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Teaching Social Entrepreneurship and Innovation From the Perspective of Place and Place Making

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Business education for social entrepreneurship and innovation is an emerging area of study and practice. This article draws from literatures in geography and anthropology to offer a place-based perspective that we believe enriches our understanding of social context and provides new approaches to teaching the subject. We begin by considering the limitations of existing approaches to understanding social context and then present a four-frame model of place-based thinking (Gruenewald, 2003) with implications for teaching social entrepreneurship and innovation. Afterward we present a case study of a project-oriented, place-based learning approach to social entrepreneurship and innovation around water, sanitation, and hygiene (WaSH) in the informal settlements of Cape Town, South Africa. We discuss how the use of place enriches our students' understanding of the WaSH-related innovations there. We also reflect on the successes, failures and place-based experiments. Implications for a new approach to teaching social entrepreneurship and innovation are also discussed.

The Cape Town Project Centre (CTPC) was established in 2007 with a mission to engage students and faculty in research, education, and action in support of sustainable community development in South Africa. Cape Town projects focus on historically disadvantaged communities, including informal settlements where people live in shacks, without adequate provision of basic services. In the past, we have conducted projects with local partners on themes such as sustainable water and sanitation provision, energy, early childhood development, microbusiness, multimedia communications, urban planning and mapping, and sport and recreation. Students often work closely with community members and other teams to share insights and plan innovative, integrated solutions. Some projects involve hands-on construction activities.

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Business education for social entrepreneurship is an emerging area of study and practice (Peredo & McLean, 2006). The Global Perspective Program at Worchester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) is one of many examples, with about 450 students working on social projects in 16 locations around the world including Cape Town each year. According to the WPI website, "Project work conducted at these sites provides teams of students with extraordinary opportunities to learn by solving problems provided by industrial, non-profit, non-governmental or government agencies" (http://www.wpi.edu/academics/catalogs/ugrad/global.html#africa). While the importance of place and place making may seem obvious in any pedagogy of social entrepreneurship—because social entrepreneurs need to understand notions of environment and community—the concept of "place" is mostly invisible in the curricula and materials that we use to teach students about social entrepreneurship and the roles and practices that yield and sustain social benefits. Yet effective social entrepreneurship is rooted in those places, arising from the social and technological innovations that shape lived-experiences in distinct places (from homes to communities to states) where people often have limited ability to respond to problems or to shape how things work (or should work) to meet their needs (Mair & Noboa, 2006).

"Place" and "sense-of-place" are of emerging interest to management and organizational research, reflecting the growing influence of human and cultural geography in the field (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). As the geographer Cresswell (2004: 11) explains: "To think of an area of the world as a rich and complicated interplay of people and the environment—as a place—is to free us from thinking of it as facts and figures." However, the relevance of these concepts to management education remains underexplored (for exceptions see Jolly, Whiteman, Atkinson, & Radu, 2011, and Walck, 2003), particularly as these relate to education on social entrepreneurship.

Here, we consider how social "context," environment, and community are used in the social entrepreneurship literature and propose the concepts of place and place making to address the limitations of these approaches. We start by considering definitions of social entrepreneurship (from Dacin, Dacin, & Mactear, 2010), reviewing syllabi from graduate-level social entrepreneurship courses to consider how context in social entrepreneurship is currently framed, and discussing the limitations of the two primary frames, environment and community, for describing the context of social entrepreneurship. We then propose a place and place-making perspective to address the limitations of environment and community; in particular, we draw upon Gruenewald's (2003) four frames for thinking about place to offer rich insights into the complex dimensions of social (and ecological) context in social entrepreneurship. Next, we present a case study of our place-based approach to teaching social entrepreneurship that illustrates how place-based thinking is incorporated into our mentoring of undergraduate students for their work in social entrepreneurship in South Africa. This case study draws from our experiences with undergraduate students from Worcester Polytechnic Institute who, for the past 5 years, have worked with organizations in the informal settlements of South Africa to improve water, sanitation, and hygiene provisioning. Last, in the conclusion we discuss the implications of a place-based approach for informing each of the four factors that Dacin et al. (2010) found in their review of definitions of social entrepreneurship and for teaching social entrepreneurship.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT IN SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION

Across the majority of definitions of social entrepreneurship, there is little doubt about the importance of the social context to the success of social entrepreneurship and effectiveness of social entrepreneurship education. For example, Fowler (2000) defines *social entrepreneurship* as the "creation of viable socioeconomic structures, relations, institutions, organizations and practices that yield and sustain social benefits (649). Bornstein (1998) defines a *social entrepreneur* as a "pathbreaker with a powerful new idea, who combines visionary and real world problem solving creativity, who has a strong ethical fiber, and who is 'totally possessed' by his or her vision for change." Taking a broader perspective, Peredo and McLean (2006) define *social entrepreneurship* as exercised when "some person or persons (1) aim either exclusively or in some prominent way to create social value of some kind and pursue that goal through some combination of (2) recognizing and exploiting opportunities to create this value, (3) employing innovation, (4) tolerating risk, and (5) declining to accept limitations in available resources" (56). Bornstein's (2007) examples of social entrepreneurs such as Fabio Rosa's work with rural electrification in Brazil in the late 1990s offer case-based insights into the importance of understanding the complexities of the social context for effectiveness.

