



# MONASH University

## **How Intercultural Processes Impact Micro-Level Approaches to Hybridity and Paradox in Organisations**

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Bachelor of Business Management (Hons I)

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(*Department of Management*)

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## **Abstract**

Much of the hybrid organisation and paradox literature suggests that tensions arise when contradictory social and commercial goals interact within prosocial ventures (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Smith, Gonin & Behsarov, 2013). Although research is flourishing on how prosocial ventures balance these goals, there remains limited research on the capacity of actors to influence organisational trajectories and outcomes. In light of this, the present thesis contributes to our understanding of the microfoundations of organisational hybridity and paradox. It suggests that intercultural experience is central to understanding individuals' engagement with paradox and hybridity because intercultural experience is itself an intrinsically contradictory experience of different values, norms, beliefs, and practices. The first article utilises paradox theory to empirically explore the relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity experience. Findings include the identification of three distinct intercultural experiences and evidence of their mirroring in how immigrant entrepreneurs deal with paradoxes in their prosocial venture. Article 2 empirically addresses the limitations of studying micro-level antecedent factors to hybrid organising in isolation. Drawing on a sample of 18 case studies of immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in Western contexts, it highlights how social learning conditions connected to their migrant upbringings can influence hybrid organising by altering the effects of antecedent factors. Article 3 conceptually examines how the confluence of globalisation, migration and inequality creates categorisation challenges for social entrepreneurs with intercultural experience that can facilitate and constrain entrepreneurial action. It theorises the long-term effects of such categorisation challenges on the sustainability of prosocial ventures and proposes various pathways for future empirical investigations. Taken together, the present thesis contributes to our understanding of how hybrid organisations can be affected by the paradoxical experience actors gain outside of the organisation context. The theoretical

implications include a shift from a singular-level analysis of hybrid organisations towards one that accounts for the interplay between macro-level societal systems, meso-level activities and micro-level behaviour. Practical implications are that preparation for a potential career as a social entrepreneur may be most effective during childhood and with attention to the structural barriers such as social inclusion/exclusion in children's environment. Furthermore, understanding intercultural cultural processes may assist investors in analysing potential investment deals, especially at the early-stage venture level, when much of the decision making is qualitative and revolves around investor perceptions of a social entrepreneur's ability.

*Keywords:* organisational paradox, hybrid organisation, social entrepreneurship, immigration, intercultural experience, prosocial venture, prosocial venturing

## Publications During Enrolment

Over the course of the past almost four years, I have generated several research outputs directly and peripherally related to my thesis which demonstrate my ability to contribute to our understanding of management, organisations, and entrepreneurship.

### Outputs Directly Related to Thesis

**Mafico, N.**, Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C. and Keller, J., 2021. “The mirroring of intercultural and hybridity experiences: a study of African immigrant social entrepreneurs”, *Journal of Business Venturing*, vol. 36, no. 3, 106093. IF, 12.065| 5 Year IF, 15.732| ABDC A\*, FT50.

- 2021 Best PhD Student Paper Award, Monash University, Department of Management
- 2019 Best Student Paper Award, Gender and Diversity Division, Academy of Management
- 2019 Kauffman Best Student Paper on Gender and Diversity in Organisations and Entrepreneurship Award, Academy of Management
- 2019 Best Paper Award, ‘Business for Society’ Strategic Interest Group, European Academy of Management

### Outputs Peripherally Related to Thesis

Carmine, S., Andriopoulos, C., Gotsi, M., Härtel, C.E., Krzeminska, A., **Mafico, N.**, Pradies, C., Raza, H., Raza-Ullah, T., Schrage, S. and Sharma, G., 2021. “A paradox approach to organisational tensions during the pandemic crisis.” *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 30(2), pp.138-153. IF, 3.194 | 5 Year IF, 3.225|ABDC A.

- All authors are listed alphabetically except the first and last authors

## Manuscripts Under Review

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C.E. J., & Keller, J., “Who taught you that? Hybrid organising in response to socialisation.” **Status:** Under review. (*Journal of Business Venturing Insights*) IF, 3.831 | ABDC A.

## Manuscripts in Preparation

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C. and Keller, J., “Prosocial Venturing in Multicultural Societies: A new theoretical framework and roadmap.” **Status:** Preparing manuscript for conference submission and associated ARC Linkage Grant. (*Targeted for Journal of Management Studies Special Issue on Beyond Hybridity*), IF, 10.075| 5 Year IF, 15.191| ABDC A\*, FT50.

“A bibliometric review of indigenous entrepreneurship.” (With Israr Qureshi, Babita Bhatt and Shouxiang Qiu). **Status:** Conducting analysis. (*Targeted for Journal of Business Ethics*) IF, 6.430| 5 Year IF, 7.830| ABDC A, FT50.

“A bibliometric review of cultural entrepreneurship.” (With Israr Qureshi, Babita Bhatt and Shouxiang Qiu). **Status:** Conducting analysis. (*Targeted for Journal of Business Ethics*) IF, 6.430| 5 Year IF, 7.830| ABDC A, FT50.

**Mafico, N.,** “The dynamics of non-fungible tokens: Cultural value creation in the digital age.” **Status:** Manuscript in progress. (*Targeted for Journal of Business Venturing*) IF, 12.065| 5 Year IF, 15.732| ABDC A\*, FT50.

## Academic Presentations

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C. and Keller, J., 2021. “Who taught you that? Hybrid organising in response to gender and social class socialisation.” Paper Presented at “18<sup>th</sup> Annual Social Entrepreneurship Conference”, virtual venue.

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C. and Keller, J., 2021. “The interplay between gender,

intercultural experience and prosocial venturing.” Paper Presented at “Studying Paradox and Social Issues” paper development session, virtual venue.

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C., 2020. “Prosocial venturing with intercultural experience: A Process study of paradoxical frame emergence in immigrant entrepreneurs.” Paper Presented at the 36<sup>th</sup> EGOS Colloquium, virtual venue.

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C., 2019. “When Immigrants Become Social Entrepreneurs: Managing Organisational Tensions with Intercultural Experience.” Paper Presented at the 79th Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management in Boston, Massachusetts, USA

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C., 2019. “When Immigrants Become Social Entrepreneurs: Managing Organisational Tensions with Intercultural Experience.” Paper Presented at the European Academy of Management Conference in Lisbon, Portugal.

**Mafico, N.,** Krzeminska, A., Härtel, C., 2018. “When Cultures Collide: Acculturation’s Role in Hybrid Organising.” Paper Presented at the Australian Centre for Entrepreneurship Research Exchange Conference in Brisbane, Australia.

## Thesis Including Published Works Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

This thesis includes 1 original paper published in peer reviewed journals and 1 submitted publications. The core theme of the thesis is the role intercultural experience plays in the management of hybrid organisations such as prosocial ventures. The ideas, development and writing up of all the papers in the thesis were the principal responsibility of myself, the student, working within the Department of Management under the supervision of Professor Charmine Hartel.

The inclusion of co-authors reflects the fact that the work came from active collaboration between researchers and acknowledges input into team-based research.

In the case of Chapter 2 and 3, my contribution to the work involved the following:

<b>Thesis Chapter</b>	<b>Publication Title</b>	<b>Status</b> <i>(published, in press, accepted or returned for revision, submitted)</i>	<b>Nature and % of student contribution</b>	<b>Co-author name(s) Nature and % of Co-author's contribution*</b>	<b>Co-author(s), Monash student Y/N*</b>
2	The Mirroring of Intercultural and Hybridity Experiences: A Study of African Immigrant Social Entrepreneurs	<i>Published</i>	<i>60%. Concept, data collection, data analysis, presentations at international conferences and writing first draft</i>	1) Charmine Hartel, Input into manuscript 15% 2) Anna Krzeminska, input into manuscript 15% 3) Josh Keller, input into the manuscript -10%	<b>No</b>
3	Who Taught you That? Hybrid Organising in Response to Socialisation	<i>Submitted to Journal of Business Venturing Insights</i>	<i>60%. Concept, data collection, data analysis, presentations at international conferences and writing first draft</i>	1) Charmine Hartel, Input into manuscript 15% 2) Anna Krzeminska, input into manuscript 15% 3) Josh Keller, input into the manuscript -10%	<b>No</b>

*\*If no co-authors, leave fields blank*

I have not renumbered sections of submitted or published papers in order to generate a consistent presentation within the thesis.

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**Student signature:**

**Date:** 19/12/2021

I hereby certify that the above declaration correctly reflects the nature and extent of the student's and co-authors' contributions to this work. In instances where I am not the responsible author, I have consulted with the responsible author to agree on the respective contributions of the authors.

**Main Supervisor name:** Charmine Hartel

**Main Supervisor signature:**

**Date:** 30/12/2021

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## **General Introduction**

The present thesis contributes to our understanding of micro-level antecedents, activities and processes related to hybrid organisations and organisational paradox. As hybrid organisations, prosocial ventures are challenging to manage because they combine social and commercial (Besharov & Smith, 2012, Smith, Gonin & Besharov, 2013; Smith & Besharov, 2019). Traditionally, these goals have operated independently, with social goals relegated to the non-profit sector and commercial goals relegated to the for-profit sector (Battilana & Lee, 2014). However, social and commercial goals can and do co-exist in the context of prosocial ventures (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Smith et al., 2013). Specifically, prosocial ventures must respond to a range of social-business paradoxes, including simultaneously pursuing social welfare and financial profitability goals (called performing tensions), organising social and business functions (called organising tensions), and nurturing social and business identities (called belonging tensions) (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Besharov & Smith, 2012; Sharma & Bansal, 2019). The literature on organisational hybridity and paradox suggests that tensions arise when social and commercial goals interact in a prosocial venture (Smith & Besharov, 2019; 2013; Smith et al., 2013). Thus, leaders of prosocial ventures, i.e., social entrepreneurs, operate in conflict-prone environments where they must continually seek to balance the contradictory social and market goals (Smith et al., 2013). Extant research furthermore highlights that not all actors experience and respond to paradoxes in the same way (Miron-Spektor, Ingram, Keller, Smith & Lewis, 2018). For example, when approaching tensions in prosocial ventures, some entrepreneurs may seek integrated solutions, some may choose one objective over the other, and some may not see any tensions between social and business objectives at all (Child, 2020; Jay, 2013; Sharma & Bansal, 2017; Smith & Besharov, 2017). Understanding social entrepreneurs' approaches to tensions is important because prosocial ventures as an exemplary case of hybrid organisations (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Smith,

Besharov, 2019), are often regarded as an important contributor to solving grand challenges (Markman, Waldron, Gianiodis & Espina, 2019).

Thus far, paradox scholars have developed a large stream of research on the role of national culture (e.g., Keller, Chen & Leung, 2018; Keller & Loewenstein, 2011; Keller, Loewenstein, & Yan, 2017; Leung, Liou, Miron-Spektor, Koh, Chan, Eisenberg, & Snyder, 2018; Prashantham & Eranova, 2018; Zhang & Han, 2019; Zhang, Waldman, Han & Li, 2015), which is primarily based on cross-cultural differences in reasoning styles (e.g., Koo & Choi, 2005; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999). This approach is based on the premise that individuals acquire their reasoning of paradoxes from idioms, stories, and other cultural resources (Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, & Peng, 2010). Embedded within these cultural resources are various ontologies around paradox, as exemplified by the Chinese concepts of yin-yang (e.g., Fang, 2012; Li, 2014) and zhong-yong (Li, 2018), the Japanese concept of kaisen (Aoki, 2020), and the Southern African concept of ubuntu (Gaim & Clegg, 2020). Individuals use these cultural resources to make sense of tensions and respond accordingly (Keller et al., 2017). For example, reasoning styles that emphasise holism, which is most prevalent in East Asia, promote integrative "both/and framing" of paradoxes, such as framing actions as both cooperative and competitive (Keller et al., 2017). Hybridity scholars have concurrently explored how factors such as gender (Dimitriadis, Lee, Ramarajan, & Battilana, 2017), work experience (Lee & Battilana, 2020), and identity (Wry & York, 2017) can influence approaches to tensions. For example, entrepreneurs often approach tensions in parallel with gender beliefs (e.g., Ahl, 2006; Dimitriadis et al., 2017; Gupta, Wieland & Turban, 2019; Hechavarria, Ingram, Justo & Terjesen, 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Hechavarria, Terjesen, Ingram, Renko, Justo & Elam, 2017; Henry, Foss & Ahl, 2016; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018).

Although the accumulated organisational hybridity and paradox literature has identified many factors influencing how actors respond to tensions, two critical challenges remain. First, extant research limits the scope of inquiry to aspects of culture directly related to knowledge about paradoxes, such as the beliefs and practices that guide how to frame paradoxes (e.g., Keller et al., 2017). There are many other aspects of culture that do not directly involve how individuals respond to paradoxes, such as cultural values, cultural norms, and cultural practices. For instance, when people are exposed to multiple divergent cultures such as those inherent in Eastern and Western nations, they may learn about contradictions that may contribute to the paradox experience. Second, prior perspectives focus on antecedents in isolation of other micro-and macro-level factors that may influence responses to tensions. For example, pre-existing research does not address the interplay between national culture and macro-level systems such as globalisation, migration, and inequality that may form latent tensions and become salient when juxtaposed together at the micro-level (Schad & Bansal, 2018). Furthermore, the interconnections between national culture and other antecedents such as gender beliefs and parental work experience are unexplored despite actors experiencing these factors concurrently.

In this thesis, I address these limitations by shifting the focus of attention from a macro-level view of culture as a resource to a micro-level view of culture as an experience—specifically the intercultural experience. I focus on intercultural experience based on the premise that individuals are often embedded in multiple cultural environments (Chiu & Shi, 2019), where they must simultaneously respond to different sets of values, norms, beliefs, and practices regarding how they should organise their lives. I contend that the intercultural experience is central to understanding hybridity within a global context. Specifically, the intercultural experience is intrinsically paradoxical because different cultures may possess conflicting values, norms, and identities (Fujimoto & Hartel, 2006). When individuals

simultaneously operate within multiple cultural spheres, they may face conflicting performance objectives, conflicting ways of organising, and conflicting identities. Moreover, the intercultural experience involves conditions associated with change, pluralism, and scarcity, which can raise the salience of paradox (e.g., Miron-Spektor et al., 2018; Schad, Lewis, & Smith, 2019; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Because actors experiencing intercultural and prosocial venturing are embedded within the same global societal systems associated with globalisation, migration, and income inequality, the paradoxes they are experiencing may be coming from a shared macro source (Schad & Bansal, 2018). As a result, the two experiences may be entwined and knotted together (Bednarek, Paroutis, & Sillince, 2017; Sheep, Fairhurst, & Khazanchi, 2017) or knowledge from one experience may be applied to the other experience (Keller & Chen, 2017).

To this end, the thesis employs a mixed-methods research program, presented as two empirical and one conceptual article, respectively (Table 1). In Article 1, I utilise interviews, questionnaires and vignettes to explore how intercultural experience is associated with entrepreneurs' management of organisational paradox in prosocial ventures (Table 1). Building on insights from Article 1, Article 2 investigates how social learning conditions that intersect with migration, such as gender beliefs and parental work experience, affect hybridity configurations in prosocial ventures (Table 1). Finally, Article 3 draws on the findings of Articles 1 and 2 and theorises how categorisation challenges produced by interactions between minority and majority members in multicultural societies impact prosocial venturing (Table 1).

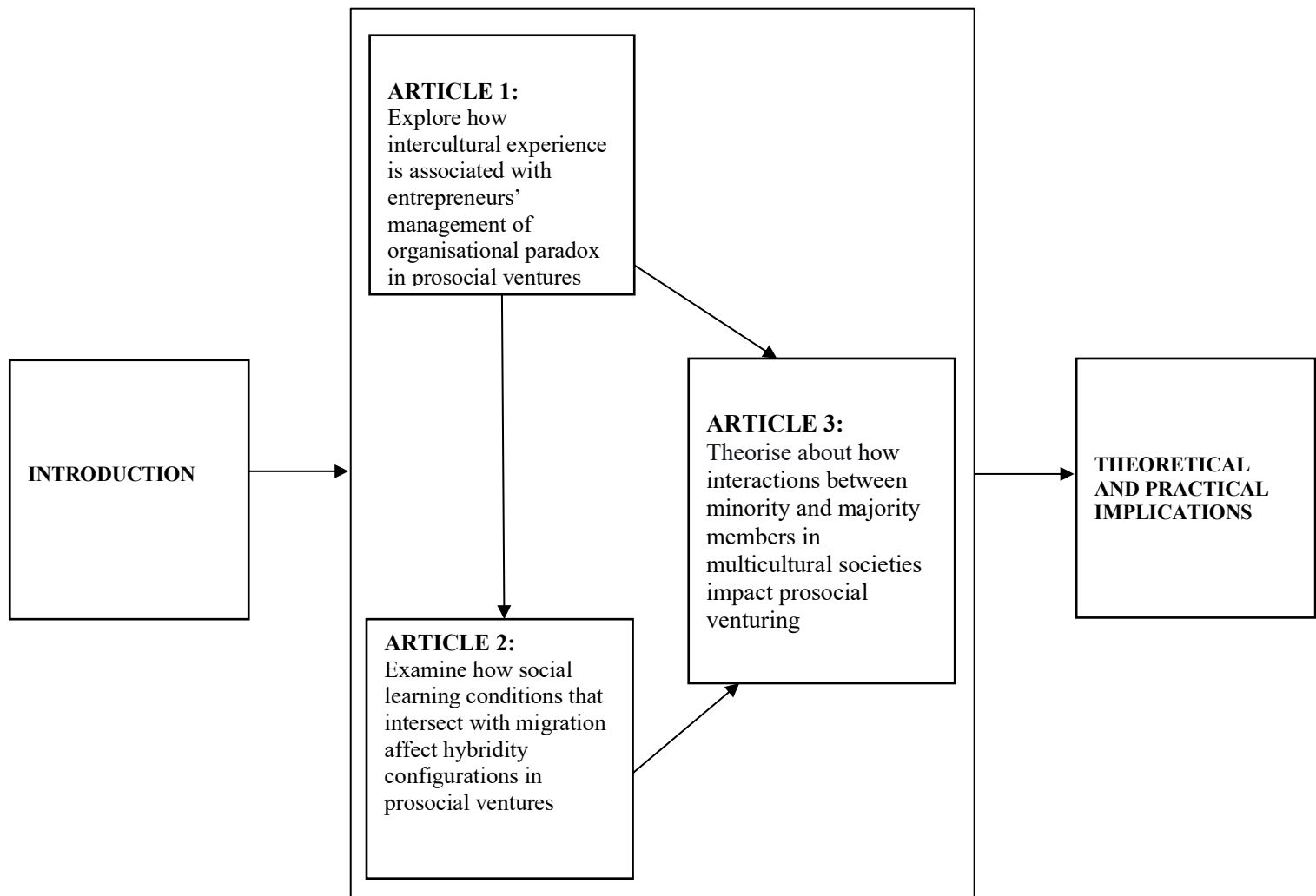
In the remainder of this document, I will provide an overview of the thesis (Figure 1), outline the three studies and discuss the expected theoretical and practical contributions.

Table 1

*Summary of Article 1,2,3*

No.	Research Question	Theoretical Lens	Sample Size	Data Collection	Data Analysis	Target Journal
Article 1 (Chapter 2)	How is intercultural experience associated with entrepreneurs' management of organisational paradox in prosocial ventures?	Organisational paradox	18 black immigrant social entrepreneurs from the African Diaspora	Questionnaires, Life-story interviews, Vignettes	Eisenhardt, Gioia & Langley qualitative procedures	Journal of Business Venturing
Article 2 (Chapter 3)	How do social learning conditions that intersect with migration affect hybridity configurations in prosocial ventures?	Socialisation perspective, Hybrid organising	18 black immigrant social entrepreneurs from the African Diaspora	Questionnaires, Life-story interviews	Eisenhardt, Gioia & Langley qualitative procedures	Journal of Business Venturing Insights
Article 3 (Chapter 4)	How do interactions between minority and majority members in multicultural societies impact prosocial venturing?	Category theory, Acculturation theory	Conceptual	Conceptual	Conceptual	Journal of Management Studies

**Figure 1: Thesis Overview**



## **Chapter 2: The Mirroring of Intercultural and Hybridity Experiences: A Study of African Immigrant Social Entrepreneurs**

The first article (chapter 2), published in the *Journal of Business Venturing*, explores the relationship between intercultural and hybridity experiences. It highlights how a key concern for scholars interested in hybridity and paradox is understanding why and how individuals differ in their approach to paradoxes. A large stream of micro-level paradox research focuses on national culture (e.g., Keller et al., 2018; Keller et al., 2017; Leung et al., 2018; Prashantham & Eranova, 2018; Zhang & Han, 2019). This line of research, which views culture as a resource, identifies cross-cultural differences in reasoning styles (e.g., Koo & Choi, 2005; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999) arising from the idioms and stories they learn in their heritage culture (Keller et al., 2017; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010).

In this article I shift attention from culture as a resource to an experience—specifically intercultural experience. I argue that intercultural experience is central to understanding hybridity within a global context because intercultural experience is itself an intrinsically paradoxical experience. To examine the relationship between intercultural and hybridity experiences, I draw on the life stories of 18 immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in a Western context. Their experiences offer exemplary cases of actors who have confronted a salient intercultural and hybridity experience (Eisenhardt, Graebner & Sonenshein, 2016).

I find that the ways that immigrant entrepreneurs respond to tensions in their prosocial ventures mirrors the approach to their intercultural experience. In particular, I identify mirroring as an important and novel link between entrepreneurs' intercultural and hybridity experiences that occurs when patterns of approaches to paradoxes in one domain reflects patterns of approaches to paradoxes in another domain. I furthermore find that approaches to paradox vary based on structural barriers such that those who experience higher levels of social inclusion

during formative intercultural experience are more inclined to exhibit mental schemas that embrace hybridity paradoxes and thus they integrate social and commercial aspects into their ventures more often.

Chapter 2 (Article 1) offers two core contributions. First, it contributes to research in paradox theory by answering calls to go beyond cultural comparisons to encompass exposure to multiple cultures (Miron-Spektor & Erez, 2017). I do so in a way that recognises that paradoxes operate within both macro-level systems (Schad & Bansal, 2018) and micro-level socio-material contexts (Hahn & Knight, 2020). Second, it contributes to the prosocial venturing literature by showing how entrepreneurs' intercultural experience and macro-level systems inform the degree (e.g., Shepherd, Williams, & Zhao, 2019) and configuration of hybridity evident in their prosocial ventures (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013; Smith et al., 2013), especially within a global context.

### **Chapter 3: Who Taught you That? Hybrid Organising in Response to Socialisation**

The second article (chapter 3), targeted for the *Journal of Business Venturing Insights*, addresses two critical research issues concerning the microfoundations of hybrid organisations.

Scholars note that social entrepreneurs' backgrounds and knowledge about gender beliefs (Dimitriadis et al., 2017), parental work experience (Lee & Battilana, 2020), and identity (Wry & York, 2017) can inform approaches to hybrid organising. While these studies have been fruitful, two key limitations are apparent when taken together. First, antecedent factors such as gender beliefs and parents' work experience have so far been empirically investigated in isolation; however, the knowledge gained from these factors can be interconnected based on social learning conditions. Second, hybrid organising research on background aspects is primarily quantitative and implicitly suggests that individuals perceive and gain knowledge about antecedent factors in uniform ways (e.g., Gupta et al., 2019;



Hechavarria et al., 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Henry et al., 2016; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018). I address these limitations by focusing on the early socialisation experiences of 18 immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in a Western context. I first argue that the socialisation perspective provides scope to explore the interrelationships and conditions that modify the salience of antecedents that inform individual-level hybrid organising. It also enables investigations into how social learning conditions can indirectly affect hybrid organising by differentiating how individuals perceive and interpret knowledge gained from their backgrounds. Through rigorous qualitative procedures, I find two distinct categories of socialisation among immigrant social entrepreneurs based on social learning conditions associated with their parents' gendered cultural expectations, social class status, and social mobility aspirations. I also find evidence of how social learning conditions within these two socialisation categories influence approaches to hybridity in prosocial ventures.

Overall, Article 2 contributes to the microfoundations of hybrid organisations by expanding our understanding of the conditions and processes connected to individual-level hybrid organising. The novel use of the immigrant context and the socialisation perspective elucidates how social learning conditions connected to an entrepreneur's upbringing, such as social class, can modify how antecedent factors such as gender beliefs affect hybrid organising.

#### **Chapter 4: Prosocial Venturing in Multicultural Societies: A New Theoretical Framework and Roadmap**

Whereas chapter 3 (Article 2) focuses largely on social conditions associated with an entrepreneurs' upbringing, chapter 4 (Article 3) conceptually examines immigrant entrepreneurs' interactions with the majority members in multicultural societies. The hybrid organisation literature posits that for-profit and non-profit stakeholders find prosocial ventures

challenging to categorise because they are members of the divergent non-profit and for-profit social categories (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Chliova, Mair & Vernis, 2020; Neuberger, Kroezen & Tracey, 2021). However, by conceptualising the prosocial venture as the focal point of audiences' category assessments, the extant literature does not account for audiences' evaluations of the social categories an individual social entrepreneur is embedded in. Specifically, individuals in multicultural societies are often categorised based on their cultural background, which can help or hinder their capacity to access resources (Chand & Ghorbani, 2011; Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Hamilton, Dana, & Benfell, 2008; Hooker, 2005; Leong & Chou, 1994). Cross-cultural psychologists note that individuals are categorised in multicultural societies based on elements of their cultural background, such as race and ethnicity (Berry, 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992). Furthermore, considerable evidence indicates categorisation in multicultural societies affects entrepreneurial behaviour and outcomes (Leiting, Clarysse, Thiel, 2020; Riddle & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Robertson & Grant, 2016). Considering stakeholders such as funders are also situated in multicultural societies, it logically follows that their category evaluations of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds may occur alongside judgements of prosocial ventures. Thus, intercultural and prosocial venturing contexts may be interconnected with evaluations in one context, informing assessments in the other.

Drawing on insights from cross-cultural psychology, chapter 4 (Article 3), paper contributes to the literature on categories and hybrid organisations by highlighting the interplay between audience categorisation processes at the individual and organisational levels. Specifically, I elucidate how audiences' assessments of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds can inform their evaluations of prosocial ventures. I also highlight how dynamics in multicultural contexts can create categorisation incentives that reward and penalise social entrepreneurs for the frames they enact. While these incentives may assist entrepreneurs in

obtaining resources for their prosocial ventures, there are various long-term implications to consider. I conclude this chapter by drawing attention to the boundary conditions of the framework and reflections on how its assertions can be empirically investigated.

## **Chapter 5: General Discussion and Future Directions**

The final chapter of this thesis (chapter 5) provides an overarching perspective on the contributions of this thesis and future directions within the related literature on hybrid organisations and organisational paradox. First, I situate the thesis in a way that recognises that paradoxes and hybridity operate within both macro-level systems (Schad & Bansal, 2018) and micro-level socio-material contexts (Hahn & Knight, 2020). By articulating the significance of each contribution, I highlight the complexity of organising for actors who are exposed to intercultural processes and operate in multicultural societies. I also present both methodological as well as theoretical recommendations. These include utilising various scales to operationalise and empirically test the relationship between intercultural and hybridity experiences. I also suggest that moving the field forward requires scholars to shift attention from power relationships within organisations towards those that manifest beyond organisational boundaries such as race, ethnicity and gender.

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## Chapter 2 Foreword

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to our understanding of the microfoundations of hybrid organisations and organisational paradox. To this end, chapter 2 (Article 1) contends that intercultural experience is central to understanding individual engagement with paradox and hybridity because intercultural experience is itself an intrinsically contradictory experience. In doing so, this study is the first to shift the focus of attention from culture as resource to culture as experience—specifically intercultural experience. Contributing to paradox theory as a theoretical lens, I explore the relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity experience, by drawing on the life stories of 18 immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in a Western context. I consider how the conditions of immigrant entrepreneurs during childhood links to how they interpret the intercultural incidents they experience as adults. These findings contribute to paradox theory elucidating how socio-material conditions can not only raise the salience of paradoxical tensions but also inform actors' approach.

I furthermore find that approaches to paradox vary based on structural barriers related to intercultural experience such as barriers to social inclusion. Specifically, I find three distinct intercultural experiences and evidence of their mirroring in how immigrant entrepreneurs deal with paradoxes in their prosocial venture. The first pattern, which I refer to as *systems-level* mirroring, involves entrepreneurs making an association between culture and hybridity based on their experience of macro-level systems imprinted on their mental schema. The second pattern, I refer to as *analogical mirroring*, involves applying similar abstract patterns in both domains. Taken together, these findings contribute to paradox theory by establishing a relationship between how actors respond to paradoxes embedded within their intercultural experience and those embedded within their hybridity experience. The article also contributes to the prosocial venturing literature by showing how entrepreneurs' intercultural experience and macro-level

systems inform the degree and configurations of hybridity in prosocial ventures especially within a global context.

