Social entrepreneurs' learning experience in South African incubators

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Abstract

Africa's strong entrepreneurial spirit and desire for social change has led to growth in social entrepreneurship and incubation throughout the continent. However, there is a limited understanding of how entrepreneurial learning occurs during incubation. This study explored social entrepreneurs' learning experience in South African incubators. A phenomenological methodology provided a deeper understanding of their lived experience. The findings show that during incubation, social entrepreneurs learn business and entrepreneurship concepts from champions and use this knowledge to transform themselves and their businesses. However, the unique needs of social entrepreneurs are not being met; they are not taught social enterprise specific concepts, not connected to those in the public or social sectors, and are pushed to prioritize profit motives over their social mission. The findings help incubators create a more supportive learning environment for social entrepreneurs through focused content, expanded network embeddedness, and recognition of the importance of social values.

Keywords: social entrepreneurship; incubators; learning; South Africa

Introduction

It is more difficult to start a business in sub-Saharan Africa than in other parts of the world (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015), yet entrepreneurship is critical for economic development (Herrington & Coduras, 2019), highlighting the importance of appropriately supporting and educating entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurial education and entrepreneurial ecosystems are under-researched but emerging areas of interest in the African context (Jones et al., 2018) and the demand for education specific to social entrepreneurs is on the rise (Solomon et al. 2019). Social entrepreneurs address complex problems, playing a vital role in the transformation of developing countries such as South Africa (Littlewood & Holt, 2018). Research into the nature and impact of social enterprises in sub-Saharan Africa suggests that there is a greater focus among social enterprises on job creation – 78% compared to 27% for profit-first businesses – and that between 28 and 41 million jobs have been created by social enterprises (Richardson et al., 2020). Further, social enterprises create jobs for those most in need of employment.

Social entrepreneurs focus their business ideas where the development and for-profit sectors meet, undertaking projects that address social needs, create social change, and

fulfill social missions (Grobbelaar et al., 2017; Rey-Martí et al., 2016; Rivera-Santos et al., 2015). Though the conditions in which social entrepreneurship emerges and flourishes are found in developing countries (Santos, 2012), the concept is largely being defined by scholars in developed countries (Conway Dato-on & Kalakay, 2016). Research in sub-Saharan Africa can provide new insights to social entrepreneurship literature (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015), yet research on African entrepreneurs only represents a small portion of the global knowledge-base (Devine & Kiggundu, 2016). While social entrepreneurship remains an under-researched topic in South Africa, it has received growing interest both internationally and locally (Littlewood & Holt, 2018). In the last 20 years, social entrepreneurship in South Africa has taken hold (Littlewood & Holt, 2018), with roughly 85% of early-stage entrepreneurs in South Africa starting a business to make a difference (Bosma et al., 2020). This is one of the highest rates in the world.

While a comparatively high percentage of South Africa's gross domestic product is spent on education (World Bank, 2021), the quality of education remains poor (Schwab, 2018) and has shown no significant improvements over time. Poor education has thus become a major barrier to increasing entrepreneurial activity in the country (Bowmaker-Falconer & Herrington, 2020). However, while public education quality is poor, the quality of tertiary education is high, particularly in South African business schools (Schwab, 2018). Fortunately, entrepreneurs are more likely than the typical South African to receive a tertiary degree (Herrington & Kew, 2018). Further, South Africa boasts a strong ecosystem supporting the development of social entrepreneurs including academic institutions; local, pan-African, and global organizations; and incubators (Mirvis & Googins, 2018).

Many early-stage entrepreneurs receive initial support through incubation. While there are varying definitions of incubators, this study characterizes incubators as "property-based organizations with identifiable administrative centers focused on the mission of business acceleration through knowledge agglomeration and resource sharing" (Phan et al., 2005, p. 166). Global trends coupled with national development priorities have led to an active and growing incubation sector in South Africa with approximately 150 organizations supporting entrepreneurs (van Eck et al., 2018). However, there is an absence of research on incubators in Africa (Mian et al., 2016) and little research into their effectiveness in South Africa (van Eck et al., 2018).

Incubator research often focuses on directly measurable aspects at the expense of understanding the indirect or social value of incubators with little attempt to theorize what is being observed (Bøllingtoft & Ulhøi, 2005). A key feature contributing to incubator outcomes is learning (Hallen et al., 2019), yet there has been little research exploring learning dynamics within incubation programs (Politis et al., 2019). Understanding how and when learning takes place is paramount to understanding the entrepreneurial process (Wang & Chugh, 2014) and this study positions incubators as the environment in which social entrepreneurs learn.

Entrepreneurs have been classified as life-long learners (Franco & Haase, 2009; Rae & Carswell, 2001) and while there are numerous studies on entrepreneurial learning, there are few studies focused on social entrepreneurs' learning (Alden Rivers et al., 2015; Cope, 2005b; Howorth et al., 2012). Learning how to become a social

entrepreneur is more complex than learning how to become a commercial entrepreneur as social entrepreneurs must understand how to combine business models with social change imperatives (Tracey & Phillips, 2007; Worsham, 2012) while also being accountable to commercial, public, and social sector stakeholders (Howorth et al., 2012; Pache & Chowdhury, 2012). Commercial entrepreneurship knowledge is relevant to social entrepreneurs, but there is a need to account for the knowledge intricacies of social entrepreneurs (Smith et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007). Social change is not a linear process, requiring social entrepreneurs to take action under complex uncertainty and necessitating the development of a unique skillset (Worsham, 2012). More research to understand the learning process and requirements of social entrepreneurs is essential to properly educate and advise these types of entrepreneurs (Certo & Miller, 2008; Hervieux & Voltan, 2016), especially as skill development for social entrepreneurs is increasingly in demand (García-González & Ramírez-Montoya, 2020).

This study explored the learning experience of social entrepreneurs in South African incubators through phenomenological inquiry. Phenomenology aims to understand a phenomenon from an insider perspective by focusing on the lived experience of participants (Berglund, 2015). Though infrequently used in the entrepreneurship domain, phenomenology allows for the generation of exceptionally rich data that can provide a unique understanding of entrepreneurship (Cope, 2005a). Phenomenological methods also aid in the development of new insights and add nuances to existing theories (Berglund, 2015). As there is an absence of research focusing on social entrepreneurs' learning during incubation, a phenomenological approach can significantly contribute to the understanding of this phenomenon.

