

Activist Entrepreneurship

Attac'ing Norms and Articulating Disclosive Stories

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Det hände i märkligheten...

Jonatan Gawell (5 år) 2001

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Contents

1. Introduction	1
A Research Project: Entrepreneurial Processes for Social Change.....	3
Aim and opening RQ	9
Research Design and Outline of this text.....	10
Expected Contributions and Limitations.....	11
2. On methodology.....	13
A Narrative Approach	16
Empirical Environment, Interviews and Other Empirical Material.....	22
Narrative interviews	24
Observations	31
Website and Other Texts	32
Interpreting and Analysing the Empirical Material.....	33
Analysis to Re-contextualize Entrepreneurship Theory to a Non-profit Setting in Civil Society	38
Analysis of the Entrepreneurial Process in Relation to Different Group Formations	40
The Writing of this Text	41
Summing up a Methodological Device.....	43
3. The Entrepreneurial Process of Attac Sweden.....	45
Before Attac Sweden.....	47
Getting in Touch with Attac	50
Preparing and Launching Attac Sweden.....	53
A New Organization and a Top Meeting in Gothenburg	58
After Gothenburg.....	65
A Second Year	67
Two Years Later	71
4. Entrepreneurship and Organization Creation in Civil Society.....	75
Composites of Entrepreneurship – A Literature Review	75
Entrepreneurship; Organization Creation, Start-ups and Dynamics	79
Entrepreneurship: Innovation, Opportunities, and Growth	83
Entrepreneurship, Entrepreneurs and Management Strategies.....	86
Composing an Entrepreneurship Framework.....	90
Towards a Re-contextualization into a Non-profit Framework.....	96

Dilemmas and Paradoxes of Entrepreneurship in Civil Society	
– Specifying Analytical Research Questions.....	104
The Paradox of Profit and Non-profit	106
The Dilemma of Opportunities and the Construction of an Organizational Idea...	110
The Dilemma of Bounding and Legitimacy	112
The Dilemma of Dynamics.....	113
Summing up Analytical Research Questions	114
The Entrepreneurial Process of Attac Sweden:	
Organization Creation in Civil Society.....	115
Opportunities and Necessities	115
Legitimising Organizational Boundaries	122
A New Organization in the Organizational Landscape of Civil Society	137
Summing up the Empirical Analysis	142
Discussion: Entrepreneurship Materialized through Organization Creation in Civil Society	144
5. Entrepreneurship, Social Movements and Other Group Formations.....	153
Towards a Framework of Group Formations in Entrepreneurial Processes	
– A Literature Review	157
Organizing in an Early Entrepreneurial Phase	158
Entrepreneurial Processes and Social Movements.....	164
Summing up a Review of a Framework for Entrepreneurial Processes.....	169
Tensions in the Suggested Framework for Entrepreneurial Processes	
- Specifying Analytical Research Questions	170
The Entrepreneurial Process of Attac Sweden:	
Organizing in the Middle of Social Movements.....	173
(Social) Movements as a Suspenseful Setting.....	173
Emerging Group Dynamics and Beyond	181
Summing up Empirical Analysis	189
Discussion: A Social Entrepreneurial Process Impelled Through Narrating.....	191
6. Activist Entrepreneurship: Attacking Norms and Articulating Disclosive Stories	201
In the Middle of Movements.....	205
In the Middle of Activities	207
Articulation Beyond the Entrepreneurial Process	208
Activist Entrepreneurship as History-making in Everyday Life	209
In the Middle of Activities	212
Into Other Organizations and Movements.....	220
Discussion of Contributions and Implications.....	224
References.....	229

1. Introduction

On 6 January 2001, Attac Sweden was launched in Stockholm. It was a day for seminars. The day after was the day for the constituting meeting of this new organization and a street-manifestation with theatre and games. Approximately 850 people were participating in the launching. At least a hundred more wanted to come in, but the premises did not allow that. According to my own observations from this launching, a mix of people was attending the seminars. Many people were young, from teenagers up to around thirty, others had many years of experience from voluntary organizations, political work and so on. The atmosphere expressed excitement, hope, and enthusiasm over issues discussed, the event and the idea that something can and will happen. There was also some confusion about how. But it was expressed that it was possible to do something to change the world. 'Another world is possible', it said on a banderol behind the speakers.

A new organization was launched. Some people had prepared this event; some people participated in this event, while many others related to this event or the process of which this event was part, even though they did not know of this particular happening. This thesis is about the creation of this new organization. It is about an entrepreneurial process where human beings together create a new organization with aims at changing society.

In the broadest sense, this thesis is based on an interest in human beings' participation in the development of society, in other people's lives as well as in their own lives. This is a wide and diffuse interest, to which I relate the

creation of ideas and then the development of some of these ideas into action in my text. The creation of ideas and the development into action can be conceptualised as entrepreneurship based on enterprising action (“företagsamhet” in Swedish). In this basic meaning of enterprising action and entrepreneurship, there is no direct connection to a specific legal form of association, it is rather related to social processes, action and how we view our lives.

The particular setting of entrepreneurship in this thesis is a sphere of society where social issues and engagement are basic building blocks and where people become involved in the development of social change; the sphere of civil society. Entrepreneurship contains the creation of a new organization which in this thesis will be understood by exploring entrepreneurship as a societal phenomenon, and conceiving the process of entrepreneurship as intertwined in society.

Entrepreneurship also contains a dimension of change. In this way, we can relate entrepreneurship to the flow of life and strive for improvements that ought to be natural. Who wants to do things again if they are not considered to be good for oneself or others? Still, we can not take improvements for granted as can be noticed on an everyday basis in our immediate surroundings as well as in more distant locations that reach us through different media. Already the issue of ‘striving for improvements’ is not to be taken for granted. Who decides what is to be considered as an improvement? Even if there is agreement within a group of people on what an improvement is, is it an improvement for everybody? There are a number of questions to be raised with regard to such normative and ethical issues. I mention this to stress the need for a critical discussion on ‘good’ and ‘bad’, even in cases where the intentions are most admirable. But no matter what specific normative and ethical stands are argued for, entrepreneurship focuses on the practice of

action where people are involved in the creation of a new organization, in this case primarily aiming towards societal development.

I went into the venture of writing this thesis with wishes to reflect and study, discuss, connect and articulate ideas as a driving force. These wishes were based on earlier experiences from an active engagement in the Red Cross in Sweden and internationally 1985-1993, and from small business/regional development work in Sweden during 1993-2000. So writing this thesis started from years of experience from practical work and to me, it is a matter of researching issues and processes that can specifically be related to the process where human beings together create a new organization, primarily aiming at a change in social practice. This is here done through the development of a research project allowing me to connect earlier experiences to theoretical discussions. With this as a base, the articulation of research questions has facilitated an analytical focus. The theoretical review and the empirical study have given a rewarding number of observations and reasons for reflection. Together, this aims at forming a contribution to the understanding of entrepreneurial processes for social change. The following text is both a way of organizing my own thinking and a way of communicating ideas, numerous reflections on different aspects of the topic, the research process and on myself as a researcher.

A Research Project:

Entrepreneurial Processes for Social Change

No single unifying definition of entrepreneurship has been agreed on in entrepreneurship research. What is referred to as entrepreneurship is, in this thesis, rather seen as a construction of different aspects related to this con-

cept.¹ Entrepreneurship as the creation of a new organization is one of them. This aspect constitutes the point of departure for this research project, since it can be related to both business settings and non-profit organizations in a concrete way. The aspect of organization creation of entrepreneurship has gained interest since 1988 when Gartner questioned the dominating individual trait approach at that time in his article “Who is the entrepreneur? Is the wrong question”.² He argued for a behavioural approach to entrepreneurship focusing on what is done in the creation of new organizations. Gartner’s suggested approach has since then influenced a line of entrepreneurship research, which is followed in this study through a basic conceptualisation of entrepreneurship as organization creation. This line of research is further discussed in chapter four.

Entrepreneurship is commonly related to economics or business settings. But there are other ways of writing entrepreneurship.³ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert argue that entrepreneurship can rather be seen as a societal phenomenon ‘enacted on all scenes of human life’.⁴ This approach makes analyses of the dynamics related to entrepreneurship possible also outside the business sector where entrepreneurship is usually placed.⁵ As a societal phenomenon, entrepreneurship can be related to different sectors and spheres in society. With an interest in social issues and engagement and where people become involved in the development of social practice, this study relates to a sphere where action is organized in non-profit organizations and neither referred to as the market nor as the public sector.⁶ Wijkström and Lundström argue that studying non-profit organizations contributes to reflection on and

¹ See a further review and discussion on entrepreneurship theories in chapter four.

² Gartner, W 1988. This paper draws on a broader conceptual framework suggested for researching new venture creation. Gartner, W 1985

³ Steyaert and Hjorth 2004

⁴ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003

⁵ Steyaert and Katz 2004

the understanding of society, since it is a sector that is not necessarily well understood through frameworks of businesses and markets or frameworks of public sector thinking. The reason referred to is that ‘logics’ in these different settings are differently constructed and therefore, there are certain differences in what appears as rationalities, which is not reflected on in the above mentioned frameworks.

A non-profit sector has been enthroned through research on non-profit organizations and characteristics as well as conditions for these organizations have been elaborated on. With a focus on organizations and/or the sector, established organizations constitute the focus of research in this field, such as the international John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector project.⁷ The fact that shifts occur in the landscape of civil society organizations, to use the metaphor of Ahrne and Papakostas, is recognized, however.⁸ These authors explain these shifts through references to evolutionary models and shifts in available resources. That entrepreneurship can play a role in these changes is not denied by Ahrne and Papakostas, but it is not pointed out in their analysis. The role of entrepreneurship in the non-profit sector is, however, highlighted by Hisrich, Freeman, Sandely, Yankey and Young.⁹ They argue that non-profit organizations are often created with explicit aims at ‘change’. According to these authors, it is highly relevant to study the emergence of these organizations from the point of view of entrepreneurship. Young has continued to develop these ideas, primarily within an economic and management framework. The above fields of research have an organizational focus in common. But they are differentiated through the different disciplinary settings and also through aims at different level of analysis,

⁶ Lundström and Wijkström 1997 connected to the Johns Hopkins Nonprofit Sector Series edited by Salamon and Anheier.

⁷ John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector project 1997. A publication-series with twelve books edited by Salamon and Anheier at the John Hopkins University. www.jhu.edu/%7Ecnsp/

⁸ See discussions in Ahrne, G 1994, and Ahrne and Papakostas 2002.

where Ahrne and Papakostas focus on an aggregated level of organizational landscape and Hisrich, Freeman, Standley, Younkey and Young focus on the organization and factors in the organization. However, I consider these mutual arguments as support for exploring the contributions from these different frameworks.

Non-profit sector research is closely connected to the conceptualisation of civil society.¹⁰ Through the notion of a civil society sphere, non-profit organizations and the non-profit sector relate to a long history of a sphere influenced by different political and philosophical ideas. The notion of civil society has not easily been colonized by a particular political dimension, according to Amnå.¹¹ According to Dahlkvist and Trägårdh, one reason for this is that in both the left and the right oriented political sphere, the notion of civil society resurrects tensions between market liberals and social conservatives on the one side and state socialists and popular mass movements socialists on the other.¹² The tensions within the conceptualisation of civil society emphasize a complexity in political and philosophical dimensions which can possibly, but not necessarily, be analysed on the level of organizations as one can observe in the case of non-profit organization research. By contextualizing entrepreneurship in the sphere of civil society, I hope to expand entrepreneurship by embedding it in a sphere where theories focus on social and political as well as democratic aspects of society.

This thesis will thus pursue and combine arguments from entrepreneurship research to not only study entrepreneurship limited to the business sector as well as arguments from research on non-profit organizations to relate to entrepreneurship research. Research has primarily been done on different set-

⁹ Hisrich, Freeman, Standley, Yankey and Young 1997

¹⁰ Wijkström and Lundström 2002

¹¹ Amnå, E 2005

tings and with different aspects of social science in focus. However, the way in which I will try to connect both worlds is by taking a focus on organizational creation as their common element and conceive my study as an organizational study. The common organizational focus can therefore facilitate the exploration of entrepreneurship seen as a societal phenomenon, contextualized as the creation of a non-profit organization in the sphere of civil society. Entrepreneurship theory is still highly embedded in economic and business theory.¹³ When entrepreneurship is reframed in more than an economic discourse, Steyaert and Katz suggest there to be a ‘need’ for alternative entrepreneurship conceptions.¹⁴ This empirically grounded dissertation will therefore elaborate on the overarching research question: *What are the key issues and what can we learn about these issues as entrepreneurship theory is re-contextualized in a non-profit framework of non-profit organizations in civil society?*

This research project will, however, not quite settle with an analysis re-contextualizing entrepreneurship theory into a framework of non-profit organizations. With the opening stanza of this book, I want to illustrate some of the energy and complexity of entrepreneurship. The launching meeting that was arranged as part of the creation of a new organization, Attac, was also an event involving different group formations. Their interaction is not only specifically related to the creation of the new organization. This thesis starts out from seeing entrepreneurship as organization creation, yet it claims that entrepreneurship is not limited to the creation of a new organization, but rather to a process reaching beyond the creation of an organization. Thus, a process where people engage in organizing events, themselves striving towards change in society. This thesis therefore raises a second question of

¹² Dahlkvist, M 1999 and Trägårdh, L 1999

¹³ Hjorth, D 2001

¹⁴ Steyaert and Katz 2004

how we can understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society. It suggests that a framework of organizing contributes to the understanding of how socially embedded human beings interact and relate to various group formations while organizing both events and themselves in an early entrepreneurial phase. Weick argues that the understanding of organizing contributes to the rethinking of organizations with regard to social processes.¹⁵ One such process is, according to Weick, the development of group dynamics. In this thesis, organizing is also related to social movements in society, which is the framework conceptualising organized action in civil society. A social movement contains a number of organizations, groups or mobilisations with ‘invisible’ contextual dimensions that proceed and structure the social movement.¹⁶ This framework is here suggested as one of the forms of group formation relating to the entrepreneurial process.

The framework of organizing that I will develop is based on seeing language as central for thinking, in understanding as well as for interaction. The language device is making it possible to connect the entrepreneurial process to other processes in society studied through other frameworks, as long as these other frameworks share the assumptions of this language device. I will claim later in this thesis that the approach taken in this study makes it possible to relate the entrepreneurial process to changes, but not necessarily in the shape of introduction of new goods, new methods of production, opening of new markets, or conquest of new sources of supply as argued by Schumpeter and commonly referred to in entrepreneurship research.¹⁷ I will in this thesis argue that the entrepreneurial process can thus be related to new ways of seeing things and people. With language as a device, it is then possible to relate

¹⁵ Weick, K 1979/1969

¹⁶ Thörn, H 1997

¹⁷ Schumpeter, J 1934

the entrepreneurial process to development of society considered as history-making as suggested by Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus.¹⁸ They even argue that entrepreneurship, democratic action, and cultivation of solidarity, disclose new ways of being through articulation, cross-appropriation and reconfiguration of disclosive spaces fundamental for people's action in practice.

Aim and opening RQ

Based on an aim at reflecting, connecting and articulating thoughts on how human beings together create a new organization primarily based on engagement in social change, the aim of this study has developed along with the articulation of this research project conceptualised as entrepreneurship and contextualized in a setting of non-profit organizations in civil society. Because of the different frameworks commonly used in entrepreneurship theory and civil society research, the aim of this study is to extend entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society.

The aim is still articulated in a searching mode, as this is how I see the research process in this thesis. This study will strive towards this aim step by step. Therefore, the researched questions outlined in this introduction will be further developed through the thesis. The opening and overarching research questions that have been raised in this introduction are:

- What are the key issues and what can we learn about these issues as entrepreneurship theory is re-contextualized in a non-profit framework of non-profit organizations in civil society, and what are the implications of this re-contextualization for entrepreneurship research?

¹⁸ Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus 1997

- How can we understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society?

Research Design and Outline of this text

This research project takes its point of departure in my earlier experiences from both engaging in and organizing activities in a non-profit setting as well as working with stimulating entrepreneurship at regional, national and international levels. These experiences have, in interplay with theoretical studies as well as a specific empirical study, constituted the development of the research project.

The two research questions have been elaborated on in chapters four and five, respectively. Both these chapters are structured by a literature review and an analysis of theoretical dilemmas and tensions. The empirical study has then been used to contribute to the understanding of these vital issues. The analysis of the empirical material has also contributed to question some of the assumptions and arguments appearing as theoretical clear agreements. Through the interplay of searching, reviewing, and analysing, an entrepreneurial process for social change has gradually been researched. Continuous interpretations have been made throughout this process.

The empirical case of this study is the creation of the organization Attac Sweden launched in January 2001. According to the organization's website, Attac Sweden is a "party-political independent network aiming for global justice and democracy" (my translation).

In the next chapter, we will continue the discussion about the approach of this thesis. The discussion will be more specific and related to methodologi-

cal issues. It is described and discussed how this study has been conducted. The methodological chapter is then followed by a further presentation of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden.

Furthermore, chapter four elaborates on re-contextualizing entrepreneurship theory in a framework of non-profit organizations in civil society. In chapter five, a framework for entrepreneurial processes related to different group formations in society is developed. These two chapters are related to different, yet connected, frames for analysis. In chapter four, entrepreneurship as creation of a new organization in civil society is highlighted. In chapter five, the social process of organizing and social movements are in focus. Finally, this dissertation ends in a concluding discussion and interpretation of the entrepreneurial process as history-making in everyday life.

Expected Contributions and Limitations

The main expected contribution is to problematize and elaborate on issues identified in contextualizing entrepreneurship in a setting of non-profit organizations in civil society. Thus, this study will contribute to extend entrepreneurship theory to reach beyond the limitations of businesses and economics. Entrepreneurship is suggested to also contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of organization creation in civil society.

Through the thesis raised, this research project proposes to contribute to the understanding of entrepreneurship as a process related to different group formations in society. This approach is suggested to relate, rather than detach, the entrepreneurial processes to social and societal development in this case through contextualization in civil society. This will be done by emphasizing, analysing and discussing key issues of re-contextualizing entrepre-

neurship theory in a non-profit framework of non-profit organizations in civil society.

Not all people involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden have been interviewed in this study. In that sense, it is a partial study with bias to who has been interviewed, by whom and at what time. Attac Sweden is, as we will see later, a decentralized organization and the extent of variation is not analysed within the scope of this thesis. The way this has been handled is further discussed in the second chapter on methodology.

In all studies there are related issues and fields. In all studies, research methods have pros and cons. In this study, certain issues and fields are in focus. The contributions of this particular mix are highlighted and analysed. Other theories, other cases might give other closely connected contributions. Those studies could also be of interest, but are not included even though this limits the scope of this particular research project. Priorities within this research project have been made based on core issues for the understanding of the process, where human beings act and together create a new organization primarily aiming at social change.

2. On methodology

One of the reasons for me taking on the challenge of a research education was to search for methods including issues and aspects of action, development and society I thought were missing in most of the existing studies and which were presented as knowledge in my surrounding. At that time, I worked at Nutek (The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth) as a project manager, moving more and more into analysis and knowledge discussions around entrepreneurship and regional development. To my questions, economists who dominated the analysis-department of Nutek, tended to give answers like “Well, it is interesting, but we can’t measure that”. Maybe it was only anthropologists who were allowed to think in an opposite way, I thought at the time.

At the beginning of my PhD studies, I came across research drawing on anthropology, humanities and culture studies. These approaches inspired me. At the time of writing my thesis proposal in 2002, I wrote:

The practices of research are thoughts, talks and writing. What else can this be than narratives? In the approach suggested for this study, the focus is on humans in the process of creating action for social change. I do not believe it is possible for me as a researcher to know what happens in these humans. But I do believe that as a researcher, I can listen to their stories, and they will have a lot to tell me. With narratives from the field, theories in books and articles, I see a possibility of developing my

story to be told about entrepreneurial processes for social change.¹⁹

This now seems a long time ago. The choice of taking a narrative approach in this study was easy since the approach is coherent with the way I look at research. But at that time, it was not as easy to describe in writing since I lacked a frame of reference. Czarniawska has earlier identified this experience among research students within business administration and organization studies.²⁰ Czarniawska's and Steyaert's work on connecting linguistic and philosophical theories on narratives to organization and entrepreneurship theories is used as a basis for the methodological approach of this study.²¹ The way I look upon research has not changed substantially, even though the following discussion shows how it has developed in a reflective way. What has further been developed during my years of studies is basically to integrate a constructionist view on society and research with an interpretative methodology. The discussion that follows here is therefore a further development of the initial indication of how I look at research and how that has been used in this particular study.

There are many approaches to methods within social science. Some are described in detail from a technical point of view, while others are more open and with less technically explicit criteria for evaluation, yet with no less ambitions or expectations on thoroughness in researching specific questions. What is called methods in academics can be seen as "guiding principles for knowledge creation" according to Arbnor and Bjerke.²² These principles should be effective and consistent with the research problem, as well as the researcher's ontological and epistemological view. This research project has

¹⁹ Thesis proposal *Entreprenöriella processer för social förändring* presented at School of Business, Stockholm University 2002

²⁰ Czarniawska, B 1998

²¹ Czarniawska, B 1997 and Steyaert and Bouwen 1997

²² Arbnor and Bjerke 1994 (p 26) (my translation)

the aim of extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. It also raises the thesis that the entrepreneurial process is related to different group formations in society and how they are interwoven. With the searching mode of this project, and in line with an interpretive view on knowledge creation, a narrative approach is suggested to be a device for exploring and analysing these connections. For such a narrative approach can be seen as contextualizing a process-oriented view in social science and, in this case, particularly in entrepreneurship research. As argued by Steyaert and Bouwen, this approach can contribute to an understanding of entrepreneurship as a creative process, both destabilizing existing 'structures' as well as creating new 'realities'.²³ As for the more concrete ways of working in the research process, a so-called methodological device has been developed. Czarniawska suggests that an idiosyncratic device be created to tackle the material at hand rather than relying on technical functions called methods.²⁴ A device is, according to Czarniawska, seen as both more vague and more specific than what is commonly called a method. It aims at artfulness and thorough instrumentality, but does not necessarily include standardized techniques. The device can therefore be idiosyncratic. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter is related to issues related to a narrative approach, but also specifically to how this study has been conducted.

In this chapter, the narrative approach taken will be further discussed in relation to a social science setting and, more specifically, to the linguistic turn in organization and entrepreneurship theory. It is argued that a narrative approach has less complexity than many other methods and the context of the respective phenomena can rather be included than detached, thus making it possible to study both the 'whole' and the 'part' and, in particular, their rela-

²³ Steyaert and Bouwen 1997

tionships. Further on in this chapter, methodological issues of relating to an empirical field, in this case through narrative interviews, as a way of generating empirical material, are elaborated based on the activities undertaken in this study. It is argued that the analysis within a study starts already before the empirical material is generated and continues throughout the research process, including the writing of the text. Analysis is here seen as continuing interpretations of every reading, 'listening', writing and re-writing. Finally, in this chapter, the main inventions in the specific methodological device created for this study are stressed once more.

A Narrative Approach

A narrative approach is based on language and connected to the linguistic turn in social science. In particular, this study is related to the linguistic turn in organization and entrepreneurship theory that has been developed during the last two decades. Through the linguistic turn in social science, social theories have been connected to linguistic theories. Styles of organizing are analysed as poetic logics²⁵, institutional identity in organization narratives are analysed as dramas²⁶, or the relations between consultants and entrepreneurs are analysed as dramas²⁷. In the study by Damgaard, Piihl and Klyver, drama is also used as a methodological device. With the focus in this study on practice and organizing in everyday life, language is here rather connected to the use of language in these social theories than to drama and literary theories. However, the demarcations between these different theories are not clear cut. There is not any clear border but rather theoretical discussions sometimes moving back and forth. As in practice and in everyday life, lan-

²⁴ Czarniawska, B 1998

²⁵ Sköldberg, K 1990

²⁶ Czarniawska, B 1997

²⁷ Damgaard, Piihl and Klyver 2004

guage gives vigour and movement to ideas, conversations, negotiations and reflections. Or as Steyaert writes, “language is not an abstract system or *langue* but a heterogeneous interweaving of languages with different social and historical tastes and smells”.²⁸

In all times and all cultures, human beings have tried and are trying to understand the world, social life and themselves. But the language for thinking and talking about such matters differs, or as written by Barthes in 1977 “the narratives of the world are numberless”.²⁹ He further emphasizes that the almost infinite diversity of forms that can be taken by a narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society. MacIntyre even discusses social life as being a narrative.³⁰ I will not go deeper into the philosophical discussion of whether social life is a narrative as claimed by MacIntyre or not. I will simply refer to and rely on MacIntyre’s work, showing that narratives are closely interwoven with social life and what we can understand of social life in the literary form in which this study is presented. These arguments highlight and support narratives’ pivotal role in life and for social interaction. It further grounds the point of departure in this dissertation – that is to view narratives as central in social life, for understanding, thinking, interacting, communicating, and in what we commonly call knowledge creation. Theories are based on language. So is the construction of our ways of thinking and talking about social phenomena in society. Language also permeates the methodological work of this study of entrepreneurial processes for social change, since it is stories that are interpreted and interpretations are expressed through language, in this case written in an academic form.

²⁸ Steyaert, C 2004 (p 13)

²⁹ Barthes, R 1977 (p 79)

³⁰ MacIntyre, A 1981/1985

Language and narratives are often referred to as written or spoken language. This is also the definition of language that is in focus of this study. However, other means of interaction and understanding in this process are not denied. There might, for example, be interaction based on vision, hearing, or emotions that we do not express very well in what we commonly refer to as language. Without reducing the role of spoken and written language in practice and for research, I here want to indicate humbleness for what can be claimed as knowledge about human life and society. Still, it is an important, even fundamental, device for the understanding of social life. The practice of research is coloured, or even spun, by language. So is this thesis. Theories within social science are here seen as narratives constructed in the practice of social science theorizing, a practice that can contribute to our understanding of processes of human beings in society through the practice of research and through critically discussing issues over time. This study is part of the social science tradition of narrating, in which specific criteria and forms for narrating have been developed over time. With this study's connections to social science as well as to practice, my hope is that this writing will inspire and provoke the understanding of entrepreneurship extended to a non-profit setting in civil society. For as expressed by Steyaert and Bouwen, a "story allows the experiences of others to be linked to one's own story or to view the latter in a new light".³¹

A narrative can be understood as "a spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action or series of events/actions, chronologically connected".³² But it is also the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite.³³ The term 'narrative' is ambiguous. It can refer to the result of an account of ac-

³¹ Steyaert and Bouwen 1997 (p 47)

³² Czarniawska, B 2004 (p 17)

³³ Polkinghorne, D 1988

tion and events, but it can also refer to the process of making a story or the construction of a scheme for meaning in a story. At times, ‘narrative’ and ‘story’ are used interchangeably, at times, they are used with different references. But the term ‘story’ also contains the same ambiguity of referring to the accounted result or the construction of meaning. In this dissertation, I have primarily chosen to work with the narrative terminology, even though I do not see any significantly important differences in the use of ‘story’ or ‘narrative’. The ambiguity must be handled in both cases. However, using the narrative terminology positions and connects this study to other academic work related to narratology like in the discussions in this chapter. In an attempt at handling the ambiguity of the two concepts, the term ‘story’ in this dissertation is used with references to accounts of events and action given by people involved in the practice studied. It could also be referred to as stories from the field, or ‘what people involved in the entrepreneurial process have told me’. This use of these concepts is also in line with Steyaert and Bouwen. They refer to a narrative approach and narrativity as an academic framework for narrative construction, while referring to stories and story-telling as ‘parts’ used in this construction, such as stories generated in an interview situation.³⁴

Events and aspects are interrelated into an understandable composite through a plot. The plot functions to transform a chronicle or list of events into a meaningful schematic whole.³⁵ A minimal plot can, according to Todorov, be defined as the passage from one equilibrium to another, where a stable situation is disturbed by some power or force and, in the end, a new equilibrium is established.³⁶ In the case of studying the creation of a new organization, the plot can be about the passage from an organizational landscape at one

³⁴ Steyaert and Bouwen 1997

³⁵ Polkinghorne, D 1988

³⁶ Todorov, T 1977 (first published in 1971)

point to another organizational landscape at the later point, to borrow the terminology of Ahrne and Papakostas.³⁷ In that case is the entrepreneurial process of creating a new organization the disturbing force. However, the thesis raised earlier, that entrepreneurship is not limited to the creation of a new organization but rather to a process reaching beyond the creation of an organization, blurs both the opening and the closing equilibrium of this story. Rather, this opening and closing are explored and reconsidered through this study. Openings and closings of narrative are attached to history and the context. The many narratives do not float independently of each other. As Czarniawska writes, “even a narrative of an individual history is placed in a narrative of social history”.³⁸ She calls this a history of narratives or (hi)stories of each story, since history is not to be seen in the singular but as a web of stories related to the construction of each narrative.

The construction of a narrative is then spun together with other narratives. This ‘spinning’ can be seen as conversation between different texts, and according to Davies and Harré, a positioning is taken in every conversation.³⁹ They argue that this positioning is accepted, rejected, or improved upon by the partners in the conversation. The positioning is many times not intentional, since life and what we call self are continuously reconstructed and assumptions as well as power issues influence the positioning. According to Davies and Harré, these issues are sometimes known and reflected on but, at other times, people are not as aware of them. Because of the history of narratives as well as the interaction and positioning, narratives are related and no one can be seen as the sole author of one’s own narratives.

³⁷ Ahrne and Papakostas 2002

³⁸ Czarniawska, B 2004 (p 5)

³⁹ Davies and Harré 1991

So far, a narrative approach has been discussed in relation to the understanding of social practice as connected to a multiple interplay of what we can call ideas, thoughts, assumptions and experiences. Narratives organize our experiences and interactions by framing them. This framing pursues how experiences are turned into memory and systematically altered to conform to our understanding of the world.⁴⁰ The narrative understanding of the world is canonical, meaning ‘what has become the norm’ or ‘point of reference’, aiming at the expected and habitual, while at the same time trying to surpass these limits.⁴¹ Steyaert emphasizes that it is even rather an attempt at connecting the ordinary and the extraordinary, the canonical and the exceptional.⁴² He argues that a language based approach to entrepreneurship, based on the practice of conversational research is a possibility of addressing entrepreneurial everydayness where a form of messiness implies surprise, open-endedness and unfinalizability.⁴³ These arguments colour this text because of a wish to stay close to practice, close to human beings in an everyday life, but without detaching everyday life and the ‘little stories’ of today from the unexpected and surprising story of tomorrow. However, the possibilities of a narrative that have just been pointed out do not come automatically. Most research does follow in line with the ‘master narrative’ in a field or a discipline. Campbell argues for the need to alter and expand our frames of references in relation to these master narratives.⁴⁴ In the case of studying women entrepreneurs, she suggests that metaphors should be shifted and she relates to quilting to emphasize the artistic expression of silenced women, social protests and community building for women. In this study, the research questions raised in the introduction indicate a shift in the ‘ordinary’ understanding of entrepreneurship to also extend to a non-profit setting in

⁴⁰ Bruner, J 1990

⁴¹ Bruner, J 1990

⁴² Steyaert, C 1995

⁴³ Steyaert, C 2004

⁴⁴ Campbell, K 2004

civil society as well as a shift from the ‘ordinary’ understanding of entrepreneurship as organization creation in relation to different group formations.

Empirical Environment, Interviews and

Other Empirical Material

The empirical environment for the study of this thesis is the creation of Attac Sweden. I use the term ‘empirical environment’ instead of empirical field to stress that it is not a distinct field to visit somewhere ‘out there’. There is not one specific spatial field to visit. There are events, there are documents, there are people involved in the creation of Attac Sweden, and there are others referring to Attac Sweden. I want to emphasize what has earlier been argued by Steyaert, i.e. that the researcher creates a context where her or his understanding can develop.⁴⁵ This context, as I see it, is not limited to a ‘field’ visited during the empirical part of the study. Nor is it detached from other ‘fields’ such as an academic ‘field’. To stress the cross-boundary aspects, I prefer to use the term empirical environment even though the meaning is much like what others refer to as an empirical field to study. However, the different vocabulary used means a positioning in nuances.

One case is in focus of the empirical study in this dissertation. The aim of this thesis is not to generalize or to compare cases and therefore, the aim does not require several cases. The two overarching research questions ask for suggestions of theoretical re-contextualization and a suggestion for an alternative framework for understanding the entrepreneurial process. As these suggestions have been developed, they can be further elaborated on and evaluated through further studies. However, within the scope of this

⁴⁵ Steyaert, C 1995

dissertation, I have not found its aim and research questions to require a larger selection of cases.

This new organization was launched in January 2001 and the proclamation aimed for social change. It was a new organization, partly provoking other people and organizations, and no one could really tell what kind of organization this was to become. From the point of view of entrepreneurship research, it was therefore a very interesting case, since it was not selected beforehand, according to established assumptions about the entrepreneurial process. This happened right at the time for this PhD-work, which also meant I could undertake the study within a contemporary process.

I cannot quite recall when I heard of Attac the first time. In the late 1990's I was aware that certain issues on globalization attracted attention and, at times, in the form of protests. If not before, I recall seeing Attac as one of the actors during the protest in connection with the WTO meeting in Seattle 1999 through media reports. I followed this development with interest but at a distance because of a focus on two small children at home. Later on, my teenaged niece and nephew told me that they were participating in starting a new organization in Sweden. They wondered if I wanted to come to the launching event. They have grown up with an aunt who has worked in the Red Cross and they thought I might be interested. And I was. This was the launching of Attac Sweden in Stockholm in January 2001. My niece and nephew had participated in making the banderol on stage and they participated in the theatre group performing in the street manifestation on the second day of the launching. The idea to focus on Attac Sweden as a case for this study emerged during this event. However, it was not until it was time to start interviewing that I introduced this idea to people in Attac.

The main source of empirical material used in this study is interviews. But observations have also been made at different events. The website and other texts have been included in this study. These different sources for generating empirical material are discussed below. Specifically, this study is empirically grounded in:

- 15 longer narrative interviews, out of which there have been 7 follow-up conversations approximately a year and a half after the main interview.
- Observations at the launching in Stockholm in 2001, and at the annual meeting in Norrköping 2004.
- 8 additional conversations (shorter than the narrative interviews and arranged in connection with the two events above).
- Texts written by people involved in Attac Sweden, and texts written about or in debate with Attac.
- Website information.

Narrative interviews

The basic means of systemizing meetings in the empirical environment has been through interviews. The interviews can be seen as situations where the researcher elicits stories from the meetings with people from the empirical environment of the study. Stories do not 'lie around' waiting to be told. Czarniawska highlights that stories are fabricated, circulated and contradicted.⁴⁶ Stories are constructed as they are told. Steyaert argues that through what he refers to as storytelling interviews, the interviewees are given a chance of framing what they consider to be relevant experiences which opens the relation between the interviewee and the researcher.⁴⁷ In this study, stories are constructed in meetings between people engaged in the entrepre-

⁴⁶ Czarniawska, B 2004

⁴⁷ Steyaert, C 1995

neurial process of Attac Sweden and me as a researcher in what can be called narrative interviews.

These narrative interviews have been a way of generating empirical material in the form of stories from the empirical environment. These stories include reflections on personal engagement in issues of interest, personal tasks and relations to Attac, and reflections on Attac as an organization as well as the 'wider' social movement interlinked with this new organization. In narrative interviews, stories tend to relate to actual, not to generalised, events.⁴⁸ Main concepts and, to a large extent, content and structure are chosen by interlocutors.⁴⁹ However, it should be remembered here that what has been said in interviews is a result of a conversation and a way of generating empirical material. This material has then been re-contextualized, through analysis, into an academic text.

To introduce myself I sent an e-mail to addresses found on the Attac Sweden website. The emails were sent on Jan 10, 2002 to people in the Common Working Group (GA) which is a group of 15 persons elected at the annual meeting to deal with upcoming administration and co-ordination during the year.⁵⁰

Subject: Dialogue with a researcher?

Hello,

My name is Malin Gawell. I am interested in people's wish, power and possibility to participate in the development of their own and others' lives and thereby in society. I see the develop-

⁴⁸ Czarniawska, B 1998

⁴⁹ Czarniawska argues this to be an important contribution of narrative interviews for developing a language close to the field. Czarniawska, B 1998 (p 29).

⁵⁰ The role of the Common Working Group, Gemensamma arbetsgruppen in Swedish, (GA) is further described in the section 'A new organization and a top meeting in Gothenburg'.

ment of ideas and action as essentials in people's lives and in society.

Somewhat more than a year ago, I started out on a 'journey' where these thoughts will be my travelling companions. At that time, I joined a PhD program to advance on the issue of 'how people create a new organization aiming for social change'. In about four years, I am supposed to present a PhD dissertation.

I have watched Attac during its year of existence and with this mail, I would like to open up for a closer dialogue with you. I am interested in how Attac has been created up to now and what the creation of the Attac of tomorrow looks like. I would like Attac to be my empirical interlocutor during my journey as a PhD candidate. This can, of course, be the case only if you want to join me. Therefore, I wonder if you are interested? And if so, how can we continue from this initial contact?

I hope to be able to discuss with you in the Common Working Group and a number of other engaged people. The time of the interviews, or how many people will be interviewed, has not yet been decided. I am just about to present my thesis proposal at a seminar at Stockholm University. The planning of the future work will then be completed. But for me it is important to initiate the dialogue with you before that.

I will briefly tell you about my background – it tells you what I carry with me on my journey. I have had an interest in these issues for approximately fifteen years. In the middle of the 80's, I became engaged in the Red Cross Youth in Stockholm. Primar-

ily my (voluntary) work was related to refugees and foreign aid. It also contained organizational work. I was chairman of the Red Cross Youth in Stockholm for two years. In 1990, I travelled to Sierra Leone to work with development as a youth volunteer for the Red Cross. At the same time, there was an influx of refugees because of the conflict in Liberia and my role shifted to become a relief delegate on the border between the two countries. The primary task of the Red Cross was food distribution. For me, it was an overwhelming year filled with human meetings. The need and despair were huge. But there were also humanity, desire, energy and warmth.

Before I went to Sierra Leone, I had started my university education. Based on my interest in organizing and running organized activities, I had chosen to study business administration. This later brought me into working with small business development at Nutek (The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth). That work included entrepreneurship, regional development and social economy among other things. Nutek was my working place for seven years (with two breaks for maternity leave). But the wish for deeper reflections in developmental issues where human beings are in focus brought me onto a 'PhD-journey'.