# **The Mirroring of Intercultural and Hybridity Experiences: A Study of African Immigrant Social Entrepreneurs**

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## **Abstract**

Paradox theory is attracting increasing interest from entrepreneurship scholars seeking to understand how entrepreneurs who operate hybrid organisations such as prosocial ventures can effectively address grand challenges. The organisational paradox literature suggests that differences in actors' approach to paradoxes can occur through the acquisition of different reasoning styles through exposure to different national cultures and cultural resources. We complement the paradox research stream on culture as a resource with the alternative perspective of culture as an experience, which we argue offers additional insight into hybridity within a global context because intercultural experiences are intrinsically paradoxical. Our 18 case studies of immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in Western contexts finds that the ways that immigrant entrepreneurs approach tensions in their prosocial ventures mirrors the approach to their intercultural experience. We also find that approaches to paradox vary based on structural barriers such as social exclusion that entrepreneurs faced in their formative years. Overall, our study contributes to research on culture in paradox theory and the prosocial venturing literature by elucidating how entrepreneurs' intercultural experience and the global macro-level systems in which it is embedded inform the degree and configurations of hybridity in prosocial ventures.

**Keywords:** hybridity paradox, prosocial ventures, intercultural experience, immigrant entrepreneurs, childhood

## **Introduction**

Organisations are filled with the persistent contradictory yet interrelated goals, interests, and perspectives that constitute paradoxes (Schad, Lewis & Smith, 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011). For actors engaged in hybrid organising, paradoxes can be especially salient because of inherent contradictions between performance objectives, means of organising, and social identities among organisational members (Smith & Besharov, 2019; Smith, Gronin & Besharov, 2013). For example, entrepreneurs operating prosocial ventures must respond to a range of social-business paradoxes, including simultaneously pursuing social welfare and financial profitability goals (called performing tensions), organising social and business functions (called organising tensions), and nurturing social and business identities (called belonging tensions) (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Besharov & Smith, 2012; Sharma & Bansal, 2017). Recent work on the micro-foundations of organisational paradoxes highlights that not all actors experience and respond to paradoxes the same way (Miron-Spektor, Ingram, Keller, Smith & Lewis, 2018). For example, when approaching social-business paradoxes, some entrepreneurs may seek integrated solutions, some may choose one objective over the other, and some may not see any tensions between social and business objectives at all (Child, 2020; Jay, 2013; Sharma & Bansal, 2017; Smith & Besharov, 2017). Understanding entrepreneurs' approaches to hybridity in prosocial ventures is important because prosocial venturing, as an exemplary case of hybrid organisations (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Smith & Besharov, 2019), is often regarded as important contributor to solving grand challenges (Markman, Waldron, Gianiodis & Espina, 2019).

To understand why actors may differ in their approach to paradoxes, one line of research has focused on the role of national culture (e.g., Keller, Chen & Leung, 2018; Keller & Loewenstein, 2011; Keller, Loewenstein, & Yan, 2017; Leung, Liou, Miron-Spektor, Koh, Chan, Eisenberg, & Snyder, 2018; Prashantham & Eranova, 2018; Zhang & Han, 2019; Zhang, Waldman, Han & Li, 2015), which is primarily based on cross-cultural differences in reasoning

style (e.g., Koo & Choi, 2005; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999). For example, reasoning styles that emphasize holism, which are most prevalent in East Asia, promote integrative “both/and framing” of paradoxes, such as the framing of actions as both cooperative and competitive (Keller et al., 2017). This approach is based on the premise that individuals acquire their reasoning of paradoxes from idioms, stories, and other cultural resources (Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, & Peng, 2010). Embedded within these cultural resources are various ontologies around paradox, as exemplified by the Chinese concepts of *yin-yang* (e.g., Fang, 2012; Li, 2014; 2015) and *zhong-yong* (Li, 2018), the Japanese concept of *kaizen* (Aoki, 2020), and the Southern African concept of *ubuntu* (Gaim & Clegg, 2021). Individuals use these cultural resources to make sense of tensions and respond accordingly (Keller et al, 2017).

In this paper, we take an alternative approach by shifting the focus of attention from culture as a resource to culture as an experience—specifically the intercultural experience. We focus on intercultural experience based on the premise that individuals are often embedded in multiple cultural environments (Chiu & Shi, 2019), where they must simultaneously respond to different sets of values, norms, beliefs, and practices. This cultural environment condition particularly applies to immigrants (Chiu & Shi, 2019), entrepreneurs and others operating in culturally diverse locations (e.g., large capital cities), and entrepreneurs and others engaged in global markets (Pidduck, Busenitz, Zhang, & Moulick, 2020). As globalisation continues to expand, these conditions are becoming more the norm than the exception (Ahlstrom, Arregle, Hitt, Qian, Ma & Faems, 2020).

We contend that the intercultural experience is central to understanding hybridity within a global context because the intercultural experience is itself an intrinsically paradoxical experience because different cultures may possess conflicting values, norms, and identities (Fujimoto, Yuka & Hartel, 2006). When individuals must operate within multiple cultural spheres simultaneously, they may face conflicting performance objectives, conflicting ways of



organising, and conflicting identities. Moreover, the intercultural experience involves conditions associated with change, pluralism, and scarcity, which can raise the salience of paradox (e.g., Miron-Spektor et al, 2018; Schad, Lewis, & Smith, 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Individuals encounter change when they must adapt to one or more new cultures, encounter pluralism when they must address multiple demands from different cultures with conflicting values, and encounter scarcity when they lack the cultural capital to operate in multiple cultures. Because actors experiencing intercultural and hybridity paradoxes are embedded within the same global societal systems associated with globalisation, migration, and income inequality, the paradoxes they are experiencing may be coming from a shared macro source (Schad & Bansal, 2018). As a result, the two experiences may be entwined and knotted together (Bednarek, Paroutis, & Sillince, 2017; Sheep, Fairhurst, & Khazanchi, 2017), or knowledge from one experience may be applied to the other experience (Keller & Chen, 2017). Examining the intercultural and hybridity experiences together helps to elucidate the micro-level instantiation of paradoxes associated with grand challenges (Schad & Smith, 2019).

To explore the relationship between the intercultural experience and the hybridity experience, using paradox theory as our theoretical lens (Lewis & Smith, 2014), we draw on the life stories of 18 immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in a Western context. Their experiences offer exemplary cases of actors who have confronted a salient intercultural and hybridity experience (Eisenhardt, Graebner & Sonenshein, 2016). By addressing the research question *How is intercultural experience associated with entrepreneurs' management of organisational paradox in prosocial ventures?* our study therefore contributes to the literature in the following ways. First, we contribute to research in paradox theory by answering calls to go beyond cultural comparisons to encompass exposure to multiple cultures (Miron-Spektor & Erez, 2017). We do so in a way that recognises that paradoxes operate within both macro-level systems (Schad & Bansal, 2018) and micro-level

socio-material contexts (Hahn & Knight, 2020). Because our sample are at the nexus of globalisation trends impacting both their intercultural experience and venture, their experience exemplifies a micro-level paradoxical experience that is driven by globalisation. We find that the ways that immigrant entrepreneurs respond to tensions in their prosocial ventures mirrors the approach to their intercultural experience. We identify mirroring as important and novel link between entrepreneurs' intercultural and hybridity experiences that occurs when patterns of approaches to paradoxes in one domain reflects patterns of approaches to paradoxes in another domain. We further found that approaches to paradox vary based on structural barriers such that those who experience higher levels of social inclusion during formative intercultural experience are more inclined to exhibit mental schemas that embrace hybridity paradox and thus integrate social and commercial aspects into their ventures more often.

Second, by showing how, based on mirrored intercultural experience, relative hybridity can vary for performing, organising and belonging tensions within prosocial ventures, we contribute to the prosocial venturing literature by elucidating how entrepreneurs' intercultural experience and macro-level systems inform the degree (e.g., Shepherd, Williams, & Zhao, 2019) and configurations of hybridity in prosocial ventures (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013; Smith et al., 2013), especially within a global context. In the following sections, we first provide a theoretical background to our study, we then explain our qualitative research methodology, present our findings, and then discuss the theoretical implications of our findings. We conclude by pointing to future research that can expand on our findings and our approach.

## **Theoretical Background**

### **How National Culture is Situated within Paradox Theory**

Because many non-Western philosophical traditions directly address the nature of paradox (e.g., Chen, 2002; Fang, 2010), national culture has long been a major topic of inquiry

in Paradox Theory (Schad et al, 2016). To address how national culture influences paradox empirically, most prior work either focused on comparing individuals from different cultural backgrounds (e.g., American vs. Chinese; Keller, et al., 2018; Keller et al., 2017; Leung, Liou, Miron-Spektor, Koh, & Chan, 2018) or by examining individuals' behavior within a non-Western context (e.g., China; Zhang & Han, 2019; Zhang, Waldman, Han & Li, 2015). While these studies often diverge on how, why, and when national culture matters, they converge around an underlying assumption about the role of national culture within the paradox experience. Namely, national culture is conceptualized as exogenous to the paradox experience, serving instead as a knowledge resource for approaching paradoxes. For example, Keller et al. (2017) conceptualize culture as a moderator of individuals' approach to the simultaneous occurrence of cooperation and competition. Even in cases where culture is primed, it is conceptualized as a knowledge resource. For example, Leung et al. (2018) prime middle ground thinking (a way of thinking rooted in Chinese philosophy) by describing a strategy for approaching a task.

While prior perspectives on the relationship between national culture and paradox have helped to highlight that actors learn how to manage paradox from their macro environment (Prashantham & Eranova, 2020), their emphasis on culture as a resource poses two key limitations. First, it limits the scope of inquiry to aspects of culture that are directly related to knowledge about paradoxes, such as the beliefs and practices that guide how to frame paradoxes (e.g., Keller et al, 2017). There are many other aspects of culture that do not directly involve how individuals respond to paradox, such as cultural values, cultural norms, and cultural practices. However, when people are exposed to multiple cultures, they may contribute to the paradox experience. Second, prior perspectives focus on national culture in isolation of other macro-level factors that may influence the paradox experience. For example, they do not address the interplay between national culture and macro-level systems that may form latent tensions that may become salient when juxtaposed together on the ground, such as globalisation, migration, and inequality

(Schad & Bansal, 2018). The cultural experience is influenced by these global systems because they provide opportunities and constraints for intercultural interactions to occur. Only by shifting attention from cultural knowledge to cultural experiences we can examine this interplay between systems and culture together.

We address these two limitations by focusing on the intercultural experience of immigrant social entrepreneurs and their relationship to the hybridity experience of managing prosocial ventures. The immigrant experience involves the simultaneous embeddedness within multiple cultural spheres, where contradictions between cultural values, cultural norms or cultural practices may emerge. When they engage in the founding of a prosocial venture, the paradox experience of hybridity operates in parallel to this other paradox experience. This approach addresses the first limitation by changing the concept of culture from an exogenous moderator of the effect of conditions on approaches to paradox (e.g., Smith & Lewis, 2011) to a condition that operates in parallel with other conditions that involve paradox (i.e., hybridity). In addition, we address the second limitation by incorporating an examination of immigrant social entrepreneurs' experience with structural barriers, which represents a micro-level socio-material instantiation of a macro-level system of globalisation and its associated patterns of inequality and migration. We examine how these conditions affect immigrant entrepreneurs' intercultural experience, and whether and how the latter is associated with entrepreneurs' hybridity paradox experience. In the process, we provide a microfoundational perspective on paradox (Miron-Spektor et al, 2018) that recognises the interplay between macro-level culture and macro-level systems and structures.

### **Structural Conditions and the Intercultural Paradox**

When considering the intercultural experience as paradox, we recognise that the co-existence of multiple cultures only forms a latent potential for conflicting cultural values, cultural norms, and cultural practices to become salient to actors. Latent paradoxes are more likely to become salient

under conditions of plurality and scarcity (Schad et al, 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011). On the one hand, plurality denotes the presence of multiple demands from multiple other parties. This suggests that actors who are included in intercultural social networks are more likely to experience salient tensions because they are more likely to be in ongoing situations where they have both the opportunity and demand to manage conflicting cultural values, norms, or practices. On the other hand, scarcity denotes resource limitations, which in the intercultural context are likely to occur when actors have limited cultural capital because they lack sufficient knowledge of the one or more cultures that they are embedded in (Ocasio, Pozner, & Milner, 2020). In the immigrant context, a lack of cultural capital may arise when immigrants lack the ability to signal to others that they are members of the same culture in their knowledge of language, rituals and other cultural resources (Lo, 2016).

Plurality and scarcity may work in opposite directions when affecting the intercultural paradox experience. For example, those who are socially excluded may be less likely to develop cultural capital resources necessary for managing conflicting cultural values, norms, or practices, but are also less likely to experience the plurality of ongoing intercultural encounters. Those who are socially included may have more opportunity to develop cultural capital resources but are also more often exposed to the plurality of multiple demands from multiple cultures. How conditions of pluralism and scarcity impacts the overall intercultural experience may thus depend on the extent to which structural conditions create or obstruct opportunities for actors to develop integrative solutions for responding to salient paradoxes (Miron-Spektor, et al, 2018; Smith & Lewis, 2011) or creates power dynamics that maintain salient tensions without opportunity for integration (Berti & Simpson, 2020).

## **Intercultural Experience and Approaches to Hybridity Paradox**

Because entrepreneurs can influence the degree of hybridity in their ventures (Shepherd, Williams & Zhao, 2019; Wry & York, 2017), the salience of paradox from hybridity also depends on the degree to and way in which entrepreneurs attempt to integrate conflicting demands. In this context, hybridity relativity refers to the relative importance of conflicting venture aspects with high relativity meaning that conflicting aspects are equally important making them more challenging to integrate and thus raising hybridity tensions (Shepherd et al., 2019). While prosocial ventures are generally characterized as prime exemplar of hybrid organisations (i.e., high degrees of hybridity) (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Smith & Besharov, 2019), entrepreneurs vary in the degree to which they perceive tension among and integrate vs. differentiate social and commercial aspects (Child, 2020; Jay, 2013; Sharma & Bansal, 2017; Smith & Besharov, 2019).

Prior work on the individual-level antecedents explaining approaches to hybridity has recognised identity (Wry & York, 2017), gender (Dimitriadis, Lee, Ramarjan, & Battilana, 2017) and founders' as well as parents' work experience (Lee & Battilana, 2020). For example, while Dimitriadis et al. (2017) show that female social entrepreneurs' lower likelihood to use commercial approaches is affected by cultural beliefs, how intercultural experience affects entrepreneurs' choices to approach hybridity is unclear. When studying entrepreneurs' approaches to hybridity paradox, the underexplored context of intercultural paradox poses intriguing questions because the salience of paradox in their intercultural experience may, through pluralism and scarcity, be associated with the salience of and approaches to hybridity paradox in their prosocial ventures. For example, prosocial immigrant entrepreneurs' desire to solve social issues in their home country may impact the relative importance of social vs. commercial approaches to goals in their ventures. In addition, structural barriers such as social exclusion may impact an immigrant entrepreneurs' access to certain types of funding resources or networks in their host country (Dabic et al, 2020; Kalnins & Chung, 2006).

The interplay between intercultural and hybridity paradoxes may furthermore vary across different hybridity tensions, such as performing, organising, belonging, and learning tensions (Smith & Lewis, 2011; Smith, et al., 2013). For example, Wry & York (2017) argue how different configurations of role and personal identities associated with social and commercial venture aspects likely yield different relative hybridity options. Furthermore, organising and belonging paradoxes are more difficult to integrate than performing paradoxes because they require deeper social engagement (Keller et al, 2020). When individuals gain intercultural experience through circumstances such as immigration, they must decide which aspects of their heritage culture they should maintain and which aspects of the new culture they wish to obtain (Berry, et al., 2002; Berry, 2005). While it is plausible that these acculturation decisions are associated with entrepreneurs' identities as well as their level of social engagement in the host country and thus ability to integrate at least organising and belonging tensions, these remain empirical questions.

In summary, by taking the perspective of culture as experience we have identified that understanding *How intercultural experience is associated with entrepreneurs' management of organisational paradox in prosocial ventures?* is important but insufficiently addressed. We explore this question empirically below.

## **Methods**

To investigate our research question, we relied on an inductive approach as we wanted to understand context, people, experiences, and views (Pope & Mays, 2000). Specifically, we implemented a multi-case study research design with the immigrant entrepreneur as the unit of analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). This approach enabled us to investigate the intercultural and subsequent prosocial venture experiences of 18 first-generation immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora. It also enabled us to compare the similarities and differences across our cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008), which is an accepted practice in paradox (e.g., Smith, 2014) as well as entrepreneurship research (Suddaby, Bruton, & Si, 2015; Meyer, 2020). When

comparing cases, we took an ontological view of paradox as both inherent and socially constructed (Hahn & Knight, 2020). We therefore paid attention to both structural and perceptual aspects of their experiences. For all aspects of the study, the author team relied on their complementary expertise comprising an insider immigrant entrepreneur from the African diaspora whose experience includes founding a (pro)social venture, as well as academics experienced in (inter)cultural, prosocial venture and paradox research.

### **Research Context and Case Selection**

Overall, our sample included 6 females and 12 males, who were theoretically and conveniently selected (Miles & Huberman, 1994) based on their expected level of intercultural experience as well as experience operating a prosocial venture. To explore intercultural experience, we selected individuals who were born within, or had spent considerable time in their youth within African nations, had emigrated voluntarily and were now living in Western nations for at least three years to ensure sufficient exposure to their host country culture. African nations of origin included Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, and Sierra Leone (Morris & Peng, 1994). Western nations of residence included the United States, United Kingdom, Netherlands, and Belgium (Morris & Peng, 1994).

We chose as our target sample African immigrant entrepreneurs in Western nations for three reasons. Firstly, there is evidence of significant cultural differences, as exemplified by differences between African nations and Western nations in key cultural dimensions such as power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity (Aspinall, 2011; Beugre & Offodile, 2001; Mpofu, 1994). While norms and practices vary both within and between African and Western nations, people within African societies are more likely to share norms and practices with each other than they would with people from Western societies (Palmer, 2000; Patterson & Kelley, 2000; Zeleza, 2005). Therefore, the likelihood that African immigrant entrepreneurs would experience conflicting values, norms and practices is high. Second, with



stark overall socio-economic differences between most African countries and most Western countries, the African immigrant experience and their prosocial venture experience reflect a socio-material condition that is shaped by global systems that create social barriers and social-business tensions. Finally, immigration from Africa to the West is more common than the other way around (De Haas, 2008; Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). This includes one of the authors who was born within the African continent and is now living in a Western Nation, providing us with privileged access, rapport, and understanding of our entrepreneurs and their intercultural experiences.

We selected prosocial ventures to examine the hybridity context for three important reasons. First, prosocial ventures are an extreme case of hybridisation and thus represent a setting uniquely suited to investigating hybridity (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Smith & Besharov, 2019). Prior work has identified performing, belonging and organising tensions as common features of these organisations (Smith, Gonin & Besharov, 2013), suggesting that hybridity tensions would likely be salient in prosocial ventures. Second, because prosocial ventures have both social and commercial goals, their goals and the tensions between their goals are embedded within a global context, where globalisation, income inequality, and migration are intertwined (Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018). Therefore, prosocial ventures provide an appropriate context for examining the relationship between intercultural and hybridity paradoxes. Third, while all organisations are complex and involve multiple actors, entrepreneurs who are founders/co-founders of prosocial ventures have considerable agency in formulating their activities (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Smith, Besharov, Wessels & Chertok, 2012). This context enabled us to engage in multi-level theorizing (Klein & Koslowski, 2000) by isolating the interplay between individual-level and society-level factors of an experience from other organisational processes.

We recruited immigrant entrepreneurs for our study by emailing non-profit associations and organisations related to the African Diaspora as well as via Linked-In. We selected prosocial ventures in operation for a minimum of one year to increase the chances that the entrepreneurs had moved past the ideation phase of development and were more likely to experience paradoxical tensions. To confirm both social and commercial venture aspects, we relied on secondary data such as each entrepreneur's mission statement for their ventures, publicly available information such as LinkedIn profiles, online publicized interviews, promotional videos on YouTube, online articles, personal and company website pages. We selected enterprises with both evidence of prosociality, which can be defined as an entrepreneur's orientation towards others and explicit attention to the underserved needs and hopes of human and non-human actors (Branzei et al., 2018; Shepherd, 2015), and evidence of revenue generation. Overall, we reviewed 68 pages of LinkedIn profile information, 111 pages of online articles, 7+ hours of YouTube videos, and 112 pages of personal and company website information associated with the entrepreneurs' prosocial venturing activities. Table 1 describes the 18 cases used in our study.

----- Insert Table 1 about here -----

## **Data Collection**

To collect rich data from the entrepreneurs, we used three different data sources; life-story interviews, vignettes and questionnaires. Phase one of the data collection involved a 43-item online questionnaire designed to confirm that immigrant entrepreneurs had a background and history with intercultural experience and prosocial venturing, as well as to compare and contrast their socio-material conditions. Items 1-22 of the questionnaire gave us insight into the personal and prosocial venture background and history of the entrepreneurs. Questions included, *'Where were you born?'*, *'Where are you currently living?'*, *'Have you lived in other countries? When/how long?'* and, *'How long has your organisation been operational?'*. Items 23-43 were

from Ryder, Alden and Paulhus' (2000) Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) scale which allowed us confirm that each entrepreneur we recruited into our study had exposure to cultural values different from their own. Items on the 20-item scale included, '*I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture*' and, '*I am comfortable working with people from my host culture.*'

Phase two of the data collection involved our primary data source, in-depth interviews using a life-story approach which treats individuals such as entrepreneurs as knowledgeable agents (e.g., Bouwen & Steyaert, 1997; Dyer, 1995; Mitchell, 1996; Singh, Corner & Pavlovich, 2015) who can provide a subjective account of the life they have lived (Atkinson, 1998). We asked each entrepreneur to "*tell their story*" focusing on their intercultural experience both before and after their immigration journey as well as their prosocial venture experience. We asked them to discuss all aspects they felt were relevant, including family history, religion, dating and friendships as well as personal and career motivations and aspirations. Some of our open-ended intercultural experience questions were borrowed from acculturation research to capture their specific experience as an immigrant (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). For example, we asked: '*How much do you feel you resonate with your host and heritage country cultures?*', and '*What was the biggest difference for you when you moved from your heritage country to your host country?*' Because there is no prior work that tackles specifically the question of paradox within the intercultural experience and we did not want to presume about the nature of their experience, we followed prior work that relied on open-ended answers that covered the challenges they faced (e.g., Sharma & Gould, 2017). In addition, we asked about other factors that may signal specific socio-material conditions that impact their immigrant experience, such as language, e.g., '*What language do you speak at home?*', friendship networks, e.g., '*Who are your friends?*' and family perceptions, e.g., '*How strongly do your parents resonate with your heritage/host country culture?*'.

Unlike the case of the intercultural experience, examinations on hybridity paradoxes are well established, and thus we drew on the paradox, social venture and hybrid organisation literature to follow-up general questions with targeted questions that capture their prosocial venture experience (e.g., Smith et al., 2013; Battilana & Dorado 2010; Battilana & Lee; 2014). We followed the typology of organisational paradoxes by Smith & Lewis (2011), which included performing, organising, and belonging tensions. Because we cannot assume that all actors can perceive and articulate paradoxes, we captured their experience with paradox by asking related questions about the prosocial venture, following prior approaches (e.g., Smith, 2014). To capture performing tension elements, we included questions such as: *'Do you consider yourself a social entrepreneur/engaged in social entrepreneurship, if so, how do you define that?', 'How do you review performance?'*, *'Where does your funding come from?'*. To capture organising tension elements, we asked entrepreneurs *'How do you hire people?'*, *'Why did you choose your legal structure?'* and *'What is the composition of your workforce?'*. To capture belonging tension elements, we asked *'What is the value proposition of your venture?'*, *'Who are your partners?'*, and *'How would you describe your organisation's culture?'*.

In addition to the life-story interviews, we also implemented an experimental vignette methodology (EVM) (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014) to provide us with another data source for understanding how the entrepreneurs think about hybridity paradoxes if entrepreneurs could not recount having experienced a particular type of tension in their prosocial ventures. We drew on the hybrid organisation and organisational paradox literature (e.g., Battilana & Lee, 2014; Smith et al., 2013) to carefully construct three vignettes related to performing, organising, and belonging tensions.<sup>1</sup> Overall, the data collected included 18 approaches on a 43-item

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, part of the organising tension vignette asked the entrepreneurs to consider: *You are sitting in a restaurant in your favored city thinking about your organisation. Now 40 years old, you no longer work within the organisation. You do, however, continue to provide strategic insight as a member of its board of directors. At the last board meeting, the board voted to review the organisation's legal structure to finalize suitable funding sources and the distribution of surplus funds/profit going forward. The board is considering separating the organisation's social and profit operations into two distinct companies. One company would be a for-profit entity*

questionnaire, 37+ hours of audio recording and 532 pages of transcript from 18 interviews and 51 responses to the three vignettes.

## **Data Analysis**

Following well-established qualitative analysis procedures (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013; Langley, 1999) and relying on our complementary expertise, we progressed from raw data to theoretical interpretations, by concurrently reviewing the data collected, our analysis of the data and existing literature to generate insights. Although the iterative nature of our process resulted in a non-linear approach; for clarity we articulate our analysis in terms of three main steps.

***Stage One: Investigation of intercultural experience.*** In stage one we explored each immigrant entrepreneur's life story in relation to intercultural experience through open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first aspect of the life story we investigated was each entrepreneurs' reflections of their childhood and experiences prior to immigration. This included structural conditions (e.g., age at immigration, time spent in host country and parents' occupation), as well as each entrepreneurs' perceptual aspects such as their reason for immigrating, their views about immigration, family influences and any interactions prior to their immigration. After our open coding, we compared codes within and across our cases of immigrant entrepreneurs to see if there were differences and similarities and to identify common empirical themes (Eisenhardt, 1989). While entrepreneurs presented complex stories related to their childhood and immigration, three core themes emerged that varied based on the extent to which they presented a barrier to

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*whilst the other would be non-profit. This, however, presents two key questions: which of the two organisations has ultimate control? Where do the profits/surplus go?:*

- 1. Non-profit organisation 100% controls the for-profit organisation with 100% going to funding social programs*
- 2. For-profit organisation 100% controls the non-profit organisation with 100% going to dividend payments*
- 3. Both organisations form a strategic alliance but operate as independent entities with 50/50 vote. 50/50 split of profits between two companies - they can use funds however they like*
- 4. Keep all operations in one organisation by structuring the organisation as a benefit corporation. 50/50 split between dividend payments and funding social programs.*
- 5. Propose an alternative option. If so, what is it?*

social inclusion into the host country for the entrepreneurs in the early stages of their intercultural experience. Overall, we defined these themes as associated with *intercultural foundation* i.e., underlying motives, views, context, as well as childhood and parental influences related to their intercultural experience prior to their immigration to the host country.

We further investigated immigrant entrepreneurs' intercultural experience through another round of open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to explore if entrepreneurs with different intercultural foundations varied in their experiences of intercultural interactions after immigration. In particular, we delved into the data to understand how positive or negative their interactions were and how intense the intercultural interactions were perceived by immigrant entrepreneurs. We found that some immigrant entrepreneurs particularly highlighted negative intercultural incidences, they differed in how intense the intercultural interactions were perceived. In doing so, we were able to conceptualize *intercultural incidences*, which we define as salient events and interactions in the host country after immigration.

Given the variance in the intensity of the negative intercultural interactions, we investigated if there were differences in how immigrant entrepreneurs reacted to these salient intercultural interactions. At this stage we also explored how entrepreneurs more generally reflected on their intercultural interactions after immigration. We interpreted immigrant entrepreneurs' reactions to and reflections about intercultural interactions as being indicative of how they think about intercultural differences and thus conceptualized them as *intercultural mental schemas*, i.e., mental schemas that individuals use to make sense of their intercultural interactions. As a final step in stage one, we took stock of our aggregate dimensions related to intercultural experience and compared the codes for each dimension within and across our cases of immigrant entrepreneurs. Through this process, we found that immigrant entrepreneurs differed in their intercultural mental schemas and that those differences largely aligned with their intercultural foundation and interpretations of their intercultural incidences. We thus grouped

immigrant entrepreneurs into three categories based on the differences in their intercultural experience which comprised their intercultural foundation, intercultural incidences and intercultural schemas; these were labelled Globalist, Patriot and Aspirational intercultural experience. Table 2 illustrates data for intercultural foundations, incidences and mental schemas for immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist, Patriot and Aspirational intercultural experience.

----- Insert Table 2 about here -----

***Stage 2: Identification of approaches to hybridity paradox in prosocial ventures.*** In stage two, we analyzed immigrant entrepreneurs' experience with hybridity paradoxes in their prosocial ventures, by investigating their answers to the interview questions and vignettes we conceptualized for performing, organising and belonging tensions (Smith et al., 2013). We captured both perceptual data and behavioural data, recognising that approaches to paradox can also be situated in practice (Jarzabkowski & Le, 2017). Drawing on Battilana & Lee's (2014) conceptualisation of hybrid organisation approaches, we coded for an integrated approach when immigrant entrepreneurs emphasized both social and commercial venture aspects in relation to tensions. For example, for performing tensions, we coded an integrated approach when an entrepreneur defined success as a combination of social and commercial goals and/or used both social and financial metrics in their ventures (Smith et al., 2013). We also coded for differentiated approaches where immigrant entrepreneurs opted to prioritise a social or commercial venture aspect exclusively (Battilana & Lee, 2014). For example, in relation to organising tensions, we coded a differentiated commercial approach for immigrant entrepreneurs' approaches that emphasized objective metrics or aspects such as efficiency, productivity and profitability in their hiring practices as these are elements prioritized in a commercial venture (Smith et al., 2013). In contrast, we coded a differentiated social approach as instances where an entrepreneur emphasized subjective metrics or aspects such as social impact, well-being and support for

disadvantaged groups in their hiring practices as these are elements that are prioritised in a more traditional charitable organisation (Smith et al., 2013).