Data were gathered through interviews with ten social entrepreneurs who attended at least one incubation program in South Africa. The findings show incubators provide valuable learning experiences that shape social entrepreneurs and their enterprises; they learn about business and entrepreneurship concepts, learn from champions, and transform themselves and their businesses. However, incubators are not providing knowledge, networks, and growth opportunities specific to social entrepreneurs. The findings show that participants in South African incubation programs are not taught specific concepts related to social enterprises and are instead left to extrapolate the differing reality of their enterprise from general entrepreneurial learning. Further, participants were not connected to those in the public or social sectors and were often pushed by incubators to prioritize their economic value over their social value.

This study contributes to the understanding of social entrepreneurs' learning needs, particularly in the context of incubation. While the findings help incubators better understand how to support social entrepreneurs' unique learning needs, more thought must be given to the role of incubators in supporting social entrepreneurship in South Africa.

Phenomenology emphasizes discovery and exploration; as such, no theories or propositions were developed prior to data collection (Parkinson & Howorth, 2008; Smith & Eatough, 2011). However, aligning with academic norms, relevant literature is summarized in the next section. The phenomenological underpinnings and application

of the method are then discussed. Paraphrased and direct participant quotations are used to frame the findings which are interpreted through existing literature.

Theoretical Framing

The Uniqueness of Social Entrepreneurs

Social entrepreneurs have existed for decades yet scholars do not agree on the boundaries, dimensions, and definitions of social entrepreneurship (Dacin et al., 2011; Mair & Martí, 2006; Rivera-Santos et al., 2015). Social entrepreneurship changes across contexts (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Mair & Martí, 2006) with the concept further complicated by a lack of consensus on what is meant by the term "social" (Mair & Martí, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2005). Most scholars agree, however, that social entrepreneurs leverage resources to address societal problems (Dacin et al., 2010).

Social entrepreneurs develop collaborative and trusting relationships with others, are open to sharing resources, and use their social capital to unite diverse groups (Dacin et al., 2010; de Bruin et al., 2017; Jeong et al., 2020). In contrast to commercial entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs rarely succeed alone (Mair et al., 2012). Collaboration and collective action allow social entrepreneurs to achieve their social change objectives as they require a variety of resources in order to do so (Jeong et al., 2020; Montgomery et al., 2012). Operating within and across multiple sectors, social entrepreneurs utilize their connections to spread their ideas, gain support, and ultimately incite change (Montgomery et al., 2012; Pache & Chowdhury, 2012).

Social enterprises can take on a variety of organizational forms and activities (Austin et al, 2006) as the "pursuit of social value can occur across many different contexts, spaces and organizational forms" (Smith & Stevens, 2010, p. 577). Seelos et al. (2011) posit that social entrepreneurs have differing strategic orientations, classifying them as collective action, market, or social giving. Zahra et al. (2009) drew on prior entrepreneurial theories to develop three typologies of social entrepreneurs who differ in how they discover needs, pursue opportunities, and impact the social ecosystem. This study aligns with scholars who define social enterprises as organizations that exploit market opportunities with the aim of creating social and economic value simultaneously (Smith et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007). These types of social entrepreneurs address market failures by building and operating alternative structures that can be formalized and scaled, often requiring outside capital and resources to fulfill their missions (Zahra et al., 2009). Having both social and commercial objectives is a source of tension in social enterprises, leading to identity issues, conflict, and mission drift (Austin et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007). Managing these interrelated yet diverging objectives requires a unique skill set beyond what is necessary when focusing solely on commercial objectives (Smith et al., 2012).

South Africa's socioeconomic context and institutional environment shape the type of opportunities social entrepreneurs address, which are in many ways different from opportunities in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Littlewood & Holt, 2018). South Africa is characterized by strong formal institutions and an advanced economy yet also has high levels of poverty (Littlewood & Holt, 2018), stark inequalities (Schwab, 2019), and instances of government and social sector failure (Urban, 2008). Because of this, the needs addressed by South African social entrepreneurs are more higher-order than

in developing countries yet more basic than in developed countries (Littlewood & Holt, 2018). Generally, South African social enterprises are locally focused, attending to the specific societal and developmental challenges unique to the South African context and using cooperative relationships among the communities they serve to do so (Karanda & Toledano, 2012; Moreno & Agapitova, 2017; Myres et al., 2018).

Entrepreneurial Learning

While there is a sizable body of literature covering the topic of entrepreneurship education, these studies concentrate on the formal education of entrepreneurs (Fayolle, 2013; Nabi et al., 2017). However, entrepreneurs learn through a variety of ways including experience (Cope, 2005b; Tracey & Phillips, 2007), personal transformation (Pittaway & Cope, 2007), failure (Cope, 2011), observation (Zozimo et al., 2017), and networks (Karataş-Özkan, 2011). Entrepreneurial learning is dynamic, involving transforming both knowledge and experience into a tangible outcome (Politis, 2005; Rae, 2006). Thus far, research has focused at the individual level, neglecting an understanding of the social interactions that shape the learning process and context (Toutain et al., 2017). However, recent research has begun to focus on social learning (Zozimo et al., 2017) in open learning environments (García-González & Ramírez-Montoya, 2020) through more learner-centered methods (McNally et al., 2020).

Disagreement over the definition of social entrepreneurship has led to challenges in the social entrepreneurship education field (Tracey & Phillips, 2007) and there is no clear positioning of social entrepreneurship education within the broader entrepreneurship education domain (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012). Because social and commercial entrepreneurs face similar challenges in terms of opportunity recognition, resource amalgamation, and venture sustainability (Howorth et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007), many scholars advocate that social entrepreneurship education should be built upon the foundation of commercial entrepreneurship education (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012; Weber, 2012). These scholars argue that while commercial entrepreneurship knowledge is relevant to social entrepreneurs, current programming must be expanded to account for the knowledge intricacies of social entrepreneurs (Smith et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007). Diverging from this view, other scholars believe social entrepreneurship education requires a different approach, focusing instead on the broader social change vision and leadership development (Smith et al., 2012; Worsham, 2012).

