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SOCIAL ENTERPRISE DISCOURSES

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ABSTRACT

The idea of the "social enterprise" is blending traditionally conflicting ideologies of the left and the right and mixing principles of the market, the voluntary sector and the public sphere. In this paper this concept and phenomenon is approached from a constructivist perspective. What kinds of discourses can be tracked in the idea, and which social consequences do they imply? In analysing different ways of talking about the phenomenon, the discursive analysis of the social enterprise includes both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic analysis of texts.

The study presented in the paper was conducted in a Swedish context and is part of a Ph.D. project in social work. It was based on printed or net-published documents concerning, or dealing with, the concept of social enterprises. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was the main method of analysis, and a basic methodological assumption was that each discursive environment constructs, reproduces and confirms particular accounts for institutional purposes. In the rhetoric of the documents preferred and disparaged frames of understanding the idea of social enterprising were traced.

The study showed that the idea of social enterprise as an activity involving multiple goals, multiple principles and multiple resources, opens up for a wide range of competing discourses. In the analysis, three main discursive formations emerged, contesting the way the social enterprise, and the welfare produced by the social enterprise, are to be understood. While the dominating discourse in the first discursive formations to a great extent reflected the social enterprise as a method to empower marginalised individuals or disadvantaged groups, the other discursive formations showed a different result. Here, the discursive formations originally used were reconstructed. What was previously viewed as a means, were now being described as the goal. Appearing as a goal in itself, the social enterprise was here utilized as a solution communicated by governing authorities to handle issues of structural character in the society. As it is held to bring new dynamics to the third sector, deconstructing the idea of "social enterprise" should be of relevance for an international audience outside Sweden.

Key Words: Social enterprise, discourse, third sector, deconstruction, empowerment

INTRODUCTION

A notable expansion of the third sector is currently under construction in the industrialised world. Viewed in the light of economic crisis and the decline of the welfare state, this growth is mainly appearing within organisations representing a renewed expression of the civil society. In addition, unemployment and difficulties of traditional social policies have raised the question of how the third sector can help to meet contemporary challenges (Defourny 2001:1, Wijkström & Einarsson, 2006:7). The concept of "social enterprise", blending traditionally conflicting ideologies of the left and the right, and mixing principles of the market, the voluntary sector and the public sphere, appears as one of the renewed third sector expressions now emerging (Nyssens 2006). Thus, the social enterprise stands out as a relatively new institutional phenomenon. In Europe it became apparent in the beginning of the 1990's and in Sweden it turned up even later, around the turn of the millennium (Defourny & Nyssens 2006:4-5, 2008:8). A definition of the social enterprise has been developed by the EMES European Research Network and is summarized as follows below:

Social enterprises are not-for-profit private organizations providing goods or services directly related to their explicit aim to benefit the community. They rely on a collective dynamics involving various types of stakeholders in their governing bodies, they place a high value on their autonomy and they bear economic risks linked to their activity.

(Defourny & Nyssens 2008:5)

The study presented in this paper is conducted in a Swedish context and is part of a Ph.D. project in social work. In Sweden, social co-operatives are the predominant organizational form of social enterprises. Emphasizing self-help, autonomy and democracy, the term "social cooperative" has in Sweden more or less become synonymous with the term "social enterprise". However, the level of institutionalization of social enterprises is presently low in Sweden, which according to Stryjan and Pestoff (2008:32) increases the Swedish enterprises' vulnerability.

The main aim of this paper is to present an example of a study which – through analyses of discursive practice and text analysis – uncovers discursive elements that are overtly drawn upon within the discourse of social enterprises in a Swedish context. What kinds of discourses can be tracked in the idea? What kind of semantic shifts and conceptual displacements can be traced over time within the notion of social enterprises, and which social consequences do they imply?

The study is based on documents concerning, or dealing with, the concept of social enterprises in a Swedish context. In analyzing the empirical material critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used as a theoretical and analytical framework. As described by Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2001, 2002), CDA suggests that the analysis of discourse should be multidimensional: texts must be related to the discourse practice and to the social practice of which they are a part. Hence, in analysing different ways of talking about the phenomenon, the analysis of the social enterprise includes both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic analysis of texts. Since social enterprises increasingly are used as tools for implementing active labour market policies, and hence are gaining more legitimacy as a way to battle social exclusion, a deconstruction of the hybrid and multidimensional concept of the social enterprise is of great relevance to contemporary research (Defourny & Nyssens 2006:13, 2008:5).

1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The approach to discourse analysis followed in this paper draws on Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2001) critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is based upon a view of language as an irreducible element of all material social processes (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002, Fairclough 2001). In using the term discourse Fairclough (1992:62ff) regards language use as a form of social practice, rather than just a purely individual activity. In this view discursive practice both contributes to the reproduction, and the transformation of the society, which implies that the relationship between discourse and social structure is regarded as dialectic.

CDA looks at social issues in terms of their semiotic dimensions. Thus, CDA offers a way of analysing and connecting the processes in texts and interaction with the wider social process (Fairclough 2001:26). Fairclough (1992, 1995) claims that each discursive event has three dimensions: it is a spoken or written language *text*, it is an instance of *discursive practice* involving the production and interpretation of text, and finally it is a piece of *social practice*. By social practice Fairclough means a relatively stable form of social activity. Every practice is seen as an articulation of diverse social elements in a relatively stable configuration, that always includes discourse. Social practice has various orientations – economic, political, cultural, or ideological. Different types of discourse in different social domains or institutional settings may therefore come to be politically or ideologically invested in particular ways (Fairclough 1992:66f, Chiapello & Fairclough 2002:193).

Social practices networked in a particular way constitute a social order. The discourse aspect of a social order is what Chiapello & Fairclough (2002:194ff) call *an order of discourse*, which describes the way that diverse discourses are networked together. Some semiotic ways of making meaning in a particular order of discourse may be dominant or mainstream, while others may be marginal, oppositional or alternative (ibid:194). In analysing the order of discourse the concept of hegemony can be useful (Fairclough 1992:68ff, Laclau & Mouffe 1985). A particular social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic and a part of the legitimizing common sense, which sustains relations of domination. An order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an opened system, which is put at risk by what happens in actual interactions. Hence, hegemony will always be contested, which within the terminology of CDA is referred to as hegemonic struggle (Chiapello & Fairclough 2002:195, Fairclough 2001:29).

