" (Mzembe et al., 2019 p.998; di Domenico et al., 2010; Martí & Mair, 2009). The term has gained popularity in the past two decades, and is part of the growing research challenging the traditional approach to entrepreneurship (Duymedjian & Rüling, 2010; Janssen et al., 2018; Stinchfield et al., 2013). Bricoleurs tend to be more resilient, responsive, creative under pressure, and skilled in increasing capacities, creating unexpected results (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Desa & Basu, 2013; Weick, 1993; Zahra et al., 2009). Successful bricolage mandates deep, tacit knowledge of local opportunities and resources, from which bricoleurs can create order (Desa & Basu, 2013; Weick, 1993; Zahra et al., 2009). Bricoleurs "disregard the limitations of commonly accepted definitions of material inputs, practices, and definitions and standards, insisting instead on trying out solutions, observing, and dealing with the results" (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 334). By consistently pushing beyond conventional limitations, actors create differential value with low-cost inputs (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Desa & Basu, 2013).

In addition to the creation of something new, there are numerous additional dimensions of bricolage that deeply align the practice with social entrepreneurial philosophy and practices. Castellas et al. explain that “the idea captures the way in which [social entrepreneurs] see themselves and describe their capabilities for surviving in difficult circumstances,” including the desire to “live within their means” and ability to make “the most of limited resources” (2018 p.114). The ability to manage resource scarcities through an innovative, problem-solving orientation further aligns bricoleurs with social entrepreneurs (Holt & Littlewood, 2017; Janssen et al., 2018) Both social entrepreneurship and bricolage “are part of a constructivist approach” to their environments, often question the “purely economic motivation often seen as underlying entrepreneurial behavior” (Janssen et al., 2018 p.451; Baker & Nelson, 2005).

Although bricolage can potentially negatively impact production efficiency, it is incredibly effective at diversifying resource bases, thus decreasing dependency on powerful capital owners (Desa & Basu, 2013). For social ventures, bricolage offers an alternative funding path away from traditional philanthropy, which can trap organizations in resource-intensive, bureaucratic funding cycles (Haugh, 2007; Holt & Littlewood, 2017). Traditional philanthropic funders and other established external funders can also have a large impact on organizational goals and even constrain organizational efforts (Zahra et al., 2009).

Building on the characteristics of bricolage, social bricolage can be differentiated by three key characteristics: social value creation, stakeholder participation, and persuasion (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Social value creation can take many forms including generating employment opportunities, social capital, and community cohesion (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Stakeholder participation includes “the active involvement of stakeholders in the creation, management, and governance of social enterprises” (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019, p.787). Finally, persuasion entails exchange with external players for resource acquisition, often including influencing local policymakers and relevant authorities (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Social bricolage is also associated with distributed leadership, dynamic capabilities, and legitimacy as measured by trust and reputation (Ghalwash & Ismail, 2022).

2.5.2.2 Effectuation

While effectuation is a broader philosophy for entrepreneurial activity, emphasizing affordable loss, strategic alliances, exploitation of contingencies, and controlling an unpredictable future, it is discussed here specifically to illuminate the approach to resource mobilization that stems from the philosophy (Sarasvathy, 2001). Similar to bricolage in its creativity and utilization of materials at hand, effectuation can be an effective tool of social entrepreneurship (Fisher, 2012). However, the key difference is in the intention behind the actions. While bricolage starts with an intended outcome and then selects from available resources, effectuation is a process of starting with the resources available and choosing from the possible effects that can be made with those resources (Fisher, 2012; Sarasvathy, 2001).

2.5.2.3 Improvisation

Also based on the same core strategy of bricolage, improvisation can be a very effective resourcing technique (Holt & Littlewood, 2017; Janssen et al., 2018). Improvisation involves the combination of intuition, creativity, and problem solving based on a strong knowledge base (Janssen et al., 2018). While the strategies of improvisation and bricolage are similar, improvisation implies bricolage, but bricolage does not necessarily imply improvisation (Janssen et al., 2018).

2.5.2.4 Bootstrapping

Many young organizations depend on bootstrapping to start their operations (Castellas et al., 2018). Organizations looking to avoid market-based resource transactions may turn to bootstrapping and allow them to expand beyond what may be possible with conventional market transactions (Grichnik et al., 2014). Unfortunately, research on how social ventures use bootstrapping is still very limited (Grichnik et al., 2014; Jayawarna et al., 2020).

2.5.3 Intangible Resourcing Methods

2.5.3.1 Social Capital

Social capital is a distinctive feature of social entrepreneurship and used across many fields to describe the benefits accrued from social relations (Bhatt & Altinay, 2013; Gupta et al., 2020; Khayesi et al., 2014). Defined as "a collective asset in the form of shared norms, values, beliefs, trust, networks, social relations, and institutions that facilitate cooperation and collective action for mutual benefits," social capital is formed through social relationships (Bhandari &

Yasunobu, 2009, p.480). A key non-physical resource in any social venture, social capital is a critical aid in mobilizing additional resources (Khayesi et al., 2014; Urban et al., 2024). Social capital facilities new idea generation and can compensate for a lack of human or financial capital by assisting social ventures in accessing more resources than they could independently (Bhatt & Altinay, 2013; Urban et al., 2024). The network perspective of social entrepreneurship asserts that social capital is key for organizations to scale up and allows organizations to access resources otherwise outside of their reach (Scheuerle and Schmitz, 2016 Tang, 2011). Shaw and Carter showed that important resources like credibility, power and financial means are accessible through social capital in their 2007 study. Additionally, Richter found that social capital is important in facilitating knowledge exchange (2019). However, it is important to note that mobilizing resources through social capital often comes at a cost (Khayesi et al., 2014).

There are several ways to delineate different forms of social capital including cognitive and structural, strong and weak ties, and horizontal versus vertical (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Additionally, the social cohesion perspective includes bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009; Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). While this is not a complete list of all the delineations of social capital, the ones discussed below are explored for their anticipated effects on the experiences of social ventures in this research.

Structural social capital is facilitated by institutions and associations and the rules that govern these groups (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Cognitive social capital also refers to social relationships facilitated by commonalities, but refers to less easily observable similarities like shared values, beliefs, and norms (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). These two forms of social capital are frequently identified as co-occurring and mutually reinforcing (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

Similar to cognitive social capital, horizontal ties are aided by shared beliefs and norms (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Horizontal social capital refers to relationships between people of similar status and power within a community (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Conversely, vertical social capital typically operates through formal hierarchical structures to link people of different levels of power (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Similar to linking social capital, which is discussed below, vertical social capital can link citizens with policymakers, and can be effective in creating structural change (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

Strong ties are deep, sustained social relationships between people very close to one another, including close friends and family (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009; Granovetter, 1985). Strong ties are effective in creating solidarity for collective action and increasing reciprocity (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). In contrast, weak ties are characterized by more casual relationships often between people from different backgrounds or social groups (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Because weak ties are effective in connecting broader communities, they are effective for resource mobilization and generating novel ideas (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

The social cohesion perspective of social capital outlines three distinct categories of social capital, bonding, bridging, and linking (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009; Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Bonding social capital "refers to exclusive social ties that people build around homogeneity" (Cheong et al., 2007, p.29). This type of social capital forms "based on perceived, shared identity and relations" (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023, p.281). Bonding social capital is made up of "ties among people who are very close and known to one another, such as immediate family, close friends, and neighbors. Often people in bonding networks are alike on key personal characteristics**"** (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023, p.281). Bonding social capital is considered as looking inward within a community, which facilitates the relationships required to achieve shared community goals (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009; Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023).

Bridging social capital "concerns voluntary associations and horizontal ties based on common interests that transcend heterogeneous differences of ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status" (Cheong et al., 2007 p.29). These ties are more distant than those of bonding social capital, and can include coworkers, less-close friendships, and individuals who differ on key characteristics (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). Bridging social capital looks more outside the community to narrow gaps between communities and is "crucial for solving community problems through helping people to know each other, building relationships, sharing information, and mobilizing community resources" (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009, p. 498). Bridging social capital allows communities to access more resources than are available within their own community (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

Linking social capital "refers to the vertical relations that help individuals gain access to resources from formal institutions for social and economic development" (Cheong et al., 2007 p.29). Linking social capital refers to relationships that have "unequal power sources," and "occupy very different social positions of power" (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009, p.281;

Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Access to institutional funding is often facilitated by linking social capital (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023).

While all previously discussed resource mobilization strategies have distinctive benefits and costs, it is common that social ventures will use a mix of strategies to resource their operations. This can depend on a number of factors including the availability of resources, potential to make a profit, propensity to engage in the formal markets, and the type of resource they are attempting to access. While monetary resourcing is typically the subject of research, tangible and intangible resource mobilization strategies are vital to social ventures' survival and important to consider. This research addresses this literature gap by evaluating the presence of all these strategies and their impact on the social ventures.

2.6 Context

Although previous research emphasized "the entrepreneur as an island of exchange," there has been a notable shift since the early 2000s toward "entrepreneurship as a contextual process" (Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006, p.110) . Social entrepreneurship is an especially complex process and can take a wide variety of forms depending on the context within which it takes place (Bignotti & Myres, 2022; Nilsson et al., 2022). The context shapes many parts of organizations' experiences, including the opportunities available, the challenges they face, and the supports available to them (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). However, there remains a need to develop a deeper understanding of how diverse contexts affect entrepreneurial activity, as "few recent studies have collected data from developing countries" (Gupta et al., 2020, p.210; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006). As previously outlined, resources are highly context specific, elevating the need for contextual understanding (Gundry et al., 2011; Nilsson et al., 2022). Additionally, when the subject of research involves relationships and shared values, as this research does, importing theory from other socio-economic contexts is especially problematic (Ferri et al., 2009).

Responding to this need for the inclusion of more diverse contexts, this study includes social ventures in the United States and South Africa. This additional contextual dimension will help to illuminate what existing theory is better served across international contexts, and what parts of our understanding remain highly context specific. The section below outlines the entrepreneurial environment within which the social ventures in this research operate, followed by a more detailed exploration of the histories as well as political and socio-economic factors that affect social entrepreneurship in each country.

2.6.1 Entrepreneurial Metrics

As previously outlined, social ventures are heavily influenced by the context within which they operate. A quantitative overview of the ecosystems is valuable for establishing a comparative baseline and offering insight into factors that lie beyond an organization's boundaries. These factors can influence the effectiveness and consequences of different resource mobilization strategies. Data from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor's 2023 data for South Africa and the United States is included in the table below to provide this overview of ecosystem dynamics that affect entrepreneurial ventures in each country. This data facilitates understanding of different levels of institutional and cultural support and how entrepreneurs are responding to a variety of factors. While this data includes for-profit ventures without core social missions, it remains an effective overview of each country's entrepreneurial ecosystems that affect entrepreneurial ventures of all profit orientations.

Table 1 Metrics from Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2023 Data

Entrepreneurial Ecosystem Metrics from Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2023 data			
Metric	SA	US	Global Average
Entrepreneurial Behaviors and Attitudes			
Perceived Opportunities Rate	64.1	53.81	56.4
Perceived Capabilities Rate	69.21	48.99	60.94
Fear of Failure Rate	59.51	44.55	44.63
Entrepreneurial Intentions Rate	7.45	12.09	22.69
Activity			
Total early-stage Entrepreneurial Activity(TEA)	11.11	14.71	14.29
Established Business Ownership Rate	5.92	6.74	7.96
Gender Equity			
Female/Male TEA Ratio	0.76	0.84	0.78
Impact			
High Job Creation Expectation Rate	21.42	28.8	22.26
Business Services Sector Rate	3.57	20.42	19.51
Societal Values			
High Status to Successful Entrepreneurs Rate	85.51	78.94	74.34
Entrepreneurship as a Good Career Choice Rate	78.46	79.21	67.51
Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions	(1=highly insufficient, 5=highly sufficient)		
Entrepreneurial Finance	4.09	4.86	
Governmental Policies: Support and Relevance	3.3	3.8	4.18
Government Policies: Taxes and Bureaucracy	3.7	4.98	4.6
Government Entrepreneurship Programs	3.01	3.79	4.64
Entrepreneurial Education at School Stage	2.76	3.63	3.39
Entrepreneurial Education at Post School Stage	3.68	4.82	4.94
Research and Development Transfer	2.71	3.85	4.05
Commercial and Legal Infrastructure	4.35	5.62	5.26
Internal Market Dynamics	5.2	4.93	5.38
Internal Market Burdens or Entry Regulation	3.23	4.17	4.38
Physical Infrastructure	4.45	6.75	6.4
Cultural and Social Norms	3.28	6.66	5.25

The table above shows that South Africans perceive more opportunities and capability to be entrepreneurs, but also have a higher fear of failure rate and a lower rate of entrepreneurial intention. Additionally, the US has a double the score of South Africa for cultural and social norms' support of entrepreneurship. This may indicate that American entrepreneurs have a more supportive ecosystem structure that facilitates their success despite their lower personal confidence and fewer perceived opportunities. Additionally, there is less overall early-stage entrepreneurial activity in South Africa, which may signal widespread challenges to successfully acting on identified opportunities. Given that resource acquisition is a chief concern among early-stage entrepreneurial ventures, this discrepancy is notable as it could signal a differential in the ability to mobilize resources between the two countries. Notably low is South Africa's business services sector rate, showing that a very low percentage of early-stage entrepreneurs are in the business services sector, which included information and communication, financial intermediation, and real estate, professional or administrative services. While GEM does not provide an official explanation for the causes of this data point, it's effect on South African social ventures will be included in the analysis process. Additionally, American taxes and bureaucracy are notably more supportive of entrepreneurs, which aligns with cultural factors described below. Overall, these metrics lead to a perception of the American entrepreneurship ecosystem as generally more supportive at the national level than the South African ecosystem. However, how these individual factors affect social ventures at the local level will be complex.

2.6.2 The South African Context

While the important role social entrepreneurship plays in addressing societal development is broadly acknowledged, there is still much we don't know about South African social entrepreneurship, as the literature remains uneven (Bignotti & Myres, 2022; Littlewood & Kiyumbu, 2018) . Although there are bottom-up approaches to social entrepreneurship research on an international level, they are "largely absent" in Africa at large, including in South Africa (Bignotti & Myres, 2022, p.326). In the past decade, just 5% of global studies on social entrepreneurship were focused on the African continent (Gupta et al., 2020). The "first empirical quantitative study focusing specifically on social entrepreneuring models in South Africa" was conducted recently in 2022 (Bignotti & Myres).

2.6.2.1 History and Government Approach to Social Entrepreneurship in South Africa

Social entrepreneurship has a long history in South Africa, and within the past 20 years there have been a number of initiatives from industry groups and research institutions that have brought increased legitimacy to the sector (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). Initially, the national government was hesitant to engage with social entrepreneurship due to a perception of the entrepreneurs as "innately risky" and the organizations as "maverick endeavors" (Bignotti & Myres, 2022, p.325). But recently there has been increased interest in and legitimacy of the field at the national level in part due to the social impact potential of entrepreneurial solutions to social needs, and increased efforts to develop social economic policy capable of addressing growing inequality, poverty, and unemployment (Bignotti & Myres, 2022).

The lack of evidence as to the exact form social enterprises take in South Africa and the socio-economic benefits they generate has contributed to the slow nature of policy development and regulatory improvements (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). Currently, there is not a reliable database of social enterprises, and there is a lack of appropriate tax registration for social ventures (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). South Africa's Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) legislation, the governing legislation of business investment in economic transformation, does not offer sufficient clarity on how social enterprises are classified (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). To work through these opaque policies, social ventures adapt their legal status, funding models, and operations to fit within the "less-than-ideal" framework provided to them (Bignotti & Myres, 2022, p.325). These organizations can take the form of non-profits, for-profits, or have a blend of legal structures (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). Despite this legal opacity, there are many successful social ventures operating in South Africa, concentrated in four main categories: combatting social exclusion, fostering local development, being a good source for job creation, and stimulating economic development (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019) .

2.6.2.2 Socioeconomic Challenges

While there are many successful social ventures in South Africa, they still face serious socioeconomic challenges (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019). South Africa's economy can be classified as efficiency-driven, meaning that large businesses tend to be favored over small businesses and entrepreneurship, with policies "aimed at supporting efficiency and product quality" (Bignotti & Myres, 2022, p.325). South Africa struggles with chronic poverty and food insecurity especially among Black and Colored communities in South Africa (Nkgudi et al., 2022). These issues are persistent despite continued governmental efforts in part because "people have no adequate access to services critical to escaping poverty" (Nkgudi et al., 2022, p.2). Illustrating this, in 2017 the World Bank reported that 55.5% of the population was living below the national poverty line**.** While these challenges affect individuals on multiple levels, they are particularly relevant to this research question as they highlight the level of resource scarcity within the communities where the social ventures in this research operate. This scarcity may significantly influence the resource mobilization processes of these ventures.

Social ventures organizations in South Africa often remain isolated and struggle to access the needed resources to realize their potential (Bignotti & Myres, 2022). Their impact on core community problems is moderated by "shortcomings such as non-involvement of local people, unsustainability of their activities' outcomes, lack of plans to present to communities, poor implementation of activities and weak monitoring of outcomes" (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019, p.1). Among these, implementation of initiatives can be a key challenge, with one survey finding that 68% of respondents reported "the activities of social enterprises are not well implemented to develop communities" (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019, p.6). Monitoring the outcomes and sustaining activities over time can also be a major challenge (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019).

2.6.3 The American Context

Most social entrepreneurship studies collect data from a select group of countries, including the United States (Gupta et al., 2020). Recently, it was estimated that 34% of all research on social entrepreneurship came from North America (Gupta et al., 2020). While there is a strong focus on the United States in the literature, many knowledge gaps persist, which this research aims to address (Gupta et al., 2020).

2.6.3.1 History and Government Approach to Social Entrepreneurship in the United States

There is a strong tradition of philanthropy, non-profit organizations, entrepreneurship, and community-based solutions in the United States (Choi et al., 2020). Following the economic recession in the 1970s and subsequent shrinkage of the welfare state, American non-profits began to seek alternatives to government funding, decreasing government's influence in the social sector (Choi et al., 2020). The shrinkage of available government funds also fueled an increased adoption of income-generating activities and a trend toward marketization (Choi et al., 2020). By blending market-orientation with their social missions, American social ventures also opened themselves up to revenue from the growing impact investing sector (Choi et al., 2020). While this movement has increased the types of funding available to organizations, the marketization has also led to increased concerns about mission-drift and can jeopardize the tax-exempt status of non-profit organizations (Choi et al., 2020).

In general, the conversation on social entrepreneurship is largely led by civil society leaders and capitalist entrepreneurs, and the federal government is not typically the main actor in new policy innovation (Choi et al., 2020; Di Domenico et al., 2010). Following this trend, the federal government largely relies on third parties to set standards for social organizations (Choi et al., 2020). In general, the American ecosystem emphasizes individual social entrepreneurship, as opposed to the collective model favored in other countries (Choi et al., 2020).

2.6.3.2 Socioeconomic Challenges

The American economy is classified by the World Economic Forum as "innovation-driven," signaling an increased focus on businesses in the knowledge and services sectors. The United States has a tradition of more limited government intervention and generally less acute resource constraints than South Africa (Di Domenico et al., 2010). The US Census reports the national poverty rate at 11.5% of the population in 2022, meaning that 37.9 million people live in poverty. The US also has a significantly lower Gini coefficient at 39.68 compared to South Africa's 63, the highest in the world in 2023 according to Statista.

Despite the increased availability of resources in the US, American social ventures still experience a wide range of challenges related to resource acquisition due to their frequent situation in resource-constrained environments (Di Domenico et al., 2010). These challenges include funding and resource mobility, as well as leadership and regulatory obstacles while navigating scalability dilemmas (Gupta et al., 2020). Unfortunately, the effects of these challenges on social ventures are underexplored in research (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017; Robinson, 2006).

2.7 Bridging Gaps in the Literature

Due to the amount of research on social entrepreneurship, it can be classified as a mature research field (Gupta et al., 2020). Despite the breadth of research, there are many foundational disagreements and gaps in understanding within literature that this research addresses, notably around key definitions, organizational-level research, and diverse contexts, and perspectives from the Global South in theory development (Gupta et al., 2020).

2.7.1 Organization-level Research

Perhaps the most prominent tension point within social entrepreneurship literature is the definition, mainly at the organizational level (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019)**.** Because much of the existing research on social entrepreneurship focuses on the individual level, there remains limited understanding of "the social entrepreneurial activities of organizations, collectives, or the distributed nature of social entrepreneurship in teams of diverse stakeholders" (Dacin et al., 2011, p.1205; Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017). While individual motivations and experiences are important, the context within which social entrepreneurship happens is key (Gupta et al., 2020). This tendency toward a focus on an individual can downplay the crucial role external stakeholders, networks, organizations, and institutions can play in the process (Montgomery et al., 2012). Understanding of entrepreneurial behavior at the organizational level is crucial due to the weight of stakeholder input in social enterprise value creation, often through extended governance structures that aim to incorporate these stakeholders (Di Domenico et al., 2010). Thus, analyzing social ventures within their specific contexts contributes to a critically important increased understanding of the practice.