Though social entrepreneurs must be equipped with distinct educational strategies and values in order to be effective in their unique role (Worsham, 2012), there is no consensus on what these strategies and values are. The suggested knowledge necessary to educate social entrepreneurs has covered identifying social problems and opportunities (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012), reflective thinking (Howorth et al., 2012), creating effective social change (Worsham, 2012), social finance (Weber, 2012), generating social capital (Jeong et al., 2020), and managing both accountability and identity (Tracey & Phillips, 2007). Additionally, social entrepreneurs must communicate and measure their social mission (Smith et al., 2012) as well as develop emotional intelligence, empathy, and a deep understanding of the communities they seek to serve (Worsham, 2012). Due to their embeddedness within commercial, social, and public sectors, they must also learn how to operate within and across these sectors

simultaneously (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012) while managing each sector's disparate demands (Tracey & Phillips, 2007).

Incubators as a Context for Learning

Despite attempts to develop a universal definition of incubators, scholars have not come to a consensus (Albort-Morant & Ribeiro-Soriano, 2016; Hausberg & Korreck, 2020; Theodorakopoulos et al., 2014). Definitional ambiguity is attributed to factors such as adapting the concept to the local context and the interchangeable way in which various terms are used to discuss incubators (Hackett & Dilts, 2004; Theodorakopoulos et al., 2014). In practice, there are many ways incubators are organized and managed (Casasnovas & Bruno, 2013) and the broad definition used in this study – organizations focusing on business acceleration through knowledge and resources (Phan et al., 2005) – helps accommodate this diversity.

Incubators in South Africa are mainly found in the country's largest cities, though some are located in small towns and rural areas (Masutha & Rogerson, 2015). While there are varying models of incubation, donor-funded incubators are the most common (van Eck et al., 2018); other sources of funding include government, academia, corporates, and nonprofits. Additionally, some incubators operate as local hubs within a larger global incubator network while others are self-funded independent businesses. Nearly all incubators provide workspace, resources, and access to their network (Masutha & Rogerson, 2014) and approximately one-third provide funding (van Eck et al., 2018).

Though incubator programs in South Africa vary, most have similar elements. Programs typically include educational content delivered in the form of in-person lectures, online modules, and/or sessions with industry experts. Participants are connected to others in the incubator's network through events, workshops, and meetings. Incubators also train participants on how to present their business, culminating in a Demo Day where investors and community members are invited to watch participants' business pitches.

Acceptance rate into incubation programs in the country is low, with prestigious programs admitting less than 1% of applicants. Being accepted into an incubator increases visibility for a startup and gives both investors and clients confidence in the company's abilities. In South Africa, just 6% of incubators target their programs only to social impact ventures (van Eck et al., 2018) and for social entrepreneurs who are applying to programs whose focus is not solely on social enterprises, the selection process becomes more difficult as they are seen as underdogs.

While research on incubators has been increasing, there are still numerous avenues to explore. This study took heed of a call to move away from focusing on the incubator itself and instead on the concept of incubation to better understand the processes by which incubators operate and how entrepreneurial learning and development occurs (Ahmad, 2014; Theodorakopoulos et al., 2014). Though learning is a key outcome of incubation (Hallen et al., 2019), research has not explored learning dynamics within incubation programs (Politis et al., 2019). Learning is a social and situated process, often occurring through interactions with others (Howorth et al., 2012) and incubators facilitate these important connections (Busch & Barkema, 2022). While the demand for educating social entrepreneurs is increasing (García-González & Ramírez-Montoya,

2020; Solomon et al., 2019), the topic remains under-researched in South Africa where social entrepreneurs play a vital role in the country's transformation (Littlewood & Holt, 2018).

Method

Phenomenology's goal is to "understand the subjective nature of 'lived experience' from the perspective of those who experience it" (Cope, 2005a, p. 168), providing "fresh, complex, rich description of phenomena" (Finlay, 2013, p. 172). As little is known about social entrepreneurs' learning experience in South African incubators, phenomenology provides a way to discover the dynamic processes involved in this phenomenon from social entrepreneurs themselves. Because of its propensity to understand the fundamental meaning of an experience, phenomenology has been previously used to explore effectively various aspects of entrepreneurship (Berglund, 2015) including the language social entrepreneurs use (Parkinson & Howorth, 2008), how entrepreneurs learn from failure (Cope, 2011) and critical incidents (Cope & Watts, 2000), as well as how to lead (Kempster & Cope, 2010).

This study aligns with the interpretivist phenomenological view of Heidegger (1962), focusing on the meaning derived from a person's lived experience of a phenomenon (Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016). To remain consistent with the interpretivist research paradigm, data were analyzed using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA), which "aims to explore in detail participants' personal lived experience and how participants make sense of that personal experience" (Smith, 2004, p. 40). Heidegger rejected the use of bracketing one's views during research, instead embracing both researcher and participants' perspectives and interpretations of lived experiences (Heidegger, 1962). This supports the double hermeneutic IPA process where the researcher interprets the participants' interpretation of their lived experience (Smith & Eatough, 2011).

Sample

Core elements of a phenomenon can be derived from few detailed accounts; though the sample size differs based on the phenomenon studied, sufficient information is typically collected from ten or fewer participants (Smith & Eatough, 2011). This is in line with prior entrepreneurship-focused phenomenological studies by Kempster and Cope (2010) with nine participants and Cope (2011) with eight participants. Smaller samples are well-suited to a more focused engagement between the researcher and respondent (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006), aiding in providing the rich descriptions necessary for a phenomenological study.

The most important consideration in selecting participants is that they have experienced the phenomenon, and for this study, purposive sampling was used to select social entrepreneurs who had completed at least one incubation program in South Africa. The number of participants was not decided in advance but after discussions with ten participants, it became clear that sufficiently rich data providing a clear learning experience during incubation had been captured. Further, incubation programs typically select ten participants per cohort, equating the sample size of this study to one full program. Characteristics of each participant are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Participant characteristics.

Participant ¹	Business industry	Incubator 1,2	Gender	Race	Found through	Interview length (min)
Ava	Healthcare	5	Female	Mixed	Incubator website	39
Bandile	Transport	4	Male	Black	Incubator website	40
Corey	Volunteering	3 [9]	Male	Mixed	News article	39
Hannah	Volunteering	4	Female	White	Incubator website	45
Lindiwe	EdTech	6,8,10 [11]	Female	Black	Incubator website	53
Mariam	FinTech	4 [1]	Female	Mixed	Incubator website	29
Noah	EdTech	1	Male	White	Referral	65
Tendai	Youth empowerment	2 [5]	Male	Black	Referral	79
Thabisa	FinTech	1,4,7	Female	Black	Referral	91
Xavier	FinTech	1,4,7	Male	Mixed	Incubator event	54

¹Names have been changed to protect identities.