According to Fairclough (1992:74) in analysing texts one is always simultaneously addressing questions of form and questions of meaning. To understand how a particular phenomenon arises and how it is grounded in the way social life is organized, the analysis of discourse has a structural dimension – the analysis of order of discourse – and an interactional dimension – the analysis of particular texts and interactions. Whereas the analysis of orders of discourse tries to specify the social structuring of language use, interaction analysis is concerned with how these resources are worked through in interaction. CDA claims that what is going on socially, is in part what is going on interdiscursively in texts and interaction. Even written texts are seen here as forms of interaction. Thus, interactional analysis includes both interdiscursive analysis of the discursive practice and linguistic analysis of texts (Fairclough 1992: 74, 2005:32). In order to elucidate how the discourse of social enterprise is contextually constructed in varying social domains, a linguistic analysis of the text documents is carried out within the study. By examining how different elements of the texts are being formatted into different orders of discourse within the documents, a comprehensive analysis of the discursive practice is also being conducted (Fairclough 1995:77ff, 2002:193).

Samples of the Analysis

As previously mentioned, the study is based on documents dealing with the concept of social enterprises in a Swedish context. In choosing samples for the analysis, I have carefully selected a number of Swedish texts on the issue of social enterprises out of the total amount of documents available to me. Based on a preliminary survey of this corpus, four main categories of senders were identified in these documents: (i) social enterprises (ii) advisory and consulting organisations of social enterprises (iii) investigating and decision-making public or government authorities, and finally (iv) national authorities with the assignment to distribute information and knowledge on the issue of social enterprises. In the selection of documents, two texts from each category have been included in the document analysis, carried out according to the premises summarized above.

In the first category (i) information sheets from two different social enterprises were enclosed in the analysis. The first enterprise, *Basta work co-operative*, was established in 1994 and is probably the most well known social enterprise in Sweden today. Emphasizing self-help, autonomy and democracy, Basta is a social co-operative both operated by and working with former substance abusers. Today "the Basta group" runs a couple of different businesses. The information sheet enclosed from Basta was produced during the year of 2005. The second social enterprise enclosed in the analysis is *Vägen ut*, which consist of five different social co-operatives, operated under a consortium. Vägen ut was established in 2002. Just like Basta, emphasizing self-help, autonomy and democracy the co-operatives within Vägen ut are operated by and working with former drug-addicts and former criminals. The information sheet enclosed from Vägen ut was produced during the year of 2006.

The second category of analysis (ii) contains two documents from advisory and consulting organisations of social enterprises. The first document is a report titled *Social co-operatives*. It was written in the year of 2002 by a co-operative advisory organisation called *The National Co-op Development Agency* in collaboration with *The Swedish National Institute for Working Life*, of which the later was closed down in July of 2007. The aim of the report is to describe and demarcate the field of practice for social co-operatives in Sweden, mainly focusing on disable target-groups, in order to construe how to promote a growth for similar organisations.

In the third category (iii) two governmental public reports or government white papers (Statens offentliga utredningar) are included in the analysis. The reports, titled *SOU 2003:95* and *SOU 2007:2* are both inquiring the possibility to use social co-operatives or social enterprises as tools for implementing active labour market policies.

In the final category (iv) two information sheets of social enterprises produced by Nutek, the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, were included in the analysis. Nutek is assigned by the Swedish government to contribute to the creation of new enterprises, more growing enterprises and more strong regions. The documents included in the analysis were published in 2005 and 2008.

In the following chapter, the empirical analysis carried out is presented. The concept "order of discourse" serves as a starting point for the analysis of how diverse discourses are networked together in the comprehension of the social enterprise. Here three main discursive formations emerge, contesting the way the social enterprise, and the welfare produced by the social enterprise, are to be understood. The different concepts used, when referring to the discourses and the orders of discourse within this working-paper, should be regarded as concepts in progress, i.e. ideas that may very well change as my work goes along in the future.

2. A HEGEMONIC STRUGGLE OF WELFARE

In the analysis of the documents enclosed, three different orders of discourse become visible. Thus, a reflection of three differing ways of conceptualizing the social enterprise appears in the material. In this section, the diverse discourses and their joined formations into orders of discourse, are presented. The account of the analysis starts off with the discursive formations chronologically appearing first in the documents. Together these discourses form an order of discourse that in the context of this paper will be referred to as *the user-regulated order of discourse*. In the following, *the state-regulated order of discourse*, which mainly shows up in documents produced during the year of 2005 or later, and the *market-regulated order of discourse*, which only shows up in a document produced during 2008, are introduced.

2.1. The User-Regulated Order of Discourse

Within *the user-regulated order of discourse*, a user-involved or consumer's perspective of the social enterprise appears as central. The report "*Social co-operatives*" written by the National Co-op Development Agency in collaboration with the Swedish National Institute for Working Life¹, and the information sheets created by the social enterprises *Basta* and *Vägen ut*², are all examples of texts employing this repertoire of interpretation, i.e. an user-regulated order of discourse. In the following, the discourses reflected within this order are made comprehensible.

The Discourses of the Social Enterprise

The concept "social enterprise" is not used in the information sheet produced by Basta³. Instead the text describes the organisation in terms of a "new co-operative enterprise" or a "user-governed company". The discursive patterns utilized by Basta in the company's self-presentation are in a significant way captured here. Chiefly, these descriptions enhances the fact that the organisation is build upon notions of user-involvement and co-operative ideas emphasizing self-help, autonomy and democracy, which contextually can be characterized as an expression of a *user-discourse*. Simultaneously, the terminology tells us that the text is conceptualising Basta as an enterprise. Given that "enterprising" primarily is connected with a market-oriented way of thinking, a *market-discourse* also appears. Further more, two supplementary discourses are emerging in the text: *the welfare-discourse* and *the public authority-discourse*. Since the Swedish welfare-system traditionally is built upon public authority solutions, these two last discourses are occasionally somewhat difficult to discern from one-another. In the following the formations of the discourses mentioned are exemplified in the information sheet produced by Basta.

When Basta work co-operative (...) received the first substance abuser, the influences of Italian co-operatives were clearly pronounced. (...) But anyone was free to interpret the moral of the "Swedish Folkhem"⁴ in "doing the right thing", in the rehabilitation offered by the co-operative. The public sector, represented by the National Institute for Labour Market Policy and five local municipalities helped to support and finance the establishment of Basta. (...) The fact that Basta became an enterprise in "the new co-operative" hem, was a deliberate idea in making a

¹ Category (ii), see the first section of this paper

² Category (i), see the first section of this paper

³ ("Basta – a new co-operative enterprise", Information sheet produced in 2005)

⁴ The term "folkhem" is a concept that was coined in the 1930's by the Swedish social democracy. It refers to a national political vision to of an all-embracing Swedish welfare state. During the last couple of years the term has been criticized, amongst others for being too controlling and detailed in regulating its welfare-citizens. Translated into English, the concept would be "the people's home"

democratic and user-governed company by and for people who had been substance abusers themselves.