2.7.2 Global South and North

In addition to the limited literature at the organizational level, research conducted in Africa, Australia, and South America notably lags the amount of research done in North America, Europe, and Asia, with "few recent studies … collecting data from developing countries" (Gupta et al., 2020, p.210; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006). Even more rare is the inclusion of case studies from the Global North and South in one study (Gupta et al., 2020). Because social entrepreneurship is a highly contextual process, imposing theory from one location to another is particularly problematic (Gupta et al., 2020). Therefore, the lack of geographic and cultural diversity in the research that informs key social entrepreneurship theories represents a significant knowledge gap that could greatly affect our understanding of the process globally (Gupta et al., 2020; Sarkar, 2018). This research addresses this literature gap by incorporating studies from both the United States, a context with extensive research, and South Africa, which has been under-researched (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Sarkar, 2018). By examining these two contexts within a single study, the research is able to highlight both theoretical bias favoring Global North contexts and shared characteristics between the Global South and North that can bridge presumed barriers.

2.7.3 Process of Resource Assembly to Overcome Resource Scarcity

The process of how entrepreneurs from resource-scarce settings, and the organizations they create, successfully mobilize resources "remains a puzzle" (Sarkar, 2018 p.422; Mzembe et al., 2018). Foss argues that the concentration of research on opportunity discovery over resource assembly has severely hindered social entrepreneurship research (2011). Additionally important to understand is how social ventures adapt resources in response to changing environments (Gundry et al., 2011). The lack of understanding of the process of successful resource mobilization from resource-scare environments in pursuit of social value creation leads to an incomplete understanding of crucial factors determining social venture success and sustainability

(Mzembe et al., 2018). This research addresses this key gap by evaluating the processes social ventures situated in resource-scarce environments follow to successfully resource their organizations, and adapt their resources to changing environments, furthering understanding of key factors that affect social ventures' success rates.

Furthermore, unlike much of the research on resource-scarce environments, this research does not solely focus on needs-based problem-solving, which can diminish communities and emphasize the importance of external actors (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005). Rather, this research focuses on the successful strategies of social ventures and highlights the abundance of resources accessible in marginalized communities when effective mobilization strategies are employed. By not viewing communities as "a list of problems" to be solved, but rather employing an appreciative critical inquiry approach, which is explored further in the Methods section, this research is able to identify key success facilitators of social ventures that would have otherwise been overlooked (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005 p.177).

2.8 Conclusion

Through researching how social ventures leverage different resourcing strategies to overcome resource scarcity and including an exploration of the implications of different resource mobilization strategies and the effects of context on the process of resource mobilization, this research addresses several crucial gaps in the literature. Firstly, it sheds light on social ventures' process of resource acquisition, which is currently poorly understood in the literature. Secondly, it includes case studies from two different national contexts, one highly industrialized and the other classified as developing, in one study, something that is limited in the literature and will aid in shedding light on current cultural biases present in theory. Thirdly, it adds to the limited body of research at the organizational level, furthering understanding of foundational factors that affect social ventures beyond the bounds of the individual or organization.

Because social ventures have high potential to affect social change, especially when led by marginalized communities, it is crucial to understand what strategies successful organizations have for mobilizing resources and working through resource scarcity, which is frequently cited as a crucial concern (Elliott, 2019; Pillay & Mitra, 2015; Vestrum & Rasmussen, 2013). This literature review provided an exploration of social ventures, emphasizing the complex strategies social ventures deploy to mobilize resources within varied contexts. By grounding the discussion in theoretical frameworks and examining the organizational boundaries of social ventures, this section underscored the interdependence between these organizations and their broader environments. The diversity of monetary, tangible, and intangible resource mobilization strategies highlighted the innovative and adaptive approaches social ventures deploy to address resource constraints while pursuing their social missions. By situating these strategies within the socio-economic contexts of South Africa and the United States, the review highlighted how context-specific factors shape the resource mobilization processes. The analysis of resource scarcity, national government approaches, and socioeconomic challenges provides crucial context for understanding the operational realities of social ventures in these countries.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research seeks to answer the question: How do social ventures leverage different resourcing strategies to overcome resource scarcity? In addition, it explores the implications of resource mobilization strategies deployed by social ventures and identifies how context affects the process of resource mobilization. To best answer this question, the constructivist paradigm is followed because of its alignment with the elevation of context and respect for context's effect on informants' individual realities. Due to the number of gaps in the literature this research is addressing, and to avoid imposing theory on a context from which it was not developed, this research follows an exploratory approach. Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews and site visits, in line with the process orientation of the research and again the importance of understanding implications of context. This data was coded abductively, to facilitate identifying the presence of existing theory as well as allowing new insights to emerge. This research followed the Critical Appreciative Process, which combines appreciative inquiry and critical inquiry, encouraging both the appreciation of ventures' successes while still giving appropriate weight to the challenges they face in the resource mobilization process. Additionally, the inquiry followed the comparative case study method because effectively evaluating the process of social ventures requires more detailed exploration of how the organizations operate than would be provided by other research methods. This method was also chosen for its effectiveness in answering "how" research questions and allowing for the inclusion of different contexts within one study, while allowing in-depth research of each context, a key feature of the research question.

This section begins with a discussion of the overarching research approach followed by an explanation of the comparative case study method. Case selection is then discussed, as well as a discussion of the researcher positionality. Then the process of data collected is outlined, followed by an overview of the data analysis process. Finally, research ethics and study limitations are discussed.

3.2 Research philosophy

3.2.1 Constructivist paradigm

This research follows the constructivist paradigm, which asserts that reality is socially constructed and there are therefore multiple realities (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Mills et al., 2006). With roots in a range of disciplines including education, philosophy, psychology, and sociology, the foundations of constructivism can be dated back to the time of Socrates, who encouraged teachers and students to uncover knowledge through conversation and questions (Jafari Amineh & Davatgari Asl, 2015; Olusegun, 2015). The term 'constructivism' likely has its roots in both Piaget's 'constructivist' views and Bruner's 'constructivist' learning through discovery (Jafari Amineh & Davatgari Asl, 2015).

By adhering to the belief that realities are socially constructed, researchers aligned with this paradigm acknowledge that these multiple realities are influenced by the context within which they exist (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). These realities are created when individuals reflect on their experiences and reconcile them with their previous experiences and beliefs. (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Olusegun, 2015). This reflection process can involve either accommodation or assimilation of the information, making individuals "active creators" of their own knowledge (Olusegun, 2015 p.67). Objectivism, often framed as the counter to constructivism, is based on the belief that "any individual interpretation of knowledge can be said to be either correct or incorrect" (Olusegun, 2015 p.67). This belief stands in stark contrast to constructivists' assertion that "knowledge and truth is the result of perspective" and therefore there is not a singular definitively correct reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998 p.7).

When applying this paradigm to research, it results in researchers and participants co-constructing meaning (Mills et al., 2006). In alignment with this principle, this research began with an alignment on the importance of the research question, and centered collaboration on relevance of data collected, and discussion of theories. This included periodic check-ins to ensure participants felt we were building valuable data, discussion of why certain questions were being asked when appropriate, and discussion of preliminary findings.

3.3 Research approach

Given the critical gaps in the literature and the need to enhance understanding of resource mobilization processes and the influence of context on actions and outcomes, this research adopted an exploratory comparative case study approach, utilizing qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews, ethnographic site visits, and publicly available information. Although research in this area has grown in recent years, it remains limited, thus an exploratory approach was appropriate. When considering the geographic location of this research, the number of relevant studies further decreases. Because much of the existing theory generation in this area is formulated outside of the geographical locations in which this research was conducted, it is especially important to limit the potential to impose established theory on a context in which it has not been shown to be applicable.

Qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews and site visits was utilized to develop a deeper understanding of "the particular context within which the participants act and influence this context has on their actions," and "the processes by which events and actions take place," namely the resourcing activities of social ventures from marginalized communities (Maxwell, 2012). Although qualitative data has a long history, it has criticized as lacking rigor and inadequate justifications for its assertions (Gioia et al., 2012). However, several methods have been developed to ensure rigor and appropriately illuminate how researchers conduct their analysis while protecting informants' privacy, which now have a strong history of being accepted in the top journals (Gioia et al., 2012).

3.3.1 Abductive

The abductive approach combines both inductive and deductive approaches, aiming to balance theorizing with empirical data (Thompson, 2022). This aligns with the research question's exploratory nature, allowing for the identification of both existing theory and new emergent themes. Abduction has roots in pragmatism, and involves equal consideration to both empirical data and extant theory (Thompson, 2022). This approached is not purely interested in applying existing theory or having a completely open-mind entering the field, but rather is centered on finding "the most logical solution and useful explanation for phenomena" (Thompson, 2022, p.1411). By aiming for the most logical explanation and not centered on identifying an objective singular truth, abduction falls closely in line with the constructivist paradigm (Thompson, 2022).

In line with Thompson's 8-step process, this research began with transcription and familiarization, moving into coding, theme development, and theorizing, followed by comparing datasets, data display, and finally writing the findings (Thompson, 2022).

3.3.2 Critical Appreciative Process

Critical Appreciative Process (CAP) was utilized, which combines the appreciative inquiry method with critical inquiry (Grant & Humphries, 2006). While appreciative inquiry "creates a communicative space with the potential for a variety of forms of participation," critical inquiry "not only expands the possibilities of construction, but it also forms a significant origin for transformation" (Grant & Humphries, 2006).

A critical approach to research is often aimed at identifying "power imbalances, exploitation and violation – occurrences which sometimes seem debilitating in their negativity" (Maxwell, 2012 p.402). In this context, "critical" is referencing a sensitivity to "multiple constructions of identities and relations (including power), and action to open up possibilities" (van der Haar & Hosking, 2004 p.1027). It is also important to note that "critical theory does not have to be based on a fundamentally negative view of society, but perhaps on a recognition that certain social phenomena warrant scrutiny based on an emancipatory cognitive interest" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 127). In line with the foregrounding of informants' perspectives through the inductive process outlined in Gioia et al. (2012), the critical inquiry component of the CAP has been applied to encourage "members of the everyday community to develop new ways of seeing and thinking as well as new contexts of action in which they may express themselves and act" (Grant & Humphries, 2006 p.407).

Appreciative inquiry, also with constructivist foundations, "is a research method with a focus on positive organizational attributes that may fuel change" (Grant & Humphries, 2006 p.403, 402). A rejection of deficit-oriented methodology, appreciative inquiry creates a "participative and positive environment" by viewing organizations as "a mystery to be solved" (Grant & Humphries, 2006 p.409, 403). This method asks participants to focus on positives through appreciating, envisioning, dialoguing, and innovating (Grant & Humphries, 2006). Although some critique appreciative inquiry for potential to distort findings towards the positive, others assert that "appreciation may also mean 'to know, to be conscious of'" (Grant & Humphries, 2006 p.408).

Although these approaches may seem deeply contradictory at first, their philosophical basis in social constructionist theories is highly aligned (Grant & Humphries, 2006). Because of this shared foundation, the differences provide a useful paradox that "may manifest alternative insights that one would not have been reached by ignoring the paradox, or even working with just one dimension of it" (Grant & Humphries, 2006). Due to this constructivist foundation, appreciate and critical inquiry both assert that “language is central to all action” and that “meaning is negotiated between participants” (Grant & Humphries, 2006 p.407). Both critical and appreciate inquiry methods have “emancipatory intent” encouraging “researchers and participants to … challenge accepted ‘norms’ to encourage and facilitate human flourishing” (Grant & Humphries, 2006). The paradox also helps address the criticisms of each method, limiting the potential of a “degenerative spiral” associated with critical theory, while also adding additional inquiry into “the shadow” that appreciative inquiry has been accused of ignoring (Grant & Humphries, 2006 p.313; Reason, 2000).

This process was first applied to the research in the selection of cases. In alignment with appreciative inquiry principles, selected cases were seen to be formal, active organizations succeeding in implementing activities in line with their mission. In alignment with critical inquiry, these organizations were also faced with serious structural challenges to their success due to several socio-economic structures including resource scarcity. Throughout the research process, informants were asked questions encouraging appreciating, envisioning, dialoguing, and innovating, aligning with appreciate inquiry, while also giving ample time to understanding the challenges faced by organizations, including those imposed by socio-economic structures.

3.4 Research method

3.4.1 Comparative Case Studies

Because this research question requires a more detailed analysis of how an organization operates than what can be understood from a singular interview or focus group, a case study approach was appropriate. Additionally, because the research aims to explore the similarities and differences across contexts with difference socio-economic and resource environments, a comparative case study approach was found to best suit the research objectives.

Comparative case studies are effective when aiming to answer ‘how’ and ‘why’ research questions, and when context is crucial, as is the case with this study (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Sarkar, 2018). This method can be used for a variety of purposes including generating theory, testing theory, and providing description (Eisenhardt, 1989). Utilizing a multiple case study method also enables “comparisons that clarify whether an emergent finding is simply idiosyncratic to a single case or consistently replicated by several cases” (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007 p.27; Sarkar, 2018). Although four cases may seem a modest sample size, it still provides four times the analytic power of a single case study, and thus findings that are more robust and generalizable, than a single case study (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). This added robustness facilitates stronger theory building and extension, as well as the findings' generalizability (Sarkar, 2018). This method is also highly aligned with the research question as Desa explains,

> "Analysis at the level of the individual venture is particularly helpful in understanding the processes that a social venture uses to mobilize resources in unsupportive institutional environments. The case-based qualitative approach allows for a closer analysis of the process" (Desa, 2012b).

The main objective of the comparative case study method is to gather evidence from two or more cases, from which researchers inductively develop or test theory (Eisenhardt, 2021; Sarkar, 2018). The collection of cases is referred to as the quintain, from which themes emerge (Stake, 2006). Although case studies can use qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods, this research uses qualitative data to contextualize findings further than what is achievable with quantitative data as well as illuminating the process of resource mobilization (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Beginning with a strong foundation in the literature, a gap in the existing research was identified (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). At this stage, constructs were identified from the literature that may be important to the research but not "guaranteed a place in the resultant theory" (Eisenhardt, 1989, p.536). Next, the research question was developed aimed at addressing the knowledge gap literature (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Cases were then selected with a focus on selecting an appropriate quintain to provide a well-rounded data set, while avoiding "extraneous variation" (Eisenhardt, 1989, p.53). This was a crucial step in the research, and involved purposive sampling, as the number of cases was limited (Eisenhardt, 1989). Next, data was collected from the selected cases through several data collection methods, which are elaborated on below in the data collection section (Eisenhardt, 1989). Throughout this stage, triangulating the data through varied data collection processes and informants was key to substantiating any hypotheses drawn from the data (Eisenhardt, 1989).

In line with best practices, data collection and data analysis were closely integrated (Eisenhardt, 1989). To the best extent possible, each time data was collected it was transcribed and put through at least the first round of coding before returning to the case to collect more data (Eisenhardt, 1989). By ensuring ample time to reflect on the data already collected before collecting more, any relevant knowledge gaps were quickly filled, and priority was given to relevant data collection. Additionally, this facilitated early and frequent testing of hypotheses and probing of emerging themes.

Analysis is first conducted within each case, allowing "the unique patterns of each case to emerge" and giving "investigators a rich familiarity with each case" (Eisenhardt, 1989, p.540). Moving onto cross-case comparison, it was crucial to evaluate data from many angles to avoid premature conclusions (Eisenhardt, 1989). From here, hypotheses formed, which were then tested against individual case data and the literature (Eisenhardt, 1989). Finally, closure is reached when no more cases are added to the quintain, and when no further iterations between theory and data are needed (Eisenhardt, 1989). More detail on how this analysis process was applied to this research is provided in the findings section.

3.5 Case selection and context

3.5.1 Context and positionality

Because this research is heavily influenced by its context, it is useful to clarify the positionality of the researcher. I am a White American woman from the Midwestern United States. I have a professional background working with entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs, in fundraising, and working for international NGOs and US-based organizations. While I have years of experience across the US and some internationally, my experience in South Africa is mainly limited to the work of this research, a limitation I will expand on further in the study limitations section below.

To facilitate cross-contextual understanding, four organizations were selected as case studies, with two of the organizations based in a major South African metro area, and two based in a mid-size midwestern American city. This sample size allowed for comparison within the US and South African contexts respectively, followed by cross-country comparison. This allowed for crucial understanding into the generalizability of existing theory, allowing theory to emerge that is applicable in two diverse contexts, and facilitating a deeper understanding of each context than would be provided by one case in each country. In addition to illuminating what parts of existing theory are applicable across both contexts, this model also facilitates identification of context-specific aspects of theory.

To allow for closer comparison and avoid extraneous variation, all organizations were based in urban areas and worked on their local food systems, with three of the four organizations growing food in urban spaces. While there are a variety of terms that can describe this activity, the majority of informants used the term ‘gardening,’ so this research refers to this field as ‘urban gardening.’ While there are many points of similarity across the two locations, there are many key differences. These similarities and differences will be discussed in more detail in the Findings section, but some key contextual differences that affected the research approach are discussed here.

Partner organizations in both locations collaborated with the researcher to identify which events and activities were key to collect data from in service of the research objective. However, observation was generally more conspicuous at South African activities which had the potential to affect the data collected. In line with this, South African research partners had more conversations around what organizational activities would be appropriate for observation, as to not affect their work. While this did make a select few organizational activities unobservable, they were not activities core to the understanding of the research question.

Additionally, because there was less initial familiarity with the South African context, more interviews and site visits were conducted as compared with American partner organizations. This allowed time for additional contextual questions and to ensure a deeper understanding. In accordance with the methods outlined here, all research partners were routinely asked questions to challenge research theories, fill in any knowledge gaps, and ensure a well-rounded data set. In both locations, there was minimal prior understanding of work with food systems. Because of this, industry events were attended to gain a broader knowledge of the industry and triangulate data. However, more industry events were attended in South Africa because the prior knowledge of the socioeconomic structures underpinning the industry and affecting the work of the case study organizations were more limited. And while both locations have diverse socioeconomic structures that greatly affect their work and challenges, the explorative approach and segmented analysis process allowed these differences to emerge independently for each case and avoid imposing assumptions of one system onto the other.

In addition to the effects on data collection discussed above, the research’s positionality also affected trust-building with partner organizations. While South African partners were generally more aware of the university, which provided an initial level of openness, being a

White American conducting research in South Africa comes with a powerful historical context and power imbalance. This dynamic was discussed with all South African partners, and additional time was taken in discussing ethical consents, ensuring benefits of participation, and reaffirming that they held the absolute right to not answer questions and withdraw participation at any time. It was also discussed with all participants that they were the experts in their experience, and the research was aimed at translating that expertise into an academic format.

3.5.2 Case selection

Organizations were selected through purposive sampling to more “accurately represent the entire range of variation” among the population, and “establish particular comparisons to illuminate the reasons for difference between settings or individuals” (Maxwell, 2012). Introductory interviews were conducted with a number of organizations in both countries to assess fit for the study. This process started in the US, with interviews first focusing on a geographic area and spanning industries. Once the organizational work on food was identified as a center point for the research, additional interviews were conducted in both countries with a variety of organizations working in the food space until four cases were selected because of their relation to the research question, approaches to resource mobilization, and their availability and interest in participating in the research.

All four organizations’ work centers on increasing food access to food insecure populations but approach the objective from a variety of avenues. Each organization also engages in a diverse array of activities aligned with their specific missions, and have a diverse sampling of legal structures and relationships to profit. As needed, industry stakeholders’ priorities and practices were evaluated through publicly available information, industry events, and semi-structured interviews to further understanding of how current socio-economic structures within the field affect case study organizations’ resourcing practices.

The cases in each country are in the same city and are distinct organizations with no overlap in operations. They each have distinct stakeholders and communities within which they operate, but with a common theme of working with systematically disadvantaged communities**.** In all cases, the community is economically disadvantaged, but other identities and socioeconomic factors vary. All key program areas were limited to organizations within five years of founding to minimize variance not relevant to the research question, as older and newer organizations often employ significantly different resource mobilization strategies.

All cases showed some indication of using bricolage in the initial interviews, although to varying degrees. They also all were formally established organizations, again to varying degrees, that were somewhat successfully mobilizing resources in resource scarce environments, although each approach was unique. The final four cases were selected for their balance of adding unique perspective to the quintain while being similar enough to facilitate meaningful comparison, and being able and willing to participate in the research.