The sample includes participant reflections from 11 incubation programs, though reflections from some incubators are represented more than others as participants attended multiple programs. While incubators that exclusively support social entrepreneurs in South Africa were included, it was necessary to also include incubators that support both social and commercial ventures to reach a sufficient sample size. These incubators understand the value placed on social impact and endeavor to include resources aligned to social values. Both the social entrepreneurs and incubators selected for participation were confirmed to adhere to the definitions outlined. Details of each incubator program are provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Incubator characteristics.

Incubator ¹	Location	Mandate	Description
1	Cape Town	Mixed cohort	An ecosystem for early-stage startups who intend to shape the future of the continent
2	Johannesburg	Social enterprise	Reaching a socially and economically equal society by supporting under- resourced entrepreneurs
3	Cape Town	Social enterprise	Empowering marginalized entrepreneurs to build high impact enterprises that create local economic value
4	Cape Town	Mixed cohort	Focused on developing tech entrepreneurs who impact the African continent
5	Johannesburg	Social enterprise	Building entrepreneurial communities that enable transformational social impact at scale
6	Johannesburg	Social enterprise	Supporting grassroots social entrepreneurs making a sustainable, positive difference in their communities
7	Johannesburg	Mixed cohort	Backing extraordinary people with disruptive ideas that have the potential to transform industries
8	Johannesburg	Social enterprise	Dedicated to supporting early-stage social impact ventures with local solutions to local problems
9	Cape Town	Mixed cohort	Creating impact in emerging markets by supporting entrepreneurs through a community-driven approach
10	Johannesburg	Social enterprise	Championing socially innovative entrepreneurs whose solutions benefit women, youth, and the disabled
11	Johannesburg	Social enterprise	Developing entrepreneurs with growth-stage impact enterprises focused on reducing poverty and mitigating climate change
1			

Names are not disclosed to protect identities.

Data Collection

Interviews allow collection of a first-person description of the experience of a phenomenon, and in this study data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews. Due to its comprehensive nature, ethical issues may arise in

²Brackets indicate involvement with an incubator (i.e., using the coworking space or attending a program) but not full incubation.

phenomenological research. To mitigate any ethical concerns, informed consent was obtained prior to data collection.

The objective of each conversation was to understand an individual participant's learning experience during incubation. A phenomenological interview is meant to encourage a conversation to unfold as opposed to obtaining answers to a list of questions, with the discussion largely led by the participant (Thompson et al., 1989). As such, an interview schedule was developed (Appendix A), but not all questions were asked to all participants, nor were they asked in any particular order. Most conversations began with the participants briefly discussing their entrepreneurial background and past learning experiences before focusing the discussion on learning during incubation. Because each participant's experience was unique, they were encouraged to tell their story in their own words.

Participants were open in sharing their thoughts; most had never been asked about their incubator experience and they were eager to discuss it. Further, entrepreneurship can be a lonely experience and participants welcomed the opportunity to speak about their business and experience with someone else. On average, interviews lasted 53 minutes and were conducted where the participant felt most comfortable. All interviews were recorded with participant consent.

Table 3. IPA process (adapted from Kempster & Cope, 2010).

Process of analysis	Level of analysis	Description of analysis
Familiarization / gaining insight	Reading of the case	Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim and each transcript was read multiple times to become familiar with its content.
Immersion and sense- making	Diagnosis of the case	Significant phrases in each transcript were coded inductively using descriptive phrases. The coding process was completed by the first author, discussed by both authors, and reviewed by another researcher. For each individual transcript, codes were grouped together into units of meaning and then grouped again to form clusters of meaning (Hycner, 1985).
Categorization	Developing intra- case themes	Based on the units and clusters of meaning, themes and sub-themes were identified for each interview. The recorded interviews as well as transcripts were referred back to multiple times to ensure the units and clusters of meaning were interpreted into appropriate themes and sub-themes (Hycner, 1985). Detailed analysis of one participant's transcript was completed before moving on to the detailed analysis of subsequent transcripts (Smith & Eatough, 2011).
Association / pattern recognition	Developing inter- case themes	Themes and sub-themes were compared across transcripts to identify commonalities as well as variations (Smith, 2004). Themes and sub-themes that arose from the analysis represent the multiple dimensions of the phenomenon (Conklin, 2007).
Interpretation / representation	Writing up	The importance of each theme and sub-theme was not based on the frequency with which it occurred, but rather how significant and central it was to the phenomenon (Smith & Eatough, 2011). All interpretations were based on evidence in the transcripts with both paraphrased and direct quotations from each participant provided as justification of the themes. Emphasis was placed on shared experiences while allowing for participants' unique experiences to emerge (Smith & Eatough, 2011). To allow the data to guide the interpretive process, theoretical propositions were identified from the data independent of academic literature (Cope, 2005a).
Explanation and abstraction	Enfolding literature	Literature was drawn upon to ground the themes and sub-themes in existing theory.

Analysis

IPA aims to uncover the "structures, logic, and interrelationships that are contained in the phenomenon under investigation" (Conklin, 2007, p. 277) and describe the experienced reality of participants (Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016). While there are guidelines for analysis, there are no strict requirements, giving researchers flexibility in interpretation (Smith & Osborn, 2008). In this study, analysis was conducted with the overall goal of developing thematic descriptions of the incubator learning experience and closely followed the IPA process outlined by Kempster and Cope (2010) as shown in Table 3.

Nine major themes were found in the analysis process. Each theme was found to have three to four sub-themes, reflecting the nuances in experiences. The findings discussed focus on social entrepreneurs' learning experience in South African incubators, highlighted with a dashed box in Figure 1.