We coded entrepreneurs' approaches to hybridity (i.e., integrated, differentiated social, differentiated commercial, and mixed in a few cases where an approach exhibited a balanced mix of two or three approaches) across a total of nine elements clustered into performing (funding sources, definition of prosocial venturing success, performance review), organising (legal structure, hiring processes, organisational partners), and belonging (value proposition, workforce composition, workplace culture) tensions. Table 3 shows illustrative data for entrepreneurs' approaches to hybridity tensions and Figure 1 illustrates our data structure encompassing, intercultural foundation, incidences and mental schemas as well as approaches to hybridity.

----- Insert Table 3 and Figure 1 about here -----

***Stage 3: Modelling of relationships between intercultural experience and approaches to hybridity paradox in prosocial ventures.*** In the third phase of analysis, we analyzed the association between the immigrant entrepreneurs within the three different categories of intercultural experience (including their foundation, incidences and mental schemas) and their approaches to hybridity paradoxes in their prosocial ventures. For each category of immigrant entrepreneur with similar intercultural experience (Globalist, Patriot and Aspirational experience from data analysis stage 1), we mapped and summarized our coded approaches for hybridity paradox (data analysis stage 2). We examined the entire configuration of patterns for both intercultural experience (i.e., foundation, incidences, schemas) and hybridity experience (i.e., performing, organising, belonging) for each of the categories of intercultural experiences, following prior practices in comparing qualitative stories across informants (Polkinghorne, 1995).

After examining the composite results across patterns for both intercultural and hybridity experiences, we found evidence that the entrepreneurs whose foundation, incidences, and mental schemas were aligned with others in a particular category of intercultural experience (e.g.,



Globalist) also converged in many aspects of their hybridity-related approaches. While entrepreneurs with Globalist and Patriot intercultural experience showed different but homogenous approaches to performing, organising and belonging tensions, entrepreneurs with Aspirational experience showed more within group variance. To make sense of the pattern for the Aspirational experience, we went back into our data on both intercultural experience and approaches to hybridity. Through an iterative process we were also able to further refine our categorisation of three types of intercultural experience and introduce more nuance into the category of Aspirational intercultural experience, distinguishing between entrepreneurs with stronger host vs. heritage country culture orientation.

By comparing approaches to hybridity across performing, organising and belonging tensions between the four groups (Globalist, Patriot, heritage-culture-oriented and host-culture-oriented Aspirational intercultural experience), we found was that an association between entrepreneurs' approaches to intercultural experience, as exemplified by their intercultural mental schemas, and their approaches to hybridity paradoxes. To make sense of this link, we went back to the data and in addition to interview data also used our data from surveys as well as vignettes to triangulate our findings. Figure 2 illustrates the findings from our empirical analyses.

----- Insert Figure 2 about here -----

## **Findings**

From our analysis of the data, we derived two core findings illustrated in Figure 2. First, we identified three overarching categories of intercultural experience among immigrant social entrepreneurs based on the foundation behind their intercultural experience, the series of intercultural incidences they experienced, and the mental schemas they used to interpret their intercultural experience. The three categories are:

1. **Globalist Intercultural Experience.** An experience grounded in an intercultural foundation of low barriers to social inclusion, and later involved many intercultural interactions that were intensely negative in the host country yet responded to with an integrated approach to culture. It typically involved entrepreneurs who came with a higher socio-economic status.
2. **Patriot Intercultural Experience.** An experience grounded in an intercultural foundation of high barriers to social inclusion, and later involved many intercultural interactions that were intensely negative in the host country and responded to with a differentiated approach to culture. It typically involved entrepreneurs who came with or into a lower socio-economic status in their early teenage years and had lived in the host country for over ten years.
3. **Aspirational Intercultural Experience (Heritage- and Host-Oriented).** An experience grounded in an intercultural foundation of aspirational aims centred around the heritage or host culture and a neutral experience of inclusion/exclusion, that is, inclusion and exclusion were not noteworthy features of their formative intercultural experience. In the host country, they recalled few intensely negative intercultural interactions and they responded to these with a mixed approach whereby they engaged in some level of integration, but with an emphasis on adapting to specific cultural contexts. It typically involved entrepreneurs who came with an average socio-economic status and those heritage-country oriented immigrated in their childhood and had lived in the host country for over 15 years while those host-country oriented had lived in the host country for less than 10 years

Second, we found evidence of “mirroring” between their approach to intercultural tensions, as evident from their mental schemas for managing intercultural incidences and their approaches to performing, organising, and belonging tensions within their prosocial venture (Figure 2). We define mirroring as patterns of paradox experience in one domain that reflect patterns of paradox experience in another domain. Specifically, we found evidence of mirroring between the mental schemas that they applied to their intercultural experience (e.g., an integrated

approach) and their approach to tensions within their prosocial venture experience. This included how they approached performing tensions associated with integrating or differentiating social and commercial goals, organising tensions associated with integrated or differentiated structures, and belonging tensions associated with integrated or differentiated identities. Specifically, we found that a Globalist intercultural experience characterized by an overall integrative approach to managing intercultural tensions was mirrored by an overall integrative approach to managing hybridity tensions. We found that a Patriot intercultural experience characterized by an overall differentiated approach to managing intercultural tensions was mirrored by an overall differentiated approach to managing hybridity tensions. Finally, we found that an Aspirational intercultural experience characterized by a mixed approach to managing intercultural tensions was mirrored by a mixed approach to managing hybridity tensions (Figure 2). The difference between the two types of Aspirational intercultural experience was that the heritage-oriented entrepreneurs emphasized social venture aspects and their heritage culture in belonging tensions, while the host-oriented entrepreneurs emphasized commercial venture aspects and their host culture in organising tensions. Next, we describe in detail each of these intercultural experiences and how they were mirrored.

### **Globalist Intercultural Experience**

The five entrepreneurs (two females and three males) with Globalist intercultural experience had an intercultural foundation that involved low barriers to social inclusion in the host country due to considerable international travel and schooling. MoroccoM1 for example states:

*‘Well, my dad was a diplomat, worked a nine-to-five, was almost never home, travelling, and everything...My dad worked for the Nigerian Foreign Service for about 35 years. And so, as a child, because of my dad’s job, I was fortunate to travel a lot and go to a lot of international schools, ... I think this contributed to shaping a lot about my mindset....’*

UgandaF1 was:

*'Born and raised in Uganda...then I left, for the first time, to do my Masters in Italy... My husband is originally from the UK. So, we got married in Uganda and then...I moved here [UK] to go with him.'*

Importantly, the international travel and schooling of immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience was associated with a perceived experience of inclusion. This provided them with the sense that everyone is part of a global culture and each person as unique regardless of their culture or race. MoroccoM1 elaborates:

*'The travel is more about the international exposure...in those international school settings, I had exposure to global culture... It's always made it easier for me to make friends here, get out of my comfort zone. Not all my friends are African. I will date outside of my race, et cetera. And so, I feel like – it kind of made me see everyone as being the same, regardless of what you look like, and that's always been my mindset. And, the same thing with – even when it's back home in Nigeria, it's always treating everyone as a person, regardless of their race. And I think my background taught me that, subconsciously, very early.'*

Immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience consequently use an integration approach in their intercultural interactions. They for instance, *'have a more global perspective as to [the] human struggle... [I've] become less judgmental of others and understanding that everyone has a story - there's something beautiful about every single person'* (NigeriaM3). They are furthermore *'... culturally agnostic, meaning...I have less reverence towards social norms. I've lived in so many different social norms...'* (NigeriaM4).

Because they are minorities within the host country, those with a Globalist intercultural experience do still suffer incidences where they felt discriminated against. When immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience encountered intercultural incidences that involved discriminatory interactions, however, they attributed the counterpart's behavior to individual rather than national culture characteristics. NigeriaF1 noted *'...from their perspective, they were just seeing a black face in a sea of white people... for them, it was just because I was black'*. Faced with these interactions, they wonder *'...why would this person treat me like this, or act like this, just because of the colour of my skin.'* (NigeriaM3, emphasis added to highlight attribution to individual characteristics).

To navigate these interactions, immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience '*...sit back and have a conversation with myself*' (NigeriaM3) and '*keep quiet, or to just observe, more than speak, and not exactly jump into things...*' (MoroccoM1). Overall, doing so helps them understand that, '*we were just raised differently, and having that understanding makes you mindful to – you know, it's not me against you... How can we communicate better? How can I understand your perspective? How can you understand mine?*' (NigeriaM3).

### **Mirroring Between Globalist Intercultural Experience and Hybridity**

The integration approach to Globalists' intercultural interactions is also applied in their approach to their prosocial venture. Immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience viewed themselves as inclusive agents that seek to connect people together namely, Africa to the rest of the world. Their ventures were started to ensure, '*[African] Kids are better global leaders of tomorrow...building off that model – the U.S. model, and how the U.S. has been able to use sports to create this global economy*' (MoroccoM1). UgandaF1 similarly notes, '*...the vision really is to help to develop the technology system in Africa by giving access to global opportunities in Europe and particularly in the UK...helping to connect people to - entrepreneurs to mentors, giving them exposure.*' Overall, Globalists saw the value of diversity and inclusion in their prosocial ventures as NigeriaM3 elaborates:

*'The vision is to create an inclusive ecosystem.... When we have to work with someone whom you know nothing about, all of a sudden, you understand they're human. Then, some of your biases are challenged.... Diversity and inclusion have a way of sensitizing us, which I think is extremely important for a global world, and for collaboration, and all that stuff.'*

These effects were mirrored in how they viewed social and commercial tensions and how they managed those tensions. Regarding performing tensions, Globalists believed success is about '*two matrices for success. One is are we doing well financially? Are we generating money? But two is what is that impact? ...an organisation that also positively impacts other people...in a positive way...*' (UgandaF1). It's about, '*figuring out ways to create sustainable change using social pathways. Engaging the private sector. Commercialisation...*' (MoroccoM1). Globalists

also sought access to funding from social and commercial sources which tended to mirror their inclusive intercultural experience:

*'So, funding comes from...Individual donations. Proposals to companies, both local and international companies, with Africa presence. Organisations like USAID...' (MoroccoM1).*

Concerning organising tensions, immigrant entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience employed a mix of volunteer and professional staff. For example, the workforce composition is about *'It's cut between people who are actually from the Niger Delta, who understand the problems [volunteers], and people who represent who our audience is in America [professional staff] ...'* (NigeriaM4).

In relation to belonging tensions, Globalists were most likely to accommodate partners that further their pursuit of both social and commercial organisational goals. The composition of these partnerships additionally mirrored their intercultural experience in that they were inclusive of organisations from different countries. MoroccoM1 for example states:

*'My current partnerships are with the International Youth Foundation, a couple of organisations here in D.C., as well as locally, on the ground [within Africa]...[also] I have connections to ExxonMobil, connections to Shell, connections to the NBA.'*

UgandaF1 similarly worked with the non-profit, *'iSpace Ghana[non-profit] ...who are now supporting the entrepreneurs to develop their ideas...we [also work with] two [for-profit] law firms in London...for our conference...for investors and business leaders in London.'* Ultimately, Globalists work with people with, *'...similar ideals to us. They don't necessarily actively work on the Africa space or the Africa diaspora space. But they see business the same way that we do...creating opportunities for people to come together.'* (NigeriaF1).

### **Patriot Intercultural Experience**

The six immigrant entrepreneurs (4 females and 2 males) with Patriot intercultural experience immigrated at the average age of 12 and have lived in the host country an average of 14 years. They had an intercultural foundation that involved high barriers to social inclusion due

to a strong attachment to their parents who resonated with their heritage culture. Most of their parents were divorced, and several of the entrepreneurs immigrated to join a parent overseas:

*'My mum is still in Ghana and my dad is here [Belgium]...Their relationship came to an end...for them because I stayed longer with my mum it was also a bit time for me to discover a bit of my dad... (GhanaF1).*

When asked about their reasons for immigrating, the entrepreneurs often described how, *'I moved here because my mum wanted to see me'* (GhanaM2) and, *'... [I was] born and bred in Nigeria...My father decided to relocate to the UK...my dad is someone who values education and stability'* (NigeriaM2). Our findings suggest that there is an alignment between Patriots' strong resonance with their heritage culture and that of their parents. GhanaM2 for example notes:

*'My mum is very Ghanaian...She doesn't really go out of her way to adopt the American culture like that...[and] Ghanaian culture is in my home...I'm still very, very, very, very involved in everything African in my community....'*

Patriots also resonated strongly with their heritage cultures in circumstances where a parent sacrificed to give them better opportunities:

*'My dad still works in healthcare...[but]...he owned a pharmacy back in Kenya...he basically left his work as a pharmacist and sacrificed the comfort of home to move to the US...so that he can give us a chance to have more opportunities than we had... [as for me], I completely resonate with Kenyan culture. Completely. I feel like I love my culture as a Kenyan. I love it to death. I love being Kenyan (KenyaF1).*

Like Globalists, Patriots went through many negative intercultural incidences. As a result, they admitted that *'I was bullied, I was discriminated against...'* and describe feeling *'...this deep sadness...it's almost like you have to give up your identity...'* (KenyaF1). In addition, they were impacted by their parents' struggle to adjust to their host country. They recounted how, *'...Mum literally was reduced to cleaning in hospitals...it was quite painful to actually see my Mum have to start all the way at the bottom when she'd already established a sound [teaching] career for herself in Zimbabwe.'* Seeing their parents struggle they feel, *'For a lot of people who come to America when they're older and a lot of parents... It's not a comfortable feeling or experience...'*

(KenyaF1), *'because, at the end of the day, you're not American. You're really not part of this community...'* (GhanaM3).

In contrast to Globalists, Patriots were more likely to believe that intercultural incidences were indicative of social exclusion. For example, *'...people berate you [here in the US] because of the way you speak and they basically subjugate that to a lesser value or say that you just are illiterate...'* (GhanaM2). They furthermore felt that, *'when you're African you have this great perception about Europe and kids from Europe have a very totally negative view about Africa and then they start to say you sleep in a tree, ... and you're poor and all of that'* (GhanaF1).

Patriots subsequently responded by dissociating themselves from their host country (differentiation approach). They acknowledged, *'Do I spend a lot of time partaking in their culture, no...'* (ZimbabweF1) and *'...mainly in the Netherlands and here in Belgium...[they] call a black person a negro...I can't accept that you're calling a black person a negro...You don't want to be a part of that'* (CameroonF1). Patriots more strongly associated with their heritage countries and cultures. They stated, *'...I'm still very traditional...when it comes to kind of values and culture and identity, I'm a very kind of confident, proud African man.'* (NigeriaM2) and *'I'm Ghanaian through and through...I don't think - even like my culture hasn't changed. My values haven't changed'* (GhanaM3). Overall, they feel, *'...while I'm not local, I'm not present in Ghana, the culture is still very present here...Everything. The way we talk, the way we eat, going to different ceremonies, outdoors and cultural events [is Ghanaian]'* (GhanaM2). GhanaF1 superbly articulated their dissociation from their host culture and association with their heritage culture:

*'I[ve] tried to be part of the community [Belgium], I do everything you're supposed to do but then I don't really feel obliged to get to know this [culture] because here we have our own community, the Ghanaian community...it still feels like you're home, in your own home country...knowing this [Ghanian] culture has helped me to be who I am as a strong African...'*



Although Patriots saw cultural barriers between their heritage and host country, they did not perceive the same cultural barriers between national cultures they perceived as similar such as cultures within the African continent. When asked about their friendship networks, they stated, *'I do have a lot of friends who are Africans'* (ZimbabweF1), *'...a couple of Nigerians, a couple of Kenyans, Tanzanians...we're all from Africa...'* (GhanaM3) and *'...a lot of my friends who are close to me are still Nigerian or African origin...'* (NigeriaM2). When asked why, they acknowledged *'I guess at some point you start to understand similar interests, people you feel comfortable with'* (GhanaM3), *'We [my friends] talk about Africa. We want Africa to grow...'* (GhanaF1) and *'[I can] relate to them more and especially in terms of what my parents expect of me...'* (ZimbabweF1). Ultimately, Patriots

*'...don't believe in those all those barriers that exist in Africa and I don't even consider myself Cameroonian. I mean I'm African first of all...you may be coming from this country but first of all we are Africans...it's really unity and we are one continent, one big country...'* (CameroonF1).

### **Mirroring between Patriot Intercultural Experience and Hybridity**

The differentiation approach to non-African intercultural interactions was also mirrored in how those with Patriot intercultural experience approached their prosocial venture. In contrast to entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience who saw themselves as inclusive agents that connect different national cultures across the world, Patriots viewed themselves as agents exclusively focused on advancing the African continent and African people. KenyaF1 started her venture with the aim of *'...raising a generation of young Africans who are aware of the social issues in their community and they see themselves as the agents of change to potentially address those issues in a small way'*. Similarly, ZimbabweF1 noted, *'I want to be able to empower these young [African] girls and women to be a lot more resourceful...to give themselves a safer and more dignified menstrual health experience'*. GhanaM3 exceptionally elaborated on the focus on Africa and African people:

*'Our vision is very simple. We want to transform 10,000 youth across Africa into change-makers in the next five years...We want African youths to become the pioneers and the influencers who are going to shape social, political, and economic change.'*

This also applied to how Patriots approached the relationship between social and commercial goals. In terms of performing tensions, they were *'not into the economic aspect, making profit'* (CameroonF1). For them, *'the company [is] built for the betterment of society'* (GhanaM3) and to *'add value to community in a social way'* (GhanaM2). They additionally drew on socially oriented individuals and organisations with links to their heritage country for funding. ZimbabweF1 for example, stated that her funding comes from *'some Zimbabwe people who are obviously looking to invest in some philanthropic idea'*. GhanaM3 alternatively *'...won a [10,000 grant from a] Georgetown Africa Business Competition'*.

Regarding hiring processes (i.e., organising tensions), Patriots emphasized that candidates needed: *'to love Africa the way I love Africa.'* (CameroonF1). It's crucial that, *'You understand the vision. I want to be clear about that, that you are sold on this'* (NigeriaM2). KenyaF1, agreed; *'how do you feel that our vision connects with your own personal vision and mission for your own life'?*

Patriots furthermore, developed workplace cultures (i.e., belonging tensions) that were oriented around social goals, with a special connection to the African continent. KenyaF1 stated, *'I think our culture is very relaxed. [...] We always connect to our desire to really give [African] youth a platform to be heard.'* (KenyaF1). NigeriaM2 agrees:

*'Well, culture is fairly shaped around what we're about. We're sold on the interest of the community, the interest of the country, and the interest of the continent. We want to improve lives. So, because of that we're always on the edge of focusing back on the goal.'*

Immigrant entrepreneurs with Patriot intercultural experience lastly partnered with organisations that aligned with their social goals (belonging tensions). The composition of these partnerships additionally mirrored their focus on the African continent. For example, they stated, *'So, we have really great partnerships with youth organisations in the area [Ghana]'* (KenyaF1) and *'We engage with the community and we have their buy-in, so that's a big partner for us*

*otherwise we wouldn't be able to do much'* (NigeriaM2). GhanaF1 for instance partnered with an organisation '*called Niretia Africa, which is beautifying and improving Africa, make it better, in Swahili*'. When asked about his organisational partnerships, GhanaM3 pointed out, '*No, not here [in the US]. I try to focus on organisations that are on the ground in Ghana to help with this. Because what I found out was that I know a lot of people [here] don't know that much about the continent*'.

### **Aspirational Intercultural Experience (Heritage and Host Oriented)**

The six immigrant entrepreneurs (all males) with Aspirational intercultural experience had an intercultural foundation where career aspirations were a central focus and inclusion/exclusion was unobtrusive. Thus, we describe Aspirationals' experienced barriers to social inclusion as neutral.

Aspirationals cited professional development aspirations as their motive for immigrating, however, the origins of their aspirations differ. Some Aspirationals are heritage country-oriented (CongoM1, SierraLeoneM1) such that they aspire to develop themselves professionally so they can return and/or contribute to their heritage countries. CongoM1 noted:

*To be honest, I've always missed home, and I've always planned to go back at some point of time...I want to get free from being in the US. It's a bit of irony, but my dream is to be able to go back to Africa and live there...but in order to do that, in order to get there...I need to have my own venture*'.

Other Aspirationals are host country-oriented (ZimbabweM1, GhanaM1, NigeriaM1, GhanaM4) such that they left their heritage countries for better opportunities and thus have a more positive view of their host countries and no stated intentions to go back to Africa. GhanaM1 illustrates the host country-oriented Aspirational type:

*'But somewhere maybe in my earlier years before I even went to high school, I'd always been fascinated by technology and all that....And I figured if I was actually going to work hard or I was going to start something, I had to go to a country that is serious about innovation when it comes to technology. And obviously that was the United States, or California for that matter*'

Our findings suggest that while Aspirationals (heritage and host oriented) perceived the existence of cultural barriers between different national cultures, they viewed them as flexible, thus they take a mixed approach to intercultural interactions that features level of integration, but with an emphasis on fitting into cultural contexts (Table 3). ZimbabweM1 superbly articulates this viewpoint:

*‘When somebody makes the assumption that you can speak whatever language it is and then you can’t so that interaction gets off to a weird start and then they realize, “Oh shit, you’re foreign...You can see body language change[so]...I hold a bunch of languages in my head so it takes a while to recalibrate to speaking different languages and I know that puts people at ease if you can talk.’*

Consequently, Aspirationals understand that culturally based behaviours and thinking are instrumental when interacting with individuals from other cultures and thus adapt to cultural expectations as GhanaM4, for example, acknowledged:

*‘When I’m back in my Ghanaian culture to be able to be accepted in the culture and also not as a deviant I have to comply with the norms and values and they are different from the norms and values in a Dutch culture...In those different cultures, in those different societies I do my best to honour them.’*

Overall, in any given environment, Aspirationals believed, *‘It’s understanding what that looks like and then how you can bring other elements of your personality to that at different times when it’s needed’* (Sierra LeoneM1).

Regarding intercultural incidences, Aspirationals (heritage and host oriented) were the most likely category to experience low intensity intercultural incidences, which contrasts with Patriots and Globalists who recounted highly intense negative personal intercultural incidences. Moving to his host country, NigeriaM1 notes, *‘...I used to give people lots of hugs...Americans, for the most part, aren’t as warm so sometimes it wasn’t received that well’*. Some immigrant entrepreneurs with Aspirational intercultural experience did not recount any negative/discriminatory intercultural incidences at all. Take, for instance, GhanaM4 who stated, *‘For me mostly I’m always very positive so maybe it will be very hard to find someone’s action towards me as negative. I’ve not really experienced those [discriminatory] moments.’*

A possible reason for Aspirational's low-intensity intercultural incidences is that they learned they can move between different national cultures if they present themselves in a way that meets cultural expectations. In meeting cultural expectations, immigrant entrepreneurs with Aspirational intercultural experience prioritize the demands of the cultural context they are in to avoid negative situations and interactions. In their interactions they, for instance, *'...try to see the difference between the two cultures and wherever you want to be accepted...then you have to actually participate in those societal values and norms...'* (GhanaM4). They furthermore *'do a little more planning to smooth the initial interaction to get rid of any friction'* (ZimbabweM1) and create a *'sub personality [to] bring other elements of your personality to that at different times when it's needed... which is set to allow you to survive in that environment'* (SierraLeoneM1). SierraLeoneM1 elaborated this point:

*'...[when] you're interacting with certain people, because you think from past experiences 'they're not going to get this' or 'they're not going to get that,' you wouldn't totally bring who you are in that element to that situation.'*

### **Mirroring between Heritage Country-Oriented Aspirational Intercultural Experience and Hybridity**

The mixed approach to intercultural interactions (i.e., some integration with an emphasis on fitting into cultural contexts) was mirrored in how those with heritage oriented Aspirational intercultural experience (CongoM1, SierraLeoneM1) generally approached tensions in their prosocial venture. Heritage country-oriented entrepreneurs for example used an integration approach for performing tensions as they defined prosocial venture as making, *'...a social impact as well as mak[ing] profit in something which is sustainable'* (SierraLeoneM1) and believing *'...there's a business aspect to it, and there is a helping people' aspect to it'* (CongoM1).

With respect to organising tensions, some heritage country-oriented entrepreneurs use integration by concurrently operating for-profit and non-profit legal structures. SierraLeoneM1 noted, *'Even though it is a charity per say [current organisation], you can still run it as a*

*business. ...we've also started up another organisation which is part of the group...our [for-profit] consulting arm'.*

Hiring practices are also sometimes integrated in that when recruiting they acknowledged:

*'If it is the money [the person wants], great – even better – because that person will be able to help us identify ways to generate a profit...it's [also] important to look at the skill set of the person...And also, do they have the same vision? Do they believe in Africa?' (CongoM1).*

Because of their aspirations, heritage country-oriented entrepreneurs were furthermore, keenly interested in associating their ventures with Africa. They confessed: *'...we really align ourselves with the African proverb which is 'If you want to go fast, go alone. And if you want to go far, go together.'* (SierraLeoneM1) as well as *'[our] vision is really to empower other Africans to start their own business' (CongoM1).*

In terms of organisational partnerships (organising tension), heritage country-oriented Aspirationalists used a differentiation approach by working with community groups that aligned with their social goals and were linked to their heritage countries or the African continent:

*'So, all the documentaries in Africa were filmed and that was pro bono...when we meet them, I'll really get to understand their values and their vision of where they're going and what their thoughts are in terms of...youth and the development of their country' (SierraLeoneM1).*

CongoM1 reinforced this view:

*'...everyone that we interview [for the platform], in a way, is a partner, because they, through their interviews, push our mission and vision forward...We have the same passion, the same vision. We have unconditional love for Africa....'*

They similarly used a differentiation approach for belonging tensions, as their workforces were mainly composed of volunteers. Concurrently, the people who worked with them in a volunteer capacity were, *'West African, three Nigerian and one Ghanaian' (SierraLeoneM1)* as well as *'Senegal, Sithi, our computer guy, is from Guinea' (CongoM1).* In addition, they emphasized social goals in their value propositions (belonging tension) that corresponded with their aspirations to be associated with their heritage countries and the African continent:

*‘...the main value proposition, being inspired, being able to have that platform where you can go and find someone who can give you advice or just relate to you...[it’s about] the guy who’s African, who gets inspired [through our platform] and decides to start his business...the impact can be felt because when he starts his business, he benefits his community, benefits his family, his family that is here and that is back home, right’ (CongoM1).*

### **Mirroring between Host Country-Oriented Aspirational and Hybridity**

The mixed approach to intercultural interactions was also mirrored in how host country-oriented entrepreneurs (ZimbabweM1, GhanaM1, NigeriaM1, GhanaM4) approached tensions in their prosocial venture. With respect to belonging tensions Aspirational exhibit a mixed approach in that they sometimes use both integration and differentiation for belonging tensions. They workforces are for instance sometimes integrated in that they are comprised of *‘about 50, 50... volunteers that aren’t being paid yet...then we have the six of us that are full-time [paid staff]’* (ZimbabweM1). In addition, their value propositions sometimes speak to both commercial and social value:

*‘for the hospitals we are automating your entire process...the value to the pharmaceutical companies is that we’re providing you data to do your work better...And finally, the value to the patient is that we’re empowering your health care provider to predict and detect your diseases earlier...So these are the three stakeholders in the business; one is purely financial, one is social and another one is kind of a hybrid’ (GhanaM1).*

Host country-oriented entrepreneurs alternatively use a differentiated commercial approach to establish workplace cultures (belonging tension) that prioritize aspects of a commercial venture such as productivity and efficiency. Nigeria M1 notes, *‘We want people to have full ownership. Again, radical candour’ is a great way to describe our culture. Very energetic but very frank and upfront. Very big on pushing each other’.*

ZimbabweM1 agrees:

*‘Culture wise as well, it’s...this really direct approach, just say exactly what you mean....So, we insist on everybody be radically candid about everything and I ask it of me the most...because we’re a data first company, we need to obviously take that very seriously and stress test our ideas’.*

A possible reason for the emphasis on commercial aspects is that the aspirations of host country-oriented entrepreneurs have allude to a keen interest in associating with their host

country. They for instance acknowledge *'that in the 'United States, there are companies in Utah who are raising millions of dollars instead of capital, whereas if you live in Luanda, or Accra or Lagos it's going to be quite difficult to raise a lot of money'* (GhanaM1). And confess:

*'...Here [in the Netherlands] people want to pay a premium price for something that has a good cause because here people have much more wealth than in Ghana, and people care about having a good shoe'.*

Host country-oriented entrepreneurs opt for commercial legal structures (organising tension), *'Basically, for venture capital funding. If you want to raise equity in the US from investors, it's really easy if you become a Delaware C corp. It's just like the most tax-friendly way to raise money...'* (NigeriaM1). GhanaM4 agrees because *'... raising money is hard and so you want your legal structure to be as vanilla as possible...in the United States...a lot of investors are familiar with a Delaware C Corporation, so that was a no brainer for us'*. In terms of hiring practices (organising tension), they prioritize commercial aspects by using, *'...pretty standard employment contracts and then we do the share agreement'* (GhanaM1). They furthermore, *'...take a quick look at the CV, we rate the CV for effect using pretty basic rubric and then if they pass that, we ask them to take a test'* (ZimbabweM1). Overall, the recruitment process is about, *'...your resume...You may have a test pass, so you may do a research pass or structure something deliverable'* (NigeriaM1).

