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Social Bricolage as a Panacea for Resource Mobilization of Social Enterprises in Developing Countries: Evidence from Health Care Sector

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***Abstract*:** The ever widening gap in public services as a result of increased demand and severe resource constraints particularly in developing countries is promoting the emergence of social enterprises .They play an important role in promoting inclusive growth by bridging the widening gap between the rural and the urban as well as rich and poor in the developing economies by bringing products and services most suitable for that particular market. However just as commercial enterprises rely on resources weather physical, human, financial and others, similarly resources are also critical for the survival of social enterprises. But the mobilization of these resources is more difficult for social enterprises as they are mostly located in resource constrained environments serving the underserved. This study basically aims at developing detailed understanding of resource mobilization process of social enterprises using the theoretical lens of social bricolage and to examine the role of hybrid identity in mobilizing the needed resources. The study focuses on health care social enterprises working in Pakistan. This study holds novelty as it empirically confirms and further refines and extends the social bricolage theory by proposing four dominant bricolage practices i.e. resorting, conscientization, annexing users and beneficiaries and co-opetition and explains the sub processes involved in a developing country's context. The study also contributes to social enterprise and social bricolage literature by empirically investigating and examining the role of hybrid identity of social enterprises in mobilizing the needed resources and asserts on the basis of the findings that hybridity serves as an enabler for the bricolage behavior of the social enterprises. Finally the study also offers a number of recommendations for future research.

Key words: Social enterprises, bricolage, social bricolage, resource mobilization.

1. Introduction

The slaying gap in public services resulting from the increased demand accompanied by the unadorned resource constraints is stimulating the advent of social enterprises predominantly in context of developing countries (Vickers, Lyon, Sepulveda & McMullan, 2017). Social enterprises are the major example of hybrid organizations (Pache & Santos, 2012; Tykkyläinen, & Ritala, 2021). Since these enterprises operate on dual mission base i.e. having both charity and business at their core (Battilana & Lee, 2014) they are referred to as hybrid organizations. They mainly address different social, environmental and community concerns while being trying to be economically viable (Battilana, Besharov, & Mitzinneck, 2017; Borzaga, Franchini, & Galera, 2016).Social enterprises hold significant importance in promoting inclusive growth by bridging the ever widening gap between the rural and the urban as well as rich and poor in the developing economies (Angeli, Ishwardat, Jaiswal, & Capaldo, 2018).

In today's dynamic world where entrepreneurship is the key driver of economic growth , the concept of social enterprises is becoming more popular and center of attention for many researchers (Banard, 2019) and academics

(Lashitew, Bals, & van Tulder, 2020; Servantie & Rispal, 2018).Two major reasons can be attributed to their increased popularity i.e. their promising role in addressing the unmet needs of underserved people around the globe and their unique business model pursuing dual mission base simultaneously.

Social enterprise literature has focused on different aspects of social enterprises such as mission drift that these social enterprises may face (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Doherty, Haugh, & Lyon, 2014; Ebrahim, Battilana, & Mair, 2014; Klein, Schneider, & Spieth , 2021) their specific process of legitimization (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Jay,2013) and scaling of social impact (Rawhouser, Cummings, & Newbert, 2019 ; Haski-Leventhal & Mehra, 2016). But recently scholars have diverted their attention and started focusing more on resource mobilization by these social enterprises. This shift of interest can be mainly attributed to the fact that these enterprises usually require the same set of resources as are needed by any other commercial enterprise however mobilizing these resources is much more difficult for them(Doherty et al., 2014; Janssen, Fayolle, & Wuilaume, 2018; Linna, 2013;Tate & Bals, 2018). They are inherently located in markets where there is scarcity of needed resources as their mission is to serve the underprivileged communities. Moreover, the scarcity of resources is further aggravated when these social enterprises step into developing countries (Doherty et al., 2014; Janssen et al., 2018; Manning & Bejarano, 2017) with huge burden of social issues and marked by extreme poverty, lack of infrastructure and weak political and regulatory system which makes it difficult for them to achieve sustainability in their operations (Noor, Shah & Kakakhel, 2021).

There are different theoretical perspectives that provide logic and explain the behavior of entrepreneurs when faced with the scarcity of resources (Desa & Basu, 2013; Rawhouser et al., 2017). Such as user entrepreneurship (Shah & Tripsas, 2007), entrepreneurial bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005) and effectuation (Sarasvathy, 2001). Despite of some similarities ,their distinctiveness has been widely documented (Fisher, 2012; Selden & Fletcher, 2015; Welter, Mauer, & Wuebker, 2016).Among these perspectives bricolage theory has been emerging as one of the prominent approaches for understanding the phenomenon of social entrepreneurship and in literature it has been labeled as resource enabler (Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010; Desa & Basu, 2013; Ladstaetter, Plank, & Hemetsberger, 2018; Lashitew et al., 2020 ; Servantie & Rispal, 2018). Social enterprises generally try to cope up the resource scarcity through the mobilization of resources at hand by combining them innovatively (Desa & Basu, 2013; Ladstaetter et al., 2018). Bricolage explains how in resource scarce environments, enterprises recombine different components at hand for new and different purposes i.e. making do with what is at hand thus refusing to be constrained by limitations as bricoleurs and acting through improvisation (Baker & Nelson, 2005). These pillars show how bricolage is an approach which is action oriented towards problem solving by using the resources for purposes for which they were actually not intended for, through creative recombination and reinvention and thus exploiting the opportunities that are not recognized or utilized by others (Baker & Nelson 2005; Janssen et al. 2018; Ladstaetter et al. 2018; Linna, 2013). In 2010, Di Domenico et al. confirmed the initial three pillars of bricolage by studying different micro processes through which resources are identified and mobilized and further enriched the original bricolage model by proposing three new and specific processes that better fit and are more suitable for the nature of social enterprises i.e. the creation of social value, persuasion and stake holder participation building on social bricolage theory (Ciambotti, & Pedrini, 2019; Di Domenico et al., 2010; Janssen et al. , 2018).

Despite of the fact that previous studies have regarded bricolage as an important mechanism for resource mobilization and for the institutionalization of social change and have employed lens of entrepreneurial bricolage but the model of social bricolage that best fits the nature of social enterprises (Di Domenico et al. 2010; Janssen , Fayolle , & Wuilaume, 2018) has been widely ignored with only few exceptions and even those studies doesn't provide any conclusive and comprehensive review of additional constructs of social bricolage. Therefore they need further investigation and documentation (Langevang & Namatovu , 2019 ; Janssen et al., 2018) . Also the underlying mechanisms and the sub processes they espouse remain largely understudied (Hota, Mitra, & Qureshi, 2019; Janssen et al., 2018; Rawhouser, Villanueva, & Newbert, 2017). Moreover most of these studies are concentrated on developed countries with less focus on developing countries (Ciambotti & Pedrini, 2019; Gupta, Chauhan, Paul, & Jaiswal, 2020; Hota et al., 2019).As there is huge difference in contextual settings of developed and developing countries (Bruton, Ketchen, & Ireland, 2013; Gupta et al., 2020) and since resource mobilization strategies vary across culture (Battilana, 2018; Davies & Doherty, 2019; Wry & Zhao, 2018) there is need for distinctive enquiry to develop a more comprehensive and detailed account of bricolage behavior of social enterprises working in developing countries highlighting the sub-processes involved associated with the underdeveloped institutional frameworks and socio cultural differences in developing countries.

However this model of social bricolage, an extension of entrepreneurial bricolage, that best fits the nature of social enterprises (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Janssen et al., 2018) has been widely ignored in the existing literature with only few exceptions and even those studies doesn't provide any conclusive and comprehensive review of additional constructs of social bricolage i.e. social value creation, stakeholder participation and persuasion of significant others as well as the sub-processes involved. Therefore they need further investigation and documentation (Langevang & Namatovu , 2019 ; Janssen et al., 2018) particularly in developing countries' context (Ciambotti & Pedrini ,2019; Gupta, Chauhan, Paul, & Jaiswal, 2020; Hota, Mitra, & Qureshi, 2019).