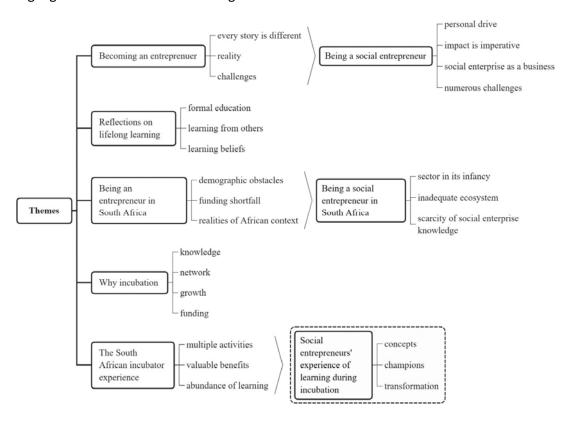


Figure 1. Themes and sub-themes.

Phenomenological research is specific to the time and place in which it was conducted, as perspectives may shift over time (Cope, 2005a). As such, there is no external verification of a participant's description of their experience (Thompson et al., 1989). However, validation was achieved through other means. The research process from sample through data analysis was fully documented, providing transparency (Berglund, 2015). During analysis, transcripts were read multiple times by the first author to ensure the coding process was undertaken thoroughly and nothing was missed or interpreted incorrectly (Smith & Eatough, 2011). Finally, all interpretations at the individual level are supported by evidence found in individual descriptions and

evidence of group-level themes was found in individual descriptions (Thompson et al., 1989). The findings are discussed in a way that emphasizes the themes of the overall learning experience during incubation but also highlights the lived experiences of each participant (Smith, 2004). Moving beyond descriptions, interpretations of participant experiences are also given (Cope, 2005a) and supported by literature.

Findings

When discussing their incubator experience, social entrepreneurs spoke about the multiple activities they participated in, the valuable benefits they received, and the abundance of learning that occurred. Learning was experienced through the acquisition and application of business and entrepreneurship knowledge as well as from others involved in the incubator program and the incubator's network. This learning resulted in participants transforming both themselves and their businesses. However, while sufficient evidence of learning was found, there were limitations in the experience for social entrepreneurs. There was an absence of social enterprise specific content, insufficient connections to those in the social enterprise ecosystem, and an emphasis on profit motives as compared to social values.

Learning Concepts: Acquisition and Application

Incubation provided participants with knowledge focused on general business concepts as well as entrepreneurship-specific concepts. As participants entered incubation with different educational backgrounds and work experience, the details of what they learned differed.

For those without a business background, learning business concepts was crucial. Corey never took business courses during his formal education and was first exposed to entrepreneurship during a short course run by the incubator he would eventually join. The course made him realize he could solve real problems in his community while making money. Incubation exposed him to a variety of new concepts such as the business model canvas and customer segments. Tendai, who taught himself business concepts mostly through library books, learned "how to strategize" and "started learning about all these ratios ... equity ... financial statements ... stuff like that" during incubation. Ava, a healthcare professional, learned about the business environment in general and, more specifically, topics such as design thinking, theory of change, and business models. For her, collaborating with those in corporate was new and she needed to learn a new language to be able to communicate with them. Hannah, who had a technology background, also mentioned having to learn "corporate lingo", combining it with the language of social enterprise to culminate in their own language as a company.

Participants who had prior business exposure also learned concepts, but their learning focused on entrepreneurship concepts. Noah, who had an advanced business degree, thought it was "amazing" to go through the lean startup process with his team, allowing him to apply continuous innovation principles to his business. Xavier "learned a lot about being an entrepreneur and how to build a startup" during his first incubation program. Though he had an advanced business education, he had "no clue" what a business pivot was before incubation. Bandile, who graduated from business

school, stated, "I learned more in the accelerator program than any business school could have ever taught me", noting the content in his program was "world-class".

Regardless of their background, participants learned through applying the knowledge they were gaining. Mariam spent years working in corporate roles before becoming an entrepreneur, entering incubation with just an idea. At first, she was overwhelmed by the realization she had started a business, asking herself questions such as, "How do I price this thing?" and "How do I find the clients?". Eventually, through content and conversations, she learned how to operationalize her idea and found a viable business model that fulfilled her social mission. In Thabisa's first program, she learned the "structure and methodology to go about building a successful business" and though there was an absence of social enterprise-specific content, what she learned was "relevant for both sides of the business". In her second program, Thabisa learned how to operationalize and build her business and was exposed to multiple business models for the first time. Lindiwe, a scientist, gained the most value from her second incubation program which "made the process of being a social entrepreneur practical". She left the program understanding how to communicate her idea and refine the problem she was solving.

Commonly, participants had learning gaps when it came to managing investors and benefited from learning how to approach them, frame conversations, and what to look out for in term sheets.

Participants also learned how to pitch their company. Bandile summed it up by stating the incubator program he attended "literally trimmed all the fat and made me like a pitching machine". Noah credits incubation for helping him refine his pitch deck, calling it "so sharp". Corey realized that he needed to shift his pitch when speaking to different audiences instead of telling the same story to everyone, highlighting this as one of the most valuable things he learned. For Ava, the thought process behind pitching helped her in her day-to-day work, giving her the "ability to effectively convey ideas".

Absence of Social Enterprise Content

Participants enthusiastically identified the business and entrepreneurship concepts they learned. However, though many felt the content they learned was relevant to their business as a social enterprise, there was a noticeable absence of discussion around topics specific to social enterprises. Further, only four participants were able to recognize this content limitation as they went through incubation programs.

Tendai thought there would have been "a lot of value in just, you know, being taught content that is specific to what you're doing" as a social entrepreneur. Though his program focused solely on impact ventures, he felt it was generic and that he would benefit from attending another program that "speaks to social enterprises". After incubation, he attended a university social entrepreneurship course to increase his domain knowledge. Ava's incubation program specifically focused on social entrepreneurs, but "even though you are a social entrepreneur, they only [use] the business model canvas" instead of the social enterprise business model canvas. This made her question if the most important aspect of her business should be its impact on

the world or its profit and she re-thought her entire business model. Hannah also completed the commercial business model canvas during her program, but completed the social enterprise version on her own. Preferring the social enterprise version, she found that when her business has alignment between impact and profit, focusing on the impact inherently increases the profit and "everything else falls into place".

Hannah expressed that the business concepts she learned were important because even as a social enterprise "you still have to learn all that other stuff that makes the world go around". However, she found it "tricky to balance everything" as a social enterprise; because social values were not mentioned in her incubation program, she had "almost two workshops – the workshop and then sort of a reflection on wait, what does this mean for us and our values and how we will drive it forward". Noah believes the "incubation space needs an understanding in terms of social entrepreneurship" and "more of like an emphasis around social businesses and how social businesses can be created given the political landscape".