(Basta – a new co-operative enterprise, 2005, p.2, my translation)

In the text, the welfare-discourse and the public authority-discourse are both stressed in elements like "the moral of the Swedish Folkhem", "idea of rehabilitation" and "substance abuser". The user-discourse, on the other hand, is reflected in terms like "user-governed", "work co-operative", "democratic" and "people who had been substance abusers themselves". The market-discourse finally, is expressed when the text talks about an enterprise as the organisational form for Basta's activities.

However, in mentioning the public sector in reference to the support provided when Basta was established, the text seems to be directed foremost externally, to collaborating partners. Rather than to be viewed as a reflection of a public authority discourse, here the text should probably be seen as a reflection of how Basta, as a user-governed enterprise, is relating to actors of the public sphere. The discourses reflected in the text produced by Basta, are summarized in figure 1. Here, the user-discourse and the welfare-discourse perform as central, while the market-discourse and the public authority discourse is materialized as subordinated ones, mainly supporting the establishment of the more dominant discourses.

Figure 1 - The order of discourse in Basta's self-presentation.



In the information sheet produced by the Vägen ut co-operatives in 2006⁵, the organisation is described in a similar way with Basta. A *user-discourse* is prevailing in the texts, and when pronounced it also alludes to *the welfare discourse*.

The initiative implemented by the Vägen ut co-operatives show that it is possible to successfully re-enter into society. (...) Research (...) shows that in order to depart from a criminal career some of the most important prerequisite is to stay clean from drugs and to be supported by a non-criminal network. Those prerequisites exist within Vägen ut.

("Vägen ut blev vägen in", 2006, p. 3, my translation)

By using terms like "to successfully re-enter society", "to depart from a criminal career" and "to stay clean from drugs", the text highlights the welfare-discourse. However, terms like rehabilitation, treatment or therapy is not mentioned in any of the texts provided in the information sheet. Thus, the text tells us that Vägen ut offers services both required by public authorities like the social service and the correctional system. Simultaneously the text avoids

⁵ "Vägen ut blev vägen in", information sheet produced in 2006

a terminology that in this sense draws on a public authority discourse. Instead, the idea of Vågen ut is being described as follows:

It is all about what happens when people get the opportunity to use their strength and power together with other people to influence their own situation. We also want to show the importance of positive role models, and that the people surrounding us from public authorities and organisations are contributing with their knowledge. This booklet is drawing on conclusions that three researchers at the University of Gothenburg (...) are presenting in their study...

("Vågen ut blev vågen in", 2006, p. 3, my translation)

Again, notions like "use their strength and power", "together", "influence their own situation" and "positive role models" prove the incidence of a user-discourse as central in the user-regulated comprehension of the social enterprise. At the same time, by referring to research and by inviting actors of the public sector into an exchange of knowledge, the text reflects a will to cooperate with and win legitimacy from public authorities. In a way, this could be seen as an expression of a public authority discourse. On the other hand, it more likely reflects how Vågen ut as a user-governed initiative relates to actors of the public sphere. Thus, the welfare-discourse is here primarily used to describe the goals of the organisation, while the public authority discourse rather seems to be addressed as a means to reach these goals – and as a means for Vågen ut to gain legitimacy as a welfare-providing organisation.

The market's-discourse, however, does not seem to be present at all. This becomes extra evident when Vågen ut chooses to describe the notion of "entrepreneurship" in relation to a public authority discourse.

...competence of entrepreneurship is to be able to get by in society, to learn how to speak to authorities, to dare to petition politicians, to negotiate for locals and means for the organisation. New experiences that one can use in other situations as well.

("Vågen ut blev vågen in" 2006, p. 17, my translation)

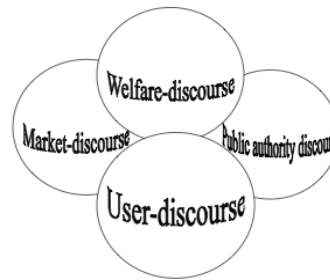
In the texts published at the organisation's homepage in 2008 the market-discourse is more evident, though.

It is enterprises whose co-workers during a long time – maybe never – have had a job to go to. The ones who were left out of the labour market – but today are proud entrepreneurs and co-workers of a new and growing sector.

(www.vagenut.coop, May 2008)

Here, the market-discourse is visible through concepts as "enterprise" and "proud company owners". Hence, the discursive repertoire used by Vågen ut appears quite similar to the one used by Basta; the user-discourse and the welfare-discourse perform as central, while the market-discourse and the public authority discourse is materialized as subordinated ones, mainly supporting the establishment of the more dominant discourses.

Figure 2 - The discursive repertoire of the order of discourse used by the Vågen ut co-operatives



Social and Cultural Factors Signifying the Discourses

In linguistics, the ideational dimension of a sentence's grammar is often referred to as transitivity. In order to scrutinize the interplay of the discourses emerging within the user-regulated order of discourse, an analysis of *transitivity* is useful (Fairclough 1992:178). Here, the agency employed by different actors in various processes of the text is of significance. An issue that is always important in analyzing transitivity is whether agency, causality, and responsibility are made explicit or left vague. According to Fairclough (ibid.), a social reason for analysing transitivity is to examine what social and cultural factors determine how a process is signified in a particular type of discourse.

In the agency of the discourses employed by Basta, a legible point of intersection appears in the way that power – or the distribution of power – is pronounced.

At Basta, those in power are the members of the co-operation. (...) Today seven of eight members of the co-operation are people with experiences of drug-addiction.
/.../

At Basta, the people working at the company are in power, not anonymous shareholders, nor municipal politicians or salaried employees.

(Basta – Ett nykooperativt företag, s. p 4, my translation)

In emphasizing the employees of the social enterprise as the ones in power, rather than shareholders, politicians or other persons in authority, the single members of the co-operative are referred to as agents. In the text, the distribution of power is also differentiated from the way power traditionally is employed in the private sector, as well as in the public sphere. Thus, in stressing the members of the co-operative as the ones in power, the user-discourse here emerges as a third way's option, holding an alternative order of governing, which distinguishes both from the traditional business sphere and from the welfare sector.