Moreover Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019) have recently initiated a discussion in the literature that social enterprises can leverage their hybrid identity to creatively mobilize the needed resources. Ladstaetter et al, (2018) showed how dual mission not only serves as a constraining factor for social enterprises rather it can be regarded as an enabling condition for them , letting the social entrepreneurs to make creative use of the morally ambiguous space between their social and business logic. Ladstaetter and colleagues emphasized the need to further investigate how social enterprises can creatively mobilize their hybrid identities to acquire resources or deal with different problems. Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019) also call for further theoretical and empirical work on role of hybridity in harvesting the resources more creatively.

Thus keeping in view the crucial role of social enterprises for the overall welfare of the society and social bricolage as the most appropriate model that best fits the nature of social enterprises as well as recognizing the need for further empirical investigation and refinement of its constructs particularly with respect to developing country's context, the present study aims to answer two main research questions that are *how do these social enterprises engage in social bricolage to mobilize the needed resources in developing country's context and how does hybrid identity enables resource mobilization in these social enterprises?*. Our study addresses the existing knowledge gaps in the literature and advances the existing knowledge about resource mobilization of social enterprises through unveiling various creative approaches that social enterprises use for mobilizing the resources and establishing the role of their hybrid identity as an enabler for their bricolage behavior.

1.1 Empirical Setting

Pakistan is one of the developing countries of South East Asia. The institutional characteristics of a developing country are very different from that of developed world and even among developing countries every country has its own dynamics and characteristics that could influence the working of different organizations in it. Beside many other incumbent problems that the region is currently facing, one of the major fronts where Pakistan is striving hard is the limited resource availability to counter ever increasing disease burden including large number of incidences of communicable diseases as well as increase in non- communicable diseases, psychological and mental health related problems and increased rate of accidents.

Pakistan is also facing multiple healthcare delivery related challenges. Lack of sufficient funding and budgetary allocation by government is the most important issue causing the major hindrance in addressing the health care needs of more than almost 200 million people .Unlike many other countries in the region, Pakistan doesn't only have access and delivery related healthcare issues in rural areas, rather communities residing in urban slums are also facing problems of access to quality primary healthcare (Muzafar, 2020).Most of the funds in the country are being largely spent on tertiary hospital based services while leaving almost nothing for sustainability ofquality primary health care system. Currently there are 1211 public hospitals and 5508 basic health units along with 676 rural health centers. The country currently has one doctor for almost 957 people and only one bed for 1580 individuals. Public sector hospitals are not well equipped, understaffed and overcrowded. They are also over sighted and not supervised by the relevant authorities (Islam, 2018).

Although the Government is striving hard to better perform at this front but still the budgetary and fiscal allocations to health care sector are as low as 1.1% of the country's GDP (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2019-20) which is not sufficient enough to meet the needs of ever- increasing population resulting in inadequate and ineffective public health care system .Also the private health care sector is highly unregulated and commercialized resulting in huge health care disparities and inequalities with respect to access and quality related issues. Approximately 90 percent of health expenses are out of the patient's pocket in a country where almost 45 percent ofpopulation is making below poverty line (Khan, 2019).

This widening gap between public and private sector and the devastating health care conditions of the country owing to the scarcity of resources led many social entrepreneurs to stepin and combine their entrepreneurial skills and innovative cost effective models to deliver health care facilities in Pakistan, accounting for almost thirty

percent of social enterprise sector in the country (British Council, 2016).

The idea of creating social enterprises for promotion of equitable health care opportunities is gaining more popularity in last few years particularly after Pakistan's commitment for achieving United Nations' (UN) 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in support of the development agenda 2015–2030. As one of these 17 SDGs is the promotion of good health and wellbeing which calls for the advancement of health and wellbeing of the disenfranchised people living in developing countries of the world (United Nations Development Program, 2014; World Health Organisation, 2017) and is also related with the achievement of other closely related SDGs such as eradication of poverty, hunger and promoting quality education because people in developing and low income countries spent a major part of their income on acquisition of health services which ultimately left them with nothing on hand to spend on their food, education and improving their quality of lives and hence contributing towards increase in poverty (Angeli, Ishwardat , Jaiswal & Capaldo, 2018) .

Thus realizing the scarcity of resources owing to low government expenditure and the indispensable role of social enterprises to address the widening health inequalities in Pakistan make the healthcare sector as the most suitable context for examining the social bricolage behavior of these enterprises.

2. Literature Review

Social entrepreneurship is a complex, context dependent socially constructed phenomenon (Choi & Majumdar, 2014; Newth, 2016) as every society has its own unique set of challenges and social issues as compared to other societies around the globe (Atiq, Siddique, & Mufti, 2018). Mair (2010) argued that what social entrepreneurs do and how they do it, actually depends upon the context i.e. where these social entrepreneurs operate. The model of social entrepreneurship that works well in one region may fail in another; therefore, it depends on the socioeconomic conditions that operate in different places (Kerlin, 2010). In other words, within different contexts social entrepreneurship phenomenon manifests differently owing to the political, economic and social arrangements. Therefore researchers and policy makers must situate the phenomenon in a particular context in order to arrive at its complete understanding (Mair, 2010).

Social entrepreneurship and the resultant entrepreneurial activities held particular importance in case of developing countries marked by institutional voids and lack of government involvement in areas of communal interest. Also literature review shows that a large amount of focus in research is placed on the individual social entrepreneurs as compared to social enterprises (Littlewood & Holt, 2018). Moreover social enterprise literature reveals that majority of academic actors are centered in developed world and much of the discussion around nonprofit organizations and social enterprises revolves around western countries (Calvo & Morales, 2016). Reliance on foreign aid/creditors, informal economies and multiple market failures in developing countries have substantially changed the whole debate around social enterprises thus making them more suitable for the analysis of social enterprise operations (Cho, Sultana, & Kwon, 2019).Moreover a large number of studies on social entrepreneurship are mainly from Europe, while north American and Asian countries are still lagging behind despite of witnessing the concept from 1990s (Bansal, Garg , & Sharma,2019).

Though social entrepreneurship is a widely recognized and growing field around the globe but still there is a dire need for the development of ground breaking state of the art solutions for various social issues that developing countries are facing these days. Most of the developing countries have not yet attained complete conception of social entrepreneurship (Calvo & Morales, 2016) particularly in case of countries like Pakistan. Social entrepreneurship can serve as a source of inspiration for academia, public and private sector organizations, non- governmental organizations (NGOs) and youth for building various innovative home grown solutions for ever increasing economic and social issues being faced by people of Pakistan (Iqbal, Kousar, & Hameed, 2018; Khan, Yasir, Shah, & Majid, 2021).

Moreover the extant review of literature also shows that several unique features of social enterprises have been the center of attention for many researchers such as their hybrid business models (Alberti & Varon Garrido , 2017; Davies & Doherty, 2019; Park, 2019; Santos, Pache, & Birkholz, 2015); their specific processes of legitimization and the possible mission drift that these social enterprises may face (Bastida & Mas-Machuca, 2019; Kwong, Tasavori, & Wun-mei Cheung, 2017; Mersland, Nyarko, & Szafarz, 2019;Ramus & Vaccaro, 2017). However literature review shows that recently there has been an increase of interest in research on resource mobilization of social enterprises (Ciambotti & Pedrini, 2019) as mobilizing the resources creatively has always been an integral part of the entrepreneurship process (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Moreover since resource mobilization strategies vary across culture therefore they need further exploration (Battilana, 2018; Davies &

Doherty, 2019; Wry & Zhao, 2018) across different contexts.

Resource mobilization can be described as the process by which different actors in the society try to access the resources critical for their operations .Accordingly, resource mobilization in entrepreneurship literature refers to all those actions that are aimed at arraigning and securing access to the resources needed for business operations and that aid entrepreneurs in dealing with resource constraints (Drummond, McGrath, & O'Toole, 2018; Wadell, Bengtson, & Åberg,2019).In other words it can be argued that resource mobilization is an activity untaken to arrange the needed resources by the entrepreneurs in order to be able to survive and grow in an environment that is economically stifled.