Learning from Champions: Network Embeddedness

During incubation, participants learned from champions – those involved in the incubation process and within its network including incubator managers and staff, mentors, advisors, and peers. Champions worked in several ways to provide knowledge, support, and guidance to participants.

Incubator programs provided access to a new network for participants to embed themselves in. Xavier recognized incubation was beneficial in "building a network that I wouldn't have been able to build otherwise". Corey surrounded himself with the right people within the network, asked them the right questions, and contextualized their advice to propel his business forward. According to him, "help has to come from everywhere". Bandile had similar sentiments, stating, "every successful entrepreneur will tell you that we didn't do it alone" and found the incubator fostered a "community or home that you belonged to".

Champions pushed participants to make decisions that moved their businesses forward, with Thabisa stating they guided her to "finally see that there is a much better opportunity in the space we're playing in". Bandile commented that champions "asked the hard questions" and urged him to identify concrete tasks and deadlines. Corey was aided by champions holding him accountable. In his first program, champions pushed Xavier to talk to potential customers to help him validate his idea and in his second program, encouraged him to launch with an imperfect product, something he would not have done on his own. Mariam also credited champions with giving her the encouragement she needed to go out and talk to customers.

Participants embraced learning from other entrepreneurs in the incubator's network. Thabisa "benefited from how the content was delivered" in her first program which was through interactive sessions given by those with direct entrepreneurial experience. In Xavier's first program, sessions were run by entrepreneurs and he found their advice to be "real world" and "what's happening on the ground right now". Xavier placed high importance on a person's perceived authority to speak on a topic and preferred listening to other entrepreneurs as opposed to those with corporate or academic

backgrounds. Mariam learned from the experiences of other startups who had already raised money, appreciating their first-hand stories.

Champions in the form of cohort peers were a significant source of support for participants. Through her multiple incubation programs, Lindiwe never found a mentor who was a fit, but did find value in the moral support and advice peers provided. Hannah enjoyed being in a cohort with peers, stating "knowing you're not alone and everyone's going through the same stuff is great". Though she was in a mixed program, Hannah found value in being with commercial enterprises as the diversity in perspectives increased how much she was able to learn. She even felt that the commercial enterprises in her cohort learned how to incorporate social values into their businesses from her and the other social enterprises in the cohort. Out of the three incubation programs he attended, Xavier enjoyed the first the most largely because he was able to learn from his peers. He spoke at length about the importance of cohort diversity and its impact on learning. Thabisa learned from her peers in her second program as they were able to relate to what she was going through as well as offer advice on what to expect in the future.

Insufficient Networks

Though champions provided myriad benefits to participants, incubators had minimal contacts in the social enterprise ecosystem. Both Xavier and Mariam found challenges with mentors who had no experience in their sectors; Xavier stated, "I find when you have a mentor who is not necessarily well suited for you ... then it's like pointless". In Hannah's case, only a few mentors in the incubator were social entrepreneurs so she ended up "scoring mentors in terms of social enterprise" to ensure they aligned with her company's values. Ava would classify all mentors in her program as social entrepreneurs, the only participant to do so. However, while they may be social entrepreneurs personally, "they're all purely entrepreneurs in the way they run their business".

Participants felt that South Africa's social enterprise ecosystem is inadequate for their learning needs as social entrepreneurs. Hannah described the social development sector as "super messy and vast" while Ava stated, "the actual [social enterprise] ecosystem is geared toward nonprofits, but even then it still undermines them". Participants were aware of the local ecosystem limitations compared to those found in other countries. Hannah thought the incubator did little when it came to supporting the social entrepreneurship ecosystem in the country, noting how much further behind South Africa is than other nations. Both Ava and Noah mentioned the valuable support social entrepreneurs receive in the United States. After attending an incubator program in Europe, Thabisa contrasted the experience with her South African one stating that the stakeholders the European incubator "brought in to engage with us, like their networks, their corporate networks, their mentors ... were very much aligned to [the social enterprise] mandate rather than wanting to maximize your business model in order to make the most money". She found being around other social entrepreneurs provided a "community of people that understand your decision-making". Tendai also mentioned the importance of being surrounded by others in the social enterprise ecosystem; post-incubation, he relocated his company's offices to a social impact hub

to take advantage of being around the other "brilliant sort of organizations aligned to what we're doing".

Transformation: Business and Personal

Participants transformed their businesses as well as themselves during incubation. Incubators helped participants overcome difficult challenges, grow their businesses, and shift their mindsets.

Some participants created the foundation of their enterprises during incubation. Both Xavier and Mariam only had ideas when entering incubation, turning them into real businesses by the end of their programs. Tendai described incubation as "the best formative years of this company" and stated that "for the first time, I started thinking about the business beyond just surviving".

For others, incubation helped them pivot their business in a better direction. For Bandile, the pivot was gradual; he tested new ideas with the market as well as the incubator's partners until he found something that worked. Lindiwe found a market that allowed her to bring in a new revenue stream. During her first incubation program, Thabisa realized her initial business model was not feasible and in her second, found a way to expand into new target markets without compromising her social impact mandate. Both Corey and Ava found sustainable business models that generate profit on their own, allowing them to move away from a reliance on grant funding.

On the personal side, Tendai learned about himself, Hannah experienced a "psychological pivot", and Thabisa "developed as an entrepreneur" because of incubation. Bandile felt that while the program was intense, it changed his life and attending was one of the best decisions he had ever made. Cory had a similar life-changing experience through the incubator he attended. He alluded to his previous self as unfocused with no clear direction, but after incubation, he became focused on his company's success. He saw the impact his social enterprise had, saying "you see the difference in the people and that's just crazy".