3.6 Data collection

3.6.1 Phases of study

This research was conducted in multiple phases dictated in part by methodology and in part by partner organizations' availability and travel restrictions. The first phase started in the US with initial interviews with social purpose organizations across industries, but within the same city. This process of initial interviews was repeated in South Africa to gain a better understanding of available organizations in each city and build understanding of each entrepreneurial ecosystem. After this phase, the focus was refined to focus on social ventures working in the food space. Next, two organizations were confirmed as case studies in the US, and research took place there over the course of 2023. Following the completion of that phase, the research moved to South Africa, where the research took place over the course of 2024.

3.6.2 Amount of Data Collected

Tables two and three below outline the amount and type of data collected by case study. Each type of data collection is discussed in more detail below the figures. The number of informants reflects the total number of people interviewed in relation to each organization. These interactions range from being several interviews long if they were a key member of an organization, to more brief encounters during observation days with individuals more casually connected to the organization but still able to attest to key components of the research.

Table 2 Data Collection by Type and Case

Data Collection by Type and Case			
	Semi-structured Interviews	Observation Days	Number of Informants
Case 1 - LocalBounty Gardens	6 *(1-3 hours)*	5 *(1-3 hours)*	5
Case 2 - Green Haven Shelter	6 *(0.5-3 hours)*	4 *(1-4 hours)*	11
Case 3 - The Giving Garden	10 *(0.5-3 hours)*	7 *(1-4 hours)*	5
Case 4 - Nourish Tomorrow	15 *(1-3 hours)*	3 *(1-3 hours)*	9

Table 3 Industry Events Attended

Industry Events Attended in Each Location	
United States	4
South Africa	6

3.6.3 Types of data collected

3.6.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the main form of data collection and initially followed an interview schedule, included in the appendix. Organizations were identified through research of organizations in each city in addition to prior knowledge of each ecosystem, and were typically approached via email. The first phase of research included initial semi-structured interviews with organization founders and followed the interview scheduled included in the appendix. The initial interviews typically lasted 45 to 90 minutes and were aimed at gaining enough knowledge about the organization to determine fit for the study. These were conducted both in person and virtually depending on the informant's availability.

After each organization agreed to be a case study, semi-structured interviews were conducted individually with each key staff member, as well as in group settings of up to three people, as appropriate. The point of contact from the initial interview typically served as an introduction to the other organizational members. The semi-structured interviews typically were between 1-2 hours, with two outliers lasting 30 minutes and some up to 3 hours. These interviews began by expanding on the initial interview and gaining a baseline organizational understanding. Over the course of the research, the questions became more detailed as defining characteristics of each organization emerged along with initial themes. The inquiry focused on understanding how the organization was mobilizing resources, why they chose these strategies, effects of the strategies they deployed, and contextual factors that affected this process, as well as building general knowledge about the organization including their mission, scope of work, and future plans. The initial interview schedule is included in the appendix. However, questions from the later portion of the research were very detailed on each organization's work and experience, and thus are not included in the appendix to protect anonymity.

3.6.3.2 Observation

To broaden understanding and triangulate data, organizational activities and industry events were observed when relevant and available. This type of data collection was essential to include in this research because it can be the "most meaningful data-gathering method" especially for comparative case study research (Stake, 2006 p.4) Observation days included observing core organizational functions including team meetings, daily work, community events, and volunteer days. Organizations were consulted in which activities were most relevant to the research question, appropriate for observation, and ensured an accurate representation of their work was included in the data. Depending on the participants and type of event, field notes and/or audio recordings were taken and entered the dataset. In the case of a recording or semi-structured interview during an observation day, all informants and participants were notified of my presence in advance and given opportunity to remove consent from participation in the research in addition to reviewing and agreeing to the ethical consent forms required by all informants.

Attending and observing industry events included industry conferences to gain broader knowledge of common practices and challenges across the sector, and building an understanding of the systems that affect the organizations' work. While building my knowledge base of the context within which the case studies were operating, this also served to triangulate the data. The events discussed a range of themes all directly relevant to one or more case study's missions.

3.6.4 Interview recording, transcription, and data storage

Each of the semi-structured interviews was digitally recorded with the informants' permission. It was then transcribed first using Otter.ai, and then manually edited for accuracy. In accordance with UCT policy, recordings, transcription, and analysis notes are maintained on a secure Google Drive and a backup on an external hard drive for five years. Audio recordings were stored in secure iCloud storage as well as on secure Google Drive. Data may be accessible to participants with the explicit informed consent of all relevant parties within this time frame.

3.7 Data Analysis

3.7.1 Coding

As previously outlined, the coding process followed the abductive approach outlined by Thompson's 2022 paper. The first step in the data analysis process was to familiarize myself with the data through the transcription process, which often required listening to the same part of interviews several times (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Maxwell, 2012; Thompson, 2022). Then the data was manually parsed into an Excel sheet, which allowed for further familiarization (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Initially, select deductive codes were added to the Excel sheet from the literature review. Then, inductive codes were generated from a content analysis to categorize the data according to the subject being discussed. Some of these inductive codes were transferred to further cases where applicable, while others were left off as they were case-specific topics. This aided in ensuring that if a prominent topic from one case did not surface in another, it was still addressed to facilitate comparison. Then codebooks were developed, further distilling each code (Thompson, 2022). These initial groupings were further distilled into more specific categories, facilitating detailed analysis on each case. This detailed analysis led to themes emerging, which were then able to be further probed (Thompson, 2022). From here, theorizing began (Thompson, 2022). Next, each case was analyzed individually, then compared with the other case in its country, and finally between countries. The themes and initial findings were then further refined by checking them against each individual case. Examples of the initial codes are included in the table below.

Table 4 Examples of First Order Codes

Deductive Codes	Inductive Codes
Physical Resourcing	City Government Policies
Intangible Resourcing	City Government Employees
Monetary Resourcing	National Government
Resourceful or Innovative Resourcing	Security
Monetary Profit	Climate Change
Social Wealth	Power Imbalance
Stakeholder Participation	Mission Drift
Facilitator	Funder Relationship
Ecosystem Structure	Socioeconomic Background
External Challenges	Internal Communication
Internal Challenges	Land
Definition of Success	Labor
Organizational History	Unpaid Labor
Organizational Structure	Supply Chain
Organizational Size	
Organizational Strategy	
Organizational Output	

3.7.2 Sharing initial findings with participants

Initial findings were shared with informants to test whether the informants felt they fit with their experience. This was done both in semi-structured interviews and by sending written documents for review. Although informants' perspectives were taken into account, they were not granted veto power on the findings. While there were minor corrections to details in the resource maps developed for each organization, which are outlined further in the discussion section, all organizations agreed that the key findings were representative of their experiences.

3.8 Research ethics

Ethical considerations are key to each component of this research design. The methods used were chosen in part because of their alignment to the research questions, but also because of their emphasis on foregrounding informants' experience and perspective.

Throughout the research process, informed consent was a key facet, ensuring informants knew they were at no point required to continue with the research or answer any questions they did not want to (Grady, 2015). Research purpose, process, and risks were explained to participants both verbally and through a written consent form prior to audio recording commencing. Any information that could be reasonably used to easily identify participants and organizations was discussed before audio recording began, and any information discussed during recording was anonymized when transcribing interviews from voice recording to transcript. No personally protected information and/or highly sensitive information that could put participants at reasonable risk was retained.

Anonymity was offered to all participants to limit any potential negative outcomes of sharing detailed experiences and honest perspective. Audio recordings of interviews ensured the accuracy of transcriptions and will never be disclosed outside of the researcher and informant, unless requested by the partner organization or informant. All informants were provided with the opportunity to access all the data they shared with the researcher.

Members of vulnerable groups were participants in this study. Only those of legal age to consent and of sound mind were participants. Vulnerability factors included lack of legal status pertaining to immigration and/or dwelling, belonging to a persecuted racialized, ethnic, and/or gender group, and membership within a hierarchical social, economic, or organizational system which may seek to exploit their time, energy, or other resources. Questions regarding membership in marginalized communities were only asked when directly relevant to the aim of the research. When asking questions around these identities, it was reiterated that answering was completely optional, and ample time and leeway was given to informants to answer how they saw fit. This was especially true with South African informants, for whom a number of painful topics, including the effects of Apartheid, were directly relevant to their experience. Potentially painful personal history was not inquired about, unless directly relevant to research aims. In this case, questions were generally asked in an open-ended format, and research followed the informants' lead.

South African requirements are fulfilled through the ethics approval process at UCT. American requirements are followed throughout the research design, which adheres to the Common Rule and The Belmont Report. With attention to the report's third principle of justice, it is important to note that some informants are of communities historically chosen to bear disproportionate risk of research. However, within this study participants are selected for reasons directly related to the core focus of the research and for whom the research is expected to most directly benefit.

To ensure informants benefited from the time donated to this research, the researcher offered to assist each organization with a project that fits within her skill set. For some cases this was helping in the gardens, for others it was preparing fundraising materials, and others requested public-facing documents of the data we collected. Some did not accept this offer, but it was routinely made available to all organizations.

3.9 Study limitations

The limitations of this research include the limited time of the research, which inhibits more thorough, long-term relationship building. This is further challenged by the researcher being an "outsider" to both the industries, and especially in the South African context. As previously discussed, informants may have different reactions to the researcher's identity in the different situations, potentially affecting what they were willing to share. The research was conducted fully in English, which also potentially limited some nuances in the South African cases, although all informants were fluent in English. Additionally, the small sample size of four case studies limits the generalizability of findings. However, this method was important for gaining a depth of understanding of the phenomena.

To account for these limitations, data were triangulated as much as possible through multiple informants and industry events, and initial findings were shared with informants. Although there is the potential for reactivity to the researcher's positionality, the vast majority of informants seemed very willing and eager to share openly and honestly across the range of research inquiry.

4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

This research seeks to answer the central question: *How do social ventures leverage different resourcing strategies to overcome resource scarcity?*

This section focuses on the empirical observations and begins with a detailed analysis of each case study's resource mobilization strategies, following the analysis process by providing a case-level assessment of the research question. From this, social capital emerges as the key strategy that these social ventures use to overcome resource scarcity and access a broad array of subsequent resources. Next, an exploration of the case studies' key challenges is included to illuminate both the contextual effects that complicate resource mobilization as well as unintended consequences of different approaches. This illustrates the dynamics of a multidimensional and contextually influenced resource mobilization process.

By examining these challenges systematically across cases, patterns emerge that demonstrate how resource mobilization is not simply a matter of applying best practices, but rather a complex negotiation between organizational needs, contextual constraints, and strategic choices that often produce unforeseen ripple effects. The challenges analysis also provides critical nuance to what might otherwise appear as straightforward success stories, revealing how even effective resource mobilization strategies carry inherent tensions and potential downsides that must be managed. Furthermore, this exploration captures the dynamic and iterative nature of resource mobilization, showing how initial strategic choices create new challenges that require adaptive responses, which in turn may generate additional complications. This illustrates the dynamics of a multidimensional and contextually influenced resource mobilization process that is characterized by ongoing adaptation, strategic trade-offs, and the constant balancing of competing organizational demands within specific geographic and socioeconomic realities.

This sequential presentation of all cases' strategies followed by their challenges allows for clearer pattern identification and cross-case comparison within each category. Additionally, presenting all strategies first establishes an empirical foundation that demonstrates the centrality of social capital across cases, which then provides the necessary context for understanding why certain challenges emerge and how they relate to specific strategic choices made by the ventures.

This data is presented within this chapter to illustrate the empirical observations that lead to the contributions to theory in the discussion chapter. The presentation moves from the inductive discovery of the case-level analysis that led to the identification of social capital as a key resource, to application of theory in the Discussion chapter, which mirrors the research process and demonstrates how the empirical findings can both confirm and extend existing theory.

All organizations and individuals are addressed using pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of participating organizations and informants. Some organizational details are also excluded to protect anonymity.

4.2 Overview of Case Studies and Their Resource Mobilization Strategies

This section presents a case-level analysis of the research question, providing context on the case study organizations and exploring their key resource mobilization strategies. The figure below outlines the four cases and key individuals referenced in relation to each case. It does not include all informants interviewed for each case, only those directly referenced or quoted in this section

Table 5 Overview of Case Studies and Main Informants

Overview of Case Studies and Main Informants	
This figure does not include all informants interviewed for each case, only those directly referenced or quoted in this section	
Case 1 - LocalBounty Gardens	
American urban farm using otherwise abandoned land to grow food and donate to local community fridges	
Pseudonym	Role
Julia	Co-Founder and Public Representative
Paul	Co-Founder and Julia's Spouse
Case 2 - Green Haven Shelter	
American homeless shelter that grows food to serve in its kitchen alongside job training program	
Pseudonym	Role
Luke	Program Director
Sam	Program Administrator
Evelyn	Resident and Trainee
Todd	COO
Case 3 - The Giving Garden	
South African urban garden using organic and permaculture methods to grow free food for their neighbors	
Pseudonym	Role
Mariam	Co-Founder and Manager

Zandile	Intern
Thabo	Part-Time Employee
<u>Case 4 - Nourish Tomorrow</u>	
South African food action-research organization	
<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Role</u>
Ayanda	Co-Founder and CEO
Thabo	Co-Founder and Board Member
Nandi	Co-Founder, Research Advisor, Fundraising Lead
Sibongile	Co-Founder, Research Implementer
Charlotte	CEO of External Research Partner Organization
Anna	Program Manager from Funder, Manager of Capacity Building

4.2.1 Case 1 – LocalBounty Gardens

Based in a mid-size midwestern American city, LocalBounty Gardens started as a community's solution to repurpose an abandoned lot. After years of consultation with community members and city government, starting a community garden was collectively identified as the path forward. The organization's co-founder and public face Julia described the process saying, "We just spent three years talking to neighbors, talking to stakeholders who have been here longer than us, working on kind of figuring out what our neighborhood wanted this space to be." In operation for 5 years at the start of the research, LocalBounty has expanded to growing foods on additional under-utilized or abandoned lots around the neighborhood.

Below, LocalBounty's main resource mobilization methods are explored. These were identified as their main strategies based on the frequency of mentions in the data, importance to the organization's ability to operate, and identification by informants of their importance.

4.2.1.1 Resource Mobilization Strategy 1 – Social Capital

Throughout the entire life of the organization, Julia has relied heavily on the social capital she built over years. She described her resourcing strategy as "just asking for help and drawing on connections." The process of building social capital took time and involved varied constituencies including other farmers, community organizations, and local government officials. Julia heavily relied on her relationships with other farmers for a wide range of intangible resources including technical knowledge, emotional support, and idea generation. Tangible resources from this network often took the form of shared supply chain distribution infrastructure. Additionally, LocalBounty capitalized on their community connections to purchase key physical infrastructure investments well below market value, facilitating their organization's growth. Julia and the LocalBounty team invested back into this network frequently, offering to incubate beginner gardens, knowledge sharing, and assisting with others' infrastructure projects, among other investments.

In building community networks, Julia benefited from the support of established community leaders, who assisted in expanding Julia's social capital. Additionally, while working with city government, especially at the beginning of their organization, Julia developed personal relationships with several key city employees that greatly assisted in the formation of the organization and receiving additional in-kind support. This in-kind support was donated solely because of the individuals' personal relationships with the LocalBounty team.

4.2.1.2 Resource Mobilization Strategy 2 – Personal Financial Capital

The significant upfront costs to growing food and the intensive time investment required for starting a garden was made possible through the financial contributions of the co-founders' personal funds. This money was gained through Paul's full-time job outside of LocalBounty and the couple's other independent profit-generating business ventures.

These funds covered their living expenses and allowed Julia to pursue work that did not generate an income. Julia and Paul paid the vast majority of expenses for the organization from this money, which allowed the organization to continue operating despite sales that did not cover their expenses. Julia invested substantial time, as did Paul, without expectation of monetary compensation, which was critical to LocalBounty's success. Their personal financial capital was also essential to cover their estimated $10-15,000 costs above their revenue in their early years.

This injection of personal financial capital was required in part because LocalBounty is not registered as a non-profit, which is typically required to receive grant funding in the United States. This designation places restrictions on operations and sales models that did not align with the co-founders' objectives for the organization. Their lack of non-profit status along with their lack of profit severely restricted their ability to raise external financial capital, and created the need to use their resources gained through other activities.

4.2.1.3 Resource Mobilization Strategy 3 – Grants

After resisting grant funding for several years over legal restrictions and fears of compromising their social mission, LocalBounty began accepting grant funding for the first time during the course of this research.

The largest new grant was a new federal program that began as a response to the food system weaknesses exposed during the COVID-19 lockdowns. This grant paid local producers to grow food and donate it locally. LocalBounty was approved during the year of this research, and immediately began donating all their produce.

This program had several benefits to LocalBounty including a more regular schedule and income, supply chain assistance, and the ability to fulfill a dream goal for their organization. The regularity provided by this grant enabled LocalBounty to launch a regular volunteer program to ease the labor pressures on the co-founders. The predictable income allowed them to make longer-term investments in their organization. This grant funding also assisted with their supply chain challenges, as Julia explained, "not only does it solve a distribution issue...they do it for us," referring to the program's provision of a single drop-off point, from where another organization facilitated the donation process. Perhaps most prominently, this grant provided hope to LocalBounty, with Julia describing it as "a dream scenario… a light in the dark." As Julia explained, "We both said in a perfect world we would grow food, give it away for free and get paid to do that. Like if it was a perfect world. Then [the federal government] came out with [this program]. So we literally can do that." Re-motivated by the support and ability to achieve their goals, the LocalBounty team felt noticeably more optimistic about their ability to persevere and create social wealth than before receiving the funding.

LocalBounty was able to accept these grant funds despite not being a non-profit because they were distributed through a local non-profit, and was facilitated in part by LocalBounty's existing social capital with them. Additionally, the entire grant exception and execution process was straightforward and streamlined, making it accessible for a busy organization like LocalBounty.

The second grant they received that year was from a private company's corporate social responsibility program. This was in the form of a one-time payment for a project of LocalBounty's choosing. Unlike the government funding, the private company contacted LocalBounty first to offer the funds, and in exchange asked for "a bit of social capital and publicity" as Julia explained. LocalBounty was given substantial freedom to determine what the money was used for, and they decided on infrastructure improvements to one of their plots of land.

The third grant LocalBounty received was a smaller amount also in the form of a one-time payment from a private company's corporate social responsibility program. LocalBounty used these funds to plant fruit-bearing perennials accessible to community members for free. Importantly, while these grants assisted in LocalBounty's ability to meet its mission, the organization was not dependent on them to operate. This allowed them to only accept funds that supported their mission and fit with their values and avoid grants with more detailed reporting requirements that would have taken substantially more time away from their work. While accepting these funds, they maintained, and in some areas grew, their resiliency systems including their social capital, sales infrastructure, and new product development. This allowed them to protect their mission and independent sustainability while experiencing the boots from financial inflows.

4.2.1.4 Resource Mobilization Strategy 4 – Bricolage

LocalBounty's ability to operate for several years without external capital inflows is due in large part to their effective bricolage practices. Numerous forms of bricolage were present, including material, internal, and external, all of which can be classified as social bricolage. Material and external bricolage were displayed by the team's ability to repurpose undervalued and slack materials, which were frequently not necessarily intended for the end use they were employed towards. These inputs were often identified through their tacit knowledge of their environment. While this resource mobilization strategy was evident in their physical resourcing techniques, it was most prominent in their internal bricolage. Both Paul and Julia developed robust, diversified skillsets over the course of their careers in fields from mechanical engineering to social work to property acquisition. Their unique combination of skills, developed ad hoc and not intentionally to serve the needs of the organization, was a significant aid to their organization's success.

4.2.2 Case 2 – Green Haven Shelter

Green Haven Shelter is a shelter for adults experiencing homelessness in the same American mid-size midwestern city as LocalBounty. In addition to providing emergency housing, they offer a range of support services and job training opportunities including in a greenhouse, which was the focus of this case study. The greenhouse primarily grew food to serve to shelter residents, with limited external sales. While the shelter has been established for over 30 years, the greenhouse branch began operating approximately six months before the research began. The shelter, greenhouse, and kitchen belong to the same overarching organization, but are each separate legal entities. Because of this, the greenhouse sells the produce to the kitchen, among other local businesses, without affecting the non-profit status of the main shelter. The greenhouse team's mission is to grow healthy food to supply the kitchen and generate revenue, while also providing job training to shelter residents that enables them to gain employment and housing outside of the shelter. They also maintain raised beds that are open to everyone, not only those staying at the shelter.

4.2.2.1 Resource Mobilization Strategy 1 – Grants

The key resource Green Haven Shelter relies on to achieve its mission is grant funding. Some grant funding is acquired through traditional application processes, while a substantial amount is given by individuals and organizations that have a longstanding relationship with the shelter's executive team and board members. The initial investment for the greenhouse system was granted to Green Haven from a board member, and several of their subsequent grants are from individuals and businesses with whom they maintain standing relationships. While the greenhouse did generate modest sales, there was still a substantial net loss, which was covered by grant funding. Green Haven used a mix of grants from private individuals, including board members, private companies, and national government grants. These grants cover the costs of supplies and labor for the greenhouse team.