Thus resource mobilization refers to those entrepreneurial actions that are aimed at managing and coping up the constraints and problems with creative problem solving approach, going beyond adaptation and resourcefulness in the presence of certain contextual limits. In doing so, it focuses on resources, actions, and context. Resource mobilization focuses on resources as the central theme. Nevertheless, a resource cannot be a real resource until it is in use.

Resource mobilization is generally practiced in constrained environments to identify and gather resources (Baker, 2007; Powell & Baker, 2014). Kodithuwakku and Rosa (2002) in their study found and explained that it is the ability to efficiently mobilize resources that can lead to the success of a venture rather than the presence of opportunities. Their findings were further strengthened when Powell and Baker (2014), explained the importance of resource mobilization particularly in resource constrained environments. Meyskens, Robb–Post, Stamp, Carsrud, and Reynolds (2010) explained that social enterprises need and rely on almost similar set of resources as are needed by other commercial ventures such as physical resources, human resources, financial resources and others, however their unique operating conditions and their hybrid nature pose several distinctive challenges in mobilizing theses resources (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Di Domenico et al., 2010; Janssen et al., 2018; Rawhouser, Villanueva, & Newbert, 2017).

Literature review highlights two prominent approaches towards resource mobilization that are optimization and bricolage. Bricolage is all about using existing resources and recombining them for new purposes (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Levi-Strauss, 1967). This encompasses using resources for purposes that they may not be originally intended for or combining them to create something new. Whereas on the other hand optimization in contrast involves the acquisition of new standard resources that have proven capabilities for the explicit use for which they are originally meant for (Garud & Karnoe, 2003; Oliver, 1997). Both of these two approaches have been widely documented and discussed in prior literature (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Desa & Basu, 2013; Oliver, 1997). However among these two contrasting approaches bricolage is considered to be the most promising one and gained more recognition (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019, Servantie & Rispal, 2018) particularly in resource scarce environments. According to Desa and Basu (2013); Ladstaetter, Plank, and Hemetsberger (2018); Linna (2013), scarcity of resources can be overcomed using bricolage i.e. by mobilizing the resources at hand and combining them innovatively. However there is still dearth of research on bricolage in context of social entrepreneurship and needs further empirical investigation (Janssen et al., 2018) as to how social enterprises engage in bricolage to mobile the needed resources (Rizal & Adham, 2020).

Researchers such as Di Dominico et al. (2010); Desa and Basu (2013); Janssen et al. (2018) in order to better fit the needs of social enterprises working in resource scarce environments have focused on social bricolage, an extension of entrepreneurial bricolage to sort out various social issues not adequately addressed by traditional for profit organizations.

Though social bricolage is most appropriate in resource scarce situations ,still majority of the studies have employed it in relation to the entrepreneurs and organizations working in developed economies where as compared to developing countries resources are quite abundant and markets are fairly stable (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019). Consequently little is known about how social bricolage is used to mobilize resources in developing countries' context that are marked by extreme poverty and social issues (Langevang & Namatovu, 2019).

As far as the application of bricolage in social entrepreneurship is concerned it can be traced back by the work of Zahra, Gedajlovic, Neubaum, & Shulman (2009) who gave a typology of social entrepreneurs and introduced the notion of "social *bricoleurs*". Based upon the ways through which entrepreneurs discover and identify different opportunities , gain access to different resources and pursue their mission, Zahra et al.(2009) distinguished social entrepreneurs as *social bricoleurs* (addressing different local social issues on small scale), *social constructionist* (addressing needs that are underserved through introducing innovations and reforms to a wider

social system)and the *social engineers* who bring revolutionary changes by addressing social issues in prevailing structures. Similarly Halme, Lindeman, and Linna (2012) introduced the concept of *intrapreneurial bricolage* and showed that middle managers in MNCs dedicated to inclusive innovation can serve as *social intrapreneurs* by overcoming organizational and resource constraints and thus promoting pro poor business solutions and models.

Other researchers have also highlighted the significance of bricolage in context of social entrepreneurship. Such as Desa (2012) in a study on 202 social enterprises located in different countries examined the impact of different technological, regulatory and political institutions on the process of resource mobilization i.e. more specifically Desa studied resource mobilization by social entrepreneurs while working under unsupportive institutional conditions. He found that through bricolage process, social enterprises can survive and overcome the institutional constraints. It has also been found that bricolage is used by the social entrepreneurs in countries having low index ratings with respect to ease of doing business and technological achievements, however no direct link was found between political stability of the country and the use of bricolage by the social entrepreneurs (Desa,2012). Desa further demonstrated that use of bricolage can also serve as legitimizing instrument for entrepreneurial venture to alter theinstitutional pillars.

In the same vein Gundry, Kickul, Griffiths, & Bacq (2011) called these institutional conditions as 'innovation ecology 'and argued that innovation for social impact relies on these conditions. Gundry and colleagues further explained that the extent to which social entrepreneurs use bricolage directly affects their ability to offer and develop innovative solutions to various social problems, as through bricolage they are better able to attract and modify the existing or readily available resources in novel ways i.e. referring to social innovation. Literature review highlights that Linna(2013) also realized the relationship between social entrepreneurs and innovation and referred to them as 'innovator-entrepreneurs' owing to their ability to offer low cost and affordable solutions to the people living at the bottom of pyramid (BOP).

Another important theme emerged from the literature review is the relationship between the bricolage behavior of social ventures and scaling of their (social ventures) social impact. In this vein Kickul, Griffiths and Gundry (2010) investigated and studied the relationship between entrepreneurial bricolage and social impact growth and explained how it is mediated by the rate and role of firm innovation(catalytic innovation).Similarly Bacq, Ofstein, Kickul, & Gundry (2015) investigated that how scaling of social impact of different social ventures is being influenced by bricolage and attempted to give rationale that why social entrepreneurial firms that are engaged in bricolage arelikely to have larger social impact. They tested their hypothesis on a data set of 123 social enterprises and found that there exist a positive relationship between scaling of social impact and bricolage behavior of social enterprises. While scaling of social impact can be defined as 'the process of expanding or adapting an organization's output to better match the magnitude of the social need or problem being tackled' (Desa & Koch ,2014,p.148). Social impact scaling can further be understood in two ways i.e. "depth impact" and the "breadth impact". Depth impact implies the expansion in the scope of products and services being offered to a particular community i.e. it refers to the qualitative upgrading whereas on the other hand the breadth impact refers to the increase in number of beneficiaries or geographical expansion i.e. the quantitative progression of the impact.

Molecke and Pinkse (2017) made an effort to recognize the underlying relationship between social entrepreneurship and bricolage, investigated how social enterprises use different methodologies for measuring social impact in order to address frictions among various stakeholders in social enterprises through the lens of bricolage. Their study revealed that social entrepreneurs use two approaches for managing frictions with their stakeholders. At first social entrepreneurs strive to delegitimize the traditional formal methodologies that are used to measurethe outcome by perceiving them as irrelevant, incomplete, imprudent and immeasurable. Second they attempted to establish the legitimacy of approaches based on bricolage for measurement of social impact.

Although social entrepreneurs may generally face some frictions with their stakeholders, they sometimes do have hard times with their financial resource providers (Sunley & Pinch, 2012). Sunley and Pinch, in their study, compared two theoretical perspectives i.e. social bricolage and evolutionary entrepreneurialism approach and explained the link between demand and use of funding with the social enterprises' development strategy. The social bricolage approach refers that social enterprises manage to survive in resource constraint environments through improvisation and making use of idle capital. While the second evolutionary approach refers to the reliance of social enterprises on customs and practices that social enterprises have learnt from the environments in which these enterprises are operating.

While reviewing the literature on bricolage in social entrepreneurship the researcher also came acrossa series of studies that have looked the concept of bricolage in social entrepreneurship from theoretical point of view and compared it with similar concepts such as effectuation, causation and optimization. In this vein , considering the critical role of resources for the development of a venture Desa and Basu (2013) examined two approaches of resource mobilization i.e. bricolage and optimization and also analyzed the conditions that serves as antecedent for the selection of these approaches. Optimization refers to the acquisition of standard resource having proven capabilities for the specific purpose for which these resources are actually intended for (Garud & Karnoe, 2003).Desa and Basu provided useful insights about how optimization and bricolage are used for resource mobilization under changing conditions and the relative importance of the two approaches .They also found that although optimization and bricolage are contrasting approachesbut they are not always substitutes for each other.