Additionally, a user's perspective is employed in describing social co-operatives, social enterprises and social entrepreneurship in the report "*Social co-operatives*" written by the National Co-op Development Agency in collaboration with the National Institute for Working Life in 2002⁶. Drawing on notions like "participation", "democracy" and "user-involvement" the idea of the social enterprise is here framed within a "co-operative model". In defining the

⁶ In Swedish the report is titled "Sociala arbetskooperativ – funktionshindrades möjligheter till arbete genom sociala arbetskooperativ. Strukturella förutsättningar i Sverige, Storbritannien och Italien". Copyright: Arbetslivsinstitutet och författaren (Eva Laurelii), 2002.

social co-operative, the text both alludes to and distances itself from the market-discourse and the public authority discourse.

In producing and selling goods and services the social co-operatives are pursuing business. By receiving diverse types of support, subsidies or by selling services, they always have a relationship to the public sector.

(Sociala arbetskooperativ, the National Institute for Working Life, 2002, p. 3, my translation)

The terminology of "pursuing business" and "producing and selling goods and services" prevail the connection to the market-discourse. Subsequently the public authority discourse is reflected in expressions like "the public sector", "support", and "subsidies". Thus, the social enterprise is here comprehended as a phenomenon incorporating both the market-discourse and the public authority discourse. Hereafter, a differentiation is emphasized:

Social co-operatives are freestanding associations of people cooperating to satisfy needs of work, and social fellowship through a co-owned and democratic company. Making economic profits are subordinated to the interest of developing and cultivating each and everyone's capacity for work and influence in the matters concerning the company.

(Sociala arbetskooperativ, the National Institute for Working Life, 2002, p. 3, my translation)

In stressing that social co-operatives are freestanding associations, and thus not a part of the public sector, the principles of the social enterprise are distinguished from the public authority discourse. Simultaneously, a detachment from the market-discourse appears when the economic profit is depicted as subordinated to the development of the employees' abilities. In addition, the text pinpoints that each individual's needs are prevalent in the idea of the social enterprise by stressing "each and everyone's capacity (...) and influence". A principle, further enhanced in the following:

The work of the "Folkhem", has mainly been based on public and large-scale solutions of welfare needs.

(Sociala arbetskooperativ, the National Institute for Working Life, 2002, p. 6, my translation)

Here, the user-discourse not only differentiate itself from public welfare-solutions in general, it also appears to distinguish from their large-scale expressions. Hence, a main issue on the user-discourse's agenda, seems to be to change the way that welfare as a general concept is comprehended in a Swedish context.

The social co-operatives are a part of the social economy that needs legitimacy and a thorough form of support to be able to develop the potential that is embedded in the idea of people taking the power in their own hands in order to create new ways of dealing with welfare-issues of the society.

(Sociala arbetskooperativ, the National Institute for Working Life, 2002, p. 6, my translation)

Here, the text is positioning itself against the differences of power embedded in public welfare-solutions, when talking about "people taking the power in their own hands". When the text additionally talks about "develop the potential" and "create new ways" of dealing with welfare-issues, the idea of the social enterprise is related to something new and more innovative than the large-scaled welfare-solutions distinguishing the Swedish welfare-model of the 20'th century. Hence, within the user-regulated order of discourse the individual is put forward as having agency in the interaction of the social enterprise. In this way of creating the

social enterprise as a distinctive alternative phenomenon both in regard to the market-discourse and to the public authority discourse, the user-regulated order of discourse is challenging the traditional comprehension of the Swedish concept of welfare. In the terminology of critical discourse analysis, this is referred to as *a hegemonic struggle*.

Power, Agency and Rehabilitation

Additionally, a sub-discourse is highlighted within the user-regulated order of discourse. This sub-discourse is both referable to the user-discourse and the welfare-discourse. In the report "Social co-operatives", for instance, it is highlighted as a motive for the government to provide means to the establishment of social enterprises. The sub-discourse is here referred to as *the self-help discourse of rehabilitation*. Thus, the self-help discourse is utilized to describe the main aim of the social enterprise.

Self-help groups are often used as therapy in order to utilize the power of recognition, and identification with someone that out of his or her own experience can comprehend the specific difficulties someone is having, and support a development.

(Sociala arbetskooperativ, 2002, p. 68, my translation)

Thus, within the self-help discourse of rehabilitation the user-discourse and the welfare-discourse are clearly visible. In this connection, the self-help ideologically is also referred to as a phenomenon distinguished from charity – as well as public authority solutions.

Self-help can be comprehended in contrast to charity and measures created by "others", for example public actors that are offering activities for disabled groups.

(Sociala arbetskooperativ, the National Institute for Working Life, 2002, p. 68, my translation)

Traditionally in social science literature, the selective nature of charity is viewed in contrast to the all-embracing efforts of the welfare state. Again, the user's-discourse is positioned as a third way alternative, initiating a hegemonic struggle of how the concept of welfare ought to be understood. In the text written by Basta, a similar point of differentiation emerges between conventional drug abuse therapy and the rehabilitation offered by Basta.

Like our name implies, Basta Work Co-operative is a company where work is highly valued. But work alone, is not often enough to rehabilitate people with a history of a long drug abuse. (...) Given that Basta is not a rehab-clinic, and hence does not offer any professional care or treatment in a traditional sense, other "tools" are used in the process of rehabilitation. (...) The ideology of Basta is based on a philosophy that is invaluable as a therapeutic tool. That's how philosophy is turned into therapy.

(Basta – Ett nykooperativt företag, s. p 5-6, my translation)

Thus, Basta does not claim to be pursuing any drug treatment or professional care. On the other hand the company claims to offer rehabilitation and therapy to drug-abusers. What is the difference, one could ask. According to the text, the philosophy of Basta is based on democratic values. Additionally, it is built upon six principles that briefly can be summarized as *the ability to make people communicate through work, solidarity, ecology, a pride of independence, a consciousness of quality* and finally something called *the power of the example*. The last principle highlights the idea that the people working at Basta are living proofs that it is possible to turn your life around. Thus, this principle is closely connected with a user-oriented way of thinking. Joined with the other principles, they are all mutually

concerned with issues of power, participation and self-governing. In stating that Basta does not offer any professional drug-abuse treatment, again the user-discourse is positioned in contrast to the way care and treatment are conventionally understood in a Swedish context. Apart from viewing work as a means for rehabilitation, enterprising is also accentuated as a vital part of the rehabilitation offered at Basta.