Todd, the COO, described their fundraising strategy as, "you get what you get from the funders, and you do what they ask you to do." This strategy, along with a professional grant writer, ensures the program has consistent financial support and comfortably covers their expenses. This funding structure and strategy encourage the executive team to focus on expanding the program in directions they believe will attract additional funding opportunities.

The largest funding source is a newly acquired grant from the national government, which covers approximately three fourths of the operating expenses. The remaining gap is filled by grants from private foundations, corporations, and individuals. While this largest grant comes with extensive restrictions, it also provides key benefits to the program. Luke, the program director, explained that the new structure,

> "really drives the training aspect of the program, which is exciting. You definitely want people to be gaining skills and not just being physical labor…. There are formalized segments of their training that aren't even in the farm necessarily. There are certain elements of their training that are getting emphasis, like to provide the job search modules and things like that. So they're like actually spending time focusing on some more personal skills than just a job. So I think more emphasis on soft skills, which is cool."

The funding also requires trainees to be enrolled in a food assistance program, which pushed the organization to ensure everyone who was eligible was enrolled, adding an additional benefit for trainees. Unfortunately, this requirement also resulted in individuals not eligible for the food assistance to be removed from the program. Additionally, the program was not adequately staffed to successfully execute key components of the program.

4.2.2.2 Resource Mobilization Strategy 2 – Social Capital

As discussed previously, Green Haven Shelter benefits from robust relationships with numerous individuals and organizations from whom they are able to access a substantial share of their monetary capital. This is especially evident from the founding of the greenhouse program, which was paid for by a board member. These relationships are highly prioritized within the organization, and are seen as essential to the organization's operations. This is highlighted by Todd's view of their work as directed by the funders, and his willingness to direct the implementation of programs requested by funders. Additionally, there were multiple instances of new program initiatives being The Green Haven team does not reciprocate this relationship in the same way as LocalBounty re-invests in their social networks. Instead, Green Haven provides desirable programmatic metrics and social status enhancement to donors (Lehner, 2013).

4.2.2.3 Resource Mobilization Strategy 3 – Sales

Green Haven Shelter follows a model unique among social ventures in the area, with many facets of the organization incorporated into separate legal entities. This structure allows the organization to benefit from a wider variety of financial capital acquisition strategies than one entity would be eligible for. While the greenhouse sales to external entities were modest in the year of the research, they were projected to grow to approximately 10 times as much the following year. If they meet that target, it will cover about half of all expenses. Because the greenhouse is its own entity apart from the larger non-profit, these sales do not risk affecting the non-profit status or any existing funding of the larger organization. This increased sales revenue also has the potential to lessen the pressure on the team to meet the demands of grantors to secure program funding in future years.

4.2.3 Case 3 – The Giving Garden

The Giving Garden is located in a tight-knit community in the Western Cape, South Africa, whose mission is to nourish the community through freely available food and community events. They have been growing food in a public park since 2019. Mariam is a retiree who was born, raised, and currently living in the neighborhood, and is currently the primary driving force behind the work. Zandile is an intern in the garden, and the only other person consistently working in the garden every day. Lwando also works in the garden several times a week, but on a less regular basis. The garden follows organic and permaculture principles, and mainly grows food that is requested by the neighbors, as well as miscellaneous plants that are donated.

4.2.3.1 Resource Mobilization Strategy 1 – Social Capital

The Giving Garden's social capital is foundational to their success. At every point in their organization's history, they have relied on social capital to overcome challenges and identify and exploit new opportunities. The organization's founding came out of interpersonal relationships between Mariam and two other co-founders. The group met at a local religious event, and rallied around the common mission of giving back to their neighborhood. Two additional directors were involved in the organization through their prior personal relationships with the co-founders. When the garden is in need of something, Mariam relies on the support of her neighbors. She explains, "I phone around, I ask people for assistance. I never ask for money. I asked always for in-kind. So whenever we need something in the garden, I phone the previous donors, and we have one company [that is] very gracious towards us." However, there are instances when they are not able to gain the needed materials through in-kind support, which prompt Mariam to engage in fundraising. She describes her process:

> "We will put it out to the community and to the previous donors what we needed, and then if we are short then we work either towards a donation or I make things to sell. And the minute we have that amount of money, then we purchase what we need. So that is how we kind of keep the garden going with what we need. Because we stopped anything else that is secondary to what we need. We just don't deal with, you know, things that are not that important. The immediate attention - we also only focus on that."

Many of the physical items that make up the garden infrastructure are in-kind donations from neighbors. From the tables used for gatherings to old roofing tiles used for planting bed edging, almost every item in the garden holds a story of who donated it. Before their departure from the organization, some of the co-founders used their personal relationships with friends and family to solicit monetary donations as well.

Similar to LocalBounty's experience, The Giving Garden receives generous support from numerous city employees in their personal capacity. Due to the location of the garden, there are city employees in the area multiple times a week, with whom the staff of The Giving Garden have developed personal relationships. Now, they are able to request things directly from the employees, who are often able to bypass official channels to fulfill requests more promptly in their personal capacity. Frequently, they are able to identify leftover resources from other projects around the city and give those materials to the garden. Mariam explained, "They will always hear what we need and then they personally, in the personal capacity, in their work time, they will keep their ears open."

Mariam invests a great deal back into her network. She is skilled at making every person feel welcome in the space, and ensures they know they are able to take anything they need. She explains:

> "Our primary objective of the garden is to share for free. Whenever a person needs anything from the garden, we don't discuss anything regarding money. Only when the person offers then we say, you're you know, you're welcome to leave a donation. And also, we don't put out a donation box… I always leave it up to the person who needs, whether they if they don't mention it, we don't mention it. Because I have to follow [the co-founders] objective of having the garden, that we're going to be doing it purely to please the Almighty, to please the universe, to always be known that whoever is needing

> can come to the garden, never having to ask the question - cost or payment or even a donation."

This perspective highlights the importance to her of giving back to the community, and highlights a crucial component of how she has such large networks of social capital.

4.2.3.2 Resource Mobilization Strategy 2 – Bricolage

The Giving Garden's robust use of material and external bricolage is core to their continued ability to operate, as they have a strong preference for in-kind transactions over monetary resourcing. As mentioned previously, The Giving Garden has a robust ability to source inputs, often at no cost, through their social networks. Their strong, wide-reaching networks of social capital and deep tacit knowledge of their environment is essential to the success of this resource mobilization strategy. Often, these slack materials are creatively repurposed, like the discarded roofing tiles used for planting beds. The garden's activities are also an excellent example of social bricolage because of their ability to make something from nothing to create social wealth, continued refusal to let resource constraints limit their efforts, extensive incorporation of stakeholders into their organizational decision-making, and use of improvisation and persuasion.

4.2.3.3 Resource Mobilization Strategy 3 – Contracts

While government creates some significant challenges for The Giving Garden, they are also important facilitators of their work. Since the inception of the garden, the city leased the land to them for several years at no cost to the organization. The city also employed up to 20 people experiencing homelessness to work in the garden at no cost to the garden for several years. Although they discontinued this program, the additional labor facilitated the garden's continued operation, and enabled them to exploit new growth opportunities.

The national government also offers programs of support, mainly through the Department of Agriculture. Zandile, the intern in the garden, is paid and placed by the Department of Agriculture as part of her training for her degree in agriculture. Additionally, the Department of Agriculture runs a program through which The Giving Garden is able to source physical resources. Mariam found the process of accessing these funds to be straightforward and positive, saying,

> "Just by coincidence, I saw on Facebook that they were advertising that community gardens can apply for assistance. And luckily for me, the day that I did, I was referred to the Director of Agriculture. He was soooo nice, he's such an obliging man, and the

> following day, sent us like a representative, and we received the approval ... immediately. It was not money, it was it was they would supply us with our needs, giving us seeds and seedlings. And some of the wooden structures were supplied by them. So all in all, they gave us, the garden is like this because of the Department of Agriculture."

Unlike Green Haven's experience of extensive regulation and reporting requirements with their funding, The Giving Garden was able to benefit from the financial capital inflow from government funds while avoiding mission drift because of a straightforward, streamlined process that did not add extraneous regulations, making the program accessible to a busy organization. This experience mirrors that of LocalBounty's, with both organization benefiting from effective government funding with streamlined reporting requirements.

4.2.4 Case 4 – Nourish Tomorrow

Nourish Tomorrow is primarily a research organization engaging in action research on food systems in South African townships. Thabo, Ayanda, Nandi, and Sibongile are co-founders, are all from systemically exploited communities, and have personal histories with food insecurity and/or the health effects of lack of access to nutritious food. These histories, along with involvement in local food system organizations, brought them together to research the issue. Following an opportunity to receive funding to continue their work, they formalized their group and began operating as an action research organization. Their primary goal is to increase food sovereignty in townships through research, education, action, and advocacy.

4.2.4.1 Resource Mobilization Strategy 1 – Social Capital

Nourish Tomorrow's key resource throughout their organization's operation was social capital. One of their most important forms of social capital was their relationship with each other. Most met through local urban farming organizations or are family members. Their networks have a significant cumulative effect, especially regarding opportunity identification and exploitation. Social capital enabled the organization to form and has greatly facilitated the retention of key leadership despite significant challenges and differences in vision for the organization. Nandi commented, "If we didn't know each other from before, we wouldn't still be here"

Before her current role as the main contact between their funder and Nourish Tomorrow, Anna worked with the team and developed close personal relationships with them. This relationship enabled them to receive their current funding, formalize as an organization, and receive capacity building support. Anna's strong ties to the leadership team encouraged her to advocate for them to receive the funding despite the team not being the typical grantee, illustrating the powerful effects of their personal ties.

The core team also has deep ties in the communities in which they work, facilitating effective research and organizing. These relationships ensure they have strong knowledge of community needs and allow for accurate research results.

4.2.4.2 Resource Mobilization Strategy 2 – Grant Funding

As mentioned above, the initial grant funding was a key enabler of Nourish Tomorrow's work. This funding has allowed them to formalize their organization, which increased their perceived legitimacy to key stakeholders, and improved the effectiveness of their advocacy work. Nandi remarked, "We've grown quite a bit since partnering." Their funder was also able to facilitate connections that otherwise would have been difficult. Thabo explained Anna's important role in building important connections, explaining, "we had to use this white person in order to get accepted in certain doors." Although this form of social capital could be beneficial, it also spurred some skepticism from local parties, who Thabo described as asking, "Why need to have [foreigners] to be doing your research? Why not local?"

Additionally, the capacity-building training from the third-party organization has provided important bookkeeping and organizational administration knowledge that will facilitate the organization to be independent.

However, this grant funding did not come without challenges. The relationship between Nourish Tomorrow and Anna, although very strong at the start of the partnership, became increasingly strained as cultural differences severely impacted the view of success for the organization. Additional relationship strain was applied because of different conceptions of the support Nourish Tomorrow received as part of the funding, in addition to unclear boundaries resulting from a lack of sufficient relationship re-negotiation as Anna moved from a horizontal tie with the organization to a vertical one.

4.2.4.3 Resource Mobilization Strategy 3 – Human Capital

The unique combination of individuals on the team and the backgrounds, perspectives, and strengths they bring to Nourish Tomorrow are a key facilitator of the organization's mission. In response to what has helped her be successful, one of the co-founders explained her drive:

> "My passion I can say, because I don't want to give up. I don't want to give up and I force things. Even you can come and say, 'Do you think this can happen? I don't think this can happen.' I will let you say that. But deep down, I know it will happen…So I'm not a person that says I'm going to do things. And then if someone is … giving me doubt. I don't give up. And the other thing… I don't want to see somebody suffer while I can lift up a spoon and put in my mouth and someone outside, they cannot do that. And I will sit and look at them. I can't."

This illustrates the deep drive that is inherent in each of the founding members of Nourish Tomorrow, and is unique because of their continued personal experiences with the social issues they work on. Another co-founder cited the team's ability to translate research jargon into language accessible to community members as a key facet of their success. Again, this is a skill garnered from the team's unique abilities. Because most of the team were not trained in formal academic institutions, they intuitively identify parts of research that are not likely to be understood by individuals affected by the research. They are then able to clarify and disseminate key findings to affected communities. Despite the intimidation they feel in situations, they are able to advocate for clearer, more accessible language. Ayanda elaborated,

> "Because I want to be part of the conversation… when professors start talking about their work, that's a completely different language- in English, but at another level, they have their own jargon. So I will be completely lost. But I need to be part of the conversion. I need to say, 'Okay, thank you. But can you just rephrase that?'...So if I'm expected to respond to it, I need to understand. So that's what's helping us to always reminding them, you're talking to community people. Please rephrase for that. In fact, we've actually been commended on that. Somebody said, 'Thank you for always giving us the reality check because we forget. And then we just go on and then you will leave in the room without having to comment.' Meanwhile, they probably have something to contribute, but they'd forgotten that they need to simplify things a little."

This is a key skill in their advocacy work and is crucial to their mission of educating and mobilizing community members.

4.3 Social Capital as the Key Resource

Analysis of the quintain revealed that the most prominent resource mobilization strategy was social capital. Upon further analysis, it became apparent that not only was social capital a key resource, but it was the main resource through which organizations were able to mobilize additional resources. However, organizations had two distinct strategies towards social capital, which directly led to the organizations having divergent experiences, challenges, and priorities. Interestingly, this dichotomy was present in both the American between-case analysis and in the South African between-case analysis, showing that this finding holds true across the two contexts. In both countries, one organization relied heavily on linking social capital for their resource mobilization, while the other focused more on bonding and bridging social capitals. This dichotomy is explored more thoroughly in the discussion section.

Although all the case studies had different mixes of resources needed to operate, the common theme they all shared was accessing these resourcing through their social capital. For some organizations, this involved members reaching out to neighbors and family members to obtain surplus or unused materials. For others, it was using connections to wealthy individuals to obtain grant funding for their organization. However, all organizations agreed that their social capital was what allowed them to access these subsequent resources.

To more thoroughly analyze this phenomenon, and illuminate the nuances of the process, a discussion with the literature is crucial. Therefore, the discussion of this process of resource mobilization through social capital is detailed in the discussion section.

4.4 Key Challenges

Including case-level key challenges in this analysis is critical for providing a comprehensive understanding of how these strategies function in practice. It also deepens the understanding of the context within which these ventures mobilize resources. Case-specific challenges serve to illuminate the contextual factors that influence the success or limitations of resource mobilization efforts, including factors like stakeholder dynamics and external resource environment conditions. Additionally, examining case-level challenges deepens the analysis by highlighting the variability in resource accessibility, application, and outcomes, which might otherwise be obscured in broader, generalized evaluations. This approach ensures that the findings are both theoretically robust and practically relevant, ensuring the actionable insights discussed later take into account the challenges they are likely to face.

While the organizations' key successes were also included in the data collection and analysis process, this findings section deliberately focuses on a detailed exploration of the challenges because the organizations' challenges are more suited to illuminate the pressures and constraints that deeply affect resource mobilizations strategies, in addition to highlighting implications of different strategy deployments. This strategy can also serve to reveal the systemic and contextual barriers that shape resource mobilization processes, with specific attention to the different contextual factors between cases. Finally, while organizational successes are a crucial part of the research, challenges faced by the organizations proved more complex and revealed more about the causes and effects of the organizations' strategies than the successes.

4.4.1 Case 1 – LocalBounty Gardens

LocalBounty Gardens' biggest challenge was the lack of accessible financial capital accessible while maintaining the organization's mission. Relatedly, they struggled with land access due in part to unfavorable local policies in addition to their restricted financial capital. Finally, the local farming infrastructure posed the third largest challenge, making their entire supply chain difficult and inefficient to navigate. These challenges reveal a local resource context that has significant room for improvement in supporting organizations like LocalBounty.

4.4.1.1 Challenge 1 – Financial Capital

For LocalBounty, the limited profit potential of their scale of farm in addition to the limited alternative funding options posed the biggest ongoing challenge. Julia explained the limited profit from the farm saying, "My first year I think I made like maybe $5,000 doing this. So, like, people don't have the space, the financial space, to do this." That revenue does not cover the "realistically $15-20,000" co-founder Paul says LocalBounty has in yearly operating expenses. Julia expanded on the challenges funding an urban garden saying, "it's like parallel to our medical system. The only way they're making progress or growing or expanding is by self-funding and fundraising in a desperate attempt to do it." While LocalBounty didn't rely on direct fundraising efforts in the start-up phase, other local farms did. LocalBounty also attempted direct to consumer sales through several different avenues in their early years, namely at local farmers markets. However, the profits could be "unpredictable" and inconsistent with the work that went into them. Julia revealed the team was “killing ourselves for pennies. Working at 16-hour markets to make like $200."

Julia described the difficulty of finding an external funding path in line with LocalBounty’s objectives by saying,

> “And there's this very specific path, right, that these urban farms take. And it's either you're funded by grants to nonprofits, and you grow food specifically for an agency and then you give it away… And that's one lane or the other lane is you grow niche crops or salad that you can cut and cut and cut and make a high profit off of and you sell it to wealthy white people. There's like these two paths…I wasn't interested in either one of those. So I was like, how do I connect with the people that live here? "

In order to become a profitable farm based on food sales, they would have needed to move operations outside the city onto a larger continuous plot, which compromised their dual missions of providing food to the neighborhood and caring for community spaces. Additionally, many loan and grant funding opportunities were not accessible to them because of restrictions on the funds that did not match LocalBounty’s structure, needs, or desired outcomes. Julia explained the funding restrictions from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), the main government funder of agriculture in the United States:

> “The USDA did all this big talk about ‘oh we believe in... urban farming and we're investing,’ but if you actually look at it, with USDA grants you are explicitly prohibited from purchasing land, buying infrastructure, paying for buildings. I could get a grant for like $150,000 to pay a consultant to tell me what I need. But I cannot use it to directly purchase tractor implements, machinery, infrastructure, land, I can’t buy property with them. So it’s like, HA, if you actually read the fine print, there’s like nothing."

LocalBounty’s small scale, lack of land ownership, and choice to grow food for human consumption furthered the financial capital challenges. Julia explained that larger operations focused on producing subsidized crops like corn and soy are able to use accounting techniques and subsidies to have a significant advantage over small farms growing specialty crops like fruits and vegetables.

The challenge of accessing financial capital created many additional challenges, including accessing human capital and physical capital. This led to staff over-working themselves to the point of breakdowns because they could not afford to hire any additional help or invest in tools to increase efficiency. The lack of appropriate storage also decreased the time between harvest and spoiling, creating an additional layer of urgency. Piecing together the physical infrastructure took a toll on LocalBounty's team as Julia explained:

> "If I need refrigeration, there's a few people I can call. But it's this herculean effort of like asking all these people and then I have to transport everything, just to find a, you know, pieced together infrastructure … So it's this struggle struggle struggle to do the most basic things that if people just had money, it would be so different."

4.4.1.2 Challenge 2 - Land Access

The second largest challenge for LocalBounty is land access. Although the vast majority of the state's land is used for agriculture, most of it is commodity crops grown on large farms with an average farm size in the hundreds of acres. Within the urban area, the population is rapidly growing, and the city government prioritizes new construction development. This, along with other local policies and influences combine to make land access for growing food within the city challenging.

Although the organization began through a lease from the city government, the city's ownership of many of the spaces complicated their expansion efforts. While the initial plot remains leased from the city to grow food, subsequent larger plots LocalBounty leased from the city were terminated, and city policy changed to prevent future leases of that nature. Since this change, LocalBounty transitioned to expanding through leases on privately owned land. The city's policy on insurance for the land provides another challenge, with the city requiring higher coverage than most insurance companies offer for small pieces of land, and high costs for the policies that are available. This cost is borne by the entity leasing the land, putting a financial strain in addition to the logistical burden on LocalBounty.

Paul uses his background in local real estate investment to purchase land cheaply through a local government program. However, this process takes several years to complete, so they are not yet able to use any of this land. While it is available for far less than market value, it is typically abandoned land that requires significant improvements before being able to grow on it. This further prolongs the timeline from the start of the acquisition process and initial financial investment to being able to grow on the land.

Outside of this program, land is rapidly increasing in price, placing it further out of reach for LocalBounty, and pushing LocalBounty to continue leasing land. However, this produces its own challenges of looming lease termination. Because LocalBounty grows food directly in the ground and not in raised beds or planter boxes, the land they grow on is critical to their work. Improving soil quality on the neglected lots is a critical investment in the quality of their product, but this takes years of work. Due to this long timeline, short-term agreements and unstable land access have a significant impact on the success of LocalBounty's efforts. This drive for land access puts a significant strain on LocalBounty's operations and growth potential. Julia describes it as a "just unrelenting squeeze for land and resources."