Prioritization of Profit

While participants saw considerable transformation during incubation, many did not feel they were being guided toward transformation that accounted for their social values. Mariam described having "challenging conversations" around her prioritization of a social mission. Champions did not believe she could build a business by focusing on the social elements and instead pushed her to "focus on the enterprise". Hannah felt that she was "always being on the defensive" because champions did not understand how her business could make an impact while still making a profit. At the end of incubation, she decided to pivot her business model to "a private company with a good heart". Thabisa, who had been through multiple incubators, believes incubators "try and find ways to maximize the profit ... which for us wouldn't necessarily be the focus". Further, she found that "in any incubator/accelerator we've been part of, we were always the bad guys or the black sheep because at some point we'd be like, no that doesn't make sense, we aren't going to subscribe to that". Xavier felt that his second

program, which took an equity stake, wanted a quick exit and pushed him to do things he did not think were right for the business.

When it came to investment, participants felt pressure to pursue profit motives at the expense of their social values with Hannah stating, "it's tough to make that decision when you have to get money, which you often only get from investors and companies who don't want you to be a social enterprise". Not only was she tasked with finding investors who were a fit for her from a business perspective, but they needed to align with her social values as well. For Thabisa, "by virtue of being a social enterprise, there's already that hesitance because a lot of [investors] are like, well, am I really going to get my money out or is this just like, am I gifting the community here?". Many could not understand why she would say no to money to preserve her social mandate, viewing her as a stubborn, inexperienced entrepreneur. However, despite pressure, she always stood her ground stating, "it didn't always make sense to other people, but from a social impact perspective, we've never surrendered our mandate for any money-related motive". Noah's thoughts aligned to this as well, feeling that investors in South Africa are "only thinking about profits in the short term" which does not align with the model of a social enterprise.

Discussion

This study showed social entrepreneurs in South African incubators learned from acquiring and applying knowledge during incubation, but the content was not focused on their learning needs as social entrepreneurs. They also learned from the champions in incubators' networks, but these networks were insufficient for social entrepreneurs. Additionally, incubator-based learning resulted in participants transforming themselves and their businesses, but without the right content provided by the right people, their businesses were pushed to prioritize profit motives and drift from their social missions. To provide the right support to social entrepreneurs, incubators must expand their program content to include social enterprise concepts, broaden their networks to include those in the public and social sector, and ensure they are valuing an enterprise's social mission.

Expanding Program Content

Incubation developed and strengthened participants' business skills, but they struggled with the prominence of commercial concepts. Though seven of the eleven incubator programs in this study focused solely on supporting social entrepreneurs, almost no discussion about learning social enterprise-specific concepts occurred. While there is a need to understand commercial entrepreneurship concepts (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012), it may be difficult for social entrepreneurs to relate to purely business-based content (Howorth et al., 2012) and the findings of this study exemplify this. Incubators must expand their programming to equip social entrepreneurs with the knowledge they need to be effective in this unique role.

Similar to commercial entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs should learn how to develop business plans, run an organization, manage finances, (Weber, 2012), identify routes to market, obtain funding, and reach profitability (Howorth et al., 2012). These topics were discussed heavily during incubation and participants provided ample evidence of

their existence. However, social entrepreneurs should also be taught specific concepts such as how to create effective social change (Worsham, 2012), manage multiple disparate stakeholders (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007), and measure impact (Smith et al., 2012). While social entrepreneurs require a profitable business in order to build a venture capable of creating lasting social change (Tracey & Phillips, 2007), they should also learn how to manage the tension between their dual social and commercial mandates without prioritizing one over the other (Smith et al., 2012). Further, as social enterprises can take on various organizational forms, social entrepreneurs should have an understanding of how these differ to make an informed choice for their business (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012). As there was an absence of this content during incubation, some participants mentioned they proactively sought it outside of incubation, but for others, it was not clear if they even knew there were concepts specific to being a social entrepreneur that they should learn. While current commercially-focused incubator programming is beneficial for social entrepreneurs, the lack of content specific to their unique needs is detrimental to their development. Because social enterprises should be built around achieving both commercial objectives and social outcomes, social enterprise educators must equip social entrepreneurs with frameworks and strategies to manage the complexity of having these dual social and commercial purposes (Tracey & Phillips, 2007).

Broadening Networks

Champions influenced social entrepreneurs and their businesses during incubation, making it imperative that incubators provide the right networks for social entrepreneurs to leverage during programs (Casasnovas & Bruno, 2013). However, this study shows the networks into which South African incubators embed social entrepreneurs tend to be commercially focused. Those who have a role in educating social entrepreneurs must understand that social entrepreneurs' focus on a social mission may impact their participation in a purely business-focused community (Howorth et al., 2012). Observing role models is a significant source of learning for entrepreneurs (Zozimo et al., 2017) and ensuring access to the right champions is paramount to their development as social entrepreneurs.

Embeddedness in different networks gives entrepreneurs access to different resources (McKeever et al., 2014) and allows social entrepreneurs to develop the right social capital through deliberate networking (Weber, 2012). Social entrepreneurs operate within and across multiple sectors and rely on collaborative relationships to achieve their missions (Jeong et al., 2020; Montgomery et al., 2012; Pache & Chowdhury, 2012). In addition to stakeholders in the commercial sector, social entrepreneurs must also liaise with those in the public and social sector such as government entities, public agencies, grassroots organizations, and social support groups (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012). Further, interacting with social entrepreneurial peers is a way to learn from each other while mitigating the sense of solitude social entrepreneurs often feel (Jeong et al., 2020).

Incubators facilitate serendipitous encounters (Busch & Barkema, 2022) and knowledge transfer by introducing participants into new ecosystems, increasing participant embeddedness within those ecosystems through further collaboration and relationship building (Meister & Mauer, 2019). To properly support social entrepreneurs, incubators

must expand their networks to include those in the public and social sector that align with socially focused mandates. By not aligning social entrepreneurs' needs with the right networks, incubators are embedding social entrepreneurs in networks that are not effective for their unique needs.

Valuing Social Missions

Incubators are a source of significant business transformation for social entrepreneurs, but many in this study found it challenging to stay true to their social missions as they were being pushed toward prioritizing profit. Participants had to constantly reflect on and defend their social values while feeling pressure to abandon them. Having both commercial and social business dimensions is often a source of tension in social enterprises (Austin et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007) and it is difficult to maintain a commitment to both, leading many to lose focus and prioritize one side of the business (Smith et al., 2012). This study shows that as incubators embed social entrepreneurs into their commercially focused networks, social entrepreneurs are pressured to prioritize the commercial dimensions of their business. As there is no legal designation for a social enterprise in South Africa (Claeyé, 2017), many have chosen to register as a for-profit company (Myres et al., 2018), making it less of an administrative burden to pursue profit-oriented motives.