The sales of goods and services provide a visible "proof of competence" to the ones who now and again haven't believed in their ability to work and be of any use at a workplace. In that sense, the market becomes a force of rehabilitation, and a "value-meter" of efforts accomplished.

(Basta – Ett nykooperativt företag, p. 6, my translation)

Hence, at Basta user-governance, the value of working, and enterprising are utilized as conceptual means to reach the organisation's goals. Within Vägen ut, the user-discourse is also enhanced as being of significance to the welfare-changes the organisation wants to accomplish. The second text in the information sheet⁷ can serve as an example to illustrate this. The article consists of quotations from a woman who represents, in "authority-terminology", a client in one of the Vägen ut co-operatives, the co-operative of Karin's Daughters. In the text the role of the woman is referred to as being one of Karin's daughters. This is the way she describes her experience of the organisation:

- Here you meet people with the same kind of background as yourself. You are provided with positive role models. If they can, you can!
- When I was interviewed to join Karin's Daughters, Magda and Tina presented themselves as former drug-addicts. I was flabbergasted. Something happened within me. We ended up at the same level.
- It's a huge difference compared to meeting a public authority officer. It doesn't matter how good he or she is. The professional becomes cold. (...) Here, we are equals.
- This is a zone free from public authorities, and from men. We get by without all that.

("Vägen ut blev vägen in", 2006, p. 4, my translation)

In the text the woman is speaking out of a position where she is not experiencing herself as subordinated. However, in her dealings with professionals or people representing public authorities, she expresses herself as being subjected to subordination. By placing this text as the booklet's first text, next to the foreword, the Vägen ut co-operatives are indicating that the perspective of the individual is of great significance within the organisation. The voice speaking in the text is talking of a model guiding the work within Vägen ut, as a model based on equality. Here, former drug-addicts are more able to help people to recover from drug-abuse, than professional social workers or caseworkers are. Like Basta, the term "professional" is used by Vägen to indicate the ability of the organisation to offer something different than what professional organisations usually do. Hence, the user-perspective, employing principles of equality, is pronounced as central in the form of rehabilitation and optional welfare offered by the social co-operatives.

Institutionally Constructed Narratives – as Myths

According to Fairclough (1992:159ff) *modality* indicates the degree of affinity used within a proposition. Different types of discourse employ different forms of modality. When using

⁷ "Karins Döttrar gör skillnad" (article, signed by "M C, 39 years old – since the summer of 2004 one of Karin's Daughters")

subjective modality, for example, the subjective basis for the selected degree of affinity is made explicit within the text. In using objective modality, on the other hand, it may not always be clear whose perspective is being represented. Hence, the use of objective modality often implies some form of power. It is also a preference for objective modality, which can allow partial perspectives to be universalized (ibid:161).

In the information sheet produced by Basta, what is stated in the text is often related to concrete examples. The basis for the affinity expressed is hereby made explicit. Thus a subjective modality is mainly utilized. Occasionally though, the text employs an objective form of modality.

Within few companies, if any, the possibility to make a career is faster than at Basta, or as one of the co-owners – member of the co-operative – expressed the matter: "four years ago I was in prison with a drug-abuse that had last longer than twenty years. Today I am an enterprise-executive.

(Basta – Ett nykooperativt företag, p. 2-3, my translation)

In stating that the possibility to make a career is faster at Basta than at any other company, it is not quite clear whose perspective is actually being represented within the text. Accordingly, the sentence quoted above is using objective modality. Additionally, the sentence is framing a successful narrative of the social enterprise; a narrative dramaturgically constructed up on the idea of people entering the enterprise with problem-identities, and accommodated by the social enterprise are transformed into persons with resourceful identities. The bigger difference between the identities in the beginning and the end of the narrative, the more successful the story appears. Hence, the use of objective modality in the successful narrative quoted above, is allowing the partial perspective of the story told to be universalized, and thus comprehended as a generally applicable truth. In claiming to speak of something universal when referring to the fast career offered at Basta, the narrative is also contributing to help Basta – and the social enterprise in general – to gain legitimacy as a well functioning model of rehabilitation.

The texts presenting Vägen ut is mainly also using subject modality. But likewise with Basta, an objective modality is occurring in parts of the text where institutionally constructed narratives are used to emphasize the organisation's identity. Consequently, within the user-regulated order of discourse objective modality is utilized to describe the narratives emphasized by the social enterprises to gain identity and legitimacy. Additionally, objective modality is used to demonstrate the disadvantaged and powerless position of Basta's target-groups.

The labour market is not handling former drug-abuser with mercy.

(Basta – Ett nykooperativt företag, p. 6, my translation)

The use of objective modality in the sentence quoted above is partially employed to reinforce the successful narrative of the company's identity. But additionally it also seems to enhance the agency of Basta as an organisation.

With half a million people being unemployed, of whom a majority are conscientious and professionally trained people, the drug-abuser can expect nothing but to end up in the queue of the ones not offered a job. Basta has created a labour market of its own...

(Basta – Ett nykooperativt företag, p. 6, my translation)

In the first sentence, the people working at Basta are referred to as a group of people lacking power who passively have to wait in line for a job offer. In creating a labour market Basta, on the other hand, is ascribed as an agent with the ability to take action. Consequently, Basta's target-group is here described as being in need of an organisation like Basta. Likewise, Vågen ut is using objective modality in referring to the structures restraining their target-group from participation in the society. Described as hopeless and just being there, these structures are framed without anybody or anything being responsible for their existence. In contrast, agency is applied in reference to the own organisation.

In a considerable number of reports, surveys and magazine articles the unbearably life-situation of people just released from prison are pinpointed (...). This issue was addressed by some non-profit organisations in Gothenburg. They decided to create new opportunities to depart from criminal careers and drug-addictions.

("Vågen ut blev vägen in", 2006, p. 6, my translation)

In stressing that some non-profit organisations in Gothenburg addressed the unbearable life-situation of newly released prisoners, these organisations are referred to as agents. The societal structure however is described as a phenomenon, lacking agency. In narrative terms the social enterprise here emerges as a hero, possessing the ability to fight the battle of their target-groups successfully. Thus, in the text written by the social enterprises, the societal structure is consistently described as lacking agency. If somebody is acting, it is either the social enterprise itself or the principles that the companies are built upon. Given that the information sheets aim to gain legitimacy to the kind of work pursued in the social enterprises in order to help people depart from drug-addiction and criminal careers, it's not all that surprising that the agency is presented in this way. If it wasn't for the work carried out by the social enterprises and their principles, the society could just as well do without these organisations.