4.4.1.3 Challenge 3 – Farming Ecosystem and Supply Chain Infrastructure

The third more prominent challenge for LocalBounty Gardens is the structure of the local farming ecosystem including the fragmentation of buyers and lack of supply chain infrastructure. Especially compared to other types of agriculture in the state, the level of infrastructure available to urban growers is minimal. Julia explained the situation:

> "One thing that I honestly think would be so beneficial for the greater public and/or folks who want to do this work, are interested in this work, or even like I was saying like row croppers or different farmers who run animals, animal husbandry folks, is to really truly understand how desolate the supply chain is for vegetable producers or small-scale vegetable producers ... there is no supply chain. Like if I ran cattle, all I'd be in charge of is raising my animals. Keeping them healthy. And I'd market and take them to a locker and sell and it's all done. Like every step is built. The path is laid. But for vegetable producers, every. single. producer. is required to build their entire supply chain, individually, and at exorbitant costs. So walk-in cooler, walk-in freezer, storage facilities, distribution and delivery, vans and trucks, refrigerated trucks. Direct wholesale you have to do everything yourself - you have to build connections, you have to build a market, wash and pack stations, packaging. All of it. Every single producer has to build all that from scratch by themselves. There is no path. There is no supply chain for vegetable producers. I think people really don't understand that. And how perishable and fragile a lot of these items are… Every piece of that infrastructure doesn't exist for you. And it is that, besides land access, that is one of the largest barriers to more people growing more food for actual human consumption…Because the same goes for commodity and row crops. All that's built - the silos, the grain bins, it's all built. It's all these towns. These towns all have one for god's sake - like you just drive your truck there, get it weighed, get paid. That is very isolated to commodity crops. We don't have anything like that at all."

Once LocalBounty is able to navigate the challenge of physically getting items ready to sell, several challenges still remain. The first being the lack of connectedness of the local food system to consumers. When the garden first began growing food, there was no neighborhood-level connection between food and people. Julia invested significant resources in marketing materials in over 20 languages to be accessible to neighborhood buyers. The fragmented state of the market also forces small producers to invest immense time and resources in selling at various farmers markets, which are extremely variable on sales week-to-week. Julia told the story of a neighboring beginner urban farmer with whom she worked closely, Avery, and herself getting ready for markets together and being "just so miserable and burned out. Literally when we would be getting ready for markets, we would be crying. It's so f***ing hard. Because there's nothing. It's desolate out here."

After connecting with buyers, setting the price for goods poses another obstacle for many farmers, including LocalBounty. Julia explained:

> "Pricing is different everywhere depending on if it's a grocery store, is it a restaurant, like there's all these market farming pages where people are SO desperate for answers like 'What do I charge for this?' 'What do you guys charge for this?' 'How do you package this?' 'How do you keep it cold?'"

4.4.2 Case 2 – Green Haven Shelter

Green Haven Shelter's challenges were largely shaped by the incentive structures created by their funding model. With management mainly accountable to individuals outside the organization, perception of their work tended to supersede ensuring program effectiveness. This resulted in a lack of effective feedback loops within the organization and relatedly, chronic understaffing. Their third largest challenge was the effects of the highly technical growing system they relied on.

4.4.2.1 Challenge 1 – Feedback Loops

Across several challenges faced by the greenhouse team, the common theme of inadequate mechanisms for decision makers in the larger organization to hear and act upon feedback from program implementors arose. Luke explained,

> "I think that this business really needs to work on the right hand talking to the left, and listening… Because I think like, those, big dreams, trickle down to the people that are

meant to facilitate their execution. But then, I don't think that ... there's not a feedback loop. Like, I think we can be like, hey, these things aren't working…. As someone that's trying to implement the programs, I feel pretty spread thin by them… And I don't feel like anyone's like listening."

Luke explained that "this nonprofit functions with a board… And I think they, you know, drive the business." When discussing the needs of the greenhouse team, Luke explained, "I feel like, if I say something, it's immediately, shot down." He elaborated in another interview, saying, "I've felt like, some of the decision holders have been avoidant of the problems." When Luke was asked what the roadblocks to getting to his ideal state for the program, his immediate response was to look around the room and say, "I'm like, is my boss going to hear this right now?" This lack of sufficient feedback loops exacerbated many other challenges the organization faced including understaffing, supply needs, expansions of activities and design of the business model, meeting funding requirements, and providing a positive experience for residents, which are outlined below.

Related to the understaffing challenge, Luke did not have clarity on the hiring process for Sam's replacement, who would directly report to Luke, showing a clear lack of effective feedback loops within the organization related to personnel. Several months after Sam's departure from the organization, Luke said, "maybe the first piece of information I've gotten and like, ever since [Sam] put in his notice came in the form of like, kind of a cryptic email." The email was from an executive manager asking for Luke's approval on a new position description. However, the position described did not fill the needs of the program and described duties unrelated to the immediate needs of the greenhouse team. This email was the only consultation between the executive level decision makers and the program director on the hiring process. Luke explained, "It was kind of a tough email for me to field in some regards… I guess I felt like it was slightly still, like, maybe off. Like the thumb wasn't quite on the pulse of like, what the farm actually needs."

Also contributing to the program's understaffing, Luke explained that the lack of effective feedback loops was a key factor in Sam's departure from the organization. Luke explained this contributed to Sam's departure because, "he had about two years of [not having essential supplies orders approved] and was just like, like, we even helped you get money for supplies, and you're not even letting us spend it in a timely manner to respond to the needs. And so I think he felt like very frustrated." Sam also reported feeling like a "petulant nuisance" when discussing program needs with executive management, and Luke explained that Sam "felt extremely shot down and shut down." Luke described feeling "pretty similarly unsupported."

A lack of an effective feedback channels also regularly interfered with sourcing the supplies essential to operate the system. This was continuously a difficult effort, involving repeated strenuous conversations with fellow staff members. This was a repeated concern that had been raised several times with leadership and those within the internal supply chain. Luke explained:

> "I've had many instances where I'm like, I'm gonna put my emotions aside and just communicate the needs of the program in this meeting anyway. Because most times when I present information, like, it's just immediately like, no, like, no, no (hitting the table), like, I like every like, almost to a point where it's comical, because I, like already almost know the response going in. And I just have to, like, I can't not relay crucial information. It's my job. And like, we'll just experience more pitfalls, if I'm just silent."

For example, during a pest infestation, the necessary remedy was not approved until it was too late. Then when a new remedy was suggested, it again was not approved by management. This process severely impacted the success of the crop and took a significant proportion of the trainees' time to manage. Luke described his conversation with an executive manager on the issue as "kind of like this weird, very brief conversation. I kind of felt like, it wasn't a conversation." When asked why the proposed measures were not approved, Luke referenced a concern raised by executive leadership of how the proposed solutions would look when visitors and potential donors visited the greenhouse.

This was an ongoing issue, with Luke reporting that, "the company was not being responsive enough to the needs for program to keep production happening properly or like, you know, not buying or not, they're just like, not even validating in certain purchases that are like, really crucial like to, yeah, having healthy crops." Luke explained the resistance from leadership stemming from "this M.O. of, 'Oh, you guys just want to spend money.' But we're like, there are certain things that we need to actually function," which contributed to "this cloud of like, 'You guys aren't doing a good job,' without [leadership] being like receptive to feedback for how like, we feel like we could run the program better."

Despite the challenges facing the greenhouse team, leadership continued to push expansion efforts for the program area, illustrating another lacking feedback channel. Luke had strong reservations about these, saying:

> "I see the business trying to expand in some other ways. And it's really hard for me to get behind it. Because, well, we need to like water the trees we have already. Let's not plant more trees until we make sure the ones we have are thriving. And so that's that sort of a metaphor, but I hope that it translates to, like, what I think that this business really needs is to, like refocus on what we're doing and be really, really, like, my hope is that there's like, transparency is welcomed. Because I think that's like how we'll get through to like, the solutions."

As is the case with many new initiatives, there were unexpected challenges in the anticipated business model of the aquaponics system. While there were varied reasons for these challenges, there was little ability to pivot in response to them. The first time Luke was able to discuss this with higher-level management was when the actual harvest continuously fell short of the projections and leadership reached out to ask why. Luke explained the state of the program saying:

> "I don't feel like anyone's listening, when it's clear, there's a very large task. And we're like, 'Hey, we have to look at the business model, and there's ways we need support in its functioning.' And, I almost feel like the business is like a little in like a depression area where you're just kind of like, make the most of what you have, you know, and you can leave some things… I feel like we need like a pretty big injection of support to like, revitalize the program."

During the course of the research the program received new government funding. When accepting their new funding with the supervision requirements, Sam attended the meetings explaining the requirements. After his departure, there was not a knowledge transfer to Luke, resulting in several serious instances of confusion. Luke was not made aware of the direct supervision requirement until it was mentioned at a mandatory staff meeting during the trainee's working hours. After being made aware of the requirement, Luke was unable to attend any further meetings because it would be in violation of the funding terms, and management did not change the meeting time to allow his attendance. Additionally, Luke was not aware if they could grow food in the raised beds that are outside the greenhouse, saying," I don't even really know if I'm bending the rules to have them plant in the outdoor raised beds…. just through some things I've heard like, I think that the trainees are literally only supposed to be growing food in the greenhouse…. I'm not sure if they're not allowed to grow food outdoors in raised beds. We need to get to the bottom of that one."

The lack of feedback loops extended to the experience of residents in the shelter. When Evelyn was asked if she can give feedback to the organization, she responded, “I don't know… I've never I've never tried to do that. Even if, even if I did, I feel like it would go it would go unnoticed. Or perhaps my feedback wouldn't be up to their knowledge of things... So, I mean, I've never really tried to do that before. I don't, I don't know. I've never, I've never been told that you can. I've never tried to do it. So, I don't know.”

4.4.2.2 Challenge 2 – Understaffing

Shortly after the start of the research, one of the two managers of the greenhouse team left the organization. Sam’s departure from the team left a significant void in management staff that was not resolved over the months of research with the team. This left the team significantly short of the necessary staff to perform duties essential to meeting their mission in addition to a technical knowledge gap on the operations of the aquaponic system. When asked about the status of their goals following Sam’s departure, the program director Luke responded, “the overarching theme, staff required…. My experience is just like oh my gosh, I, only have time to focus on like, the things that are paramount, you know, and then other things that would be really nice to do are kind of like, well...” This challenge grew as the position continued to go unfilled for several months, and Luke’s management continued to ask him to fill both roles, in addition to increasing the time of mandatory direct supervision of the greenhouse staff (trainees). This direct supervision time was mandated by a new grantor for the program. To meet these demands, Luke described, “working a bunch more hours, and then I got sick. And so now, I pretty much just keep my day to eight hours. Because I have to, I was like for self-preservation…. I just make myself walk out the door at 4. Like, kind of no matter what has happened, I just have to leave. Before I was like, staying to whatever, like 6:00pm or working on the weekend, and I found out what happened.” As a secondary motivation for limiting how much overtime he worked, Luke said, “I also feel like the company won't feel a manifestation of pressure to hire a new farm manager. Like if I tried to absorb too much of it, if I works those extra 15 hours a week, which I was, they won't see the manifestations of needing someone else to fill the role.”

The understaffing also impacted the trainee’s experience in the program. Evelyn, a trainee and shelter resident, explained, “So I started working for [Sam] and I kind of got tousled in between the mix up… So then [Luke] took over, so my training was a little lacking… my training was kind of compromised a little bit. I feel like I could have learned a lot from [Sam], but unfortunately he had to get a different job.” Because Sam had the technical knowledge of the aquaponic system and Luke was hired to focus on the operations, Sam's role remaining vacant compromised the technical knowledge trainees were able to gain through the program. Evelyn explained, "I want more knowledge, like I miss [Sam], and being able to tell me like, this is how we do it. This is why we do it. This is the information behind it. I miss that aspect of it." Additionally, because Luke was filling the duties of both roles, there were many instances when he was not able to provide the direct supervision required. On occasion, there would be inappropriate conduct from a trainee towards other trainees during these lapses in supervision. Evelyn explained,

> "I would say that it needs to have some type of supervisor there. Because [Luke] does a lot of running in and out. He's always available for questions, like ... and asking questions and he has answers for me. But I feel like there needs to be some type of lead. Like, not rely on employees that have only been there a couple of months to lead. I feel like there needs to be somebody like a position of authority that you know, like in cases like [Jay], you know, tell him that's not acceptable. Like, not just let it happen, and then we have to wait for [Luke] to show up and then tell him. I mean, I feel like there needs to be some type of authority, like some type of authority and some type of this is how you do this. This is why you do this."

One key part of the greenhouse's new funder requirements is supervised job search to assist the trainees in finding work outside of the greenhouse team and the shelter. However, Luke explained, "[the trainees] are just trying to find this moving target, which is the only person that's certified to give them a supervised job search. And we have got six trainees who can [have] like 10 hours of that a week. So I'm like how was like, how was one person going to give six people 10 hours of supervised a job searching a week?" This one staff member certified for this role also was allocated to provide job search supervision to other shelter residents, illustrating a clear over-allocation of his time by the management staff. Evelyn explained her experience trying to meet with the counselor: "I just know that trying to get in with [him] was almost impossible. I mean, I know he's busy and everything. He's got a lot of people to see a lot of people to help."

4.4.2.3 Challenge 3 – Physical Infrastructure

Following a trip to Israel, one of Green Haven Shelter's board members suggested that they use a model he saw there of growing food in an aquaponic system to sell to external buyers to generate revenue and supply the shelter's kitchen. Unfortunately, the purchased system did not function as the manufacturer advertised and required significant alterations to operate. The system was missing some key elements, and other elements did not function properly. The COO Todd lamented, “It's really complicated. It's disgustingly complicated. How some companies, other companies took advantage of a shelter. It's disgusting… And it's created a big problem for us. And we're just gonna have to figure out how to make it something, make it something better.”

Because the system did not meet the contracted needs, Green Haven entered litigation with the manufacturer. As part of this litigation, all alterations needed to be overseen by those involved with the litigation, which greatly limited the ability to adapt to the challenges as they arose. However, the success of the crops often requires prompt action on anything that negatively impacts their growing environment. The consequences of delaying action on key items were not thoroughly understood by the executive team, with Todd lamenting, “I'm shocked at how easily an entire crop can be destroyed.” Sam was mainly responsible for many of these alterations, for which he drew on his technical expertise from prior training.

In addition to the broken and missing parts, another key issue was that the system they purchased was designed to grow lettuce and other greens that are typically grown in windowless facilities to control the sunlight they receive. Locating the lettuce operation in a greenhouse without shades made regulating the sunlight impossible, and presented a significant challenge to production quantity and quality. This prompted the team to change to selling younger crops as “baby greens” to their established buyers. Luke explained, “We do sell a lot of baby greens. And we don't really grow them in the most efficient way right now. Like we kind of use a system that was designed to grow heads of lettuce. That was like then superimposed into a greenhouse, which isn't where it's supposed to be.” All of these technical challenges made producing healthy, successful crops at anticipated volumes impossible, causing the team to fall short of its projected goals.

4.4.3 Case 3 – The Giving Garden

The Giving Garden’s biggest challenge of extreme weather was not resultant from their resource mobilization strategies, but did affect the effectiveness of their efforts and the robustness of their community trust. Their second biggest challenge was with relevant government bodies, highlighting the effects of their context on their resource mobilization, as well as some consequences of some of their resourcing strategies.

4.4.3.1 Challenge 1 – Extreme Weather

This research took place during the winter months of 2024, which was one of the coldest and wettest winters on record in the area. This posed significant challenges to reaching The Giving Garden's goal of providing food to neighbors. The excess rain caused out of season crops to take over planting beds, encouraged a surge of unusual pests, and prevented successful planting of new crops. These pressures pushed the team into a cycle of recovery instead of preparing for the upcoming growing season. Mariam, the garden's current lead and co-founder, explained, "because we're in winter, we are supposed to be like, just dormant and just watch the vegetables grow. But because of the excess rain, it hasn't happened. Unfortunately, we are in dire straits with our spring and summer veg. Just so much damage on the veggies and especially on the herbs… We are just trying to recover." The weather also made it difficult for Mariam to work in the garden, with the extreme cold making it difficult on her body to be out in the weather, and the regular rain greatly restricted the number of days they were able to work.

4.4.3.2 Challenge 2 – Government

The Giving Garden is located on a government-owned piece of land that is leased to the garden. Because of this, the garden is involved with government in several different areas. While there are several ways the local government facilitates their work, in addition to leasing the land, there are also many ways in which their goals are inhibited by their experiences with government including less physical capital support than promised, stable land access and workforce, gentrification pressures, and serious administrative hurdles.

As part of the lease agreement, the city government committed to providing physical capital to the garden. However, when going through official channels, Mariam was not able to receive any of the promised support. She explained, "if we do everything official, if we send emails to the city and ask and ask, we've never, ever received anything official. Part of our contract of having the space came with supplies. But unfortunately for us, it never happened. They never, ever, ever, ever did they keep their promises on our contract."

Also relating to the original agreement with city government, the lease for the land was approved without any costs to the garden. Unfortunately, the city government recently identified that the lease was improperly approved, through no fault of the garden but because one branch of government approved it despite it being under another branch's authority. Mariam explained,

> "It was like, somebody made a mistake somewhere along the line. And it was like authorized, but it was not that department's, they had no authority to do that. So now…

> someone sat down and looked at all the spaces that are being occupied the city, spaces that we that has been converted to community gardens… So when we applied, it went to the wrong department, and they approved it. Now, actually, they found it had to go to… a special department, and now it's like a legal thing. So we applied last year, September. It's almost September, and we haven't heard from them. Every time I send an email, the response is that they're still working on it. In a phone call and they say there's no result here. There's no, they cannot complete because there is no legislation regarding what should be done."

As part of the process to get the garden on the correct lease, the government is listing the land for sale for a period of time to gauge interest from qualified buyers, but not providing the option for anyone who's part of The Giving Garden to purchase it. Mariam explained,

> "We are in a very, very, very, very difficult position, because, like I said before, they made a mistake by authorizing the space… only to find out now, after all these years, that it had to go through this department, and it's been lying there since last year, September, the application to continue… we are at the position where we are told that the government is now advertising… this multimillionaire can buy it, and these multi-millionaires can buy it (pointing to the properties on either side of the garden) and extend their property"

This uncertainty and lack of a current lease causes significant issues for the team. Mariam said, "I think the downside for us is, is that because somebody made a mistake… we cannot ask for donations, we cannot do anything that can assist us."

Again related to local government, the garden benefited from labor paid for by a local government program for several years. While this was an immense benefit to the organization, right before the commencement of this research, the renewal application was not approved. Rather than issuing a denial, they did not receive word on an approval for several weeks. The workers continued coming for free for a short period, but then the government evicted many of them from their informal homes and relocated them significantly farther from the garden. This eviction, in combination with the severe weather and lack of pay, prevented most from returning to work in the garden.

A mix of local and national level policies are creating an environment of gentrification and threatening the organizations' social capital in addition to their ability to operate. The interpersonal relationships in the neighborhood are an essential resource for the garden.

However, there are significant pressures of gentrification in the neighborhood, affecting Mariam's security in the neighborhood, as well as that of many other community members. One of The Giving Garden's main community events is a weekly senior's group. These seniors benefit from the garden as well as contributing back to it where they can. All of the members, in addition to Mariam, are retired and on government pensions, which are kept extremely low. Simultaneously, the city has continued to drastically raise utility prices in the neighborhood far above levels that can be paid for by the pensions. Through this mechanism the government is displacing many seniors and key community builders in the neighborhood while inviting in gentrification investors. As the cycle continues, the community further depletes. This affects Mariam's ability to galvanize many types of support from the community, both because people invested in the garden's mission are being displaced and because those that remain are facing severe financial constraints. This also affects Mariam's ability to support the garden, which is largely self-financed currently.

From the start of working on the plot of land, the garden has faced strong pressures from theft and vandalism. Before receiving appropriate fencing as promise from the city government, the garden was robbed multiple times of tools, seedlings, and art supplies for community programs stolen, among other items and acts of vandalism. While the government did not cause the break-ins, they occurred in part because the garden was not properly secured by materials promised in the lease terms. Additionally, there was never action taken by government against any perpetrators. They offered the garden minimal support during the wave of break-ins, with the exception of purchasing them replacement tools. The break-ins only stopped following a private donation of time and materials to build a more secure fence.

At the organization's inception, there were several directors. Due to various reasons, some have stepped away from the organization, including one that was a key account holder. Unfortunately, this individual did not complete the proper paperwork before their departure. This has resulted in significant difficulties for The Giving Garden in completing important administrative and reporting tasks, as well as inhibiting their access to their bank account and ability to fundraise. While not solely the responsibility of the government, the organization is facing these challenges due in part to government policy around the directors of an organization and are not provided with accessible recourse options.