As I said earlier , my interest is in people's wish, power, and possibilities to participate in the development of their own and others' lives. I consider it to be vital for us as human beings and for our society to develop ideas and realize some of them into concrete action. These processes can be called enterprising activities. The wish to act and change, or to do things in a

slightly different and hopefully better way, has made me focus on entrepreneurship. However, I differ from the ordinary entrepreneurship researcher who commonly studies businesses since I have chosen a 'wider' perspective, where I see human beings creating social values through their creativity and action.

I am based at ESBRI (Entrepreneurship and Small Business Research Institute, www.esbri.se) and I am enrolled at the Stockholm University Business School. ESBRI is an independent institute and has operated for five years.

I think this is enough for now. I hope this has initiated a dialogue that can be fruitful for you as well as for me. Now I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,
Malin

Through this presentation, I already positioned myself by referring to experiences from the Red Cross and Nutek. This was a way of showing how I relate to entrepreneurship, since I did not know how people in Attac would relate to entrepreneurship, since it is so often contextualized in a business discourse. No one expressed resistance to relate entrepreneurship to Attac even though there were, as we will see in the next chapter, some questions on different meanings of this concept. Through this presentation, I also introduced myself as a woman with children at home and a reader could assume that I was probably in the late 30's or early 40's. This positioning was initially often referred to in the interviews as a way of opening the conversation, but specific references were made to all the mentioned positions. I received three positive replies to this e-mail, welcoming me to get in touch to

suggest concrete meetings. Others remembered this e-mail when I approached them later on. In June 2002, the first interview was conducted in Stockholm.

The 15 longer interviews were carried out during June 2002 to March 2004. Primarily, these interviews had been set through e-mail and mobile phone contacts. Interviews were carried out in the Swedish capital Stockholm (8 interviews) and the second largest city in Sweden Gothenburg (7 interviews). The ages of the interviewees differed as follows:

Age	Female	Male
24-30	5	5
31-40	1	1
41-50	1	1
51-	1	

Most interlocutors (ten out of the fifteen) have been part of the Common Working Group (GA) of Attac Sweden and their names have been listed on the website.⁵¹ Through these interviews, I have also had recommendations to talk to others that have participated in different ways. The recommendations were made with the reference that those people played/had played an important role and that they might contribute by expressing different perspectives. All interviewed persons, except four, participated actively in Attac at the time when I approached them. The four exceptions are people who had moved on to other tasks. They are, however, still in touch with some of the others involved. The interviews lasted between one hour and fifteen minutes,

⁵¹ For a further description of the Common Working Group see section 'A new organization and a top meeting in Gothenburg'

and two hours. The interviews were conducted in cafés, restaurants, at people's workplaces, schools or homes upon suggestion from the interviewees. All interviews except two have been taped and transcribed. Two were not transcribed because of problems with the tape-recorder. This was a mistake that turned into an instructive exercise. The transcribed interviews provided considerably richer material for analysis. Not only issues of interest at the time of the interview were included in the transcripts. Issues that I at first did not see or think of gradually appeared in transcript after transcript. The richness in details and nuances in the transcripts made the work of transcribing worthwhile. Impressions and interpretations of these meetings are further discussed in the following chapter.

What has then, besides the opening e-mail, guided the interviews? With an overarching aim at extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit sector in civil society, three questions were developed to initiate and guide the construction of stories through the interviews. These questions departed from the initial meaning of entrepreneurship as a process where human beings together create a new organization which is used in this study. They were also related to people's engagement in political, social and societal issues, because of their interest in social and societal change. Most of all, they were developed to contribute to the re-contextualization of entrepreneurship to a non-profit organization setting in civil society. They were also to contribute to how we can understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to other group formations. Based on these considerations, I initiated the narrative interviews by asking people to tell me about:

- Their engagement in the issues they find most important
- Their engagement in Attac
- Attac as an organization

In stories told by the interviewees, narrative repertoires and devices of the interviewees' practice will most likely be revealed.⁵² Even though the interviews are not to be seen as revealing the practice itself, the narrative repertoire of a practice communicates a base to interpret and analyse for us as researchers. But what is said to the interviewer is positioned to that person and the particular event. Silverman claims that an interview can be seen as an observation of an interaction between the two persons in question.⁵³ These observations include the conversation, but also other reflections relating to the meeting between the person interviewed and the researcher. These narrative interviews constitute the main empirical material of this study. Observations and written texts have been added to the interviews.

Observations

As an addition to the narrative interviews, I have participated in two specific events; the launching in Stockholm in 2001, and the annual meeting in Norrköping in 2004. Observations have been made during these events. At an early stage of this study, I thought of using observations from participating as the main source for generating the empirical material since I had an interest in nuances and details. But I saw some obstacles to using that method in this study. First, it is a question of where to go. Attac has not been created in one place. Many people have been involved in different places. The other obstacle I would like to raise is that I wanted to hear the stories formulated by people involved and their reflections about the process in which they participated. I saw a risk of using my own 'glasses' more by primarily generating the empirical material through observations. Third it was a question of time and timing. In this case, many of the meetings and events have taken place on evenings and weekends. As a researcher with children at home, this was a practical obstacle. Instead, I chose to let people tell me through their

⁵² Czarniawska, B 2004 (p 50)

stories. During the study, I also realized that my own experience as a grass root Red Cross volunteer made it possible to relate to voluntary grass root issues also in interviews. I brought with me an experience of 'being native' in another time and another organization. Even if it is not the same as 'going native' in a specific field of a study as referred to in anthropological studies⁵⁴, it made references to a world of practice possible, which is not always the case in research.

However, the observations conducted in this study have given other additional contributions. To spend one day at the launching and two days at the annual meeting together with Attac people addressed other impressions of people and interaction. Slightly different stories were constructed at these events. They were positioned towards each other and not directly to me as a researcher, even if people at the second event knew of my research. But I did not only sit in a corner observing. I talked to people around. There were both longer and shorter conversations. During breaks for coffee and meals, I continuously talked to people about the event and issues in connection to this event. And I made notes about what was said and my impressions. The impressions from the observations have become an important part of this study. Even though the interview transcripts are in focus for the analysis of empirical material, the impressions from the observations become like additional stories framing and 'colouring' my experience of Attac Sweden.

Website and Other Texts

The website is a central hub for Attac Sweden and it has constituted an important source of information. I have found people through the website, I have been informed about general issues, proclamations and how to find people, but it has also been a source of general information about the organi-

⁵³ Silverman, D 2001

zation, proclamations, protocols and web discussions. However, this study has not included an evaluative analysis of the website per se, nor a specific analysis of the website's role for the organization. But the organizational practice and form are of interest for this study and the website is part of that.

There are also a number of books written by people of Attac. These have been used both as background information and are also specifically referred to in this dissertation. In some cases, texts published on people's personal websites have been used as background information before interviews. During the work of this study, I have read as many articles as possible in newspapers about Attac or that are otherwise relevant for this study. However, I have only specified articles directly connected to issues discussed by the people interviewed. This study is thereby not a study of the media reporting of Attac. But the relation to media, from the point of view of people interviewed, has been included.

Interpreting and Analysing the Empirical Material

With the transcripts from interviews, notes from observations and other written material about Attac Sweden, the methodological related work of this dissertation work continues. I write 'continues' because, in many ways, the interpretation started long ago alongside the articulation of the project, the reading, and the listening. I will here discuss interpretation as the main means for processing this study. The way this interpretation has been systemized will then be discussed as a device for analysis. The aim of this discussion is to show how the study has been conducted. On the one hand, interpretation does not have a specific starting point. It adds on to earlier experiences as well as to other experiences not directly related to this study.

⁵⁴ Salzer-Mörling, M 1998

The interpretation has been carried out by me as a researcher, and I am contextualized in my experiences and my setting. On the other hand, there is a need for and a point in declaring and discussing the device of interpretation and analysis explicitly for one's own understanding of what has been done, as well as for making it possible for a reader to follow the procedure of the study. But there is some tension in making certain issues explicit while others, which might be as important, are left implicit. This is not, however, a reason for avoiding the explicit discussion; i.e. a reminder that no interpretation or analysis is to be seen as a final 'truth', but rather as an invitation to further reflection.

As already indicated in the introduction, this study is characterized as researching issues that have been of interest for a long time and that have been dealt with in different forms. This pre-understanding being brought into academic research played an important role in the first part of the analysis already in setting up this research project. This is not all easy to make explicit. Yet, I am convinced that the study would not have developed in exactly the same way without it. It would, I further argue, have been difficult to persist some of lines of arguments in this dissertation without it. At times, I cannot relate the theories I read to any kind of practice or I cannot sense that there are any human beings in the theories. However, I do not argue that all theoretical discussions must have a direct application in practice. But when they are applied, or conclusions are made based on practice, I want to stress that this relation ought to be thoroughly elaborated. I have tried to not renounce this anomaly but rather to use it to maybe make another kind of contribution. For instance, I am convinced that this research project would not have drawn from so many different fields of research without my experience. At times, I have sensed a pressure to 'stay' within an academic discipline partly, I think, because that is what readers are familiar with. However, I have used my experience as support for exploring what other fields of research can con-

tribute to the understanding of the entrepreneurial process for social change, as a step in extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. In this way, earlier interpretations have already influenced the development of the framework used. I also realize that this pre-understanding is always there as a reference in interpreting empirical material, as well as in the reading of academic texts.

Through the work with this study, interpretation has been conducted in different steps as a way of systematically working through the material in an analytical way. Analysing means dividing or breaking apart but in an interpretive approach, it is rather a hermeneutic circle or spiral where the understanding of meaning is deepened through alternating between studying of the whole in relation to the parts and vice versa, or alternating between pre-understanding and understanding, or explanation and understanding.⁵⁵ In this study, there is primarily an alternation between pre-understanding, theoretical studies and the empirical study, over and over again. The material has been processed in three 'higher seminars' with two opponents each time. Papers have been written in different versions and discussed within courses, at conferences, in other seminars with researchers, students, and with practitioners. Comments and questions at these events have contributed to research the study from slightly different perspectives.

Theoretical and empirical stories are spun together through the interpretation and analysis in this chapter. Striving for a reflective understanding of the processes studied and through this understanding to be able to contribute to the research questions, there has been a close reading of both theories and empirical material. At an early stage in the thesis work, the reading was

⁵⁵ See further discussion in Alvesson and Sköldbörg 1994.

characterized as more of 'being inspiring' to use the vocabulary of Rorty.⁵⁶ A result of an inspiring reading is that of an encounter with an author, plot or character. In inspiring reading, the reader and the reader's purpose change as much as the text itself, according to Czarniawska.⁵⁷ This reading, I claim, 'brought me ' towards an understanding of what my own narrative would be. As work continued, my own reading of both theories and the empirical material became more of a methodological reading, once more using the vocabulary of Rorty. In a 'methodological reading', the reading is more controlled by the reader closely interrogating the text. To me this meant 'thickening' and intensifying the focus on the specific empirical stories and the specific theories of this study. The methodological reading is more systematized and controlled, adding reflective interpretations and re-interpretations than the inspiring reading. It is presumably not questioned within research communities where papers, books and even software are produced on different techniques for conducting methodological analysis. However, the inspiring reading is probably more questioned, at least in communities considering the research process as rather objective. Through the inspiring reading, one is enraptured and destabilized which is, at times, not in line with the image of a 'scientific researcher'. But I want to claim that every study includes an inspiring reading, where readers have been 'brought' with the text even though this is not always made explicit. I also want to emphasize that being enraptured and destabilized is important for reflection. The two modes of reading thus both contribute to the research process through supplementary contributions and the tension between them. That is what I see as the spinning of, or construction, of the narrative presented by me in my thesis. A new narrative has been constructed based on inspiring and methodological reading.

⁵⁶ Rorty, R 1992

⁵⁷ Czarniawska, B 2004

More specifically, interpretation in this study has been made in the following steps to systematically analyse the material at hand:

- Based on a pre-understanding, a research project has been developed with a searching mode to extend entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. Initial research questions have been outlined and a rough framework has been formed. Moreover, an empirical study was outlined and the initial research question was translated into questions guiding the empirical study as described in the previous section of this chapter.
- The following step in the analysis was taken by constructing a story about the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. In the construction of this story, I have ‘stayed close’ to what has been said to me in the interviews and the interpretation is best characterized as an inspiring reading. It is a chronological and empirical account, reinforced by interpretations of the empirical material. This story can be read in the next chapter (chapter three).
- To re-contextualize entrepreneurship theory in a non-profit setting in civil society (research question one), the analysis has been made in two steps. First a story has been constructed describing the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden.
- To further develop the analysis, the two overarching research questions have been processed in a similar way. In each case, a literary review has been conducted. Based on the review, the initial research questions have been specified to fulfil the role of analytic instrumentality. These specified analytical research questions have then constituted the core of the next step of analysis.
- Based on the analytic research questions, a methodological reading has been conducted to systematically interpret the empirical material in relation to reviewed theories. This has led to an empirically grounded analysis related to the two overarching research questions.

In chapter four, the analysis of how entrepreneurship theory can be re-contextualized in a framework of non-profit organizations in civil society is described and discussed. In chapter five, a suggestion of how it is possible to understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society is elaborated on.

- Finally, an analysis of this whole study has been concluded. This is found in the final chapter (chapter six).

Analysis to Re-contextualize Entrepreneurship Theory to a Non-profit Setting in Civil Society

The first step in analysing the empirical material has been to construct a story of the entrepreneurial process based on the individual stories and other empirical material. This story is primarily based on the narrative interviews and the three questions guiding these interviews (people's engagement in issues at stake, people's engagement in Attac, and Attac as an organization). This story has been constructed to give an account of the empirical material and also to create a first analysis. It is structured chronologically and interpreted with regard to how entrepreneurship is viewed in this study, as a process where humans together create a new organization. The mode of interpretation can be characterized as inspiring reading in Rorty's vocabulary.

The story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden is constructed through an interpretation of several individual stories of this collective process. These different stories expressed by people interviewed could be seen as a polyphonic story constructed as a collective process. However, Czarniawska argues that instead of declaring polyphony in a text, it is more useful to talk about 'variegated speech' of the field in line with Bachtin/Medvedev.⁵⁸ Instead, she argues supportively for the use of the

⁵⁸ Czarniawska, B 2004 and Bachtin/Medvedev 1985

Bachtin/Mevedev expression of a variegated speech where voices from the field leave traces of different dialects, different idioms, and different vocabularies in the written text. Bachtin argues that it is impossible to accomplish a polyphonic text in the form written by an author.⁵⁹ Such a text has, he argues, the form of a monologue. However, the author can participate in dialogues of more or less polyphonic character, leaving traces in the text. Czarniawska argues that polyphonic texts are a textual strategy. She emphasizes that voices of the field do not speak for themselves as voices. In this case, voices from narrative interviews leave traces in an academic text, with a focus on entrepreneurship and written in English. The story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden can be read in chapter three.

To further develop the contribution of this study to the first research question, the analysis has continued based on a review of literature on entrepreneurship, non-profit organizations, and civil society theories. On basis of this review, the research question has been further specified to sharpen the re-contextualization of entrepreneurship theory in a non-profit setting in civil society. This analysis can be characterized as a methodological reading in Rorty's vocabulary, where questions are constantly asked to texts of theories as well as empirical material. The main focus of this chapter is on interrogating the empirical material to contribute to the re-contextualizing of entrepreneurship theory again and again. Some of the questions that have been raised during this process are: What does this interview say that can be related to this entrepreneurship study? What does it not say anything about? Why can that be? How does it say what it says? However, analysing the empirical material also raises questions for entrepreneurship literature. This analysis is further described and discussed in chapter four.

⁵⁹ Bachtin, M 1990

Analysis of the Entrepreneurial Process in Relation to Different Group Formations

Grounded in the first part of the analysis in this dissertation, the empirical material has once more been analysed, this time departing from the second research question of how it is possible to understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations. This research question is based on the thesis that entrepreneurship is intertwined in other social processes in society. Therefore, the analysis has been turned back to the case of Attac Sweden to empirically ground the discussion on the relation of the entrepreneurial process to different group formations. Also in this case, the overarching research questions have been specified after a literature review and analytic research questions have been articulated and have guided this part of the analysis. The empirical material has once more been interpreted in what can be called a methodological reading, closely interrogating the texts from transcribed interviews and the other written empirical material described earlier.

The analysis related to the second research question has been divided into two parts. The first has a focus on the process itself and can be described as an internal perspective (chapter five). The second part rather relates to the concluding learnings of the study and how the entrepreneurial process can be related to and seen as affecting other society (chapter six).

In each field of practice there is, according to Czarniawska, at any time, a set of stories in circulation. The stories in the interview transcripts disclose different group formations relating to the entrepreneurial process. These stories are not seen as organizational stories. It is not an organization that speaks, nor are these stories that have passed organizational processes such as a remittance to formal structures of association. The stories rather organize how the people involved have made sense of what happened and how and dis-

close a process of organizing. This process includes interaction that is referred to as references to other people's stories in meetings or in media, or to very practical concrete events. The texts on the website differ slightly from the interview-stories on this issue. Those texts have passed a more formal organizational process and are not as personal.

The analysis of the entrepreneurial process in different group formations continues in chapter six. There it is grounded in the first part of the analysis and connected to the analysis as organization creation in civil society, related to how the entrepreneurial process affects other groups in society.

Throughout the analysis in this study, narratives have circulated through interviews with me as a researcher, read in relation to theoretical stories, and reconstructed into the narrative of this thesis. Weick and Czarniawska argue that the circulation of narratives is central for community life and societal learning.⁶⁰ And through the methodological close reading of stories from the field and theories, the circulation is part of the learning and re-writing of this thesis. Through systematic interpretations, these stories are analysed with the aim of understanding the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society.

The Writing of this Text

Every reading is an interpretation, every interpretation is an association in relation to other texts, other voices, other times and other places, as argued by Czarniawska. The result of any specific interpretation and analysis is a recontextualization.⁶¹ In addition to different forms of reading, the writing

⁶⁰ Czarniawska, B 2004 and Weick, K 1995

⁶¹ Czarniawska 2004

process adds the process of articulating a construction of a new text to interpretations and interrogations of texts. In this thesis, this is suggested to be a re-construction in the circulation of narratives.

Writing sorts out and organizes thoughts; it helps making thing clear. But it also means that some things have to be omitted. In that way, writing is also a concluding part of the analysis of a study. This phase is directed towards a reader as an academic examiner of this dissertation. But writing is also done with other researchers, practitioners and policymakers in mind. However, it is not easy to combine writing for all these potential readers in the same text. I feel a need for different channels for discussions. Therefore, this text is written within the language of academia. Some might say it is written with a 'practitioner dialect'. The 'logics' of academia, such as order of argumentation or what to observe, were not obvious at the beginning. However, by now in discussions with practitioners I realize my 'dialect' has become much more academic. But learning a language as an adult many times means including traces of the former language. Still, it does not always mean it is wrong. It might even contribute to introduce a slightly different perspective. In this case, the inclusion and observations and reflections and their diversity might question disconnections to which theoretically based language can at times lead.

I now see myself as a writer in the academic tradition of social science, or maybe I should say in one of the subcultures of social science. I see the texts of interviews and other written documents as the world of human beings involved in entrepreneurial processes for social change. I do not see them as the same as reality, nor as separated from reality, but as part of each other. And I see them as a way of talking, reflecting and writing about action, life, and society. Without intending to represent life, I hope that this thesis is

recognized and reliable to the reader. But also that it adds some new thoughts, either ‘aha-thoughts’ or questioning thoughts.

Narrativity is a specific form of reality construction, the process of which can be described more precisely as a manner of framing, feeling and identity formation, interactive actualisation, and language use.⁶²

Summing up a Methodological Device

In this chapter, the narrative approach taken in this study has been discussed and a device for this specific study has been created. The narrative approach contributes through connecting rather than disconnecting the different theoretical frameworks. These connections have been guided by the concrete case and the concreteness of entrepreneurship as organization creation. However, the ‘openness’ of a narrative approach where stories are attentively listened to and systematically interpreted over and over again and through different theoretical approaches has affected the construction of the frameworks used in this study through the close interplay.

Through this design of analysis, this chapter suggests that assumptions, readings of literature, the generation of empirical material and reading of this material are connected both to history(s) as well as to contemporary contexts. In this study, it is also suggested that through a narrative approach, it is also possible and desirable to connect specific detailed parts to more holistic conceptualisations. The narrative interviews used as a basic tool for generating empirical material are suggested to make it possible to connect specific events and reflections on detailed issues to contemporary contexts, some-

⁶² Steyaert, C and Bouwen, R 1997

times in line with theoretical liaisons, but sometimes questioning these connections.

The analysis of the empirical material is in this chapter described and discussed as a form of interpretive close reading, where circulations of narratives are intensified in different steps. The interpretive analysis, as seen starting long ago through the development of what can be referred to as a pre-understanding, has been intensified and gradually adjusted to a social science analysis through this research project. It is taken from what can be seen as an inspiring reading, to a systematic methodological reading intensely interrogating the generated empirical material, but also theoretical reviews and discussions. Further, the analysis is suggested to continue through the writing process as the writing, and re-writing, affects the construction of the text at hand.

”Stories, in the context of the narrative paradigm, have ontological significance and may not just carry the culture but may also create it.”⁶³ Therefore, the analysis is specifically intensified through this study to extend entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. Let us now move on to the case of this study to see in what way my interpretation of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden carries to each of us.

⁶³ Smircich and Morgan 1982

3. The Entrepreneurial Process of Attac Sweden

I will here share a story about the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden with you. This story is based on an interpretation of interviews conducted, observations, material written on paper and on the web about Attac, just as discussed in the previous chapter. The aim of telling this story is to inform readers not familiar with the case of Attac Sweden and furthermore, to announce my interpretation of this particular entrepreneurial process on which the subsequent analysis is based.

The new organization launched in January 2001 proclaimed that another world was possible. As means for change, Attac made concrete proposals that were to contribute towards this goal. The proposal to initiate the so-called Tobin tax attracted most attention.⁶⁴ Such a tax could lessen financial speculation, and the money it raised could be used to fight global poverty. This proposal was also linked to the name of the new organization: Attac is an abbreviation of the "Association for Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens". The new organization in Sweden was presented as an international popular mass movement working to prevent the consequences of the dominating neoliberal free trade thinking with aims at regaining power to political arenas where citizens can participate in democratic

⁶⁴ The Tobin-tax is a suggested taxation on financial transactions named after the economist James Tobin who received the The Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel in 1981. Tobin suggested this tax as a part in an active stabilizing financial polity, aiming at developing free trade. This tax gained a renewed interest in the late 1990's by people involved in the creation of Attac, among others.

negotiations.⁶⁵ The specific goals of the new organization were expressed slightly differently in the first few years. In 2004, the prioritised goals of Attac Sweden were expressed as follows:⁶⁶

- The initiation of a small tax on currency transactions, a so-called Tobin Tax.
- The abolishment of tax havens, which are being used for money laundering and tax evasion.
- Cancellation of the external debt of the poorest countries, so that poverty can be fought effectively.
- The creation of a fair international trading system, which supports poor countries in their efforts to develop.
- The creation of a sustainable pension system, which does not allow speculation with money in pension funds. Pension funds should be used for productively, socially and ecologically viable investments.

The creation of Attac Sweden is the focus of this study. The launching was an important event, but not the first nor the only occurrence of the entrepreneurial process. In this chapter follows a story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden based on interviews, observations and other empirical material used in this study. At large, it follows a chronological line but with comments referring back and forth in time as events and action are interwoven with thoughts and reflections. This story is an early step in the analysis of this thesis as well as a way of presenting the case and material empirically grounding this study. It starts with the people interviewed and their stories about the time before Attac Sweden.

⁶⁵ Sources: leaflets distributed at the launching 2001 (my translation).

⁶⁶ www.attac.nu January 15, 2004

Before Attac Sweden

I have 'always', or at least as long as I can remember, been interested in some kind of solidarity-related issues (in Swedish: någon sorts rättvise-frågor), say some of the creators of Attac- as an introduction to their engagement. Others have been searching for issues and forms of engaging in what they felt were 'right' for them. People do not give a specific starting point for their engagement. However, examples of events that have played an important role for the development of their engagement have been pointed out. At times, these events are mentioned in a reflective way. I guess it became concrete when... or I think 'this' and 'that' was an important event... Others have rather pointed out things that had happened and how these led to further engagement. One person pointed out experiences from the engagement in the student council at high school. The issues at that time were bad working condition caused by mould in the school building and, at another time, it was engagement in a refugee case. A school strike was arranged through the student council and this led to further political work for at least one person. Even if this particular person was not more than in her mid 20's when Attac Sweden was launched, she already had experiences both from Swedish and European politics.

Most people interviewed were in their mid twenties and were also studying at universities or university colleges. For many, but not all, the topics studied were related to political science, economics, international relations, environmental issues and development. It was a phase described as 'searching', 'questioning', 'learning' but also as 'frustrating'. There were experiences of not being satisfied with established explanations. Instead, a searching for trustworthy understandings has been stressed. This searching mode has been expressed as a personal search, but there have also been several references to environments where this search has been explicit. One person with an inter-

est in environmental issues studied at a university where some people started a five point cross-disciplinary course on the theme environment, peace, and globalization. Those involved were engaged students and a few interested professors. *It was essential to ask the important questions and put things in connection in connection with each other*, she said. *Studies and activism met.*

The engagement to which people refer has developed gradually and this development has been affected by different events. When asked about the engagement, people 'trace' it back in memory and relate it to different experiences. Reflections on the engagement are expressed in a rather vague way. *I have always... or it is a part of who I am...* have been ways of expressing it. In spite of the vagueness, these are strong expressions related to personal identity over a long time. What it is and what particular issue it concerns is not very clear. There are references to solidarity, justice, international relations, peace, democracy, influence and development. Only one person expressed experiences connected to economic issues, to which the main focus of the prioritised proposals of Attac were related, as important for affecting his engagement. *In the 1990's, I had an interest in neoliberalism and its effects. On a journey in 2000 to a country in South America it became concrete. At that time, there was a coup, or a combination of a coup and rising. The military and Indian organizations...well they threw the president and the parliament out. Then, at the end, the vice president came into power instead, after a phone call from the American embassy. They 'dollarized' the currency etc. It was a country trapped in debts. Politics and economics were related in a concrete way.*

Many of the rather young people interviewed have specified earlier engagement by referring to involvement in different organizations. There have been references to a variety of political organizations as well as to peace- and humanitarian organizations. Many of these organizations were well known

to me from the time of my own involvement in the Red Cross. But there were also others that I had to ask about and look up. Some of these were new, but others were old organizations that had not been on 'my map' for different reasons. Only one person referred to no earlier involvement. It should be remembered here that the group of people interviewed has been a specific group within the entrepreneurial process of Attac. It rather says something about the background of people involved in central positions in Attac Sweden and therefore interviewed in this study than about people's engagement in Attac in more general terms.

For many people interviewed, earlier engagement had not been very intense. *I have been somewhat involved in different organizations, but I have never got stuck in any one of them for different reasons.* Lack of commitment, the way issues were handled or organizational forms have been referred to as reasons why other attempts to engage have not been further developed. However, there were others with a long experience not only from engaging in but also in starting other organizations. One person had earlier participated in starting at least five associations where she had been engaged for a number of years. It had started with a practical task and turned into political engagement. *Once, many years ago, I lived in a small village in the countryside. Its school was closed and there was a suggestion to open it again so that the kids wouldn't need to travel so far by bus. I thought that was a very good idea so I started to work on it. People from a political party helped out and through that I became involved in political work. To start with, I wasn't interested in the party-work, but I became more and more involved. I wanted, and want, to achieve something, to decrease the gaps between people and to save the environment in short.*

People interviewed can, at large, be divided into two groups. One group had experiences from starting or working in other organizations. These could be

experiences from voluntary or paid work connected to specific services or commissions of trust. These experiences came from scattered environments. They came from different political organizations, student/youth organizations, humanitarian/solidarity organizations or environmental organizations. The people in the other group interviewed only had limited, but some, earlier experiences from organizational involvement before their engagement in Attac.

Getting in Touch with Attac

Initially, Attac started in France. In December 1997, Ignacio Ramonet, chief editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, wrote in an editorial: “Why not set up a new worldwide non-governmental organization, Action for a Tobin Tax to Assist the Citizen (ATTAC)? With the trade unions and the many social, cultural and ecological organizations, it could exert formidable pressure on governments to introduce this tax at last, in the name of universal solidarity”.⁶⁷ The response was large and in June 1998, the association Attac was founded in France by citizens, associations, trade unions and newspapers. During the first two years, the association had 25 000 paying members.⁶⁸ The idea of Attac spread to several other countries. But it was not set up as copy of the French organization. In each country, a slightly different organization was created, yet with the same overarching goals. The ways of getting in touch with Attac differed.

While studying in Paris (autumn 1999) I met a vivid popular debate on globalization. I met many people that did not vote in elections, but they believed in Attac. A friend of mine was also in Paris at that time and together we did

⁶⁷ Ramonet, I 1997

⁶⁸ www.attac.org

an interview with the chairman of Attac. This was an important interview for both of us. Back in Sweden (Jan 2000), I noticed that there was no popular and understandable debate on issues related to globalization. Later, when we both were back in Sweden we met in a café in Stockholm (April 2000). While talking about this we said that maybe we should start Attac also in Sweden. We can do that. It would be fun. This is one of the routes Attac took to Sweden. Both of these persons were already engaged in politics and a political party. Still, they were attracted to the idea of seeing what an organization like Attac could contribute to the debate on globalization. These two people played an important role in this early phase by discussing this idea and mobilizing people. They made an effort to contact and invite people with different experiences, different contacts, political belongings and skills. They wanted a broad platform for the debate and there were already people and initiatives discussing issues of interest. There was one person at the university who had written about the Tobin tax, there were a few journalists interested in these issues, and there were people with experiences from other voluntary organizations.

Attac was already known to several of the persons contacted. One person had got to know the European activism from a period of work on environmental issues in Holland, where it was met with less suspicion than in Sweden. She had also got to know about Attac and other groups at the G7 meeting in Köln (1999). At that meeting, many people gathered but there was not so much publicity since there was not much violence. Back in Sweden and working with globalization in a Swedish organization, she was called up and asked if she/the organization wanted to participate in starting Attac. This was during the spring of 2000. Yet another person brought experiences from a journey back home to Sweden. He searched for information on Attac since he had learnt that it worked with issues of globalization. He found the web-

site of Attac France and contact details for Sweden. He got in touch and became involved in the preparations to start Attac in Sweden.

Others discovered Attac through the media. During the spring of 2000, there were a few articles about a possible emergence of Attac in Sweden. *I was thrilled. Someone put words on what I was searching for! I wanted to take part in this!* People interviewed in this study have referred to these articles as a step towards actually getting in touch with the journalist to then be able to get in touch with the people involved. Others have referred to these articles as events when many interested people actually got in touch. They had not expected the response to be so great. Group formations emerged out of this networking,. One group used to gather around a kitchen table in Kungsholmen in Stockholm where one of them had a subletting contract for an apartment. Another group arranged meetings in Gothenburg. Others, again, formed groups in different ways in different places in Sweden.

Others, once more, got in touch with Attac Sweden through friends and personal meetings. *In January, a year before Attac Sweden was launched, I discussed what was to happen and what was going on with some friends of mine at the university. We discussed three things. One was Attac that we had read about in international papers and a little bit in Swedish papers. The other was some kind of Swedish zapatism. The third thing was privatisation in Sweden. We believed the least in Attac as a unifying force because it was very complex, intellectual, economic and too much trade oriented. But then things started to happen and I met a guy at a mingle party. It was early autumn, the same day as they threw Milocivics out of the parliament building. He told me they were to have a first Attac-seminar with people from the whole of Sweden.* At the time, there were a number of organizations of interest and ‘on people’s lips’ but it was around Attac and Attac issues that meetings were arranged and people showed up. Meetings attracted increasing

attention. In Gothenburg, there were 8 persons at the first meeting. At the second meeting, there were like about 16, then 32 and so on. Soon, meetings attracted more people than could fit into a kitchen, a corner in a café, or rooms that had been borrowed from other organizations. The interest in the issues addressed and an interest in new forms of organizing were already there. There was a surge streaming to Attac related events. There was also engagement, enthusiasm, involvement and an including openness.

Preparing and Launching Attac Sweden

The idea was to start Attac in Sweden. I thought Attac would be unknown during the first year. It would be OK if local groups wanted to engage in activities, but there wouldn't be anything done at a national level, I thought. We became a group and discussions were held in my kitchen to start with. A mailing list was set up. During the autumn of 2000, groups were started at local initiatives. Seminars on globalization were set up. We arranged 2-3 seminars and 10 times as many people than we had expected showed up! The interest from media came early without any efforts from Attac. After an interview with a paper, 300 interested people got in touch. Finally, many said! Several different reasons for the huge interest have been highlighted in interviews. There was an interest in global justice-issues and a lack among other organizations to actively implement a popular education and a popular debate on the topic of globalization. There was also an interest in a new type of organization and forms of working. The surge of interest was fantastic to people interviewed and the intentional proclamation was sensed to give a good positioning, mixing a wide critique on neoliberalism and simple 'concrete' proposals of action. It was possible to make the questions public property.

During the autumn of 2000, there was also an increasing media interest, primarily in the movements and organizations protesting at international meetings for trade agreements. It had started already in 1999 after the protests in Seattle. But in Sweden the interest accelerated at the time of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank meeting in Prague in September 2000. Protests were then in Europe and more Swedish people (including journalists) were there. The debate was filled with tension, emotions and confusion. 'Time to stop the hooligans', the leader of the Swedish Christian Democratic party argued in a debate article with references the demonstrations in Prague and Attac.⁶⁹ A few days later, the archbishop headed a reply in the same paper demanding a correct description of the work for all people's right to fair living conditions where also the Swedish church participated. Media interest was primarily in the protests, activism and in the new organization that appeared. Media covered news and events. The fact that a new organization appeared in these events attracted attention. Attac was many times seen as representing these protests. People involved in the creation of Attac Sweden saw that media were interested in news about what was happening. Attac as an organization was therefore of interest. But they did not perceive a response to the issues Attac worked on, such as established economic institutions and their connection to the state of the world.

Media referred to Attac Sweden as an organization before the people involved saw themselves as an organization. *Media related to us as if we existed. The organization didn't exist but at the same time we were there.* A media entry on the web was set up and a press group tried to connect journalists with people who were close to their questions. There was a wish to have as many contacts with Attac as possible, since there was nobody who

⁶⁹ Debate article in *Dagens Nyheter* Sep 26, 2000 with the headline *Time to stop the hooligans*. Oct 1 the archbishop headed a reply in the same paper demanding a more correct and nuanced description of the work for all people's right to fair living conditions

represented the emerging organization. The media entry on the web was an attempt at preventing media from choosing one person as a 'chairman', but to rather spread contacts through the network. This worked to a certain extent. Still, there were some people who were contacted by media many times. There were people who liked this better than others and people that were considered to perform excellent in media. At times, this created frustration and some tension among people involved in Attac. But so far, the relation to media was primarily positive and even somewhat overwhelming since people were not used to such great media interest. It was even expressed as somewhat 'unreal' to be approached by and highlighted in local and national media. However, frustration has also been expressed in the interviews related to a sense of mismatch in focus. Media was perceived to be interested in conflicting protests but not in the issues addressed. People in Attac, however, wanted to reach out with arguments on issues of globalization and, at times, did not recognize the Attac reported on in media.

At that time, summer and autumn of 2000, the work also became more concrete and focused on the creation of the new organization. Among the people interested in starting Attac, there were approximately 20 who got together and started to discuss and sketch on what kind of organization Attac should be and when it could be launched. On the one hand, there was a huge interest and some people wanted to start right away and 'strike while the iron was hot'. On the other hand, many did not want to start until some kind of organizational skeleton existed with the arguments of having a discussion among people involved to avoid just to stand out there in chaos. The conclusion was to start around New Year, to allow some time for discussions on organizational forms, statutes and so on. There was an organization in France, and in some other countries but it was not granted that the Swedish organization should be similar to the French one. There was some kind of clear picture among people involved that the organization should not work like a tradi-

tional organization. *This was somehow in the head of very many involved. It was about networks, decentralisation, non-hierarchical as far as it was possible. And with this thinking also followed thoughts of different local networks in different places of the country. This was a parallel development in many places. It was fascinating, the organization didn't really exist and yet there was a kind of democratic process to develop statutes and suggestions for proclamation. The first thing we had, apart from meetings was e-mail lists to reach all interested people. Then we tried to organize different working groups. Some tried to write statutes taking in opinions from as many as possible, and so on.*

There were ideas about organizing like the guerrilla in Peru. Some had ideas about organizing in base groups. Many wanted an organization with direct democracy, because they were very disappointed after work in other organizations and parties. People wanted to be able to influence and carry out ideas without having a long bureaucratic process to action. The discussion has been described as rather composed, but with clearly different opinions. *People came from a large number of different backgrounds. Some had a traditional political engagement, some from old or new types of NGOs (non-governmental organizations). Some came with no other experiences of this kind. It was very interesting. There were not really any arguments, the discussion was composed, but with clearly different opinions.* A lot of time and engagement were put into this work but no one has described it as tiring or heavy. Rather, it has been described as fascinating, fantastic, amazing, fun and important. *I think it is fascinating that people can voluntarily put in hours to develop statutes and other boring things!* For several persons, this work dominated their life at this point in time. Comments in interviews also refer to the important experience of having been part of a process that works even though there is no organization for it. It had actually been possible to

use desire and ideas, and find solutions without having a clear picture of what to do.