Further, the sources of capital that commercial entrepreneurs access are not always available to social entrepreneurs (Austin et al., 2006; Weber, 2012). With commercial enterprises, entrepreneurs and investors are aligned in their pursuit of maximizing financial return, but with social enterprises, there is no one central aspect of alignment (Austin et al., 2006). Additionally, many investors do not understand how to quantify risk for a social enterprise (Weber, 2012) and it is difficult for social entrepreneurs to focus on a social mission while still providing investors with an appreciative return on their investment (Austin et al., 2006). Other forms of capital that social enterprises can access, such as through governments or foundations, are often risk averse (Weber, 2012). As social entrepreneurs typically require outside capital to fulfill their missions (Zahra et al., 2009), incubators should provide access to suitable funding options for social entrepreneurs.

Conclusion and Implications

Social entrepreneurs demonstrated considerable learning experiences during incubation. They acquired and applied knowledge, learned from those connected to an incubator's network, and transformed themselves and their businesses as a result. However, there were limitations in their learning experience that were detrimental to their development as social entrepreneurs. Literature shows that social entrepreneurs must learn specific concepts (Howorth et al., 2012; Pache & Chowdhury, 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007), but incubators focused on commercial business concepts at the expense of social enterprise content. Social entrepreneurs should be embedded in multiple sectors (Jeong et al., 2020; Montgomery et al., 2012; Pache & Chowdhury, 2012), but incubators' networks were commercially focused and not aligned to the social enterprise ecosystem. A social enterprise must balance its social and commercial missions (Austin et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007), yet

participants felt pushed to transform businesses into more commercially viable models at the expense of social values.

This study contributes to developing an understanding of social entrepreneurs' learning experience within incubation programs. A more thorough understanding of the lived experience of entrepreneurs can help influence the design of support structures and policies (Berglund, 2015) and there are numerous ways the findings in this study can help better support social entrepreneurs' learning within incubators. Incubators can account for the intricacies of social entrepreneurs' learning needs, establish relationships with stakeholders in the social and public sectors, and ensure they are considering the importance of social values.

When social entrepreneurs join a learning community focused solely on business priorities and not social values, it creates a barrier to full participation in that community and diminishes the chance for meaningful learning (Howorth et al., 2012). When commercial and social entrepreneurs are learning together, the program should be designed to ensure relevant content for social entrepreneurs (Howorth et al., 2012; Tracey & Phillips, 2007). Not only does this make learning more relevant to social entrepreneurs, but exposes commercial entrepreneurs to new concepts from which they can learn as well. Social entrepreneurs also need to be prepared to advocate for their own learning during incubation. To do so, social entrepreneurs should gain a better understanding of what concepts they need to learn, understand their own learning gaps prior to incubation, and ensure discussions during incubation focus on being a social entrepreneur.

Little is known about what determines the decisions social entrepreneurs make when it comes to managing social and commercial tensions (Żur, 2021) but this study demonstrates that the networks social entrepreneurs are embedded in and the champions surrounding them influence this process. Incubators should expand their commercially focused network to include those in the social and public sectors. Connections to these sectors could come in the form of mentors, guest speakers, meetings with beneficiaries, volunteering, and observational site visits. Not only will building a broad network increase social entrepreneurs' learning, it may be advantageous to the future sustainability of their ventures (Pache & Chowdhury, 2012).

Educators should create experiences that prepare social entrepreneurs for the particular challenges they will face in their journey (Tracey & Phillips, 2007). Incubators are not required to meet any South African formal education requirements and each incubator decides how to structure its own program, placing no learning mandates on entities that play a role in educating entrepreneurs. Incubators lack a clear understanding of their role as educational providers and would benefit from insight as to how they fit into the overall learning journey of social entrepreneurs as well as how this journey should be differentiated from that of commercial entrepreneurs. Incubators must be cognizant of how their mandate influences the learning that occurs during their programs as well the lasting impact it has on social enterprises' operations.

As social enterprises address issues of economic development, they play a substantial role in developing countries such as South Africa (Grobbelaar et al., 2016), yet this study showed incubators are not meeting the specific needs of social entrepreneurs. It

is a challenge to create an environment that enables social entrepreneurs to thrive (Littlewood & Holt, 2018) and more thought must be given to what the role of incubators should be in terms of supporting social entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurs' learning in South Africa. If social entrepreneurs are not gaining the legitimacy they need in the incubator environment, incubators may not be the right mechanism for supporting social enterprises in the country.

Contribution

This study contributes to incubation literature, addressing research gaps on learning dynamics (Politis et al., 2019) as well as how and why entrepreneurs develop their businesses while part of these programs (Albort-Morant & Ribeiro-Soriano, 2016; Theodorakopoulos et al., 2014). Further, this study provides an understanding of the social interactions that shape the learning process, a neglected area of entrepreneurship education (Toutain et al., 2017). Additionally, this study contributes to literature on the learning experience of social entrepreneurs, an area that has thus far been under-researched (Alden Rivers et al., 2015; Cope, 2005b; Howorth et al., 2012). The growing demand for educating social entrepreneurs (García-González & Ramírez-Montoya, 2020; Solomon et al., 2019) makes this research timely. Finally, by conducting this study in South Africa, it contributes to the sparse literature on both social entrepreneurship (Littlewood & Holt, 2018; Rivera-Santos et al., 2015) and incubators (Mian et al., 2016; van Eck et al., 2018) on the African continent.

Future Research

This study is an important starting point in understanding the learning experience of social entrepreneurs within incubation programs in an African context. The limitations in the learning experience for social entrepreneurs found in this study center around a lack of specific support for social entrepreneurs and each of these limitations should be further studied. Understanding whether the absence of social enterprise-specific concepts is unique to the context of study or has uncovered a larger problem within incubation programs would be beneficial. South African incubators could work with local universities and organizations that currently offer social entrepreneurship content and incorporate it into their programs with the resulting impact studied. A network analysis of startups pre- and post-incubation would provide valuable insights into embeddedness and a study of how business structures change because of incubation would be particularly illuminating. Using a discursive approach would provide a better understanding of the role incubators play in shifting the identities of social entrepreneurs. Future research should also focus on whether incubators are the right mechanism for growing social enterprises.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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