4.4.4 Case 4 – Nourish Tomorrow

Similar to Green Haven Shelter, Nourish Tomorrow's biggest challenge was a direct result of their main resource mobilization tactic, but also further complicated by their unique context. However, their second biggest challenge reveals in part why the organization followed the resourcing strategy they did, and challenges to implementing other methods. Finally, their third challenge of organizational capacity sheds light on their struggles with the entire resource mobilization process.

4.4.4.1 Challenge 1 – Funding

Nourish Tomorrow's main obstacle was their current funding structure and funding future funding. Nourish Tomorrow has one funder currently, from a foreign organization. Their different backgrounds result in differences in definitions of success. As Nandi explained, "the funder also has their own kind of requirements on how they measure your impact…I think sometimes when you and the funder don't have the same kind of concept of what impact actually is, it can get really, really iffy." This difference in cultures also contributed to miscommunications and different interpretation of events and intentions, negatively impacting organizational cohesion. Thabo elaborated on the disconnect,

> "Because [Anna] who is a brilliant person, powerful, visionary person who has helped [Nourish Tomorrow] to be where [we are] today. But on the other side… maybe it's a problem of these two different worlds that we live, people from the First World and us here from a different so called Third World country, culture issues. So we had a lot of that, even though it's such those kind of conflicts, you know, where we've realized that here, we're not talking the same as much as in terms of research work, we're talking the same language…there is a problem where between these two worlds that we live in now… You realize that there's that tension about slowness of progress that's perceived from the other side. Meanwhile, on this side, we can't move because we are in communities where you've got to make sure… what is its outcome and what are the recommendations moving forward. So if we rush …without making sure that we are working with the people, we might find it has happened that we're moving too fast and not having time to come and report back to the community, or to come and share back with communities. Because now there's pressure. If it's not reports, it's more visioning or building on the next work that must come.

So those kinds of judgements affect personalities, and also personality clashes have happened, and ended up sensitive things to others. You know that to others, it's something that's normal to critique, which is not bad, but now you find the kind of critique could be understood different from our side. So there are those kinds of pressures, realizing culture somehow is playing a role or, or maybe also class is playing a role here. Meanwhile, all those things the research is talking to. But in ways, maybe we put up face to say, 'No, we understand all that.' But meanwhile in reality there are those issues at work."

The Nourish Tomorrow team and the funder also had different views on key terms in their contract, resulting in confusion over work product ownership and their ability to obtain other partnerships. The Nourish Tomorrow team identified key points in their partnership where there was confusion about what they were contractually allowed to do. Thabo described their concern around developing new partnerships, "Coming to late last year, there was a vibe where everyone wants to talk to [Nourish Tomorrow], and to work with [Nourish Tomorrow], you know. Again going to this uneasiness of not being sure what to take, what not to take."

Having only one funder also has a significant impact on the organization. Despite having opportunities to expand their work and their partnerships, the leadership team felt unable to capitalize on new opportunities due to their current contract. They felt the scope of their work was limited to only working on what the one funder was asking of them. Nandi described the experience of "being swallowed up in the one funder." Nandi elaborated,

"To have one funder and to have money coming from one funder, and everyone in some way or the other in the in the in the organization is being paid by this one funder. You know, and your time is accountable to just this one funder, you end up just doing that, which is as much as it does align with all the visions of the things that we wanted to do. But it also it puts the organization at risk of being swallowed by that. So I it didn't make any sense."

Nandi asserted that with, "a more diversified funding we would be able to really flex the muscle of the kinds of people we have."

This funder also does not compensate the team for the full hours they work on the project. While they pay the leadership team to work on the project part-time, the funder repeatedly requested the team to dedicate their full-time schedule to the work. The team followed the funders' request for fear of being reprimanded by the funder and straining the relationship with their singular funding source.

Relatedly, the amount of their current funding posed a challenge to the team. At their current funding levels, the Nourish Tomorrow staff is too small to dedicate the capacity to their desired strategic directions. Senior leadership was tied up in operations tasks instead of managing the strategic direction of the organization, which limited their growth. Nandi explained, "[Ayanda] then essentially does not end up doing the work that a program coordinator is supposed to be doing on a strategic level of being the one to really push this work and make us connections that needs to be moved in order to have other partners." There were several growth opportunities that could not be exploited due to insufficient funds for the work.

4.4.4.2 Challenge 2 – Socioeconomic Positionality

The Nourish Tomorrow leadership team are all Black South Africans from townships. While this affords them the benefits of a tacit knowledge of the topics they research along with deep community ties, it also hinders their ability to resource through their personal networks. Additionally, they are unable to self-finance their organization or dedicate all their time on a voluntary basis as they must generate income from their work to meet the basic necessities of daily life. Because their main resource is their time, in-kind resourcing is limited. This pushes monetary resourcing's importance to the forefront of their organization's priorities. However, because they are from exploited and marginalized communities, very few community members impacted by their work have the financial means to contribute to their work.

One of their key missions is educating and mobilizing people negatively impacted by the current food system's structure. However, because much of this constituency experiences food insecurity, there is pressure of the urgency of food access over gaining long-term agency, which is Nourish Tomorrow's objective. Ayanda observed,

> "the work that we do in the communities is very policy driven - looking at policies, educating people on their rights. The challenge that we have is finding people who journey with us for long, because people don't have time to be sitting and going through documents, people are hungry. People want physical food, you know, people want to be fed. We don't have that capability…So there's that sense of urgency…people need to see change now. So that's the biggest obstacle, finding really people that are really patient and actually understanding the process."

4.4.4.3 Challenge 3 – Organizational Capacity Constraints

Since becoming a formal organization, organizational capacity constraints have hindered Nourish Tomorrow's work in several ways. Primarily, as discussed previously, they do not have adequate staff to fill all the positions. This limits their ability to execute their objectives while growing the organization. Secondly, their ability to independently manage the finances and organizational administration is limited. Because key leadership staff did not have prior experience with running a formal organization, there is a gap in technical knowledge around administration and finance. Their current funder provides capacity building support for the organization through a third party. However, this third party has created significant delays in processing payments, which has impacted community trust in Nourish Tomorrow. The third party also receives a portion of the funding directed toward Nourish Tomorrow, affecting their monetary resourcing.

Thirdly, the team's agility has been compromised since becoming a formal organization. Prior to formalizing, they were able to respond to community quicker, but now experience more difficulty in acting with agility. The team is bound by doing activities that they have funding for, so the path from opportunity identification to execution is longer because they must fundraise.

4.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the case studies and their respective resource mobilization strategies has revealed a multidimensional process of social capital operating as the primary mechanism for resource acquisition across diverse contexts. Across the four cases examined, social capital consistently emerged as a pivotal resource, enabling organizations to access both tangible resources, such as land, funding, and physical materials, and intangible resources, including technical knowledge, emotional support, and community trust. Each organization tailored its use of social capital to its unique context, leveraging community connections, institutional partnerships, or personal networks depending on the situation. For instance, while LocalBounty Gardens focused on building community networks to address local challenges, Green Haven Shelter prioritized institutional relationships to secure funding for its operations. The two South African cases mirrored this dichotomy, with The Giving Garden investing deeply in their local community connections to access resources, while Nourish Tomorrow received grant funding from abroad. The adaptable applications of social capital highlight its dynamic nature and unique capacity to bridge gaps that other resource mobilization strategies often fail to address. This underscores the versatility of social capital in meeting a diverse array of organizational opportunities, needs, and challenges, solidifying its role as an essential element of resource mobilization. By focusing on social capital as the central mechanism of resource mobilization, this analysis provides a framework for understanding how organizations can thrive despite resource constraints, and shows that social capital is a strategic imperative for social ventures facing resource constraints.

This section also showed that the type of resource mobilization social ventures focused on had varying consequences based on contextual factors like other resourcing strategies in use and characteristics of the external environment. This was elaborated on through the analysis of the specific challenges faced by each case study. These challenges highlighted contextual obstacles to resource mobilization and unintended consequences of some resource mobilization strategies.

Although all the case studies relied heavily on social capital, the types of social capital they deployed varied. The following section discusses these various forms of social capital in relation to the literature, and the implication of each combination. In addition, it shows how some combinations of social capital improve the effectiveness of other resource mobilization strategies. Finally, it explores more in-depth additional effects of the varied contexts on resource mobilization.

5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Expanding on the finding that social capital was the social ventures' primary resource mobilization strategy, this section connects these findings back to the literature. First, the Social Cohesion Perspective is applied to the data, highlighting the diverse ways each social venture deploys their bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Next, this section details the implications of the dependencies on different types of social capital, Crucially, dependence on linking social capital is shown to directly lead to organizational mission drift, along with several additional consequences. However, relying on bonding or bridging social capital also comes with important tradeoffs. Next, robust bonding and bridging social capital is connected with an increase in bricolage utilization, which also comes with unique benefits and costs. Finally, this section details the key effects of context on the ventures' resource mobilization processes.

However, the type of social capital a social venture chooses to invest in and deploy, whether linking, bonding, or bridging social capital, has profound implications for the organization's trajectory and its ability to maintain mission alignment.

Building on this, new connections are drawn between existing bodies of literature to explore the causality between dependence on linking social capital and mission drift. Dependence on linking social capital negatively affected these social ventures' mission alignment over time. This dependence creates an incentive structure that is not conducive to continued mission alignment, which can lead to a trajectory of diminishing human capital and the erosion of bonding and bridging social capital—the very forms of capital that are crucial to the organization's long-term sustainability. The paper traces how this pattern of mission drift occurs, highlighting how reliance on linking social capital can inadvertently deplete other important forms of social capital, ultimately threatening the organization's core social goals.

Furthermore, this research connects two additional literatures by illustrating the connections between the social cohesion perspective of social capital and bricolage. By connecting instances of bricolage with the mix of social capital, the paper shows how social ventures leverage creative capital combinations to overcome resource scarcity. This research also highlights the importance of the diversification of social ventures' social capital bases, and how to effectively benefit from linking social capital while mitigating the risks brought about by over-investment.

In addition to these insights, the paper expands on the Social Cohesion Perspective, applying it to the context of South African social ventures. By exploring how these organizations in South Africa navigate social capital in a post-apartheid context, this study contributes to a broader theoretical understanding of social ventures in resource-scarce and complex environments. The unique challenges faced by South African social ventures provide critical insights into how social capital is mobilized in settings where historical and systemic inequities influence organizational operations and resource availability.

Finally, this paper expands theory by examining how the location of a social venture can influence application of the Social Cohesion Perspective and social ventures' resourcing strategies. The histories of the specific social and economic contexts in which a social venture operates has significant effects on how social ventures' experiences with deployed resource mobilization strategies. Localized differences in the availability of resources and the types of capital accessible to ventures adds further complexity to the resourcing landscape. This nuance highlights the need for a more granular understanding of the interplay between location and social capital in shaping the resource mobilization strategies of social ventures.

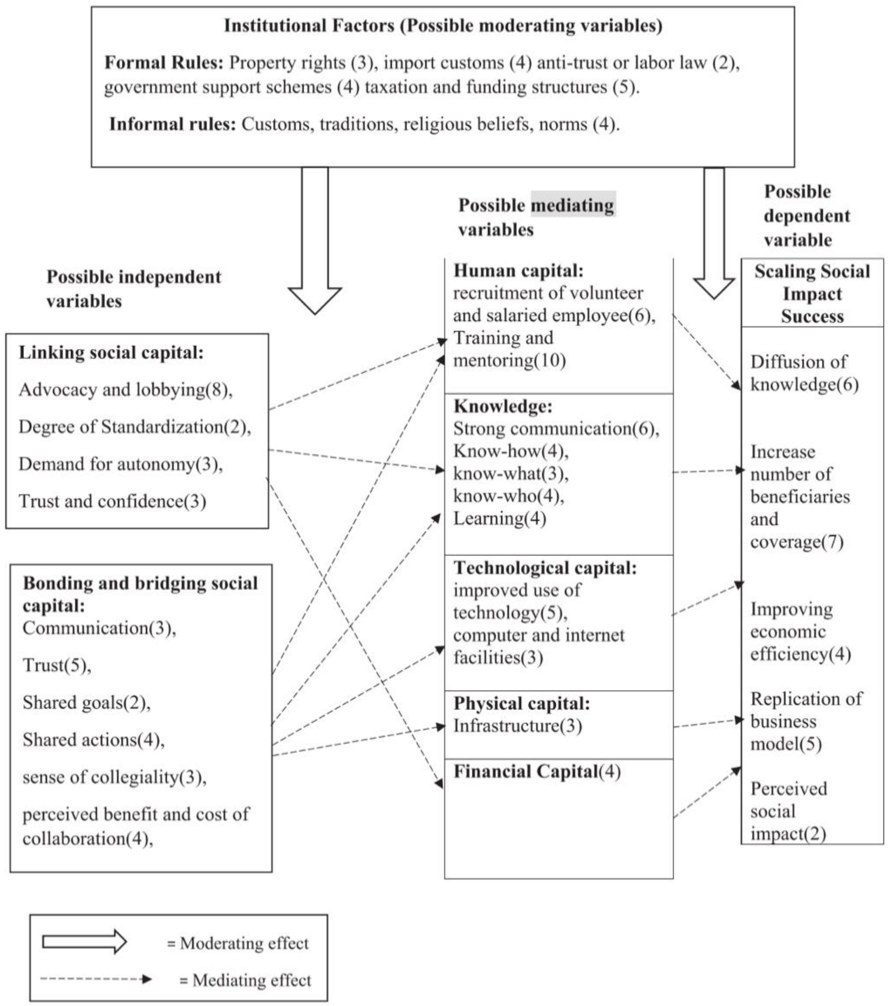
5.2 Social Capital and the Social Cohesion Perspective

This research reinforces the assertions of the network perspective of social entrepreneurship and extends its application to more contexts (Scheuerle and Schmitz, 2016; Tang, 2011). Social capital is widely understood as an important resource for social ventures throughout the literature. Additionally, the concept that other resources are accessed through social capital is explored through several studies, aligning with the findings of this study.

The data illustrated a clear dichotomy between cases 1 and 3 opposed to cases 2 and 4 that expanded from their resource mobilization strategies to the challenges they faced and the organization's trajectory. Analysis of their resource mobilization strategies revealed this division was caused by the types of social capital each organization invested in and relied on. Among the numerous categorizations of social capital, the social cohesion perspective best delineated the types of social capital along the lines that influenced the ventures' experiences.

This research builds on Mohiuddin and Yasin's 2023 framework on applying the social cohesion perspective of social capital to evaluate ability of social ventures to scale impact (Figure 1 below), with four key adjustments to better align with this research and refine the theory. Firstly, bonding and bridging social capital are included as two distinct categories, something that less than 9% of studies currently do (Mohiuddin & Yasin, 2023). Secondly, Mohiuddin and Yasin presented human capital, knowledge, technological capital, physical capital, and financial capital as mediating variables between social capital and scaling social impact (2023). This research reframes these 'mediating variables' as 'derivative resources' defined as the resources accessed through social capital that organizations use to continue operations and meet their mission. This change also reflects this research's focus on resource mobilization over scaling impact. Relatedly, the third alteration is changing the dependent variable from scaling impact to the ventures' abilities to continue operations and fulfill their missions. Fourth, while most resourcing activities do follow the linear path of social capital to resource outlined in the framework below, there are some exceptions and outliers to this process, which are explored below. Importantly, the data includes instances where derivative resources, such as financial capital, led to the development of other resources, like human capital. However, these non-linear relationships are not reflected in the charts because they are not among the most prominent themes explored in this findings section.

Figure 1 Mohiuddin and Yasin's 2023 framework on the impact of social capital on scaling social impact



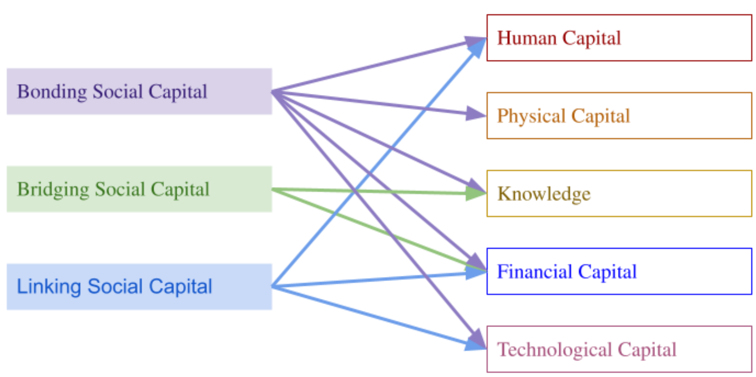
Source: Authors own construct, no third-party permission required

A detailed analysis of each organization's resourcing experiences was conducted, categorizing all the resources as bonding, bridging, or linking social capital, human capital, knowledge, technological capital, physical capital, and financial capital. These charts were presented to and discussed with each organization individually, who agreed that the categorization fit with their experience. Each organization also independently concurred that their primary resource was social capital, which they then use to access subsequent resources. These detailed charts were then simplified into overview charts, which include only the resource categories, removing the names of the specific resources to protect anonymity. These figures do not represent a comprehensive depiction of their entire resource mobilization practices. Rather, they highlight the key relationships most relevant to the focus of this research and the application of this perspective. An overview of each organizations' unique mixes of resources is below, following the adaptations of Mohiuddin and Yasin's framework as previously outlined.

5.2.1 Case 1 Social Capital Framework – LocalBounty Gardens

LocalBounty Gardens intentionally invested in their bonding and bridging social capital, which they used to access most of their resources. They used linking social capital primarily to access grant funding for one-time infrastructure investments or to facilitate a previously established organizational mission. Crucially, at no time was the organization dependent on their linking capital to continue operations - it was only used as an accelerator of their work. As shown below, LocalBounty frequently used their accumulated bonding social capital to access all categories of resources. Their second most used category was bridging capital, which they frequently relied on for knowledge and ongoing financial capital. Linking capital was occasionally used to access financial capital that paid for human capital and technological capital.

Figure 2 Case 1 Social Capital Framework

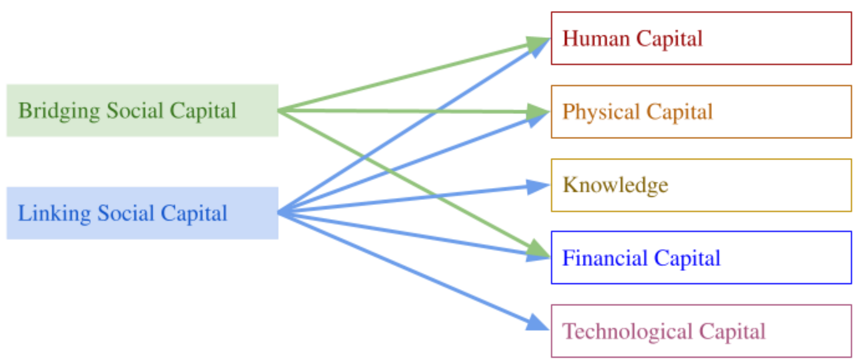


5.2.2 Case 2 Social Capital Framework - Green Haven Shelter

Green Haven Shelter was primarily focused on investments in their linking social capital. Growing their relationships with donor organizations and prominent individuals outside of the served community_was a key concern for the organization. They deployed this linking social capital to access most of their resources, and were largely dependent on it for daily operations.

As one informant described, “you get what you get from the funders, and you do what they ask you to do.” They did not invest in bonding capital, but did use bridging capital in limited instances. As shown in the chart below, their main social capital resource was linking social capital by a substantial margin, which they used to access every category of resource for their program.

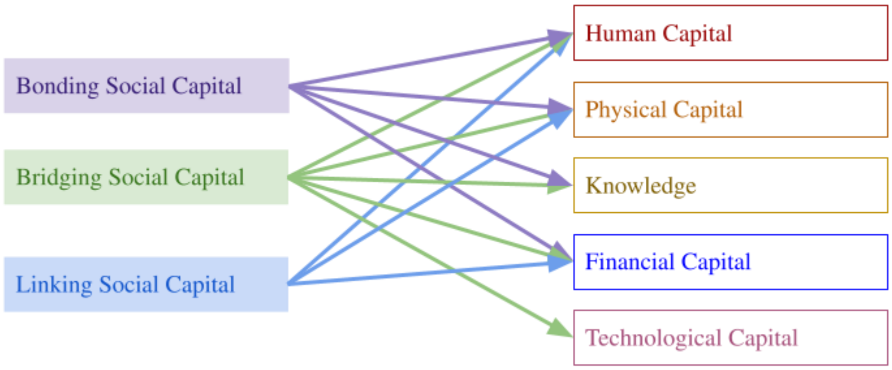
Figure 3 Case 2 Social Capital Framework



5.2.3 Case 3 Social Capital Framework – The Giving Garden

The Giving Garden was deeply invested in bonding social capital, although it did not lead to as many other resources as bridging social capital did. While they have benefited from linking capital, the organization was not dependent on it to operate. Rather, it was supplemental to their operations. They experienced several instances of loss of linking social capital, along with the resources from that, but they were still able to continue working using primarily resources from bridging and bonding social capital. As the figure below shows, The Giving Garden was able to access every category of resource through bridging social capital, and most categories from bonding social capital.