With respect to performing tensions, funding sources similarly emphasize commercial goals. For example, GhanaM1 *'...raised funding from a couple of people; Merc, Pfizer; pharmaceutical companies'*, while ZimbabweM1 states, *'...We got into YC [Y Combinator, a for-profit investment program in the US] so that's the only funding received to date.* In terms of performance review practices (performing tension) host country-oriented entrepreneurs acknowledge, *'I don't have to wait for the quarter to end before I know they [my employees] are not performing'* (GhanaM1). As such they *'keep a dashboard of how each analyst is performing, accuracy of their work, mistakes and they get that information sent to them after each project so*



*they know exactly where they are'* (ZimbabweM1). Overall, *'It's basically like you said you would complete four things, you did three, 75% over the last six weeks you've been at 60. Like, that's bad. You want at least 80'* (NigeriaM1).

## **Discussion**

Our overarching contribution to paradox theory is attributed to the novelty of our context and its role in expanding the scope of research on culture and paradox, answering previous calls to focus on the intercultural experience (Miron-Spektor & Erez, 2017). Rather than treating culture as a knowledge resource, we focused on culture as an experience and its relationship to other paradoxes (i.e., hybridity). This endeavor enabled us to incorporate other macro-level factors that are interrelated with cultural exposure (e.g., the social barriers that come from socio-economic inequality in a global society) and to explore alternative mechanisms that link culture to the paradox experience (e.g., mirroring). This endeavor also enabled us to examine the relationship between culture and paradox in a way that recognises the complexity of the interplay between macro-level systems and structures and the socio-material conditions on the ground (Hahn & Knight, 2020; Schad & Bansal, 2018). Through our inductive inquiry into the intercultural experience of African immigrant social entrepreneurs in the West and their experience managing prosocial ventures, we generated three core findings with relevance to both the paradox and hybridity literatures.

Our findings therefore suggest that the intercultural foundation, shaped in part by a macro-level socio-economic context that created issues around both status and motivation, involved an interplay between plurality and scarcity conditions. Whereas plurality brings actors into a more salient paradoxical experience in their intercultural incidences, scarcity impacts the mental schema that is used to interpret this experience. As our findings also reveal, the relationship between these two contrasting experiences likely involved virtuous and vicious cycles that reinforced their mental schemas (Pradies, Tunarosa, Lewis & Courtois, 2020). Specifically, with

lower scarcity, plurality enabled Globalists to become more integrated in their approach to intercultural relations, whereas with higher scarcity, plurality enabled Patriots to become more differentiated in their approach. Aspirationalists, on the other hand, lacked both salient scarcity and plurality conditions, and thus maintained a primarily mixed approach to their intercultural experience, driven by various instrumental goals.

Our findings on scarcity are, in some ways, a contrast to prior work. For example, Miron-Spektor and colleagues (2018) conceptualized scarcity as a condition that raised the salience of paradoxes because it reduced actors' ability to focus on one pole (Miron-Spektor et al, 2018). In the case of our sample of entrepreneurs, however, scarcity appears to reflect a lack of perceived capacity to respond to tensions. In this respect, the restriction in cultural capital shaped by socioeconomic inequality is analogous to the power a manager exerts over subordinates' capacity to respond to paradox (Berti & Simpson, 2020). In the entrepreneurs' case, the power is embedded within a global system that delineates between those who have more and those who have less capacity to develop cultural capital—even among immigrant entrepreneurs from the same region (Rath & Kloosterman, 2000).

These findings contribute to paradox theory with implications for research on the socio-material conditions that not only raise the salience of paradoxical tensions but also inform actors' approach. By identifying different intercultural experience configurations that are characterized by differences in experiences with plurality and scarcity, we add nuance to the premise that plurality, scarcity, and change are three factors that raise the salience of tensions (e.g., Miron-Spektor et al, 2018; Smith & Cunha, 2020; Smith & Lewis, 2011). By calling attention to the role of cultural capital, we further redefine scarcity as a lack of resources available to manage plurality. Our findings therefore point to a complex interplay between plurality and scarcity that can lead to either vicious or virtuous cycles.

Hence intercultural experience serves as an important microfoundational instantiation of globalisation that is worthy of further inquiry. The limitations of our study provide multiple pathways for future research. One limitation pertains to the absence of direct observations across intercultural experiences. Although we were not able to observe the intercultural incidences and the dynamic relationship between the intercultural incidences and the development of an intercultural mental schema first-hand, we can follow prior work that makes inferences about the intercultural experience through triangulating findings and situating the findings within the paradox literature (e.g., Keller, Wong & Liou, 2020). This limitation is expected given our focus on life stories and the discussions of social conditions that precede venture founding. Future research, however, can more directly explore some of the micro-mechanisms and dynamic processes that we infer from our findings and are informed by prior research. For example, future research can examine more closely the experience of scarcity and plurality within an intercultural experience. Future research also can further explore some of the social conditions we identified as critical to the intercultural foundation. For example, we identified that female immigrant entrepreneurs were more likely to have a Patriot experience, which reflects a potential interplay between culture and gender in the intercultural experience.

### **Mirroring: Analogous Transfer or System Embeddedness?**

Our second core finding was that the entrepreneurs' approaches to hybridity paradoxes mirrored their approaches to their intercultural experience. We theoretically interpret this finding by asking the questions what was being mirrored and why? By examining our findings building on research on analogical reasoning (Gentner, Loewenstein, & Thompson, 2003; Goldwater & Gentner, 2015), which is discussed in both the paradox (Keller & Chen, 2017), and hybridity (McMullen, 2015) literatures, we identify two mirroring patterns. The first pattern, which we refer to as *systems-level* mirroring, involves applying the association between culture (i.e., Western, African or Global) and hybrid element (i.e., commercial, social, commercial and social) that

entrepreneurs' make based on their experience of macro-level systems imprinted on their mental schema. For example, some Patriots in our sample referred to Africa as *the* target of social objectives and were more likely to see their organisation as an African organisation. The association between 'Africa' and 'social' then explains their focus on social approaches to paradox and together with their intercultural mental schema of perceiving persistent barriers between cultures explains why they are less likely to integrate or choose commercial approaches. In the example of host country-oriented Aspirationalists, the association between 'commercial' and 'Western culture' explains why, depending on their aspirations, they choose commercial approaches to meet the demands of their host culture.

The second pattern, which we refer to as *analogical mirroring*, involves applying similar abstract patterns in both domains. In this case, an entrepreneur develops a mental schema that emphasizes either integration or differentiation and applies the same principle in both the intercultural and hybridity domains. In the case of Globalists and Patriots, the patterns were straightforward. Globalists integrated all paradoxical elements of hybrid organisational design. They integrated their social and business objectives, they placed social and business activities together, and they promoted a hybrid identity. They also incorporated a pro-global perspective into their organisational design, which was aligned with their integrative approach to a social and commercial venture. Patriots, on the other hand, differentiated all paradoxical elements and favoured the social over the commercial. They emphasized social objectives over commercial objectives, they chose to both separate and emphasize social elements of organising, and they emphasized a prosocial identity. Among Aspirationalists, the patterns were mixed. While host country-oriented Aspirationalists emphasized business aspects of organising, heritage country-oriented Aspirationalists emphasized social aspects of belonging. One explanation may be attributed to the instrumental view they adopt to intercultural interactions for the purpose of

achieving their aspirations and the resulting lack of deep intercultural engagement that enabled flexibility yet reduced integration.

These findings contribute to paradox theory by establishing a relationship between how actors respond to paradoxes embedded within their intercultural experience and those embedded within their hybridity experience. By demonstrating that there were many parallel approaches and the parallel approaches differed across the different intercultural experience configurations, we were able to demonstrate a mirroring effect. We also found evidence of multiple mechanisms that may be contributing to the mirroring effect. In the process, we expanded the literature on the relationship between paradoxes, including research on nestedness (e.g., Schad & Bansal, 2018), embeddedness (e.g., Jarzabkowski, Le & Van de Ven, 2013) and knots (e.g., Sheep, Fairhurst & Khazanchi, 2017). We do so by demonstrating that personal experience and organisational experiences also can inform each other through a mirroring process.

### **Hybridity Relativity and Configurations**

Recent research on hybridity suggests that entrepreneurs can influence the degree of hybridity in their ventures by making choices about the absolute and relative importance of social and commercial aspects in their venture (e.g., Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Mair & Marti, 2006; Short, Moss, & Lumpkin, 2009; Shepherd et al., 2019; Wry & York, 2017). Our findings show how different prosocial entrepreneurs influence the degree of hybridity relativity in their ventures by choosing different approaches to integrating vs. differentiating hybridity tensions across performing, organising and belonging in their venture. They also demonstrate, however, that in the case of immigrant entrepreneurs, their approaches are embedded in a macro-level system of globalisation and its associated patterns of inequality and migration and affected by their intercultural experience. Our study contributes to this line of inquiry by suggesting that immigrant entrepreneurs or others affected by structural barriers such as inequality or social exclusion may be limited in their choices of how to respond to paradox and influence hybridity.

For example, entrepreneurs with Patriot intercultural experience perceived exclusion and were limited in their opportunity to develop the necessary cultural capital to integrate social and commercial approaches as the commercial approach was associated with their reluctance to integrate into their Western host culture. While prior work has considered macro-level influences on migrant entrepreneurship (e.g., Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Kloosterman, 2010), our work connects macro-system level influences to degrees of hybridity and unpacks the role of intercultural experience as paradoxical experience in the process.

Prior work on hybridity suggests that actors in hybrid organisations can choose different approaches across different venture dimensions (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013; Smith et al., 2013). Our findings extend this line of inquiry by elucidating how entrepreneurs' intercultural experience and macro-level systems impacts on configurations of hybridity in prosocial ventures. The Aspirational intercultural experience is particularly interesting in this respect as we did find Globalist's and Patriot's approaches to be homogenous across different hybridity paradoxes. For example, heritage country-oriented Aspirational, integrated across performing tensions but tended to differentiate and focus on social aspects in belonging tensions. Prior work found that organising and belonging paradoxes are more difficult to integrate than performing paradoxes because they require deeper social engagement (Keller et al, 2020). This suggests that the mirroring does not involve direct copying between one domain and the other, but an application of a mental schema in different contexts. When the mental schema involves instrumentality and flexibility in how they approach integration and differentiation between two contradictory poles, instrumental goals will guide their approach. Of course, as paradox approaches to hybridity highlight, paradoxical tensions between social and commercial processes persist (Smith & Cunha, 2020). The extent to which immigrant social entrepreneurs' selective coupling of integrated and differentiated approaches can be a sustainable tactic remains a question worthy of further inquiry. The same question can apply to the Globalists and the Patriots.

As prior work on paradox has found, the success of managing paradoxical tensions resides in the actor's capacity to engage in both integration and differentiation (Smith, 2014). Our results point to different issues that each of these types of intercultural experiences may shape as the entrepreneurs navigate their prosocial enterprise. For Globalists, the question is likely to be about differentiation. For Patriots, the question is about integration. And for Aspirationalists, the question is about selective coupling and the lack of motivation to engage in paradox (Miron-Spektor et al, 2018).

In addition, in our sample entrepreneurs with Globalist intercultural experience organised their ventures with the highest degree of hybridity relativity and Patriots with relatively lower degrees of hybridity, while Aspirationalists showed overall medium degrees of hybridity relativity. One limitation of our study is that we did not account for hybridity intensity. While it is plausible that all entrepreneurs in our sample placed high importance on social goals, variation in how they emphasize commercial goals is likely and future research should empirically investigate the effects of intercultural experience as well as macro-level systems on both hybridity relativity as well as intensity. In line with Shepherd et al. (2019), we further call for future research to investigate the outcomes of various degrees of hybridity. For example, our findings do not address the outcomes of the integrated, differentiated, or selective coupling approaches and their relationship to their intercultural experience. This limitation is expected given the unique nature of our sample frame of African immigrant social entrepreneurs. Future research can, however, examine other contexts that have larger samples and provide more systematic comparisons across actors with varying intercultural experiences. Expanding contexts can also enable future research to disentangle some of the specific components of their experience. For example, future research can examine other heritage cultures, other host cultures, other entrepreneurial contexts, other hybrid contexts, and other forms of culture (e.g., professional cultures).

## **Conclusion**

We began with a motivation to shift our attention on national culture and paradox research from culture as knowledge to culture as experience. We responded to this motivation by conceptualizing the intercultural experience and the hybridity experience as parallel paradoxical experiences, and we addressed this empirically by examining the life stories of African immigrant social entrepreneurs. We discovered that their intercultural experience was informed by the socio-economic conditions surrounding the foundation of their intercultural experience. We also discovered that their interpretation of their intercultural experience was mirrored by their responses to the hybridity tensions within their prosocial venture. In the process, we were able to provide insight on the role of national culture in shaping responses to hybridity and paradox more broadly. This includes new insights on the interplay between socio-material conditions and mental schemas in actors' responses to paradox and the role of mirroring as a mechanism that connects paradoxical experiences. Most importantly, by focusing on the intercultural experience and its relationship to the hybridity experience, we brought globalisation and its associated grand challenges into the foreground—highlighting how the paradox experience of social enterprising and related endeavours are embedded within a global context.



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**Table 1: Description of Cases**

<b>Participant ID</b>	<b>Venture Mission</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age (Years)</b>	<b>Country of Origin</b>	<b>Country of Residence</b>	<b>Age of venture</b>
NigeriaM1	Leveraging the talents of students and professionals in the US & UK by strategically connecting them to high potential agri-business ventures in Nigeria.	Male	21	Nigeria	UK	2
MoroccoM1	Creating sport development initiatives that build skills and empower African youth for future professions.	Male	38	Morocco	US	2
NigeriaM3	Empowering disconnected and at-risk youth through tech, education and entrepreneurship.	Male	33	Nigeria	US	2
Sierra LeoneM1	Creating a bridge between Westerners (especially Africans from diaspora) and the business opportunities within sub-Saharan Africa for social and economic development.	Male	29	Sierra Leone	UK	4
UgandaF1	Working to connect and empower innovators, businesses and investors harnessing technology to drive sustainable development in Africa.	Female	33	Uganda	UK	2
NigeriaM4	Revitalizing the Niger Delta, an area devastated by five decades of oil pollution.	Male	35	Nigeria	US	9
ZimbabweM1	Empowering the global development community by creating IT based data analytics solutions.	Male	30	Zimbabwe	UK	1
NigeriaM2	Providing bicycles to young children in sub-Saharan Africa to enable them access school, be educated and get the best possible start in life.	Male	31	Nigeria	UK	1
GhanaM1	Improving the early detection and treatment of diseases in Africa using machine learning.	Male	25	Ghana	US	2
GhanaM3	Developing a gamified online social learning tool that offers an alternative to traditional exam preparation in Ghanaian Junior High Schools.	Male	24	Ghana	US	3
GhanaM4	A footwear apparel company provides job opportunities for talented shoemakers in Ghana and across West Africa.	Male	22	Ghana	Netherlands	1
KenyaF1	A community based youth activism project that works in resource deficient communities in Africa targeting school-aged children as the agents of change in the community.	Female	28	Kenya	UK	5
Nigeria F1	Working in resource deficient communities in Africa targeting school-aged children as the agents of change in the community.	Female	26	Nigeria	UK	2
CongoM1	Bringing African agricultural products to consumers in the US and supplying African farmers with quality but affordable farming equipment to increase their productivity.	Male	31	Congo	US	2
CameroonF1	Empowering young African people to obtain skills and knowledge needed for their livelihoods.	Female	25	Cameroon	Belgium	1
GhanaM2	Empowering African students to become changemakers by mobilizing their interests with real community problem-solving experiences and active-learning workshops.	Male	24	Ghana	US	2
GhanaF1	Empowering African youth in Belgium through cultural awareness programs, academic and professional skills development, entrepreneurship and mentorship.	Female	25	Ghana	Belgium	3
ZimbabweF1	Helping African women and girls make their own pads, using scraps of material that they might have lying around at home.	Female	25	Zimbabwe	UK	1

**Table 2: Illustrative Data for Intercultural Foundations, Incidences and Mental Schemas for Immigrant Entrepreneurs with Globalist Intercultural Experience**

<b>Aggregate Dimension</b>	<b>Conceptual Categories</b>	<b>Empirical Evidence</b>
Intercultural Foundation	Barriers to social inclusion in host country before immigration (Low)	<p><i>'I was born in Nigeria, grew up in Nigeria. Then my parents got married in the UK - my older siblings were born there.... My father's an engineer...My mum was Director for Education...They moved back home, had me and my younger siblings, and then we just visited, every now and then. It was actually, after I came to the US that I ended up spending a lot more time in the UK' (NigeriaM3).</i></p> <p><i>'My mother is an environmental engineering professor...and then my dad used to be an engineering professor, geotechnical engineering and now he runs the geotechnical engineering department...my dad was in grad school, my mum came over to [the US] to have me...then we left right after I was born and then went back to Nigeria...when I was six [we] then went to Canada. And then I lived in Canada...[then back to the US]' (NigeriaM4).</i></p>
Intercultural Incidences	Intensity of negative intercultural interactions after immigration (High)	<p><i>'Moving to the south [USA] where that racial discrimination is very much entrenched. And so you learned that not only were you black, there were all these other expectations that came with it that were all negative. None of them were good. And so that was a big culture shock. It was a big culture shock to realise that whites were a certain cultural identity, blacks were a certain cultural identity, Hispanics were a certain cultural identity, and that you have to figure out a way to fit into that even though you don't, you know?' (NigeriaM4).</i></p> <p><i>'You come to this society, this space, and you are now black. The unfortunate thing about that is all of the associations of being black were negative. You were expected to be a thug, or a lamb ready to be slain by cops' (NigeriaM3).</i></p>
Intercultural Mental Schema	Approach to intercultural interactions after immigration (Integration)	<p><i>'...I've spent a lot of time living on the west coast so it's probably made me very progressive, liberal.... it's made me very agnostic, culturally agnostic, meaning I could care less especially in today's world where we're so connected, you know? I have less of a reverence towards social norms. I've lived in so many different social norms and I now live in a place in California where social norms aren't like a big – tribal norms aren't a big deal as it is in other parts of America...A lot of things are changing in the States and I guess you support those changes because they provide more opportunities for more diverse peoples' (NigeriaM4).</i></p> <p><i>'I'm a very flexible person because I've had to move around so much... 'I often say if you live in London, if you're bored, it's your own fault, because there's so much going on and there's so many things that you can learn and experience that shape you as an individual... There's so many other types of people here that...it's difficult in London to be a binary human being that only thinks in one very specific way, because there's so many conflicting notions of self that you have to engage with other people to exist here successfully...I'm still me but I've gained a lot more than if I was just me in that group, if you know what I mean. (NigeriaF1).</i></p>

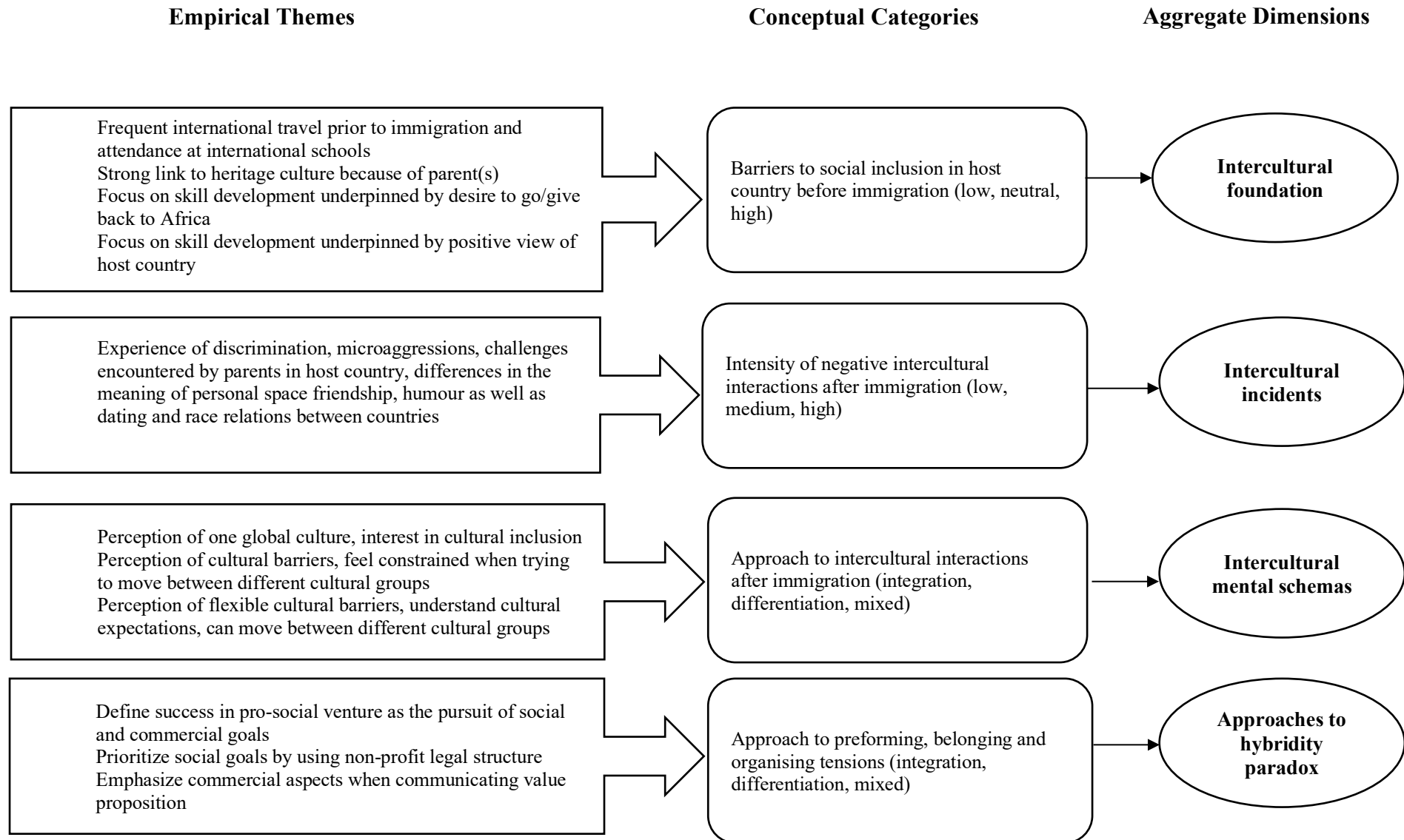
**Table 2 (Continued): Illustrative Data for Immigrant Entrepreneurs with Patriot Intercultural Experience**

<b>Aggregate Dimension</b>	<b>Conceptual Categories</b>	<b>Empirical Evidence</b>
Intercultural Foundation	Barriers to social inclusion in host country before immigration (High)	<i>'I came to Belgium when I was four years old with my parents...they were married and they broke up so my mother, she doesn't like Europe and she actually just came for my father. So she really loved Africa so she had to go back because it didn't really work out anymore with my father and she needed to go back and for me, they preferred for me to stay...because the quality of life is better over here etc. So I stayed here....One thing I remember [about mum] when she was here, and some people were saying things about Africa and black people...she will speak up...So I think...she's not able to identify, connect with Belgians in any way at all...[Mum is] actually always making others happy and that's why she really had this impact on me...And I want to be that person and yes - so really had a big influence on me, being able to give and not expect anything from somebody else...' (CameroonF1).</i>
Intercultural Incidences	Intensity of negative intercultural interactions after immigration (High)	<i>Going to experience myself, going through school and your own teachers telling you that you cannot do it, maybe you better do this subject. I was once told by my bookkeeping teacher that because I always have this cool hairstyle she told my dad at a parent's meeting that it's better for me to do hairdressing than study a business and computer studies. This happens a lot of times, a lot of times....First it's the community telling you you cannot do it and then you go to school which is totally different and when I was in Ghana a teacher would really work your ass to really get you studying. He don't just tell you you cannot do it because – you cannot do it because they tried to shut less and less of outsiders getting into their system. So it was really tough time for me but then I really pushed on them and made it to university' (GhanaF1).</i>
Intercultural Mental Schemas	Approach to intercultural interactions after immigration (Differentiation)	<i>'I think a lot of times in Kenya, someone's next to you, they smile at you. They're really inviting you into their space for a friendship. But I feel like a lot of times there's a very – American culture is very polite and it's kind of framed around being very kind and nice to people but...there's different ways that they relate to people that I felt was very different for me...I was very depressed actually in high school so I feel like that was part of my own system adjusting to all the changes so quickly and not having a model to look at...This is what happens with a new culture' (KenyaF1).</i>

**Table 2 (Continued): Illustrative Data for Immigrant Entrepreneurs with Aspirational Intercultural Experience (Heritage and Host country-oriented)**

<b>Aggregate Dimension</b>	<b>Conceptual Categories</b>	<b>Empirical Evidence</b>
Intercultural foundation	Barriers to social inclusion in host country before immigration (Neutral)	<p>Heritage country-oriented: <i>'Well I'm from Sierra Leone...it's always been things moving slow and people not doing what they're meant to do. People thinking very short term.'</i> And I'm thinking well my limited personal experience doesn't show me anything rising [socially an economically]... My personal objectives was to answer the question <i>"Do I want to move to anywhere in Africa? Do I want to focus my life on solving problems specifically connected to Africa? And do I see myself as somebody who is equipped, can survive, somebody who can thrive within the environments of these countries?"</i> (SierraLeoneM1).</p> <p>Host country-oriented: <i>'I had a business idea before that to start a shoe business but not knowing how to go about it because I didn't have much experience with entrepreneurship....Back in Ghana I was not really used to the internet and we didn't have much access to the internet as compared to the Netherlands. So that was one aspect of it, and I say well, here you have every opportunity - if you are well educated and you have everything that can make you successful...'</i> (GhanaM4).</p>
Intercultural Incidences	Intensity of negative intercultural interactions after immigration (Low)	<p><i>I remember the first time when I was a kid in the UK, I saw a white garbageman and that was weird and I was - white people doing menial work, that was a shock'</i> (ZimbabweM1).</p> <p><i>'...I remember when I was studying for my accountancy exams and I was having a joke...it was more a black joke from Chris Tucker. And then so the girls came and they were British girls and I just knew they wouldn't get the joke, but we were laughing about it and they were like "You need to tell us this joke!" and then I was really resistant to re-tell the joke because I was thinking "You're not going to get it" and then I told it and they just didn't get - and my friends just looked at me and I just looked at them and it was a very awkward moment'</i> (Sierra LeoneM1).</p>
Intercultural Mental Schemas	Approach to intercultural interactions after immigration (Mixed)	<p><i>'To a certain extent, I think I like what I've become or some of the things I've picked up from the States. Obviously that doesn't mean I forget about everything I was taught or the values from Ghana, you know, but just a couple of things that I actually talked about; respect for time. Like it's very important. I no longer see time as - this is quite conceptual, I hope you can follow, but in Ghana you kind of see time as secular and so today is Monday, Monday is going to come again and then Monday is going to come again. So if I don't get it done this Monday, I know another Monday is going to come....Whereas in Ghana if you're working late into the nights, 'Why are you staying up that late, come and get some rest' and it's like that you know? It's a more laid back culture than what we actually have here...Those are some of the conflicts you run into and that's how living in this country has changed my understanding'</i> (GhanaM1).</p>