The enthusiasm and the feeling of sensation of this time can also be characterized by the following extract from an interview: *We arranged a large seminar about Attac (in Gothenburg) for all interested. I think it was in November 2000. We invited Bim Clinell.⁷⁰ She talked about the emergence of the Attac movement. We rented the large concert hall in Musikens Hus (The House of Music, my translation). We thought we had had some kind of hubris. I understood that it was somewhat much. But I thought it was fun. It felt very good, very positive. There were many interested people. So we rented this concert hall. We even rented 100 extra chairs. Just in case there would be that many people. And we were a bit embarrassed about our hubris. We had no money so we had collected money at an earlier meeting. We had passed a hat around and everyone put as much money as he/she could in it. We also had a voluntary entrance fee and somehow we made it. Then, it was some kind of concert. Some kind of rock'n roll feeling because it was all full! Just when we opened it was completely full! All our chairs were occupied. People were sitting all over, on the floor, on each other's laps. And 100 more people were outside wanting to come in. We could not let them in and they were so angry because of this. It was amazing. It was a religious feeling – in Swedish politics!*

A similar feeling pervaded the launching of Attac both in Stockholm and in Gothenburg. The launching event in Gothenburg took place the weekend before the launching event in Stockholm. It was organized as a public meeting in Brunnsparken, one of the central and large parks in the city. There were seven speakers giving short inflammatory speeches. Those speaking

⁷⁰ Journalist and the author of the book *Attac – gräsrotternas revolt mot marknaden*

were older men as well as young girls, explicitly without a particular spokesperson. There were banderols and rostrums. There were tables and tents where people could pick up information about Attac and have some sparkling soft drink instead of champagne. We did not have any money for publicity. We only had some posters put up here and there. But then again – it was full! Brunnsparken was packed! Standing at the podium speaking I saw a crowd. It was incredible.

On January 6, 2001 it was then time for launching Attac Sweden in Stockholm. At the seminar that day academics, journalists and people from different organizations presented and discussed issues on a wide range of topics related to globalization. The day ended with a debate where the Swedish Minister of Trade, and the Secretary General from Attac France, discussed the European Union as a force for global changes. The diversity of the crowd at this meeting was greater than I had expected. Young people met older ones. Activists met people that seemed to be more used to meetings structured with sophisticated agendas. Academics met people working with popular opinion promotion. There were several ways of expressing oneself. The seminar was crowded with people, excitement, and engagement. “Another world is possible”, it said on the banderol behind the speakers and that was a belief shared by people participating that day.⁷¹

A New Organization and a Top Meeting in Gothenburg

A new organization was formed and formally constituted. The organization consists of members organized in local groups or in groups with a specific topic. All members are welcome to the annual meeting where all participating members have a vote each. At the annual meeting, people are elected to

the Common Working Group (in Swedish Gemensamma arbetsgruppen, GA). GA's task is to co-ordinate and 'make the work easier' for local groups and networks. They are not to decide what the local groups are to do and not to do. The groups themselves decide on their activities. Within the Common Working Group, a smaller group is formed to deal with more day-to-day issues. This group is called a working committee (in Swedish arbetsutskottet, AU). There is no central office or staff. Work is voluntary and nobody is paid. There have been two short (approximately a month each) exceptions at the time of this study. One was to catch up with the book-keeping and one for the registration of new members during the most expansive phase.

Income from membership fees⁷² is the primary income. If members are registered in a local group, 50 % of the fee are kept by the local group and 50 % are distributed to the Common Working Group (GA). All members are not registered in a local group. The income is used for activities. Travel costs to meetings in the Common Working Group (GA) are covered by the organization. Travel costs to the annual meeting are distributed evenly and partly subsidised by Attac. There were one or two cases of subsidies for phone calls during the EU top meeting in Gothenburg 2001.

At an early stage, premises for meetings were often borrowed from other organizations. But as time went by it was not as easy as before. People working with Attac perceived that they were met with suspicion and seen almost like competitors or with some envy by some of the other organizations. Organizations that saw a continuous link with the earlier peace movement, the

⁷¹ My own observations from the launching.

⁷² The membership fee was SEK 200 for people with gainful work (förfärvsarbete) and SEK 100 for others. In 2002 it was raised to SEK 300 and 150, respectively.

Jubel 2000 campaign, or the MAI-process were more positive.⁷³ These reactions were described as rather ambivalent and confused. However, people interviewed perceived great informal support from individuals working in those organizations.

In some cases people engaging in Attac were questioned by their employer or at other commissions of trust. As one person working as a journalist at that time said: *I once was called to my boss and asked about my role in Attac. I had been quoted in a paper. I was given an ultimatum. It made me angry. It is not like having a position in a political party or so. He meant that it was particularly delicate with a non-parliamentary organization. Well, I thought, is the Red Cross OK then? I think much of this is about lack of knowledge and reactions to the unknown. But I know there are more examples of this. I now try to ignore this as much as I can. I am critical to the beliefs in objective journalism anyway. It is an idea about objectivity without reflection on how biased things are anyway.* One of these other examples was a person working in another voluntary organization and another was a person working in a private company. In both cases, considerable tensions were experienced, even if no formal actions were taken. In one case, an informal agreement was found and work descriptions and roles could be sorted out. In the other case, it was more problematic to find such an agreement which meant a decreased visible engagement in Attac and an experienced restricting disappointment.

The cautious attitude towards Attac can also be referred to the difficulties for established organizations, media and the public to understand what kind of organization emerged from the many times chaotic meeting and events. The

⁷³ Jubel 2000 is a network of Swedish organizations working to promote solutions for poor countries trapped in international debts www.jubel.org. The MAI process was the international protest storm against the OECD Multilateral Agreement on Investments in 1998.

fact that Attac did not have a spokesperson was partly seen as irritating. This was difficult even for people who wanted an alternative view on representation. This was also the case for people involved in Attac. *It is difficult even if we have said it so many times and it is written in so many places that every member carries Attac and the ideas on her/his shoulders as well as they can. And, of course, people articulate differently depending on who they are. But we have to accept this chaos. I am all for this, it is exciting, and I do not have the need for control. If I did, it wouldn't be possible for me to participate. Because one has to trust the force and power in the movement. Attac builds on so much desire and engagement, and to be at meetings and work on statutes is not tempting. So I just do not know how it would be possible to have more order without losing the interest and the go.*

The chaos did not only refer to spokespersons representing the organization externally. It also referred to administrative routines and the articulation of frames for action. A meeting could have 3-4 different chairpersons and minutes from these meetings could be written in all sorts of ways by different persons. Some people did not continue and papers were disappearing. There was no proper order. A few persons, with experiences from administration in other organizations collected minutes to keep for the future. *After a while, I think that these young people will see the need for administrative routines and that we do not need to invent democracy all over again,* one of these persons said while she reflected on the position Attac obtained without much structure and routines. But it was challenging as there were 15 persons, who did not know each other, put together in the Common Working Group to administer an association receiving 5 000 new members, meaning one million Swedish crowns, all in their spare time. At the same time, they were to give interviews, make statements, arrange events and meetings even with the prime minister. *It was like an organization with 100 000 members, 10 secre-*

taries, and 5 school information assistants. And it was done out of pure enthusiasm.

Despite all the confusion, Attac's suggestions were concrete and perceived as easy to explain. They constituted a strong platform for grounding arguments in debates and discussions. *I could debate with anyone at any level. I 'won' debates even in places I did not expect to. It was so fun to say 'this is the way it is in the worlds, and these are our suggestions'. Then others could sit there and say 'no that is not possible, we cannot do like that. Then I could say 'well, what is your suggestion then?' And they did not have any suggestions or they suggested free trade. And there is no free trade. I had already made that clear in the first statements. This was so fun and so easy to argue for.* This particular person had previously worked in powerful positions but with a sense of powerlessness. Instead, she had rather sensed a pressure to adjust to lines of compromises for the sake of the position of that organization, not its proclamation. She shared the enthusiasm of working on something that felt meaningful and important with many of the other of the interviewed.

The chaotic confusion within the emerging organization is referred to, with enthusiasm, as hilarious and hysterical. People had different backgrounds, meaning that different organizational cultures met. *It felt like 100 different worlds met. Most things could not be taken for granted.* People refer to long discussions, but most of all to the amazing feeling of how easy it was to, in spite of differences, come to decisions that were mostly taken in consensus. *There was an atmosphere described as creative, pragmatic and focused on finding solutions. It felt like the most pragmatic people from the different worlds were picked and put together. This was not conscious, but a feeling. For a while, it was chaotic even if we can laugh about it today. There was early a common understanding that activities had to be in focus. Trust was*

then gradually developed. That time has also been described as a time of fantastic meetings with others and a great joy of having so many people around contributing to the work. And it was intense. *I should have written a diary! It was hysterical. I'm sure I worked 30 hours a week with Attac beside my full time job on similar issues. My whole life was about globalization.*

Only half a year after the launching of Attac Sweden, it was time for the European Union top meeting held in the city of Gothenburg (the second largest city in Sweden). There were groups and people who had been working on preparing different activities in relation to this event for years. Attac stepped into these processes as a new organization less than half a year before the event. Especially, people from the Gothenburg group took on the challenge of involving Attac in this work. We were to relate to the EU top meeting, and we realised that we were in a political world of which none of us (in the new Gothenburg-group) had any experience. We just did not know what was going on. We were very politically naive and none of us had been in this world before. We just had to handle it. To go into the preparations as a member of a new organization raised questions about how to act. Everyone was to carry Attac as well as possible, yet people involved in different working groups had to figure out what would be the standpoint of Attac. They did not really know each other's political opinions and people had such different backgrounds, styles, and attitudes. Even if there were statutes of the organization it was not clear whether Attac was an 'out on the street demonstration organization', a lobby-organization, or an adult educational organization. There was a Common Working Group, but that group did not have the mandate to decide these things. People simply tried to relate to a sensed consensus of Attac Sweden. It was very confusing. But we had to relate to this meeting. We just could not ignore it. That was impossible. Finally, we decided to participate in what at that stage were two demonstrations.

During the spring of 2001, Attac Sweden as an organization made themselves known to other organizations. They became a political force among other political organizations and developed relations to public organizations such as the municipality of Gothenburg. Attac had gained respect among the established organizations and 'sects'⁷⁴. Many in Attac got to know the 'sects' during the preparations. I knew them from previous political work. They had more or less been involved in discussions during the 90's. The role of Attac Sweden at the top meeting, as emphasized by the people interviewed, was to build bridges between different groups to avoid violent confrontations, no matter if caused by police or anarchist groups. Attac Sweden tried to involve groups in what they called a confrontative dialogue.⁷⁵ In this dialogue, the aim is a dialogue where differences in meaning and political conflicts are made clear and explicit rather than focusing on finding the shortest way to a consensus, which might lead to a false consensus concealing conflicts instead of finding durable solutions. Attac got a central role in arranging two different events characterized as arenas for dialogue. One was with popular mass movements in Sweden and the other was with politicians at the top meeting and popular mass movements. But trying to carry these dialogues and seminars out and, at the same time, handling the turmoil during those days, turned into a terrible experience.

Coming to this point in interviews, people changed tones, some took a deep breath, one person had for a moment tears in her eyes. Even more than a year after the top meeting, emotions were steered up talking about the experiences. In Gothenburg, tens of thousands of people met to demonstrate, argue and discuss. To a large extent, the demonstrations were impressive and calm. But there were clashes between some people and the police. Windows were

⁷⁴ According to the interlocutor, a term used within left-wing politics for the independent groups sometimes associated with anarchism.

⁷⁵ 'Konfrontativ dialog' in Swedish (my translation)

broken and stones were thrown. The police surrounded a school where about 500 demonstrators stayed with permission. One person was shot (not fatal) by the police. The chaotic days in Gothenburg have been a long and extensive process for individual persons, for legal authorities and the police, for politicians and in media. I will not elaborate on a further description or analysis here, but will instead refer to some publications focusing on different aspects of these events.⁷⁶

After Gothenburg

I find it difficult now afterwards to realise that we ended up with so much responsibility as we did. We were somehow a driving force in almost everything and we got a mediating role trying to discuss, negotiate and comfort. There was so much positive energy carrying us all the time. But then it was so heavy. It was especially hard on those being responsible for fixing things practically or trying to save a lot of cooperation and just to get everything going. It strained a lot. Really a lot. When the meeting finally came it was the saddest and at the same time the most outrageous I have ever experienced in my life. We had after all managed the whole thing somehow. With bravura, with some kind of super energy. We couldn't really understand how, and therefore it was possible. We did not understand that we had tried to do the impossible, and therefore it wasn't impossible. I was very disappointed because of the violence. But not surprised. It has happened before. At the time of the top meeting we lost our political virginity.

Many people in Sweden heard about Attac for the first time through media and equated throwing paving stones with Attac. People from Attac had been

⁷⁶ See further discussions in Liliequist and Lundälv (eds) 2002, Wijk, E 2002, Abrahamsson and Hettne 2002

on the streets but to them it was obvious that they were not throwing stones. But they found it difficult to understand how different public reactions were related to Attac as an organization, as people involved in the activities had seen and experienced what was happening during the days in Gothenburg. Violence was in focus in the media discussions. People in Attac who had worked intensely to prepare events had to rethink and react to this discussion instead of the political discussion that had been in focus during the whole spring. It was confusing and difficult as the thrill over the incredible experience of seeing 20 000 people demonstrating peacefully in the streets was mixed with the violent confrontation between a few persons and the police. *It was overwhelming, shocking and straining. But it tied us to global reality.*

The discussion on how to dissociate from violence started right away. The people interviewed argue that they clearly did that. *But we did not have the space in media then.* However, the discussion did not only continue on the topic of using violence, but whether to actually participate in a demonstration where some people might cover their faces with masks. And what to do if some covered their faces during ongoing demonstrations? The discussion was not only related to a standpoint, but also to how to handle and face the situation in the streets when it occurred. The discussion was infected and people were angry. The Common Working Group did not have the mandate to decide on behalf of the organization and the question was an issue for local groups. This turned into a confusing mess in media.

The following summer was referred to as therapeutic for everyone. Some left for a quiet place away from the streets of Gothenburg, media and Attac work. Others gathered testimonies and processed the understanding of what had happened. Gradually, the shocking experience shifted into what was described as an enormous tiredness and a sense of seriousness. *It was important not to keep quiet. It was serious. We had to continue to talk about our*

political mission. People have expressed that, besides personal sorrow, there was a sense of a political sorrow. There was a sense that the political mission had not reached people. But at this time, it was also clear to people that the media interest in Attac was over. *As long as we said what they expected us to tell, we had a lot of media space. When we wanted to carry out our mission or say that we reject violence, we suddenly did not have any space in media.*

A Second Year

In May 2002, there was a story in media claiming that Attac was dead.⁷⁷ The journalist had tried to contact people without any success. But people had moved and some of the active participants had changed. Some local groups had closed down while others had started. As a response to this article, Attac updated its own information and found that there were 35 local groups with some kind of activities. Accounts for numbers of members could only be given for 2001 since the year of 2002 had not ended. *Of course, there was a certain interest in saying that first we were very fun, then dangerous, and then we died. And that was the end of that story. It is like if you do not exist in media, you do not exist at all. But it is not possible to say that Attac was dying. But it was another time. The initial passion had for us turned into a love relation.*

It was a time of developing routines for administration and handling membership issues. There was a new treasurer and registration of membership fees was under control. It was time to 'build' the organization and consolidate. Most communication with members was done through the website and e-mail. *We have mail-addresses on all that have chosen to register those. And all groups have, if they want to, their own site on the web. So when I am*

to send out a mail to everyone in my area, for example when we had our annual meeting last Saturday, I went to the Attac net where I have authorization and sent an e-mail. I wrote my message and then I sent it to the group in my area. I do not need to know the addresses, or who they are. They have registered themselves and they also update the information themselves. It saves a lot of work but, at the same time, you do not have exact knowledge of who has paid or not. But the treasurer keeps track of that. No membership material had been sent out by mail. The cost was too large and there was no money. Besides, there had not really been any need for it. But during the second year, this was done for the first time as a complement to electronic communication. The Common Working Group was now a unified group with tight links to Gothenburg. Work around the top meeting had brought people together and by now, they knew each other fairly well. This made it smooth and easy to get things done. There was still not an office or any staff. It was at times difficult for others to understand and accept. An Attac mobile phone has been added to the website. This phone is carried in turn by people in the Common Working Group with responsibilities for the everyday work.

It was a rather calm phase, which was also appreciated. Then action groups started to act somewhat more again and events were once more arranged, this time together with LO and Idédebatt.⁷⁸ People who had been exhausted after the top meeting, together with others who had not been involved as much in at that meeting, and new people met again. *Suddenly a lot of things happen again. It became fun again and the energy came back.* At Fritt Forum,⁷⁹ many seminars were arranged by Attac or Attac related people. Or people from Attac participated in seminars arranged by others. *Attac was*

⁷⁷ Newspaper article in *Dagens Nyheter* May 2002.

⁷⁸ The Swedish Trade Union Confederation and a debate forum of theirs.
www.johannesburgsummit.org

⁷⁹ Fritt Forum, a festival for the free word arranged in Gothenburg 2001 and 2002.
www.frittforum.nu

very, very much there. Then, Attac Sweden had three people at the Johannesburg Summit.⁸⁰ A GATS⁸¹-challenge was conducted. All politicians were invited to answer three simple questions about GATS. If they could give the correct answers they received a prize. Attac Sweden had become active again, but without any response in media. Nothing we were doing, even if it was provoking and challenging was seen anywhere in media.

But it was considered, within Attac, that the discussions were rewarding and good both at meetings and, at times, also on the web. There were discussions on what to focus on, what issues should be highlighted in the next five years, or whether Attac should be a more general organization. At that time, according to the people interviewed, a kind of Attac culture had developed even if people thought it was difficult to tell what it was. *It is not unified since there is such a mix of backgrounds. I think it is a product of the multicultural society. And people in Attac travel a lot. All over the world. So political influences might as well come from South America as from somewhere else in town.* At this time, Attac was referred to as a combination of an association and a network. *In that way, it can go wrong all the time, but there is so much strength in it! It is a very exciting process to get all this together. It is such a difference. In an association you rely on a leadership that somehow can fix things. You become a member and material is sent to you and so on. You can be rather passive. And it is some how democratic since you elect people to represent your interest. That is my image of an association. A network, however, is not at all democratic in that way. You do not elect people to different positions. But there is another kind of democratic form. Those who do things in a network are those who decide as well. And Attac is some kind of combination of these two forms. If you want to, and have the energy,*

⁸⁰ The UN World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg Aug 26 to Sep 4, 2002.

you can almost always do it in Attac. Most people interviewed did not really recall things that they thought had gone wrong. They thought that things carried out had been good. However, a couple of the persons interviewed who were no longer actively engaged referred to a feeling that things were not *exactly* right anymore.

What has been referred to as a slightly different way of working has obviously been somewhat confusing and difficult to explain at times. Each and everyone, and each group, had to take responsibility for developing ideas and carrying them out on their own. One person compared her Attac work to studying. Both were about reading a lot, assimilating what could be considered as most important and producing some kind of text. But when she studied at the university someone else had prepared what she had to read, someone else would evaluate her arguments and texts. She thought studying was a great deal more relaxing than doing the Attac work. At the same time, she saw the Attac work as more creative and rewarding. People involved were also impressed by each other. One person said: *I have worked at an advertising agency and always thought that large companies were some kind of professionals. But the real pro's are so few. Those who do things...those who find new solutions in everything they do. And in Attac they do it all the time. With the wind against them they do it all the time and with no money. And in some way or the other it works. That was the feeling I had when we started Attac and I still do. People act and a lot of things are happening. Like when you're coming to a meeting and think that 'oh, this and that has to be attended', someone says 'I can do that'. It is very much a sense of confidence and, at the same time, a dramatic feeling to work with all these capable, professional and engaged people!*

⁸¹ GATS, General Agreement on Trade in Services negotiated among World Trade Organiza-
Note continues on next page...

To realize that we are many, that there are many sharing my opinion. It is so wonderful to be in the middle, surrounded by people thinking in similar ways. To realize that we are so many is such an incredible joy. And I believe that is why Attac is so strong. We want to have justice and solidarity. And it is possible. There are opportunities. There are concrete political suggestions and we will help politicians make wise decisions. We do not want to overthrow the representative political system. But we want politicians to shape up.

Attac is like a string from the future of which you can grab hold. And I am so curious about how it will be in the future. But the most important issue is not whether Attac will then exist or not. What has been the most important experience varies from person to person. For some, the early chaotic time with all the different meetings has been highlighted as the most intellectual and emotionally creative experience they have ever had. Others have rather highlighted the sense of actually being able to influence a cause that they value as existential for the future. Others, again, have rather highlighted educational and institutional contributions. But just like the diversity in what issues people find most important to engage in, there is a diversity in what is considered as most important, both at a personal and a societal level.

Two Years Later

At the annual meeting in Norrköping 2004, it was time for some of the core group that had been formed through the work around the top meeting to resign from their positions in the Common Working Group. Talking to them, they were happy about the work that they had been part of. They were also happy about continuing their engagement in other forms. They were also

tion (WTO) members.

happy to see new people and ideas to continue to form Attac. There were several persons stepping into discussions and I did not doubt for a moment that they would take over the invisible relay stick. The meeting was open and informal. Most people were rather used to the form of the meeting. There were plenary discussions with a formal agenda, chairpersons and secretaries. Still the atmosphere was rather informal, more informal than many other meetings I have attended in different associations. Some of the discussions were held in a form where propositions were posted on the walls of the premises. People then walked around, discussed and complemented the propositions with comments and questions.⁸² This was a way of discussing and influencing the content as well as the formulation of the propositions. The commented proposals were then processed by a small group of people trying to conclude the posted discussions. During the second day, these conclusions were put on the formal agenda and the meeting voted for or against the revised propositions. It was obvious that this exercise was not new to many of the people at the meeting, even though some were a bit confused.

My impression was also that the diversity was not as great as at the launching seminar. There was still a mix of people. Many were rather young but there were also people in their 60's. In many other organizations, these two groups would probably have a youth meeting and a meeting with the mother organization. In the case of Attac Sweden, there is one organization with several decentralized groups not structured according to age. The meeting was rather informal and my impression was that it was open. I do not think

⁸² In Swedish, this is referred to as Påverkanstorg (freely translated as a 'square for influence')

the experience would have been the same if I had worn a suit, though. At the launching that would not have mattered.



4. Entrepreneurship and Organization Creation in Civil Society

We have now seen an organizational idea being constructed, a new organization being launched, established and developed. The creation of a new organization, conceptualised as entrepreneurship, has been re-contextualized in a non-profit setting of civil society through the story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. However, to re-contextualize entrepreneurship theory in a framework of non-profit organizations in civil society, there is need for a review of both entrepreneurship theory and theories on non-profit organizations as well as civil society. Thereafter, a framework for analysis in this chapter is developed to specify analytic research questions. This is followed by a further analysis of the empirical material. Finally, this chapter is concluded with a discussion on entrepreneurship and organization creation in civil society, elaborating on what can be learnt from this analysis.

Composites of Entrepreneurship – A Literature Review

Entrepreneurship research has expanded in the last decades and there is an active ongoing debate about definitions, issues at stake, and the development of this research field. A number of state-of-the-art books⁸³ and edited textbooks⁸⁴ aiming at consolidating the field of research and making it available for education and research have been published since the 1980's. The num-

⁸³ Kent, Sexton and Vesper 1982, Sexton and Smilor 1986, Sexton and Kasarda 1992, Sexton and Smilor 1997, Sexton and Landström 2000.

⁸⁴ Bird Schoonhoven and Romanelli 2001, Carter and Jones-Evans 2000

ber of journals have increased. There are now at least 50 journals in the field and four among them in the Social Science Citation Index.⁸⁵ There are also a number of books presenting specific approaches or theories about research on entrepreneurship or the roots of entrepreneurship.⁸⁶ The bulk of literature in the form of books mentioned here constitutes the basis of this review. It is chosen since this literature is well spread and related to by many researchers as well as students. Therefore, it is well examined and discussed within the research field. However, this bulk of literature can be somewhat general in kind. Thus, this review has been supplemented by including articles on specific topics of particular relevance for the research question.

Discussions in the entrepreneurship literature show that entrepreneurship research is still young as compared to many other fields of research but not any longer new as often referred to during the late 1900's. It is, however, debated whether this means that it must be disciplined and structured in similar ways to other academic fields. In 2001, Gartner discussed the development of the field through recognizing the retention factor of focused definitions of entrepreneurship.⁸⁷ However, he argued for another approach to theory development where theory was developed through communities of scholars elaborating on specific sets of problems and issues.⁸⁸ Further, he argued that the various topics in the field of entrepreneurship do not constitute a congruous whole, but contribute to theory development on the specific topics elaborated on. As a consequence, there is a need to "try to think of how to live with the consequences of the idea that there is not one entrepreneurship but that there are many entrepreneurships" to connect and relate to,

⁸⁵ Katz, J 2003

⁸⁶ Aldrich, H 1999, Hjorth and Steyaert 2004, Landström, H 1999, Shane, S 2003, Steyaert and Hjorth 2003, Swedberg, R 2000

⁸⁷ Gartner, W 2001

⁸⁸ Gartner, W 2001 (p 34)

as suggested by Steyaert and Hjorth.⁸⁹ This study can be seen as one of those ‘entrepreneurships’, or even more specifically as some of those ‘entrepreneurships’ and their relationships.

Research on entrepreneurship contributes to the construction of a ‘phenomenon’ we call entrepreneurship. Its contributions highlight different aspects of entrepreneurship by focusing on different topics, questions and frames of references. These aspects can be seen as composites of entrepreneurship and related to not only by the research field itself, but also by other scholars as well as policy makers and practitioners. To ‘live’ with the different kinds of entrepreneurship, to relate to Steyaert’s and Hjorth’s argument above, the following review of entrepreneurship literature is structured through identification of topics to give an overarching introduction to the field of research and is further organized as three major aspects. The ambition is to make an extensive, but not complete, review of entrepreneurship research. It focuses on the aspects of entrepreneurship relating to a reflection on entrepreneurship as organization creation in a non-profit setting in civil society. Further, the following list of topics and later aspects of entrepreneurship will therefore give an introduction and specification of entrepreneurship theory to non- or new entrepreneurship scholars, such as scholars from the field of non-profit research or scholars focusing on social movements. It will also position and develop the framework of this study.

There is not one generally valid way of presenting the different aspects and the aim here is not to make a complete analysis of the field of entrepreneurship research as such but to organize a review in a meaningful and pedagogical way. The major topics of entrepreneurship listed below are distinguished

⁸⁹ Steyaert and Hjorth 2003 (p 4)

through a literature review primarily based on the literature of entrepreneurship theory referred to in the introduction of this chapter:⁹⁰

- Entrepreneurship as organization creation
- Entrepreneurship as business start-ups, dynamics and industries
- Female, ethnic, or industry-specific entrepreneurship
- Entrepreneurship and innovation
- Entrepreneurship as recognition and exploitation of opportunities
- Entrepreneurship and growth
- Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs
- Entrepreneurship and management

These topics are then structured according to three different aspects. The structuring partly builds on Landström's presentation of the roots of entrepreneurship research, where he presents and discusses these roots in relation to the interest and influence of different disciplines on the development of entrepreneurship theory.⁹¹ However, the current topics of entrepreneurship research which Landström relates to the multidisciplinary character of the research field since the 1970's, have here been structured according to the three different overriding aspects. Therefore, the disciplinary structure is not followed dogmatically. The three different overriding aspects are: 1) Entrepreneurship; organization creation, start-ups and dynamics 2) Entrepreneurship; innovation, opportunities, and growth 3) Entrepreneurship; entrepreneurs and management strategies.

⁹⁰ These topics are based on a review of literature gathering, promoting, and reflecting on the development of entrepreneurship theory as a field of research (see footnotes 80, 81, 83 and 84). The classification of these topics is further supported by an extensive reading of literature, seminar and conference discussions included in a PhD program in the field of entrepreneurship.

⁹¹ Landström, H 2000

Entrepreneurship; Organization Creation, Start-ups and Dynamics

In 1988, Gartner argued in an article that entrepreneurship is the creation of organizations and what differentiates entrepreneurs from non-entrepreneurs is that entrepreneurs create organizations, while non-entrepreneurs do not.⁹² This was an argument primarily against what was, at that time, the influential trait approach, viewing entrepreneurs as having a set of personality traits and characteristics. Gartner supported studies showing no significant differences in personal characters between small business owners, managers and entrepreneurs.⁹³ His argumentation for entrepreneurship to be seen as the process through which new organizations come into existence, can be considered as a pillar for the organization creation aspect of what we call entrepreneurship. This process is a contextual event, where the entrepreneur is part of this process by involving in activities of organization creation. The level of analysis, Gartner argued, is here primarily the organization and the process leading to this organization. To recognize these emerging organizations at an early stage, Katz and Gartner contribute to the field discussing what an organization is and what properties it possesses when coming into existence.⁹⁴ They discuss four properties of emerging organizations; intentionality, resources, boundaries and exchange. Through these properties of emerging organizations they linked entrepreneurship to organization theory, with a specific focus on the emerging phase and elaborating on when the emerging organization is to be called an organization.

The start-up processes have been in focus in a number of studies, several of which are based on the longitudinal Panel Study of Entrepreneurial Dynamics (PSED) that has collected data from start-up processes in the US, and through collaborative studies in several other countries from the late 90's.

⁹² Gartner, W 1988

⁹³ Gartner referred to Brockhaus and Horwitz 1985 in Sexton and Smilor (Ed) *The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship*, Cambridge, MA, Ballinger

The overarching aim of PSED is to provide a reliable description of what activities constitute the start-up process, and determine the outcomes of the start-up process as well as determine how the start-up process may affect the survival and growth of new firms.⁹⁵ The arguments for studying start-ups are that new and growing firms provide “mechanisms for economic adaptation as they create new jobs, new products, and new services for new customers and new demands”⁹⁶. These arguments make these kinds of studies highly interesting for policymakers aiming at job creation and growth. The start-up studies are also of interest to practitioners and for educational purposes, since they address issues of behaviour among start-ups in relation to success. Success is commonly referred to as survival and growth. There are indications, however, that all start-ups do not want to grow much more than the size covering one person’s work effort.⁹⁷ Arguments for seeing success as long-term survival are long-term contributions to the labour market as well as adequate time to contribute to wealth (contribution to wealth often has a time lag because of initial investment costs). However, there are also arguments that survival and growth are not necessarily the only or always the best criteria of success. A new organization only lasting for a short time or on a low scale can, for instance, contribute to bridging between other or challenge established actors within systems where the output effect will appear somewhere else.

The organization creation aspect is related to the organization dynamic stream of research. In this stream of research, we will find studies from the meso to the macro level. One of the important contributors to this aspect is Aldrich. From a sociological evolutionary perspective he has contributed to

⁹⁴ Katz and Gartner 1988

⁹⁵ See further discussions and links to publications on <http://projects.isr.umich.edu/psed/index.cfm>

⁹⁶ Reynolds 1999

the field through his focus on the emergence of organizations and new populations of organizations.⁹⁸ Through his work, Aldrich links entrepreneurship to sociological organization theory emphasizing the role of entrepreneurship as a dynamic aspect bringing variety to organizations and branches of organizations. Entrepreneurship seen as organization start-ups and organization creation, facilitates, according to Aldrich, dynamics and variety within organizations as well as at the branch level. One of the main reasons for facilitating variety is the lack of organization inertia in emerging organizations. However, according to Aldrich, there is cognitive inertia among internal and external actors, which means that the contribution in variety is not at all free from resistance. But inertia in emerging organizations has not yet been turned into specific organizational structures, which means a larger openness to variety than in already established organizations. Aldrich does not limit the evolutionary theory to business organizations, even though he primarily refers entrepreneurship to business organizations.

One of the constraints facing emerging organizations is the lack of legitimacy according to Aldrich and Fiol.⁹⁹ This constraint is especially critical, since entrepreneurs as well as crucial stakeholders might not fully understand the new venture and its environment. The authors claim, however, that through the processes of social construction, entrepreneurs can develop new meanings that may eventually alter institutional norms. A socially constructed system of human activity is one of three aspects of the definition of an organization used by Aldrich.¹⁰⁰ The other two aspects are 'goal-directed' and 'boundary-maintaining'. Socially constructed systems have been in fo-

⁹⁷ See, for example, results from follow-up studies of start-ups in Sweden, Statistics Sweden, NV 12 SM 0001.

⁹⁸ Aldrich, H 1979 and 1999

⁹⁹ Aldrich and Fiol 1994

¹⁰⁰ Aldrich, H 1999

cus for Johannisson as well as for Aldrich.¹⁰¹ They have both developed an approach to see entrepreneurs in their networks and thereby the interaction with others as important. In the discussions about organization creation, the boundaries of these organizations are elaborated on.

The organization creation aspect of entrepreneurship can be seen from at least two perspectives. One is seen out of an interest in organizations in society and dynamics. In this perspective, there are several references to and from organization sociology. Another perspective is focusing on 'how-to-do-it' skills, both for contributing to people's knowledge about how to successfully and effectively create a new organization, as well as to provide data for policy aiming at stimulating entrepreneurship. The aspect of start-up and organization creation of entrepreneurship research is also in focus for a number of studies of specific samples. There are studies specifically focusing on female entrepreneurship¹⁰², ethnic entrepreneurship¹⁰³, entrepreneurship related to academic institutions or specific industries like biotech. Entrepreneurial processes have, however, not only been seen as the creation of new organizations. There are also arguments to see innovative entrepreneurial processes within organizations. The term 'intrapreneurship' was introduced during the 80's to explore entrepreneurship thinking within an organizational setting as well as to explain internal entrepreneurial processes.¹⁰⁴

The surrounding context of the entrepreneurial process in entrepreneurship research is primarily connected to the business sector. However, the organizational aspects of entrepreneurship also bridge entrepreneurship theory to

¹⁰¹ Johannisson, B 1998 and Aldrich and Brickman 1997

¹⁰² Such as, for example, the FEM program (www.fsf.se/fem), or the Diana-project (www.esbri.se/diana.asp).

¹⁰³ Najib, A 1999, Pripp, O 2001, Saxenien, A 2001

¹⁰⁴ See Macrae, N 1982, Pinchot, G 1985, Norburn, Manning and Birley 1986 and Moss Kanter, R 1989

studies in other sectors, since it relates to organizational theory that covers organizations in different sectors.

Entrepreneurship: Innovation, Opportunities, and Growth

The discussions relating to innovation, opportunities and growth can be seen as another, but not necessarily contradictory, aspect of entrepreneurship research. Here, Schumpeter is one of the most common references in entrepreneurship literature. As an economist, he argued that all truly important changes in the economy were set off by entrepreneurs. He meant that these changes then slowly worked themselves through the economic system as business cycles. In his book *Theory of Economic Development*¹⁰⁵ he defined entrepreneurship as being any of the following:

- The introduction of a new good
- The introduction of a new method of production
- The opening of a new market
- The conquest of a new source of supply of raw material
- The creation of a new organization of an industry

Schumpeter argued that entrepreneurship consists of coming up with innovations, as opposed to inventions, and that entrepreneurship is to be regarded only during the phase when actions are related to these issues. Therefore, according to Schumpeter, nobody is an entrepreneur forever, but only when he or she is actually pursuing the innovative activities.¹⁰⁶ Entrepreneurship does not only contribute by smoothly adding to the economy, according to Schumpeter. A new combination of materials or forces also competes for resources and demand. There are a contribution as well as a creative destruction challenging the established equilibrium; entrepreneurship as bringing new ideas into action, as well as challenging established and organized environments. Schumpeter was an economist and his theory on entrepreneurship

¹⁰⁵ Schumpeter, J 1934

was developed within economics. As we can see, his definition of entrepreneurship is related to economic theory referring to production and market. Later in his career, he moved more into sociological studies. Then, he expanded his theory and argued that *all* social phenomena, such as art and politics, could be conceptualised as entrepreneurship.¹⁰⁷ I consider Schumpeter's work as a historical 'anchor' in the construction of the phenomenon we call entrepreneurship, highlighting the innovative aspect of entrepreneurship, since it has greatly influenced the field of entrepreneurship for a long time.

A line of research which to a large extent is in line with Schumpeter is the approach developed by Kirzner. Within the so-called 'Austrian school' of economics, Kirzner takes a slightly different stand on entrepreneurship and innovation. According to Kirzner, an entrepreneur is seen as an active and creative organizer with the ability to spot profit. But entrepreneurship, according to Kirzner, does not change the economic equilibrium. It rather uses imbalances as opportunities and is, through entrepreneurial operation, restoring economic equilibrium.¹⁰⁸ In the late 90's, the interest in 'spotting' business opportunities has been a line in entrepreneurship research attracting intense attention. In an article in 1997, Venkataraman suggested a definition of the field of entrepreneurship as "the scholarly examination of how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited".¹⁰⁹ The opportunities are, according to Shane and Venkataraman (2000), objective phenomena not known to all at all times.¹¹⁰ In 2003, Shane presented 'a general theory of entrepreneurship' as "the individual-opportunity nexus"¹¹¹ arguing for a positioning of entrepreneurship research with a focus on individuals' opportunity

¹⁰⁶ Swedberg, R 2000

¹⁰⁷ Swedberg, R 2000

¹⁰⁸ Kirzner, I 1973

¹⁰⁹ Venkataraman, S 1997

¹¹⁰ Shane and Venkataraman 2000

recognition and exploitation, integrated with micro as well as macro aspects framing the entrepreneurial process. The discussions on opportunities referred to above have been questioned by Gartner, Carter and Hill.¹¹² They question the assumption of opportunities as an objective phenomenon and argue that opportunities are rather 'favourable events' which are enacted as opportunities, and through the topics on entrepreneurship favourable events are conceptualized as opportunities.

These theories are related to, and highly relevant for, discussions on economic growth. But there are reasons, I argue, for exploring the discussions on innovation and opportunities also in other theoretical frames and settings. These frames or settings can then be related to economic growth even though the connections might be differently constructed than in an economic theory framework. New technique and new products sometimes entail large changes in practice. Sometimes changes are radical, and sometimes they are radical even though they emerge step by step, which means that we do not consider them as being radical. We can easily, I believe, relate to technical innovations brought to us through entrepreneurial endeavour such as the technical applications we communicate with today, outside face-to-face communication. We can envision innovative and entrepreneurial endeavours within the framework of business models with terms like new services (instead of products), new markets, or new types of organizations. But how can we relate to innovation and entrepreneurial opportunities in a case where conceptualisations of economics and business are not as easily taken for granted?