Yet, according to Dacin et al. (2010), while definitions of social entrepreneurship consistently em-

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phasize the "ability to leverage resources that address social problems . . . there is little consensus beyond this generalization" (Dacin et al., 2010: 38). Across these definitions, the authors identified four key groups of factors for thinking about social entrepreneurship: "the characteristics of individual social entrepreneurs . . . their operating sector, the processes and resources used by social entrepreneurs, and the primary mission and outcomes associated with the social entrepreneur" (38). Leaving the characteristics of individual social entrepreneurs aside (since they tend to offer "idiosyncratic insights" and "biased observations" [38]), we are suggesting here that a place-based perspective can offer important insights into context that address the dimensions of social entrepreneurship that Dacin et al. have identified. We ask how awareness of and insights into place can help students better understand how to leverage resources to address social problems, to establish and operate the social enterprise, to utilize processes and resources wisely, and to define the mission and outcomes of the enterprise more clearly. This is consistent with Mair and Noboa's (2006) emphasis on the importance of exposing students to social issues in order to help them "recognize social opportunities" (124).

Teaching Social Entrepreneurship

Given the clear importance of context to the field of social entrepreneurship, we sought to investigate how it is addressed in the social entrepreneurship classroom. How do professors teaching social entrepreneurship frame the context of a social enterprise? In preparing this article, the authors obtained copies of over a dozen graduate-level social entrepreneurship syllabi for academic years 2010–2011 from universities in the United States and one in the United Kingdom. We note that discerning how a concept is taught from syllabi alone is difficult because listed topics and readings vary in level of detail and because it is difficult to know from syllabi what emphases instructors give to various concepts that arise in lectures and case discussions. That said, while we did not expect to see an explicit reference to place in these syllabi (since it is a term more common to geography and anthropology than to business or entrepreneurship), we did expect to see reference to context, environment or community—terms that business and entrepreneurship disciplines generally think of as equivalent or similar to place but which, in our view, differ considerably.

Across the courses we reviewed, we found significant convergence around the choice and sequencing of social entrepreneurship topics, from *defining social entrepreneurship, getting started*, and *building and supporting the new enterprise* to *assessing the social impacts* and *scaling the enterprise*. These topics parallel Haugh's (2007: 107) model of stages of new social venture creation which include opportunity identification (recognition of a felt need); idea articulation (verbalization and development of the social entrepreneurship idea); idea ownership (where an emergent group shares information and lays out mission); stakeholder mobilization (gathering of necessary resources from the network of stakeholders); opportunity exploitation (defining of responsibilities, roles, and boundaries, and executing the necessary tasks); and reflection (looking back at what was learned).

Social context was most visible in the section on getting started, particularly with respect to identifying an opportunity for creating social value (opportunity recognition or identification and idea ownership), assessing market trends and competitive landscape, and mobilizing stakeholders. It was also visible in the section on assessing social impacts, which includes communicating assessments to key stakeholders (including funders) and using assessments to define (and refine) strategy and prioritize operations.

Limitations of Environment and Community for Describing the Context of SE

In reviewing these syllabi, it was our sense that they generally made reference to social context by drawing upon conventional notions of both community and the business environment. With respect to the latter, *business environment* refers to the cultural, legal, economic, political, physical, and technological influences on an organization. This view of context not only misses other important dimensions (such as the "natural" environment, Shrivastava, 1994, and the complexity and dynamism of social networks), it also provides students with a somewhat abstract and shallow understanding of context. Jermier and Forbes (2011) have argued that these conventional notions of the "environment" in organization theory and business have become a "root metaphor" (445) that have narrowed and simplified assumptions about social context. We believe that a place-based approach offers a more complex, holistic, and nuanced view of social context by grounding it in place, that is, in the complex patterns of relationships, political dynamics and histories, contested meanings, and ecosystems that constitute a place and bear upon the likely success of a social enterprise that oper-

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ates within a place or network of places. While markets, the competitive landscape, and other dimensions of the environment are important to teach students in social entrepreneurship courses, we believe that they are not sufficient to capture the complex social, political, phenomenological, and ecological dimensions a place-based perspective offers to students who seek to initiate or participate in social innovation and entrepreneurship.

With respect to the notion of community—the second primary dimension of social context that educators often drawn upon to teach social entrepreneurship—some have turned to the sociological and anthropological literatures. This seems relevant, particularly in the literature on entrepreneurship in community-based enterprises (e.g., Peredo & Chrisman, 2006), which focuses on small communities in poor countries that are endogenous to the enterprise and that act "entrepreneurially to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure" (310). We believe that there are a number of limitations, however, with respect to the notion of community for preparing to understand of the context of social entrepreneurship.