**Figure 1: Structure of Data**





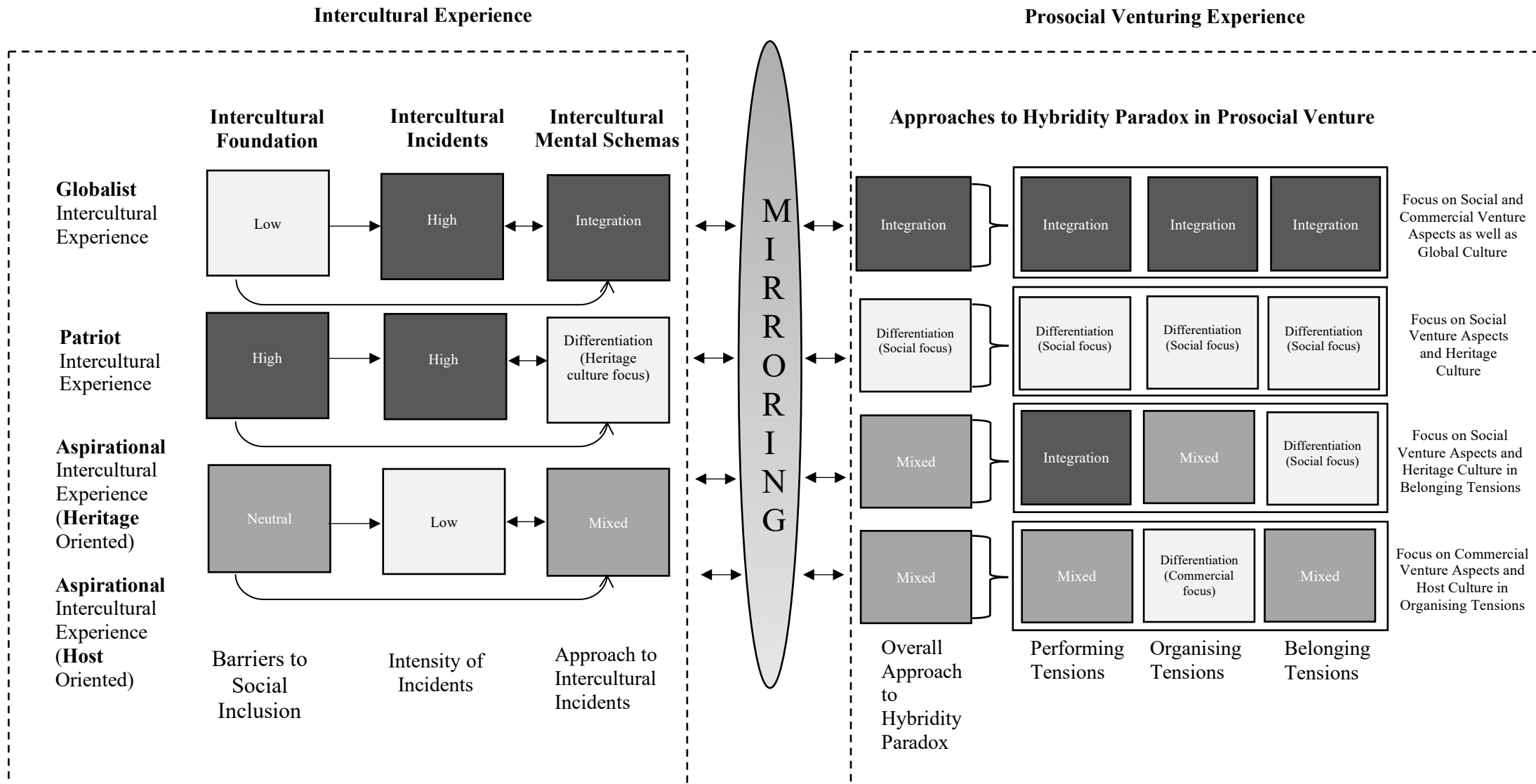
**Table 3: Example Approaches Hybridity Paradox in Prosocial Venture**

	Items	Differentiation (Social Focus)	Integration (Social & Commercial Focus)	Differentiation (Commercial Focus)
Performing Tension	Personal Definition of Pro-Social Venture Success	‘...actually having an impact, wanting to through your company, through your startup, actually have an impact by actually proposing something that answers someone's needs. And have an impact into those persons' life’ (CameroonF1).	‘...to create a business, an organisation that also positively impacts other people...’ (UgandaF1).  ‘...seeking to solve a problem that will create economic benefits and social benefits at the same time’ (NigeriaM4).	n/a
	Funding Sources	‘University grants... [and] individuals who just want to help’ (GhanaM2).	‘It's grant funding, really. Then we have ticket sales from our event and sponsorship’ (UgandaF1).	‘Pharmaceutical companies...so Pfizer and Merck’ (GhanaM1).
		‘I received a fellowship through my university to work on the project’ (KenyaF1).	‘...corporate sponsorship...And there was a lot of pro bono work [donations] and revenue as well’ (Sierra LeoneM1).	‘...We got into YC [Y Combinator, a for-profit investment program] so that's the only funding received to date’ (NigeriaM1).
	Performance Review	‘We do have regular meetings so once a fortnight I do [it to] catch up with them...But it's not necessarily anything that's official on paper...’ (ZimbabweF1).	‘For the volunteer... “Is this still fulfilling to you? ...But for the paid employees...it's about task management and...deadlines are being met.’ (NigeriaF1)	‘After each project, we will literally score your performance. We have a rubric [and] we keep a dashboard [on] each analyst...’ (ZimbabweM1)
Organising Tension (ctd. next page)	Legal Structure	‘501(c)(3), It's a common legal structure here for non-profits’ (GhanaM2).	With the non-profit, we can take in donations, we can solicit donations that require that you have a non-profit status, and Startup52 can do every other thing for a profit business’ (NigeriaM3).  ‘So[the] social impact [structure] really helped have that flexibility where we could operate as a business [and] have our social mission integrated...’ (UgandaF1).	‘A Delaware C corp [is] the most tax-friendly way to raise money’ (NigeriaM1)
		‘We registered as non-profit...to avoid all the taxes and... to make sure that we don't go bankrupt by trying to help people’ (GhanaF1).		‘...the Delaware C Corporation... comes with a lot of benefits, tax benefits, the board structure is much easier and a lot of investors are familiar with a Delaware C Corporation, so that was a no brainer for us’(GhanaM1).
		‘Right now we are listed as a soon to be a non-profit organisation’ (CameroonF1).		
	Workforce Composition	6 volunteers, 0 paid staff (NigeriaM3)	3 volunteers, 5 paid staff (UgandaF1)	
		5 volunteers, 0 paid staff (GhanaM2)	6 volunteers, 4 paid staff (NigeriaF1)	5 paid staff, 0 volunteers (GhanaM1)
		5 volunteers, 0 paid staff (GhanaF1)	5 volunteers, 2 paid staff (MoroccanF1)	

**Table 3 (Continued): Example Approaches Hybridity Paradox in Prosocial Venture**

	Items	Differentiation (Social Focus)	Integration (Social & Commercial Focus)	Differentiation (Commercial Focus)
Organising Tension (ctd)	Hiring Practices	‘Conversation - I think that’s probably the best way to get things done, at least get a sense of who this person actually is, and what they stand for. So it’s when in Ghana. I’d probably get a sit down at a café or something and talk about this, and see what he really wants to do, he understands what the company does, what we stand for, our vision, our mission. Can explain to me what we do, you know, you’re probably the right fit for the company’ (GhanaM3).	‘So as a volunteer, it’s really just a conversation... What problems do you see? What do you want to do? And how can we help you?’ And then for the paid staff, it’s really very task-focused. ‘What are we expecting you to deliver?’ (NigeriaF1).	‘So obviously we try to look for the need... We don’t really care about degrees or anything of the sort... it’s more about competence and understanding of where we are’ (GhanaM1).
	Value Proposition	‘The type of events that we organise is to really to nurture the youth to help them unlock their potential. We believe that if you should come and see somebody maybe that works in the development talk about her struggle to becoming a successful politician. And so it’s really helping them think it is possible in their community that they live in here and second to motivate them’ (GhanaF1).	‘We provide [female entrepreneurs] access to skills... We do mentorship. We do training... Then we have UK businesses, investors who are interested in opportunities in Africa... they want access to other networks or people that I invest in so they can collaborate and co-invest and work through some of the challenges and build their networks’ (UgandaF1).	‘Yeah, so the VCs, basically we just say we’re streamlining the early deal consideration process. So, right now the way you – well, most people who don’t have networks on the continent – [we help them] find deals is they outsource it... So, we’re like, wow, we can do that faster, make it easier and it’s a lot cheaper too’ (NigeriaM1).
Belonging Tension	Workplace Culture	‘So loving Africa and really believing in the potential of the African continent... wanting to empower other leaders and bringing leaders together and then also [African] unity’ (CameroonF1).	‘It’s creative. It’s result focused. It’s aspiration driven. We’re about reaching for the stars. It believes in the power of the private sector’ (MoroccoM1).	‘So, we insist on everybody be radically candid about everything... People should tell me because I might have a lot of flaws and I want to know them, so just very direct communication... people in international development tend to be soft’ (ZimbabweM1).
	Organisational Partners	‘I think being a part of Harambe is absolutely life changing... There’s a lot of very lonely moments in the journey, and what you find with Harambe is... genuine connections... you realise that you just have this army of individuals... who are committed to improving Africa.’ (KenyaF1).	‘Okay, so on ground we are partnered with an organisation called the Centre for Environment, Human Rights and Development [non-profit]... And then outside of Nigeria all of our partners are technology [for-profit] partners. There’s a great company, Segovia, that has built a platform that allows people to... send money to people with families...’ (NigeriaM4).	‘I try to attend networking events [hosted by] the Amsterdam Students investments fund’ (GhanaM4)  ‘So we’re usually partnered with Boots, which is a large... chemist.. So Boots and Planet Organic and ASOS... We [have] partnered with Facebook and Google...’ (NigeriaF1).

**Figure 2: Model of Empirical Findings**



## **Chapter 3 Foreword**

Consistent with the overarching goal of the present thesis, chapter 2 (article 1) explores the relationship between intercultural and hybridity experiences. By focusing on social entrepreneurs' embeddedness in societal systems associated with globalisation, the findings highlight how intercultural experience gained outside of the organisational context can inform approaches to paradox within prosocial ventures. The findings also suggest a need for future research that further unpacks the micro-level mechanisms and processes associated with intercultural experience such as social conditions related to gender. Chapter 3 (article 2) addresses this recommendation by exploring research limitations at the microfoundations of hybrid organisations. Rather than studying antecedents to hybrid organising in isolation, I draw on the perspective of socialisation to explore contexts where actors are concurrently exposed to multiple antecedent factors. I also look beyond factors that directly influence hybrid organising and incorporate other aspects central to individual decision-making, such as social learning and instruction from socialising agents. In doing so, I elucidate how social learning conditions connected to an entrepreneur's upbringing, such as social class, can alter the role that antecedents such as gender beliefs play in hybrid organising. Article 3 concludes with a call to action for scholars to explore the social learning conditions of entrepreneurs from marginalised backgrounds and offers methodological recommendations to expand research on this topic.

# Who Taught you that? Hybrid Organising in Response to Socialisation

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## **Abstract**

Social entrepreneurs operate in challenging environments as they must continually balance conflicting social and commercial goals. While hybrid organising enables social entrepreneurs to manage conflicting objectives, overall approaches are influenced by the knowledge they gain from exposure to antecedent factors such as gender beliefs and their parents' work experience. In this article, we focus on socialisation during an entrepreneur's upbringing, which we argue provides a valuable lens to understand hybrid organising as it allows scholars to examine the interrelationships between factors in a social entrepreneur's background. Drawing on the life stories of 18 immigrant social entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in Western contexts, we find two distinct categories that elucidate how socialisation processes inform the management of hybridity. Specifically, our findings suggest that social learning conditions connected to an entrepreneur's upbringing, such as social class, can modify how antecedents such as gender beliefs affect hybrid organising. Overall, our study contributes to the hybrid organisation literature by expanding our understanding of the conditions and processes connected to individual-level approaches to hybridity.

**Keywords:** hybridity, hybrid organising, prosocial ventures, socialisation, immigrants, entrepreneurship

## Introduction

As hybrid organisations, prosocial ventures are inherently challenging to manage because they combine social and commercial goals (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Besharov & Smith, 2012). The hybrid organising literature suggests that social entrepreneurs vary in their approach to combining/balancing social and commercial goals in their ventures, with some opting to integrate them whilst others choosing one goal over the other (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Child, 2020; Mafico, Krzeminska, Hartel & Keller, 2021; Smith & Besharov, 2019). The stream of research that addresses the background of social entrepreneurs and the knowledge they bring to their approach to hybrid organising shows that gender beliefs (Dimitriadis, Lee, Ramarajan, & Battilana, 2017), parents' work experience (Lee & Battilana, 2020), intercultural experience (Mafico et al., 2021), and identity (Wry & York, 2017) can inform approaches to hybrid organising. For example, entrepreneurs often organise in parallel with gender beliefs (e.g., Ahl, 2006; Dimitriadis et al., 2017; Gupta, Wieland & Turban, 2019; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Hechavarria, Ingram, Justo & Terjesen, 2012; Hechavarria, Terjesen, Ingram, Renko, Justo & Elam, 2017; Henry, Foss & Ahl, 2016; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018). Empirical evidence suggests that females prioritise social value creation because they are characterised in society as caring, selfless, and community-oriented (Ahl, 2006; Gupta et al., 2019; Hechavarria et al., 2012, 2017; Henry et al., 2016). In contrast, males prioritise commercial value creation because they are viewed as competitive, risk-taking, and agentic (Ahl, 2006; Hechavarria et al., 2012; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018).

While prior investigations of antecedents helped highlight the factors that inform individual approaches to hybridity in prosocial ventures, there are two key limitations. First, background factors such as gender beliefs and parents' work experience have so far been empirically investigated in isolation; however, the knowledge gained from these factors can be interconnected drawing on social learning theory. For example, consider the lived experiences

of immigrants. By moving from one country to another, immigrants continually manage their identity through cultural maintenance processes (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). In addition, immigrants often emigrate to pursue better economic opportunities for their families, raising the salience of professional education and work experience. Immigrant experiences furthermore differ by gender. For example, when compared to immigrant boys, immigrant girls from ethnic cultural backgrounds engage in more communal aspects such as cooking and childcare for their family and ethnic community (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). In retrospect, hybrid organising research that explores the interrelationships between background factors may yield insight into the circumstances that make certain aspects more or less salient for individuals. It may also reveal how differences in the salience of these factors affect the development of individual approaches to hybrid organising.

Second, hybrid organising research on antecedent factors is primarily quantitative and implicitly suggests that individuals perceive and gain knowledge from background factors in uniform ways (e.g., Gupta et al., 2019; Hechavarria et al., 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Henry et al., 2016; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018). However, factors such as parents' work experience can vary in how they are interpreted due to social learning conditions (Ahl, 2006; Fischer, Reuber & Dyke, 1993). Immigrants, for example, diverge in their perceptions of professional occupations due to family and community expectations (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). Consequently, there is a need for research highlighting that people exposed to the same antecedents may gain different knowledge.

Taken together, our review of the literature suggests there is a need for hybrid organising research that accounts for interrelationships between background factors and the diversity of individual perceptions. We address these limitations by focusing on the



socialisation experiences of 18 immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in a Western context. Their experiences offer exemplary cases of actors who engage in prosocial venturing and concurrently gain knowledge about multiple antecedents connected to hybrid organising.

### **The Socialisation Perspective**

Socialisation as a perspective is a greenfield area in the hybrid organising literature despite its valuable contributions highlighting the effect of social learning on entrepreneurial career trajectories, motivations, and venture funding (Dyer, 1995; Fischer et al., 1993; Geiger, 2020; Gupta, Turban, Wasti & Sikdar, 2009; Michailova & Wilson, 2008; Rocha & Van Praag, 2020; Scherer, Brodzinski & Wiebe, 1990; Starr & Fondas, 1992). Socialisation specifies that entrepreneurs' interpretations of their surroundings are shaped by a plethora of distinct demands from parents (Lindquist, Sol, Van Praag, 2015), peers (Eesley & Wang, 2017) and mentors (Rocha & Van Praag, 2020) to name a few. Moreover, interactions with these groups change individuals' preferences throughout their lives (Eesley & Wang, 2017; Lindquist et al., 2015; Rocha & Van Praag, 2020). The socialisation perspective thus provides scope to explore the interrelationships and conditions that modify the salience of background factors that inform individual-level hybrid organising. In addition, the perspective views key members of an individual's social network, such as family, as socialising agents who provide direct and indirect instruction regarding practices, perspectives and norms (Geiger, 2020; Rocha & Van Praag, 2020). It subsequently enables investigations into how social learning conditions can indirectly affect hybrid organising by differentiating how individuals perceive and interpret knowledge gained from their backgrounds.

## Methods

### Research Context

Our sample included 6 females and 12 male immigrant social entrepreneurs who were theoretically and conveniently selected based on their expected level of insights into hybrid organising and various background aspects such as gender beliefs, intercultural experience and work experience (Table 1). Entrepreneur participants were born within or had spent considerable time in their youth within African nations. These included Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, and Sierra Leone. As immigrants, they had emigrated voluntarily and were now living in Western nations for at least three years. Western nations of residence included the United States, United Kingdom, Netherlands, and Belgium. Entrepreneurs were also founders and co-founders of their prosocial ventures and had been operating them in their new countries of residence for at least a year.

----- Insert Table 1 about here -----

### Data Collection

Data collection included the use of life-story interviews and questionnaires. In stage one, we deployed an online questionnaire designed to confirm that entrepreneurs had a background and history of immigration and prosocial venturing. Questions included '*Where were you born?*', '*Where are you currently living?*', '*Have you lived in other countries? When/how long?*' and, '*How long has your organisation been operational?*'.

Because there is no prior work that explores the interrelationships between background factors connected to hybrid organising, we conducted life-story interviews which position individuals such as entrepreneurs as knowledgeable agents (e.g., Bouwen & Steyaert, 1997; Dyer, 1995; Mitchell, 1996; Singh, Corner & Pavlovich, 2015) who can provide a subjective

account of the life they have lived (Atkinson, 1998). We asked each entrepreneur to “*tell their story*” and discuss all aspects they felt were relevant, including family history, religion, dating and friendships, and personal and career motivations and aspirations.

To explore the specific activities associated with hybrid organising, we drew on the hybrid organisation literature (e.g., Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014) to conceptualise general and follow-up questions. We followed the typology of hybrid organising by Battilana and Lee (2014) which investigates tensions that emerge in prosocial ventures in areas such as design, ‘*Why did you choose your legal structure?*’ activities, ‘*How do you review performance?*’, and human capital, ‘*What is the composition of your workforce?*’.

## **Data Analysis**

Drawing on qualitative research guidelines (Eisenhardt, Graebner, & Sonenshein, 2016; Gioia, Corley; Langley, 1999), literature on the socialisation perspective (Eesley & Wang; 2017; Lindquist et al., 2015; Rocha & Van Praag, 2020) and our complementary expertise, we explored each immigrant entrepreneur’s life story. In stage one, we engaged in open coding to unpack each entrepreneurs’ social learning conditions. This included who they considered key members in their support networks and what insights they gained from them. We next compared codes within and across our cases of immigrant entrepreneurs to see if there were differences and similarities and to identify common empirical themes (Eisenhardt, 1989). Our analysis revealed that all immigrant entrepreneurs identified their parents and key members of their support networks. Entrepreneurs, however, differed in their narratives about their parents’ occupations and the insights gained.

In a further step, we progressed from raw data to theoretical interpretations by iteratively engaging in open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and with the socialisation literature. Through this process, we conceptualised social class status and social mobility aspirations as salient aspects of each entrepreneur’s social learning conditions. In a further step,

we investigated if social learning conditions differed between male and female entrepreneurs. In particular, we delved into the data to understand how entrepreneurs experienced gender beliefs. We found that some immigrant entrepreneurs particularly highlighted intense cultural gender expectations whilst others did not.

As a final step in stage one, we reviewed our aggregate dimensions related to social class, social mobility aspirations and gender and compared the codes for each dimension within and across our cases of immigrant entrepreneurs. Through this process, we found that immigrant entrepreneurs differed in the social status of their parents' occupations and that those differences primarily aligned with their parents' social mobility aspirations and experiences with gendered expectations. We consequently grouped immigrant entrepreneurs into two categories based on the differences in their social learning conditions; these were labelled the Traditional and Non-traditional categories (Figure 1). Table 2 illustrates data for social class status, social mobility aspirations and gendered cultural expectations within these two categories.

----- Insert Table 2 about here -----

In stage two, we analysed immigrant entrepreneurs' experience with hybrid organising in their prosocial ventures by investigating their answers to the interview questions. Drawing on aspects of Battilana and Lee's (2014) conceptualisation of prosocial venture tensions, we coded for an integrated approach when immigrant entrepreneurs emphasised both social and commercial venture aspects concerning tensions. We also coded for differentiated approaches where immigrant entrepreneurs solely prioritised a social or commercial venture aspect (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Table 3 shows illustrative data for entrepreneurs' hybrid organising approaches in the traditional and non-traditional categories.

----- Insert Table 3 about here -----

In our final analysis stage, we analysed the association between the immigrant entrepreneurs' social learning conditions in the two categories (including social class status, social mobility aspirations and gender expectations) and their approaches to hybrid organising in their prosocial ventures. For each category (Traditional and Non-traditional from data analysis stage 1), we mapped and summarised our coded approaches for hybrid organising (data analysis stage 2). Following established practices in comparing qualitative case studies (Polkinghorne, 1995), we next examined the entire configuration of patterns for both social learning conditions (i.e., social class status, social mobility aspirations and gender expectations) and hybridity organizing (i.e., integration, differentiation). In doing so, we found evidence that the entrepreneurs whose social learning conditions were aligned with others in a particular category (e.g., Traditional) also converged in many aspects of their hybrid organising.

----- Insert Figure 1 about here -----

## Findings

We find two distinct categories of socialisation among social entrepreneurs based on social learning conditions associated with their parent's gendered cultural expectations, social class status, and social mobility aspirations (Figure 2). The two categories are:

**The traditional socialisation experience:** A category defined by high intensity gendered cultural expectations for females and low-intensity expectations for males. Entrepreneurs in this category are raised in environments characterised by parents with low social class status and high social mobility aspirations (Figure 2).

**The non-traditional socialisation experience:** A category defined by low intensity gendered cultural expectations for males and females. Entrepreneurs in this category are raised in an environment characterised by parents with high social class status and low social mobility aspirations (Figure 2).

Second, we find evidence of how social learning conditions within these two socialisation categories influence approaches to hybridity in prosocial ventures (Figure 2). Specifically, entrepreneurs organise in ways that correspond with their exposure to and interpretations of social class, gendered expectations and social mobility. For instance, disempowering experiences that manifest in low social class environments result in traditional entrepreneurs predominantly using hybrid organising approaches that prioritise social objectives. Female entrepreneurs in this category are the only entrepreneurs in our sample to experience high-intensity gender expectations. We find evidence that females organise more frequently towards social objectives compared to males. Although entrepreneurs of both genders mainly orient their ventures towards social goals, evidence suggests they sometimes opt for integrative hybrid organising when they are exposed to high social mobility aspirations from parents.

In contrast, empowering experiences that manifest in high social class result in non-traditional entrepreneurs predominantly using an integrative hybrid organising approach that prioritises social and commercial objectives. While we do not find differences in the use of integrative approaches between genders, our findings suggest that males and females sometimes diverge in hybrid organising based on their interpretations of their parents' low social mobility aspirations. Specifically, males sometimes organise towards social goals when they encounter community welfare aspirations, while females organise towards commercial goals in the presence of professional success insights.

----- Insert Figure 2 about here -----

## The Traditional Socialisation Experience

The seven social entrepreneurs (three females and four males) with a traditional socialisation experience were raised by parents with low social class status (Table 2). They, for instance, acknowledge, *“My dad is a mechanic and my mum she’s a trader”* (GhanaF1).

Traditional social entrepreneurs are the most likely category to be raised by parents that transition from high status to low status professions. NigeriaM2 notes:

*“Well, my dad was an engineer... in Nigeria, and when he came to the UK...It was tough, so he had to settle for the minimum, which was as a security guard. Likewise, when my mum came she was working in a bank. Just kind of middle management in Nigeria, but coming over here you kind of put in your applications. You don't get any. You need to work. So, you know, she really had to settle for hard jobs...care kind of jobs to cleaning, to just wanting to just make the ends meet...Nothing so professional, not a kind of highly skilled job at all.”*

As a result, they particularly acknowledge, *“ My mum is very Ghanaian... She doesn't really go out of her way to adopt the American culture like that”* (GhanaM2) and *“A lot of their close friends would be other Sierra Leoneans...because we have a big Sierra Leonean community in South London”* (NigeriaM1). Overall, their parents’ resonance with their host culture is: *“Very little, very little... my Dad’s friend’s circles... are very much Zimbabwe related.”* (ZimbabweF1).

Social entrepreneurs in this category are also the most likely to see their mothers assume traditional gender roles. Zimbabwe F1 elaborates:

*“...whilst my Dad’s still finishing off his MBA my Mum literally was reduced to cleaning in hospitals, ...it was quite painful to actually see my Mum have to start all the way at the bottom when she’d already established a sound career for herself in Zimbabwe...she had to do that to make needs for us, to make things a lot better for us and to support the family...”*

Consequently, while the males encounter general cultural expectations such as, *“respecting your elders...”* (GhanaM3), females encounter explicit gender expectations. GhanaF1 for instance notes that she has to *“...pay tribute to the King... we do this regularly at certain points*

*during the year like maybe once a month...*” (GhanaF1). Female social entrepreneurs furthermore often conform to explicit gender expectations when they encounter them: “...*being part Ashanti and knowing that it’s the very primary essence of my being...I feel that without it I don’t exist because it’s part of my identity...*” (GhanaF1). ZimbabweF1 explains:

*“I must say a lot of my closest friends especially friends...[are] Zimbabwean or of African descent and I felt like I could relate to them more and especially in terms of what my parents expected of me, my behaviour at home and outside of the home...not being able to like date boys or wear make-up early on and all that kind of stuff.”*

With exposure to numerous gender and social class impediments in their personal lives, social entrepreneurs in the traditional category engage in entrepreneurship to address the social issues within their communities. They “...*believe when you give people opportunity it makes a big difference*” (NigeriaM2) and it’s about “...*making a difference when you go into communities, listening to community and letting them basically direct what kinds of solutions that you go back and come up with...*” (KenyaF1). GhanaF1 elaborates:

*“I created this [organisation] based on my story of coming to Belgium and not knowing anybody or haven’t finding any role model...First it’s the community telling you, you cannot do it and then you go to school...[they] tell you, you cannot do it.... I was once told by my bookkeeping teacher that because I always have this cool hairstyle she told my dad at a parent’s meeting that it’s better for me to do hairdressing than study a business and computer studies.”*

### **Hybrid Organising with Low Social Class Status and High Intensity Gender Expectations**

Community welfare is the central aspect that drives the hybrid organising activities of social entrepreneurs in the non-traditional category. They are the most likely category to use hybridity approaches that prioritise social goals. While they acknowledge the need to make “*a bit of money...the company [is] built for the betterment of society*” (NigeriaM2), to “actually impact people’s lives” (GhanaF1). GhanaM2 elaborates:

*“Being a social entrepreneur is something that’s going to add value to community in a social way. Something that’s socially beneficial that is going to add value to the community.”*



In addition, most traditional social entrepreneurs utilise non-profit legal structures such as a “501(c)(3)” (KenyaF1) or “*charitable incorporated organisation*” (GhanaM2). They see this legal structure as ideal “*I don't want issues with customs and taxes*” (NigeriaM2). GhanaF1 explains:

*“we're not making any profit...it helps us to avoid all the taxes and things that we would need to fill in at the end of the year, and just to make sure that we don't go bankrupt by trying to help people.”*

Traditional social entrepreneurs furthermore primarily establish partnerships with like-minded not-for profit organisations such as the “YABS [*Young Africans in Belgium Network*]” (GhanaF1), and “*...the community and we have their buy-in, so that's a big partner for us otherwise we wouldn't be able to do much*” (NigeriaM2). Traditional entrepreneurs utilise these partners and networks to “*discuss possible solutions to problems [as well as] get to know other female entrepreneurs in the community*” (GhanaF1).

With respect to their workplace cultures, they describe them as “*...very relaxed. But there's a great deal of inspirational appeal in terms of how we approach what we're doing. We always connect to our desire to really give youth a platform to be heard*” (KenyaF1). They note:

*“[You have to] share the same vision about helping the African Diaspora youth in Belgium to get out of their comfort zone and to do more...I need to be on this platform to really help my community get what it's supposed to get, be the best as it's supposed to be.* (GhanaF1)

Some social entrepreneurs in the traditional category also create workplaces cultures designed to address gender inequalities:

*“... the culture of the organisation [is]to empower women especially in roles whereby especially they're more male dominated for example. So it seems like a lot of the people that*

*are partnered up with are women so I can definitely see that as becoming a bit of a thing...”* (ZimbabweF1).

### **Hybrid Organising with High Social Mobility Aspirations**

Considering social class challenges, parents of traditional social entrepreneurs have high career and social mobility aspirations for their children and instruct them to be opportunistic and flexible. NigeriaM2 for instance, notes his parents taught him about how:

*“...the UK is a very class society...it's the social economic power that you have make[s] a big difference to how much your children, or what favours or what opportunities come to you largely so it's a very divided and unequal, and it makes me know that there are opportunities [sometimes] not around you in your network or your surroundings...”*

ZimbabweF1 elaborates that her biggest takeaway from her father's focus on career mobility was being flexible:

*“...my Dad always used to emphasise that education's one thing that people can't take away from you so you kind of have to just whatever you put in is what you're going to get out... I definitely do try and work a lot harder to try and network with people, to try and learn as much as I possibly can do from anyone because I feel like I can't discount what the next person...regardless of their background,”*

Within their ventures, traditional social entrepreneurs sometimes display flexibility by engaging in integrative approaches to hybrid organising. They, for instance, sometimes seek board members with social and commercial experience. GhanaM3 states, *“So one of them is a businessman...[the other runs] a not-for-profit organisation that helps kids with autism”*.

ZimbabweF1 has a similar board composition where, *“...one of the girls is a teacher...And one of the other girls is in finance and accounting”*. KenyaF1 elaborates:

*“...we have somebody who...runs a software company in Senegal and London and he basically helps us with creating a business model... But then we have another lady who[s]...got a great deal of experience just working in those communities...”*

Other examples of flexibility include social and commercial organisational networks where some men acknowledge, *“Most of the organisations I am part of personally are business oriented...we [also] use - the University of Virginia...[for] curriculum development*

(GhanaM2)". ZimbabweF1 *"alternatively works closely with the "...Scotland Social Enterprise...[they] do put up talks and stuff like business talks...[and]they're looking to benefit the community and so I have been sort of just getting involved..."*.