¹¹¹ Shane, S 2003

¹¹² Gartner, Carter and Hill 2003

Entrepreneurship, Entrepreneurs and Management Strategies

In the 1960's and 1970's, the behaviour of individual entrepreneurs was in focus. There was an interest in explaining and developing entrepreneurship by promoting entrepreneurs. Schumpeter had earlier argued that the driving force for entrepreneurs was a dream and a will to create a private kingdom, or to conquer, and enjoy the act of creating.¹¹³ In the 1960's, the psychologist McClelland developed an individual approach emphasising the entrepreneurs' intellectual ability and motivation, in combination with environmental factors, to explain entrepreneurial performance.¹¹⁴ He argued that the entrepreneur was primarily a product of 'need for achievement' connected to challenges or satisfaction. More recent studies of business start-ups in Sweden indicate that reasons for these are to work independently, be able to develop one's own ideas, or make a living.¹¹⁵ Psychological characteristics, psychoanalytical as well as socio-economical factors were elaborated on to understand and explain entrepreneurs. This approach was criticized in the late 1980's and in the 1990's. Gartner's article in 1988 where he argued that there was no significant difference in personality characteristics between entrepreneurs and small business managers is considered to be an important contribution to this critique.¹¹⁶ His argument was instead to focus on the organization creation process. But there are others who have defended the focus on the behaviour of individual entrepreneurs, even though they have criticized earlier research for using too narrow an understanding of psychological characteristics affecting entrepreneurial behaviour.¹¹⁷

Another kind of critique against studies focusing on entrepreneurs is based on a critical review of the construction of what is referred to as 'the entre-

¹¹³ Schumpeter, J 1934

¹¹⁴ McClelland, D 1961

¹¹⁵ Statistics Sweden, NV 12 SM 2001

¹¹⁶ Gartner, W 1988

¹¹⁷ Delmar, F 1996

preneur'. Examples of this critique are studies which through the deconstruction of the entrepreneurship discourse show the construction of entrepreneurs as a 'masculine hero',¹¹⁸ strongly correlated to a super economic man excluding conceptualizations like play and creativity¹¹⁹. Here, authors are pointing out that there are already 'characteristics' written into the construction of entrepreneurship within the entrepreneurship discourse. According to this critique, this discourse pervades the findings of 'who' the entrepreneurs are.

Even though the focus in entrepreneurship research shifted from an individual trait approach to an organizational approach in the late 1980's, and towards an opportunity approach in the late 1990's, there is an interest in individual entrepreneurs partly influenced by policy and educational interests. Entrepreneurship education expanded in business schools in the US in the 60's and 70's and in the UK in the 70's and 80's.¹²⁰ In Sweden, this development came somewhat later. In the mid 70's, the first entrepreneurship courses were given at Växjö University College (nowadays Växjö University) and in the 80's and 90's, there has been a great expansion of courses and programmes. Now, just about every university college or university in Sweden has entrepreneurship on the curriculum. A similar expansion has been seen in many other countries, not the least within the European Union although the contents of these courses and programmes differ. At times, there are tensions in discussions of what is possible to teach and what ought to be taught.¹²¹ There is a tension between teaching skills for starting and running one's own company, fostering people to start their own business,

¹¹⁸ Ahl, H 2002 and Pettersson, K 2002

¹¹⁹ Hjorth, D 2001

¹²⁰ Landström, H 2000

¹²¹ Observations from moderating discussions with entrepreneurship teachers/researchers from different universities at the Esbri annual workshop 'Entrepreneurship and Learning'.

and teaching aiming at increasing the understanding about issues related to entrepreneurship.

The most common context for entrepreneurship research is the business setting. Most of the time, this is also the academic home institution for entrepreneurship research as well as entrepreneurship education. In business schools, the management perspective dominates ideas about organizations and leadership and when entrepreneurship emerged as a research field, it was closely connected to small business management. Entrepreneurship has developed into a separate research field, even though there are still several overlapping issues. From time to time, there is some tension between the two fields. But entrepreneurship is commonly seen more like the process of carrying out dynamic changes, while management is rather to manage and administrate an already existing organization. Leadership partly overlaps the other two conceptualizations, but is rather based on formal or informal group processes between human beings. Bjerke elaborates on these notions to clarify differences, but also to show the overlapping of these three different conceptualizations.¹²²

Entrepreneurship as an academic field has also spread rapidly in management books and articles and not only as a separate field of research. This increase is suggested by Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert to be understood through the attention to the enterprise discourse in research and among policymakers where the language of enterprising replaces the language of management where the focus is rather on administrating what is 'already there'.¹²³ However, Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert argue that through the entrepreneurship-discourse "the manager is therefore – like the Emperor in

¹²² Bjerke, B 1989

¹²³ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003

H C Andersen's story – dressed up in 'entrepreneurial clothes' rather than approached from an entrepreneurial perspective.¹²⁴

Through a parallel detour, the conceptualisation 'social entrepreneurship' has reached entrepreneurship theory in the last few years. The entrepreneurship discourse has reached research on non-profit organizations during the 1990's, but was preceded by an increasing use of a managerial discourse and practice.¹²⁵ In an analysis of non-profits, Powell, Gammal and Simard show how managerial practice circulates and is received through close encounters within communities where a managerial practice has become increasingly dominating.¹²⁶ And with the managerial discourse followed entrepreneurship. In the US, 'social entrepreneurship' has primarily developed in relation to management of non-profit organizations according to business management skills.¹²⁷ Education and training have been set up by different organizations and within business schools during the last few years. The individual social entrepreneur defined by Dees and Economy as an innovative, opportunity-oriented, resourceful, value-creating change agent, is in focus.¹²⁸ And the training provided primarily draws on business management adjusted to a social sector. In the UK, 'social entrepreneurship' has emerged embedded in a political discussion of privatisation and free enterprises. Social entrepreneurship can, according to Palmås, be seen as a solution 'loved' by the major political stands from Thatcher's argumentation on free enterprises to Blair's new labour.¹²⁹ In the UK as well as in the US, and also in other countries, the interest in 'social entrepreneurship' has attracted a large interest from policymakers, practitioners and, during the last few years, also from researchers. The literature on social entrepreneurship approaches and achievements has

¹²⁴ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003 (p 96)

¹²⁵ See further discussion in the next two sections of this chapter.

¹²⁶ Powell, Gammal and Simard 2005

¹²⁷ Dees, G 1998

¹²⁸ Dees and Economy 2001

claimed aspirational and prescriptive notions. According to several researchers “ahead of grounded analysis”, it is rather promoting a specific practice than analytically reflecting on an empirical development.¹³⁰ As the concept social entrepreneurship turns back into entrepreneurship research, it is met with curiosity but also with a confusion of what social entrepreneurship, social enterprises, social economy and non-profits are.¹³¹

Composing an Entrepreneurship Framework

Entrepreneurship researchers have used different approaches and therefore contributed to the variety in theories and methods. Entrepreneurship does not have a common definite definition. Nor is it easily defined. As we have seen in the review it is a complex ‘phenomenon’, in a complex context and I argue that we must treat it as such to recognize and respect the ‘phenomenon’ in focus in our studies. Studying entrepreneurship from the point of view of different interests and perspectives, entrepreneurship contributes to the understanding of our society where different aspects interact. Therefore, I argue, there is a need for framing the conceptualisation in slightly different ways in different studies, even though this sometimes confuses the communication between researchers and between researchers and other groups. If we do not frame our conceptualisations slightly differently, we might lose nuances that could be of importance for a reflective understanding. We must deal with the resulting communication problem within research as well as with other groups with an interest in research.

This project is based on conceptualising entrepreneurship as organization creation, meaning the creation of goal direction, according to Aldrich, or

¹²⁹ Palmås, K 2000

¹³⁰ See discussion in The Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (www.arnova.org).

¹³¹ These different concepts will be further discussed in the next sections in this chapter.

intentionality, according to Katz and Gartner.¹³² The creation of an organization is also, in analogy with these authors, the creation of boundaries. Aldrich also adds the socially constructed system, while Katz and Gartner add exchange and resources as properties of an organization. These properties contribute to specify what can be referred to as the creation of an organization and emphasize issues for entrepreneurship theory to elaborate on. However, these properties were developed to identify organizations seen as specific entities with organizational agency.¹³³ With Morgan's organizational metaphors, this approach would be referred to as an organism.¹³⁴ But the approach taken in this study refers to an organization as practices in a cultural context and therefore, rather to Morgan's cultural metaphor.¹³⁵ Relating and partly translating the property of intentionality and goal direction to this approach gives a focus on the process of constructing aims, goals and means of reaching these goals (the organizational idea) embedded in the development of a social practice. Using the narrative approach, this is studied through the analysis of stories revealing and reflecting on the emerging organizational idea as well as the emerging social practice.

Entrepreneurship research also draws the attention to the innovative aspect challenging established orders. The creation of a new organization was one of the five ways of defining entrepreneurship according to Schumpeter.¹³⁶ But a new organization can be similar to earlier organizations, even if they will never be exactly the same. I here argue that it is not the scope of newness that is the important aspect in this study. But including the issue of challenging established orders as well as the creation of a new kind of order, in this case in the form of a new organization, is an important contribution of

¹³² Aldrich, H 1979 and 1999, Katz and Gartner 1988

¹³³ Katz and Gartner refer to symbolic and cultural aspects of structuring intentionality, though.

¹³⁴ Morgan, G 1999

¹³⁵ Morgan, G 1999

entrepreneurship research, bringing a focus to aspects of change rather than a stabilizing reproduction. One of the issues to which the innovative aspects connect is the discussion of opportunities to discover, evaluate and exploit, according to Shane and Venkataraman¹³⁷, or the combination of favourable events enacted as opportunities, according to Garner, Carter and Hill¹³⁸. But how will this aspect of entrepreneurship relate to a non-profit setting? Are business opportunities replaced by other kinds of opportunities, are opportunities then a search for opportunities, or is the entrepreneurial aspect of opportunities at all applicable in a non-profit context?

Challenging established orders also means a disruption of established legitimacy. Through entrepreneurship, research on legitimacy has been specifically emphasized. It brings an understanding of the interplay between cognitive and socio-political aspects of entrepreneurship. Legitimacy is also specifically elaborated on as regards internal and external issues of the creation of a new organization.¹³⁹ However, this discussion relies on a demarcation of the internal and the external. Or, put in other words, boundaries of the organization as a unity. But with the focus on an early stage of the entrepreneurial process, the boundaries are not as clear and issues of legitimacy will be related to formations empirically referred to in this study. Therefore, this is connected to both Aldrich, and Katz and Gartner's discussions of boundaries and exchange with the surrounding environment of an emerging organization.¹⁴⁰ In this way, the focus on organization creation in this study relates to and draws from the contribution of entrepreneurship theory. However, this study differs in not viewing an organization as an organism as is done in these theories in the 80's and 90's. It challenges identifiable boundaries be-

¹³⁶ Schumpeter, J 1934

¹³⁷ Shane and Venkataraman 2000

¹³⁸ Gartner, Carter and Hill 2003

¹³⁹ Aldrich and Fiol 1994

¹⁴⁰ Aldrich, H 1979 and 1999, Katz and Gartner 1988

tween the organization and its environment, especially in the very early entrepreneurial phase. Therefore, it raises the question of how to understand and grasp how the organization comes about rather than to try to understand and grasp any organized entity as such. In this study, this is done through an interpretive analysis of stories told by people involved in the process.

As for the relationship between an organization and individuals, I agree with Gartner not to focus on the individual trait characteristics, since the trait approach has been criticized both from a behaviourist and a constructionist point of view.¹⁴¹ However, I do argue that the individual human beings involved in the entrepreneurial process should not be ignored since that would be to ignore people as a part of society. I also agree with Holmquist that the medium (=entrepreneur) is not the message, as she argues for moving the perspective from the entrepreneurial actor to the entrepreneurial action to avoid being trapped by stereotype images of entrepreneurs.¹⁴² The entrepreneur is not the message, but 'who is the entrepreneur is one of the right questions', I argue, since individuals are involved in entrepreneurial action. But the question should, however, from the constructionist point of view taken in this study, be phrased as how people involved in entrepreneurial processes construct themselves in relation to this process.

There is apparently a paradox in the economic language of entrepreneurship, where profit is a significant factor, and the language of a non-profit setting. However, if we use the illustration of the creation of the Red Cross we can see that, even though it is not a business aiming at maximizing profit, the entrepreneurial process has led to the establishment of an organization that can be recognized as an economic actor with a turnover and the employment

¹⁴¹ See discussions and references in the previous section on 'Entrepreneurship, Entrepreneurs and Management Strategies' in this chapter.

¹⁴² Holmquist, C 2003

of a multinational economic actor. There is also a strategic leadership of human and economic resources, aiming at effectiveness, not for maximal financial dividend to shareholders, but for maximal use of resources in striving for humanitarian assistance. The economic framework for studying organizations like the Red Cross says a great deal. But is the economic framework the best for evaluating the Red Cross' contribution to the issue of humanity? Or is the economic framework the best for contributing to the understanding of the role of environmental organizations for the environment? As we can see, there are arguments for also using other frameworks to study not-for-profit distributing organizations and entrepreneurship re-contextualized in this setting.

Therefore, entrepreneurship in this study is based on doing something, acting, and carrying things out. Enterprising expressions are “concrete and visible activities aiming at realizing an idea, on the market, in politics or in working life”.¹⁴³ Put slightly differently, we can think of the “enterprise as of the firm, a word that in Latin means firm, steady, and strong. Or...you see the enterprise as a project, a word composed of the Latin pro=before and iacio=I am throwing”.¹⁴⁴ The economic discourse has encompassed the concept. In this study, entrepreneurship is, however, grounded in this basic form of being enterprising and therefore, not connected to starting or running a business.

Even though research field and entrepreneurship discourse are highly embedded in the economic vocabulary,¹⁴⁵ there are already other ways of ‘writing entrepreneurship’ also within entrepreneurship research. One of these ways is, like Johannisson, Hjorth and Steyaert, to see entrepreneurship as a

¹⁴³ Johannisson and Lindmark 1996 (p 25) (my translation)

¹⁴⁴ Guillet de Monthoux, P (p 29) (my translation)

¹⁴⁵ Steyaert, C 2000 and Hjorth, D 2001

societal phenomenon and rather described as a form of cultural innovation enacted on all scenes of human life.¹⁴⁶ Then, it is possible to consider entrepreneurship as a cultural innovation rather than as a phenomenon only affecting the economic situation or whether people have a job or not. Entrepreneurship rather affects people's forms of everyday life including economic, ecological, cultural and social criteria.¹⁴⁷

As a cultural innovation enacted on all scenes of human life, entrepreneurship would primarily be about the creation of new styles of living and history-making.¹⁴⁸ Seizing the elusive entrepreneurship is, however, not easy, according to Johannisson, Hjorth and Steyaert. Through a linguistic reflection, they suggest that 'entre' and 'prendre' tell us about making an entry into and grasping something.¹⁴⁹ But entrepreneurship, in this study, is not about engaging in action in general terms, but in action where the creation of a new organization is included.¹⁵⁰ This is because there has been an entrance from an entrepreneurship point of view, where organization creation many times constitutes the focus of analysis; for practical reasons of where to 'find' the 'phenomenon'; and also because the organizations created through the entrepreneurial process are seen as organizations that are part of our society.

The entrepreneurship framework in this study, based on entrepreneurship as organization creation, contains the construction process of aims, goals and means of reaching these goals (the organizational idea) as related to earlier research on emerging organizations and the properties of goal-direction and

¹⁴⁶ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003

¹⁴⁷ Steyaert, C 2000

¹⁴⁸ Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus, 1997

¹⁴⁹ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003

¹⁵⁰ In Swedish, I prefer the word 'verksamhet' but there is no exact translation into English. 'Verksamhet' refers to organized activities, but it is also refers to the social concept of an

Note continues on next page...

intentionality. However, these properties are adjusted to seeing organizations rather through a cultural than an organic approach. The construction process of the organizational idea is related to the discussion on opportunities. The findings of opportunities, or favourable events enacted as opportunities specifically bring focus to innovative aspects of entrepreneurship challenging established orders. Since this dynamic is here seen as an important contribution of entrepreneurship, the discussion of opportunities is connected to the construction of the organizational idea. Further in this entrepreneurship framework is the aspect of bounding and the discussion on legitimacy related to the creation of a new organization. The discussion on cognitive and socio-political legitimacy relates the issue of ‘what’ to an understanding and acceptance of ‘what to grasp’. However, the dichotomy of internal and external legitimacy can be further problematized in relation to the process of bounding in the creation of the new organization, as the bounding referred to above refers to properties of an organization rather than to the entrepreneurial process of its creation.

Towards a Re-contextualization into a Non-profit Framework

The focus on social engagement relates this project to research on the non-profit sector and civil society. The missions of many non-profit organizations are framed in terms of finding solutions to social, health or environmental problems. Many non-profit organizations are also explicitly established to create changes.¹⁵¹ Even though, as said earlier, entrepreneurship research and discourse are very much embedded in an economic discourse, it

organization. It does not refer to the formality of an organization but to the activities undertaken and the social organization around these activities.

¹⁵¹ Hisrich, Freeman, Standely, Yankey and Young 1997

is not unfamiliar in the study of entrepreneurship also in other sectors. In 1997, there was a chapter on “Entrepreneurship in the Not-for-Profit Sector” in the State of the Art book of entrepreneurship.¹⁵² Its authors claim that research on entrepreneurship and innovation in the non-profit sector is wide-ranging and scattered in its focus. Entrepreneurship is, however, seen as highly relevant for the non-profit sector as well as for the business sector. It has been argued to be important for the non-profit sector, since it contributes to an understanding of how to respond to changes.¹⁵³ Young later argues that entrepreneurship theory can contribute to research on the non-profit sector by including the supply and dynamics of organizations in the sector.¹⁵⁴

In the mid 1970’s, baseline knowledge on the non-profit sector started to appear in research.¹⁵⁵ It included descriptions of scope and operations of the sector and it gradually developed into a growing recognition of unique organizational attributes and what can be referred to as a field of research.¹⁵⁶ As in entrepreneurship research, there are several different approaches in non-profit research. Anheier points at major issues on the research agenda since 1990 which can be related to the question of why non-profit organizations exist, how do they behave, what impact do they have and what difference do they make.¹⁵⁷ He points at the three different levels on which these questions are elaborated: that of the organization, the field or industry, the economy and society at large. Anheier also describes major theories in the field as being related to trust, stakeholders, interdependence, public goods and, during the last decade, also entrepreneurship.

¹⁵² Hisrich, Freeman, Standely, Yankey and Young 1997

¹⁵³ Young, D 1987

¹⁵⁴ Young, D 2003

¹⁵⁵ Powell, W 1987

¹⁵⁶ Powell, W 1987

¹⁵⁷ Anheier, H 2005

Even though entrepreneurship has become part of the non-profit research agenda, established organizations have primarily been studied.¹⁵⁸ During the 1990's, this sector and the role of these organizations in society have been recognised as significant for the number of volunteers engaging in activities and carrying out services as well for the number of employees in this sector.¹⁵⁹ Considerable work has also been carried out to make the sector visible through the development of statistics. One such initiative is the development of a 'satellite account' specifying the national accounts in different countries. This international statistical initiative is carried out through the United Nations' channels.¹⁶⁰ Connected to this work is a debate on what measurements to use at an international level, at a national level as well as at the level of managing an individual organization.¹⁶¹ In this book, DiMaggio raises questions of the possibility, but also the usefulness of measuring the impact of a non-profit sector.¹⁶² He emphasizes the problems of developing measurements, in addition to what is commonly seen in already acknowledged accounting, based on evaluations of the sector's contribution to society, which can be both difficult and ambiguous depending on what perspective is studied. Despite the measurement problems, he argues for the usefulness of thoroughly developing measurement for researchers, policymakers and practitioners.

In what Ahrne and Papakostas refer to as organizations in a social landscape¹⁶³, here referred to as an organizational landscape, the fact that new organizations turn up in glades in this landscape is recognised but not exten-

¹⁵⁸ Non-profit organizations can be defined as formal, private, non-profit-distributing, self-governing organizations based on voluntary participation. These criteria have been developed within the The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project where the authors participated with the Swedish study (Lundström & Wijkström 1997).

¹⁵⁹ Lundström and Wijkström 1997

¹⁶⁰ United Nations Publication 2003

¹⁶¹ See further discussions in Flynn and Hodgkinson (eds) 2001.

¹⁶² DiMaggio, P 2001

¹⁶³ This is an approach and terminology used by Ahrne & Papakostas 2002.

sively elaborated on. Olsson argues that agitators and entrepreneurs play a role in the 'birth' of these organizations.¹⁶⁴ He suggests that entrepreneurs and agitators play an important role in what he calls the pre-phase of emergence of new non-profit organizations.¹⁶⁵ Olsson refers to the entrepreneur or the agitator seen as roles in line with Barth who earlier suggested that activities of entrepreneurs be studied as a way to "recognize processes which are fundamental to questions of social stability and change"¹⁶⁶ Barth further argued for the need to describe and analyse entrepreneurs in their community setting to recognize entrepreneurial action as well as variables influencing entrepreneur's choices. Both Olsson's suggestion to explain the 'birth' of a new organization and Barth's argument to study both the entrepreneurial action and variables influencing entrepreneurs point at entrepreneurship as playing an important, and according to Barth even fundamental, role for stability and change. Both these authors refer to the role of 'an entrepreneur' which relates to the discussion in entrepreneurship research in the late 1980's and the 1990's about the possibility of characterizing individual 'entrepreneurs' and the bias between these characteristics and the construction of an exaggerated image of an individual hero.¹⁶⁷

The interest in individual entrepreneurs within research on non-profit organizations has partly shifted towards an interest in the connections between entrepreneurship and management of non-profit organizations. The distinction between management and entrepreneurship has not been clear and the terms are at times used interchangeably.¹⁶⁸ In this discussion, entrepreneurship has been seen as a way of professionalizing non-profit organizations. This has, however, also been questioned since what is referred to as profes-

¹⁶⁴ Olsson, L-E 1999

¹⁶⁵ Olsson, L-E 1998 and 1999

¹⁶⁶ Barth, F 1963 (p 3)

¹⁶⁷ As discussed in the former section on entrepreneurship theory.

¹⁶⁸ Badelt, C 2003

sional in these discussions is biased to what is developed and taught within business management rather than adapted to the needs and values in non-profit organizations. The questioning refers to whether, and to what extent, this knowledge is useful and beneficial for the development of non-profit organizations.¹⁶⁹ The arguments for professionalizing non-profits through management practice developed in a for-profit setting can be seen as one of the pressures on non-profit organizations to become more ‘business like’, which can be seen several times in the history of the sector.¹⁷⁰ The promotion of a social entrepreneurship discourse is at times seen as another pressure to marketize the non-profit sector.¹⁷¹

Forms for organizing and financing activities differ between countries, as concerns what tasks are undertaken, images of organizations and legal structures. In the Nordic countries, the popular mass movement model with an ideology and advocacy role, open and widely based membership, democratic structured decision making, and an independent role in relation to the state¹⁷², has been ‘marinating’ the view of what a non-profit organization is.¹⁷³ But this is not the only model for organizing a non-profit organization. There are several different types of charity, philanthropy, voluntary, community development, or non-governmental organizations. Different terms relate to different specific features of these organizations or, at times, they simply relate to the vocabulary of a specific practice; different labels of non-profit organizations often have a positive ‘touch’. However, each and every one can be exposed to questioning. Wijkström has reminded us that hate groups are also

¹⁶⁹ Badelt, C 2003

¹⁷⁰ Hall, P 1997 *Business Giving and Social Investment in the United States 1970-1995* New York Law School Review 41, pp 789-817.

¹⁷¹ Eikenberry and Drapal Kluver 2004

¹⁷² Svedberg, L 1981

¹⁷³ The concept of a popular mass movement marinade was introduced by L-E Olsson during a Nordic PhD course on Civil Society in 2002 and further developed by Hvenmark and Wijkström 2004.

part of the non-profit sector according to most definitions,¹⁷⁴ as are outlaw groups, depending on what definition is used. Not quite as radical are Boström, Forsell, Jacobsson and Hallström as they problematize ‘voluntariness’ in relation to voluntary work and raise the question of how voluntary it is and for whom.¹⁷⁵ All these different organizational models can be specified, modified and analysed from different perspectives. They are represented differently in legal structures in different countries. In most cases, they refer to associations and foundations. The legal structures for these forms of associations vary between countries. In Sweden, non-profit associations are not regulated in civil law (association law); however, taxation is regulated and since 2001, the accounting act includes non-profit associations.

In research on the Swedish non-profit sector, the role of organizations as interest and lobby organizations has been highlighted in many international comparisons as well as for the sector’s relevance for democracy.¹⁷⁶ However, during the 1990’s, Wijkström and Lundström have observed that organizations in the non-profit sector in Sweden tend to produce services in the welfare state to a higher degree. Therefore, a shift has been observed in the Swedish non-profit sector from ‘voice’ to ‘service’.¹⁷⁷ At the same time, it is recognised that new organizations give voice to new ideas within established or new fields, even though these organizations are not sufficiently large (in terms of financial turnover or employment) to have a decisive influence on the sector at large.¹⁷⁸ But even if new organizations do not constitute a large part of the non-profit sector in economic terms, one of the aspects the newness of these organizations might contribute is to bring in new voices and new ways of organizing.

¹⁷⁴ Wijkström, F 1998

¹⁷⁵ Boström, Forsell, Jacobsson and Hallström 2004

¹⁷⁶ Wijkström and Lundström 2002 (p 19)

¹⁷⁷ Wijkström and Lundström 2002 (p 18)

Research on the non-profit sector and its organizations also relates to other fields in social science not so commonly referred to in entrepreneurship research, such as the sphere of civil society.¹⁷⁹ Civil society is a notion that has figured in academic and political discourse for most of the past decade.¹⁸⁰ There is an interest in whether and how civil society contributes to processes of social, political and policy change, as well as to continuity in society. Non-profit organizations, according to the definitions used in non-profit sector research, are included in civil society. However, references to civil society are commonly not limited to aggregations of organizations, but include other conceptualisations of movements, interaction and action in a sphere in society differentiated from the state and the market.¹⁸¹ The idea of a civil society has a long and varied history, where three versions of the conceptualisation can broadly be identified.¹⁸² This history has influenced the theories and public discourse of the concept of today.

In the first version, in the ancient Greek discussions, the notion (but not the term) of civil society represents the sphere beyond family and household. It can be understood as a politically organized commonwealth where civility described the requirements of citizenship. It was organized around social face-to-face relationships of friends.¹⁸³ In the Middle Ages, the Christian community was considered to be superior and a fairly consistent theory for state and civil society developed; a theory adjusted to the church moral. But this unified theory of human affairs did not last forever. By the end of this

¹⁷⁸ These new 'voice' organizations are recognised by Wijkström and Lundström 2002. However, their analysis containing the sector as a whole shows a shift from voice towards service.

¹⁷⁹ In some discussions, the non-profit sector is used as synonym for civil society. However, the latter conceptualisation should not, as will be discussed below, be limited to a sector of organizations.

¹⁸⁰ Ehrenberg, J 1999

¹⁸¹ Wijkström and af Malmborg 2005

¹⁸² Ehrenberg, J 1999

¹⁸³ Ehrenberg, J 1999 (pp 1-27)

period, politics was more and more distanced from civil society, and civil society was mainly organized in economic terms and not differentiated to the emerging market.¹⁸⁴

With modernity came the understanding of civil society as private property, individual interest, political democracy, rule of law and economic order devoted to prosperity.¹⁸⁵ Modern authors¹⁸⁶ discussed civil society as a sphere between state and individuals. The role of a sphere between the state and individuals also created a renewed interest in civil society during the transition of Eastern Europe where some intellectuals raised the debate of the 'revolt of civil society against the state'. The discussion in this case draws on liberal ideas, yet without abandoning certain pillars in socialism.¹⁸⁷

The conceptualisation of civil society has a long history where it has many times been closely linked to the history of ideas. Politically, it has, however, been contradictory and arguments have been stated both from liberal and socialistic sides. Amnå points out that the conceptualisation of civil society seems to resist political colonization and can therefore be useful for research in a field that might often be politically coloured.¹⁸⁸ A way of viewing civil society today is through the definition used by Centre for Civil Society, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Civil society refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and ne-

¹⁸⁴ Ehrenberg, J 1999 (pp 28-54)

¹⁸⁵ Ehrenberg, J 1999 (pp 83-143)

¹⁸⁶ Ehrenberg refers to Ferguson, Kant, Hegel and Marx. Ehrenberg, J 1999

¹⁸⁷ Ehrenberg, J 1999 (pp 173-198)

¹⁸⁸ Amnå, E 2005

gotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups.¹⁸⁹

Even though theories of civil society are far from consistent, this is a field of research where theories and aspects meet and link themselves to social, political and organizational issues that can contribute to our understanding of the engagement of human beings in activities in our society beyond the classification of society in public, private for-profit, and private sectors.

Dilemmas and Paradoxes of Entrepreneurship in Civil Society – Specifying Analytical Research Questions

Through an extension of entrepreneurship theory to a setting of non-profit organizations framed by theories on civil society, it is possible to also relate entrepreneurship to discussions on societal development where economics is one aspect. Other aspects of development can, as indicated in the Millennium Development Goals, be poverty and health, education and respect for human rights, and environmental and social sustainability.¹⁹⁰ Entrepreneurship can then be seen as one of the processes in a variety of dimensions of societal development since organizations and therefore also the creation of

¹⁸⁹ London School of Economics and Political Science, Centre for Civil Society, www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS

¹⁹⁰ Based on the UN Millennium declaration set up in 2000. www.un.org

organizations are part of development, no matter what goals and dimensions of development are referred to. The aim of this study is to ground an extension of entrepreneurship theory in an analysis of an empirical case in a non-profit setting. This will facilitate further connections and explorations between the two fields, such as explorations of entrepreneurship as a societal phenomenon, entrepreneurship related to discussions on democracy as well as the relation of non-profit organizations to innovation and economic development.

The organization creation aspect of entrepreneurship theory has a direct connection to theories on non-profit organizations. It contributes to existing theories through its focus on the creation and emergence of new organizations. The organization creation aspect of entrepreneurship also contributes to the approach to entrepreneurship that has emerged in non-profit studies in the last decade through the focus on organizational dynamic processes rather than the approach to individuals.

The key issues of the entrepreneurship framework of this study are the discussion of opportunities and its relation to the construction of aims, goals, and means for reaching these goals as one of the aspects of organization creation. Another key issue is bounding and legitimacy in relation to the creation of the new organization. The focus on the early entrepreneurial phase in organization creation challenges the dichotomy of 'internal' and 'external' and therefore puts a focus on the bounding process rather than boundaries. Both these key issues are primarily elaborated in a business setting within entrepreneurship theory and therefore dilemmas in applying the discussions in a non-profit setting appear and will be further discussed below. However, in extending entrepreneurship theory to a framework of theories on non-profit organizations, the paradox of profit and non-profit has already been articulated.

The Paradox of Profit and Non-profit

The obvious paradox of the two frameworks is the for-profit economic and the non-profit discourses. But there are studies relating non-profit organizing, through social capital, to economic growth as well as social development.¹⁹¹ Still, there is a paradox in the two typified models where the for-profit model relates to economic rationality and business thinking, while the rational of the non-profit model is commonly more vague. However, these models are typified and there are several nuances and hybrids within the dichotomy of for-profit and non-profit. Social entrepreneurship is one of the conceptualisations provoking this paradox. Social enterprises, co-operatives, community development enterprises, social economy, non-profit organizations' fundraising ventures, and corporate social responsibility are other such conceptualisations.

- 1) As social entrepreneurship has emerged in the 1990's, two major streams can be distinguished. One is primarily grounded in the US with a base in business skills used in a non-profit organization environment.¹⁹² The other stream in the social entrepreneurship discourse is grounded in the UK. There, the privatization of the public sector combined with a free enterprise policy has influenced the development of a space for 'social enterprises' and 'social entrepreneurship'.¹⁹³ However, conceptually close to these streams are initiatives to study entrepreneurship in social settings not necessarily with references to business models and business rationality. This third stream has simply been called entrepreneurship and has often been related to the conceptualisation of social economy.
- 2) Social economy has been an official term within the European Union since 1989 and it is primarily a policy related conceptualisation

¹⁹¹ See discussions in Putnam, R 1993 and 2000.

¹⁹² Powell, Gammal and Simard 2005

¹⁹³ Palmås, K 2000

with references to co-operatives, mutual societies, associations, and nowadays also to social enterprises.¹⁹⁴ Social economy issues are handled by DG Enterprise within the European Union. However, within employment policy, it is often referred to as the third sector. The EU definition is expressed in legal forms, but the term social economy refers to entities not with a primary purpose of obtaining return to capital, but a purpose of common need. These entities are considered as accountable to those served and they are generally managed by the principle 'one member, one vote'. They are mainly based on voluntary participation and membership commitment.¹⁹⁵ These EU principles of social economy are, like the Swedish definition of social economy, not based on any legal forms.¹⁹⁶ There are discrepancies between the principles and legal forms in different countries. And since there are difficulties in evaluating the purpose of an organization, policy initiatives refer to legal forms in practice. In the development of social economy as a policy field, the co-operative movement with a strong position in southern European countries like Italy, Spain and France has had a strong influence. These organizational models and ideas have a quite different background in practice as well as politically and ideologically than what can commonly be found in business models. The principals of democratic membership, voluntary participation and, at times, also community based approaches are not explicit in models of for-profit businesses.

- 3) Co-operative is the only of the terms listed here that is included in the Swedish National Encyclopedia as an enterprise owned and

¹⁹⁴ Swedish Department of Interior 1998

¹⁹⁵ European Union DG Enterprise 2005

¹⁹⁶ Swedish Department of Interior 1999

driven for the benefit of its members.¹⁹⁷ According to the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), a co-operative is an autonomous association of persons voluntarily united to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise.¹⁹⁸ There are seven co-operative principles¹⁹⁹:

- Voluntary and Open Membership
- Democratic Member Control
- Member Economic Participation
- Autonomy and Independence
- Education, Training and Information
- Co-operation among Co-operatives
- Concern for Community

In several countries, like in Sweden, co-operatives have no legal form, which makes them difficult to follow-up and study. This is also partly about identity and images of models and thinking. Both the definition and the co-operative principles can be applicable to an enterprise of consultancy partnership, no matter whether they see themselves as a co-operative, or whether they fulfil the principles by conviction or because of a practical business deal. However, these principles frame ideas and visions within the co-operative movement.

- 4) In the term social enterprise, the variation in references of purpose and organizational forms that has been mentioned above appears at an enterprise level. In a comparative study of the emergence of social enterprise in Europe, it is shown that the meaning of, the status of, the policies for, and the practices of social enterprises vary con-

¹⁹⁷ Svenska Nationalencyklopedin www.ne.se

¹⁹⁸ www.coop.org

¹⁹⁹ The International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), www.coop.org

siderably between countries.²⁰⁰ Laville and Nyssens argue that the emergence of the terminology of social enterprises in Europe should not be seen as a conceptual break with institutions of social economy, but rather as a supplementary dimension broadening possible organizational forms in the field of social economy.²⁰¹ There are several different definitions, once more commonly based on principles rather than legal forms. Defourny suggests that a social enterprise continuously produces/sells goods/services, has a significant level of economic risk and a minimum amount of paid work. It has an explicit aim at benefiting the community, a high degree of autonomy. Further, it is an initiative launched by a group of citizens and has a decision-making power that is not based on capital ownership.²⁰² As can be seen, this definition differs from the definition of cooperatives, not least on the issue of democratic open membership structure. Still, it includes a collective foundation, which is at times, but not always, the case in references to social enterprises.

- 5) Finally, the dichotomy of profit and non-profit is challenged by non-profit organizations' fundraising ventures and corporate social responsibility. Several non-profit organizations have branches of activities that are set up to raise funds and executed in order to maximize the revenues for financing the activities of the organization. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has emerged as a term referring to businesses support and, at times, initiatives that are set up with social aims, with arguments for a responsibility to also participate in social development in society. CSR is about combining the

²⁰⁰ Borzaga and Defourny 2001

²⁰¹ Laville and Nyssens 2001

²⁰² Defourny, J 2001

aim of profit measured in financial terms with aims of social values in businesses and can take several different forms.²⁰³

As we can see, the demarcation between different sectors is not so clear, even though the typified models contribute to the understanding of different ways of organizing in theory as well as in practice. During an entrepreneurial process, different forms of organizing must be handled and related to cognitive, practical, legal and financial issues. And it is not certain that an entrepreneurial venture fits right into a particular typified or legal organizational form. Thus, deciding or agreeing on a form for a new venture is part of the entrepreneurial process.

Through the conceptualisation ‘social entrepreneurship’, an entrepreneurial framework containing the business model and business thinking is contextualized in a social setting. In this study, however, the entrepreneurship framework is based on organization creation, which means, I argue, a possibility to approach a non-profit setting and for entrepreneurship theory to also learn from models and practices within this setting. In the analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, there will therefore be a hesitation to only use the economic language of entrepreneurship as a way of elaborating on the implications of extending entrepreneurship theory also to a non-profit setting.

The Dilemma of Opportunities and the Construction of an Organizational Idea

The recontextualizing of entrepreneurship theory into a framework of non-profit organization theory can contribute to problematize discussions within entrepreneurship, such as the discussion on opportunities that have devel-

²⁰³ Morsing, Midttun and Sahlin-Andersson, forthcoming

oped within a framework of economic theory and rationality. In the entrepreneurship framework in this study, the opportunity discussion is related to the construction of aims, goals and means of reaching these goals as an aspect of entrepreneurship that is set in focus of this study. The story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden tells us about the strong interest in both the issues addressed and the organizational form. But the strong interest, the surge of people contacting Attac and showing up at meetings, was not initially expressed as an opportunity. Rather, they were part of the increased interest. However, once meetings were called, the widely spread interest was seen as an opportunity as well as a stimulating coincidence. But reasons for engaging in the very early phase have rather been referred to as wanting or having to do something. There was a sense of lack of debate on globalization in Sweden and no other organization was perceived to take on the challenge in a way that was considered satisfactory. Through this short analysis, we see that a discussion of opportunities is possible in this case. But there are also indications of 'lack' and 'having to do something', which are not part of the opportunity vocabulary in entrepreneurship theory. Second, the story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden shows that the idea to start an organization was articulated, but a specific idea, goals and means of reaching these goals had not been clearly defined. Neither was the articulated idea connected to an explicit opportunity, but was rather a response to what could be done with a problem.

The opportunity discussion in entrepreneurship is based on the finding and exploitation of business opportunities and thereby framed in economic theory. How is the discussion of opportunities applicable through further analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden? Is there a dilemma of opportunities and 'lack' as indicated in the first part of the analysis and, if so, how can this dilemma relate to the opportunity discussion in entrepreneurship theory?