Later in 2013, Owusu and Janssen studied bricolage and effectuation and explained that how by using these approaches resource constraints can be overcomed by social entrepreneurs in uncertain conditions and studied the effect of these approaches on social ventures. Sarasvathy (2009) described effectuation as the logic of entrepreneurial expertise. In effectuation an entrepreneur is assumed to have a set of means from which he then attempts to create possible effects (Fisher, 2012) i.e. the common point between effectuation and bricolage is to create or invent something from already available resources. In similar vein Servanti and Rispal (2018) examined how over the lifecycle of a particular venture the combination of causation, bricolage and effectuation changes and also analyzed the elements responsible for such changes. A longitudinal case study approach was used to analyze the underlying behaviors and alternations of the three theories at the development, progression and replication periods of theentrepreneurial process of the case. They provided useful insights into the areas where causation is required and also those for which bricolage or effectuation is needed.

Another important research found during literature search that links bricolage with other related concepts is by Nelson and Lima (2019). In their study on community of Córrego d'Antas, that was hit by a natural disaster Nelson and Lima examined the entrepreneurial actions based ondifferent types and combinations of effectuation, social bricolage and causation .Their study serves to further deepen the understanding on the relationship between bricolage and effectuationparticularly in case of response to natural disasters.

Review of extant literature also highlights a stream of work studying the effects of bricolage on social ventures growth and the possible mission drift encountered by these ventures.Such as Ladstaetter, Plank and Hemetsberger (2018) in their study on a social enterprise *Die Bäckerei* that embodies bricolage behavior showed that the potentially conflicting social and economic goals can lead to break downs in social enterprises due to diverging standards for evaluation of their performance resulting from diverging interpretations of their organizational identity. In their study they showed that bricolage can serve both as a cause and a way out for temporary breakdowns while complete breakdowns call for more planning on part of practitioners than they normally do as it imposes a limit to bricolage approach of doing routine business. However their findings are based on a single case and needs further verification.

Similarly Kwong, Tasavori and Cheung (2017) explored impact of collective bricolageon social enterprises' mission and explained how asymmetry of power among partners and nature of their involvement can have influence on their mission. In the same vein Bojica, Jimenez, Nava and Fuentes (2018) explored how bricolage plays important role in the growth of social entrepreneurship organizations (SEOs) and revealed that the influence of bricolage on the growth of SEOs depends upon three factors i.e. resource availability, the extent of control that organization has in using these resources and the top management team diversity in tenure of the organization. They also argued that bricolage is not restricted to resource scarce situations rather in resource rich environment bricolage has more potential to contribute positively towardsorganizational growth.

Tasavori, Kwong and Pruthi (2018) also explored the role of resource bricolage in growthand evolution of social enterprises with respect to the products they offer and the markets that these social enterprises serve. Their findings showed that social enterprises make use of both internal and network bricolage to expand their products and markets. They also found that social enterprises are not similar with respect to the way they use bricolage for extending their product and market scope. Also Azmat, Ferdous, & Couchman (2015) explored the relationship between social entrepreneurship and inclusive growth in subsistence market places using the framework of social bricolage and service dominant logic to understand the dynamics of shared value creation by social enterprises.

Recently Langevang and Namatovu (2019) extended social bricolage theory to post conflict settings. In their study in post conflict northern Uganda, they showed how social bricolage is employed by a group of marginalized young entrepreneurs to create social change. They showed how mobilizing peers and practices of

rekindling cultural resources that existed before war were used to reunite thebroken communities. However they found that constructs of stake holder participation and persuasion were less significant and had different dynamics in post war context and calls for the further investigation of the different forms and dynamics of social bricolage model in different contexts. In the same vein Cheung et al., (2019) also used theoretical framework of bricolage to understand creation of social enterprises in relatively unstable environments by focusing on displaced entrepreneurs across three different countries striving for social value creation.

Another important theme in the literature appears from the work of Ciambotti and Pedrini(2019), which used the theoretical lens of social bricolage to investigate, how social enterprises can exploit their hybridity to acquire the needed resources in a developing country's context. They proposed five different creative strategies for resource acquisition which they named as hybrid harvesting strategies. They further enriched theory of social bricolage through their findings however an important dimension of the model i.e. stakeholder participation still remains unaddressed by the study and needs further empirical investigation.

3. Methods

Considering the complex and context dependent nature of social bricolage, that can be interpreted by both observer and participant and conveyed through dialogue and enactment of actors, this research espouses on subjective epistemology and relativistic ontology. Based on these assumptions and the aim of study to gain an in-depth insight of the underlying mechanism through which the social enterprises engage in social bricolage to mobilize the needed resources in order to address different societal problems in resource scarce environments particularly in context of a developing country like Pakistan, case study strategy has been used. Yin (2013, 2017) asserts that case study is most appropriate for addressing how and why questions and also some times what question (given their exploratory nature). Accordingly, as the present study mainly revolves around "How" questions, therefore case study is the most appropriate choice for this study. Also case studies hold significant importance for gaining in-depth insight and description of a phenomenon (Yin, 2013, 2017), such as resource mobilization through social bricolage in the present study.

While using case study strategy, it is important to adhere to any one of the possible case study designs, as it adds to the strength of the case study research and makes it much more easier for the researcher (Yin, 2017).Four different potential designs are suggested by Yin (2003, 2013) for case study, based upon the number of cases and the units of analysis involved. Accordingly, the present study uses a multiple holistic case study design with the aim of examining and describing social bricolage and the sub processes involved in social enterprises working in the context of health care sector of Pakistan. Five different small, early stage self-sustainable social enterprises from health care sector working in different parts of Pakistan have been selected. In the present study, as there is no logical sub unit and only single unit of analysis has been taken in each case, that is, the five health care social enterprises that are selected as cases also serves as unit of analysis. While social enterprises are the unit of analysis, social entrepreneurs (CEOs or Founders) and other key team members as recommended by the social entrepreneurs (CEOs or Founders) served as the unit of observation for the present study.

Initially we contacted social enterprises via email and analyzed them through their publically available information and online documents. Owing to both, the flexibility and the structure, lent by the semi structured interviews, we used semi structured interviews in order to probe the founders and the other key individuals (as identified by the founders of the social enterprises) more deeply about their bricolage behaviour. Before each interview the researchers briefed the interviewees about the nature and the objectives of the study and consent form was presented to take their consent. After having their consent, an in- depth open ended semi structured interview was conducted from each participant that lasted for 20-85 minutes. Except a few, most of the interviews were conducted at the workplace of the interviewees. In addition to this, researchers also tried to avoid using technical terms or theatrical language in order to keep the questions comprehendible and clear (Patton, 1990).The information so obtained was later triangulated by using other secondary sources such as policy documents, presentations and other publically available information about these social enterprises. Pseudonyms are used for each social enterprise to maintain the anonymity while each respondent is referred by using his or her case number. Table 2 summarizes the details of the social enterprises studied.