### **The Non-Traditional Socialisation Experience**

The eleven social entrepreneurs (three females and eight males) with a non-traditional socialisation experience were raised by parents with high social class status (Table 2). NigeriaM4 for example notes, *"My mother is an environmental engineering professor and she's a Dean of Diversity at the University.... And then my dad...now he runs the geotechnical engineering department..."*.

Non-traditional entrepreneurs are the most likely category to view their mothers as *"...super entrepreneurial, despite being an African wife and having to raise a bunch of kids"*. Krystel for example notes, *"So my mother is a businesswoman, independent...She worked for the previous president of Togo."* Eunice elaborates:

*"Just seeing how she [my mum] left nursing because it didn't really work around her family life and she set up a business to be able to both financially support her family, but also create flexibility so she was able to work the time that she wanted. Just growing up, sometimes she'd wake up, oh, I don't feel like early to the shops again. She'd like call one of us to go and open up and I'd sort of think, that's so unfair. She's like, when you run your own business, you'll be able to do this one day as well...there's a couple of years there I think my dad was out of work and it supported the family..."*

As a result, entrepreneurs in the non-traditional category are raised in an environment characterised by low-intensity gender expectations. Some males are aware of *"...the role of a woman in a relationship – feminism, in the U.S., is very different from Africa..."* (MoroccoM1). Most, however, reference broader cultural expectations such as, *"You have to treat your elders with respect and all that sort of thing..."* (NigeriaM4). Female social entrepreneurs similarly do not encounter explicit gender expectations and describe general cultural expectations such as *"...going to weddings of cousins you've never met"* (NigeriaF1).

While traditional females conform to cultural expectations, non-traditional females often resist and are critical of them. NigeriaF1 emphasizes:

*“I’m the least likely to do [cultural] things that are not personally fulfilling to me or my family...So I observe as much of it as I can within sense and reason. But I’m also a massive critic of it...massive protester. ...[I] wish for a day where people are given dues based on their merits, and not, well, nepotism or age or gender.”*

Growing up in a high social class environment with limited gendered expectations results in international schooling and travel opportunities for male and female social entrepreneurs. Examples include, (MoroccoM1) who *“was born in Morocco, went to an American school...Moved back to Nigeria, then moved to Ghana for three years, [for] British school.”* He moved around so much because he was *“born into a diplomat family...[so was] fortunate to travel a lot.”* NigeriaM3 on the other hand *“grew up in Nigeria”* but moved to the UK because his parents *“married”* there. Ultimately, he *“came to the US [for study].”* ZimbabweM1 elaborates:

*“...we moved around a lot when we were young because she [mum mum] was doing her PhD which obviously when you have kids, that interrupts it a bit, so she’d have research stints in different unis where she’d be a teaching assistant, research assistant kind of thing, so that took us to Amsterdam which was her alma mater, then we moved to the UK where she’s part of a research institute.”*

With few gender and social class impediments in their personal lives, social entrepreneurs with non-traditional experience subsequently engage in entrepreneurship for self-actualisation. They enjoy *“having the ability to take charge of my own affairs and maybe discuss ideas on how to really, really solve a problem”* (GhanaM3). Running a prosocial venture gives them *“Flexibility, decision-making, time. You can do things the way you want to do them”* (MoroccoM1). UgandaF1 articulates this viewpoint well:

*“My pattern for productivity is not straight and narrow. So like it was the flexibility to work when I’m being productive and not work or do something else if I’m not feeling like I’m being productive. Which you’re not really able to do in full time employment.”*

## Hybrid Organising with High Social Class Status and Low Intensity Gender Expectations

The hybrid organising approaches of non-traditional social entrepreneurs focus on flexibility and problem solving. They are subsequently the most likely category to use hybridity approaches that prioritise social and commercial goals. According to them, social entrepreneurship should accommodate two goals, “*One is, are we doing well financially? [And two], are we generating money?*” (CameroonF1) elaborates:

*“Business should benefit the stakeholders, not the shareholders only. But the concept of shareholder benefit has only been around, and has only been in vogue, since the 1980s, so the whole social entrepreneur meaning I could care less what anybody calls me because I think that all you are is an entrepreneur. It’s just you’re benefiting – business should be run not only to benefit the shareholders but to benefit the stakeholders as well too.”*

Non-traditional entrepreneurs furthermore adopt legal structures that flexibly accommodate social and commercial elements. NigeriaM3 for instance concurrently operates two organisations:

*“So, I have Re:LIFE, and I have Startup52. They work hand in hand. With the non-profit, we can take in donations, we can solicit donations that require that you have a non-profit status, and Startup52 can do every other thing for a profit business.”*

UgandaF1 alternatively uses an innovative legal structure that combines social and commercial elements:

*“Being a limited by guarantee company [for-profit] doesn't necessarily tie your social impact goals into your memorandum, which a CIC does, and which we wanted to do. We want one where the social mission is not just the ideal people running it at the time but integrated into the values of the organisation and why we exist.”*

Their organisational partnerships are additionally in “*...different streams*” (UgandaF1). MoroccoM1 notes, “*My current partnerships are with the International Youth Foundation, a*

*couple of organisations here in D.C... I [also] have connections to ExxonMobil, connections to Shell, connections to the NBA.”*

### **Hybrid Organising with Low Social Mobility Aspirations**

Considering their high social class status, parents of non-traditional social entrepreneurs have low social mobility aspirations for their children. They instead have specific aspirations for their children based on their gender. For example, male entrepreneurs credit their parents for teaching them to emphasize community welfare and philanthropic endeavours. NigeriaM4 for example notes, “...my parents wanted to give back to the community...we built a centre called the Grace Centre, named after my grandmother...so they’d get stable lives and not depend on handouts. NigeriaM3 elaborates:

*“I’m not usually heavy on role models, but my parents definitely laid the path. Besides, of course, laying the solid foundation...We had cousins, and relatives who lived with us; my parents were training them. We learned how to take care of others before yourself.”*

Community welfare insights sometimes manifest within male social entrepreneurs’ ventures in how they engage in hybrid organising to prioritise social objectives. They for instance, talk about how they hire people with social goals in mind from:

*“...websites like IDEAS, dot org and stuff that are already interested in social impact. And then what we found is that when you have people...They go and evangelise for you... What you can’t quantify is passion and at this stage in the company, the most important thing is passion.”* (NigeriaM4).

Female social entrepreneurs in the non-traditional group contrastingly credit their parents for teaching them professional and commercial success. NigeriaF1 notes, “Both of my parents are quite traditional. So they would prefer that I had a job, a magic circle law firm...very clear path, promotions and all of that stuff”. UgandaF1 elucidates these insights:

*“I think definitely my mum is the person that gives me the entrepreneurship drive and gene, I would say. Just seeing how she left nursing because it didn’t really work around her family life*

*and she set up a business to be able to both financially support her family...there's a couple of years there I think my dad was out of work and it supported the family".*

In pursuit of commercial success, non-traditional female entrepreneurs sometimes use for-profit legal structures on occasion because they are "...easy to register. There's very little checks and balances on companies like that...it's really difficult to run a charity...you can't ever have a profit at the end of the year" (NigeriaF1).

Female entrepreneurs also sometimes develop workplace cultures that prioritize commercial over social goals. UgandaF1 superbly articulates this position:

*"[Our culture is] entrepreneurial. Everyone involved is an entrepreneur in some way or the other...I don't have to write down for you targets to say you must sell tickets. It's understood that this is an entrepreneurial venture and if you don't sell tickets, it's not working."*

## **Discussion**

Our contributions, grounded in the socialisation perspective, expand our understanding of the conditions and processes connected to individual-level hybrid organising. Rather than studying micro-level antecedents to hybrid organising in isolation, we draw on socialisation to explore contexts where actors are concurrently exposed to multiple antecedent factors. The socialisation perspective also enabled us to look beyond factors that directly influence hybrid organising and incorporate other aspects that influence individual decision-making, such as social learning. In doing so, we elucidate how social learning conditions connected to parents' gender expectations, social class and social mobility aspirations can alter the role antecedents such as gender beliefs and work experience play in hybrid organising.

### **Socialisation, Gender Beliefs and Hybrid Organising**

Hybrid organising research suggests males and females organise in parallel to gender beliefs (Ahl, 2006; Wieland & Turban, 2019; Hechavarria et al., 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Hechavarria et al., 2017; Henry et al., 2016; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018). While fruitful, the

focus on gender beliefs has resulted in a treatment of gender in hybrid organising that emphasises binary outcomes (i.e., males prioritise commercial objectives due to masculine beliefs and females prioritise social objectives due to feminine beliefs). By shifting attention from gender beliefs to socialisation, our findings highlight how social learning conditions associated with social class diminish the salience of gender and generate counterintuitive approaches to hybrid organising. Specifically, we find evidence that female entrepreneurs can enact integrative approaches to hybridity when they are socialised in higher social class settings characterised by low-intensity gender expectations. In contrast to research that suggests males prioritise commercial goals in hybrid organising (Hechavarria et al., 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Hechavarria et al., 2017), our findings also indicate that socialisation in lower social class settings can instead result in males mainly prioritising social goals.

### **Socialisation, Work Experience and Hybrid Organising**

A nascent stream of hybrid organising literature posits that actors organise in ways that correspond with their parents' type of work experience (Battilana & Lee, 2020). For example, for-profit work experience results in entrepreneurs prioritising commercial goals (Battilana & Lee, 2020). However, studies are yet to consider the interconnections between parents' work experience and their expectations for their offspring. Drawing on the socialisation perspective, we contribute to this literature by unpacking the underlying social learning conditions that connect parents' work experience to hybrid organising. Our findings suggest that social mobility aspirations are particularly relevant to hybrid organising in contexts where parents' work experience differs by social class. We find evidence that parents with lower social class occupations have high social mobility aspirations and indirectly influence entrepreneurs of both genders to enact integrative hybridity approaches on occasion. In contrast, parents with higher social class occupations have low social mobility aspirations and distinguish aspirations based on gender. For instance, female entrepreneurs sometimes prioritise commercial goals in



their ventures due to parental aspirations concerning professional success. Alternatively, males sometimes prioritise social goals based on parental aspirations related to community welfare.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

While our evidence suggests two categories of socialisation influence approaches to hybridity, a limitation of our study is our small sample size and narrow sampling frame. Therefore, future research should assess if our identified linkages between socialisation and hybridity manifest in larger samples. Such inquiries may expand our understanding of hybrid relatively and intensity (Shepherd, Williams & Zhao, 2019) by systematically identifying how different types of socialisation produce distinct configurations of prosocial ventures. Scholars should also look beyond our context of migrant entrepreneurs from the African Diaspora and explore how other actors who experience multiple antecedent factors engage in hybrid organising. For example, population groups such as indigenous peoples, refugees and asylum seekers differ from voluntary migrants as they experience forced migration. Studies that include these marginalised population groups may broaden our understanding of socialisation in hybrid organising by unearthing additional social learning conditions that alter how actors gain knowledge from their backgrounds.

Concerning methodology, although our use of a life story approach enabled us to explore and unpack the interrelationships between aspects in an entrepreneur's background, the insights we gained from participants were retrospective. Future studies should, through longitudinal methods, proactively capture actors' interpretations of their social learning conditions. In particular, studies that utilise the experience sampling method (ESM) may more accurately capture socialisation experiences as they occur. ESM is an approach that requires participants to provide reports on their thoughts and feelings regarding immediate or very recent experiences they might have had over several weeks or months (Fisher & To, 2012; Uy, Foo, & Aguinis, 2010). The value of ESM is in its ability to collect data on individuals' thoughts

and feelings and how these may fluctuate depending on environmental situations such as social interactions (Beal, 2011). It is an ideal methodology for researchers interested in understanding cognitive constructs, person-by-situation interactions, as well as between-and within-person processes (Baron, 2008).

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**Table 1: Description of Cases**

<b>Participant ID</b>	<b>Venture Mission</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age (Years)</b>	<b>Country of Origin</b>	<b>Country of Residence</b>	<b>Age of venture</b>
NigeriaM1	Leveraging the talents of students and professionals in the US & UK by strategically connecting them to high potential agri-business ventures in Nigeria.	Male	21	Nigeria	UK	2
MoroccoM1	Creating sport development initiatives that build skills and empower African youth for future professions.	Male	38	Morocco	US	2
NigeriaM3	Empowering disconnected and at-risk youth through tech, education and entrepreneurship.	Male	33	Nigeria	US	2
Sierra LeoneM1	Creating a bridge between Westerners (especially Africans from diaspora) and the business opportunities within sub-Saharan Africa for social and economic development.	Male	29	Sierra Leone	UK	4
UgandaF1	Working to connect and empower innovators, businesses and investors harnessing technology to drive sustainable development in Africa.	Female	33	Uganda	UK	2
NigeriaM4	Revitalising the Niger Delta, an area devastated by five decades of oil pollution.	Male	35	Nigeria	US	9
ZimbabweM1	Empowering the global development community by creating IT based data analytics solutions.	Male	30	Zimbabwe	UK	1
NigeriaM2	Providing bicycles to young children in sub-Saharan Africa to enable them access school, be educated and get the best possible start in life.	Male	31	Nigeria	UK	1
GhanaM1	Improving the early detection and treatment of diseases in Africa using machine learning.	Male	25	Ghana	US	2
GhanaM3	Developing a gamified online social learning tool that offers an alternative to traditional exam preparation in Ghanaian Junior High Schools.	Male	24	Ghana	US	3
GhanaM4	A footwear apparel company provides job opportunities for talented shoemakers in Ghana and across West Africa.	Male	22	Ghana	Netherlands	1
KenyaF1	A community based youth activism project that works in resource deficient communities in Africa targeting school-aged children as the agents of change in the community.	Female	28	Kenya	UK	5
Nigeria F1	Working in resource deficient communities in Africa targeting school-aged children as the agents of change in the community.	Female	26	Nigeria	UK	2
CongoM1	Bringing African agricultural products to consumers in the US and supplying African farmers with quality but affordable farming equipment to increase their productivity.	Male	31	Congo	US	2
CameroonF1	Empowering young African people to obtain skills and knowledge needed for their livelihoods.	Female	25	Cameroon	Belgium	1
GhanaM2	Empowering African students to become changemakers by mobilising their interests with real community problem-solving experiences and active-learning workshops.	Male	24	Ghana	US	2
GhanaF1	Empowering African youth in Belgium through cultural awareness programs, academic and professional skills development, entrepreneurship and mentorship.	Female	25	Ghana	Belgium	3
ZimbabweF1	Helping African women and girls make their own pads, using scraps of material that they might have lying around at home.	Female	25	Zimbabwe	UK	1



**Table 2: Illustrative Data for Immigrant Entrepreneurs with a Traditional Socialisation Experience**

<b>Aggregate Dimension</b>	<b>Conceptual Categories</b>	<b>Empirical Evidence</b>
Gender Socialisation	Intensity of Gendered Cultural Expectations (Males – low, Females - High)	<p><i>“Africans usually are very strict about certain behaviours and things like that. We're more conservative. I feel like with religion and everything, it makes us more conservative. You can't just do anything you want. You have to - your family's very important. God, religion is very important. You just can't do certain things around your family. You just have to - you've got to be polite. You've got to listen to your parents” (GhanaM2).</i></p> <p><i>“They really expect you to be super social and also basic stuff like know how to cook and all that, what a woman is supposed to do in Africa and for example I mean I don't know how to cook most of the Cameroonian dishes. So yeah when it comes to that part, I don't really fit their expectations...I know how to cook some of the food and I like to cook for others but I will learn it from myself, but I don't like people actually obligating me. And it's actually one of the things with Africans. They like to force you to do things they want you to do and I don't know” (CameroonF1).</i></p>
Social Class Socialisation	Parent’s Social Class Status (Males & Females - Low)	<p><i>“My dad, he owned a pharmacy back in Kenya in Gilgil, which is a smaller town ...So, then he basically left his work as a pharmacist and sacrificed the comfort of home to move to the US and take on other paid jobs for his qualifications just so that he can give us a chance to have more opportunities than we had...” (KenyaF1).</i></p> <p><i>“My mum works at the hotel and my stepdad works in the restaurant” (GhanaM4).</i></p> <p><i>“So my mum is a housing officer and my dad looks after, you know, he’s like a care worker” (SierraLeoneM1).</i></p>
Social Class Socialisation	Social Mobility Aspirations (Males and Females - High)	<p><i>“...my mum, she’s an extremely hard worker and thinks about the future in terms of how we develop and what we need developed. I remember the reason why I pushed to get a first class degree is because she got a two one degree the year before ...she used to be like a chef but she wanted to strive for more...She’s always saying to my Dad “Okay, you need to go and get a degree” and then saying to me “What’s next? What are you looking to do?” (SierraLeoneM1).</i></p> <p><i>“My dad...he’s a very strict one who education is like you need to get those degrees and he wouldn’t allow you to watch television or something, which wasn’t part of whatever...he’s just a great guy trying to make sure you get your education and you get it right because he believes that is the only way to be successful and so he will push you in every way. So I think that pushing also helps me a lot not to lose track of my own vision and what I want to do in life” (GhanaF1).</i></p>

**Table 2: Illustrative Data for Immigrant Entrepreneurs with a Non-Traditional Socialisation Experience**

<b>Aggregate Dimension</b>	<b>Conceptual Categories</b>	<b>Empirical Evidence</b>
Gender Socialisation	Intensity of Gendered Cultural Expectations (Males & Females - Low)	<p><i>“So there’s obviously that pressure from friends... You know, like “Hey the new iPhone is out, can you buy one for me and I’ll pay you later?” ...just the perception that for the ones that live here, some of these things just come easy...[there are also] expectations from African parents that maybe to western parents sound unrealistic, you know...”(GhanaM1).</i></p> <p><i>“Well, yeah, there’s quite staunch like cultural things. There’s elders, and going to weddings of cousins you’ve never met. And, I don’t know, those kinds of things that are very respect-based.... (NigeriaF1).</i></p> <p><i>“Uganda is very small and Kampala is even smaller...incestuous in many ways...I think that limits you...in your own social context, you have pressure to compare yourself to people that you went to school with, that you can see how much, I guess, behind you are” (UgandaF1).</i></p>
Social Class Socialisation	Parent’s Social Class Status (Males & Females - High)	<p><i>“My parents - my dad retired right now. But he used to work as the chief land valuer for the Lands Registration Board. And my mum always been an entrepreneur. She owns her own salon, and she actually works as a beauty consultant” GhanaM3).</i></p> <p><i>“My mum is an accountant, and my dad is a documentarian. So he films documentaries for large charities and government bodies in Africa” (NigeriaF1).</i></p> <p><i>“My mum was a principal...My father was very entrepreneurial. He actually set up the first computer school in eastern Nigeria” (NigeriaM3).</i></p>
Social Class Socialisation	Social Mobility Aspirations (Low)	<p><i>“Well I’ll tell you my dad being a reverend minister, his approach has always been making other peoples’ lives better... it helps you to appreciate the need to actually help people as and when you have the capacity to” (GhanaM1).</i></p> <p><i>“I think definitely my mum is the person that gives me the entrepreneurship drive and gene...[she’d say], when you run your own business, you’ll be able to do this one day as well....I spent so much of my childhood in that shop” (UganDaF1).</i></p>

**Table 3: Example Approaches Hybrid Organising in Prosocial Venture**

<b>Venturing Tensions</b>	<b>Differentiation (Social Focus)</b>	<b>Integration (Social &amp; Commercial Focus)</b>	<b>Differentiation (Commercial Focus)</b>
Personal Definition of Pro-Social Venture Success	“...actually having an impact, wanting to through your company, through your startup, actually have an impact by actually proposing something that answers someone's needs. And have an impact into those persons' life” (CameroonF1).	“...to create a business, an organisation that also positively impacts other people” (UgandaF1).  “...seeking to solve a problem that will create economic benefits and social benefits at the same time” (NigeriaM4).	n/a
Funding Sources	“University grants... [and] individuals who just want to help” (GhanaM2).  “I received a fellowship through my university to work on the project” (KenyaF1).	“It's grant funding, really. Then we have ticket sales from our event and sponsorship” (UgandaF1).  “...corporate sponsorship...And there was a lot of pro bono work [donations] and revenue as well” (Sierra LeoneM1).	“Pharmaceutical companies...so Pfizer and Merck” (GhanaM1).  “...We got into YC [Y Combinator, a for-profit investment program] so that's the only funding received to date” (NigeriaM1).
Performance Review	“We do have regular meetings so once a fortnight I do [it to] catch up with them...But it's not necessarily anything that's official on paper...” (ZimbabweF1).	“For the volunteer... “Is this still fulfilling to you? ...But for the paid employees...it's about task management and...deadlines are being met” (NigeriaF1).	“After each project, we will literally score your performance. We have a rubric [and] we keep a dashboard [on] each analyst...” (ZimbabweM1).
Legal Structure	“501(c)(3), It's a common legal structure here for non-profits” (GhanaM2).  “We registered as non-profit...to avoid all the taxes and... to make sure that we don't go bankrupt by trying to help people” (GhanaF1).  “Right now we are listed as a soon to be a non-profit organisation” (CameroonF1).	“With the non-profit, we can take in donations, we can solicit donations that require that you have a non-profit status, and Startup52 can do every other thing for a profit business” (NigeriaM3).  “So[the] social impact [structure] really helped have that flexibility where we could operate as a business [and] have our social mission integrated...” (UgandaF1).	“A Delaware C corp [is] the most tax-friendly way to raise money” (NigeriaM1).  “...the Delaware C Corporation... comes with a lot of benefits, tax benefits, the board structure is much easier and a lot of investors are familiar with a Delaware C Corporation, so that was a no brainer for us” (GhanaM1).
Workforce Composition	6 volunteers, 0 paid staff (NigeriaM3)  5 volunteers, 0 paid staff (GhanaM2)  5 volunteers, 0 paid staff (GhanaF1)	3 volunteers, 5 paid staff (UgandaF1)  6 volunteers, 4 paid staff (NigeriaF1)  5 volunteers, 2 paid staff (MoroccanF1)	5 paid staff, 0 volunteers (GhanaM1)

**Table 3 (Continued): Example Approaches Hybrid Organising in Prosocial Venture**

<b>Venturing Tensions</b>	<b>Differentiation (Social Focus)</b>	<b>Integration (Social &amp; Commercial Focus)</b>	<b>Differentiation (Commercial Focus)</b>
Hiring Practices	“Conversation - I think that’s probably the best way to get things done, at least get a sense of who this person actually is, and what they stand for... see what he really wants to do, he understands what the company does, what we stand for, our vision, our mission” (GhanaM3).	“So as a volunteer, it’s really just a conversation...What problems do you see? What do you want to do? And how can we help you?” And then for the paid staff, it’s really very task-focused. “What are we expecting you to deliver?” (NigeriaF1).	“So obviously we try to look for the need...We don’t really care about degrees or anything of the sort...it’s more about competence and understanding of where we are” (GhanaM1).
Value Proposition	“The type of events that we organise is to really to nurture the youth to help them unlock their potential. We believe that if you should come and see somebody maybe that works in the development talk about her struggle to becoming a successful politician. And so it’s really helping them think it is possible in their community that they live in here and second to motivate them” (GhanaF1).	“We provide [female entrepreneurs] access to skills... We do mentorship...Then we have UK businesses, investors who are interested in opportunities in Africa...they want access to other networks or people that I invest in so they can collaborate and co-invest and work through some of the challenges and build their networks” (UgandaF1).	“Yeah, so the VCs, basically we just say we’re streamlining the early deal consideration process. So, right now the way you – well, most people who don’t have networks on the continent – [we help them] find deals is they outsource it...So, we’re like, wow, we can do that faster, make it easier and it’s a lot cheaper too’ (NigeriaM1).
Workplace Culture	“So loving Africa and really believing in the potential of the African continent...wanting to empower other leaders and bringing leaders together and then also [African] unity” (CameroonF1).	“It’s creative. It’s result focused. It’s aspiration driven. We’re about reaching for the stars. It believes in the power of the private sector” (MoroccoM1).	“So, we insist on everybody be radically candid about everything...People should tell me because I might have a lot of flaws and I want to know them, so just very direct communication...people in international development tend to be soft” (ZimbabweM1).
Organisational Partners	“I think being a part of Harambe is absolutely life changing...There’s a lot of very lonely moments in the journey, and what you find with Harambe is...genuine connections...you realise that you just have this army of individuals...who are committed to improving Africa” (KenyaF1).	“Okay, so on ground we are partnered with an organisation called the Centre for Environment, Human Rights and Development [non-profit]...And then outside of Nigeria all of our partners are technology [for-profit] partners. There’s a great company, Segovia, that has built a platform that allows people to...send money to people with families...” (NigeriaM4).	“I try to attend networking events [hosted by] the Amsterdam Students investments fund” (GhanaM4)  “So we’re usually partnered with Boots, which is a large...chemist.. So Boots and Planet Organic and ASOS...We [have] partnered with Facebook and Google...” (NigeriaF1).