The Dilemma of Bounding and Legitimacy

In the early entrepreneurial phase, it is almost impossible to talk about a demarcation between the internal and the external. However, as an organization has been created, there are some kind of boundaries around this organization as argued both by Katz and Gartner, and Aldrich. The process of bounding is therefore part of the entrepreneurial process and is seen as important for controlling resources and for autonomy.²⁰⁴ However, with a slightly different image of an organization than these authors, this study challenges that the boundaries of organizations are necessarily that clear. Still, there is a bounding process as we can see in the story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden in the previous chapter. At the beginning, there were some people meeting around a suggestion, forming a group. Gradually, this group grew but there were also other bounding aspects to which people could relate as an emerging organization. A cognitive awareness and legitimacy of Attac gradually emerged as well as some kind of Attac culture.

The case of this study is a formal organization with a record of members. Still, there are ideas and people that cannot be classified as internal or external. I would even claim that every person and every idea of Attac Sweden challenge the boundary around the organization. As much as this challenges ideas of boundaries, it can also facilitate the construction of legitimacy as an interactive process of established organizations, people involved in those organizations and different ideas in circulating not only in nearby organizations. However, there are aspects with bounding effects sometimes expressed in a 'we' or 'some kind of Attac culture'. If the boundaries of an organization are not seen as clearly demarcating in the early entrepreneurial phase,

²⁰⁴ Katz and Gartner 1988 stress control of resources, while Aldrich, H 1999 stresses the control of boundaries' role for autonomy.

how can the bounding and legitimising aspects of entrepreneurship be applied and elaborated in the case of Attac Sweden?

The Dilemma of Dynamics

Entrepreneurship as a creation of a new organization contributes to the dynamics of organizations within an organizational landscape. It challenges established orders and therefore, established organizations. At the same time, by relating to the ideas and issues of other organizations, the new organization can explore and develop practices beyond the established organizations' acceptance. In the story of Attac, this dilemma is expressed as an ambivalent mix of support and resistance from other organizations. At the beginning, several established organizations supported the entrepreneurial process by making meetings rooms available and so on. This support was in some cases turned into an explicit dissociation. However, in the story of Attac, we also see that even in cases where other organizations opposed Attac, individuals in these organizations could give informal moral support in the form of encouraging comments.

The organization dynamics referred to in entrepreneurship research are not limited to, but still primarily based on, a business setting. This should make it rather easy to apply in a framework of non-profit organizations. However, not only organizations are emphasized in the sphere of civil society where non-profit organizations are embedded. There are also networks, social movements and other formations that can be considered as alternatives to organizational formations. Then, how can the organizational dynamic aspect of entrepreneurship be seen as contextualized in a non-profit setting in civil society?

Summing up Analytical Research Questions

With the aim of extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society, a framework of entrepreneurship theory primarily based on the organization creation aspect of entrepreneurship has been composed. It has been related to a non-profit framework, which brings the paradox of profit and non-profit into focus. This has here been suggested to be a paradox of typified models and rationales. However, in practice, there is rather a spectrum of models between these typified poles. Social entrepreneurship, social enterprises, co-operatives, social economy are all examples of the variety of forms between the paradoxical stands. This discussion reveals a tension in the economic language, framing entrepreneurship theory and the re-contextualization of entrepreneurship theory to a framework of non-profit organization in civil society. This tension is seen to be of value as a space for further reflection and analysis of the profit-nonprofit paradox. Therefore, it has here been suggested to use the focus on the organization creation aspect of entrepreneurship to learn from the different frame of reference, rather than bringing the economic framing of entrepreneurship into the non-profit framework.

To further elaborate key issues of re-contextualize entrepreneurship theory in a framework of non-profit organizations in civil society, three dilemmas have been identified and discussed. As a specification of the initial research question, these discussions have raised the following analytical research questions:

- How is the entrepreneurship discussion on opportunities applicable in a non-profit setting? Is there a dilemma of opportunities and 'lack' as indicated in the first part of the analysis (chapter three) and, if so, how can this dilemma relate to the opportunity discussion in entrepreneurship theory?

- If the boundaries of an organization are not seen as clearly demarcating in the early entrepreneurial phase, how can the bounding and legitimising aspects of entrepreneurship be applied and elaborated on in the case of Attac Sweden?
- How can the organizational dynamic aspect of entrepreneurship be seen, contextualized in a non-profit setting in civil society?

The Entrepreneurial Process of Attac Sweden:

Organization Creation in Civil Society

The following analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden aims at further contributing to the understanding of possibilities and dilemmas of re-contextualizing entrepreneurship theory to a non-profit setting in civil society. The analysis is presented in a structure following the three analytical research questions relating to discussions on opportunities, bounding and legitimacy, and dynamics. Finally, this is followed by a concluding discussion including what the implications are for entrepreneurship research

Opportunities and Necessities

The aspect of opportunity is elaborated on in entrepreneurship research as the discovery, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities by Shane and Vekataraman, or as favourable events enacted and conceptualized as opportunities by Gartner, Carter and Hill. Through the story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, we can see several different indications about opportunities. The initial interest and influx of people coming to meetings and engaging in different activities was an opportunity for the emerging organization. It was an opportunity for a mobilization of the most crucial resource; people. The media interest was also an opportunity, even though the media

coverage was not always easy to handle. Furthermore, a glade among organizations²⁰⁵ was perceived both as a driving force in popularising the debate on globalization and a wish for new organizational forms. So we can see that a discussion on opportunities is highly applicable also in a non-profit context. Further, it is possible to claim that these 'favourable' events have been enacted as an opportunity in analogy with Gartner, Carter and Hill. Or let me rather rephrase that they have been enacted as opportunities in plural. Furthermore, they have been connected to organization creation, which is the basic conceptualisation of entrepreneurship in this study.

But unless people find the actual creation of a new organization being so fun or important that it is worth all the time and energy voluntarily contributed to it, these opportunities would hardly provide any reasons for acting. These favourable events are not connected to people's engagement, but they can be connected to the involvement in creating a new organization instead of other forms of involvement. Even though people have referred to quite different issues of engagement such as 'having to change this world', 'solidarity' or 'democracy', no one has expressed engagement in the creation of a new organization as a reason to put in hours and hours of work. In a macro analysis approach, a perception of 'having to do something' or a 'lack' might be referred to as an explanation for engagement and could therefore be seen as an opportunity for people's engagement. However, at a human and organizational level, I hesitate to use a concept like opportunity on people's perceived unfair rightfulness; both because I find it hypocritical, but also because it can be misleading to use a term only associated with possibilities and with no connections to feelings like anger and conviction. Therefore, I suggest that this be referred to as perceived 'necessities'. Necessities are not

²⁰⁵ See the discussion on glades among organizations in a social landscape with references to Ahrne and Papkostas 2002 in the section 'Towards a Re-contextualization into a Non-profit Framework' earlier in this chapter.

to be seen as needs, as the latter rather refer to physiological or psychological needs. They do, however, refer to a perception that it is necessary for something to happen and are therefore rather connected to conviction than to behaviour based on needs. Moreover, necessities are not related to a personal lack of needs among the people involved. People engaged in the creation of Attac Sweden have not, as far as I can see, had any direct personal needs to change the world, even though changing the world has been expressed as a necessity for everyone's wellbeing. They have needs for social belonging and so on, just like all humans. But through this study, it is suggested that their engagement in issues addressed and the entrepreneurial process of Attac is to be related to perceived necessities.

People interviewed in this study express a standpoint in opposition to current development of society, as well as to established forms of organizing. The discussions on opportunities in entrepreneurship theory relate to acting upon perceived opportunities. But they can hardly cover the construction of the opposing standpoint to established orders, which is also a part of the framework relating this study to the innovative aspect of entrepreneurship. The discussion on necessities can, however, be a supplementary concept to opportunities to also recognize linkages to standpoints challenging established orders. Perceived necessities can therefore be seen as a part of constructing an organizational idea, challenging established organizations and practices where perceived necessities are turned into arguments where conviction gives force and power to oppose and apply an oppositional idea. In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, this can be seen in the expressed difficulties in acting differently and to persist standpoints different than people are used to even if the specific standpoint is explicitly expressed. At times, it has been said how easy it would have been to do as one is used to. *But we do not want to have it that way*, people have said. *We do not want an organization depending on one or a few leaders. And then, we have to*

accept this chaos and trust the force in the organization. The concept of necessities is here suggested to contribute to an understanding of not only acting upon opportunities, but also taking an opposing standpoint challenging established practices.

The framework of entrepreneurship as organization creation has emphasized the process of constructing the idea, goals and means of reaching these goals as an aspect related to what is seen as a property of goal-direction or intentionality in Aldrich and Katz and Gartner's vocabulary, respectively. The idea to start Attac was first articulated in Ramonet's editorial in *Le Monde Diplomatique*. According to Ramonet, he did not at all think this would be realized.²⁰⁶ But people, first in France and then in several other countries, responded to this suggestion and organization creation processes began. This articulated idea can be seen as a favourable event for others to act upon. It brought a variety of people together and in spite of varieties, they connected through this idea. But the initial idea suggested by Ramonet was vague. It referred to a worldwide initiative, to the creation of an organization, the Tobin tax, and assistance of citizens. At first sight, the Tobin tax was expressed as a goal. However, it was rather a very concrete suggestion showing a possible tool to at all act in a situation which many perceived as hopelessness. For the construction of an idea, goals and means of reaching these goals as part of creating an organization, it can be seen as starting with one of those means while the articulation of an idea and goals were kept rather open and vague. We can clearly see that concrete suggestions and activities have played a vital role in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. They have included people, facilitated interaction and have made things possible and convincing.

²⁰⁶ Ramonet in a lecture at Stockholm University.

The creation of the new organization in this case has primarily been based on concrete activities, which would be the means of reaching goals, even though the goals are vague at least on the level of the organization. Yet the vagueness has had frames that will soon be further explored. The activities undertaken have been planned and carried out in relation to perceived opportunities, as well as perceived necessities. In this way, it is better to refer to opportunities and necessities in the plural, even for the creation of one organization. And opportunities are not identified, then evaluated and then exploited just as discussed as a creative view on opportunities by Sarasvathy, Dew, Velamuri and Venkataraman.²⁰⁷ The creative view on opportunities draws on pragmatism as well as the social psychology of organizing.²⁰⁸ And opportunities are, as argued by Sarasvathy, not pre-existent but created in dynamic processes of interaction between different stakeholders.²⁰⁹ These four authors discuss whether this is an approach to opportunities that is not overlapping with other views on opportunities based on allocation efficiency in neoclassical economics, or theories on market discovery through information resources and processing.²¹⁰ However, they conclude by suggesting that the richer the discussion can be, the greater is the potential to contribute to the puzzle of the creation of value in society. Therefore, they suggest that the different approaches should be seen as supplementary. In this argument, the potential contribution of entrepreneurial opportunities is expressed in value as an economic term. Initially in this study, the contextualization of entrepreneurship in an economic discourse only was problematized as limiting entrepreneurship theory to economic aspects of entrepreneurship. Through recontextualizing entrepreneurship in a framework of non-profit theory, this economic framework has been challenged. It has reminded us that societal

²⁰⁷ Sarasvathy, Dew, Velamuri and Venkataraman 2003

²⁰⁸ They refer to pragmatism as in James, W 1907 and Dewey, J 1917, and to social psychology of organizing as in Weick, K 1979, who will be further elaborated on in the next chapter of this dissertation.

²⁰⁹ Sarasvathy, S 2001

development is not only about creating value. This can even be misleading, as it easily reads to add value. But development also includes re-evaluation and resistance. This is to a large extent ignored, or referred to the market mechanism of competition, in the economical framing of the opportunity discussion in entrepreneurship. In this way, the discussion on opportunities in entrepreneurship theory disclaims critical reflections on other aspects on development than creating or simply adding value. The discussion on ethics and social responsibility can then be a supplement. But these are not included in the main opportunity discussion of entrepreneurship theory, at least not yet.

But then, if the discussion on opportunities in entrepreneurship theory is framed in economic theory and business opportunities, to what frame is the opportunity and necessity discussion in a non-profit setting in civil society related? In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, there are several references to a ‘golden opportunity’. People interviewed have used this expression to each and every one of the opportunities of the great influx of people, media’s interest, the glade among organizations²¹¹ to popularise the debate on globalization, and the wish for a new organizational form. It has also been referred to as a golden opportunity to actually change the state of the world. This latter reference is close to an ‘origin’ conceptualisation that is used as a frame for a set of ‘favourable events’ in the entrepreneurial process. ‘The golden opportunity’ for structural change is a conceptualisation developed by Abrahamsson.²¹² Analysing globalization as a process that it is neither possible, nor desirable to stop, he presents what he refers to as ‘the golden opportunity’ for structural changes, based on the structural ten-

²¹⁰ Sarasvathy, Dew, Velamuri and Venkataraman 2003

²¹¹ See the discussion on glades among organizations in a social landscape with references to Ahrne and Papkostas 2002 in the section ‘Towards a Re-contextualization into a Non-profit Framework’ earlier in this chapter.

²¹² A concept developed by Abrahamsson, H 2001, 2003 (my translation).

sions of today. In this way, he sees an opportunity to make changes such that the globalization process can be good for everyone in the world, or to make globalization global as he puts it. Abrahamsson points out in his analysis that the conflicting structures are, on the one hand, the increased dominance of short-sighted market thinking and, on the other hand, the awareness of the consequences this brings to people who are not included as beneficiaries in the market economy. Abrahamsson argues that there is an awareness that makes an enlightenment of the elites possible, which can become a force for change. As Abrahamsson points out, there is also the decreased influence of political institutions caused by global development. This means a decrease in long-term societal related politics. He further argues that this is based on several structural opportunities for changes that can be used depending on the problem in focus. This constitutes a quilt of political arenas in which to act.²¹³ Framed by these factors, he argues, there is a ‘golden opportunity’ for influencing the development of the structures. ‘The opportunity’ is therefore based on an analysis of current societal development constituted by theories, empirical observations, and scientific argumentation.

Besides being an associated professor at a Swedish university, Abrahamsson is also an active member of Attac Sweden. ‘The golden opportunity’ is a conceptualisation to which people refer, or rather enact with reference to opportunities in a wider meaning than what is included in Abrahamsson’s analysis. This has been somewhat confusing and there have been discussions about different interpretations. But from entrepreneurship theory, it can be seen that Abrahamsson’s analysis articulates a ‘golden opportunity’ as a thoroughly developed intellectual frame of knowledge about the ‘state of the world’ for many people in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. I interpret some of the involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Swe-

²¹³ Abrahamsson, H 2002

den as referring to the discussion of the global structures above. Others rather seized the discussions at a meso-level and/or applied it to micro-level action. The discussion and articulation of 'the golden opportunity' then also becomes a part of articulating opportunities for action, organizing action and creating a new organization. They refer to the arguments of putting political pressure on politicians and other elites in society, to the methods of confrontative dialogue, or being part of temporary alliances of the alternative globalization movement as a powerful force in societal development. Different favourable events have been related to a frame where 'a golden opportunity' has been articulated. These favourable events have been included not only as opportunities, but as 'golden opportunities'.

But the acceptance of the analysis of a golden opportunity for change has been preceded by doubts and dissatisfaction with other established descriptions and explanations of the state and system of the world as well as theories of development on which the current system relies. Just as there is an opposing position against established forms of organizing in the entrepreneurial process, there is an opposing position against established systems and theoretical application within this system. In this sense, the articulation of the golden opportunity has also been a frame for other favourable events.

Legitimising Organizational Boundaries

Through the story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden we have seen an organization emerge. At the beginning, it was only an idea in an editorial, later on an idea to start the organization also in Sweden. Meetings were held to prepare a launching and the group grew. From a widespread interest, the concrete suggested idea connected people from different backgrounds. At the launching, the organization was formalized and thereafter, it would be possible to define its borders and distinguish between what is internal and what is external according to criteria related to these formalities.

But this is also a simplistic view and it would make it difficult to also include the part of the entrepreneurial process prior to this event. And it would only give a limited contribution to the discussion on organizational bounding and the legitimacy of the continuous emergence of organizations. Instead, bounding and legitimacy have in this analysis appeared in relation to concrete activities on the emergence and positioning related to ‘we’ and ‘them’ and, finally, what can be referred to as an organization. These aspects of bounding and legitimacy have been of particular meaning in certain phases of the entrepreneurial process. Therefore, the following discussions largely follow the chronological flow. However, concrete activities have been carried out throughout the years and aspects of bounding and legitimacy related to these activities play a continuous role, even if the focus here is on the early phases.

Bounding and Legitimacy Related to Concrete Activities

As we have seen in the story of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, people heard of, and got in touch with the organization in different ways. Getting involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden has for most people been a part of a longer process of engagement in the issues addressed. Only one person interviewed has stated a first engagement in these issues through the involvement in Attac. The others have had an engagement in the issues addressed before getting in touch with Attac. In some cases, this has been vaguely articulated. But for others, the engagement has a long active background with experiences from other organizations. Since this study is not based on all people who have been engaged in Attac, I do not draw any conclusions for people in Attac in general. I am aware that many people with no previous experiences of actively engaging in voluntary work have been attending meetings and other kinds of activities arranged by Attac. But the conclusion here is rather that the engagement in the entrepreneurial process has been intertwined with processes that have often had a longer history.

And the early concrete arranged activities can rather be seen as part of an already running engagement, no matter in what organized forms they appeared.

There was an explicit effort to include people from different backgrounds, with different political views and different skills. And there was a mix of people, partly because of the effort to include people, but maybe even more because of the large interest among different people and groups. *It felt like 100 different worlds that met*, has been expressed over and over again. And there was an early understanding that the focus on activities was important. The concreteness of seminars, debates and action manifestations made it easy to participate. One did not have to do everything, one did not have to know everything, one did not have to negotiate and agree on everything – but one could come, take part, and participate. And while meeting others through these concrete activities, there was a sense of some kind of collective identity, which has been experienced as a great source of energy. *To realize that we were many, that so many shared my opinion!* I here write ‘some kind of’ collective identity since it is not unified and established. It can rather be characterized as searching and ambiguous. The sense of collective identity could also be mixed with realizing that some of the others had rather different political ideas, or other ideas of how to organize and socialize with other people.

During the year before the launching, a very concrete goal was agreed on – to set up the organization and constitute it in January 2001. This is pointed out as important, because there was then neither need, nor time for discussing all ideas, visions, or possible strategies. The work was directed towards a concrete activity. And in this work, people got to know each other, discussed larger issues and developed social ties. And , at this stage, there was not really any question of whether something should be done or not. It was

rather about 'how to do things'. There were no routines, no practice set, no formal agreements on specific activities on how to carry out activities. But even though there was a chaotic mix of ideas, experiences and people, there were some common views. *There was some kind of clear picture that the organization shouldn't work like a traditional organization. This was somehow in the head of very many involved. It was about networks, decentralisation, non-hierarchical as far as it was possible.*

The concrete activities brought people together and the sense of collective ideas framed what can be seen as a sense of belonging, making it possible to keep people together. The experience of 'finding' so many people with similar ideas was strong and at times overwhelming. People relate this to a great energy. Despite the vagueness, the bounding was enough to arrange concrete activities. And the concrete activities facilitated the further process of creating a new organization where a cognitive understanding, as a prerequisite of cognitive legitimacy, could develop. The variety of people participating in these concrete activities also meant that there were links to their different environments and networks. The cognitive awareness, and understanding of, and the legitimising of the emerging organization were spread through these personal channels.

The creation of Attac in Sweden was based on the articulation of and creation of Attac in France in 1998 and in other countries. So the name and model organizations were already there even though they were far from clear, neither for people involved in the entrepreneurial process in Sweden, nor for people around getting in touch with the entrepreneurial process in different ways. Existing forms of organizing influence the creation of a new organization. Their influence is not the least through a cognitive understanding of what an organization is and how to set up and run one. In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, there was on the one hand a

vision of the early phases of traditional popular mass movement organizations with references rather to social movements than to established institutionalised organizations with inert structures. On the other hand, there were visions on organizing as political think tanks or expert organizations. Once more, other influences came from more independent activist groups referring to guerrilla organizations in distant countries. Considerable time and energy were spent on these discussions. It has not been referred to as a smooth and linear process. The statement *it was chaotic* or *it was hysterical* comes back in one interview after another. However, as expressed by one of the interviewed persons, *there were not really arguments, the discussion was composed, but with clearly different opinions.*

As can be seen, the discussion around organizational forms became a concrete activity. Through references to different organizational models, there was a cognitive process of 'how to do it' in the case of Attac. It also meant relating and positioning the creation of Attac Sweden to these different conceptual models. In this way, both cognitive and socio-political legitimacy issues could be grounded in known, legitimate and in some cases non-legitimate models. Through the different models related to, different actors could find ways to relate to the organizational process. This process has been filled with tension and struggle that can be related to socio-political legitimacy.

The concrete activities in the early phase of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden did not challenge established organizations. Calling for meetings on solidarity topics was part of the activities of other organizations. Nor was it really challenging individual people to question their own stands or choose sides. The attention and influx of people was challenging, however – and it was energizing! Almost immediately there was a pressure of intensity. But the influx, variety, unclearness and ambiguity had to be handled. And

the concrete activities made it easier to do this in a practical and pragmatic manner. *It felt like the most pragmatic people from different worlds were picked and put together. This was not conscious, but a feeling.*

Bounding and Legitimacy Related to 'We' and 'Them'

People and media referred to us as an organization. But the organization did not exist! Already in the autumn of 2000, Attac Sweden was referred to as an organization. But there was no sense of belonging to an organization. Talking about this phase, people related to each other and a process of preparing, but not to an organization. 'We', I interpret, referred to social relations among people wanting to engage, create, and change. The people involved did not see an organization as such – yet. Instead, people referred to each other by name, or as a group coming from the same or similar organizations, or just as groups of people knowing each other from before. At this point in time, there were also groups working in parallel without knowing each other. However, media already referred to this process as an organization. For some people involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, it was important to state that it was not until the constituting meeting that the organization existed, even though they recognize that the organization creation had been going on for some time.

Through the formal constituting, it was possible to identify members and structures for the organization. In the statutes, a formal organizational idea and forms for decision making were agreed on. The form for decisions according to the statutes was decentralized, and as far as possible by the principle of consensus. This was of great importance for the bounding of the organization, but it was not clear what this meant in practice. Still, the 'we' of the new organization was challenged, which was made explicit in the preparations for the EU top meeting in Gothenburg (June 2001). Before the launching of Attac, people interviewed did not express it as a shortcoming

not to see Attac as an organization. Some difficulties in the democratic process without formal membership mailing lists have been commented on, but have not been pointed out as significant. However, at the time before the top meeting, difficulties have been expressed referring to the responsibility of representing an organization without really knowing its members or having time for processing views of the organization. It was difficult to live up to the principle of fair and equal democratic influence in the consensus form of decision making, as there were so many different views and so little time for discussions. Instead, I argue that individuals and the core group of people became of great importance for the discussions around decisions taken. However, at this point, there was a great attempt to listen to as many people in the processes as possible. Decisions were related both to visions and ideas, but also to a large extent to practical events and actions taken. In the interviews, it is clearly expressed that action was initiated, decided on, and handled in a flow of action by people involved in these particular activities.

Some kind of 'Attac culture' gradually emerged through the activities undertaken and the participation in different events. The process was not only smooth but included several arguments and a great deal of frustration. In interviews people with a background in political party organizations have stated that they felt that the organization culture that emerged in Attac Sweden has become closer to an association/popular mass movement organization culture after the first years. However, some, but not all, of the people with a background in those organizations argue that the culture of Attac Sweden is more politically flavoured than other established voluntary associations, such as solidarity or environmental organizations. *There were conflicting cultures and I felt uneasy in meetings where others were so trained in the political language and argumentations. They are my friends and I like them a lot. But they took over. They do not recognize this when I tell them. They say my work is very important, but I do not feel I master that way of*

expressing myself. Even after three years, there are different opinions about ‘what kind of organization’ Attac Sweden is. But a kind of Attac-culture has emerged, even though it is not expressed as one specific kind of culture. Some people are pointed out as being especially important for bridging between what is referred to as a more political culture and the culture related to other voluntary associations. *You should talk to x. She is a very important person. She both speaks the political language and, at the same time, she comes from a solidarity organization.*

And there were also aspects of the Attac culture that were not all that easy to grasp for everyone involved. Interviewed people have also pointed out the difficulties for many people in understanding that in the Attac organization, it is up to people to act themselves as long as they act in line with the statutes. People in the Common Working Group have been frustrated when they have been asked to confirm activities before they are undertaken. They have not had the mandate to decide on activities. The organization is decentralized, which means a freedom for, but also a demand on, groups to act independently. However, the principle is to listen to comments and views of as many people as possible, for example through the website. It seems like people are still used to and want to have a confirmation from some kind of leading function. But there is, in this sense, no management. There is no leading formation representing the organization for formal decisions, apart from the annual meeting. People involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden have, even though strongly supporting this alternative model, reflected on some of its difficulties. Some people have also expressed that they see a risk in ‘leaving’ too much of decision-making to informal processes with arguments that this makes it difficult for new members or members with less ‘social power’. Some have also expressed that the decentralized structure has led to a lack of recognition of their efforts. They have realized that while working as close working partners, it has been easy to

ignore and express an appreciation of others' efforts. And even in the cases where recognition has been expressed, it has been perceived as a friend saying something nice, as one would expect friends to do. Recognition from somebody else, somebody more experienced, or somebody with more overview has been missing at times when work has been heavy. These issues of the emerging Attac culture are under negotiation. They do not only relate to 'we' and 'them' but also to 'who we are' and 'how we do things'. They relate to issues of legitimacy and bounding into core issues also dealt with within the organization.

There have been tensions between Attac and other organizations, both with more established organizations and more radical groups. This interplay relates to socio-political legitimacy of the emerging organization as touched upon above. Regarding the very early entrepreneurial phase of Attac Sweden, people interviewed have expressed that they sensed great support from other solidarity organizations and political parties. There was no problem in borrowing rooms for meetings once the kitchen became too small. Other organizations seem to appreciate the increased engagement in issues they have seen as 'their own' or close to 'their own'. However, as it evolved, people involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden sensed that they were more hesitant to lend rooms for meetings and they were not as enthusiastic. They even became suspicious. *I think that was a bit surprising since Attac only want to promote reforms.* The dissociating can partly be related to cognitive legitimacy, but it can also be related to socio-political legitimacy. The latter can be divided into the components of moral acceptance and regulatory acceptance, according to Aldrich.²¹⁴ Suspicion from others was in this case perceived as being related to cultural norms and values meaning the moral component of socio-political legitimacy. However,

²¹⁴ Aldrich, H 1999

there was also a perception of a competitive component, which can indicate an additional component of socio-political legitimacy relating to power and competition. This component connects legitimacy to aspects of boundaries, such as control over resources and autonomy as stressed in entrepreneurship theory. The influx of people attending and involving themselves in Attac as well as the interest from media seem to have provoked aspects dealing with resources among other organizations. Other organizations distanced themselves somewhat, meaning that there was also a ‘them’ appearing.

A sense of ‘we’ and ‘them’ gradually appeared, both among people in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden and among other organizations. However, there has also been a resistance to this dichotomy. Many people are still involved in different political parties and/or organizations. They also interact closely with other organizations and networks. At times, it is not easy to tell whether it is an Attac activity or a something else activity. Books that are published constitute such an example. Copyright belongs to the author(s) and publishers. But some, or all, authors might be Attac people and the topics are on Attac issues. For some, these vague boundaries are a matter of course since they sense being part of different ‘we’s’. It is also considered to be of great value by some, but not seen as possible in combination with an attitude to control.

Bounding and Legitimacy Related to an Organization

The concrete expressions of a ‘central’ organization are the website, a mobile phone, the press entry on the website, the annual meeting and the Common Working Group. Through the website, there are also links to local groups. Furthermore, there are calendars for posting planned meetings and different action activities. There are also information and debates on the web as well as statutes, protocols and leaflets. There are activities undertaken and

a practice of operating. Beside this, there is also an Attac culture. This, together with the people involved, makes it an organization.

Attac Sweden is a non-profit voluntary association. But people interviewed underline that Attac Sweden is both a network and an organization, it is a social movement and an organization, it is a voluntary solidarity organization and a political organization, it is a (voluntary) professional lobby organization and a street parliament. This can be seen as an organization where practice has not yet been clearly structured or as a wish to use a more dynamic (in this case dual) label while describing the organization. It can also be seen as an expression of a slightly different organizational model that is described through mixing models. It further legitimates and positions the organization in relation to these different conceptualisations of organizations. The positioning can also be seen as part of setting up positions of organizational boundaries. This particular positioning is similar to an image of popular mass movements,²¹⁵ which means that even though there is an opening and a vagueness, there is also a cognitive image to understand what kind of organization this is.

It can, however, be more difficult for people with long experiences in established organizations to understand how things can function in a new way, since established practices are, at times, taken for granted. Modern technology has not had to be introduced. Practice relied on it from start and did not have to be adjusted to it. For most people, it is taken for granted, except for some of the slightly older members. There has been no doubt about using a website as a central tool for communication for the organization. In fact, the website and the Attac Sweden mobile phone can be seen as a central office,

²¹⁵ There is some critique that not all organizations calling themselves popular mass movements live up to this image, with arguments that some of them should rather be seen as institutionalised organizations.

both for external contacts and internal communication. It is not necessarily the new technique in itself. Most people are familiar with that. But new ways of interacting have been developed based on it. Views on how e-mail lists and a website can be used, and what it is possible to do oneself on a voluntary basis, are different than only five years earlier. Compared to many other non-profit organizations, what had to be done voluntarily was also different. There was no support office for administration, membership records or accounting. In the first four years, no one was employed.²¹⁶ The work was done on a voluntary basis. In 2005, there was a certain remuneration for the administration of membership records and accounting.²¹⁷

One issue in this process that has been brought up and commented on by the people interviewed is voluntary engagement versus control. *'After a while I think that these young people will see the need for administrative routines and that we do not need to invent democracy all over again. But I am all for this, it is exciting, and I do not have the need for control. If I did, it wouldn't be possible for me to participate. Because you have to trust the force and power in the movement. Attac builds on so much desire and engagement, and to be at meetings and work on statutes is not tempting. So I just do not know how it would be possible to have more order without losing the interest and the go. I think we have obtained an enormous position without this structure'*. This is a comment regarding the administration and organization work. Another, more controversial example is the discussion after the meeting in Gothenburg about how Attac Sweden as an organization was to tackle the questions about participating in demonstrations where other participants carried masks. This also led to an infected discussion in media where one of the members of the Common Working Group first announced that he was

²¹⁶ There were two exceptions during the first year, when there was an urgent need for membership registration and book keeping.

²¹⁷ Equivalent to four months of full time work during 2005.

leaving the organization because of a “diffuse and unclear attitude to political violence”.²¹⁸ In a reply in the same paper the day after, another member stated that the dissociation from violence had been clear all the time since the work with Attac Sweden started. The Common Working Group did not take a decision in a ‘*top-down manner, they let the local groups have a democratic process respecting even different decisions*’ (not about using violence, but whether Attac could participate in demonstrations with others, where some of them carried masks)... *people were very confused. But I still think this was a very good decision for the organization.*

People interviewed have referred to the openness for people to become involved and influence what to do in the early phases of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. People with many different experiences joined and the diversity was referred to as creative and stimulating. But already in the preparations for the launching, there were some people who thought that the development did not proceed in the direction they wished. Those I have talked to were still happy with their experience and still in touch with some of the others, even if they themselves had taken on other tasks. During the preparations for the EU top meeting, strong social ties developed between people working together. After the meeting, when many people experienced a heavy phase for Attac in Sweden, this group with strong social ties had the ability to carry on with the work. During the first year (2001), voices were expressed that Attac Sweden was becoming narrow. This was a not a large problem since there was always a need for more space for more people to come in. There was also a turnover among the people engaged. Some travelled, some finished studying, got a new job or moved. This has even neutralized the tight social bounding and facilitated a renewed openness for new

²¹⁸ *Dagens Nyheter* Debatt July 21, 2001

people to engage. It has also meant handing over organizational work, which has become part of the practice.

The decentralized organization with few formal frames and structures is by some people perceived as vague. Other more formally structured organizational forms dominate many peoples' minds. Even people strongly in favour of the decentralized organization express how easy it is to 'fall back' on more traditional models. A decentralized organization relies, to a large extent, on social ties and social abilities. Among the interviews, there are arguments that this enables direct democracy, which has been one of the visions of many people involved. But there are also critical voices arguing that this form rather prevents a democratic influence and that rules in a democratic system protect a democratic influence. It is rather easy for people knowing each other, but difficult for new people, or people who are not so involved in the social community. This has been pointed out as a risk by people involved in the process, but not as a great problem. Naturally, there is a certain bias, maybe they would not be involved anymore if they had seen this as a great problem. There has also been some argument that the problem is partly solved by the need to involve new people all the time. People move, start new jobs, or just want to do something else. There is then an openness for new people to enter and influence.

Gradually, a new organization has emerged. A social system has been constructed and is together with the developed Attac practice bounding the new organization. Formally, the new organization can be seen bounded as being a membership organization. However, this study shows that the boundaries are not necessarily very clear, apart from who can vote at the annual meeting. The new organization has goals or intentions articulated in the statutes, meaning that also this property of an emerging organization is fulfilled. People's time, effort, knowledge, learning capacity and creativity constitute the

main resource for this new organization. But this resource is not easy or even possible to control. It can, however, be influenced.

In the emergence of the new organization, there are bounding aspects related to a practice, culture, and identity. There are boundaries such as membership regulations and records. However, even if Attac Sweden has been a formal organization since January 2001, this case challenges discussions in entrepreneurship research as well as theories on non-profit organizations, on organizational boundaries as controlling resources and/or autonomy. The main resource in the case of Attac Sweden is human resources. Tools and incentives to control are limited, since there are no contracts, salaries or other structured benefits. Control is not asked for, because of a different vision about organizing, but also with reference to the tension between the force in voluntary engagement versus performance based on controlled request. The voluntary engagement is related to energy, creativity, learning and creation.

The blurred boundaries of the organization have, however, facilitated legitimacy being grounded through many channels. In a way, this can also be seen in entrepreneurship research with reference to the network of an emerging organization.²¹⁹ However, in this case, there is even a resistance to demark the organization from its network. People express that at times ‘I am *we* with those as well’. In this way, the boundaries must be legitimised for people involved as well as for actors in the environment. The bounding aspects related to practical issues as well as identity can be seen, notwithstanding if the organization is formally constituted or not. Formal status and membership can only be seen in formal organizations (which does not mean that similar issues are not dealt with in informal settings). Even though the bounding aspect here would be difficult to use in cases aiming at controlling resources

or identifying organizations as autonomous, it might be enough for an organization where control of resources is not prioritised. The focus in this case is rather on using resources. However, this does not mean that people refrain from trying to influence. Issues of power are definitely in question, even if this is not emphasized in discussions on socio-political legitimacy in entrepreneurship research. Adding power as an aspect of socio-political legitimacy could contribute to discussions primarily referring to moral and regulatory issues.

A New Organization in the Organizational Landscape of Civil Society

At the launching, many other organizations shared the interest in the issues at stake. There were people from other organizations expressing a joy about the initiatives of Attac and who saw it as a renewed and increased interest. Attac events made it possible to meet others and join in a shared force. Several other organizations were being supportive to Attac initiatives by lending rooms, letting people use copy machines and so on. In this way, others also felt part of the activities. These activities also facilitated connections between people who did not otherwise meet. Attac mixed established groups that appreciated some a fresh impressions with radical groups. Young people with a lot of ideas were mixed with people with more experience who could provide some perspective. But the more attention Attac got and the more people were streaming to Attac activities, the new organization was increasingly perceived as challenging and there was a shift from extra energy and inspiring meetings to a sense of diffusion as Attac activities were increasingly seen as separate from other organizations' own activities. The contribution of entrepreneurship to dynamics through bringing in and adding variety is often highlighted. Already at the beginning of this dissertation were those arguments raised. But as we see in the early phases of emergence, en-

²¹⁹ These discussions are inspired by Granovetter, M 1973. See further discussions in Aldrich,
Note continues on next page...

trepreneurship also interplays with aspects of diffusion, which challenges established orders in a sometimes rather ambivalent play.

Some organizations have had a close dialogue with Attac Sweden all the time, while others were more provoked and took a stronger stand against Attac Sweden during the first year. Some did it informally while others did it in public. However, among those organizations being reluctant to Attac Sweden and their discussions about issues addressed, several of the interviewed people have said that individual persons within these organizations had informally been very encouraging, even though the organizations were formally reluctant. This has been reflected on as giving strength in handling the resistance. But in some cases, the resistance has taken rather strong stands and other organizations have given what has been perceived as an ultimatum to individual people involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, to either engage in Attac or be able to keep assignments in their other/old organization as employee, free-lance, or commission of trust. In the cases I have come across in this study, this has been handled in different ways. In one case, it was unravelled after discussions and changes in public visibility, in another case it was handled through changes of principal employer, and in a third case it was solved as a more modest positioning until the term in a commission of trust in another voluntary organization had been completed. This resistance can be referred to both cognitive and socio-political legitimacy, as well as to retention of known patterns, values and norms. It can also be referred to a competition of access to resources or positions.

Some of the suspicions expressed by other actors have their roots in the violent protest demonstrations of the alternative globalization movement of

H 1999, Bjerke, B 2005, and Johannisson, B 1998 and 2005.

which Attac is part. People involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden have had a dialogue with some more radical groups. For some people, this has not been strange, but for others it has not been familiar. This was especially a question of concern before and even more after the EU top meeting in Gothenburg in 2001. According to people interviewed, they had, before this meeting, expressed a dialogue where trust was gradually built up in relation to some of the more radical groups. Because of the violence in Gothenburg, people became disappointed. Some of the people interviewed who already knew something about these groups were not so surprised. But people with less experience of a dialogue with the more radical groups took the disappointment harder. Gradually, people involved in the entrepreneurial process have perceived an increased respect from established groups as well as from more radical groups. After these first years, people of Attac Sweden think that other organizations many times meet them as experts on issues of global trade agreements. The more radical groups have also showed signs of respect for Attac Sweden, even though there have been expressions of considering it as traitors.