Figure 4 Case 3 Social Capital Framework

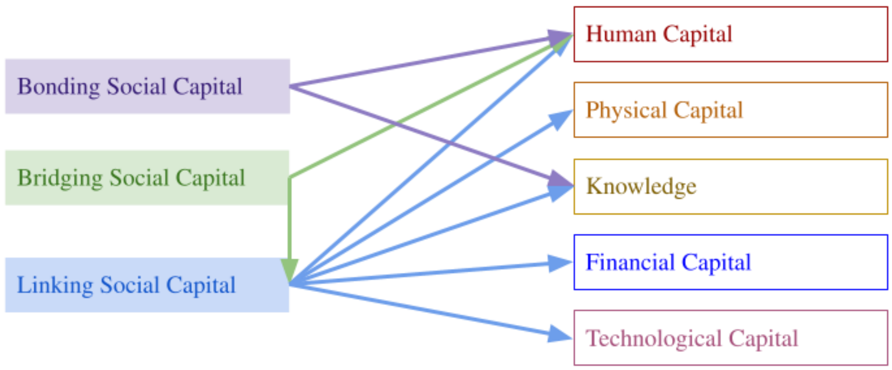


5.2.4 Case 4 Social Capital Framework – Nourish Tomorrow

Nourish Tomorrow had remarkably strong bonding social capital among the leadership team and within the communities where they worked. However, they were only able to access human capital and knowledge through these networks. They also benefited from bridging social capital, but their linking social capital was what enabled them to access the most resource categories.

Uniquely, Nourish Tomorrow experienced bridging social capital leading to linking social capital. This took place when Anna, their current point of contact for their institutional funding, transitioned from being a collaborator to a funder. Their linking social capital is sourced almost entirely from this transition. This instance highlights the interconnectedness and fluidity between the different forms of social capital. It also shows a potential avenue for organizations with limited access to linking capital to build their linking social capital. While this is a unique experience among the cases included in this research, it is likely applicable to other social ventures as well.

Figure 5 Case 4 Social Capital Framework



5.2.5 The Quintain

The analysis of resource mobilization across case studies reveals two distinct approaches to leveraging social capital: one characterized by organizations predominantly accessing derivative resources through linking social capital and the other utilizing a broader spectrum of social capital, with the predominant base of resources accessed through bonding and bridging social capital. These divergent strategies underscore the multifaceted nature of social capital and its adaptability to organizational needs and contexts. Focusing on linking social capital often facilitates more efficient access to critical resources, predominantly through financial capital, that are otherwise difficult to secure. This approach, while impactful, often results in a dependency on external actors and may limit organizational autonomy or resilience, a phenomenon detailed in the following section.

In contrast, organizations employing a broader array of social capital by integrating bonding and bridging social capital exhibit a more community-oriented and decentralized approach to resource mobilization. By tapping into these forms of social capital, organizations can draw on the strength of community ties, the innovative potential of external collaboration, and the catalytic power of capital infusions. This diversified approach allows for greater flexibility and sustainability, as organizations are less reliant on a single network or type of resource. Moreover, organizations with robust bonding and bridging social capital showed higher responsiveness and resiliency in complex landscapes and shifting contexts, as their resource mobilization strategies are deeply embedded within and responsive to their communities. However, these organizations still faced serious challenges, as outlined in the findings section. Additionally, by relying on more distributed resource networks, the organizations struggled with inefficiencies resulting in some cases in less-than-ideal materials being used and more human capital expenditures to access the needed resources.

The choice between these approaches is often influenced by the broader context within which the venture operates, resource availability, and organizational mission. In one case the organization focusing on linking social capital frequently operate in environments where access to financial capital was essential for their work, but not accessible through their bonding and bridging networks with their current organizational design. While those leveraging bonding and bridging social capital also faced resource scarcity, their organizational design and activities were more conducive to making use of slack materials in their environment. While Nourish Tomorrow retained remarkably robust social capital networks built on community trust, in the unique case of Green Haven Shelter, the accessibility of financial capital through linking social capital allowed them to largely bypass investment in bonding and bridging social capital networks.

The implications of these approaches extend beyond resource mobilization, shaping organizational identity, stakeholder relationships, and long-term sustainability. While linking social capital offers distinct benefits, it can also expose organizations to vulnerabilities and lead to organizational mission drift, a process outlined in the implications section. Conversely, reliance on bonding and bridging social capital aligns organizations' incentive structures with their stakeholder support, but it can create inefficiencies and slow expansion efforts.

5.2.6 Contribution to Theory

While Mohiuddin and Yasin's framework holds largely true in this case, this research revealed important complexities beyond the strict segmentation of forms of social capital and their linear relationships to resources (2023). While the relationship was primarily linear from social capital to resource, there were some distinct cases of types of social capital leading to others, and some secondary resources leading to others.

As previously discussed, the bridging social capital developed between Anna and Nourish Tomorrow evolved to linking capital, which was a crucial facilitator of Nourish Tomorrow's work. This utilization of linking social capital did facilitate the scaling of their operations, in line with Mohiuddin and Yasin's findings (2023). However, effective new relationship boundaries were not drawn over the course of this evolution, contributing to strains on the relationship. Despite this strain, the linking capital facilitated their formation as an organization and allowed them to operate as a formalized organization for several years, which they likely would not have done otherwise.

One of the most common relationships outside of the linear social capital to resource relationship is an organization's financial capital leading to other resources. Financial capital served as a catalyst for accessing other resource categories, though this was not consistent across all organizations. This illustrates how beneficial financial capital can be to an organization. However, it is important to note that all the resource categories were also available to organizations through resource mobilization strategies outside of financial capital. This shows that while financial capital is a very versatile resource category, it is not necessarily determinate of an organization's ability to operate.

5.3 Implications of Social Capital Strategies

5.3.1 Linking Social Capital Dependence

Analysis of the case-level social capital frameworks showed that Case 2, Green Haven Shelter, and Case 4, Nourish Tomorrow, were significantly more dependent on linking social capital to mobilize resources essential for their core operations. In the interest of clarity and brevity, these two organizations are hereafter referred to as "linking-dependent ventures." The linking-dependent ventures faced numerous similar challenges stemming from this resource mobilization strategy, the most prominent being mission drift. The ventures' experience of mission drift was directly caused by their dependence on linking social capital, which in turn gave rise to additional difficulties.

This research creates a new link between mission-drift literature and the social cohesion perspective, showing that organizational dependence on linking social capital for core organizational activities directly contributes to mission drift.

5.3.1.1 Linking Social Capital Dependence

Both Green Haven Shelter and Nourish Tomorrow both heavily relied on their linking social capital to access the vast majority of their resources. Green Haven's COO summarized this relationship succinctly when he explained "you get what you get from the funders, and you do what they ask you to do." Throughout the research, resource acquisition and distribution within Green Haven were dictated almost solely by their linking social capital relationships. In practice, this resulted in key supply requests going unfulfilled for long periods of time until they followed a lengthy bureaucratic process which was instituted to manage the institutional funding. They also abandoned several organizational expansion ideas when the funding from their linking social capital network did not meet expectations, despite these expansion efforts being in high demand among those served by the organization. Simultaneously, the organization invested in expansion efforts that were misaligned with program effectiveness and community needs but received funding from their institutional partners.

Similarly, Nourish Tomorrow was heavily reliant on linking capital, However, while Green Haven had a diversity of relationships, Nourish Tomorrow was reliant on only one for the vast majority of their tangible and intangible resources. The team then felt beholden to appeasing this funder in order to maintain their employment and continue the work they were passionate about. Additionally, uniquely to their case, their funder was able to secure meetings with key external stakeholders that were denied to the team members on their own. Additionally, as a new organization with limited background knowledge on organizational operations, they depended on the knowledge transfer from their linking social capital to enact the administrative tasks demanded of a formal organization. Finally, their key resource – human capital, was only accessible to the organization through the financial capital secured through their linking social capital. Because the current activities of the organization required human capital as the main resource, significant financial capital was needed to access their resources. Further pushing them towards linking-dependence was the lack of repurposed resources they could deploy for their activities. For example, an urban garden can repurpose discarded roof tiles for creating planting beds, saving significantly on costs. However, their research and advocacy work have fewer such inputs that can be improvised.

In both cases, the organizations' core operations were largely dependent on the financial capital accessed through their linking social capital. While this was in some ways an accessible, efficient strategy to access financial capital, it resulted in a myriad of unintended consequences, described in the next sections.

5.3.1.2 Mission Drift

While accessing resources through linking social capital proved an important catalyzing force for all the organizations in this research, it also is tied to mission drift in the organizations that were dependent on it. The two organizations that were not dependent on linking social capital were still able to benefit from its acceleration of their work, but were more dependent on other resource mobilization strategies. Additionally, while all four organizations experienced an evolution of mission over time, the dynamics of this evolution had stark differences depending on the type of social capital each venture utilized. In the two organizations that had diversified bonding and bridging social capital, with supplemental linking social capital, the change was widely viewed as a re-alignment with community needs and organizational capacity. Conversely, the linking-dependent ventures experienced this evolution as mission-drift.

In the linking-dependent ventures, key programmatic staff experienced the evolution of work as mission drift. In practice, this mission-drift manifested as decision makers in the organizations prioritizing meeting donor requirements over perspectives of program staff and target communities. Below are several quotes from informants outlining their experience with this issue. To protect anonymity and mitigate the risk of compromising relationships with key funders, informants and organizations are not identified for individual quotes, but all quotes are taken from interviews with the linking-dependent ventures.

> "[Management is] so invested in the narrative of being a successful organization because the partnerships with funders are too valuable…they want to be seen as solving the issue…so they refuse to acknowledge that anything in the program needs to be fixed."

> "[Our biggest challenge is] really finding our direction and moving towards our direction because our head person is STUCK … with these partner organizations."

> "They're expanding in ways I really can't support … they're trying to expand the model before we even make the model work… to keep a good image with funders."

> "I will only work with them again if they have different funding"

The linking-dependent ventures' incentive structures were misaligned with responsiveness to community needs because their operational continuity was primarily contingent on satisfying the expectations of a select group of influential external stakeholders rather than the social ventures' constituencies. Furthermore, both linking-dependent ventures were heavily reliant on grant funding that imposed strict conditions on fund utilization, further constraining the organizations' agility in opportunity exploitation and ability to adapt to the dynamic ecosystems within which they operated.

Conversely, the staff, stakeholders, and target communities of LocalBounty and Giving Garden did not raise concerns of mission drift, despite both of their activities evolving over time. In cases where the organizational activities changed, it was typically in response to community needs or changes in capacity fluctuations depending on the resources available to the organization. Throughout these fluctuations, these two organizations had a stronger tendency to respond in a more agile way to meet community needs within their restrictions than the linking-dependent ventures and were more readily able to capitalize on expansion opportunities. Their continued mission alignment was greatly facilitated by the incentive structures they created for themselves. Because their ventures relied heavily on robust community support, maintaining strong community ties was crucial to organizational sustainability. Therefore, it was in the organization's best interest to prioritize activities that aligned with community interests over those advocated for by external entities. These robust networks also facilitated the ventures' ability to reject funding or conduct activities that might strain linking social capital relationships because they were able to continue operating without their approval.

5.3.1.3 Human Capital Degradation

Largely due to the organization's over-investment in their linking social capital leading to mission drift, the linking-dependent ventures experienced a loss of four key leadership staff members across the two organizations. The misaligned incentive structures of the linking-dependent social ventures had two main effects on staff members. First, they contributed to mission drift and raised concerns about the organization's trajectory. Second, staff experienced a lack of support for or acknowledgment of key programmatic issues, as the organization prioritized protecting its image with powerful external partners.

All the departed staff across both organizations cited robust concerns about organizational mission drift as a key consideration in their departure from the organization. In both organizations, key programmatic staff raised concerns about the nature of the relationships between their organization and those supplying the monetary capital, typically in the form of grant funding. Collectively, these individuals felt that their organization faced pressure to prioritize executing the vision of the funders over that of constituents, and as a result could not be as responsive to the individuals directly affected by their activities. As mission-driven individuals, this was a major concern.

Relatedly, the prioritization of external perceptions of the organization over effective mission execution resulted in crucial needs of the program being ignored or under-resourced. In some cases, when concerns were brought to decision-makers within the venture, the staff member was treated in a way that would discourage them from bringing forth similar concerns again. This was done primarily in cases where addressing the problem would be a visible signal that the previous work was imperfect. As a result, management avoided taking action to prevent damaging the perception of their efforts among their linking social capital relationships. However, in the process of doing so, they devalued the input of key staff members. Luke explained being "immediately shot down" when raising programmatic needs. He elaborated:

> "I've had many instances where I'm like, I'm gonna put my emotions aside and just communicate the needs of the program in this meeting anyway. Because most times when I present information, it's just immediately like, no, no, no, (hitting the table). [It's] almost to a point where it's comical, because I already almost know the response going in. And I just have to, like, I can't not relay crucial information. It's my job. And we'll just experience more pitfalls if I'm just silent."

There were also instances of programmatic ideas at Green Haven Shelter being rejected because they would not align with the politics of the organization's linking social capital relationships. Luke revealed that his CEO instructed him that they "are more of a conservative organization. And the reason [his] idea is bad is because it's not conservative enough."

The degradation of human capital furthered the organization's progression along the mission-drift sequence outlined in Figure 10 below.

Interestingly, while the linking-dependent ventures did have more financial capital to pay staff, they were still did not pay staff at the market rate for their skills and time, also contributing to the loss of staff members. However, this was only cited as a factor in leaving the organization in one out of the four cases. While it may not have been the driving force for the individuals to leave the organization, it did contribute to staff dissatisfaction.

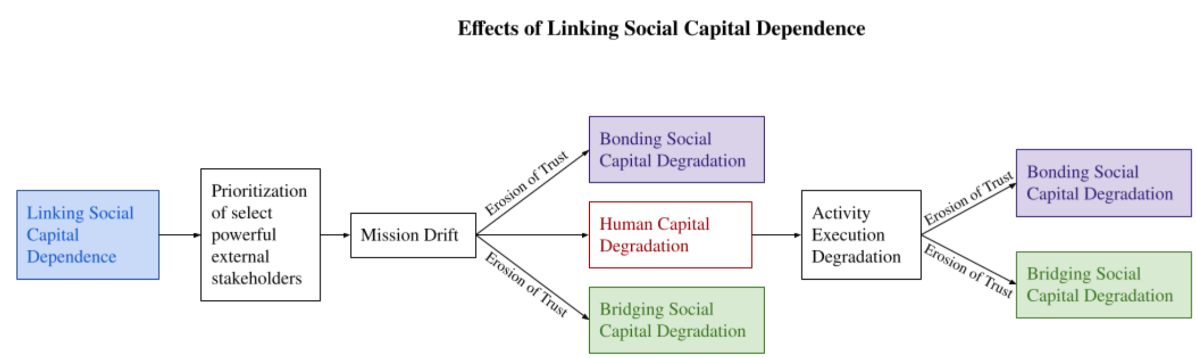
5.3.1.4 Social Capital Degradation

In all cases, the vacated roles remained unfilled for substantial periods of time, in one case extending over a full year. This void left the remaining staff with significantly more work than could be reasonably expected from the downsized team. The remaining staff were frequently consumed with administrative tasks at the detriment of mission-driven activity execution. Luke wearily described his strategy as “just kind of like, doing what I can to, like, stick to the bare essentials in keeping the program operating.”

This gap in core staff contributed to the organizations’ being further away from fulfilling their missions and placed significant strain on their bonding and bridging relationships. Service recipient dissatisfaction with quality of services received and doubt from other community members that the organization was truly invested in the target community over the donors added to the degradation of the bonding and bridging social capital. At Green Haven Shelter, Sam left his role in large part because of the incentive structures created for management by their linking-dependence. Luke explained he felt similarly frustrated on a number of levels included being “treated like an unruly child… a petulant nuisance” when advocated for spending on core programmatic needs. Interestingly, this pattern repeated with striking consistency between the two linking-dependent ventures, despite their varied locations and institutions with whom their linking capital was formed.

The figure below outlines the negative consequences to the organizations that depended on linking social capital.

Figure 6 Effects of Linking Social Capital Dependence



5.3.2 Contribution to Theory

By illustrating how dependence on linking social capital for core organizational functions leads to mission drift, this research bridges the gap between mission drift literature and the social cohesion perspective. Mission drift among socially minded organizations with dual profit and social goals is well-documented. Nonprofit social ventures face pressures similar to those of for-profit organizations to generate financial capital. However, rather than relying on income-generating transactions, these ventures often depend on grant funding, which exerts comparable pressures on their operations. Existing literature indicates that reliance on a single resource origin and pursuing new funding opportunities can contribute to mission drift (Cornforth et al., 2014). However, the explicit connection between over-reliance on linking social capital and mission drift has not yet been established.

When grant funding opportunities are misaligned with core organizational objectives, linking-dependent ventures face a difficult choice between remaining mission-aligned and securing the revenue necessary to operate. While this tension is present in many social ventures, it is exacerbated when an organization’s resource mobilization strategies are not diversified.

Cases 1 and 3, which had more diversified resource mobilization strategies, many of which were tied to maintaining strong relationships across served communities and therefore staying aligned with the mission, had less pressure to appease external stakeholders and betray their mission. In fact, their incentive structure was such that pursuing this course of action would likely result in a net negative for the organization, particularly due to the erosion of community trust. Since trust plays a crucial role in fostering bonding and bridging social capital, as well as influencing linking social capital to some extent, any action that undermines trust would have far-reaching negative consequences for the organization's resource mobilization and overall success.

Additionally, they were able to fill any gaps in their resources by donating their time or contributing their personal financial capital, avoiding the risk of altering their objectives to fit within the bounds of what a grantor deemed appropriate. This structure kept them responsive to the community’s needs and desires as a whole, while avoiding giving too much power to any one resource provider.

They were both able to nimbly navigate the loss of major resource sources at various points in their operations by depending on these networks. In the case of LocalBounty, they were able to accept significant grant funding through linking social capital without compromising their mission, in large part because their organization had diversified resource mobilization strategies. This gave them the security to reject future funding if it did not align with their mission. The Giving Garden also accepted limited grant funding and in-kind resources through linking social capital. Similarly, they were not dependent on it to operate. In the several instances where their organization no longer benefited from this support, the organization was able to continue operations, although it was occasionally at smaller scale and/or they had to forgo growth opportunities. This incentive structure encouraged continued mission alignment and responsiveness to their communities.

5.4 Bricolage's Role in Diversified Resource Mobilization

5.4.1 Introduction

Having established that dependence on linking social capital can lead to mission drift and the erosion of other forms of capital, it is important to explore how the other two organizations avoided being drawn down that trajectory. Bricolage played a crucial role in enabling the Giving Garden and LocalBounty to diversify their resource mobilization strategies, drawing on both bonding and bridging social capital to build a decentralized resource base. With a more multifaceted approach to the process of resource mobilization, grounded in bonding and bridging social capital, which facilitate bricolage, social ventures were better situated to avoid linking-dependence and retain mission alignment.

As described previously, bonding and bridging social capital were key resources for the two non-linking-dependent organizations. Both forms of social capital mandate and facilitate a deep, tacit knowledge of the environment within which they operate, which is also a prerequisite for bricolage. Tacit knowledge is defined as "non-codified, disembodied knowledge that is acquired via the informal take-up of learned behavior and procedures" (Howells, 1996 p.92).

The connectedness to their local organizational ecosystems that facilitates bonding and bridging social capital also facilitates bricolage. By including bricolage as a key resource mobilization strategy, the organizations diversified their resource bases despite operating in resource-constrained environments, effectively avoided sole dependence on resources accessed through linking social capital, and created incentive structures that facilitated continued mission alignment.

Bricolage “involves the creative adaptation and manipulation of resources such as human capital, materials, financial resources, and social capital to solve a problem or embrace a new opportunity” (Gundry et al., 2011 p.3). The practice of bricolage “focuses on addressing opportunities and problems with existing undervalued, slack, or discarded resources that are often available for free or cheaply” (Desa & Basu, 2013, p.29). There are many types of bricolage identified throughout the literature, but this analysis will focus on those most relevant to this data, namely internal, external, material, ideational, and social bricolage. Because these categories are not mutually exclusive, one instance is occasionally classified as two forms.