**Figure 1: Structure of Data**

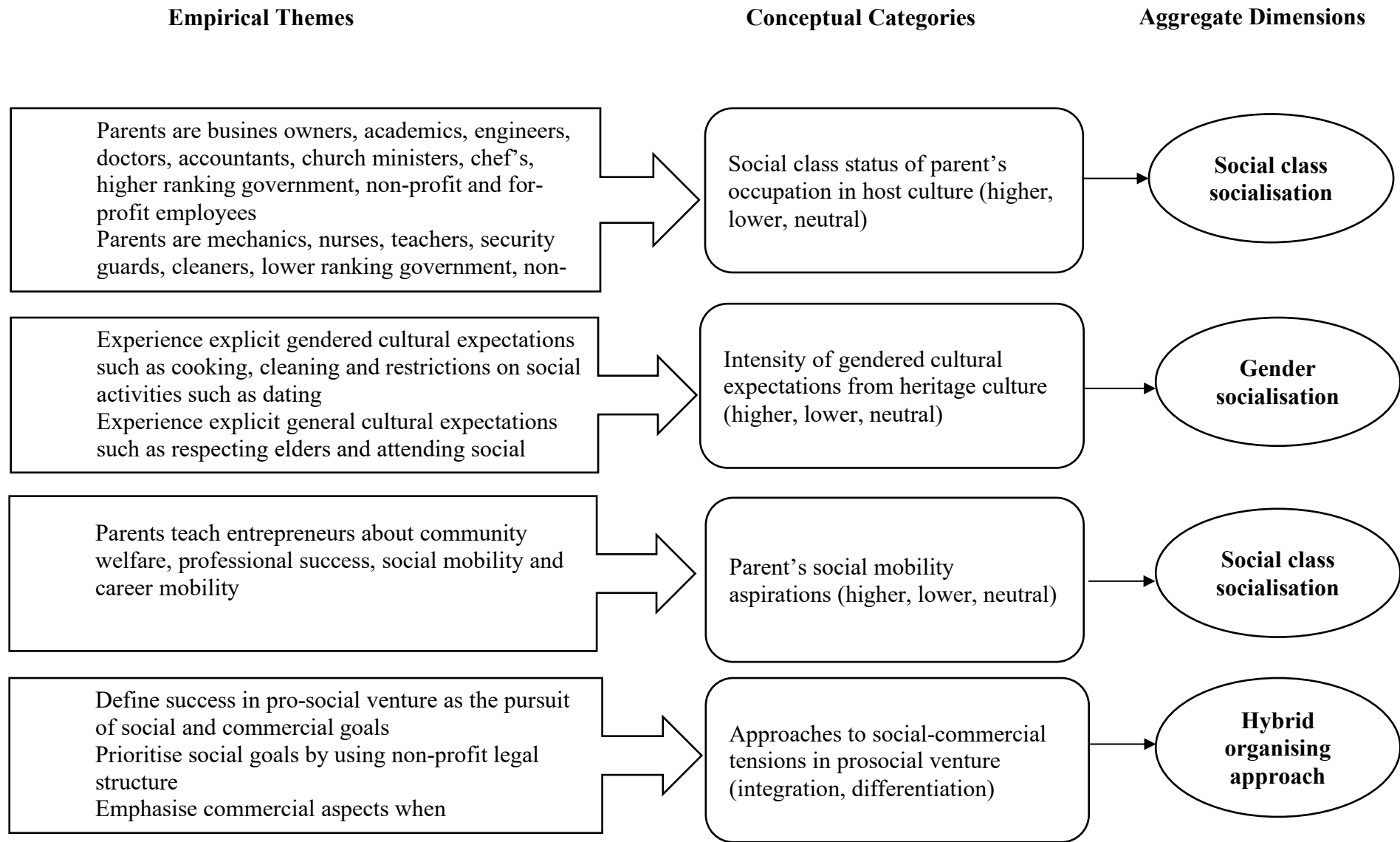
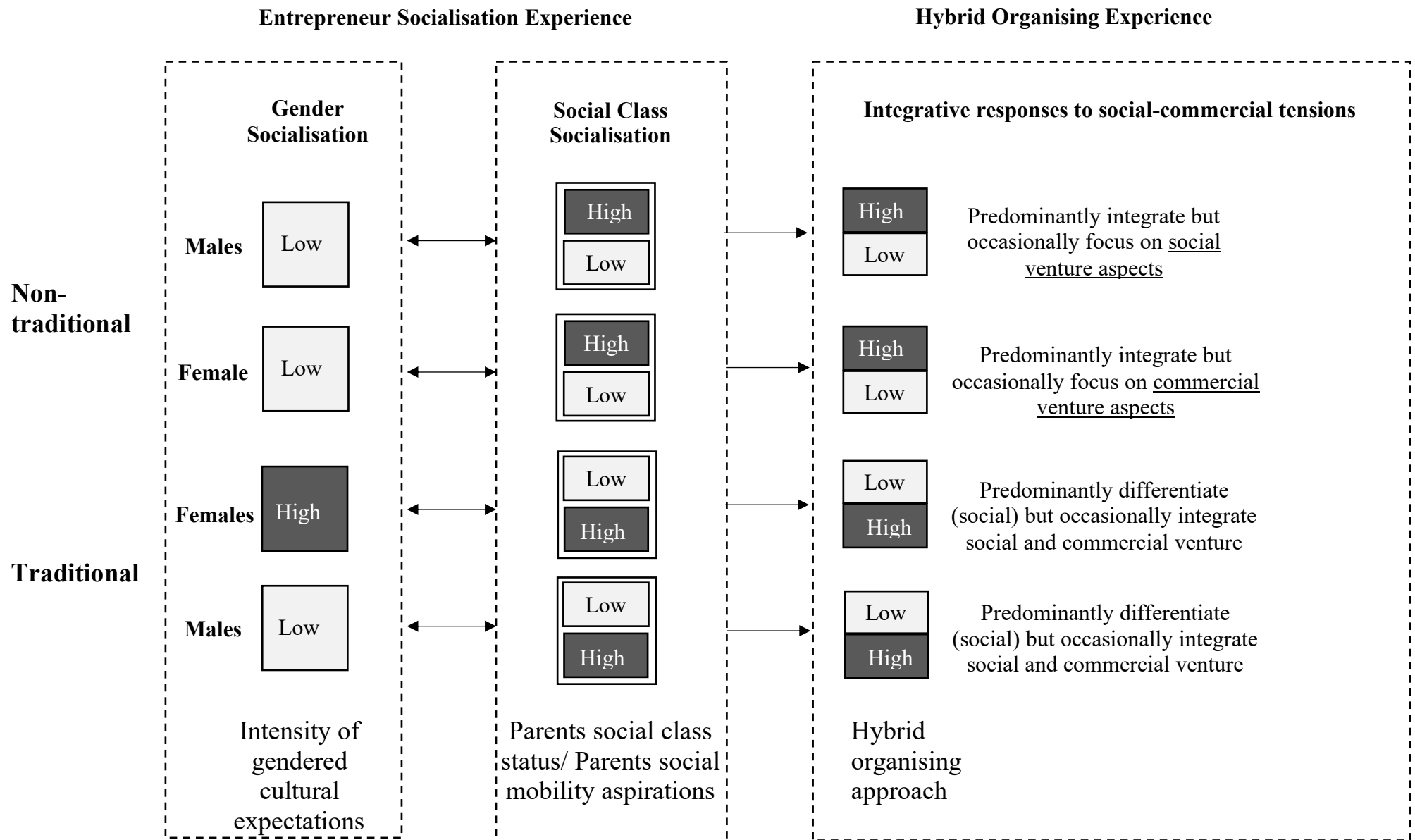


Figure 2: Model of Empirical Findings



## Chapter 4 Foreword

The previous chapter provided important insights into how the conditions and processes associated with gaining intercultural experience affect individual-level hybrid organising. Across two studies, I demonstrated how intercultural experience and its underlying dynamics can influence approaches to hybridity and paradox. Whereas in chapter 3 (article 2), I focused on how socialisation in an entrepreneurs' upbringing can alter the role micro-level antecedents play in hybrid organising, in the following chapter, I turn my attention to the interactions that immigrant entrepreneurs have with the majority members in multicultural societies. Cross-cultural psychologists note that individuals in multicultural societies are often categorised based on elements of their cultural background, such as race and ethnicity (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Hooker, 2005; Leong & Chou, 1994).

Extant research on prosocial ventures focuses on organisational level categorisations, despite considerable evidence that categorisation within multicultural societies affects entrepreneurial behaviour and outcomes (Leiting, Clarysse, Thiel, 2020; Riddle & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Robertson & Grant, 2016). Chapter 4 subsequently explores the interplay between categorisation at the individual and organisational levels. Specifically, I theorise that stakeholders' assessments of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds can inform their evaluations of prosocial ventures. I also highlight how dynamics in multicultural contexts can create incentives that reward and penalise social entrepreneurs for the frames they enact. While these incentives may assist entrepreneurs in obtaining resources for their prosocial ventures, there are various long-term implications to consider. I conclude this chapter by drawing attention to the boundary conditions of the framework and suggestions for how to investigate its assertions empirically.

# Prosocial Venturing in Multicultural Societies: A New Theoretical Framework and Roadmap

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### **Abstract**

Social entrepreneurs operate in challenging environments as the inherent nature of their ventures involves multiple divergent organisational categories. While the extant literature conceptualises category membership as an organisational concern driven by characteristics of the organisation, e.g., non-profit and for-profit, this paper expands upon the prior focus by highlighting that category membership is also an individual-level concern for social entrepreneurs. Specifically, social entrepreneurs in multicultural societies are often categorised based on their cultural background, which can help or hinder their capacity to access resources.

Drawing on the cross-cultural psychology literature, this paper contributes to the literature on categories and hybrid organisations by highlighting the interplay between audience categorisation processes at the individual and organisational levels. Specifically, we elucidate how audiences' assessments of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds can inform their evaluations of prosocial ventures. We also highlight how dynamics in multicultural societies can create categorisation incentives that reward and penalise social entrepreneurs for the frames they enact. Although these incentives may assist entrepreneurs in obtaining resources for their prosocial ventures, we illustrate that there are various long-term implications to consider.

**Keywords:** categories, hybrid organising, prosocial ventures, social entrepreneurship, multicultural, intercultural

## Introduction

*“An organisational category is recognised as such when similar member organisations and a set of associated external audiences come to a mutual understanding of the material and symbolic resources that serve as a basis to assess membership in the category”* (Vergne & Wry, 2014, p.68).

Although managing category membership is an important issue for the viability all organisations, it is a particularly challenging process for hybrid organisations such as prosocial ventures, as the inherent nature of the organisation involves multiple divergent categories (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Chliova, Mair & Vernis, 2020; Neuberger, Kroezen & Tracey, 2021). Traditionally, for-profit and non-profit organisations have been categorised as contrasting categories (Battilana & Lee, 2014). For example, for-profit organisations are characterised as focused on maximising self-interest, whilst non-profits are described as organisations that maximise the collective good and public interest (Battilana & Lee, 2014).

While the extant literature conceptualises category membership as an organisational concern driven by characteristics of the organisation, e.g., non-profit and for-profit (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Bitektine, 2011; Pache & Santos, 2013), this paper expands upon the prior focus by highlighting that category membership is also an individual-level concern for social entrepreneurs. Specifically, individuals in multicultural societies are often socially categorised based on their cultural background, which can help or hinder entrepreneurs to access resources (Chand & Ghorbani, 2011; Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Hamilton, Dana, & Benfell, 2008; Hooker, 2005; Leong & Chou, 1994). Because many grand challenges are associated with intercultural issues such as globalisation, migration and inequality (Wade, 2001; Williamson, 1997; Wood, 1998), contrasting social categories are likely to be particularly salient for social entrepreneurs, as audiences are likely to categorise social entrepreneurs based on their capacity to engage in non-profit and for-profit value creation. These two roles are likely to be in stark contrast. For example, an immigrant from an underrepresented category is likely to be categorised as competent for addressing social

inequality and incompetent for addressing profitability, thereby influencing how the overall prosocial venture is categorised. Therefore, within the current growing multicultural context associated with heightened globalisation, migration, and inequality, audience perceptions of prosocial ventures and social entrepreneurs may occur alongside each other and be interconnected.

Drawing on insights from cross-cultural psychology, this paper contributes to the literature on categories and hybrid organisations by highlighting the interplay between audience categorisation processes at the individual and organisational levels. Specifically, we elucidate how audiences' assessments of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds can inform their evaluations of prosocial ventures. We also highlight how dynamics in multicultural contexts can create categorisation incentives that reward and penalise social entrepreneurs for the frames they enact. While these incentives may assist entrepreneurs in obtaining resources for their prosocial ventures, there are various long-term implications to consider.

We begin the paper by discussing how prosocial ventures gain acceptance into divergent social categories. In doing so, we highlight the core assumptions underlying this literature and the limitations they present. Next, we present an explanatory model that outlines categorisation processes in multicultural societies and their impact on entrepreneurial activity in commercial venturing. Recognition of these dynamics helps to highlight the novelty of prosocial venturing in multicultural societies. We theorise how dynamics in multicultural societies concurrently shape audiences' evaluations of social entrepreneurs and prosocial ventures. Furthermore, we highlight how multicultural contexts incentivise social entrepreneurs to enact unique framing techniques to access resources. The significance of our model lies in illustrating the relationship between categorisation processes at the individual and organisation level. Specifically, we argue that an actor's membership in a social category can affect audiences' judgments of a hybrid organisation. Thus, we contribute to a shift in

understanding category assessments of hybrid organisations from a meso-level view towards a multi-level conceptualisation. Finally, considering the boundary conditions of our assertions, we propose several pathways for how our theorising can be investigated empirically.

## **Theoretical background**

### **Categorisation of Prosocial Ventures**

Stakeholders such as for-profit investors and non-profit funders find prosocial ventures challenging to assess because they are members of the divergent non-profit and for-profit social categories (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Chliova et al., 2020; Neuberger et al., 2021). As a result, while all newly established ventures seeking entrance into an organisational category experience challenges in accessing resources and marshalling support, prosocial ventures face a particularly intense challenge given their category-spanning activities (Dacin, Dacin & Tracey, 2011; Radoynovska & Ruttan, 2021; Ruebottom, 2013). Prosocial ventures are, for example, penalised for maintaining partnerships with organisations in the non-profit and for-profit sectors (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Specifically, commercial funders can perceive non-profit partnerships as activities that detract from the ability of the venture to generate profits. In contrast, non-profit funders may view commercial partnerships as activities that put the venture at risk of mission drift (Cornforth; 2014; Ramus & Vaccaro, 2017).

Similarly, adopting a non-profit or for-profit legal structure appeases stakeholders' expectations in one social category but not in both. While in recent times, hybrid legal forms such as Benefit Corporations have emerged to meet the expectations of non-profit and for-profit stakeholders, they are not well understood and are yet to receive widespread acceptance globally (Battilana & Lee; 2014; Defourny & Nyssens, 2008). Stakeholders consequently penalise prosocial ventures that adopt hybrid legal structures by limiting access to resources such as funding, which in turn affects organisational performance and viability (Battilana &

Lee, 2014; Husock, 2013). Prosocial ventures also experience difficulty recruiting and maintaining a workforce that understands their hybrid nature (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Individuals with hybrid experience in both social and commercial sectors are uncommon.; thus, social entrepreneurs must continually work to balance social and commercial goals internally to ensure effective teamwork across staff with divergent experiences (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana & Dorado, 2010).

Taken together, prior perspectives on the relationship between category membership and prosocial venturing highlights the set of challenges prosocial ventures face. While this literature differs in the types and intensity of the difficulties encountered (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Shepherd, Williams & Zhao, 2019), the accumulated studies converge on a key assumption. Audiences primarily base their judgements on the extent to which hybrid organisations meet the expectations of social categories, e.g., non-profit and for-profit (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Bitektine, 2011; Pache & Santos, 2013).

Although the accumulated research has helped elucidate the categorisation processes connected to prosocial ventures, by conceptualising the prosocial venture as the focal point of audiences' assessments, the extant literature does not account for audiences' evaluations of the individual social entrepreneur. For example, cross-cultural psychologists note that individuals are categorised in multicultural societies based on elements of their cultural background, such as race and ethnicity (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Hooker, 2005; Leong & Chou, 1994). Furthermore, many studies in the entrepreneurship literature indicate that acceptance and denial in multicultural societies affect entrepreneurial behaviour and outcomes (e.g., Leiting et al., 2020; Riddle & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Robertson & Grant, 2016). Considering prosocial venturing is embedded within the multicultural context, audiences' categorisations of prosocial ventures and social entrepreneurs may occur alongside each other and be interconnected, with evaluations in one context informing assessments of the other.

Multicultural societies are increasingly becoming the norm in a globalised world characterised by migration across borders (Ahlstrom, Arregle, Hitt, Qian, Ma & Faems, 2020; Erez & Gati, 2004). With large amounts of wealth concentrated in developed nations, countries such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States have experienced an influx of individuals from developing nations who seek better economic opportunities (Catsles, 2007; Wade, 2001). Although migration is not a new phenomenon, the velocity of the increase over the past decade is unprecedented and has resulted in complex inter-personal dynamics within these countries (Brian, 2009; Catsles, 2007; Triandafyllidou, 2018).

Overall, our literature review reveals that the interplay between the categorisation of social entrepreneurs and prosocial ventures remains under-theorised and underexplored. The following section surveys the international migration and cross-cultural psychology literature to highlight that categorisation of individuals in multicultural societies is increasingly widespread.

### **Social Categories in Multicultural Societies**

Categorisation in multicultural societies occurs due to the interactions between two sub-populations: the dominant group and the minority group (Berry, 2003; 2005; 2008; 2017). Dominant groups consist of individuals who are natives of a country or are the sub-population in a dominant position socially, politically, or economically (Berry, 2005). Minority groups, alternatively, include individuals who either voluntarily migrate to another country or do so to flee hardship and indigenous peoples of a country (Berry, 2005). When dominant and minority groups such as migrants interact, categorisation challenges can arise as the dominant group often has specific preferences about what type of migrant backgrounds they deem acceptable and the cultural values, practices and norms they would like them to exhibit (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Piontkowski, Florack & Hoelker, 2000; Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Take Australia, for example, one of the most multicultural

societies in the world. Before 1970, Australia welcomed migrants through an assimilationist approach that restricted immigration to predominantly Anglo-Celtic Europeans (Elias, Mansouri, & Sweid, 2021). These policies resulted in non-European migrants being perceived as illegitimate socially, culturally and economically (Jupp 2002). After 1970, Australia's official policy shifted towards fairness and inclusion for all immigrants and accepting cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity (Elias, Mansouri, & Sweid, 2021). However, despite 85% of Australians in 2020 believing that immigration has been good for Australia, 60% believe that migrants are not adopting Australian values enough (Markus, 2020). Specifically, migrants from non-Anglo-Celtic and non-English speaking backgrounds such as Africa, Asia and the Middle East are still perceived as illegitimate and experience considerable challenges from the categorisation processes in multicultural societies (Markus, 2020). Australia is not alone in this regard; migrants of similar backgrounds are viewed as illegitimate in other Western nations and, as such, experience high levels of racism and ethnic discrimination (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; López-Rodríguez, Zagefka, Navas & Cuadrado, 2014; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). Migrants, particularly from non-Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, must consequently decide whether to gain legitimacy by aligning to the dominant group's cultural values, practices, and beliefs (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000).

Migrants' alignment and misalignment with dominant groups are determined through acculturation, a cultural maintenance process through which individuals must decide which aspects of their heritage culture are essential and thus retained and which aspects of the host culture they should obtain (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Acculturation is often determined based on a migrant's subjective perceptions of the acculturation preferences of dominant group members, with these preferences often having a

more substantial impact on minority members than their own views (Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz, 2000; Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998; Zagefka, Brown, & Gonzalez, 2009).

Alignment involves migrants assimilating by adopting the dominant group's culture and disassociating themselves from their heritage culture (Berry, 2008). To achieve assimilation, minority groups place less importance on their culture of origin and instead look to obtain a new cultural identity reflective of the dominant group in the society (Berry, 1997, 2008). Assimilation typically occurs in an environment where the demands by the dominant group are strong and put significant pressure on the minority group to adhere to them (Berry, 1997, 2008). Migrants can also integrate by obtaining the practices of their dominant group whilst maintaining their own cultural practices (Berry, 2008). However, despite official policies for inclusiveness in developed nations, members from the dominant group often demand assimilation from immigrants from non-Anglo Celtic backgrounds as their cultural values, practices and beliefs are particularly divergent (Ehrkamp, 2006; Schneider & Crul, 2010; Van Laer & Janssens 2014). Ultimately, this pressure from the dominant group results in a change in the minority group that aligns its individual members' behaviour closer to the dominant group (Berry, 1997).

Migrants who do not pursue assimilation are considered misaligned. In this scenario, migrants opt for separation and retain their heritage cultural identity instead of obtaining a new one (Berry, 1997). This occurs when the minority group places high importance on maintaining their heritage country culture, such as migrants who rely on their cultural groups as support networks (Berry, 1997). While marginalisation, a situation where a minority neither embraces their heritage or host culture, is also an option – it rarely occurs (Berry, 2005).

Overall, the extent to which migrants are aligned to the dominant group affects their categorisation in multicultural societies. Next, we review the literature on migrant



entrepreneurship to elucidate how alignment and misalignment with dominant groups can impact entrepreneurs' access to resources.

### **Categorisation Implications for Migrant Entrepreneurship**

The entrepreneurial activities of migrants are connected to their categorisation in multicultural societies. Numerous studies explain how migrant entrepreneurs' activities are affected by their new cultural context (e.g., Chand & Ghorbani, 2011; Hamilton et al., 2008). The migrant entrepreneurship literature for instance, suggests that migrants who assimilate are better able to gain access to resources such as financial funding because they adopt the dominant groups' cultural norms (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Dabić, Vlačić, Paul, Dana, Sahasranamam & Glinka, 2020; Jiang, Kotabe, Hamilton III & Smith, 2016). Specifically, they do so through a sound understanding of social cues and language adoption (Berry, 1997; 2005). However, funding received by assimilated migrants is small compared to entrepreneurs from the dominant group.

Despite 60% of funders acknowledging investing in multicultural entrepreneurs is a significant opportunity, 72% of venture funding in the United States goes to ventures led by white males (Morgan Stanley, 2019; Sieo, 2020). Overall, entrepreneurs from non-Anglo Celtic backgrounds receive less than 4% of venture funding, and only 6% of investors identify as being from these backgrounds (Fan, 2021; Mashayekhi, 2021). Separated migrants consequently struggle to gain access to financing because they do not embrace their dominant group's cultural norms (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Dabić et al., 2020; Jiang et al., 2016). While research suggests that barriers to funding can be partly overcome by their use of heritage country networks (Chand & Ghorbani, 2011), limited access to funding limits the overall size and scalability of their ventures. Separated migrants consequently start small businesses such as restaurants, laundries, or convenience stores more often than not (Leung, 2002).

In summary, the migrant entrepreneurship literature posits that assimilated migrants have greater access to resources than separated entrepreneurs because of their alignment with the dominant group's cultural values and practices (see Figure 1). However, both types of migrants experience worse outcomes when compared to entrepreneurs from the dominant group. In addition, members of the dominant group are overwhelmingly the gatekeepers of resources such as funding, with few minorities, e.g., migrants, within this stakeholder category.

### **The Emergence of Diversity Funding and Outcomes for Migrant Entrepreneurship**

In recent years entrepreneurial ecosystems in multicultural societies have recognised the challenges migrant entrepreneurs from non-Anglo Celtic backgrounds face. Pressure in multicultural societies for the dominant group to embrace minority cultural values have resulted in dedicated “diversity” funding for entrepreneurs with minority backgrounds (Fan, 2021; Morgan Stanley, 2019; Pardes, 2021). Such funding often focuses on minorities such as migrants tackling oppression, including racism and ethnic discrimination (Fan, 2021; Morgan Stanley, 2019; Pardes, 2021).

Dominant group members in the non-profit sector have established a plethora of diversity funds for minority entrepreneurs (e.g., Kauffman, 2021). In the for-profit sector, a generational shift in the personnel within investment firms has resulted in 100% of venture capitalists under the age of 35 consider it their fiduciary responsibility to invest in multicultural entrepreneurs compared to only 27% of venture capitalists 35 and older (Morgan Stanley, 2019). Ultimately, migrants have become aware of the change in the funding environment, with Pedrini, Bramanti, and Cannatelli (2016) noting that migrant entrepreneurs in developed nations tend to combine social causes with commercial activity more than those in developing nations.

While extant literature suggests stakeholders within the non-profit and for-profit sectors penalise prosocial ventures due to their divergent expectations, category-spanning penalties

can be reduced if stakeholders' specific goals change (e.g., Durand & Paoletta 2013, Paoletta & Durand 2016; Pontikes 2012) or categories are combined (Wry, Lounsbury & Jennings, 2014; Vergne & Wry, 2014).

Building on this research, we posit that the introduction of diversity funding results in a convergence of audience assessment criteria across the organisational categories relevant to prosocial venturing. Specifically, when allocating diversity funding, stakeholders in the non-profit and for-profit sectors depart from the cultural norms within their organisational category by allocating funding based on the extent to which individual social entrepreneurs embody elements of oppression. Therefore, in this scenario, it is plausible that funders may give priority access to migrants with a lived experience of oppression. Thus, funders may consider separated migrants as legitimate for this funding because their experiences with misalignment from the dominant group more accurately reflect the issues diversity funding seeks to address (Figure 1). Assimilated migrants might also benefit from the funding; however, given their alignment to the dominant group, they may be perceived as illegitimate for this funding as they have not endured the same level of oppression as separated migrants (Figure 1).

Although the focus on oppression in multicultural societies provides migrant entrepreneurs with better access to funding, assimilated and separated migrants may differ in their ability to obtain it successfully. Overall, the introduction of diversity funding presents a markedly different categorisation of migrant entrepreneurs than previously conceptualised (e.g., Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Dabić et al., 2020 Jiang et al. 2016), with misaligned migrants having greater access to resources compared to aligned migrants (Figure 1). In the following section, we articulate how the emergence of diversity funding influences the frames social entrepreneurs enact to meet audiences' expectations.

## **Framing in Response to Diversity Funding**

In response to stakeholders' expectations, social entrepreneurs use framing techniques such as rhetorical communication and symbolic actions to signal acceptance, marshal support and gain access to resources (Neuberger et al., Tracey, 2021; Ruebottom, 2013; Snihur, Thomas, Garud & Phillips, 2021). Social entrepreneurs can, for example, use storytelling to draw audience attention to specific elements of their ventures that the audience deems appropriate (Margiono, Kariza & Heriyati, 2019; McKnight & Zietsma, 2018). Other studies note how social entrepreneurs create symbolic partnerships with key organisations, which confers legitimacy upon their activities (Desa, 2012). Social entrepreneurs can additionally appear legitimate to audiences in divergent social categories such as investors and activists by tailoring their value propositions to satisfy expectations (Dacin et al., 2011).

In the multicultural context, we argue that separated migrants may find it easier to successfully frame their ventures for diversity funders, as they can directly draw from their lived experiences with oppression to imbue their ventures with relevant attributes. For example, separated migrants can engage in storytelling to connect oppressive intercultural experiences with their ventures. This may mean narratives regarding ethnic discrimination, racism, and bias in practice. Such storytelling will likely attract other migrants with similar lived experiences, such as migrant employees and volunteers. As such, when diversity funders assess their ventures, they are likely to see workforces characterised by minorities with oppressed backgrounds, which reinforces separated migrants' legitimacy for diversity funding. Furthermore, separated migrants may, by nature of their experiences, also be members of professional networks that focus on oppression and inequality. Thus, they are likely to find it easier to establish organisational partnerships with like-minded social entrepreneurs and further reinforce their legitimacy for diversity funding.

Given that separated migrants are perceived as illegitimate for funding sources outside of diversity funders, we expect that they will overwhelmingly configure their ventures towards obtaining this funding. Although their prospects for funding are optimistic in the short term, the focus on oppression may create unsustainable long-term ventures. Specifically, relatively easy access to financing may result in separated migrants focusing less on other strategic imperatives, such as establishing a sustainable business model. Consequently, their ventures' ability to address oppression may be limited over the long term, especially if their access to diversity funding decreases. Diversity funding, while attractive, is also likely to be highly competitive given that separated migrants are deemed illegitimate to funding opportunities outside this context. As a result, individuals who are likely to be selected are the social entrepreneurs with the most compelling narratives regarding oppression. Ultimately, this may have the unintended effect of social entrepreneurs allocating their time towards crafting effective frames instead of making substantial efforts to address oppression.

Assimilated migrants may find it more difficult to successfully enact framing for diversity funders as their intercultural experience may not be as directly connected to oppression. Therefore, they may not be able to authentically engage in crafting oppressive narratives to legitimise themselves or their ventures. Assimilated migrants can, however, enact symbolic actions which do not require them to draw on their lived experiences. Symbolism may include hiring individuals with minority backgrounds who act as spokespeople for their ventures. It may also mean establishing an advisory board of migrants with oppressed backgrounds who do not have any influence on the daily operations of the venture but can confer legitimacy in the eyes of diversity funders.

It is important to note that while assimilated migrants are perceived as somewhat illegitimate for diversity funding, traditional funders view them as slightly legitimate in the broader multicultural context. However, the introduction of diversity funding coupled with

misconceptions of migrants' experiences may result in them being categorised by traditional funders of migrant entrepreneurs as competent for addressing oppression related issues and incompetent for addressing profitability. Regardless, assimilated migrants might take their chances and selectively frame aspects of their ventures to appeal to diversity and commercial funders. In practice, this may mean that the core aspects of the venture are commercial, such as the business model and organisational structure, as they are more likely to gain funding from traditional providers with this composition. However, other aspects of their ventures may (as previously mentioned) be framed towards oppression to appeal to diversity funders. The act of engaging in framing for both traditional and diversity funding places assimilated migrants in a precarious position. They are likely to struggle with access to funding from traditional and diversity funders in the short term. However, this may cause them to establish a working and viable business model that does not require external funding. If so, their ventures over the long term may be better placed to tackle oppression when compared to separated migrants.

### **Critical Reflections and Boundary Conditions**

We see several ways in which our theorising can be challenged and expanded. First, we wonder how acculturative stress affects the dynamics we have articulated. Acculturative stress is a *"physiological and psychological state brought about by culture-specific stressors rooted in the process of acculturation"* (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987, p. 492). It includes social stressors (e.g., learning new social norms and interacting with culturally diverse individuals and environmental stressors (e.g., lack of cultural diversity in the community) (Berry, 2006). When migrants experience high levels of acculturative stress, they often interpret their surroundings as impermeable, i.e., unwelcoming with rigid cultural group boundaries (Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher, & Haslam, 2015; 2016). We therefore wonder to what extent acculturative stress affects social entrepreneurs' interpersonal interactions with diversity funders. We can, for example, envisage a scenario where social entrepreneurs with oppressed backgrounds are

hesitant to engage with diversity funders as interactions with dominant group members trigger stressful acculturative responses. Thus, further examination is required to explore how diversity funders navigate this potential friction in their interactions with social entrepreneurs. Such research might elucidate different practices between funders based on generational status, considering younger venture capitalists are more inclined to support multicultural entrepreneurs than older ones (Morgan Stanley, 2019). Such research may also yield new theoretical insights by highlighting actors' role in shaping audiences' expectations during micro-level interactions. We also wonder if diversity funders perceive acculturative stress as signals of oppression such as racism and ethnic discrimination and thus a favourable attribute for funding eligibility. Migrants who alternatively experience low-level acculturative stress see their surroundings as permeable, which allows them to see themselves as independent agents who can move between cultural groups (Ramos et al., 2015; 2016). Therefore, we also recommend that future research investigate how diversity funders perceive these migrants and how these migrants enact framing.

Second, although dominant group preferences shape migrants' views of acculturation (Roccas et al., 2000; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka et al., 2009), contextual factors such as location and generational status also play a role (Ward, 2008). For example, first-generation migrants are more likely to utilise separation than third-generation migrants (Berry, 1997). Location also impacts choice in acculturation strategy with individuals in more private environments such as the home utilising separation but in public spaces opting for assimilation, which is more aligned to the preferences of the dominant group (Berry, 1997). These insights add a layer of complexity that must be unpacked to fully understand prosocial venturing in multicultural contexts. Geographically, diversity funding may also be more available in capital cities compared to more rural and remote regions within multicultural nations. We, therefore,

recommend that future studies compare prosocial venturing activities, outcomes and processes across these contexts.

While we think that the core of our model – the categorisation of actors in multicultural societies and the corresponding outcomes for organisations applies to a broad range of contexts - future research is needed to explore this further. Specifically, we wonder how assessments based on cultural backgrounds intersect with assessments of immutable characteristics such as gender and sexual orientation. For instance, do diversity funders consider females with assimilated acculturation backgrounds favourably or unfavourably? Our model suggests alignment with the dominant group incurs a penalty from diversity funders; however because females are also categorised as having experienced oppression, is this empirically true? Further studies are needed to unpack such intersections and their implications for prosocial venturing in multicultural contexts.