Table 1: Social Enterprises (cases understudy) Profile

S.NO	Social Enterprises (Pseudonyms)	Services	No of Interviews	Interviewees Designations and Code /Duration of each interview
1	Savers	Health and social care	05	*Interviewee 1*:Founder/CEO (1hr and15mints) *Interviewee 2*:Manager for operations (50 mints) *Interviewee 3*:Manager for public relations and outreach (50mints) *Interviewee 4*: Supervisor Life support center (45mints) *Interviewee 5*: Manager marketing and social media (52mints)
2	Gardab	First aid and mental health advocacy	04	*Interviewee 1:*CEO/Founder (50 mints) *Interviewee 2*:Director mental health initiative (33 mints) *Interviewee 3:*PR associate and managertraining (32 mints) *Interviewee 4:*Assistant director development operations (30 mints)
3	Sigma	Eye care	04	*Interviewee1:*Administrator/Cofounder/ Ophthalmologist (50 mints) *Interviewee 2:*Cofounder/Ophthalmologist (48mints) *Interviewee 3:* Cofounder/Ophthalmologist (40 mints) *Interviewee 4:*Optometrist (20mints)
4	Vigo	Mental health	03	*Interviewee 1:*Chief Operating Officer/Founder (48mints) *Interviewee 2:*Wellness Councellor (32mints) *Interviewee 3:*Advocacy Manager (40 mints)
5	Java	Diabetes care	03	*Interviewee 1:*Co-Founder/Head of operations (50 mints) *Interviewee 2:*Co-Founder/Endocrinologist (27 mints) *Interviewee 3:*Head of planning and development (30 mints)

4. Data Analysis

A general framework of qualitative data analysis inspired by Miles and Huberman (1994) is being used for this study consisting of data condensation, data display, verifying and drawing conclusions. As Miles and Huberman claimed this data analysis approach to be consistent with interpretivist view, therefore this approach is in line with the underpinning philosophical assumptions of this study. All the interviews were translated in English and transcribed verbatim (also sometimes referred to as naturalized transcription in the literature)by the researchers themselves , before subjecting to analysis in order to reduce the possible researcher's biases and the limitations of relying merely on interviewer's memory and intuitions (Azevedo et al., 2017). Similarly for coding purpose a more integrated approach has been adopted by using more inductive descriptive and in vivo codes in first cycle of coding letting the researcher to value participant's voice and contextual nuances that emerged along the way during data collection. While pattern codes were used in the second cycle, which together with analytical

memos let the development of major themes from the data and the formation of theoretical constructs and processes (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

4.1 Findings

Using cross-case analysis and noting differences among the cases while focusing more on similarities and dominant practices, a number of themes have been identified from the data that are grouped to yield answers to shed light on the bricolage behavior of the socialenterprises understudy. The data analysis process resulted in a three level data structure diagram (figure 1) indicating aggregate dimensions, second-order themes, and first-order concepts. The three levels of the data structure shows how the researchers progressed from the primary data to the abstract theoretical level. The purpose is to maintain a high level of qualitative rigor (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). First order concepts are based on respondent-centric terms while second order themes and aggregate dimensions are based on researchers- centric terms/concepts.

In the following section, the empirical data according to the two aggregated dimensions i.e. subversion and reciprocity have been presented. These two dimensions that are subversion and reciprocity sheds light on the bricolage behavior of the social enterprises involving different practices such as resorting, conscientization, annexing users and beneficiaries and co-opetion respectively.

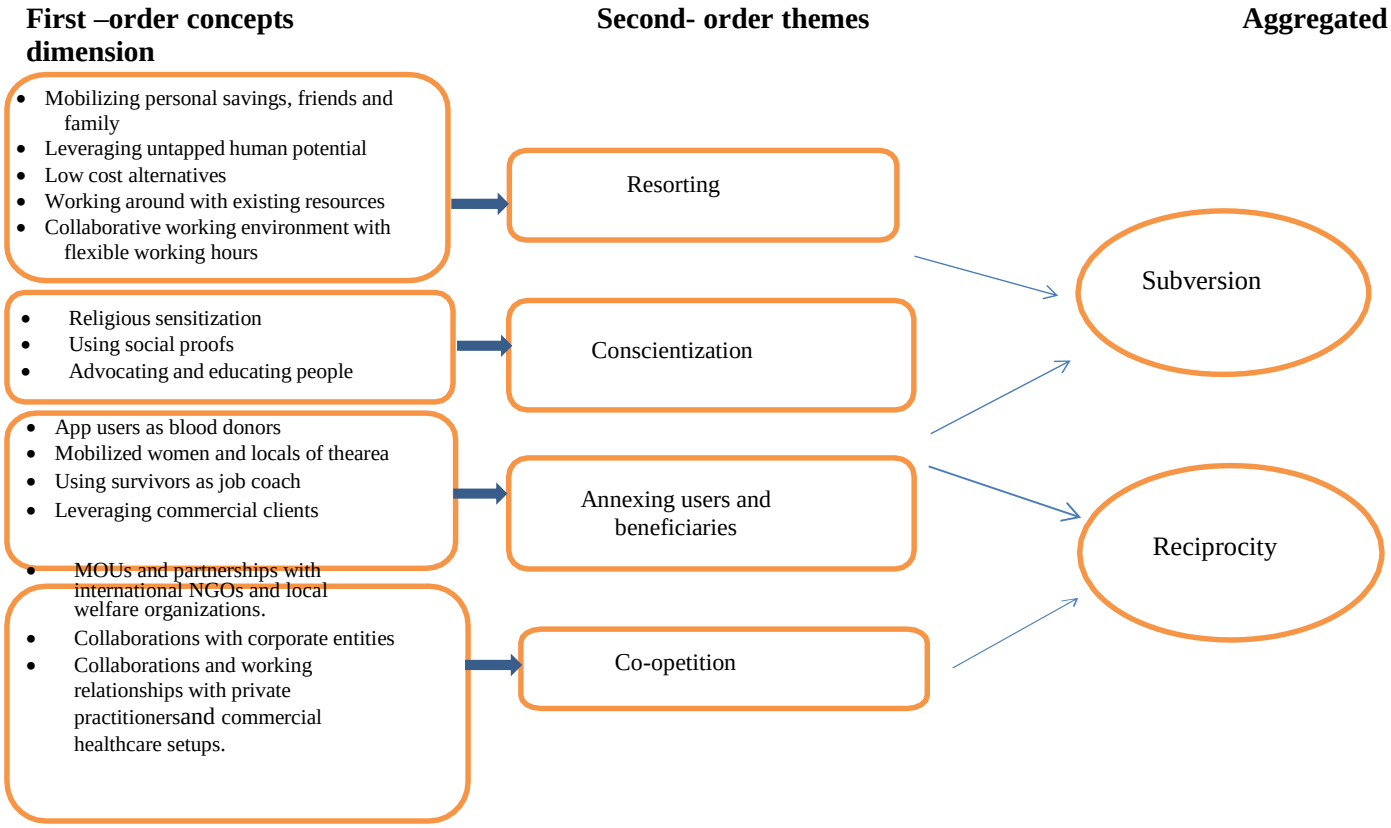

Figure 1.Data structure diagram

4.2 Subversion and Reciprocity

With –in and subsequent cross case analysis unveiled four dominant bricolage practices that are resorting, conscientization, annexing users and beneficiaries and co-opetition prevalent in all the five cases understudy, which are further distilled into two aggregate dimensions i.e. subversion and reciprocity . These two aggregate dimensions together with the dominant bricolage practices involved are discussed in the following section.

4.3 Subversion

It is one of the two aggregate dimensions through which bricolage behavior of the social enterprises have been explained in this study. Subversion can be described as the process by which social enterprises attempts to change

and transform established social hierarchy associated with local mind set and conventional ways of mobilizing needed resources. Through with-in and subsequent cross case analysis, it has been observed that all of the five cases understudy showed subversive attitude against different challenges posed by the scarcity of resources and socio-cultural environment of the country by continuously resorting to alternative means of resourcing and actively engaging in conscientization of different stakeholders. The analysis showed that resorting and conscientization made these social enterprises more subversive and resilient in the face of continuous stress posed by the resource environment and the socio-cultural context of the country.

4.4 Resorting

It refers to making use of a strategy or course of action in order to achieve or accomplish anything. The analysis showed that resorting to alternative means such mobilizing personal savings, friends and family, leveraging untapped human potential, going for low cost solutions, working around with existing resources, collaborative environment and flexible working hours are found to be the dominant practices prevalent across all the five cases.

Owing to the problems in accessing finance for their ventures due to the lack of support system for social enterprises in the country, lengthy and stringent procedures involved in applying for bank loans and the local mindset issues, all of the cases understudy except Case 4 , resort to their personal savings and friends or family for the financial assistance . Though Case 4 managed to get an international grant but even in that the role of family linkages and social networking was found to be prevalent.