5.4.2 Bricolage Variants and The Social Cohesion Perspective

5.4.2.1 Internal Bricolage

Internal bricolage involves “idiosyncratic predicates associated with the individuals such as personal and professional experience, [and] academic certifications” (Janssen et al., 2018). This research revealed that the process of idiosyncratic skills development can lead to developing robust bonding social capital, and to a more limited extent bridging social capital.

Internal bricolage was present in all organizations to varying degrees. LocalBounty’s founders brought a wealth of prior knowledge to their work, all from pursuits unrelated to their current work, but which allowed them to develop unique skills sets ranging from infrastructure development, plant cultivation, community building, and administration. This positioned the co-founders to be uniquely effective in their roles and allowed the organization to benefit from the unique combination. Similarly, Green Haven’s greenhouse program director had a unique skill set he developed idiosyncratically and apart from an intention to work in his current role. However, most of the other key staff members had purpose-developed skills that did not amount to internal bricolage. The Giving Garden had a similar experience with that of Green Haven, with limited staff members bringing idiosyncratic resources, but most focused on purpose-developed skills. Finally, Nourish Tomorrow’s experience with internal bricolage was most related to that of LocalBounty, with all key staff members bring unique skills, experiences, and perspectives that deeply shaped the organization, and became one of Nourish Tomorrow’s strongest facilitators. In Nourish Tomorrow’s case, the idiosyncratic skills development led to the development of the robust bonding capital, that later served as the key cohesive force that maintained organizational integrity.

5.4.2.2 External Bricolage

Analysis of the connections between the Social Cohesion Perspective and bricolage instances also revealed that bonding social capital facilitates physical external bricolage. Relatedly, bonding and bridging social capital both facilitate social network external bricolage.

External bricolage focuses less on resources possessed by individuals within an organization, and more on those available outside the bounds of the organization, referring to a combination of resources present in the external environment. These resources can be physical, such as products or machines, or social, such as the social network in which the entrepreneurs are embedded (Janssen et al., 2018). The most prominent application of external bricolage among these organizations is that of their social networks. As previously discussed, these networks are a critical resource for these organizations through which they are able to access a wide variety of resources.

This form of bricolage happened most frequently in LocalBounty and The Giving Garden, who often used their bonding social capital to access physical resources, often at minimal to no cost. These materials were undervalued, and often not purpose-made for the organizations' end uses for them. Nourish Tomorrow, The Giving Garden, and LocalBounty also engaged in external bricolage, especially relating to their social networks. Propelled by their bonding social capital, Nourish Tomorrow was able to combine the social networks they organically developed in new ways to effectively pursue their mission. The Giving Garden and LocalBounty deployed both bonding and bridging social capital to engage in substantial external bricolage of social networks.

5.4.2.3 Material Bricolage

Material bricolage is singularly focused on the physical items an organization uses, and is defined as a process of various resource combinations as a means of finding a workable approach to a variety of opportunities and challenges (Molecke & Pinkse, 2017). This approach was a key facet of The Giving Garden's and LocalBounty's operations. They repurposed slack materials primarily sourced through their bonding social capital for garden beds, repurposed materials for greenhouses and outhouses, and most importantly using undervalued land not previously intended for growing food. While Nourish Tomorrow personnel did engage in material bricolage in their ventures outside of their work with the organization, the organization itself did not engage in substantial material bricolage. Similarly, Green Haven Shelter engaged in very minimal material bricolage and instead focused heavily on purchasing purpose-built materials, often at the market rate. This was in part due to their organizational structure and activities of the organizations. For example, the greenhouse that the Green Haven team worked in required specific material inputs designated by the system manufacturer or it would risk serious damage. However, while Nourish Tomorrow personnel showed bricolage tendencies in instances where it was applicable, the Green Haven team applied their same resource mobilization methodology in instances where material bricolage could have been appropriate. For example, they purchased a seed-starting system designed for that purpose, while the Nourish Tomorrow team used material bricolage to assemble key components of their seed starting.

However, in the instances of material bricolage, it was largely facilitated by bonding social capital. The process usually began with the organization identifying a need. From there, they would either socialize the need through their social networks, or more commonly, search for items that could fill that need that were available cheaply or for free. In one instance this resulted in roof tiles from a neighbor's old roof being repurposed to build garden beds. In another instance, furniture that was discarded during a neighbor's move was used for a community gathering space. A third instance was re-purposing clearance light bulbs from a local store as grow lights instead of purchasing expensive purpose-driven lights. In all cases, the key enabler of this process was the organizations' bonding social capital that facilitated their tacit knowledge of their resource ecosystem which enabled them to capitalize on the limited amount of discarded and undervalued resources available.

5.4.2.4 Social Bricolage

Social bricolage builds on the characteristics of bricolage but is distinct by its social value creation, stakeholder participation, and persuasion (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Social value is a wide-reaching term including generating social capital, community cohesion, and employment (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Stakeholder participation includes "the active involvement of stakeholders in the creation, management, and governance of social enterprises" (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019, p.787). Finally, persuasion entails exchange with external players for resource acquisition, often including influencing local policymakers and relevant authorities (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Generally speaking, it is the application of bricolage principles in pursuit of a social mission (Desa & Basu, 2013; Zahra et al., 2009). Therefore, all of the bricolage of these case study organizations can be classified as social bricolage because their work is in pursuit of a social mission. This includes the internal, external, and material bricolage examples discussed above.

5.4.3 Implications

Each organization has a unique use of bricolage practices, which largely align with the literature on the necessary components for bricolage to occur. The degree of an organization's embeddedness in their local community and tacit knowledge of their ecosystem, as measured by their bonding social capital, accurately predicted the degree to which they engaged in resource mobilization through bricolage. Additionally, the degree of freedom individuals had to innovate within each organization was strongly tied to their use of bricolage. Finally, the level of resource scarcity in an organization's environment was tied to their use of bricolage, as it was frequently used when required resources were not accessible through other means and the organizational activities could benefit from the practice. However, it did negatively impact the efficiency of resource mobilization, while simultaneously positively impacting the ventures' resiliency.

5.4.3.1.1 Efficiency

The use of bricolage did affect the efficiency of operations in some cases, aligning with the findings of Ciborra's (1996) paper. Bricolage is not considered the most efficient resource combination strategy, which held true in these cases. Bricolage often resulted in the increased expenditure of human capital to both locate and access the resources as well as repurpose the resources when needed. Additionally, using non-purpose-driven resources compromised the efficiency of activities in some cases. For example, a raised garden bed made of scrap wood needed to be replaced sooner than one made of a more traditional material like metal, causing inefficiency in operations while saving on costs.

When more efficient inputs became accessible without compromising their mission-alignment, both LocalBounty and the Giving Garden opted for them. However, by initially using inefficient inputs, they were able to avoid the pull of mission drift associated with dependence on linking social capital. They upgraded their resources only when such improvements were accessible through means that allowed them to remain consistent with their organizational mission. Their robust networks and ability to mobilize resources with very limited financial capital also enabled them to turn away available funding and keep more distant ties with linking social capital networks that would threaten their mission alignment.

5.4.3.1.2 Venture Survival

Organizations' ability to engage in bricolage when other resources were not available facilitated their survival through resource-scarce times. By extending the time they could operate with scarce financial capital, using bricolage offered a level of independence from external funding, which Zahra et al. found can often affect the agenda of social ventures (2009). Both Green Haven and Nourish Tomorrow's operations were restricted by the priorities of external funding sources, aligning with the findings of Zahra et al. (2009). However, LocalBounty and the Giving Garden persevered through severe scarcity of financial capital through bricolage.

Additionally, these two organizations were more resilient because of the flexibility offered by their relative control over their resources. The organizations that were not reliant on linking social capital maintained greater autonomy, as their resource base was not concentrated in relationships where power dynamics could be dictated by a single entity or network. This allowed them to pivot activities and respond to opportunities to align with stakeholder interests more quickly than the organizations that required an external entity's approval to do so. This resiliency greatly facilitated their ability to successfully navigate the evolving contexts within which they operate.

5.4.4 Contributions to Theory

This research draws a connection between the types of social capital a social venture develops with the instances of bricolage. First, it showed that internal bricolage can be a key facilitator of bonding social capital, in addition to bridging social capital. Next, bonding social capital was shown to facilitate physical external bricolage, while bonding and bridging social capital both facilitate social network external bricolage. Material bricolage was then shown to be greatly enabled by bonding social capital.

Overall, while using bricolage was not the most efficient resource mobilization strategy for the organizations, it did facilitate their continued operation and mission alignment in the face of resource scarcity, which aligns with the consensus in the literature. Also aligning with the literature, the two organizations who engaged in the most bricolage activities had deep, tacit knowledge of local opportunities and resources (Desa & Basu, 2013; Weick, 1993; Zahra et al., 2009). This is shown through their extensive bonding social capital, as well as their bridging social capital, both of which gauge an entity's local embeddedness. Both organizations successfully "disregard the limitations of commonly accepted definitions of material inputs, practices, and definitions and standards, insisting instead on trying out solutions, observing, and dealing with the results." (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 334). They are both remarkably mission-driven and show a determination to access resources to achieve the mission in unconventional ways when necessitated. The organizations that used bricolage overall had a stronger ability to resist dependence on linking social capital for their resources, and therefore stay more aligned to their mission, while still reaping the catalytic benefits of capital injections accesses through linking social capital.

5.5 Context's Effects

5.5.1 Introduction

The context within which each social ventures operated has a multifaceted impact on the social ventures' entire resource mobilization process. While this line of inquiry warrants extensive exploration and could be the focus of an independent study, this section will focus on the most prominent ways context affected the core focus of this paper, namely their process of using social capital to mobilize resources.

Building on the application of the Social Cohesion Perspective, bonding social capital was found to be more robust in the two communities forcefully resettled under apartheid. In these two cases however, this bonding social capital did not lead to additional derivative resources when compared to the American organizations. Thus, while the South African organizations had more bonding social capital from which to draw, this was not more effectively translated into other resources. Also relating to bonding social capital, one organization was situated within a deeply religious community, which added unique dimensions to their bonding social capital as well. Linking social capital was complicated in one case by cultural differences between the grantor and grantee.

Finally, some of the organizations experienced setbacks from safety related matters, adding further complexities to their resource mobilization efforts.

5.5.2 Contextual Variations in Social Capital

Both South African organizations are run by and work within communities that were forcefully relocated during the slave trade and/or apartheid. While this has wide-ranging, lasting impacts on the organizations and communities, one prominent effect was the increased strength of their bonding social capital. This aligns with research showing that trust, a key component of bonding social capital, as well as overall social capital, is stronger within communities that were forcefully relocated (Abel, 2019). While the American cases were still involved with their communities, and LocalBounty was especially embedded in their local community, the amount of bonding social capital both South African cases had surpassed that of LocalBounty. Additionally, in South Africa the relationships were less centered on their common interests of the organizations work, and often began before the organizations were formed. In significantly more instances than the American organizations, the South African bonding social capital was comprised of family and childhood friendships, making their contribution to the organizations a smaller portion of their relationships. However, despite the bonding social capital's strength, the South African organizations were not able to mobilize more resources through their bonding social capital than the American cases. This phenomenon is nuanced as a broad range of socio-economic factors can contribute to this. While this is undoubtedly an important relationship, due to limitations in the scope and depth of data collection, causal relationships are not able to be identified.

In one instance, religion played a key role in social capital development and utilization. Overall, this aided the resource mobilization process because it created tighter networks, and the religion strongly encourages its members to give back to their communities. This finding aligns with previous research, which has shown that shared religion is an effective facilitator of bonding social capital (Williams & Fortuny Loret de Mola, 2007). However, because of rules dictated by the religion, the organization was limited in their ability to mobilize resources through social capital in some instances. The organization was limited in the number of times they could ask for donations or assistance from individuals, which potentially led to them forgoing resources they could have acquired by requesting more times. However, this was outweighed by the substantial support, both tangibly and intangibly, the organization received from their community in part because of their common religious ties.

In another instance, cultural differences between Europe and South Africa were an important factor in a complex linking social capital relationship. As previously outlined, Nourish Tomorrow's funding came exclusively from one foreign entity. The organization felt pushed to accept foreign funding because, as Thabo described, their "history will tell you that in no way, to this date, the funding can come from our own... I don't think it's possible to this moment." While this funding was a crucial catalyst in the organization's formation and operating abilities, the relationship also came with contextual tensions. Thabo explained, *"You realize that there's that tension about slowness of progress that's perceived from the other side. Meanwhile, us on this side, can't move because we are in communities where you've got to make sure… if we rush without making sure that we are working with the people, we might find it has happened that we're moving too fast and not having time to come and report back to the community, or to come back and share with the community"*

The differing cultural perspectives manifested in divergent views on a range of organizational details including program metrics and timekeeping management. These misalignments were exacerbated by the strict reporting requirements of the funding, which dictated oversight of very detailed organizational operations and management. These differences placed stress on the linking social capital relationship, complicating the organization's ability to access subsequent resources through the linking social capital.

5.5.3 Safety Differentials

Safety was an important consideration for both South African cases. This resulted in the organizations allocating resources in excess of actual requirements due to event cancellations and incidents of theft. In at least one instance, Nourish Tomorrow was forced to cancel a community event due to concerns for physical safety in the community. This affected their resource mobilization because they were required to expend additional resources on a second event to replace the canceled one. In the Giving Garden's case, they experienced numerous instances of theft of their core physical implements and vandalism to their garden. This resulted in them needing to replace substantial resources, adding challenges to their resource mobilization process. Additionally, both organizations were required to have additional resiliency and fortitude in pushing through these challenges.

Overall, the American case studies faced fewer contextual complications to their resource mobilization efforts. And while the South African cases faced additional challenges in the process of mobilizing resources through their social capital, they were also able to capitalize on some additional benefits. Interestingly, many of the effects of context were on the local level, mainly affecting bonding social capital. However, one illustrative example shows the consequences of misaligned target outcomes fueled by cultural differences. Additionally, the analysis showed that it is important to consider physical safety in relation to social ventures' resource mobilization.

5.6 Conclusion

This discussion revealed the powerful differences between types of social capital that social ventures cultivate and deploy. It showed the ability of social ventures to become dependent on linking social capital for their resources, leading to misaligned incentive structures, which fuel mission drift and diminish bonding and bridging social capital. It also showed the effects of distributed social capital bases, highlighting how this strategy can minimize risk and maximize benefits.

Building on these findings, bonding social capital was found to be more substantial in the two communities forcibly resettled during apartheid. However, this bonding social capital did not result in the mobilization of additional derivative resources when compared to the American organizations. One organization was embedded within a highly religious community, which introduced distinct elements into their bonding social capital. Additionally, the use of linking social capital was also complicated in one case due to cultural differences between the grantor and grantee.

This research also establishes a link between the types of social capital developed by social ventures and instances of bricolage. It first demonstrates that internal bricolage can play a crucial role in fostering both bonding and bridging social capital. Furthermore, it shows that bonding social capital supports physical external bricolage, while both bonding and bridging social capital contribute to social network external bricolage. Additionally, material bricolage was significantly facilitated by bonding social capital.

6 Conclusion

Through an exploration of how social ventures mobilize resources, this research highlighted the vital role of social capital. Social ventures that cultivated diversified bases of social capital, with a focus on bonding and bridging social capital, through which they could mobilize resources were most able to stay aligned with their mission and effectively adapt to their ever-evolving context. Conversely, organizational dependency on linking social capital led to mission-drift and negative repercussions to their bonding and bridging social capital. While the overall strategy is widely applicable, context does affect some key aspects of the process. Firstly, South African communities forcefully resettled showed more robust bonding social capital, although it did not translate to increased resource acquisition. Religion also impacted bonding social capital, which overall benefited the organization's ability to mobilize resources. Finally, the complications of cultural differences between grantor and grantee in relation to a highly monitored grant was explored. In addition to the exploration of resource mobilization implications, The Social Cohesion perspective was further refined by including two different country contexts within one study. It also highlighted key non-linear relationships, namely bridging social capital's ability to transform to linking social capital.

In addition, internal bricolage was shown to facilitate both bonding and bridging social capital. This bonding social capital in turn facilitated physical external bricolage. Simultaneously, social network external bricolage was aided by bonding and bridging social capital. Finally, material bricolage was shown to be significantly aided by strong networks of bonding social capital.

This research was able to identify these findings because it addressed several key gaps in the literature. These included focusing on the process of successful resource mobilization, rather than stagnant indicators or problem-based inquiries. Additionally, by including cases from the United States and South Africa in one study, this research adds significantly to the understanding of contextual effects on theory.

While this research addressed several key knowledge gaps, more remain. Further research that includes more diverse contexts will further understanding of the nuances of the theories discussed here. Of specific interest are contexts facing more acute resource constraints. Research including a greater number of organizations would also contribute to theory refinement. Because linking social capital relationships frequently cross cultural and national divides, increased understanding of the process of mission drift would be impactful. Research that spans a longer timeframe to understand how the strategies evolve over time would also greatly further understanding of theory.

However, the findings of this research have the potential for wide-reaching impact across the spectrum of actors in the social entrepreneurship sphere. Practitioners can be more informed of strategies available to them to work through resource scarce environments, and crucially, can be aware of the implications of these different approaches. This understanding can be applied to how they structure their resource mobilization to effectively mitigate risk while maximizing benefit to their organization. The importance of stakeholder accountability through resource mobilization is a key takeaway for social ventures. When designing their organizations, practitioners need to be deliberate about the incentive structures they are creating for themselves, and the trade-offs with the methods they choose. This research also crucially identifies key systemic factors that affect a venture's ability to meet its mission and its longevity, which practitioners can build collective action to address.

Community members can further understand the importance of keeping strong ties, and offering support of any amount to fellow community members and local organizations who work in pursuit of social wealth creation. They can also gain a deeper understanding of the systems governing this work and the trade-offs social ventures are forced to make. Using this knowledge, they can advocate for more enabling environments, directly support social ventures in their communities, and take collective action to support ventures and change systems.

Resource providers outside of local communities, namely granting organizations, can use these findings to be aware of their impact on social ventures, and adapt strategies to mitigate their contributions to mission drift. By assessing a grantee's base of social capital and accountability mechanisms to stakeholders, they can also increase community-level impactfulness from their giving, and ensure the social venture maintains responsiveness to the individuals with whom they work. Crucially, they can take these learnings to change their granting practices to evolve from prescriptive, outcome-based metrics to refocus on patient, catalytic capital that enables social ventures to be responsive to their communities and the evolving nature of the challenges and opportunities they face. Resource providers have the opportunity to be effective facilitators of immense change in communities if they replace restrictive barriers on fund use with success metrics tied to a recipient's level of community responsiveness.

Policymakers can follow the example of the effective funding programs outlined here, providing patient, catalytic capital to social ventures in their jurisdiction. They can also institute policies that facilitate strong community connections to enable emerging social ventures. But the most powerful thing policymakers could implement is ending the extractive systems that create these ecosystems of scarcity and reinvest in exploited communities' self-determination. Addressing the structural conditions that force social ventures to make difficult choices between mission-alignment and capital access is the most impactful thing policymakers can do to support the success of social ventures.

If these actors apply learnings from this research, social ventures' ability to excel in creating social value will flourish, and social ventures will be positioned to grow in their ability to be powerful drivers of socioeconomic reform.

7 Appendices

7.1 Appendix A – Initial Interview Schedule

1. Part 1 – Introduction and Ethical Consents
2. Part 2 – Background
    a. If they are the founder:
        1. Talk me through how the idea for this organization came about
        2. Who were the first people you told, and what was their response
    b. If they are an employee:
        i. How long have you been working for the organization?
        ii. Can you describe your current role and responsibilities?
3. Part 3 – Resource Mobilization
    a. What were your first concrete steps towards actualizing the idea?
        i. Follow-up on how any skills and resources were acquired
    b. What were some of the physical resources needed first? How did you think about sourcing these?
    c. When faced with a challenge or opportunity, how do you think about what you need to be successful
4. Part 4 – Context and Effects of Resource Mobilization
    a. What was the first major challenge the organization faced?
        i. How did your organization work through this challenge?
    b. What was the organization's first big success?
    c. Do you feel your identity has shaped your experience with the organization?

7.2 Appendix B - Subsequent Interview Schedule

These questions were asked to each informant within each case study, but do not include many of the more detailed follow-up questions to protect anonymity.

- How do you define success?
- Who are your stakeholders?
- What is your ultimate dream for the organization?
    - What is the organization doing to achieve this vision? What have been the biggest successes towards achieving this?
    - What challenges do you face in this pursuit?
- What are your strengths? For individual team members and the organization.
- How do those strengths help you achieve your organization's mission?
- What are your biggest obstacles to date?
- How do you think about working through these obstacles?
- Where is the first place you turn when faced with a prominent challenge?
- What is your strategy for exploring new opportunities?
- Can you talk me through how you fund the organization?
    - Follow-up on all avenues to assess origins and impacts of each method
- Detailed questions on inputs observed during observation days.
- What is the most important legislation governing your work?

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