Who is Doing What to Whom – and How?

Using principles of user-involvement, work and enterprising as means to reach goals involving rehabilitation, work and social fellowship, the goals and the means of the social enterprise could, within the user-regulated order of discourse, be summarized as follows in figure 3 below.

Figure 3 - The goals, means and target-groups of the social enterprise as comprehended within the user-regulated order of discourse.



To sum up, the social enterprise as comprehended within the user-regulated order of discourse, aims at rehabilitation for diverse target-groups in models operated by the user-groups themselves. In this context, the term "user" is intended as a group of people sharing the same needs in one way or another. Participation, work and entrepreneurship are employed as means to reach the goals within the social enterprises. The goals of the social enterprise, on

the other hand, are understood as people gaining rehabilitation, work and social fellowship. Thus, work is paradoxically appearing as a means as well as a goal.

Another paradox appearing within the user-regulated order of discourse is dealing with the agency applied to different participants of the social enterprise. Generally, the individual members of the social co-operatives are here referred to as agents, able to take collective action through the social enterprise. However, in the institutionally constructed narratives, created in order for the social enterprises to gain legitimacy, the enterprise, rather than its individual members, is stressed as the agent taking action. What kind of consequences this specific paradox might imply will be further examined within the discursive formations appearing within the state-regulated order of discourse, presented in the following section.

2.2. The State-Regulated Order of Discourse

Within the state-regulated order of discourse, three of the previously four identified discourses are made visible. Thus, compared to the user-regulated order of discourse, one discourse is missing. Additionally the interplay of the discourses still visible is changing. Documents produced by public government authorities are mainly included in this repertoire of interpretation. In addition, the editorial of the first number of the magazine "Social economy" published in 2006 is also using a state-regulated way of referring to the social enterprise. This magazine is published by the National Co-op Development Agency⁸. Thus, the article is written by the consulting organisation, also represented in the rapport "Social co-operatives" referred to in the previous analysis of the user-regulated order of discourse. Consequently, in the text published in 2006, the advisory organisation is talking about social enterprises out of a different discursive repertoire than previously.

The other documents referred to within the analysis of the state-regulated order of discourse are one government white paper titled SOU 2007:2, and two information sheets on social enterprises produced by Nutek, the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth. Nutek is assigned by the Swedish government to contribute to the creation of new and more growing enterprises in Sweden. The information sheets produced by Nutek were published in the year of 2005 and 2008. The information sheet published in 2005 is titled "*Socialt företagande – en väg till arbetsmarknaden*", which translated into English would be "*Social enterprising – a way to the labour market*". The booklet produced in 2008 is titled "*Socialt företagande – en bransch i tillväxt*", which in English is translated to "*Social enterprising – an industry of growth*". One text from each booklet is included in the analysis.

The Discourses of the Social Enterprise

In the information sheet produced by Nutek in 2005, the social enterprise is primarily described as a tool for implementing active labour market policies. In the discursive repertoire utilized, three of the previously four identified discourses are made visible. One of these discourses is *the market-discourse*, which in the text exemplified below is interplaying with *the welfare-discourse*.

The booklet you currently are reading is illustrating the importance of social enterprises to create new lasting enterprises. The social enterprise is also developing businesses that provide new job openings, and simultaneously are integrating new groups at the labour market.

(Socialt företagande – en väg till arbetsmarknaden,
Nutek 2005, p. 2, my translation)

⁸ The Swedish name of the association is "Föreningen Kooperativ Utveckling i Sverige", www.coompanion.se.

The market-discourse, reflected in notions like "lasting enterprises" and "businesses", are now taking a dominant position within the state-regulated order of discourse. Simultaneously, expressions like "new job openings" and "integrating new groups at the labour market" are implying a comprehension of the welfare-discourse, now mainly influenced by labour market policies. Another apparent discourse made visible in the text is *the public authority discourse*. Here, it is mainly pronounced within a terminology usually employed in Swedish laws and regulations.

The need for support and special efforts to enter the labour market is huge. A lot of people want to and can work but the working environment and the assignments must be adjusted to the conditions of the individual.

("Socialt företagande – en väg till arbetsmarknaden",
Nutek 2005, p. 2, my translation)

A search on the Web for the Swedish terms "support special efforts" using Google, is resulting in hits on texts related to either *the Act (1993:387) concerning Support and Service for Persons with Certain Functional Impairments* or *the Regulation (2000:630) concerning Special Efforts for Persons with Functional Impairments and Work-disabilities*. A similar search of the Swedish terms "adjust individual condition" is resulting in hits on homepages of diverse public authorities. Finally, the concept "will and can work" used in the example above is a typical standard expression within a highly emphasized principal called the "working-line" employed within the Swedish labour market policy. In the Swedish National Encyclopaedia the working-line is defined as follows:

A main principle within the Swedish labour market policy, involving the premise of primarily offering work or active labour market policies to unemployed people. Economic support will only be granted when such efforts are proved not to be efficient enough.

(My translation)

Accordingly, the public authority discourse performs as highly legible in the terminology employed to describe the social enterprise within the state-regulated order of discourse. Moreover, the public authority terminology used can be connected with laws and regulations utilized to regulate the rights of disabled groups. Paradoxically, any other terms referring to disabled groups are not being used in the text. Instead, the text is mentioning "people who by various reasons are left outside the labour market", as target-groups of relevance to social enterprises, which undeniable is quite a broad group of people.

Transitivity of the State-Regulated Order

Now, something called a *nominalization* is also appearing in the way the text describes the social enterprise (Fairclough 1992:182f). *Nominalization* is a form of transitivity that signifies the conversion of a clause into a nominal or a noun, which has the effect of putting the process itself in the background. Hence, who is doing what to whom, is left implicit. The creation of the social enterprise as an entity is a nominalization by which the social enterprise is transformed from being viewed as a model involving processes and activities into becoming an inherent state of property; a property that according to Fairclough (ibid, p. 183) can then itself become the focus of cultural attention and manipulation. As a result, one finds nominalizations taking the roles of goals and even agents of processes. In the text written by Nutek, the social enterprise is very well taking the role of an agent, creating lasting enterprises, generating job openings for hundreds of thousands of people, developing business-proposals and integrating new groups of people in the labour market. How these processes practically are performed, or supposed to be taking place, are however left implicit. Hence, the social enterprise is in this context being referred to as both an agent and a goal.