Different organizations already existed in the organizational landscape working with solidarity, international relations and/or with party political work. People wanting to engage could become involved in an established organization instead of setting up a new one. Much time and effort would then be saved. The voices of Attac Sweden are returning to not feeling comfortable in some of the more traditional forms of established organizations with which they have previously been involved. They talk about not being listened to, not being able to influence, or having to sit in at a lot of meetings where they think that not much happens. The gap between what people involved in Attac Sweden want to do and how, and how they have experienced the established organizations with which they have earlier been in touch, has been a strong guideline in creating the new organization. The experiences

have been put into practice and a new organization with this practice has emerged in the organizational landscape of civil society organizations. This has challenged established organizations but whether this new organizational practice has competed with other organizations or has contributed to the development of new practices also in these other organizations is not to be taken for granted. There have definitely been worries, and several representatives from other more established organizations in the same field to whom I have talked express a mix of worries and sometimes a bit of envy since Attac Sweden had a great deal of media attention for some time and has been able to attract young people, which is a problem for some other organizations. But these representatives have also expressed an appreciation of developing new forms of organizing, such as working in decentralized networks based on the new information and communication technology, from which other organizations can also learn. In this sense, the entrepreneurial process has contributed to a variety in the organizational landscape; a variety that other organizations can learn from, evaluate and partly adapt. In this way, the organization created has contributed to take on issues and practices that have already been part of civil society. Through the entrepreneurial process, this has been processed together with new ideas, practices, and techniques into a new mix appearing as a practice in civil society. The entrepreneurial process means an intense dynamic interaction and the new organization created reinforces this practice. However, with the arguments that an organization's boundaries do not demarcate it from a surrounding area, this means that the organization reinforces but does not limit this practice to the organization. Therefore, it affects practice in civil society also in a wider sense than at an organizational level.

It has also been pointed out that the creation of Attac Sweden has made it possible to develop and try out new kinds of activities attracting people which more established organizations have had problems in developing.

Protest through activism is seen as one possible way of working among the people interviewed. However, activism is not what is considered as being the activities of some other organizations even if they see that, to a certain extent, it can be an attractive form to influence. Now Attac Sweden has tried it out. It has also had to take some of the more difficult discussions around it. For example, they have been forced to take some of the tough public negotiations about what is an acceptable behaviour for protests today. Once more, in the empirical material of this study, I see a doubleness of perceived threatening challenge on the one hand and an inspiring innovative challenge on the other. The former has primarily been related to organizational aspects, while the latter has primarily been related to an engagement in the issues addressed and activities carried out based on this engagement.

The new organization has also emerged in the environment of a slightly new analysis of the mechanisms of the conditions in our world. The new organization has developed statements and ideas based on this analysis and a new practice. It differs, sometimes slightly, from other organizations. It does not necessarily differ in all respects. But a new combination of articulated ideas has emerged. Or it is even better to say a new re-combination since all ideas have a history where established organization plays an important role. With this new organization, a new actor with a new voice has emerged, which has developed in a mix of influences. It is also, in the specific case of Attac Sweden, an organization that has not adjusted to any public grant system. The organization is based on voluntary input and activities with a low cost. It does not, because of this, depend on financial structures. However, the dependence on people's voluntary input is great and there is a discussion about the difficulties in relying on voluntary work for certain tasks, such as administration of members and/or keeping financial accounts.

The organization creation process has interplayed with the dynamic aspects of diffusion, retention and variety. Through this interplay, established orders and established organization have been challenged. However, the interplay has also contributed to variety through the new mix of ideas and practice. The new organization reinforces this new practice. But this does not limit new ideas or new practices, so the entrepreneurial process contributes to a variety also in other formations in civil society. This also suggests that entrepreneurship theory should not be limited to the study of organizational creation, but should also include dynamic aspects of organization creation related to other group formations in society.

Summing up the Empirical Analysis

Several different opportunities are referred to in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. The interest among people, the media interest, and the gap among organizations taking these issues on in a way that many wished, were some favourable events that have been pointed out as opportunities. However, another dimension has also been emphasized. It is related to an engagement described as 'lacking something' or 'having to do something'. Therefore, it has here been suggested to supplement the discussion on opportunities with the conceptualization 'necessities'. Necessities are not the same as needs but a perception of needs among people and/or in society. It is connected to conviction and can relate to anger. Necessities have here been suggested to contribute to take and persist in an opposing standpoint. Therefore, this relates to positioning ideas and forms different than norms and other established orders, which is part of innovativeness.

The analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden also shows that the favourable events referred to are linked to an overarching frame. In this case, there is an analysis of 'a golden opportunity for structural changes' that has been articulated within peace and development studies. 'The golden

opportunity' is referred to in modified ways by people involved in the entrepreneurial process. Some refer to this specific analysis while others refer to favourable events rather related to organizational issues. Together, these different favourable events seem to strengthen the perception of opportunities.

Furthermore, the bounding aspects of organization creation have been discussed. In an early phase, concrete activities undertaken play a pivotal role for gathering people without really challenging anyone or demanding agreement among the people involved. It was sensed as a part of a renewed interest in issues with which many organizations already worked. It facilitated for a variety of people to join in activities. It was at this practical level rather easy, but also necessary, to adopt a pragmatic attitude. However, there were already some kinds of frames 'in the head of everyone' that things should be done in a slightly different way. Through these concrete activities people met, interacted and together created some kind of Attac culture. The variety of people participating in concrete activities further facilitated a spread of a cognitive understanding and legitimacy of an organization creation process.

There has also been a bounding aspect based on the emergence of 'we' and 'them'. It has been pointed out that media referred to Attac Sweden before the people involved saw themselves as more than a preparatory network. When the organization was launched, the people involved shifted preparatory questions like 'how do we want to set this up' to 'who are we'. At that time, the new organization was also seen as challenging by others and there was an increased tension related to both cognitive and socio-political legitimacy. The emerging organization attracted attention from media, young people as well as others with an interest in these issues. There was a dimen-

sion of power struggle between the new organization and established actors of different kinds.

In the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, there has also been a resistance to strong boundaries around the organization. It has been emphasized that it is both a network and an organization. A tension between the voluntary engagement organized rather as a network on the one hand and the more structured way of organizing on the other hand has been pointed out. This challenges ideas of controlling resources as well organizational autonomy as highlighted in entrepreneurship discussions on boundaries. Therefore, the boundaries of the organization must be legitimised, both to people engaging themselves in Attac Sweden and to actors around the organization.

Finally, the analysis has elaborated on the dynamics of a new organization in the organizational landscape of civil society. In this discussion, we have seen that the entrepreneurship conceptualised as organization creation does not only contribute to the variety of ideas and a variety in practice. It is also connected to diffusion as ideas and practices built on what is already there, mixing this into new combinations. Established organizations and orders are then challenged and try to retain positions, resources, values and norms. But the new organization reinforces new ideas and practices, which contributes to a variety, not only at an organizational level, but also to other networks and formations, in this case in civil society.

Discussion: Entrepreneurship Materialized through Organization Creation in Civil Society

The conceptualisation of entrepreneurship as organization creation facilitates a re-contextualization of entrepreneurship theory in a framework of non-

profit organizations in civil society. However, it challenges the economic and business context of entrepreneurship theory. Through a literature review, a paradox of for-profit versus non-profit and three different dilemmas of entrepreneurship theory contextualized in a framework on theories on non-profit organizations in civil society have here been identified. The three dilemmas are related to the discussion on opportunities and the construction of an organizational idea, bounding and legitimacy, and finally to dynamics. The paradox and dilemmas have then been elaborated on throughout the analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden.

Even though the re-contextualization is facilitated by conceptualising entrepreneurship as organization creation, it is challenged by the paradox of for-profit in the economic and business context, which is the most common in entrepreneurship, and the non-profit framework in civil society. But the paradox can also be seen as a theoretical dichotomy, while in practice different organizational models rather express nuances of a for-profit/non-profit mix. Social entrepreneurship, social enterprises, co-operatives and social economy all combine social aims with business ideas and are therefore concrete examples. Corporate social responsibility as well as non-profit organizations' fundraising activities also challenge this theoretical paradox. Instead of limiting entrepreneurship theory to an economic and business frame, it is here suggested that we can use this paradox to understand how entrepreneurship can increase the attention and perception of different organizational models appearing through images, principles as well as legal forms. The analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden highlights a variety of images and more concrete expressions of organizational models, different than what is commonly referred to in entrepreneurship theory. These different images and models are dealt with during the entrepreneurial process by discussions and negotiations related to the creation of the new organization. It is explicitly discussed, but it also influences cognitive understanding of

how things are and how they can be done. Even though this cognitive understanding is sometimes explicit, it is at least partly implicit. Through re-contextualizing entrepreneurship theory in a non-profit setting in civil society, and specifically through the analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, the association forms and the image of an organization as a movement appears. To entrepreneurship theory, this means re-thinking what an organization is and how different aspects of entrepreneurship interplay. It also means that certain issues that are more or less taken for granted in entrepreneurship theory are misleading. There is not one or a few entrepreneurs but rather several people contributing to the entrepreneurial process. Members can easily come and go. The 'regular' tools for managing people in organizations such as salaries and job descriptions do not work. Yet, they are a possible influence. This implies a modified view of management, leadership and power.

The entrepreneurship framework composed for this study comprises the innovative aspect of entrepreneurship through attention to the construction of what can be seen as an organizational idea. The construction of an idea, goals and means for reaching these goals has here been suggested to relate to what Katz and Gartner refer to as a property of intentionality of an emerging organization, or to goal-direction as one of the dimensions defining an organization according to Aldrich.²²⁰ The modification in focus is done through a different approach, seeing an organization rather as related to a cultural metaphor than to an organic image but also because of a focus on the early entrepreneurial phase when goals and what can be perceived as intentions are constructed. The focus on an early entrepreneurial stage connects to the discussion on the recognition and exploitation of opportunities in entrepreneurship theory. The discussion on opportunities is applicable in a non-profit

²²⁰ Katz and Gartner 1988 and Aldrich, H 1999

setting. A number of favourable events relate to aspects specifically facilitating the creation of a new organization. The surge of interested people, the interest in media and the wish for new ways of organizing are such favourable events. These opportunities for organization creation are connected to an overarching setting, where a theoretical analysis points at a 'golden opportunity for structural change'. As well as there are connections between opportunities in a business setting to an overarching set of economic theories, there are here connections between opportunities at an organizational and an overarching level. It raises the issue of thoroughly examining to what different discussions on opportunities are related as entrepreneurship theory is re-contextualized in other frameworks. It also raises an issue to thoroughly examine and maybe nuance the discussion on entrepreneurial opportunities also in an economic context. And then specifically relate these reflections to recognition and exploitation of business opportunities, on the one hand, and to the creation of a new firm, on the other.

But the opportunity discussion in entrepreneurship theory is through the re-contextualization into the non-profit framework challenged, and it appears to be a one-sided dimension only relating to possibilities to act. It hardly relates to engagement or conviction, which are both parts of voluntary action. The discussion on opportunities has here been suggested to be supplemented with 'necessities' grounded in people's perception that there are things that must be changed or done and one finds it necessary to act on that. The conceptualisation 'necessities' is not to be mixed with needs, it rather perceived needs that one finds it necessary to deal with. There are, however, cases where needs and necessities could be combined. I am then thinking of cases like self-help groups or grass root mobilizations in communities in need. In these cases, necessities and opportunities can contribute to a way out.

The innovative aspect of entrepreneurship also means bringing in challenging ideas and/or practices. Necessities have through the analysis of Attac Sweden been suggested to contribute to positioning the construction of ideas and goals differentiated from the existing ones. Further, it has been suggested to contribute to persist an opposing standpoint in spite of resistance that can be related to cognitive as well as socio-political legitimacy. In the early entrepreneurial phase, there was a low cognitive understanding of the emerging organization and concrete activities carried out were not necessarily seen as differentiated from a co-operation between different organizations with some new people in some new mixes. But as people interacted, new groups were bounded and new practices emerged, which challenged established organizations, established orders, and established norms.

The concrete activities at an early stage contributed to the gradually emerging practice and culture. The variety of people could rather easily interact, since it was about concrete activities. Visions, ideologies or goals did not have to coincide for people to participate. It was necessary and rather easy to take a pragmatic approach. The bounding aspect of entrepreneurship emerged through the interaction. The development of a practice and some kind of Attac culture also lead to a sense of 'we' and 'them'. This process included both people involved in the process, but also media, other organizations and other people involved in those organizations. But there were also a resistance to the construction of strong and clear boundaries. People moved on, the sense of 'we' was not limited to this specific organization. People were 'we' with 'them' as well. The emerging boundaries had to be legitimized. The bounding aspect in entrepreneurship theory relates to control of resources and autonomy. In this case, the bounding aspect has built on social association. There is no reason to believe that these social associations do not also exist in business settings. However, it is highlighted here which is suggested to relate to differences in the issue of control in voluntary interac-

tion. It can relate to the early entrepreneurial phase and/or to the organizational model. But, in both cases, it problematizes the meaning of boundaries primarily related to control as in entrepreneurship theory.

In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, there was pressure on the organization creation. The surge of interest among people and media, as well as the timing of the EU top meeting in Gothenburg, made the pressure concrete to act upon. The concrete action, the pressure and the bounding aspect of organization creation intensified and ‘densified’ interaction, which has been referred to as a hilarious and creative experience giving energy and strength at a personal level but even more at a collective level. This perceived strength and force is touched upon in entrepreneurship theory and then related to learning, creativity or playing. It is also highlighted in arguments of seeing entrepreneurship as a ‘force’ of innovation and dynamics. In this study, we can see an interplay of different dimensions perceived as an entrepreneurial force and, in this case, they are related in the sense of being part in something larger and powerful. It can be related both to the entrepreneurial process and to solidarity and societal development.

In this case, the new organization is formally registered and will therefore be recognized in statistics. However, it does not have any employees and it has a financial turnover primarily based on membership fees. But even if the new organization is not becoming a large actor according to these measures, it becomes a new actor in the landscape of civil society organizations. It becomes a new actor with a new voice, a voice which has emerged in a process influenced by history, setting in time and space, and actors involved in or who have been interacting with the entrepreneurial process. It has been influenced by the articulation of the analysis of the conditions of the world, what is sensed as necessities, and the articulation of opportunities for action.

The entrepreneurial process has intensified and ‘densified’ this interaction, leading to the creation of a new organization.

People who have been involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden are themselves influenced by this work. Several of the people interviewed in this study are also involved in other ventures on a voluntary basis or through working life. Some have left the Attac work behind them, while some are still engaged in Attac work. These people, I argue, are in their other/new positions also influenced by the Attac setting and the practice in which they have been part for a longer or shorter period of time. They bring with them a way of viewing the world and a practice into interaction with others in their networks, into other/new organizations and workplaces. The entrepreneurial process of Attac makes an imprint on people’s experiences.

The organization created is not an organism, nor is it a package with clear instructions. A practice and a culture have emerged. It has been bounded through interaction related to concrete activities, and an emerging sense of ‘we’ and ‘them’. The boundaries are legitimised for the people involved and for others. From time to time, there is a core or a few core groups ‘carrying’ the entrepreneurial process. But there is also a flow of people. At times, it is like a relay race. But there is not a clear relay baton to pass on or take over. Still, it is possible to hand over to others and take over. It is no longer ‘only’ interaction among people, there is also a new organization. It is here suggested for this new organization to be a materialization of the entrepreneurial process. The materialization reaches beyond the entrepreneurial process. It becomes an agent to which people can relate and it drives a dynamic force in the landscape of, in this case, non-profit organizations in civil society. The study indicates that entrepreneurship as organization creation therefore plays a role for the dynamics in the non-profit sector.

Entrepreneurship conceptualised as organization creation has facilitated the re-contextualization in a framework of non-profit organizations. Organization creation has been suggested to be seen as a materialization of the entrepreneurial process. Through entrepreneurship theory, the organization creation aspect has been further related to the construction of organizational ideas and means of reaching goals as a process in interplay with perceived opportunities. Through the re-contextualization of entrepreneurship into a non-profit setting in civil society, the discussion on opportunities has been suggested to be supplemented with the conceptualisation necessities. The opposing positioning of ideas and the intensifying and densifying organization creation challenge established orders. The entrepreneurial process in civil society attacks norms and is materialized through the creation of a new organization where opposing standpoints, ideas and means of reaching goals are reinforced.



5. Entrepreneurship, Social Movements and Other Group Formations

In the previous chapter, entrepreneurship conceptualised as organization creation has been re-contextualized in a framework of non-profit organizations in civil society. The emerging organization has been suggested to be seen as a materialization of the entrepreneurial process. As such, the emerging organization brings and reinforces new organizational ideas and means of reaching set goals to the landscape of organizations. But the interaction in constructing the organizational idea, setting goals, arranging activities and so on is not only limited to the creation of an organization. Entrepreneurship is not limited to the creation of a new organization, but is rather a process reaching beyond the creation of an organization, even if organization creation is an important result of this process. This claim is first of all grounded in my own earlier experiences from practice; at that time, not expressed in a theoretical vocabulary. However, the experience was ‘strong’ enough not to settle with one theoretical discipline, one theoretical framework, or one level of analysis. But instead I try to contribute to a poly-faceted understanding of entrepreneurship.²²¹ It raised the research question of *how we can understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society*, which brought a quest to develop and suggest an alternative framework for entrepreneurial processes. In this chapter, this will be done through a

problematizing discussion followed by a literature review. The review will conclude in an elaboration of theoretical tension as a ground for the empirical analysis. This will be followed by an empirical analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden and finally, the chapter will end with a concluding discussion. The alternative framework of entrepreneurial processes can contribute to extend entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting not only conceptualised as organization creation, but also as a process relating to different group formations in civil society.

First, the entrepreneurial process must be specified. It still focuses on organizational aspects even though the organization creation is not the primary interest. Therefore, there is a shift from conceptualising entrepreneurship as ‘organization creation’ to an overarching framework arguing that:

The word organization is a noun, and it is also a myth. If you look for an organization you won’t find it. What you will find is that there are events, linked together, that transpire within concrete walls and these sequences, their pathways, and their timing are forms we erroneously make into substances when we talk about an organization.²²²

In this study, the organization created, seen as a materialization of the entrepreneurial process, has been considered to be of importance and not to be neglected as a myth, even if it is not seen as a noun representing an organic matter. However, the overarching framework of organizing seen as a social process of interaction gives us a possibility to shift the basic conceptualisation of entrepreneurship from ‘organization creation’ to ‘organizing’. The two conceptualisations are partly overlapping. The organization creation

²²¹ Aiming at a multifaceted understanding would be too extensive an aim for this dissertation. I also wonder if a multifaceted aim would not require a multi-authored writing beyond the ‘multi-ness’ drawing from other authors in writing in a text.

approach implies a process of organizing, but the theoretical grounding of this process is not always explicitly and extensively elaborated on. Gartner's arguments in 1988 rested on a behavioural approach, while he later on developed the connections to Weick's theory on organizing together with his co-author.²²³ The shift in focus can be seen as a specification of focus, in this case from a behavioural approach to a focus on the social processes. One of Weick's arguments is that the understanding of organizing contributes to the rethinking of organizations with regard to social processes.²²⁴ According to Weick, the social process of organizing is not, limited to the creation of a new organization, however. It is rather an alternative understanding of organizations and does not clearly elaborate on the connection between the social process and formal organization. Organizing is an ongoing process among people, where people organize themselves and their action.²²⁵ The framework of organizing can therefore contribute to the understanding of how socially embedded human beings interact and relate to various group formations while organizing events in an early entrepreneurial phase. The social psychological framework of organizing as developed by Weick, is therefore the core in the suggested framework for entrepreneurial processes. And the discussion in the previous chapter suggesting to see the organization created as a materialization of the entrepreneurial process can contribute to the understanding of the relation between the 'organization creation' framework and the 'organizing' framework.

But to what different group formations does the entrepreneurial process relate? It has already been elaborated on the emerging sense of a 'we' and 'them', related to bounding the Attac organization and differentiating that to other organizations. However, several of these other organizations are part of

²²² Weick, K 1979/69 (p 88)

²²³ Gartner, W 1988 and Gartner, Carter and Hills 2003

²²⁴ Weick, K 1979/1969

the networks around Attac and the people involved consider some of them as close allies. The boundaries between some of these organizations are not clear from a social psychological point of view. Nor is the formation of the 'we'. There are several different formations within Attac Sweden. There are those being part of certain working groups, there are some who are close friends, there are some with a background and a language of political parties, while others are more at ease with a kind of voluntary organization culture. Some have long experience, while others are 'new comers'. People also have slightly different goals and therefore, form different 'groups' of interest. These different group formations are brought into the emerging group dynamics of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. So are group formations 'wider' than what can be directly related to the organizational level.²²⁶

In the empirical material, a movement reaching beyond an organizational level has already been referred to. The joy of finding out that there were so many thinking alike, or that there were issues somehow in the head of everyone can illustrate these references. There have been references to the alternative globalization movement as an empirical phenomenon. Furthermore, arguments have been raised that Attac is both a movement and an organization. The references to 'a movement' seem somewhat vague and ambiguous. Sometimes it rather relates to a state of moving, sometimes a collectiveness beyond organizations, and sometimes to a 'wider' empirical phenomenon. There is also a theoretical research field focusing on social movements. According to this research, social movement contains a number of organizations, groups or mobilisations with 'invisible' contextual dimensions that

²²⁵ Weick, K 1979/1969

²²⁶ Even if I here relate to an organizational level, this approach entails no clear borders on the different levels. Therefore 'level' is here used in a rather general sense to express what can be conceptualised as different group formations. The entrepreneurial process is primarily seen as

Note continues on next page...

organize and structure social movement.²²⁷ This field of research will here be reviewed and related to the development of a framework for entrepreneurial processes.

There are two other formations elaborated on in the empirical material of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. One is individual human beings, the other is society in rather general terms. The reference to society is not related to society as nations or other institutional structures, but rather to society as people living together in different forms of structures. The two poles, the individuals and society, elaborated on in the empirical material will also be included in the following review and analysis.

Towards a Framework of Group Formations in Entrepreneurial Processes – A Literature Review

The framework of entrepreneurial processes is based on organizing and primarily the work of Weick. In this review, his work is related to an early entrepreneurial phase. Second, theories on social movements will be presented and discussed and third, the notion of self and society will be elaborated on. These conceptualisations of group formations all give insights into organized action and can provide contributions to the framework of entrepreneurial processes. However, there are also tensions between these different theoretical fields. Tensions vital for the framework will, after the literature review, be identified and discussed as a means of specifying analytical research questions.

relating to an organizational level, even if there has been a shift suggested from a focus on organization creation to organizing.

²²⁷Thörn, H 1997

Organizing in an Early Entrepreneurial Phase

The organization created through entrepreneurship is important, since people and other actors in society can relate to it and act through it. The organization created is further important, as it has become a collectively constructed actor in society. But understanding entrepreneurship also requires an understanding of the processes through which the organizations are created. Organizing is a social process linking acts and sequences related to what is many times called organizations. The organization can be seen as materializations of the entrepreneurial process, as suggested in the previous chapter, or referred to as “stabilizing *effects* on generic discursive processes”²²⁸ In the previous chapter, bounding aspects of organization creation were discussed and there was an emphasis on their having such stabilizing effects. Through this approach, we will be able to think about organizing processes that are not only tightly connected to what is to be called ‘an organization’. It is based on language as a means of understanding reality, but it also recognizes the centrality of language for a living social life and reality construction. This means that there is a positioning related to social theory closely connected to a linguistic understanding, where interpretations are often made within a linguistic framework. What can be seen as text and discourses are central even though, as argued by Chia, life can be recognized as being more than a text.²²⁹

Weick grounded the social psychology of organizing in the late 1960’s, but gained an even larger attention along with the second publication in 1979 when the interest in processes rather than structures increased in organization studies.²³⁰ It gained renewed interest in the 1990’s and then related to discussions on organizational change, or as Weick argues, continued adop-

²²⁸ Chia, R 2000a

²²⁹ Chia, R 2000b

²³⁰ See discussions in Czarniawska, B 2005

tions and adjustments constitute the normal conditions for organizing.²³¹ The focus on processes and thus on the recognition of change as a normal condition in the organizing approach developed by Weick has been related to in entrepreneurship research. Steyaert paraphrases Weick and elaborates on the entrepreneurial process as ‘entrepreneuring’.²³² Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert relate organizational entrepreneurship and the study of innovations to organizational processes with reference to Weick.²³³ Specific concepts developed by Weick such as ‘enactment’ and ‘sensemaking’ (see below) have also been used in entrepreneurship research to understand entrepreneurs (as discussed by Bjerke), and to elaborate on the interpretation versus the staging of an entrepreneurial process (as discussed by Johannisson).²³⁴

The social process of organizing is “first of all grounded in agreements concerning what is real and illusory”, according to Weick.²³⁵ This brings organizing close to how we see our surrounding world, what we can do, how we view each other and ourselves; all of which we think of, and communicate about through language put together in meaningful sequences. We will see interaction and dynamics in groups of people while studying established organizations. But in the early phase, when a new socially connected organization is not yet to be seen, how can we then understand the process where group dynamics emerge? For the development of group dynamics, Weick uses a four-stage model in describing group development related to an organizing process, where people first of all agree on common means even though they are striving for different individual goals. “In any potential collectivity, members have different interests, capabilities, prefer-

²³¹ Weick and Quinn 1999

²³² Steyaert, C 1995

²³³ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003.

²³⁴ Bjerke, B 2005 and Johannisson, B 2005

²³⁵ Weick, K 1979/1969 (p 3)

ences, and so forth. They want to accomplish different things. However, to achieve some of these diverse ends concerted, interlocked, actions are required.”²³⁶ Through this process, people create social structure according to Weick; social structures that influence people, their actions, and their decisions. He argues that at an early stage, this means that in organizing, common means, not common goals, are agreed on first.

Once common means have been agreed on, Weick argues that a shift occurs away from diverse to common goals. “The diverse ends remain, but they become subordinated to an emerging set of shared ends. This shift is one of the most striking that occurs in group life and it is exceedingly complex.”²³⁷ This shift is then followed by a shift towards common goals, but with diverse means. As reasons for this Weick suggests division of labour that brings more attention to each individual’s task than the fit of everybody’s tasks towards the common goal. Other possible reasons mentioned are the changing environment that will gradually increase the ambiguity and it is also suggested that this will increase the pressure towards individual action. Finally, the model is completed and the diverse means lead to more idiosyncratic activities and diverse goals.

Consequently, Weick means that the interdependence between persons focuses on means and not on ends (goals). Organizing is therefore coordinating activities and not desires, yet grounded in an agreement of what is real and what is illusory. Let us not get stuck on the question of what came first – the chicken or the egg. Let us instead open up for different layers of interaction, coordination and agreements where Weick argues from an organizational point of view and bring this together with arguments coming from the viewpoint of other group formations elaborated on throughout this chapter.

²³⁶ Weick, K 1979/1969 (p 91)

Change rather than stability is the rule in organizational life, according to Weick.²³⁸ He also says that if change is too continuous, it becomes difficult for any one person to make sense of what is happening and to anticipate what will happen, unless that person is able to freeze, break up, or recycle portions of this flow. If a person wants to make the world more predictable, then that person must carve out events which have boundaries and are repeated. Weick's argument is to be seen as a reminder of life in organizations. In an entrepreneurial phase, when a new organization is being created, this argument is even more valid. Regarding the organization, there is nothing but 'change' to start with. The constructed portions of experiences to be acted upon come from other settings and are intertwined through interaction with others. What can be seen as supporting the shaping of common experiences are events. There can be events organized by the members of the group or by others. Examples of these events can be meetings and debates, articles and books, demonstrations etc. These events can be seen as causal circuits extending beyond boundaries of organizational aspects. Therefore, these events are of importance for linking organizational processes to human processes and other social processes in society.

From an entrepreneurship perspective, the dynamics of groups as coordinating first means and then ends are of interest since the group process emerges in the early entrepreneurial phase. But there is also another aspect of the group process, an aspect that can also be related to Weick's discussion. Moreover, it can also be related to the organization creation discussion in the previous chapter; that is, the bounding aspect on organizing through which what we call an organization emerges. In the very early entrepreneurial phase, there is not what we would call an organization,

²³⁷ Weick, K 1979/1969 (p 92)

even though there were some arguments and ideas that have later been understood as being connected to the organization creation process. However, later on, it is possible to see what we call an organization not only through its formal registration. Organizations contain bounding aspects, not necessarily bounding the organization in a unified entity. There are several ways of viewing how organizations are bound together depending on the approach taken. Retention is a concept used in evolutionary organization theory.²³⁹ But retention means ‘to keep’, ‘remember’ or ‘liability to recall’ and in the very early entrepreneurial phase, not so much has been agreed on ‘to keep’. To position a concept close to retention but not relating it to ‘keeping’ what is already there, I rather suggest that contractionary features be referred to. In Weick’s model of the emergence of group dynamics as earlier referred to, there is a shift towards the group’s contractionary character, building on social interaction and social behaviour and not on formalities or already articulated agreements.

Social interaction and group dynamics constitute the important ground for organizing. However, there are also other aspects of organizing that are relevant for the understanding of an entrepreneurial process. Enactment concerns the connection between experiences and action.²⁴⁰ Sensemaking means “the making of sense”, which is highly relevant in an entrepreneurial process where different ideas, practices and explanations meet.²⁴¹ Enactment can, according to Weick, be seen as to “bracket and construct portions of the flow of experience”.²⁴² Bracketing serves as tools for us humans to understand different events, and it is therefore a tool for handling uncertainty and chaos. But bracketing also includes limitations of what is

²³⁸ Weick, K 1979/1969 (p 117)

²³⁹ See Aldrich, H 1999 and Weick, K 1979/1969

²⁴⁰ Weick, K 1979/1969

²⁴¹ Weick, K 1979/1969 (p 4)

²⁴² Weick, K 1979/1969 (p 147)

not to be done because of practice, perceived limitations, or simply that the thought has not crossed our minds. The enactment of limitations is, according to Weick, not based on tests of skills, but rather on an avoidance of testing. From an entrepreneurial point of view, enactment of what is possible and not, is of interest since entrepreneurship is about finding new solutions, new routes, and new practices. The experiences people bring with them are, according to Weick's arguments, bracketed and enacted. But people bring a variety of experiences relating to the entrepreneurial process to meetings. In organizations, Weick argues, there are abundant numbers of experiences from which people draw to bracket their understanding. But in an entrepreneurial situation, when a new organization is created, there is not a commonly shared organization from which to draw experiences. As we can see in the case of the creation of Attac Sweden, some people share similar experiences from other organizations. But there is not only one organization or even one type of organization from which to draw experiences. And even people who knew each other before and are from the same organization, do not necessarily share their full experiences, since these experiences are perceived differently. So what people bring with them in their experiences, what is perceived and assumed and brought into acting, is to be dealt with in the interaction of organizing.

In the book *Sensemaking in Organizations*, Weick discusses the concept of sensemaking in depth.²⁴³ It deals with the creation of reality as an ongoing process taking form when people make sense of the situations they have found themselves. Action, and therefore enactment, is part of the sense-making process. Sensemaking is, according to Weick, best described as "a developing set of ideas with explanatory possibilities, rather than as a body

²⁴³ Weick, K 1995

of knowledge”.²⁴⁴ It is to be seen as an ongoing social conversation grounded in identity construction and done retrospectively. This means that ‘who I think I am’ is related to what has happened, combined with input from interaction with others. What has happened and the interaction with others influence people’s sensemaking. Naturally, it can be closely connected to organizational life, but not only to one or a few specific organizations. It is related to different experiences in life.

Even though the ‘sense’ in sensemaking can lead to thinking of a fixed reality that can be sensed accurately, Weick argues that sensemaking is rather driven by plausibility than accuracy. He further argues that it is based on an idealist ontology where something ‘out there’ has to be agreed on and plausibly constructed. Sensemaking is therefore challenged in unknown and ambivalent situations such as an entrepreneurial process where people enter with different experiences and different ideas.

Entrepreneurial Processes and Social Movements

Organized action does not only relate to processes at an organizational level. Organized efforts to promote or resist changes in society in non-institutionalised forms can also be conceptualised as social movements.²⁴⁵ Theories on social movements cover a range of phenomena “as diverse as public interest lobbies, full-scale revolutions, and religious movements.”²⁴⁶ On the one hand, social movement theory closely relates to collective action theory.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, the field rather refers to organizations

²⁴⁴ Weick, K 1995 (p XI)

²⁴⁵ Marx and McAdam 1994 (p 71). Non-institutionalised simply means any action that takes place outside normal political channels.

²⁴⁶ McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988 (p 695)

²⁴⁷ Collective behaviour tends to focus on a particular kind of behaviour including studies of crowds, fads, disasters panics and social movements. Marx and McAdam 1994 (p 1).

within these social movements focusing on organizational factors and organizational forms.²⁴⁸

Both these parts of the research field have, from the late 60's up to the 90's, been dominated by resource mobilization theory. The importance of behaviour entailing costs has been in focus, in contrast to before when grievances or deprivation was seen as the main explanatory factor in social movement theory. These factors were recognized in resource mobilization theory as explanations to why people are involved in social movements. But to explain why social movement existed as a phenomenon, the need for resources was in focus. Costs and benefits were weighed in rational manners. Mobilization of resources could occur from within social movements, but also from external sources.²⁴⁹

However, critique has been raised against the 'rational' explanations that are used by the resource mobilization theory. According to Tilly, collective actions to a large extent consist of strategic interactions within and among groups.²⁵⁰ He argues that there are difficulties in explaining the emergence of social movements by models, because of the complex contributions to these processes. Moreover, he has shown the importance of historically collective movements and counter-movements for the understanding of social movements. Tilly points out the need to search for different explanations to be able to understand more of the complexity of social movements.

Resource mobilization theory has also been criticized for not taking values, grievances, ideology and collective identity into account. "Resource mobilization theory went too far in nearly abandoning the social-psychological

²⁴⁸ Marx and McAdam 1994

²⁴⁹ McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988

²⁵⁰ Tilly, C 1985

analyses of social movements.”²⁵¹ Gamson pointed out four central questions where social-psychological theory could contribute to the understanding of social movements. These four questions were collective identity, solidarity, consciousness, and micromobilization.²⁵² The social psychology approach has been supported by Morris and Mueller.²⁵³ They argue for the need of social movement theory to build around the “processes that lead to the social construction of the symbolic world of the individual actor, as well as social movement cultures and collective identities”.²⁵⁴ The authors see this as a supplement to resource mobilization theory for the understanding of social movements.

The focus in theories on social movements has been on movements and established organizations. Studies on early phases of the emergence of an organization are rare. One reason can be the close relation to the field of collective action, where activities are carried out in a way not in accordance with what is recognised as organizations or organized activities. From the other point of view, where organizational factors such as informal network like organizational forms have been studied, the process of emergence has not been in focus.²⁵⁵

This study primarily relates to the stream of social movement theories called the ‘identity paradigm’, which is the ‘paradigm’ that has developed out of the above mentioned critique of the resource mobilization approach. It has been influenced by an interest in ‘new social movements’ in contemporary, mainly European societies.²⁵⁶ This approach relies on a construc-

²⁵¹ Klandermans 1984 Quoted by Gamson, W 1992 (p 54)

²⁵² Gamson, W 1992

²⁵³ Morris and Mueller 1992

²⁵⁴ Morris and Mueller 1992 (p 21)

²⁵⁵ Della Porta and Diani 1999

²⁵⁶ Melucci was one of the early persons to introduce this concept. It refers to social movements that in their early phases were influenced by the 1960’s. The term ‘new’ means simple
Note continues on next page...

tionist view and largely shares the basic assumptions of other theories drawn from this thesis. In this approach, conflicts are central and in the interactions of these conflicts, social movements are vital.²⁵⁷ Social movements are not to be seen as empirical phenomena that are easy to grasp, however.

A social movement contains, but is not synonymous with, a number of organizations, groups or mobilisations. But it is not to be seen as a given group of individuals. The concept does not represent a clear empirical unit, but points beyond empirically given collective phenomena as organizations and demonstrations, at the complex and multi-dimensional interaction processes and 'invisible' contextual dimensions that proceed and structure these phenomena.²⁵⁸

This multi-dimensional and ambiguous collective process of interaction includes the construction of a collective identity. Collective identity always contains different stories, giving a meaning, or a frame, to the collective as well as to the individual. These stories are primarily in the form of texts in our modern culture and, therefore, take the character of a discourse.²⁵⁹

Through this stream of research, collective identity, solidarity, consciousness, and micromobilization have become topics in social movement research.²⁶⁰ Briefly²⁶¹, collective identity concerns the mesh between the individual and the cultural system. Solidarity is how individuals develop and maintain loyalty and commitment to collective actors, acting as carriers of social movements. Consciousness involves the question of how the mean-

in relation to what was before, what was influenced by a certain time and, in some ways, a new research approach. Melucci, A 1991

²⁵⁷ For further discussion see Thörn, H 1997, or Della Porta and Diani 1999

²⁵⁸ Thörn, H 1997 (p 114) (my translation)

²⁵⁹ Thörn, H 1997 (p 141)

²⁶⁰ Gamson, W 1992

²⁶¹ According to Gamson, W 1992

ing individuals give to a social situation becomes a shared definition implying collective actions. Finally, micromobilization examines the events linking individual and sociocultural levels in the operations of identity, solidarity and consciousness processes.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, social movements have been seen as increasingly international or even global. Social movements are seen as cultural forms not only associated with specific geographical spaces.²⁶² As a part of the globalized world, where both information techniques, and travelling (as tourists, students, emigrants or refugees) have increased, identity construction is increasingly influenced by routes in life, and not only related to roots (one's spatial location, social class etc) as was the case earlier on.²⁶³

A social movement is characterised as heterogeneous, containing individuals and organizations that can be seen as belonging both to 'old' and 'new' movements.²⁶⁴ Social movements and their organizations are not identical. Social movements are networks of interaction between different actors. Organizations can, however, be actors in these networks and can then be referred to as social movement organizations.²⁶⁵ The focus on the entrepreneurial processes of social movement organizations can contribute to a further understanding of dynamics within social movements by connecting the understanding of dynamics that has developed within entrepreneurship research through the years to the context of social movements.