"Since my family is well connected at various places of influence so I did some initial homework and applied for a grant from an international business program" (Case 4)

Similarly to overcome the challenges associated with finding the people with right kind of skills and motivation to work, most of the social enterprises understudy leveraged the untapped human potential such as hiring people with similar work experience but are currently jobless which also served to reduce the training cost as was evident in Case 1 or hiring alumni or fresh graduates who are willing to work even at low salaries because in turn they are getting hands on experience of the developmental sector as in Case 2 and 4.

"Well we prefer to go for fresh graduates and compensate them for their services and time through exposure and experience" (Case 2).

Similarly Case 5 actively looks for the untapped potential of female doctors who are sitting at home due to their household responsibilities and tries to take them on board, thus helping these social enterprises to not only overcome several challenges associated with human resources but also helps with lowering the financial burden as mostly this untapped potential of fresh graduates and people sitting at home is even willing to work at lower payrolls.

Another way out for reducing the financial burden and coping up with challenges associated with financial resources is to resort to low cost solutions such as using second hand equipment as in Case 3, making use of rented space which is a low cost alternative as compared to purchasing a separate building or space for the venture as evident in Case 3.Similarly to overcome working capital issues most of the cases resort to have small teams consisting of few full time team members juggling around different tasks as is evident from Case 1,2, and 3.And outsourcing for the activities that could not be managed by these small teams like outsourcing trainings in Case 1 and marketing campaigns in Case 3.

"You know being doctors and then working already at multiple places , we were having problems with kind of designing our logo and face book page and things like that, so we went fora local firm ,who kind of initially settle all this for us" (Case 3).

Also in an effort to adapt and withstand several challenges posed by the scarcity of resources , most of the social enterprises (understudy) were found to be actively engaged in working around with their existing resources such as improvising and converting the existing control room into COVID Emergency Response Centre and a bus into an ambulance in Case 1, using hospital space for establishing EPI center for the union council as in Case 3, improvising ancestor's house into clinic for diabetes patients in Case 4,and looking around and using different household items for first aid training in Case 2.

"We have trained about five hundred bystanders, so with these people we have to improvise because we are not in the financial position to be handing out free medical kits to everyone, sowe have to make sure that we could improvise by looking around at the things that we have, suchas you can use dopatta [wrap] if you don't have string, similarly you can use cardboard piece if you don't have anything to grab fracture etc."(Case 2).

Similarly analysis also showed that most of the social enterprises (understudy) resort to individual –focused

working hours and offered more comfortable working environment in an effort to retain and keep their teams motivated in the absence of any high financial incentives .In Case 1 and 3 , the founders assumed the role of cheerleaders and supporting boss , continuously praising their team for their achievements and hard work and helping them out through their bad times , also flexible working hours for female emergency responders and female doctors was evident in Case 2 and 5 respectively.

"Here we have an organizational norm that female doctors and nurses working with us aregiven priority in setting duty rosters" (Case 5).

Thus analysis across all five cases under study suggests that resorting to different alternative means of resourcing is one of the most prevalent bricolage behavior in health care social enterprises of Pakistan and shows their subversive attitude against several financial and human resource challenges.

4.5 Conscientization

It refers to the act of developing, reinforcing and/or changing consciousness. Through cross case analysis conscientization was found to be prevalent across all five cases in different forms such as sensitizing people religiously, using social proofs and aggressive engagement in advocating and educating people as a mean to subvert different social and cultural dilemmas, local mindset and challenges associated with building reputation among the communities of interest.

Use of religious references and rhetoric is found to be prevalent as a mean of conscientising and generating faith sensitive humanitarian responses in order to persuade different stakeholders such as using references from Quran , highlighting the importance of saving someone's life in Islam ,hence encouraging and persuading mobile application users to volunteer themselves as blood donors in Case 1, similarly using a faith centric appeal to persuade corporate clients and make them understand the importance of first aid training fortheir employees and thus managing them to be onboard with them was evident in Case 2, also Case 3 and Case 4 are trying to subvert the social dilemma associated with gender discrimination in access to healthcare and misperceptions about mental health respectively by motivating people religiously and making them realize that women deserve equal care and treatment by highlighting the importance of women in Islam ,the role that women play in building their families and making them realize that just like any other illness mental health problems need equal attention and treatment and should not be perceived as punishment from God or Jinn possession etc.

"In our society there are misperception like there are many who tell you that it's not illness rather it's a punishment from God or things like that, so what we do, we try to sensitize them religiously, we make them realize that just like any other disease it [depression] is also an illness that needs treatment besides prayers and making sadqa[charity]" (Case 4).

Similarly though the use of religious sensitization was not found to be prevalent in Case 5 but conscientization unfolded rather somewhat differently that is in form of using social proofs such as asking their beneficiaries to share their experiences with others through video recorded messages etc. Use of social proofs as means of conscientising people in general and different stakeholders in particular to reassure about the quality and type of services that these social enterprises are offering was also found to be prevalent across other cases such as use of testimonials and involvement of local dignitaries in advisory boards or decision making bodies using their referent power was evident in Case 1 and 3 and use of stories of success and hope in Case 4.

"We use testimonials and feedbacks from one corporate client to fetch another and this is how we mostly go along" (Case 1).

Another way through which social enterprises are conscientising the communities is by means of aggressively engaging themselves in educating the people through both formal and informal advocacy programs in an effort to subvert the misperceptions associated with different types of diseases and the associated consequences as was found to be prevalent in Case 2,3,4 and 5.

"There is a group of local women who have volunteered and are working with us for our advocacy program to educate the community about diabetes and the changes needed in their lifestyle as we know that people are more receptive towards them"(Case 5).

Hence, analysis across all the five cases (understudy) showed that they are actively engaged in conscientising different stakeholders through religious sensitization, use of social proofs and aggressively engaging themselves in advocating and educating people as a mean to subvert different social and cultural dilemmas, local mindset and challenges associated with building reputation among the communities of interest.

4.6 Reciprocity

It basically refers to the social norm of reacting to a positive action with another positive action or mutual exchange of privileges or benefits by one person to another or by an organization with another entity or organization. In addition to subversion entailing resorting and conscientization, within and subsequent cross-case analysis revealed that hybridity enabled all the social enterprises (understudy) to leverage the reciprocity of relationship with different stakeholders in an effort of making do with not only the resources available with them but also capitalizing on other's resources that could be easily accessed through annexing with users and beneficiaries and co-opetition. Each of these two bricolage practices is further discussed with reference to each case in the following section.

4.7 Annexing users and Beneficiaries

Users can be broadly referred to anyone using the services of social enterprises particularly referring to their corporate clients or paying patients while beneficiaries refer to those target underprivileged communities towards which their services are directed. Cross-case analysis showed that four out of five social enterprises (understudy) are found to be annexing their users and beneficiaries, leveraging the reciprocity of their (social enterprises) relationship with them (users and beneficiaries) in an effort of making do while coping up different financial and human resource challenges like instead of putting additional efforts in terms of searching for and approaching to people for blood donations, Case 1 used their existing user base to establish one of the country's largest online data base of blood donors by simply asking their blood groups and their willingness to donate at time of subscription for their mobile application ,also Case 2 involved many bystanders trained in first aid, working as volunteers, offering first aid to the locals in case of any emergency before Emergency Medical Responders arrive and Case 5 mobilized and involved local educated women from the community they are working in for their advocacy programs ,while in Case 4 the involvement of survivors of their mental health program in their job coaching initiative as job coaches are the examples of annexed users and beneficiaries .

"You know we have many survivors of mental disorders working voluntarily with us as job coaches. Let me tell you how one of our survivor is helping two of our other young female survivors in learning basic computer skills and see that's how it works" (Case 4).

Case 1and 5 also leveraged the reciprocity of relationship with their corporate clients and paying patients for example to get a bus to be used as an ambulance for COVID patients and a paying patient to get their web page designed respectively.

"It's good to have patients with strong background and ability to pay as they not only helps us to earn revenue but also at times open doors of opportunity like our webpage is designed by one of our satisfied paying patient and he keeps doing such favors to us" (Case 5).

Similarly leveraging the reciprocity of relationship with corporate client to accommodate survivors of mental health for their (survivor's) professional growth as evident in Case 4 are all examples of annexed users and beneficiaries who are willing to work for these social enterprises in response to the benefits and privileges they are getting from these enterprises.