Even in the editorial of the magazine "Social economy" the social enterprise is being illustrated as a feature of nominalization. Hence, the social enterprise is both appearing as a goal and as an acting agent. An example of this is illustrated below:

An immense need of social enterprises will emerge in the next couple of years. Social enterprises are effective in shoving people, locked out of the labour market, into society and employment.

(Editorial of the magazine Social Economy nr 1 2006, p. 4, my translation)

Just like in the booklet of Nutek, the interest of the social enterprise to gain legitimacy is here directed to the market-discourse; a matter further enhanced in the following:

The social enterprises lack an identity. This might be the biggest challenge to face in the future. (...) The projects of today have to turn into permanent activities, and become enterprises able to generate profits. (...) Business-ideas and market-plans are needed. The production within the enterprises must be organized as effective as possible.

(Editorial in the magazine Social Economy nr 1 2006, p. 4, my translation)

In using concepts as "become enterprises", "generate profits", "business-ideas", and "market-plans" the market-discourse is clearly pronounced. Furthermore the text is utilizing a public authority discourse.

Organisations and institutions supporting the development of the social enterprises are needed. The Co-operative Development Agencies constitute one important structure of support, but more support is needed. The social enterprise must be provided with better prerequisite from the public sphere.

(Editorial in the magazine Social economy, nr 1 2006, p. 4, my translation)

When the social enterprise was described within the user-regulated order of discourse, the texts both alluded to and distanced themselves from the market-discourse and the public authority discourse. Now, the ambivalence in relation to these discourses seems to have fallen out of the discursive practice. In this way, the user-discourse also falls out of place, and becomes invisible. In the text exemplified above, the discursive repertoire rather seems to be revealing an ambition to institutionalize the social enterprise – and hence to incorporate it within a public authority discourse or a state-regulated way of comprehending the phenomenon. Additionally, the market-discourse was within the user-regulated order of discourse applied mainly to support the creation of welfare and user-governance within social enterprises. In referring to the social enterprises in terms of organisations that have to generate profits, develop business-ideas and construct effective organisations, the market-discourse now emerges as the goal of the social enterprise, rather than as a means.

Another interesting issue appearing within the state-regulated order of discourse is how the term "new" is being used repeatedly. This is for instance the case in the text produced by Nutek that is talking about "new lasting enterprises", "new job openings", and "integrating new groups". Since it is the social enterprise that is creating all this "new-ness", the text is connecting the social enterprise with something new and innovative. Consequently, the social enterprise is framed as a solution to battle societal challenges that so far haven't been very well handled. This narrative is something we recognize from the user-regulated order of discourse. However, in the context of the user-regulated order of discourse the individual is put forward as having agency in the interaction of the social enterprise. In this way the social

enterprise is also created as an optional phenomenon initiating a hegemonic struggle of the welfare-concept. Emerging as a feature of nominalization in the context of the state-regulated order of discourse, the narrative rather appears as an agent acting on behalf of the hegemonic concept of welfare. In this sense, within the varying orders of discourse the innovative rhetoric of the social enterprise has contradicting aims.

The Invisible User-Perspective

The fact that a formal definition of the social enterprise yet hasn't been presented in Sweden is pinpointed in the government white paper, named "SOU 2007:2". Hence, the report presents some basic principles of relevance to the social enterprise.

A clear empowerment-perspective placing the humans as central within the social enterprise forms a basic principle of the organisational form. People needing societal support are operating the social enterprises. By participation in the company they get the opportunity to enhance their life-situations and regain the power of their own lives.

(SOU 2007:2, p 220, my translation)

In emphasizing the principle of empowerment, and the humans as central within the social enterprise the text alludes to a user-discourse. However, the discursive formations of the text simultaneously show that what is referred to in user-influenced terms actually is described out of a public authority discourse. In framing the target-group of the social enterprise as "people needing societal support" a user-discourse build upon notions of equality and user-governance is not employed. Likewise, within the user-regulated order of discourse the single individuals are referred to as agents. Here principles like empowerment and participation are framed as a feature of nominalization, and hence referred to as acting agents. Thus, principles of the social enterprise, rather than the people operating them, are highlighted as actors creating the results ascribed to the social enterprises. Consequently the user-discourse is incorporated and made invisible within the public authority discourse emerging in the government public report produced in 2007. The relation between the market-discourse and the public authority discourse, however seems to be quite well balanced, which is exemplified below:

The goal of (the enterprises) is to satisfy societal needs and simultaneously operate a business. The activity is more or less financed by society.

(SOU 2007:2, p. 221, my translation)

The discourses appearing within the state-regulated order of discourse in describing the social enterprise are illustrated in figure 5.

Figure 5 - Discourses of the social enterprise appearing in the state-regulated order of discourse



The Market-Regulated Order of Discourse

In the information sheet published by Nutek in 2008, the social enterprise is being described in yet another way that could be referred to as *a market-regulated order of discourse*. Also a "re-nominalization" of the social enterprise now appears. Rather than to refer to the social enterprise solidly as an entity or as an acting agent, the process of business within the social enterprise is now being stressed. The social enterprise is therefore described as follows:

Companies who by operating a business or industry are fulfilling their goals, that through enterprising create possibilities to development and support for people who are experiencing particular difficulties in the labour market of today.

("Socialt företagande – en bransch i tillväxt", Nutek 2008, p.1, my translation)

Thus, business is now put forward as the main principle given agency within the social enterprise. Compared to the information sheet provided by Nutek in 2005, where the public authority discourse is mainly connected to labour market policies, issues of the market now seem to be prevailing in regard to the same policies.

In the last couple of years the interest of enterprises with social characteristics has sharply increased.

("Socialt företagande – en bransch i tillväxt", Nutek 2008, p. 3, my translation)

In talking about "enterprises with social characteristics" rather than "social enterprises", the market-discourse is also keyed in the first sentence of the information-text. In collaboration with some other actors⁹, Nutek has now created a Swedish definition of the social enterprise. In stating that "social enterprises are operating businesses", the definition starts off from the market-oriented discourse. In addition, goals related to labour market policies are emphasized in the repertoire of interpretation used to describe the social enterprise, while goals related to notions like "societal needs" or "social fellowship" no longer are visible in the text. Within the market-oriented order of discourse, an objective modality is mainly used. Sometimes a less categorical or definite modality is used, though. At one of those occasions the text deals with possible values attached to the concept of social enterprises.