²⁶² See further discussion in Thörn, H 2002 (p 110)

²⁶³ Thörn, H is here referring to Clifford, J 1997. Thörn, H 2002 (p 111)

²⁶⁴ Thörn, H 2002

²⁶⁵ Della Porta and Diani 1999

Summing up a Review of a Framework for Entrepreneurial Processes

In this chapter, a shift has been taken from conceptualising entrepreneurship as organization creation to organizing. In this way, organizational aspects of the social process of organizing in the early entrepreneurial phase have been in focus. Weick's social psychology of organizing has constituted the basis for a development of a framework for entrepreneurial process responding to the research question of how we can understand the relation of the entrepreneurial process to different group formations in society. This has been done based on the initially raised thesis that entrepreneurship as a process is closely connected to other social processes in society. The different formations elaborated on have been the development of group dynamics in the entrepreneurial process and social movements as being two formations that are closely intertwined but also differentiated through the development in different research fields. The development of group dynamics can be seen as an organizational level and is central in the entrepreneurial process. The social movement field of research rather refers to a wider level, including a number of different organizations, individuals and group formations. The notion of self and society is seen as poles in a social psychological interplay, ranging from society of mankind to individual persons.

The social process of organizing is, according to Weick, grounded in agreements on what is real and illusory.²⁶⁶ Once the agreement of what is real and illusory has been made, Weick means that organizing is first of all a matter of coordinating means, rather than ends.²⁶⁷ According to Weick, group dynamics develop through the organizing process and therefore, the organizing process can be seen as bringing in an emerging influence of group dynamics through the entrepreneurial process. People bring experiences and act upon them. Weick has developed a discussion on enactment as 'bracketed and

²⁶⁶ Weick, K 1979/1969

constructed portions of the flow of experiences'. The bracketing serves as tools for handling uncertainty and can both be related to possible ways of acting and perceived limitations to act. Retrospective to action, people do not only want to know what has happened but also to understand why and how. Sensemaking is seen by Weick as a set of ideas with explanatory possibilities developed to make sense of actions and events.

The social psychological approach to organizing means a possibility to focus on entrepreneurial processes as a social process with socially embedded people. It also reaches beyond the organizational level. In this review, the 'wider' level of analysis of social movements has been elaborated on. In this field of research, sociological resource mobilization theories have been dominating. However, there are also social psychological and cultural approaches to a large extent sharing basic assumptions with the above theory on organizing. The literature on social movements refers to a conceptualisation that does not represent a clear empirical unit, but points beyond an empirically given phenomenon such as organizations. Yet, social movements contain organizations, networks and other mobilizations.

Tensions in the Suggested Framework for Entrepreneurial Processes

- Specifying Analytical Research Questions

To develop the suggested framework for entrepreneurial processes as a way of understanding the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations, the literature review has elaborated on theories of the social

²⁶⁷ Weick, K 1979/1969

process of organizing in an early entrepreneurial phase, on social movements, the notion of self and society. Each of these approaches has developed contributions focusing on specific group formations, or rather sets of group formations, since we have seen that none of these approaches state clear delimitations of groups. In all these different fields, there are research theories based on, or possibly relating to, constructionist social psychology with a cultural approach. However, to construct a suggestion of a framework for entrepreneurial process related to these different group formations, there are also tensions that have to be elaborated. This will here be done through an analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. In this section, analytical research questions will be specified in relation to the literature review and based on the overarching research question of how we can understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society.

In the framework for entrepreneurial processes, the social process of organizing in the early entrepreneurial phase is in focus. The social process of organizing is, according to Weick, grounded in agreements on what is real and illusory. Theories on social movements describe a collective identity within movements and an understanding of social movements as discourses. Hypothetically, the collective identity and the discourse of social movements can frame 'what is real and illusory'. But, on the other hand, in the early entrepreneurial phase, there can be a great variety of people with different experiences coming together as in the case of Attac Sweden. Then, it is not certain that the collective identity comprises the people involved and therefore, the agreement of what is real and illusory might relate to something else. To what and how is this agreement on what is real and illusory referred to in the case of Attac Sweden and how is this related to the entrepreneurial process?

Once there has been an agreement on what is real and illusory, Weick means that organizing is first of all a matter of coordinating means, rather than ends. Through organizing common means, he further argues that group dynamics develop and influence the development of common goals as well as people involved in the process. Therefore, the organizing process can be seen as bringing in an emerging influence of group dynamics through the entrepreneurial process. How is the emerging group dynamics in the organizing process in the case of Attac Sweden related to the entrepreneurial process?

The connectedness of the social processes of individual human beings, social process of organizing, and social movements in society can retrospectively be understood and reflected on through sensemaking. However, sensemaking is challenged in an early entrepreneurial phase when few common understandings make sense. Action is a precondition for sensemaking. And even if talking is seen as action, acting in a flow in the entrepreneurial process can indicate that the full meaning of sensemaking can only be given as reflections on what has happened. But how is sensemaking related to the early entrepreneurial phase – in action in the case of Attac Sweden?

In this section, the overarching research question has, through a literature review, been specified into the following analytical research questions:

- To what and how is this agreement on what is real and illusory grounded in the case of Attac Sweden and how is this related to the entrepreneurial process?
- How are the emerging group dynamics in the organizing process in the case of Attac Sweden related to the entrepreneurial process?
- How is sensemaking related to the early entrepreneurial phase – in action in the case of Attac Sweden?

The Entrepreneurial Process of Attac Sweden:

Organizing in the Middle of Social Movements

Let us now look into the organizing process of Attac Sweden in the early entrepreneurial phase. First, the organizing process is put into the context of the related social movements as ‘organizing in the middle of social movements’. Second, the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden is discussed with a focus on the organizational aspects of organizing. Third, this process is elaborated on with regard to the human beings involved in the process. Finally, there is a discussion about the relation between the different group formations as to the agreement on what is real and illusory, and how we can understand the emerging group dynamic in relation to the entrepreneurial process.

(Social) Movements as a Suspenseful Setting

Neither in France nor in Sweden nor in any other country, did Attac emerge out of, or in a vacuum. The organization of Attac has appeared to many of us as part of the movement(s) we have noticed through protests in Seattle 1999, Prague 2000 and Gothenburg 2001. The protests of this social movement are related to the conditions in the globalized world of today. A number of different actors are engaged in this movement. To a certain extent, it is a unifying force for protests and publicity. Still, it is far from unified regarding goals and means. There are some conservative actors with long traditions in hierarchical charity work as well as anarchistic groups with quite different visions, goals and attitudes to means of action. Still, they partly join in the protest against... Here I deliberately end without finishing the sentence. Because I do not want to authorize myself to tell exactly what the different actors protest against. There is an ambiguity among people and organizations involved. And since analysing the goals of the movement is not the focus of

this study, it will not be further elaborated on here. However, what is interesting, in the case of this study, is that there is a movement bringing actors together into meetings with a kind of common direction, at least partly and for the time being.

In the many dimensions of globalizations we can see today, this movement, or these movements, elaborates and operates on issues of globalization and democracy in a present-day time. It relates to a current state of development such as the state of technological possibilities and the current level of using this state in practice. It further means historically specific assumptions and knowledge about how things are, what is connected, coherent and of importance at the time.

When I started studying (1995), 'globalization' was not in our books. It was very new. It emerged during the time when I was part of a small group studying together. In day-time we had lectures and seminars, and in the evenings we continued our discussions at the pub. It was a fantastic experience. At the time of the MAI-agreement (1997) one realized there were institutions, paradigms, people who decided on and were architects to this development. And then the problems started to be identified, and constructive solutions were suggested. So through the knowledge we got in class about the unfair conditions in the world and some of the reasons for that, together with tools to at least a bit be able to express oneself and to sense that it is possible to influence, meant a lot. I think a lot happened then and there.

In this interview excerpt, the current (alternative) globalization movement of the 1990's appeared in the awareness of a university student attending courses in an institution focusing on development work. What can be seen as an agreement on what is real and illusory regarding issues addressed for

Attac Sweden can here be related to the stories spreading through the protests of the MAI-agreement. Through that protest, information and arguments spread to new groups and this information was perceived and accepted as an understanding of the state and systems of the world. What was articulated through these protests was not contradicting some theoretical discussions and therefore, not contradicting some of the literature and lecturers. This person and also others were aware of other stories explaining the development of the world. Therefore, it was not only a matter of perceiving what was articulated through the MAI-protests and what was communicated in books and during lectures within the scope of this person's studies. It was also a matter of agreeing with what was said. On the other hand, learning as in studying also means a certain degree of perception on which it is difficult to reflect. The alternative social movement can therefore be seen as framing an agreement on what is real and illusory regarding the issues addressed.

But the references to overarching agreements are not only related to the times since the mid 90's and to the time of university studies. *I have always had some kind of solidarity and environmental engagement ...* tells us that the alternative globalization movement is not the only formation to frame issues addressed, nor what makes the engagement meaningful. We also recognize engagement in solidarity, democracy and environmental issues in stories of many non-profit organizations, in stories of (different) political parties, in governmental work and so on. The discourse of solidarity, democracy and environmental engagement has a long tradition that is not only limited to Sweden and specific types of organizations. However, it is and has been slightly differently expressed from time to time, from place to place, and from actor to actor. When the launching of Attac Sweden was planned and during the early phase thereafter, there was a great interest in these issues, an interest that was already partly channelled through established non-profit organizations or political parties. There was also an interest among

people not engaged in established organizations at the time being or who had not had such interests before in their lives. People with experiences from established organizations interviewed in this study, have in that earlier work sensed impatience and distress, related to a perception of not being able to influence or see changes. Some have even expressed dissatisfaction with earlier practices and structures in these organizations. So a history on issues addressed in a renewed composition was combined with impatience about established organizational practices.

However, there was not any dissociation with established organizations as such. It was a critique against established practice. These organizations' ideas and/or visions were rather referred to as models that could cognitively be related in discussions on what was real and illusory. The role of the labour movement and its organizations has had a strong influence in Sweden throughout the twentieth century. There is a debate on causes of success, how successful it has been and not the least how successful or problematic it is today. Still there is a hero-story related to 'the strong force of a popular grounded movement'. In the case of Attac Sweden, it can be illustrated through the enormous expectations of the working-class movements starting over again as something that people were longing for. The popular mass movement organization model that was discussed in the previous chapter is closely connected to this discourse. The references to these movements and movement organizations in earlier phases of intense societal changes perceived as positive and in which these organizations has been prescribed an important role, have been a strong facilitating force for what can be seen as an agreement on what is real and illusory, both as a cognitive understanding but also because of a conviction of power in these kinds of organizations on the move. This conviction can be grounded in different kinds of analysis, but it can also be affected by the heroic status of the discourse in general and the heroic status of these organizations in particular.

In this discourse, there is also the issue of protesting in different forms. This is reinforced by the right to demonstrate and has become a tradition as in the case of labour movement demonstrations on May 1. This right to demonstrate and norms for how to demonstrate have established norms and legal structures. But slightly different forms of protests have been seen among some actors, as in the case of Greenpeace. Their activism has been praised as brave, but it has also been criticized as not playing according to the rules. They have not adopted the popular mass movement organization form, which again has been provocative in Sweden. From time to time, protests have increased in intensity such as during the student protests in 1968, related to the feminist movement or the environmental movement and so on. During the late twentieth century, many people who participated in demonstrations in the sixties or in the feminist and environmental demonstrations somewhat later, no matter if they since then have been active in demonstrations or not, are now in well-established positions within Swedish society and many of them have a positive attitude to the form. Both the practice of and the right to demonstrate are emphasized by people interviewed in this study. It is referred to as one of several ways of attracting attention which rely on a long and well established history. But in the case of Attac Sweden, it is combined with the label activism. It has, at times, been compared to activism carried out by Greenpeace linked to loud street manifestations. There have also been references to the Zapatista protest regarding forms of organizing and ways of carrying out activities aiming at a large international media attention. The Plowshare movement has been referred to for their seriousness to engage, even if it means committing a (material) crime for which one will be sent to jail; yet with great respect for life and symbols of life. Finally, references have been made to non-violence means of protesting inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. Some of the groups involved in these protests have different attitudes to and norms of what is acceptable civil disobedi-

ence. Activism by the alternative social movement, by some groups in violent forms, have challenged earlier norms and in this case, has meant a re-evaluation of how the agreement on this norm can be framed.

This has been somewhat unfamiliar to people involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden with earlier experiences from work in popular mass movement organizations during the second half of the twentieth century. It has been somewhat frightening, but also partly welcomed with references to difficulties in influencing and to sensed powerlessness. The norms of what is OK, where the borders are between demonstrations, non-violent activism, civil disobedience, and more violent activism have been challenged by meetings of different practices based in different country cultures, different organizational cultures and so on. People involved have had to take a stand that is not always easily given in practice. Different forms of working are challenged and must be reconsidered. This is not only true for popular mass movement organizations, but also for political party organizations. In the case of the entrepreneurial phase of Attac Sweden, this reached a climax during and soon after the EU top meeting in Gothenburg in 2001.

In this (these) movement(s), there are also stories on influence and direct democracy as different to representative democratic structures being well established both in political and voluntary organizations. There is a critique towards established structures in society and organizations that they are too difficult to influence. The ideas about direct influences are then shared with other settings, such as ideas about how to organize network-organizations, workplaces etc. *...it was somehow in everyone's heads*, say several of the interviewed. There was already, through the movement, an agreement on non-hierarchical ways of organizing, combined with a democratic approach. There are, however, many discussions on how to organize in practice. Even if there are no loud protests against non-hierarchical organizing, there are

doubts about how influence and democratic visions can be maintained in a practice where lines of influence are not explicitly described.

Issues like solidarity, justice, and development are important matters for organizations within the party political sphere as well as in different voluntary organizations. However, issues are framed and explained differently depending on influences from different political ideologies. But the settings of political party organization and political debates influence the practice of analysing and acting. It can be argued that the cultures of political party work and work within the popular mass movement are similar. However, people interviewed in this study have expressed their perception of different cultures. *I wish I could argue and defend my opinion as well as people with a political training. But at the same time, it is not as black-and-white...*, one person said with experience from what she characterized as a voluntary organization culture. In the interviews, an interesting distinction is also pointed out between popular mass movement organizations or other kinds of non-profit organizations as being ‘non-political’, because of the commonly stated ‘not tied to any party’ organization, and political organizations active in the sphere of political parties. However, these practices are closely related through work to influence politics through effecting opinions.

Interviewed people also give voice to operating in an internationally widespread world. E-mails and internet are part of the infrastructure and conditions for the form of daily practice. International communication technology, journeys, meetings with people with identities in more than one culture and with language skills challenge what is considered as ‘we’. Relations with people at a far distance, or with people with close relations to distant places connect people, issues and discussions from different parts of the world. Discussions are not limited to national, European or to a certain extent even ‘Western’ cultural borders. This is giving nourishment to connecting slightly

differently in analysing systems in the surrounding world, to use slightly different arguments than actors more grounded in the dominating established settings. The globalization and other changes in our society of today have challenged what is to be considered as 'we' and the trust in established explanations of conditions and causality of these conditions in the world. The alternative globalization movement holds an annual meeting since 2001. The initiative came from Porto Alegre in Brazil, where also the second, third and fifth meetings were held. The fourth World Social Forum was held in Mumbai, India. The World Social Forum is an open meeting place where groups and movements of civil society opposed to neo-liberalism and a world dominated by capital or any form of imperialism, but engaged in building a planetary society centred on the human being, come together to pursue their thinking, debate ideas democratically, formulate proposals, freely share their experiences and network for effective action.²⁶⁸ Social forums have also been arranged in different parts of the world, at the national as well as the regional level. Through these meeting places, ideas are exchanged and contacts grow through different channels. The engagement in the issues addressed 'at home' is part of a social movement spread over the globe.

The social movement frames 'what is real and what is not' by the movement discourse seen as a mix of connected stories with different histories in the past. These (hi)stories are expressed by different actors who have shaped, carried and brought them into the discursive space of the social movement. The setting goes beyond individual actors and is rather like streams in discourses. 'What is real and what is not' relates a great deal to a traditional solidarity popular mass movement/political organization tradition, with

²⁶⁸ The WSF proposed to debate alternative means of building a globalization in solidarity, which respects universal human rights and those of all men and women of all nations and the environment, and is grounded in democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of people. (www.forumsocialmundial.org.br)

traces of (non-violent) activism. People involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden express a mix of relating to the discourses during the twentieth century within political parties, labour movement as well as popular mass movement. It is mixed slightly differently than among other well known actors, but it does not differ a great deal as an issue. What differs is rather an impatience to see changes, the role of the dominating system, what is possible to change and how, including the information and communication technology of today as a basic evident tool to work with.

The intensity in the social movement during the late twentieth century and the very early twenty-first century has brought intensity into meetings, interaction, and questioning. There has been/is a surge of searching and engagement. Some engage heavily, some are more reluctant and more or less forced to handle the surge, since they have an interest in at least some of the matters. Both some of the pro-active as well as some of the more reluctant, cautiously interact towards what is beyond known purview. The conceptualisation 'social movement' can therefore be seen as framing, but not clearly articulating, what is considered an agreement of what is real and illusory. Therefore, the social movement can be understood as a suspenseful setting for the entrepreneurial process, as it provides a framework at the same time as it contains enough ambiguity to be characterized as suspenseful.

Emerging Group Dynamics and Beyond

Even with an agreement on 'what is real and what is illusory', all people do not join in a process of organizing as in an organization creation process. Several already established organizations were available or a new organization could have been created in quite different processes than the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. As we have seen earlier, Weick suggests that organizing is first a matter of coordinating means, which means that common means bring people together within the overall agreement of 'what

is real and what is illusory', a longing to work differently from what is possible within established organizations where people had felt powerless, as has been emphasized by several of the interviewed. People interviewed with no or little former experiences from associations or political party work had earlier been reluctant to engage because it *seemed so boring and meaningless with all those meetings and protocols*. In the early phases, at least a bit beyond the launching in 2001, there was a variety of people involved. They gathered around 'opinion making/political activism' in an up-to-date form, within the frames of different streams of the alternative globalization movement. The means, such as using a rather cheeky tone of arguing in public or the ways of decision-making, were not really questioned according to the interviews, which supports Weick's argument that organizing is about coordinating means.

So people interested in the issues, with a kind of agreement on what is 'real and illusory', and with possibilities to agree on means of how to act and how to organize became involved in the process. Even though the ideas of how to organize came from a fairly broad range such as political party organizations, popular mass movement organizations, expert organizations or organizations with visions of being a more aggressive 'guerrilla', it was nevertheless possible to agree on what to do and how. People got along and people with different experiences met. This was experienced as chaotic and frustrating, but also very open and creative. Through the vivid state of the movement, there was an intensity pressuring interaction to channel engagement. Even though the ideas behind this were rather abstract and even though some people thought it was too intellectual and abstract before engaging in Attac Sweden, there were also concrete suggestions such as the Tobin tax and cancellations of tax paradises. And, maybe even more important, there were suggestions of concrete activities to be implemented, such as making a banner, playing street theatre, and playing an alternative monopoly at the

launching. *There was something to do for everyone. Practical and concrete things that needed to be done. Planning activist activities, taking care of e-mail lists, fixing parties, writing debate articles and so on.* It was easy to get into the work of doing something concrete. And right after the launching of Attac Sweden, the work of preparing for the EU top meeting in Gothenburg accelerated.

We did not really know each other. We did not really know each other's political opinions. We had very different backgrounds, styles and attitudes. And what kind of organization were we? And who was to decide that? Were we an 'out on the street demonstration organization', a lobby-organization, or an adult educational organization? We were not a board and were not to have the political power in the organization since we were a coordination group. We were somehow to relate to a consensus in Attac Gothenburg, that is to a lot of people we did not know and who did not know each other. It was very confusing. But we had to relate to the EU top meeting. We just could not ignore it. That was impossible. Finally we decided to participate in what at that stage were two demonstrations.

There were frames, directions and engagement. And interaction geared towards concrete activities. This, I argue, gave an intensity and also, to a certain extent, a process open to different actors. Through the interaction, step by step, agreements on meanings and positioning developed. And there was a pressure to act here and now. Part of all thoughts had to be agreed on and articulated to be able to act. People rather soon gained a shared set of experiences through the activities carried out. The people that finally made the decision were those involved in the preparations of different activities and the top meeting in Gothenburg was one major activity for the emerging organization. A group of people working closely together in these preparations was to become a core group. They used e-mail and the web to take in others'

opinions, but the decision was taken as a group in interaction with each other and with other groups that were also involved in the preparations.

In Weick's model of the development of group dynamics, the process develops through interaction of coordinating means. In this process, different 'bracketed' experiences met and specific common goals related to planned activities were agreed on. In handling the differences, assumptions and evaluations of experiences are made explicit and are questioned. Through the willingness and need to interact and communicate, the 'bracketed' understandings are made explicit at least to a certain extent. Through the stories told to me in the interviews, the pressure to prepare and act around and at the EU top meeting in Gothenburg was a crucial time for the shift that Weick points out; the shift when group dynamics became a significant effect influencing the behaviour of human beings. As we have seen in the previous chapter, there was an emerging sense of 'we' as the entrepreneurial process proceeded. The emerging core group played a vital role in the development of this 'we'. But it was not limited to the core group. Other people did relate to what was happening and participated in the emerging sense of 'we', even if they were not really part of the emerging core group. Other groups also developed in different places in the country with more or less tight connections to the preparation work of the top meeting. The development had started even earlier, while people met and interacted in the preparations, and through the work to launch the organization. But in the preparation, and not the least through the intensity and delirious experience during the top meeting, the socially related group was tightened. People worked and socialized together a great deal and they had lots of discussions. For a period of time, this close interaction and these close bounds among the people involved facilitated and affected the articulation that had earlier been more varied. The pressure to act also meant a pressure to sharpen and adjust articulation to the activities undertaken.

With this core group and the importance of the informal communication and ties, there is of course a risk that the dynamics will be restricted. Some of the interviewees have pointed this out. They have referred to people who have been curious and who have approached Attac Sweden but then left again. A couple of those interviewed who are not very active anymore have expressed that they had been in favour of formalizing structures more to make them explicit and thus also support voices that are not, for different reasons, taken up by the core group. The tension of the informal organization and formalization of an organization is obviously there for different opinions. *We need more structure sooner or later*, said another person. *But I do not know how it is possible to get without losing the force in the organization of today. I just do not know if it is possible.* The reasons why this has not been a large problem so far in the case of Attac Sweden can be several. First of all, a lot of the people, but not all, are young and move between studies, work and different locations. This means a continuous change in the people involved. Many people also engage very intensively, putting in a lot of time and effort. Nobody can continue like this. *Everyone needs a bit of other life for making a living, studying or just normally socialize. I can do this a couple of years, but no more. For a time now I have rather spent full time, than half time of my life on Attac.* The time for being part of the Common Working Group is also regulated and maximized to four years. This means that there are some elements for limiting the possibilities for single individuals or groups of people to dominate the organization for a longer time. But it is also a challenge for continuity, for running administration efficiently etc. The people interviewed have agreed on the positive things with dynamics. However, they have also shared worries about how to handle administrative burdens and an every-day life in the organization in the long run. There is a strive for changes, ‘another world is possible’ it said on the banderol at the launching. This is still one of the slogans on the website. Yet, there is a need for a cer-

tain stability; to start with for the sake of being understood, later also for clarity and for making the event meaningfully connected.

It is a dilemma. The Common Working Group always seems to be in waves. During the first year, people were skilled and filled with drive. People had experiences and ideas about how to organize, write articles, articulate in writing, be seen and be heard. I was so impressed by the ability to act. I have never seen that kind of capacity. But then some people got exhausted and pulled out. Now, two years later there is a bunch of very skilled administrators in the Common Working Group. We in the first 'generation' were no good administrators. There was no structure, people didn't know whom to call and so on. Now there is some structure, but not as many profiles. I am now in the election committee for next year and we really try to find a combination of these qualities.

The interaction through communicating 'bracketed' experiences means that these 'bracketed' experiences are articulated and then available beyond each and everyone's 'inner world'. The articulation is done in relation to each other in the process, even though what is said is also positioned in relation to other actors with an interest in the process. What is articulated is used in the case of arranging concrete activities as well as for the development of common goals. The articulated arguments are made available in the linguistic game of the social process of organizing, but are articulated in relation to who is involved in the interaction.

In this articulation in interaction with others, there is a strive towards making sense. Weick writes about sensemaking, done retrospectively. But already in the process, in interaction, people are trying to make sense of information, ideas, arguments, and thoughts. So before Weick's properties of sensemak-

ing are fulfilled, the process of sensemaking means trying to make sense of thoughts. This is done by individuals, but also beyond individuals through the influence of the group process. According to the interviewed, this process has been very successful in Attac at least during the first three years. *I thought Attac was very good at summing up complex issues and turning them into powerful slogans and suggestions to act.* What is already articulated in the surrounding social movement, the suspenseful setting of the entrepreneurial process, has here been part of articulating arguments that have become sharpened through interaction related to making sense of concrete visions, facts and analyses of the state of the world. These arguments have been articulated in different activities in meetings with different actors.

According to Weick, sensemaking, is a social process. It is a process relevant to individuals but also to organizations. In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, sensemaking is relevant and related to the social process of organizing. In the interviews done in this study, the sensemaking process is obvious as people look back at what has happened and what they have done in combination with explaining this to me. Several times the explanations given have been commented as *I guess it was because... or that was why we did it this way...* There, these explanations have also been said not to have been understood until some time after the different events, even as late as in the interview. However, through the interviews, the strive to understand, communicate, express and explain has been stressed over and over again. The process of sensemaking has been an important part of the entrepreneurial process, even though the full meaning of sensemaking has not been completed until the time for retrospective reflections. Therefore it is, in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, rather a question of striving towards making sense as a mode of sensemaking in action. The strive towards making sense permeates the questioning of established stories, dis-

cussions and planning of different events. And the collectiveness of the entrepreneurial process strengthens one's own conviction of what is sensible.

When Attac started, there were openings here and there. Then it was like it ought to be, an anti-liberal coalition that could include people from the left as well as from the liberal party (there are many liberals that also do not like the cut backs). The basic idea is perfect. I still support that. But I would not have used that rhetoric, the way of presenting ideas, and that particular form of organizing. The difficulty is very much about all those small decisions somehow. Attac couldn't resist the established political play. It could not resist the mudslinging from Timbro (a liberal think tank) and the right wing block. Nor could it resist the sociodemocratic strategy of hugging to death. It became almost impossible for socio-liberals, people from the Centre Party, or people from churches and attached to the Christian Democratic Party to identify with the organization.

This quotation shows a bounding of the organizing process, primarily with pressure from outside. This pressure was said to be strongest in the first year when the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden attracted most attention. However, some people coming from those other spheres had already 'come into' the Attac community and had at least partly shifted the focus of their engagement. Others coming in, not necessarily with politically positioned ideas expressed that, second to their Attac identity, they would rather consider themselves as socio-liberal or with close ties to streams of environmental or charity work, also connecting to the other parties mentioned above.

Bit by bit, the stories in and about Attac Sweden have become increasingly coherent through the sharpening of arguments and by finding (articulating)

answers where earlier stories have been questioned. People have spent a great deal of time learning about international trade institutions, knowledge that has been shared at meetings, on the web and in debates. The social group dynamics have then been processed over time. The social process of organizing has played an important role in bringing in group dynamics as part of the entrepreneurial process. Group dynamics have been intertwined with articulating in a linguistic game stretching beyond individuals as well as the group itself. This further relates the entrepreneurial process to what was called a materialization of the entrepreneurial process in the previous chapter reaching beyond the group itself.

Summing up Empirical Analysis

The analysis of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden brings attention to the relation of the entrepreneurial process and the social movement as a social process which draws on discourses from earlier and surrounding movements. These are integrated through the formation of a non-hierarchical ephemeral group and through the articulation of increasingly coherent stories that can be seen as a discourse to which others can also relate. The social movement frames what can be related to as the agreement on what is real and illusory in the social process of organizing in the early entrepreneurial phase. This framing, which continuously interplays with what is articulated within the entrepreneurial process in other public discourses, is related both to issues addressed as well as forms of organizing. The alternative globalization movement was intensified in the late 1990's. This meant an increased interest among different groups of people and it brought them together. The social movement framing did not, however, subdue what was perceived as great diversity in the entrepreneurial process. Through the analysis of Attac Sweden, the social movement has been suggested to be seen as a suspenseful setting of the entrepreneurial process. It has further been pointed out that the social movement can be understood in terms of a discourse made up by

texts, but not as a discourse in general since the social movement, by definition, has an opposing role.

Framed by the social movement, the ideas about starting the new organization were brought into concrete practical activities, gathering at meetings and discussions. The concrete activities, such as meetings, seminars, debates, activist events, were all examples of the common means that Weick argues to be the initial base of the social process of organizing. People involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden emphasized the importance of focusing on concrete activities to include people from different groups and not 'get stuck' in endless discussions. The great interest by media and many people in Sweden at the time put pressure on finding solutions and acting. The timing of the launching only six months before the EU top meeting in Gothenburg put additional pressure on concreteness and action.

The group process developed during the arrangement of these concrete activities. A core group emerged through the work done in preparing and carrying out activities in Gothenburg. This group played an important role for the development of Attac. However, this was far from being the only group of importance. Other groups emerged in many places. Several of these groups had an ephemeral character because they were seen as a mean and not as a goal in themselves. There was further tension between the different groups, and the fact that people involved were intensively engaged for a period of time until they moved, need or wanted to 'go on' with their lives, however, prevented one or a few people or core groups from dominating the process for a longer time, as can, at times, be seen in organizational as well as in business organizations. There was a more or less constant handing over from person to person, which promoted the development of the entrepreneurial process to reach beyond the dynamics of a specific group of people.

People have brought different ‘bracketed’ experiences into the interaction with others into the entrepreneurial process. In discussing what is the situation in the world, in discussions of what can be done to change, what Attac Sweden can and wants to do, there is an ongoing effort at making sense of the world in a meaningful way. And bit by bit, the stories in and about Attac Sweden have become more and more coherent. The articulation as well as the stories articulated stretch beyond individuals and the group itself.

Discussion: A Social Entrepreneurial Process

Impelled Through Narrating

The framework for entrepreneurial processes that has been developed and elaborated on specifically contributes to the understanding of the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society. The framework, based on the approach of organizing in an early entrepreneurial phase, rather than on organization creation as in the previous chapter, is through the aim of this study focused on extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. It is connected to theories of social movements as a way of understanding the entrepreneurial process, contextualized in a conceptualisation reaching beyond organizational entities, as a way of exploring how the agreement of what is real and illusory comes about. In the suggested framework, the entrepreneurial process is also related to the emerging group dynamics as well as to sensemaking – in the making.

Stories of social movements, of what is learnt in families, in schools, in media and meetings with other people influence our way of thinking, understanding and framing our experiences. In this case, the tradition carried by voluntary organizations primarily within peace, solidarity, development and

democracy has been particularly vivid. These organizations' stories on how to view the world, what can be done and how, are brought into the entrepreneurial process. The increased intensity of the alternative globalization movement during the 1990's meant intensified meetings between actors knowing each other well, but also with actors not commonly attending to quite the same issues in quite the same way. The alternative social movement framed discussions on the state of the world, possible roles for different actors, as well as ideas about how to organize. However, the intensity in the movement also meant tensions among established stories, ways of organizing and ways of acting. These sometimes imbricating and sometimes conflicting stories and practices are brought into the entrepreneurial process and the social movement can be seen as a suspenseful setting for the entrepreneurial process framing, but not clearly articulating, what is real and illusory, which is a condition for organizing according to Weick.

The setting for the entrepreneurial process understood through the conceptualisation of social movement(s) means relating entrepreneurship to a setting seen as discourses. In the case of Attac Sweden, this setting has been prescribed an important mobilizing effect. However, the conceptualisation social movements cannot quite be seen as a discourse in general terms. A social movement is, per definition, in opposition to dominating discourses. The mobilizing effect of an opposing standpoint in combination with the gathering of people perceiving a joy and strength in these meetings, might not be as strong in entrepreneurial processes framed in settings of dominating discourses in society. Therefore, the mobilizing effect of the social movement setting in this study ought to be seen as specific, but can also inspire further studies of the relation between entrepreneurial processes and a suspenseful setting of discourses.

In research, social movements are referred to as having a certain extensiveness in the number of people and actors mobilized and the attention received. Even if the extent is not clearly defined, it is beyond organizations or even networks of organizations. In this study, however, we have seen that 'social movements' are also referred to in slightly different ways. People interviewed have referred to Attac as both a movement and an organization. Furthermore, there have been references to the organizational form called a popular mass movement. There is not any legal form for popular mass movements, but different definitions have been used. A popular mass movement has, according to Svedberg:²⁶⁹

- An ideology and advocacy
- Certain extensiveness in members and it provides fellowship
- It is open to everyone who accepts the ideology and principles
- It has a democratic structure
- It has a geographic coverage in the country and a continuity over time
- It is independent from the state

The popular mass movement, according to this or similar definitions, can be seen as a partly institutionalised model for what a voluntary organization looks like. Therefore, I prefer to call this a popular mass movement organizational model which refers to established and rather large organizations. The definition excludes smaller organizations (they do not fulfil the criterion of extensiveness) or new organizations (that can not yet fulfil the criterion of continuity over time). This version of 'movement' is referred to and related to in the case of Attac Sweden as established organizations and established models. However, there is yet another conceptualisation of a movement appearing in this study. People interviewed refer to Attac as a movement rather than an organization. I relate this to a metaphor of an organizational process

²⁶⁹ Svedberg, L 1981 (my translation)

without a clear organization, like a mini social movement without established organizational structures. Tensions between ‘movement’ and ‘organization’ are expressed in the interviews. ‘Movement’ is related to dynamics, visions, force, and go. ‘Organization’ is rather related to the maintenance of structures and strategies of power, but also the availability of material resources. *‘Organization x’ has money, faxes and employees while we have life*, one said and others referred to talking about another organization, a well-established organization with similar issues on their program. The Swedish name for popular mass movement is ‘folk Rörelse’; directly translated into English it would be ‘people-movement’. Whether this means people moving or moving people is not specified by the name. The word organization is not part of the term, even though an organization (as a noun) is assumed in the definition above. The image of a movement at an organizational level means re-thinking what an organization is. It also blurs the demarcation between the different ‘levels’ and relates the entrepreneurial process to the framing, yet ambiguous, interplay of (social) movements giving an overarching frame and direction for the agreement of what is real and illusory.

What people bring from this setting as ‘bracketed’ experiences is picked up from stories put together in a meaningful way. Otherwise, they would not have been considered sensible. What people bring with them can also be seen as the ‘bracketed’ understandings to which these people give voice in the new discussions of what is real and not, or what is to be seen as common means. What is brought into the process is partly reflected on. But there are also assumptions and ideas of which people are hardly aware. However, there is also space for reflection. The size of this space might very well be perceived differently because of differences in earlier socializations, identity construction and overarching culture. There is a rather strong possibility that the perception of this space for reflection, and at the next step of acting,

changes with the process. In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, several people with earlier experiences and positions in other organizations have expressed a perception that it was almost impossible to carry out changes in their old settings. But this perception changed when experiencing that there were others wanting to take the same direction as well as experiencing the first ‘test’ activities which were very successful and gave strength to the possibilities of acting towards a certain direction and in a certain way. Some of the people coming in with less experience from organization/political work were overwhelmed by what was it possible to do. There has been a certain confidence, or at least hope, of being able to do something from the start. But most of all the perception grew in the social setting of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden.

In the suggested framework of entrepreneurial processes the emerging group dynamics of organizing, based on Weick’s work, is introduced in the suspenseful setting of (social) movements. In the analysis of Attac Sweden, we have seen how group dynamics emerge through the social process of organizing in the early entrepreneurial phase and in close interplay with other processes connected to human beings as well as society at large. The emerging group dynamic play a contractionary role in the entrepreneurial process. This contractionary role can be related to the bounding aspect of organization creation as an emerging sense of ‘we’ in the previous chapter. It is suggested to relate ‘contractionary features’ to a bounding process supplementing the concept retention, as used by Aldrich and Weick, in an early entrepreneurial phase.²⁷⁰ Retention means to keep, to retain and to remember. In the entrepreneurial process, there is not yet anything shared to retain. Still, there are features of contraction. These are first of all related to the emerging group dynamics but as the entrepreneurial process proceeds, the contraction-

²⁷⁰ Weick, K 1979/1969 or Aldrich, H 1999

ary features shift slightly. The group dynamic process proceeds, but the stories articulated through the entrepreneurial process become increasingly important as a contractionary feature reaching beyond personal relations of group dynamics. These stories, in verbal and written forms, are part of the understanding of what is happening, how to do things and how to organize what is done.

The tension between the openness and the unknown on the one hand, and the understandable and sensible on the other hand, has been referred to as creative, but also as frustrating. We have already seen arguments for the entrepreneurial process being an open and unknown progress, which cannot be controlled and planned beforehand.²⁷¹ Without opposing this argument, this study also finds that the tension between the openness and the unknown is related to what is understandable and sensed as meaningful. It is further related to a social process filled with negotiations and positionings. These negotiations and positionings are primarily related to and done in concrete activities carried out in practice. First, they were characterized as chaotic, creative and pragmatic. As time went by, negotiations were referred to as containing clearly different opinions but still being composed and constructive. And even though there is a strive towards making sense, there has not been an overarching understanding of what has been happening as the process proceeded.

We have seen that it has not been a matter of a few people coming up with the organization idea, carrying it out and running it for a longer time in the case of Attac Sweden. It has rather been like a relay race, but without a stick and preset rules for this race. The practice has emerged step by step and along with that, stories in and about Attac have been articulated. Stories are

²⁷¹ Hjorth, Johannisson and Steyaert 2003

seen as having an important role for sensemaking by Weick.²⁷² He emphasizes the arguments that people think narratively rather than argumentatively or paradigmatically and therefore the construction of stories is a coinciding substance of sensemaking. The entrepreneurial process has also proceeded when people with strong positions have withdrawn to other tasks or roles. What has already been implemented and articulated in different forms is still 'visible' and 'taken up' by others and, at times, 'carried' further in a similar or modified way. At times, new arguments and interpretations are in opposition. The articulation, done in an interactive social process striving towards making sense is here suggested to be seen as a narrating process. As for the entrepreneurial process, it can be seen as an alternative to a relay stick. Through peoples' work and engagement, they contribute to the narrating process of Attac Sweden. By articulating questions, ideas and arguments, they make them available to themselves and others to use in articulating stories more or less shared in writing, in spoken words and, in practice, of how to deal with these stories and with each other.