Although we believe our model is relevant for all multicultural societies, we acknowledge that multiculturalism exists on a spectrum that can be conceptualised through the metaphors of a salad bowl and a melting pot (Bertsch, 2013; Pope, 1995). In a salad bowl society such as Canada, different cultures come together but do not form into a single homogenous culture; instead, each culture keeps its distinct qualities (Bertsch, 2013; Pope, 1995). On the other hand, in a melting pot society, such as the United States, different cultures "melt together" to form a common culture (Bertsch, 2013; Pope, 1995). We wonder if comparing and contrasting these models will elucidate further dynamics regarding prosocial venturing in multicultural contexts. For example, would categorisation of migrants in a salad bowl society be different than that which occurs in a melting pot society?

Third, we have theorised various ways that migrant social entrepreneurs can frame their ventures to meet the expectations of diversity funders. However, entrepreneurs may enact frames not currently identified within the extant literature. Migrant social entrepreneurs may,



for instance, engage in cultural reappropriation, a cultural process by which minorities reclaim words or artefacts that were previously used in a way disparaging of their group (Galinsky, Hugenberg, Groom & Bodenhausen, 2003). Cultural reappropriation can improve the self-esteem of groups and their members by providing an effective mechanism to address ethnic discrimination and racism (Galinsky et al., 2003). To what extent migrants use cultural reappropriation as a frame in prosocial venturing and its effect on audiences' perceptions on prosocial ventures remains an empirical question.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Social entrepreneurs operate in challenging environments as the inherent nature of their ventures involves multiple divergent organisational categories. The extant literature conceptualises category membership as an organisational concern driven by organisational characteristics, e.g., non-profit and for-profit however these insights do not shed light on prosocial venturing in multicultural contexts. We have sought to address this issue by expanding upon the prior focus at the organisational-level by highlighting that category membership is also an individual-level concern for social entrepreneurs. Drawing on the cross-cultural psychology literature, we have contributed to the literature on categories and hybrid organisations by highlighting the interplay between audience categorisation processes at the individual and organisational levels. Specifically, audiences' assessments of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds can inform their evaluations of prosocial ventures. We invite scholars at the intersections of categories and hybrid organisations to assess, expand and add nuance to our theoretical framework.

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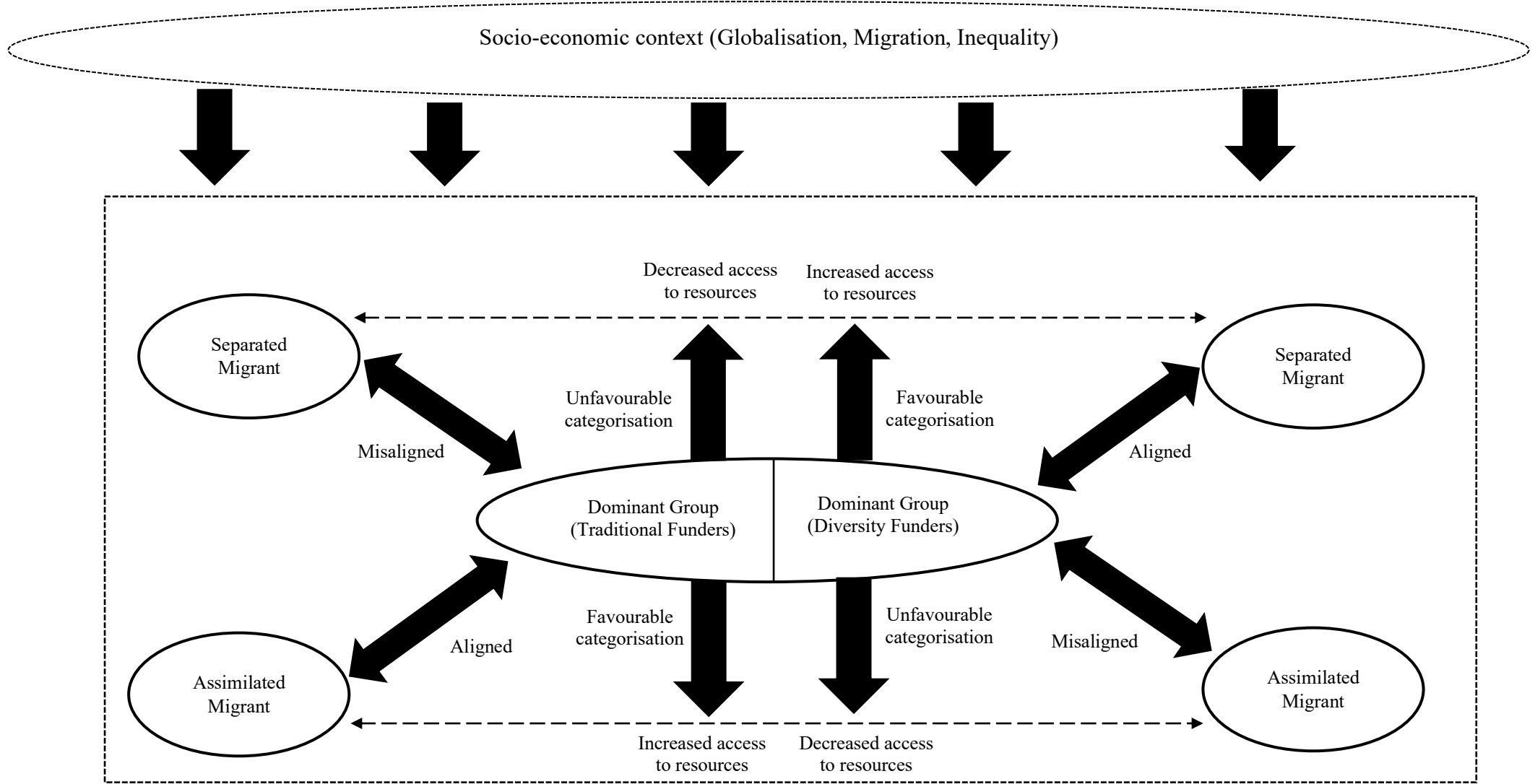
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**Figure 1: The Categorisation of Migrant Entrepreneurs in Multicultural Societies**



## General Discussion

Overall, this thesis contributed to our understanding of the microfoundations of organisational hybridity and paradox. In this concluding chapter, I summarise each article's contributions. Next, I address the limitations of the thesis by outlining several avenues for future research. In closing, I articulate the practical implications of the research and provide my concluding remarks.

### Summary of Findings and Theoretical Implications

In article 1 (chapter 2), published in *Journal of Business Venturing*, I explore the relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity by drawing on the life stories of 18 immigrant entrepreneurs from the African diaspora operating their prosocial ventures in a Western context. First, I consider how the conditions during their childhood connect to how they interpret the intercultural incidents they experience as adults. I subsequently find that approaches to social-business paradoxes vary based on structural barriers related to intercultural experience, such as barriers to social inclusion. I also find three distinct intercultural experiences and evidence of their mirroring in how immigrant entrepreneurs deal with paradoxes in their prosocial venture.

The overarching contribution to the microfoundations of organisational paradox is the novelty of the intercultural context and its role in expanding the scope of research on culture and paradox, answering previous calls to focus on actors' exposure to multiple national cultures (Miron-Spektor & Erez, 2017). Rather than treating culture as a knowledge resource, I focus on culture as an experience and its relationship to other paradoxes (i.e., hybridity). This endeavour enabled me to incorporate other macro-level factors interrelated with cultural exposure (e.g., the social barriers that come from socio-economic inequality in a global society) and explore alternative mechanisms that link culture to the paradox experience (e.g., mirroring). This endeavour also enabled me to examine the relationship between culture and paradox in a

way that recognises the complexity of the interplay between macro-level systems and structures and the socio-material conditions on the ground (Hahn & Knight, 2020; Schad & Bansal, 2018).

Specific contributions to the literature on organisational paradox include identifying mirroring as an important and novel link between entrepreneurs' intercultural and hybridity experiences when approaches to paradoxes in one domain reflect patterns of approaches to paradoxes in another domain. The study also contributes to the prosocial venturing literature by showing how entrepreneurs' intercultural experience and macro-level systems inform the degree (e.g., Shepherd, Williams, & Zhao, 2019) and configurations of hybridity in prosocial ventures (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013; Smith, Gonin & Besharov, 2013), especially within a global context.

Article 2 (chapter 3) builds on the identified relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity identified in article 1 by further examining how embeddedness in societal systems associated with globalisation affects prosocial venturing. The hybrid organisation literature demonstrates that gender beliefs (Dimitriadis, Lee, Ramarajan, & Battilana, 2017), parents' work experience (Lee & Battilana, 2020), intercultural experience (Mafico, Krzemisnka, Hartel & Keller, 2021), and identity (Wry & York, 2017) can inform approaches to hybrid organising. While these studies have born considerable fruit, my literature review revealed two fundamental limitations. First, background factors such as gender beliefs and parents' work experience have so far been empirically investigated in isolation; however, the knowledge gained from these factors can be theoretically interconnected based on social learning conditions. Second, hybrid organising research on background factors is primarily quantitative and implicitly suggests that individuals perceive and gain knowledge about background factors in uniform ways (e.g., Gupta et al., 2019; Hechavarria Ingram, Justo & Terjesen, 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Henry, Foss & Ahl, 2016; Marlow & Martinez

Dy, 2018). However, factors such as parents' work experience can vary in how they are interpreted due to social learning conditions (Ahl, 2006; Fischer, Reuber & Dyke, 1993). I addressed these limitations by drawing on the perspective of socialisation to explore the immigrant context where social entrepreneurs are concurrently exposed to multiple antecedent factors. My findings suggested that social learning conditions connected to an entrepreneur's upbringing, such as social class, can modify how antecedents such as gender beliefs affect hybrid organising.

Contributing to the microfoundations of hybrid organisations, I highlighted the role of the socialisation perspective in expanding our understanding of the conditions and processes connected to individual-level hybrid organising. For example, I explained how social learning conditions associated with social class diminish the salience of gender and generate counterintuitive approaches to hybrid organising. Specifically, while existing literature posits females prioritise social goals in prosocial venturing due to gender beliefs, I found evidence that female entrepreneurs can enact dominant integrative approaches to hybridity when they are socialised in higher social class settings characterised by low-intensity gender expectations. In contrast to research that suggests males prioritise commercial goals in hybrid organising (Hechavarria et al., 2012; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016; Hechavarria et al., 2017), the findings also indicate that socialisation in lower social class settings can instead result in males mainly prioritising social goals.

In article 3, building on articles 1 and 2, I examined how stakeholders perceive immigrant social entrepreneurs in multicultural societies. The hybrid organisation literature posits that stakeholders such as non-profit and for-profit funders find prosocial ventures challenging to assess because they are members of the divergent categories (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Chliova, Mair & Vernis, 2020; Neuberger, Kroezen & Tracey, 2021). My literature review revealed extant research on prosocial ventures focuses on organisational level

categorisations, despite considerable evidence that categorisation within multicultural societies affects entrepreneurial behaviour and outcomes (Leiting, Clarysse, Thiel, 2020; Riddle & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Robertson & Grant, 2016). Drawing on insights from the cross-cultural psychology literature, I suggested that interactions between minority and majority members in multicultural societies can affect categorisation assessments of prosocial ventures. Specifically, I highlighted how migrants engage in cultural maintenance processes in multicultural societies to respond to demands from members of the dominant group (Berry, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2010). Considering stakeholders also are situated in multicultural societies, I argued that category evaluations of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds might occur alongside judgements of prosocial ventures.

My theorising contributes to the literature on categories and hybrid organisations by highlighting the interplay between assessments of category membership at the individual and organisational levels. Specifically, I elucidated how audiences' assessments of social entrepreneurs' cultural backgrounds can inform their evaluations of prosocial ventures. I also highlight how dynamics in multicultural societies can create categorisation incentives that reward and penalise social entrepreneurs for the frames they enact. Although these incentives may assist entrepreneurs in obtaining resources for their prosocial ventures, I illustrated that there are various long-term implications to consider and provided a road map for future empirical research.

## **Limitations**

There are several limitations of the present thesis. Firstly, the small sample size of 18 participants. Although previous hybrid and paradox research has been published with small sample sizes (e.g., Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos 2013; Smith & Besharov, 2019), and article 1 is published in arguably the leading entrepreneurship journal, increasing the sample size for future studies may uncover additional dynamics, mechanisms, and processes.

Second, while the life story approach is an effective means of eliciting new and deep contextual insights into entrepreneurial behaviour (e.g., Bouwen & Steyaert, 1997; Dyer, 1995; Mitchell, 1996; Singh Corner & Pavlovich, 2015), the qualitative nature of the methodology limits the thesis' ability to generalise insights about the relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity. Therefore, future research should utilise quantitative methods to investigate how intercultural experience impacts activities and outcomes related to prosocial venturing.

Third, the thesis study's focus on relatively young social enterprises, i.e., 1-3 years, may limit the applicability of the findings to more mature and established social enterprises (5+ years), which may differ in the intensity of tensions they face and how they approach them (Shepherd, Williams & Zhao, 2019). For example, in mature prosocial ventures, it is plausible that actors with the power to influence the direction of the prosocial venture may include, in addition to founders and co-founders, C-level executives, senior managers and division leaders. An investigation into well-established prosocial ventures may provide insight into how multiple actors with intercultural experience engage in collective processes to determine the organisation's approach to hybridity.

Fourth, although the selection of black African migrants in Western contexts highlighted the role of race and discrimination, the findings may be limited in their ability to generalise across countries. Considering social hierarchies and perceptions of immigrants vary



across countries (André, S. and Dronkers, 2017), future research should systematically investigate how immigrant social entrepreneurs with similar racial and ethnic backgrounds gain intercultural experience and approach hybridity across borders. Of particular interest to scholars may be investigations that compare between Western and non-Western multicultural contexts given their different socio-economic conditions. In addition, future research should consider the boundary conditions of race and ethnicity in the intercultural experience by examining other population groups such as Asian, European, and Middle Eastern migrants.

### **Future Research Recommendations**

In addition to addressing several important gaps in the literature, the present thesis also offers several recommendations and propositions for future research for the hybrid organisation and paradox literature, which I elaborate below.

#### **How can scholars empirically test the relationship between intercultural and hybridity experiences?**

While the present thesis' insights regarding intercultural experience and paradox have been fruitful, the limitations must be addressed to generalise the insights. One pathway to achieve this is to operationalise concepts related to intercultural experience and hybridity so they can be utilised in quantitative investigations.

#### **Operationalising the mirroring mechanism**

Article 1 of the thesis highlighted the novel concept of mirroring in how actors interpret intercultural experience and approaches to paradox. Intercultural mental schemas can first be operationalised through Metacognitive Cultural Intelligence, "*mental processes that individuals use to acquire and understand cultural knowledge including knowledge of and control over individual thought processes relating to culture*" (Dyne, Van, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay & Chandrasekar, 2007, p. 338. Research suggests that individuals with high metacognitive cultural intelligence can transfer knowledge gained from intercultural experiences to broader

principles that can be used in cultural settings (Dheer & Lenartowicz; 2018; Hong, 2010). Furthermore, individuals with metacognitive cultural intelligence display “*flexibility in their thinking, innovativeness in their actions; and confidence in their ability to create and exploit ideas, products, and processes that are intended to fulfil the needs of diverse target audiences*” (Dheer & Lenartowicz, 2018, p. 449).

Approaches to paradoxes can be operationalised through a paradox mindset scale which measures an actors’ ability to value and accept organisational tensions (Miron-Spektor, Keller, Smith & Lewis, 2018). Actors with high paradox mindsets are likely to enact integrative approaches to paradoxes, while those who exhibit low paradox mindsets will likely opt for differentiated approaches.

When taken together, scholars can test if high levels of metacognitive cultural intelligence are positively associated with developing a paradox mindset that values and accepts organisational tensions.

**Proposition 1:** *Metacognitive cultural intelligence is positively associated with developing a paradox mindset that values and accepts organisational tensions.*

### **Bicultural Identity Integration to capture variances in intercultural experience**

Scholars may find Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) a useful scale to operationalise aspects of intercultural experience such as foundation and incidents. BII refers to the extent to which immigrants see multiple cultural identities (heritage and host) to be compatible and integrated (high) versus oppositional and challenging to integrate (low) (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). It also accounts for variables not examined explicitly in article 1, such as generational status and personality and stress from intercultural interactions (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Bicultural identity thus provides a sound foundation to capture the variance in actors' interpretations of intercultural experience.

High BII immigrants see multiple cultures as compatible and, as such, do not perceive their dual cultures to be mutually exclusive, oppositional, or conflicting (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). They furthermore find it easy to integrate the dual cultures into their personal lives (Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martinez, 2011). For example, studies show that high BII immigrants experience less difficulty in developing relationships with members from both sides of their dual cultures (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Also, they can often navigate smoothly between the knowledge associated with their multiple identities (Mok & Morris, 2013). Considering high BII immigrants exhibit the ability to be flexible and integrative, it is plausible that they also will display high levels of metacognitive cultural intelligence and will be subsequently able to develop a paradox mindset.

**Proposition 2:** *High BII is positively associated with metacognitive cultural intelligence.*

Low BII immigrants also identify with multiple cultures; however, they find it challenging to integrate the cultures in their everyday lives due to stressors from intercultural interactions such as discrimination (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). As a result, they develop incompatible bicultural identities that perceive the two cultures as mutually exclusive, oppositional, and a source of internal conflict (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Oyserman, Sakamoto, & Lauffer, 1998). Consequently, low BII immigrants often feel as if they should choose one culture, i.e., they often state that it is easier for them to assume one cultural identity over another but not both at the same time (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Given these findings, it is plausible to infer that because immigrants with low BII struggle to reconcile multiple cultures, they cannot develop metacognitive cultural intelligence and, therefore, will not obtain a paradox mindset.

**Proposition 3:** *Low BII is negatively associated with metacognitive cultural intelligence.*

## **Unpacking assumptions about the paradox mindset**

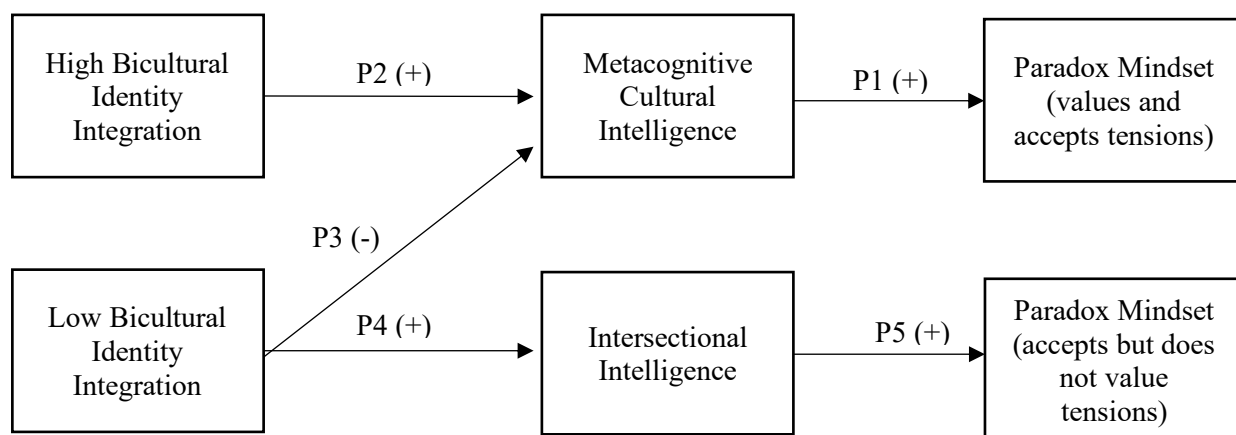
Organisational paradox scholars assume that individuals who develop a paradox mindset must value and accept tensions simultaneously. However, scholars have yet to explore instances where individuals with a paradox mindset can either value but not accept tensions or vice versa. Research investigating this underlying assumption may shed light on additional manifestations of the paradox mindset that may apply to low BII immigrants. Low BII immigrants may develop a paradox mindset through an understanding of intersectionality. Intersectionality is the study of the meaning and implication of simultaneous membership in multiple social groups (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1990; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Intersectional research mainly focuses on understanding how social categories interconnect concurrently, resulting in the oppression of minority groups such as immigrants (e.g., Chun, Lipsitz & Shin, 2013; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda & Abdulrahim, 2012). Intersectionality was conceptualised to highlight the shortcomings in existing research that considered demographic characteristics such as race and gender independently as the central source of disadvantage and oppression (Crenshaw, 1990). Research on intersectionality suggests that outcomes of inequality such as racism and sexism, interrelate, and create a social system of oppression that results in numerous forms of individual-level tensions and social inequality that are cumulative and interrelated (Bowleg, 2008; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Settles, 2006). For example, a black LGBT woman who is an immigrant from Zimbabwe and is currently living in the US may experience multiple forms of oppression such as racism, sexism and homophobia. Thus, understanding her lived experience through, for instance, race alone does not adequately provide comprehensive insight into her life.

Overall, I argue that low BII immigrants may be able to develop a form of cultural intelligence that I call intersectional intelligence; this I argue is developed through

intersectionality due to their experiences with discrimination and other socioemotional factors.<sup>2</sup> I furthermore posit that through intersectionality, low BII immigrants will develop a paradox mindset that accepts but does not value organisational tensions. In particular, intersectionality will provide low BII immigrants with a lens to understand the contradictory nature of their lived experiences. As such, they will be equipped with a skillset to accept tensions as a regular part of their everyday lives. Given the unfavourable circumstances through which low BII immigrants adopt intersectionality, e.g., discrimination, I also argue that intersectionality does not enable low BII immigrants to value tensions. In other words, low BII immigrants do not value the oppression they experience and thus ultimately, through intersectionality, low BII immigrants will develop a paradox mindset that accepts but does not value organisational tensions.

**Proposition 4:** *Low BII is positively associated with intersectionality.*

**Proposition 5:** *Intersectionality is positively associated with the development of a paradox mindset that values but does not accept organisational tensions.*



*Model for future empirical investigations of intercultural experience and hybridity experiences*

<sup>2</sup> Intersectional intelligence can be measured with a 28-item questionnaire (see Schiem & Bauer, 2019).

Paradox scholars have emphasised the ability of the individual to approach paradoxical challenges with research suggesting that individuals can effectively manage paradoxical challenges through paradoxical frames or mental templates that individuals impose on an environment to recognise and embrace tensions (Lewis & Smith, 2014; Miron-Spektor et al., 2018; Smith & Besharov, 2019). However, recent theorising in the paradox literature brings to the fore the boundaries of individual agency by highlighting how actors' agency in enacting paradoxical frames can be undermined by forces that they cannot control, such as power dynamics within organisations (Berti & Simpson, 2020). In particular, using a systems view of paradox (Schad & Bansal, 2018), this research suggests that individual agency in paradoxical organisations can be constrained by power relationships between managers and subordinates (Berti & Simpson, 2020). However, power relationships that originate outside of the organisation context and their implications for micro-level approaches to organisational paradox remain largely unexplored.

Power relationships in multicultural societies present a promising research pathway forward. Cross-cultural psychologists have found merit in exploring the relationships between race, gender and ethnicity through intersectionality, an approach that states that multiple identities (race, gender, ethnicity) are not divisible as separate dimensions and that the combination of social categories changes individuals' lives and professional experiences (Shields, 2008). Intersectionality provides an analytical framework that helps explain individuals who are embedded in multiple social categories behave, e.g., being Black and being a woman (Cole, 2009). Importantly, through the intersectionality approach, researchers have found that when two or more of these identities interact, they produce tensions that individuals must navigate (Corlett & Mavin, 2014; Parent, DeBlaere, & Moradi, 2013). For example, ethnic minority entrepreneurship scholars found that female entrepreneurs of Moroccan and Turkish origin in the Netherlands who construct their entrepreneurial identities at the

intersections of gender and ethnicity experience tensions at these intersections and also construct their identities creatively by taking advantage of both worlds to sustain their enterprises (Essers & Benschop, 2009).

Utilising theoretical lenses such as intersectionality can help explain how the agency of individuals in response to organisational paradoxes is facilitated/constrained by power relationships that originate outside of the organisation context. It can furthermore outline key mechanisms and boundary conditions of how interlocking power relationships that originate at the societal level and manifest at the individual (intrapersonal/interpersonal) can impact approaches to organisational paradoxes.

### **Examining the role of gender and intercultural paradox**

Article 1 also highlighted that intercultural experience becomes paradoxically salient under conditions of plurality and scarcity (Mafico et al., 2021; Schad, Lewis, Raisch & Smith, 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Specifically, I explained that plurality and scarcity work in opposite directions when affecting the intercultural paradox (Mafico et al., 2021). For example, those socially excluded (high scarcity) by their host cultures are less likely to develop cultural capital resources necessary for managing conflicting cultural values, norms, or practices but are also less likely to experience the plurality of ongoing intercultural encounters (low plurality) (Mafico et al., 2021). Conversely, those socially included by their host culture (low scarcity) may have more opportunities to develop cultural capital resources but are more often exposed to the plurality of multiple demands from multiple cultures (high plurality).

While the present thesis highlights the importance of gender and intercultural experience for the hybrid organisation literature (article 2), further examination of the connection to organisational paradox is required. Specifically, there may be variance in the salience of intercultural paradoxes between men and women due to differences in conditions of plurality and scarcity.

Compared to immigrant boys, immigrant girls from ethnic, cultural backgrounds tend to have many more responsibilities at home, such as cooking and childcare (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). Furthermore, immigrant parents often exercise stricter control over their daughters' activities outside the house than their sons', particularly regarding dating (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). They are, as such, often not allowed to go to parties, spend time with friends after school, or participate in after-school programs and other activities that immigrant boys can typically choose to do freely (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard 2004).

Consequently, females may experience more plurality as they are exposed to an additional set of conflicting values, norms, or practices that they must navigate, i.e., the expectations for women in their heritage culture vs. their host culture. They may also experience more scarcity as gender expectations increase levels of social exclusion. Females thus may be less likely to develop cultural capital resources necessary for managing conflicting cultural values, norms, or practices.

Overall, gender may intensify both scarcity and plurality to work in similar directions and produce vicious cycles (Pradies, Tunarosa, Lewis & Courtois, 2020). Therefore, future investigations should explore gender to further our understanding of the underlying dynamics of the intercultural paradox and its implications for organisations.

### **Practical Implications**

The thesis study has practical implications for social entrepreneurs, investment fund managers, corporate social responsibility professionals and policymakers in immigration, capacity building and entrepreneurship. For individual social entrepreneurs, understanding the Globalist, Patriot and Aspirational pathways (article 1) may help them actively steer their ventures in a direction that enables them to achieve their long-term goals and ambitions. Social entrepreneurs who, for instance, aspire to create long term social change may closely align themselves with the Patriot pathway. In contrast, social entrepreneurs who aspire to develop



sizeable economic value might align themselves with the Aspirational pathway that prioritises professional development in a host country.

For investors, understanding cultural legitimisation processes in intercultural societies (article 3) may assist them in analysing potential investment deals, especially at the early-stage venture level when much of the decision making is qualitative and revolves around investor perceptions of a social entrepreneur's ability. Insights from this thesis may also assist in the development of more effective CSR initiatives.

For CSR professionals seeking to, for example, support social impact initiatives in marginalised communities, assessing the acculturation strategies of potential candidates may help them identify ideal candidates who, according to the thesis, are minority social entrepreneurs who separate, as these entrepreneurs are more likely to organise their enterprises towards social goals. The present thesis also provides insights to help CSR practitioners understand which social entrepreneurs can likely sustain social impact creation over the long term.

On a final note, insights from this thesis study may assist policymakers in developing more effective visa, capacity building, and entrepreneurship programs. The thesis study highlights to policymakers that preparation for a potential career as an entrepreneur may be most effective if begun during childhood and with attention to structural barriers such as social inclusion/exclusion in children's environment and an understanding of socialisation experiences (articles 1 and 2). It subsequently offers insight that may assist in creating in-country and cross-country cultural immersion programs for individuals who are social entrepreneurs or plan to become social entrepreneurs in the future. For instance, policymakers interested in generating social and commercial impact in their countries might design programs focused on inclusive experiences such as international travel and intercultural interactions.

## **Conclusion**

Hybrid organisations such as prosocial ventures are rife with persistent contradictory yet interrelated goals, interests, and perspectives that constitute paradoxes (Schad et al., 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011). The present thesis contributes to the literature by elucidating the micro-level mechanisms and processes that inform hybridity and paradox in a globalised world characterised by migration across borders. The first article establishes a relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity. Key insights from this study include identifying approaches to social-business paradoxes that vary based on structural barriers related to intercultural experience, such as barriers to social inclusion. This article also highlights a novel mechanism of mirroring that explains the connection between entrepreneurs' interpretations of intercultural and hybridity experiences. This article concludes by calling for greater attention to how actors interpret societal systems connected to globalisation. Articles 2 and 3 address this call in two different ways. First, article 2 explores the interrelationships between intercultural experience and other antecedents to hybrid organising such as gender beliefs and parents' work experience. Second, article 3 considers how stakeholders' categorisation of social entrepreneurs can affect evaluations of prosocial venturing in multicultural contexts.

Taken together, the articles within this thesis demonstrate a need for both scholars and practitioners to consider entrepreneurs' situatedness in societal systems connected to globalisation. I also identify various pathways for future research, including empirically testing the relationship between intercultural experience and hybridity and examining the role of race, gender and ethnicity in organisational paradox.

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