"Well one of our corporate clients tries to accommodate our survivors at some places in their organization like for packaging and delivering their products etc."(Case 4).

Thus in all the aforementioned cases, the beneficiaries and users were willing to listen and work for the cause as a response to the positive actions and services that these social enterprises are rendering for them whether it be in terms of community empowerment or providing them with equitable health -care opportunities (for the underprivileged) and reliable quality health care services (for the corporate clients and paying patients).

4.8 Co-opetition

From within and subsequent case-case analysis, co-opetition was found to be prevalent across all the five cases understudy. It basically refers to the cooperation between different competing organizations producing or offering either similar or related products and/or services. Since social enterprises work on dual mission base having both commercial and social side, so any kind of partnership or working relationship whether it is with social purpose organization or with any of their (social enterprise) commercial counterpart could be regarded as co-opetition. The

analysis shows the evidence of partnerships with local and international NGOs (Non- Governmental Organization) and other welfare organizations such as MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) with a local rescue service provider in Case 1and partnership with an international NGO in Case 2, thus leveraging the reciprocity of relationship and benefitting as well as getting benefitted from each other's resources and expertise to increase their outreach and further strengthening their social mission.

"We have working relationship with another local rescue service provider who basically has a network of ambulances. As we are in MOU with them so we get quite a good help from them in terms of that ,like we approach their ex-employees and get people from there, also we outsource their services for training our employees that normally they do it for us at subsidized rates" (Case 1).

Similarly the social enterprises (understudy) are also found to be in working relationships with some of their commercial counterparts like working relationships with private practitioners, commercial setups and some big international pharmaceutical companies for assistance in some advance procedures in eye care, specialized clinical support and for having educators and dietitians for advocacy program as evident in Case 3,4 and 5 respectively ,while reciprocally adding to their CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) and philanthropic activities .

"For our advocacy program we are working in collaboration with some pharmaceutical companies , who help us with finding educators and nutritionists free of cost ,which in turn adds to their CSR [corporate social responsibility] activities"(Case 5).

Hence through the analysis across all the cases, co-opetition is found to be a dominant social bricolage practice among health care social enterprises (understudy) in Pakistan while engaging in partnerships with both social purpose organizations as well as private commercial entities.

4.9 Discussion

In this study we unveiled and identified four dominant bricolage practices and underlying sub processes predominantly used by the social enterprises working in health care sector of Pakistan, i.e. resorting and conscientization showing their (health care social enterprises) subversive attitude against different challenges while leveraging the reciprocity of relationship with different stakeholders through annexing users and beneficiaries and co- opetition.

Resorting refers to the effort of social enterprises to 'make do' out of scarce resources by opting for different alternative means thus showing an active bias towards action (Baker & Nelson, 2005).In the present study health care social enterprises resort to their families and friends for financial support while capitalizing on strong family and social ties (Sardar , Jianqiu, Bilal, Akram, & Shahzad ,2019) deep rooted in religious and cultural values of the country, as compared to developed countries where the dynamics are somewhat different and for financing most of the social enterprises rely on public funding and social enterprise support programs and grants from different agencies (Davies, Haugh, & Chambers,2019).

Similarly in effort to overcome several financial and human resource challenges, health care social enterprises resorted to hire and exploit untapped human potential (Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010) which serves to lower the financial burden on these social enterprises while providing them with people having necessary skills .Studies on social bricolage in other penurious context such as Langevang and Namatovu (2019); Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019) referred to it as inclusive employment and considering it to be one of the crucial element for the success of social enterprises in developing countries (Mair & Schoen ,2007).

Moreover the findings of the study suggests that healthcare social enterprises resort to the low cost solution which Cheung et al. (2019) described as frugal approach to operations such as using rented space or using second hand equipment. However the present study further expanded and elaborated Cheung's frugal approach by explaining how having small teams and outsourcing few operations serves to lower the operating cost burden on the health care social enterprises in Pakistan.

The findings of the study also suggest that health care social enterprises are actively engaged in working around with existing resources , improvising them to adapt standard ways of operations and capitalize on emerging opportunities to create social value while addressing various social needs without any prior planning (Di Domenico et al.,2010; Langevang & Namatovu ,2019) . Moreover adapting the working hours and having more individual centric approach at work place is another way-out which is not addressed by most of the studies on bricolage across both developed and developing countries such as Azmat, Ferdous and Couchman (2015);Davies et al.(2019); Di Domenico et al.(2010); Hota, Mitra and Qureshi (2019); Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019) etc. and is found to be

prevalent among the health care social enterprises in Pakistan in an effort of making most out of the available workforce and to address the challenges posed by the inability of these social enterprises to pay high payrolls while respecting various religious and social norms.

Similarly another dominant bricolage practice unveiled by this study is conscientization. Through conscientization health care social enterprises are aggressively refusing to be constrained (Di Domenico et al., 2010) by different social and cultural dilemmas, local mindset and challenges associated with building reputation among the communities of interest. Though there is an array of literature highlighting the importance of moral and ethical aspects of Islamic values for promotion of sustainable causes and their use as a persuasive tool across both Muslim and non-Muslim countries such as DeHanas (2009); Rifat, Toriq and Ahmed (2020); Saniotis (2012); Wihbey (2012) etc., however till date social enterprise and social bricolage literature appears to be silent on using Islamic and/ or more generally religious appeals to persuade different stakeholders **.**Given the fact that Pakistan is an Islamic state and majority of the population is Muslim (Khan, Najmi, Ahmed, & Aman, 2019),the findings of the presentstudy suggest that health care social enterprises are playing around this fact and sensitizing the people religiously using divine and social reinforcement to persuade and convince different stakeholders.

Moreover use of social proofs is found to be a dominant practice used by social enterprises not only to persuade different stakeholders but also as a mean to overcome different challenges associated with building their reputation. The use of social proof is quite dominant in marketing and social advertising, where it is used as a persuasive tool (Zarouali, Poels, Walrave, & Ponnet, 2018). Through findings of the study it is evident that health care social enterprises made use of social proofs such as testimonials ,success stories etc.to influence its stakeholders , also social enterprises are found to be using the referent power of local dignitaries by involving them in decision making and advisory boards to increase their credibility which also corresponds tothe Di Domenico's (2010) stakeholder participation as opposed to the studies on social bricolage in penurious contexts such as Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019); Langevang and Namatovu (2019) , that didn't found any reference of stakeholder participation in decision making and governance structures. Hence it can be argued that at times involvement of few stakeholders particularly those having referent power could serve as a social proof for other stakeholders, increasing their confidence on the social enterprises. Moreover healthcare social enterprises are also found to be engaged aggressively in educating and advocating the people about the cause which is consistent with the findings of scholars such as Azmat et al. (2015); Di Domenico et al., (2010); Preece (2014).

Also despite of the fact that the social enterprise and bricolage literature embraces the involvement of beneficiaries in service delivery , however it talks predominantly about the involvement of disadvantaged ,underprivileged and disable individuals mostly in terms of inclusive employment and inclusive growth i.e. hiring the under privileged and disadvantaged (Azmat et al.,2015; Ballesteros & Llanto, 2017; Bull & Crompton, 2006 ; Ciambotti & Pedrini ,2019; Langevang & Namatovu ,2019; Mair & Schoen ,2007). But the findings of the present study suggests that health care social enterprises are actively annexing beneficiaries (people from the disadvantaged group that they are serving) as well as other users of their services (like corporate clients or paying patients) not much referred group in the existing social enterprise literature so far, while leveraging the reciprocity of relationship with them to create social value. Thus, through the involvement of this group of stakeholders (Di Domenico et al.,2010) at different levels without hiring them or entering into any formal arrangement with them , healthcare social enterprises are showing an active bias towards action (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

Moreover the concept of co-opetition that refers to the simultaneous pursuit of competition and cooperation among different business organization have been discussed extensively in the field of social and management sciences (Bengtsson & Kock, 2000; Bengtsson, Kock, Lundgren-Henriksson, & Näsholm, 2016; Pant & Yu, 2016). Recently social enterprise literature has also embraced interest in co-opetition (Arenas, Hai & De Bernardi, 2021; Herbst, 2019) among different social enterprises. However the findings of the present study suggests that co-opetition can be coined asone of the dominant bricolage practice enabling the social enterprises to 'make do' in the resource scarce environment while capitalizing on the resources of their commercial and social counterparts that can be accessed easily by leveraging the reciprocity of relationship with them interms of adding to CSR activities of their commercial counterparts and supporting and benefitting the social mission of other social ventures . The findings of present study are consistent with studies such as Azmat et al. (2015); Ciambotti & Pedrini (2019) in developing country's context, highlighting the importance of strategic partnerships and referring to social partnerships as bricolage strategies.