⁹ The Swedish definition of the social enterprise have been developed in a collaboration between Nutek, the European Social Fund, diverse social enterprises, Co-op Development Agencies, and public authorities.

It isn't always easy to know what different kind of notions the terms (of the social enterprise) hold. To many of us the terms can be charged with values and ideas. The ambition of this booklet is not to draw a map of, or to explain, all possible words involved in the concept of social enterprises. Instead, it is all about the experience of developing, establishing and operating businesses with the goal of creating job opportunities to groups of people being in a difficult position in the labour market...

(Socialt företagande – en bransch i tillväxt", Nutek 2008, s. p 3, my translation)

Accordingly, to expand the labour market by developing, establishing and operating businesses is now described as the goal of the social enterprise. Here, the discursive formations originally used in reference to the social enterprise are reconstructed. Rather than to view work and enterprising as means to create processes of rehabilitation, which was the case within the user-regulated order of discourse, social enterprises are here operated in order to create jobs to people being in a difficult situation in the labour market. Thus, what was previously viewed as a means, are now being described as the goal. In no longer mentioning concepts as social fellowship or societal needs as a part of the overall goal of the social enterprise, the comprehension of the welfare-discourse is also reconstructed. What is left is a discursive repertoire of interpretation pronounced within a market-discourse, and aiming at a welfare-discourse now comprehended solitary by needs emerging out of difficulties within the labour market. The hegemonic struggle in regard to the concept of welfare, initiated by the user-regulated discursive formations, is here answered.

In referring to job opportunities and the labour market, rather than principles of participation, solidarity and user-involvement, the market-regulated order of discourse gives the impression of wanting to establish a comprehension of welfare deriving from the social enterprise as something primarily concerned with issues of businesses and labour market policies. Hence, only two discourses are appearing within the discursive formations of the market-oriented order of discourse: the market-discourse and a labour market biased welfare-discourse.

Figure 6 - Discourses within the market-regulated order of discourse



Who is Doing What to Whom – and How?

To sum up, within the state-regulated order of discourse the aim of the social enterprise is to create job openings and labour market measures to people who is experiencing difficulties in the labour market. Thus, within this order of discourse the social enterprise is referred to as an agent – and as a goal in itself. Consequently, the process of "who is doing what to whom" is not made clear within this order of discourse. Additionally, in viewing work and the creation of new jobs as a goal in itself, both the state-regulated repertoire and the market-regulated repertoire are differing from the user-regulated repertoire where work rather is emphasized as

a means to reach the goals of the social enterprise, also comprising rehabilitation and social fellowship.

Figure 7 - The goals, means and target-groups of the social enterprise as described within the state-regulated and market-regulated orders of discourse.



CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

Taken all in all, the discursive formations of the multidimensional concept of the social enterprise are appearing with a high degree of interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992, p. 104). According to Fairclough, discourses mixed in new and complex ways indicate socio-cultural changes. Accordingly, the three different repertoires of interpretation identified in the analysis are describing the social enterprise as a new and innovative phenomenon aiming to solve contemporary challenges of the welfare state.

Within the user-regulated order of discourse this "innovative talk" is primarily performed in order for the social enterprise to gain legitimacy as a model of rehabilitation; a model that also appears as provocative in regard to established, or hegemonic, concepts of welfare. In partly separating itself from, and partly using principles of, the market-discourse and the public authority discourse, the texts within this order of discourse are talking about social enterprises as being a part of a new sector, operating out of an optional model with an alternative order of logic. As an example, in a text not included in the analysis, Basta is referring to them selves as an organisation aiming to be a socio-political alarm clock¹⁰. In the user-regulated model emphasized by Basta, everybody's thoughts are of importance, even the thoughts of a drug-addict. Principles built up on notions of equality, user-involvement, trust and democracy, are thus put forward as being of significance to the process of rehabilitation preformed by the social enterprise within the user-regulated order of discourse.

Generally, the individual members of the social co-operatives are here referred to as agents, able to take collective action through the social enterprise. However, in the institutionally constructed narratives, created by the social enterprises in order to gain identity and legitimacy, the enterprise – rather than its individual members – is stressed as the agent taking action. This latter way of comprehending the social enterprise is in the analysis also identified as utilized by actors within the state-regulated order of discourse. However, within the state-regulated order of discourse the innovative rhetoric of the social enterprise is not primarily used to gain legitimacy to the alternative model of rehabilitation offered by the social

¹⁰ The document referred to, titled "Bastas rehabiliteringsfilosofi", is published at the organisation's homepage www.basta.se

enterprise. Rather, in referring to the social enterprise as something who creates thousands of jobs, integrates people in the labour market, and develops lasting enterprises, the phenomena is here framed as an agent able to take action on its own – and as such it also emerges as goal in itself. Hence, within the state-regulated order of discourse the social enterprise doesn't need to gain legitimacy. Appearing as a goal, the social enterprise is here utilized by governing authorities as a solution to handle issues of structural character; issues that the governing authorities also are primarily responsible for in the society.

By accentuating the individual as having agency in the interaction of the social enterprise, the social enterprise is within the context of the user-regulated order of discourse initiating a hegemonic struggle of the welfare-concept. However, emerging as a feature of nominalization the social enterprise within the state-regulated order of discourse appears as a goal, acting on behalf of the hegemonic concept of welfare already established within the welfare state. In this sense, within the varying orders of discourse the innovative rhetoric of the social enterprise has contradicting aims.

Vulnerable groups like drug-addicts, criminals, and disabled people are referred to as the target-groups of the social enterprise within the user-regulated order of discourse. On the other hand, within the state-regulated order of discourse the social enterprise holds a considerable wider target-group. Here, people who generally are experiencing difficulties in the labour market are being referred to as the main target-group of the social enterprise. The explicit goal of the social enterprise is simultaneously reconstructed. From aiming at creating rehabilitation, job openings, and social fellowship, the aim of the social enterprise turns into being an active labour market policy.

In summary, the social enterprise is very well on its way to gain legitimacy in Sweden. However, the way in which the phenomenon is being legitimized is not unison with the discursive formations framed within the user-regulated order of discourse. On the contrary, it seems to collide with several of the original principles, where the enterprising is viewed as a means rather than a goal, and where the small-scale organisation is pointed out as preferable to the traditional large-scale solutions offered by the public sector. What these discursive reconstructions might imply to the everyday dealings of the Swedish social enterprises is hence an issue of significance, worth further examination.

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