In this chapter, we have seen a framework of how the social process of organizing in an early entrepreneurial phase connects human beings' bracketed understandings with a strive towards making sense of the suspenseful setting of (social) movements. In the case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, we have further seen how the emerging group dynamics have played a contractionary role. Through the organizing process in the early entrepreneurial phase questions, arguments and explanations have been articulated bit by bit through interaction. The strive towards making sense affects the articulation, turning what is articulated into plausible coherence and it can therefore be seen as a narrating process involving several different actors relating to different group formations. The narrating process has

²⁷² Weick, K 1995

played an increasingly contractionary role, reaching beyond the dynamics of a core group. Through the analysis of Attac Sweden, it is even suggested that the social process of organizing in the early entrepreneurial phase has been impelled through narrating. And in this narrating process, the entrepreneurial process connects (hi)stories from the suspenseful setting with an articulation of new stories, to which also others in and outside the organization can relate.

The analysis of the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations suggests a shift in the level of analysis to understand how the entrepreneurial process connects the 'levels' of different group formations. It suggests that there should be a focus on the narrating process and the social entrepreneurial processes on which this narrating is based.

The entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden has proceeded in the middle of the stream of the alternative globalization movement. It has linked to and interacted with several actors within the establishment, alternative actors, and even actors whose legitimacy is questioned. The interaction with these actors roots arguments and discussions of Attac Sweden in the stories of these other actors. Or other actors' stories become (hi)stories of the Attac stories, as well as Attac stories become (hi)stories of other actors' stories. They are part of the circulation of stories narrated into a sensible coherent understanding with a certain integrity in relation to other stories. And the strength of a story is whether it 'catches' and if it can "combine sense, reason, emotion and imagination".²⁷³ ...whenever I judge any facts of any communication, I will ask, first, does it cohere, and second, does it ring true.²⁷⁴ But stories solve no problems. "The object of narrative... is to de-

²⁷³ Weick and Browning 1986 (p 250)

²⁷⁴ Weick and Browning 1986 (p 249)

mystify deviations.”²⁷⁵ Solving problems has to be done in practice. But, in practice, narratives play a pivotal role.

²⁷⁵ Bruner, J 2001 (p 30)



6. Activist Entrepreneurship: Attacking Norms and Articulating Disclosive Stories

In this chapter, I will first recall and conclude the analysis of this study which aims at extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. It will be done through an integrative interpretation of the analyses related to the two initially formulated research questions. This interpretation is grounded in the sociocultural discussion on organizational dynamics which has already been elaborated on with references to theories on organizing.²⁷⁶ This will be followed by an overall interpretation of what will be named activist entrepreneurship as history-making in everyday life. Finally, this dissertation ends with a discussion about its contributions and implications for further research.

The work on this dissertation started out as a wish to reflect on and search for a further understanding of people's participation in the development of society in general and, specifically, the creation of ideas taken into action. This wide and rather vague interest was focused on the issue of how human beings together create a new organization with aims at changing society. The organizational point of departure makes it possible to focus the somewhat vague interest through the concreteness of an 'object' (that is, the organization). Organizations as such are almost indisputable phenomena, at least in our western thinking. However, this does not at all mean that the 'object'

organization is not debated. The field of organization studies has emerged since the mid-twentieth century and there have been, and are, vivid discussions on the roles of organizations, what an organization is, what its characteristics are and how they function.²⁷⁷ The focus on organization creation also made the wide and rather vague interest in entrepreneurship as a conceptualisation and entrepreneurship theory a core of this study. The creation of organizations is one of the aspects of the ‘phenomenon’ called entrepreneurship. This aspect of entrepreneurship is easily recognized and related to within entrepreneurship research, in other fields of research, as well as by practitioners. Therefore, this has been a strong conceptualisation of entrepreneurship on which to base a study.

The aim of this study has been to extend entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society. The first initially formulated research question – *what are the key issues and what can we learn about these issues as entrepreneurship theory is re-contextualized in a non-profit framework of non-profit organizations in civil society* – was specified through a literature review and further elaborated on in chapter four. While the second overarching research question – *how we can understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society* – was further specified and elaborated on in chapter five. Both these analyses have been grounded in the empirical case of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden.

The organization creation aspect facilitated a robust link between different fields of research. But there were key issues revealing a need for further

²⁷⁶ Discussed as dynamics and organizing in the two previous chapters.

²⁷⁷ This statement refers to discussions in the whole field of organization theory and it is therefore difficult to point out specific references. As examples, however, I here refer to discussions about why organizations exist as in Abrahamsson, B 1992 or different aspects of
Note continues on next page...

attention. The key issues of re-contextualizing entrepreneurship theory in a non-profit framework of non-profit organizations in civil society identified in this study were; the paradox of profit and non-profit, the dilemmas of opportunities and the construction of an organizational idea, bounding and legitimacy, and finally of dynamics.

The paradox of profit and non-profit was seemingly obvious. However, this paradox is related to two typified models that are questioned and modified from both theoretical fields. Conceptualisations like social entrepreneurship, social economy, co-operatives, social enterprises, non-profit organizations' fundraising activities as well as corporate social responsibility provoke the paradox of profit and non-profit. Re-contextualizing entrepreneurship theory in a non-profit framework also calls for a sensibility to other models of organizing than those commonly related to. In the case of Attac Sweden, it has been a matter of relating to a voluntary association structured around principles on non-hierarchical direct democracy, which is an organizational form with hardly any visibility in entrepreneurship theory.

In this study, we have further seen that in the case of Attac Sweden, the discussion on opportunities in entrepreneurship research is highly relevant. Opportunities are referred to in several different ways and can be seen as a spectra of favourable events. Discussions are related to an overarching frame of 'a golden opportunity for structural change' articulated in an academic analysis of the current situation in the world.²⁷⁸ However, the concept 'a golden opportunity' is also referred to, by others in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, as other organizational issues like the surge of interest among young people to engage in a new type of organization. The re-

organization theory highlighted in Swedish research in the 1990's as in Czarniawska, B (ed) 1998.

²⁷⁸ Abrahamsson, H 2001, 2002, 2003

contextualization of entrepreneurship theory into a non-profit setting also indicates another dimension of the opportunity-discussion related to a perceived 'necessity' to engage and act. It is connected to conviction and anger over a perceived need or injustice. In the case of Attac Sweden, this has been emphasized as important for positioning and persisting in ideas and forms different from norms and established practices.

In the early entrepreneurial phase, concrete activities played a pivotal role for bounding the emerging organization. Through these activities, a variety of people could meet and interact. People brought ideas, questions, visions, and doubts to these meetings. Gradually, the idea of Attac and a kind of Attac culture developed. A sense of 'we' and 'them' emerged. Concrete activities, the emerging understanding of what Attac 'is about', and the emerging organizational culture are aspects of bounding the emerging organization. As we have seen in the story about the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden (chapter three), the culture during the first years has been described as open and creative. It has been referred to as a straightforwardness focusing on key issues, with little compromising. But it has been pragmatic in finding solutions to how things should be done. Activism and acting have been highlighted as characteristics. They have been combined with intellectual processing, on the one hand while, on the other hand, activism has in this case been combined with political argumentations many times expressed through theatrical forms and authorship. This combination has been referred to as positive and rewarding. However, there has also been resistance to a tight bounding of the emerging organization, both from people involved in the entrepreneurial process and from other people or organizations, which means that cognitive as well as socio-political legitimacy are not clearly divided into the dimensions of internal and external. Even though the bounding aspect of the emerging organization is questioned and partly resisted, there is an emerging materialization that can be communicated and handed over

among people as an organization. This materialization can be seen as an emerging actor in the landscape of non-profit organizations in civil society and thus brings entrepreneurial dynamics into this setting. A new organization reinforcing a new organizational idea and new forms for working has been created.

The second research question in this dissertation is grounded in the thesis that entrepreneurship is a process closely intertwined in other processes in society. The question of *how we can understand the entrepreneurial process in relation to different group formations in society* was therefore raised. A framework based on theories on organizing as a social process, related to theories on social movements, was developed. Specifically, through a literature review, the issues of framing what is considered ‘real and illusory’, the emerging group dynamics, and finally how sensemaking is related to the entrepreneurial process have been analysed. In the following discussion, this analysis is integrated with the previous discussion and structured in three steps; in the middle of movements, in the middle of activities, and articulation beyond the entrepreneurial process.

In the Middle of Movements

By theoretical definitions relied on in this study, the social movement emphasizes an opposing standpoint to the dominating discourse which means contributing to a variety of views and arguments. However, the social movement also frames the agreement on what is considered ‘real and illusory’ and, through the analysis in this study, is therefore suggested to be seen as a suspenseful setting of the entrepreneurial process. It is framing, but not clearly articulating, what is real and what is illusory. Therefore, it is a setting providing features of variety, in terms of organizational dynamics. In combination with earlier and/or other experiences from life, people bring experiences that, as they are enacted, can be seen as ‘bracketed’ understandings

from the suspenseful setting of social movements. There is a tension between variation and framing. Let me illustrate this with myself as a reference. With my background in a humanitarian organization and foreign aid work, I can easily share much of this framing. But I also see that many people I meet in other settings would not necessarily feel at ease with this framing. Some, I know, express this as a lack of ‘economic rational of how things are’ in their arguments. However, in my response, I would then stress a ‘rational’ with the focus on people’s survival, the right to a secure and worthy life where resources are distributed to prevent poverty, hunger, decreased child mortality, prevention and treatment of major illnesses, education and equality. An alert reader recognizes the UN Millennium Goals which I have used here to show that ‘my own opinion’ is grounded in and framed by the movement.²⁷⁹

However, even if the framing aspect of the movement is strong, there is a great variation as we have seen in this study. To stress this variation, I would like to recall that in Gothenburg 2001, an estimated 20 000 people demonstrated. They came from several different organizations, political parties and groups. And such a variation within a demonstration only represents part of the variation within the movement. In this study, we have seen the variation related to the specific case of Attac Sweden. Through the analysis, the social movement has been seen as a suspenseful setting framing the organizing process as well as issues addressed by Attac, perceived necessities and constructions of opportunities. This variety of the social movement is coped with in the entrepreneurial process.

²⁷⁹ In this particular example, I have relied on an established articulation that is grounded in the ‘rational’ I want to illustrate.

In the Middle of Activities

People enact earlier experiences and understandings. But in a suspenseful setting, the variety means that arguments and practices cannot be taken for granted. Others question what you say because they do not understand what is meant or because they do not agree. In the case of Attac Sweden, this has been emphasized and characterized as chaotic and creative, but also as frustrating. It had to be handled in practical situations and concrete activities became a 'tool' for handling the variety, since it forced and facilitated a selection process of what arguments to use and how to act.

People came together primarily through concrete activities and group dynamics with a substantial influence on the entrepreneurial process emerged as they started to interact. The emerging group dynamics was expressed as a growing sense of 'we' and 'them' bounding the organization. The hectic first year meant additional strength to the group dynamic effect that has, in this study, been seen as a contractionary feature to the process, also reaching beyond the specific group of people with personal interaction through the effect on the articulation of stories related both to issues addressed by Attac and Attac ways of doing things.

Perceived necessities, as well as opportunities, can be seen as 'knobs' to actually reconsider the understanding of how things are, what ought to be done, and how. Perceived necessities have been expressed in an emotionally strong vocabulary and there has been a dissociation of established practices and thinking. Even in cases where core ideas, goals or values did not differ considerably, perceived necessities 'forced' a reconsideration and selection of arguments used in the articulation of issues addressed and concrete activities undertaken. In this way, necessities, in combination with opportunities, attack established norms.

Bit by bit, through the entrepreneurial process, stories about the issues addressed and how to organize were articulated in questioning, arguing, explaining. Throughout the process, there has been a strive towards making sense of facts, coherence, and explanations. The early phase was intense and there was not much time for reflective sensemaking. Still, through the analysis in this study, the sensemaking process is noticeable as a sensemaking-in-action, or as expressed earlier, a strive towards making sense. In questioning, studying, answering, and arguing there has been a strive towards making sense of complicated and ambiguous stories seen in the dominating discourse and the opposing social movement discourse. These stories circulated among people, on the web, in protocols and in other forms of documentation. In this way, the stories have bit by bit been articulated into a set of more coherent stories in a collective narrating process.

Articulation Beyond the Entrepreneurial Process

The entrepreneurial process, a social process of organizing impelled through narrating, attacks both norms related to the issues addressed and forms of organizing. Together with the characteristics of the organizational culture, it has inspired me to refer to activist entrepreneurship. We have seen how the questioning of established norms was carried out through the organizing process. This process strengthened the development of arguments. The attack became even stronger as the new understanding of both issues addressed and forms of organizing was brought into the new organization materialized in this process.

What has been articulated through the entrepreneurial process has been mediated through arguments in debates and interviews, the web, printed books and articles, study circles set up in within formal educational settings and informally. There are numbers of meetings with people and organizations, where there is communication about issues related to the entrepreneurial

process. The stories articulated become footprints in a wider discourse. They are part of the stories circulating more or less publicly in society. Therefore, the hypothesis of this analysis is that by attacking norms and articulating new stories, activist entrepreneurship also affects more public views of the issues addressed and how to organize.

Activist Entrepreneurship as History-making in Everyday Life

We have stirred up a lot of dust. But what happens with all this dust? It is not enough to have a lot of dust flying and have media attention? It all has to land somewhere to really carry changes through.

Our views of ourselves and our worlds are constantly reconstructed in practice. At times, practices change and new views, and even new ways of being, are disclosed. Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus have developed an approach that they call history-making in everyday life, focusing on what happens when changes in practice occur.²⁸⁰ They discuss history-making by referring to entrepreneurship, democratic action and the cultivation of solidarity where practices are, they argue, grounded in and integrated by the crucial skills of history-making. They connect entrepreneurship, democratic action and the cultivation of solidarity through the special skill of history-making. This approach is here used to finally conclude the analysis where entrepreneurship research is extended to comprise how new forms of organizing, as well as advocacy and political aspects, can be mediated to a more public sphere. It is done through an interpretation of activist entrepreneurship as history-

²⁸⁰ Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus 1997

making in everyday life – or of ‘what happens with all the dust’ to paraphrase the quote above.

The core in relating practice to our way of understanding and meaning is through what Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus call a disclosive space.²⁸¹ This space is an organized set of practices that produces a relatively self-contained web of meanings which deals with ourselves, other people and things. A disclosive space can be shared in a small and tight group, or it can be shared in a larger community based on national or ethnic culture, professional culture, or organizational cultures. People engage in disclosive activities all the time. In the entrepreneurial process, the articulation of questions, arguments and explanations has, through a social process of organizing, in this study been conceptualised as impelled by narrating as an interactive strive towards making sense. Articulated stories play a vital role for expressing and understanding meanings. Or, as argued by Bruner, narratives tend to be canonical, meaning that they tend to be taken as generally accepted and, at times, be seen as norms.²⁸² Therefore, the stories articulated in interaction and to which people relate as canonical can be seen as a kind of disclosive spaces. I specifically call them disclosive stories. We can then relate the concrete imprint of stories to history-making and the articulation of these stories to the articulation of disclosive stories.

A disclosive space, in the approach of Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus, is not given or solidly fixed. It is constructed through a number of activities in which people engage all the time.

We engage in disclosive activity all the time, whether we are aware of it or not, whenever we deal with things or people in a way that makes sense – that is, whenever we deal with things or

²⁸¹ Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus 1997 (p 17)

people (disclose them) as the things or people that they normally are in our culture.²⁸³

Sometimes, these activities mean significant changes. But most of the time, changes are small and can rather be seen as a re-construction of available understandings or available ways of expressing an understanding of disclosive spaces. One reason is that people are socialized into practices where there are ways of understanding and communicating these spaces. Disclosive spaces are then seen as 'the way things are' or 'the way things are to be done'. Noticeable changes do not occur that often and, at times, there is a need for having a historical review to notice them.

Sometimes, however, disclosive spaces change in a more noticeable way. The main acts by which disclosive spaces then change are, according to Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus, through articulation, cross-appropriation, and/or reconfiguration. Articulation is the most familiar way of change. Through articulation, a sharper focus on meaningfulness or style of practice can be articulated and therefore, communicated more clearly. This can be done by explicitly articulating what is most important in a vague implicit practice. Articulation can also be done by retrieval of what is important as an explicit 'reminder'. Cross-appropriation is where one disclosive space takes over a practice from another disclosive space. Normally, it takes over something it finds useful but cannot generate on its own. Cross-appropriation between subworlds makes practices, and sometimes styles of living, change. The third way of change elaborated on by Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus is reconfiguration. This is a more substantial way in which a style can change. In reconfiguration, some marginal aspect of practices becomes dominant. In everyday life, radical reconfigurations are not so common. They are less likely to be experienced as clearly as in the case of articulation. They are

²⁸² Bruner, J 1990

rather sensed as gaining wider horizons. Aspects of all three of these acts, by which history-making is done, are commonly involved when practices change.

Through the analysis of the entrepreneurial process, we have rather extensively elaborated on articulation and also on how the entrepreneurial process draws experiences from a variation of practices in everyday life.²⁸⁴ Activist entrepreneurship is thus grounded in everyday life and related to history-making. And the effects of entrepreneurial activities, in everyday life, are then related to 'the way the world is made'.²⁸⁵ Let us now connect this discussion to the analysis of this study.

In the Middle of Activities

The disharmony between what is perceived as an undesired state of the world, beliefs about causes and what can be done about it is pointed out and elaborated on in the social movement. The discussions within the social movement during the late 90's had a long history of engaging in peace, and humanitarian and environmental issues. But during this time, discussions were intense and disharmonies were made explicit in an 'up-dated' version reaching 'old groups' as well as 'new groups' of people. There was a new generation of young people. But there were also people who were working on these issues through other organizations who wanted, or at least were pleased, to change the means with which to work. As we have seen in this case, the young generation was not particularly keen on, or content with, engaging in established organizations.

²⁸³ Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus 1997 (p 28)

²⁸⁴ Furthermore, issues of reconfiguration have been touched upon, but in more implicit terms.

²⁸⁵ Steyaert, C 2000

In the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden, people have reflected on earlier stories and practices. *People always discussed the symptoms of state of the world. But the causes were not discussed, that is the issues as such! The old explanations are no longer trustworthy and accepted. People do not buy it anymore. It is not so strange that people no longer engage in the established channels.* Disharmonies were articulated, circulated and shared among people through protests. They have been referred to as shared with others within the movement as well as others not directly identifying themselves with this movement.

The sense of necessity to engage in at least trying to make a difference to influence ‘where the world is going’ combined with perceived opportunities to do something and do it in a new way ground this entrepreneurial process in a ‘double anomaly’. The latter anomaly, that of new forms of working, facilitated the group dynamic process through the coordination of common means in concrete activities, according to the approach to organizing discussed earlier in this dissertation. The anomalies were ‘channelled’ and processed through the entrepreneurial process, transformed into articulated stories about the issues addressed and how it is possible to create a new organizational practice.

The acts of history-making are commonly preceded by a sense of disharmony and anomalies. According to Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus, disharmonies can be sensed between beliefs and action, between the understanding of society or a practice and ideas of how things ought to be. Many people ignore these disharmonies in different ways and for different reasons. But some rather explore them. The latter are in the focus of history-making. When a disharmony is pervasive, that is if it exists for other people and in more than a few situations, it becomes, according to Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus, an anomaly. Instead of just noticing an anomaly, these authors ar-

gue that in cases of activities of history-making, people retain the anomaly as an oddity. Holding on to an anomaly as an anomaly, means constantly being sensitive to the anomaly. The authors point out that this is not an easy task. However, through sensed necessities in combination with perceived opportunities as a 'knob' of an entrepreneurial process, anomalies become 'cores' in what is related to as meaningful. In combination with the shared anomaly of what means of action to use, this is here suggested to facilitate holding onto the anomalies.

The variety of a suspenseful setting is coped with through the entrepreneurial processes of Attac Sweden. *A lot of people got in touch with us. ...There was such a stream of people.* In the stream of interested people, there was a wide variation in ages, backgrounds, political opinions and views on how to act. *All the different cultures met! For a while, it was chaotic even if we can laugh about it today.* The organization of Attac Sweden draws from practices of political protest, activism, popular mass movements, and internet networking. These practices have been part of what people brought with them into the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. There has not been any single particular way of doing things that has been dominating. Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus refer to cross-appropriation as a way for one practice to take over parts of another practice, since it cannot produce itself. In this case, it has been a process where there has not been any practice to take for granted. There has not been one particular, but rather a variety of, understandings and models of action from which to draw. Through the entrepreneurial process, parts of different practices have emerged into the gradually set practice. In everyday organizing, with an emerging group dynamic and stories articulated bit by bit, this variety of practices has been appropriated through the contractionary features. And instead of an incorporation of parts of other practices, we have in this case seen that the entrepreneurial process has cross-appropriated parts of a variety of practices. Some of the influences

have been met with sceptical reactions from established actors. Activism has been related to violence and non-parliamentarism, while the decentralized participative democracy has been considered by some as unclear and 'not really working'. Another such issue is the lack of an office and paid staff for administration. But the activities of Attac and the fact that Attac in 2006 celebrated a five-year anniversary with an organizational form based on participative democracy, a website and a cell phone as an office have shown people that this is possible.

The new technology used by people in Attac Sweden is not at all exceptional. They rely on their own private cell phones and computers. They rely on the skills among themselves to build and maintain the website. They struggle, just like most organizations, with issues of how to best use the technology of today. But in this case, there has, at the early entrepreneurial phase, not been an issue of updating 'old' information systems, which is the case of established organization. The up-dated technology was available from the start. However, there was neither an IT-department, nor a professional IT-consultant. The knowledge of how to set up and manage websites has spread among people beyond specific work professions during the late 1990's. I would like to stress here that it is not only a matter of available technology, but may even more be a matter of how to use it in everyday practice. In this case, many young people have 'grown up' using cell phones and the internet, a practice on which Attac has been able to 'build' right away. But not all people in Attac are young. The somewhat older people have adjusted and some that I have talked to have referred to this as an exciting learning. Traces of the different practice can, for instance, be noticed as an estimated difference in ages among people coming to meetings and people being active in using the website and mailing lists for communication. One person interviewed estimated an average difference in age of approximately 10-15 years. Through an atmosphere of action and testing, a practice

of how to organize communication within an association has been mixed with a practice often developed within internet based networks.

The most vital skill for cross-appropriating is, according to Spinoso, Flores and Dreyfus, interpretive speaking.²⁸⁶ Many different ‘cultures’ have met in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. The two main sets of cultures that have been pointed out is one culture being close to a popular mass movement type of organizations and the other main culture being closer to established political parties. There is also a variety within these main cultures. There are experiences from ‘older’ and ‘more established’ voluntary associations as well as from ‘newer’ types of organizations, as is the case with experiences from political party organizations. There has been a tension between these two main cultures. At the beginning, everyone was not aware of this. After some time, it was discussed and, according to the interviewed, possible to handle. Specific persons have been pointed out as ‘interpreters’ playing a crucial role for bridging over differences and articulating arguments and stories relating to the different groups and cultures. My reflection as I meet people who have been involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden for a few years is that they refer to a culture that is very familiar to me with my experience from humanitarian work and also my experiences from meeting people from various voluntary associations. However, it is noticeable that people are more politically forceful. They refer to established political structures and decision-making processes in a more sophisticated way. It is noticeable that political advocacy, and an attempt to change the way politics are conducted, is an issue on the everyday agenda. It comes back over and over again, and in a rather sophisticated manner in my eyes.

²⁸⁶ Spinoso, Flores and Dreyfus 1997 (p 88)

People engaged in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden and/or the alternative globalization movement are not at all the only ones articulating new texts about the current state of the world and the system of this world. Academics, politicians, different interest groups, businesses, non-profit organizations – well there are many actors in this discussion. Still, people participating in the articulation of what is considered to be knowledge about the state of the world and the system of this world are also engaged in the entrepreneurial process and thus, influenced by the interactive social process of organizing. Or, as one of those interviewed put it: *Before, we were met as just being young and angry. Now we are met with respect, some Attac-people have become experts on regulations of international trade. When journalists are to make a story on these issues – they look us (Attac) up as one of the actors having something to say. Our arguments are not unbelievable anymore, and even used by others. To start with, politicians thought it was unthinkable to bring up the Tobin-tax. Now it is on some politicians' agenda, even in the EU parliament. Journalists, politicians as well as civil servants meet us with respect now. We know what we are talking about. And this just through discussing the Tobin-tax!* The stories articulated through the entrepreneurial process of Attac, and specifically Attac Sweden in this case, has become parts of the stories circulating in the public discourse. The articulation, as we have seen in this study, has been processed through organizing where interaction, group dynamics and the strive towards making sense affect people and the articulated stories. What has been articulated in these stories has developed into more coherent stories in interaction with different actors. These stories have been perceived as more convincing and have been met with more respect. They are grounded in earlier stories in the suspenseful setting and its traditions, but the focus is readjusted and sharpened even though it is not radically renewed.

Protests and arguments have been articulated and carried on by supporters since the earliest stage. As we have seen earlier, this has sometimes been supported by personal experiences strengthening the personal conviction to continue to act. In this early phase, some people involved in the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden stepped forward to argue publicly at meetings, in debates and/or in media. In this study, it is shown that these publicly expressed arguments have then been taken up by others who have been interested, open to arguments and sensed that these arguments are the same or at least similar to their own thoughts. What some people have articulated in more or less public spheres, have been points of reaction, and even points of entry into a more active participation for others. In a way, this has meant articulating arguments on which others can continue to elaborate. These early arguments were not always so well thought out. One person admitted to blushing when looking back. *We have learnt a lot*, she said with a smile.

The variation in practices in the suspenseful setting of the social movement has been enacted, questioned and discussed. In concrete activities, once more through the entrepreneurial process, what activities to undertake and how, as well as the articulation of the stories, are selected. This has been done in interplay with sensed necessities and perceived opportunities, as well as an emerging group dynamic reaching beyond a specific group with individual relations in a social process of organizing. In this process, there is a strive towards making sense, even though the full meaning on which sensemaking elaborates is not fulfilled until retrospectively when explanative meanings are articulated and considered to be understood. These stories with an explanative content express a configuration of meanings. Therefore, the retrospective sensemaking process also means reflecting on earlier configurations of meanings. In this way, the sensemaking process also connects the entrepreneurial process to re-configuration and history-making in everyday life. In the case of Attac Sweden, I first and foremost see two issues where recon-

figuration is noticeable in the material of this study. The first is related to forms of organizing and the second to the issues addressed.

I have several times discussed how already from the start there was an idea of how to organize in a non-hierarchical network form based on principles of direct democracy. When this was discussed by the people interviewed, they referred to ideas, wishes and attempts in practice as they talk about the early phases. As they talk about somewhat later phases, they instead refer to practice as 'this is the way we do it' where these principles are transformed into experiences and assumptions about people in practice. This is especially noticeable with people who had little or no earlier experiences from other organizational work. To start with, it is difficult for them to explain how things are done since the Attac experience is their reference that I do not share. It then takes some time for us to find a way of communicating about these issues. Influenced by the sensemaking process, the entrepreneurial process has in this way reconfigured earlier understandings enacted in practice. Each and everyone has their own sensemaking process. However, sensemaking is social and it is collectively processed through interaction. The stories articulated in the entrepreneurial process express these collective agreements that people who have been involved and new people joining the organization can refer to and share. Enacted in action, these stories are brought into practice.

The second issue where reconfiguration is noticeable is related to the issues addressed. In an early phase, strong emotions were directly related to a perceived upsetting status of the situation in the world and the arguments were influenced by these strong emotions. Still, those arguments were grounded in a variety of discourses that, at times, did not quite make sense. At times, people have referred to 'not knowing enough' at that time, or there have been references to an extensive ambiguity. A learning process related to

issues addressed has been referred to and emphasized. People have sensed that they have learnt a great deal. There have been references to how other people and organizations increasingly view Attac and people from Attac as experts. Throughout the years of this study, I have also met people in public offices, in media and other organizations who especially refer to some people involved in Attac as knowing a great deal about issues addressed. As we have further seen in this study, the articulation of an understanding also related to issues addressed is influenced by the interaction in the entrepreneurial process. The entrepreneurial process, as a social process of organizing, then affects learning and what can be referred to as knowledge creation. And when 'what is learnt' and the knowledge created is enacted, earlier knowledge has been reconfigured with a sense of gaining wider horizons which make sense, which gives confidence in debating and strength to arguments.

Into Other Organizations and Movements

Since 2002, I have come across other established organizations referring to the experiences from the Attac-practise as they introduce new forms for organizing. They relate to how to engage and activate members, how to arrange large meetings in new ways, how to organize a direct democratic membership participation, or how to apply new IT-technologies in practice. Suddenly, people from Attac are the experienced experts on some of the possible new forms.²⁸⁷ They are called in for meetings and seminars. The stories articulated through the entrepreneurial process are then contributing to the variety of expressed experiences that other organizations bring with them into the interaction and articulation of their own selection processes and the articulation of their organizations' stories.

²⁸⁷ Attac Sweden has used a method referred to as 'Påverkanstorg' (freely translated as a square for influence) for their annual meetings. In this method, proposals are presented on posters and people participating in the meeting move around to discuss and write comments on the proposals. Monitors then conclude and formulate statements on which the meeting can take a stand through voting.

Stories that have been articulated through the entrepreneurial process also become part of individuals that have been involved. People, no matter whether they stay with the organization Attac Sweden, bring experiences and stories with them to new endeavours. A couple of years after the interviews of this study were conducted, I come across people's names again – in new roles and positions. I see their names and meet them at different events, this time as journalists, politicians (at local/regional levels and at the national level), participants in think tanks, writers, developers of new schools and educational programmes, teachers, lecturers and researchers. When I see what they write or hear what they say, I recognize the stories from this Attac study. At times, they are very similar and at times they have changed somewhat. The stories they bring with them are combined with an experience and confidence in acting in situations without clear structures. This is expressed as an empowering experience, encouraging further engagement in questioning and testing new ways of working. The experience includes how this can be done, how much energy it takes, and how rewarding it is to participate.

People involved in the entrepreneurial process have discussed and expressed themselves, both as a way of making sense to oneself and among each other, but also as a way of informing others in society. Texts have been articulated and published on the Attac website, on websites of other organizations as well as on people's private sites. Books and/or chapters in books have been written on the issue of globalization by people involved in Attac and/or the same social movement.²⁸⁸ Here, I want to stress the extent of texts that have

²⁸⁸ Such as:

Abrahamsson, H 2003 *Det gyllene tillfället* Stockholm: Leopard

Clinell, B 2000 *Attac – gräsrotternas revolt mot marknaden* Stockholm: Agora

Ergon, J 2001 *En annan värld är möjlig. Attac* Stockholm: Manifest

Ergon, J 2003 *Rörelsernas tid. Från proteststorm till globalt alternativ* Stockholm: Atlas

Larsson, P 2001 *Proteststromen. Seattle, Prag och revolutionen mot en orättvis världsordning* Stockholm: Atlas

Note continues on next page...

been produced and published in different forms during the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. This has also been the case internationally. In the process of learning and writing, earlier knowledge has been transformed into (re)articulated texts. The articulation has been done under the influence of the entrepreneurial process. In this way, the entrepreneurial process has re-configured earlier knowledge. The material has been spread to a number of courses in folk high schools²⁸⁹ and various study circles in educational associations. It has been related to in seminars and debates in more or less public spheres. As we have seen in this study, the articulated stories take an opposing stand to established stories through sensed necessities and the exploration of anomalies. It further draws on stories in different practices. The stories articulated and spread have therefore added to what was taught and referred to earlier and contribute to the variation in stories that are part of the knowledge acquired by new people who are interested in learning about the addressed issues.

The new stories articulated, expressing new ways of organizing and new ways of viewing issues addressed, do not turn the dominating stories and practice around. The entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden has not radically changed how voluntary associations or advocacy organizations set up their everyday life activities. But small shifts have occurred, as norms have been attacked and new stories have been articulated. These stories have contributed to the variety of understanding about organizing and the knowledge related to issues addressed. They are then taken into new selection processes. The changes might not be radical. However, due to the entrepreneurial proc-

Talltorp and Unsgaard (eds) 2002 *Globalisering. Hur då? Nya vägar för den globala rättviserörelsen* Stockholm: Leopard förlag

Vera-Zavala, A 2003 *Deltagande Demokrati. En resa till Latinamerika och tillbaka på jakt efter demokratins framtid* Stockholm: Agora

²⁸⁹ A Nordic school form that was initially (in the middle of the nineteenth century) developed for adult students. It has then developed through the years with aims of adult and popular education and the use of alternative pedagogical methods.

ess, the sensed possibility to organize protests differently has ‘moved’ earlier understandings of how it is possible to organize. Activist entrepreneurship can therefore be seen as part of a configuration relay race where organizational dynamics is intertwined with the dynamics of social movements. It is intertwined to such an extent that the social movement can also be seen as a metaphor for the organization created in this process; an emerging, moving organization that ‘moves’ disclosive stories.

The style of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden is not a smoothly closely knit style that all people involved carry or have adjusted to. Different persons create their own style, contributing to the process in slightly different ways. However, four characteristics appear in my interpretation of the entrepreneurial process of Attac Sweden. Those four main ones are impatience and anger, acting and action orientation, trying out new ways of doing things and finally, being part of a process as a co-creator. These characteristics were more prominent in the first couple of years, even if they are still part of the stories of Attac as well as its practice after five years. This is a reminder that the entrepreneurial process is a process on the move. There is a constant re-construction of the process of organizing. People involved have expressed the process as a wind quickly building up into a storm. This was followed by a chaotic time with squalls, whirlwinds, tornadoes, and even hurricanes. The storm calmed down (a while after the top meeting in Gothenburg), and has now turned into a more normal variable weather wind. Through a process of activist entrepreneurship, norms have been attacked and new stories have been articulated. These are intertwined in the new organization which has been created through the same process. And as these stories are enacted in new activities, in new settings and by new people, they can be seen as new disclosive stories.

Discussion of Contributions and Implications

This dissertation contains over 200 pages of discussion on entrepreneurship re-contextualized in civil society. There are several discussions that can contribute to reflections for researchers, practitioners as well as policymakers. I here want to emphasize two main contributions of this study. First, the overall understanding of entrepreneurship as a social dynamic process also in civil society which connects entrepreneurship to social and political development in society. Second, the understanding of the articulation of new disclosive stories in the entrepreneurial process. This connects entrepreneurship to the understanding of things and people and to the generation of knowledge.

The aim of extending entrepreneurship theory to also comprise entrepreneurship in a non-profit setting in civil society brought this study to relate organization creation to the process of organizing as social interaction reaching beyond specific individuals and the emerging organization as such. Through these connections, entrepreneurship is related to micro, meso as well as macro oriented levels. Therefore, this approach provides a platform for understanding entrepreneurship as a process related to and embedded in different formations in society with the creation of a new organization as the materialization of an entrepreneurial process. The analysis of entrepreneurship in civil society also contributes to place entrepreneurship, grounded in everyday life, in social and political development of society with a focus on ideas brought into organized action.

The re-contextualization of entrepreneurship to civil society also contributes to the understanding of entrepreneurial dynamics related to this setting. The role of sensed necessities, perceived opportunities, the social process of organizing, and the creation of a new organization relate changes in civil soci-

ety to organizational dynamics in an everyday life. The approach developed in this thesis provides an understanding of a process where changes in civil society are coped with, dealt with, and carried through. It highlights what can be referred to as a 'specific kind of process' of change where established practices and norms are questioned and brought into cross-appropriated, articulated new configurations of understandings and ideas.

This study further contributes through relating the entrepreneurial process to the attack of established disclosive stories and articulating new ones. Disclosive stories connect people to group processes as well as to social movements and public discourses in society. The entrepreneurial process is therefore one of the forms of the interplay of life in society where people can participate and have an influence.

The articulation of disclosive stories in the entrepreneurial process is in this dissertation pointed out as an important outcome of entrepreneurship. Therefore, it is here suggested that Schumpeter's five definitions of entrepreneurship be supplemented. Schumpeter argued that entrepreneurship be defined as:

- The introduction of a new good
- The introduction of a new method of production
- The opening of a new market
- The conquest of a new source of supply of raw material
- The creation of a new organization of an industry

This study suggests that *the articulation of new disclosive stories connected to a new style of organizing* be added to Schumpeter's five definitions of entrepreneurship. The creative destruction of entrepreneurship, discussed by Schumpeter, would then, in this case, be about attacking norms and articulating new disclosive stories. Through this definition, entrepreneurship can be related to economic as well as cultural and social criteria of people's forms

of everyday life. Entrepreneurship then relates to how people together create their and our own world in interaction with different group formations, through concrete activities, related to what is understandable as well as what is meaningful.

The approach developed in this dissertation specifies different aspects of entrepreneurship and gives tools to relate entrepreneurship to different settings. This, I mean, is useful, not the least in cases where entrepreneurship is related to other settings than those commonly referred to. The approach can therefore be a platform for studies of entrepreneurship in non-profit settings and social economy as well as in settings related both to private and public practices and stories influenced by both these settings. The specification of entrepreneurship and the tools for connecting entrepreneurship to other frames than what is commonly done also serve as a platform for further analyses of entrepreneurship in relation to different theories of societal development and their goals.

Furthermore, this study has contributed to entrepreneurship theory by relating entrepreneurship to social movements as a setting but also as an organizational metaphor which means situating entrepreneurship as a rather wide collective interplay among several persons. If I were to call any of those interviewed entrepreneurs, I would call them all entrepreneurs. Or rather, I say that they have all contributed to the entrepreneurial process. This study therefore contributes by creating a foundation for further studies of the entrepreneurial process related to grass-root level collective interaction.

Even if this study has contributed through developing an approach with an understanding of organizational entrepreneurial dynamics in a civil society setting where the dynamic selection process takes place, it has not extensively elaborated on issues of power and leadership. These issues have been

beyond the scope of this dissertation and not the focus of its aim and questions. However, issues of power and leadership are elaborated on and closely connected to discussions on entrepreneurship, both in interviews and in theoretical perspectives. The framework developed in this dissertation can be used as a base for studying these issues. But it must be further developed to include perspectives on power and leadership. Specifically, this study raises questions of leadership in an environment characterized as informal and with a bottom-up perspective where the right and responsibility to act are heavily decentralized. It further raises issues of power as, at first sight, it seems to be characterized by equality. However, there are, of course, differences in who succeed in influencing in different ways. It would therefore be of interest to further elaborate on the issue of power related to backgrounds, gender, and who engage in what activities in relation to organizing and the articulation of new disclosive stories.



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