Thus, the finding of the present study suggests that all the six constructs of social bricolage theory that are "making do, refusal to be constrained by limitations of the environment, improvisation, social value creation, stakeholder

participation and persuasion" as proposed by Di Domenico et al.(2010) were found to be prevalent in health care social enterprises . Also the present study extends the repertoire of making do by resorting including sub processes such individual centric approach and outsourcing not adequately addressed in social enterprise and social bricolage literature ,co-opetition referring to partnerships and working relationships with not only social purpose organization but also their commercial counterparts ,annexing users and beneficiaries that refers to the involvement of not only disadvantaged groups in the service delivery model but also many corporate clients and users of the service and finally extending the repertoire of persuasion activities by highlighting the role of conscientization using religious sensitization , social proofs and educating and advocating different stakeholders about the cause.

Moreover based upon the findings from within and cross case analysis we also suggest that the hybrid identity of social enterprises enables them to creatively mobilize the needed resources in the face of stringent resource conditions. Annexing users and beneficiaries and co-opetition, the two dominant social bricolage practices prevalent across all the cases (understudy) and the underlying sub processes are found to be enabled by their hybrid identity. The co-existence of both commercial and social sides enabled the health care social enterprises to leverage the reciprocity of relationship with different stakeholders. On one hand , their social side enabled them to annex different beneficiaries from their target communities at different levels in an effort to address different human ,financial and reputational challenges while on the other hand the pursuit of revenue and the existence of commercial side enabled these social enterprises to mobilize their paying patients and commercial clients to work around in the face of different resource challenges and create social value, which is a missed opportunity for other non-profits and social ventures working exclusively on social grounds. Also the findings of the present study are consistent with the work of Ladstaetter, Plank and Hemetsberger (2018), who introduced the concept of mobilizing dual identity in social enterprises.

Moreover their hybrid identity enabled co-opetition by leveraging the reciprocity of relationship with social and commercial counterparts. Particularly the social mission not only helped the healthcare social enterprises to build working relationships with other social or welfare organizations consistent with work of Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019) , but also enabled them to develop working relationships with commercial counterparts like private setups of practitioners and with some commercial setups by reciprocating to their services in terms of adding to their corporate social responsibility and philanthropic portfolio .Thus building upon the seminal work of Ladstaetter et al. (2018); Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019) the present study explains how social enterprises use their hybrid identity to mobilize the needed resources and asserts on the basis of the findings that hybridity serves an enabler for dominant bricolage practices such as annexing with users and beneficiaries and co-opetition.

5. Conclusion

The findings of the study helped to establish how in face of stringent resource environment in the country in general and particularly in health care sector social enterprises are showing an active bias towards action by trying to make do with already existing resources as well as those that can be easily or readily acquired through resorting, conscientization, annexing users and beneficiaries and co-opetition, entailing all the components of Di Dominico's social bricolage model.The study also highlights how different contextual nuances such as religious commitment, strong family ties and respect for elders or local dignitaries helped shaping bricolage response of these social enterprises in the face of extreme resource scarcity .Also the hybrid identity enabled the social enterprises to leverage the reciprocity of relationship with different stake holders at different levels making it possible for the social enterprises to annex with users and beneficiaries and enter into arrangements like co-opetition.

The present study contributes in many ways to the field of social enterprise and social bricolage approach towards resource mobilization. An important theoretical contribution of the study is that it not only empirically confirms and validates the model of social bricolage that best fits the nature of social enterprises (Di Domenico et al. 2010; Janssen, Fayolle , & Wuilaume, 2018) and has been widely ignored in the existing literature but also provides a conclusive and comprehensive review of additional constructs of social bricolage. It also attempts to refine and extend the social bricolage theory by proposing four dominant bricolage practices i.e. resorting, conscientization, annexing users and beneficiaries and co-opetition and explaining the sub processes involved.

The study also extends the repertoire of making do by *resorting* including sub processes such individual centric approach and outsourcing not adequately addressed in social enterprise and social bricolage literature (Janssen et al., 2018; Mitra & Hota, 2019; Rawhouser et al., 2017).As opposed to the studies on social bricolage in penurious context such as Ciambotti and Pedrini (2019); Langevang and Namatovu (2019) , that didn't found any reference of stakeholder participation in decision making and governance structures the present study is first of its kind that

extends and explains Di Dominico's stakeholder participation while leveraging the reciprocity in relationships with different stakeholder in terms of *annexing users and beneficiaries* that refers to the involvement of not only disadvantaged groups in the service delivery model but also many corporate clients and users of the service and *co-opetition* referring to partnerships and working relationships with not only social purpose organization but also their commercial counterparts .The study provides detailed account of how each of the social enterprise was aware of its needs, was able to communicate it and was capable and willing to meet the needs of its partners, thus generating reciprocal responses.

The study also provides detailed account of persuasion activities and proposes *conscientization* entailing religious sensitization, social proofs and educating and advocating different stakeholders about the cause, as a major persuasive tool for social enterprises particularly working in religiously bound and culturally sensitive countries like Pakistan. Though there is an array of literature highlighting the importance of moral and ethical aspects of Islamic values for promotion of sustainable causes and their use as a persuasive tool across both Muslim and non-Muslim countries such as DeHanas (2009); Rifat, Toriq and Ahmed (2020); Saniotis (2012); Wihbey (2012) etc., however till date social enterprise and social bricolage literature appears to be silent on using Islamic and/ or more generally religious appeals to persuade different stakeholders.

The study also contributes to social enterprise and social bricolage literature by empirically investigating and examining the role of hybrid identity of social enterprises in mobilizing the needed resources and asserts on the basis of the findings that hybridity serves as an enabler for the bricolage behavior of the social enterprises. We also provide detailed account of how social enterprises are refusing to be constrained by not only the limitations imposed by the institutional and resource environment of the country but also sheds light on contextual nuances such as various social dilemmas and mental deadlocks that are found to be prevalent with respect to people's attitude towards social enterprises as well as towards accessing healthcare in Pakistan.Finally the study also empirically investigates and expands the theoretical application of the social bricolage model to a developing country's context by examining how it uniquely unfolds in health care sector of Pakistan (developing country) with relatively stable environment recognizing that each context and market has its own dynamics and therefore need their own context specific solutions. Whereas most of the previous studies on social bricolage were based on developed countries (Ciambotti & Pedrini, 2019; Gupta, Chauhan, Paul, & Jaiswal, 2020; Hota, Mitra & Qureshi, 2019) or highly unstable environments such as in context of conflict and/or war affected areas.

Moreover the present study also open new avenues for future researchers as there is a need that the repertoire of dominant social bricolage practices proposed by the present study and the sub-processes involved should be further empirically tested in context of developed countries. Moreover since the study is geographically limited to Pakistan, there is a need that future research should focus on comparative studies across developed and developing countries as well as among different developing countries to better highlight how the difference in contextual dynamics lead to the variations in bricolage behavior of social enterprises across different countries.

Also we emphasize that future researchers should focus more on sector specific studies. They should focus on socialenterprises and their resource challenges working in sectors other than health care in order to generate better understanding of sector specific resource challenges of social enterprises both in developed and across developing countries. Moreover future studies can also apply social bricolage theory to different public sector projects and organizations, working in the face of stringent resource environment and striving hard to best serve the general public particularly in context of developing countries.

As the study tentatively concludes that hybrid identity serves as an enabler for some of the bricolage practices of social enterprises , there is need to further empirically test and validate the role of hybridity in enabling bricolage behavior of social enterprises both in the context of developed and developing countries.

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