First, it is important to note that even within the sociological and anthropological literatures, place is a contested idea. In sociology, for example, except for the subfields of urban studies and local studies, much of mainstream sociology has resisted the notion of place, arguing instead for the importance of broader concepts such as social organization and culture (D. Hummon, 2012, personal communication, 1992). Yet environmental sociologists have criticized this traditional perspective within sociology for its neglect of local ecologies and their relevance to social problems in particular places (Dunlop, 2002). In anthropology since the late 1990s, the field has shifted somewhat, away from a purely cultural orientation to become more engaged with issues of place and space (A. M. Leshkowich, personal communication, 2012). As anthropologists such as Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 4) have noted, "How are understandings of locality, community, and region formed and lived? To answer this question we must turn away from the common sense idea that such things as locality or community are simply given or natural and turn toward a focus on political and social processes of place making, conceived less as a matter of 'ideas' than of embodied practices that shape identities and enable resistances."

Indeed, the notion of community has undergone significant changes in meaning as network theory has evolved and information technology and economic globalization have transformed how people interact with one another and how scholars have come to think about notions of community. Where in the past, community may have been thought of as a locality where people had a common culture and language—like the "German community" or "Dominican community" in a given neighborhood or city—now it is more common to think of community from the perspective of identity, self-hood, or interest (e.g., Peace community, Craft workers community, Storytellers community, Gay community, iPad community, among many others) where, according to Hoggett (1997), communities are elective or intentional (7) and can exist across geographic locations. Indeed, most people are members of many different social network communities, ranging from those that are intimate with strong emotional bonds (such as family members and close friends) to those with weaker emotional ties (such as a work or neighborhood community). These "network communities" compete for time and interest, and can be dynamic, even chaotic. They provide people with varying degrees of a sense of place (or placelessness) depending upon how grounded they are in relationships or physical spaces.

Similarly, social entrepreneurship scholars like Mair and Marti (2006) have called for greater recognition of social embeddedness as a means of facilitating social entrepreneurship. They note, for example, that "social entrepreneurship takes on multiple forms, depending on socioeconomic and cultural circumstances" and that understanding the "enabling and/or constraining effects of embeddedness" (40) could offer greater insight into social entrepreneurship (SE) initiatives by, for example, inviting scholars and students to think about how embeddedness affects social entrepreneurship at various stages or the positive and negative effects of embeddedness with respect to the success of the new enterprise.

Here, we build upon the idea of embeddedness of social networks (e.g., Granovetter, 1985), the sociology of community, and ecological embeddedness (in terms of the built environment and local ecological materiality) to offer a place-based perspective on social entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship education. It is our view that the concept of place thus extends the social embeddedness of community into the material and ecological realms (Barad, 2003; Orlikowski, 2007; Suchman, 2005; Whiteman & Cooper, 2011) that, we propose, provides students with better ways to identify opportunities in a social enterprise and how to foster and assess success. In the next section, we explore more deeply the notion of place and provide a set of frames for thinking about and

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presenting place in the social entrepreneurship classroom.

PLACING SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The key questions then are these: "What is place and what does it have to offer to social entrepreneurship education?" Cresswell, (2004) has defined *place* in this way: "Place is not a specialized piece of academic terminology. . . It is a word wrapped in common sense. . . As we already think we know what it means, it is hard to get beyond that common sense level in order to understand it in a more developed way" (1). For many years place was simply considered a location; Locke argued that people may lay claim to land by putting it into productive use, and that by working the land, people created places out of the commons, or effectively, unclaimed space (Locke, 2004). However, place is more than the area of human existence, more than a location or even a reworking of power relationships. It has become a complex of ecological, cultural, social, political and economic influences and factors. Place involves more than cartographic space and more than just the firm or organizational space. In geography, anthropology and other disciplines, place has become a dynamic and multifaceted subject of analysis where nature, politics, culture, and history lead to the continual [re] creation of place; from this perspective, place is not a preformed phenomenon or simply a canvas upon which events play out. Place is in some sense also a verb, a process of "place making." Thus while place enjoys wide common usage and seems commonsensical, in geography it is highly nuanced with important implications for the study of social entrepreneurship precisely because an understanding of place is essential to the identification of opportunity, adoption, and development of social innovation in a given locale.

In this section we offer four frames for thinking about place that offer insights into the context of social entrepreneurship. These frames are based on Gruenewald's (2003) framework for "place-consciousness education" which includes the *phenomenological* (or perceptual in Gruenewald's terminology), *sociological* (which includes place as community networks and social construction), *critical* (combining Gruenewald's political and ideological dimensions), and *ecological* frames. Gruenewald suggests that each frame offers educators a "multidisciplinary construct for cultural analysis" that serves to "unearth, transplant, and cross-fertilize perspectives on place" (619).

The Phenomenological Frame

Phenomenologically, places are the ground of direct human experience (Abram, 2007; Burley, Jenkins, Laska, & Davis, 2007; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Wulfhorst, Rimbey, & Darden, 2006). Scholars such as Casey (1996) suggest that place is important because all human experiences occur somewhere. Thus our phenomenological understanding of place is primary, rather than secondary, to space. And, the anthropological research suggests that our worlds are indeed place-worlds in Casey's sense of the term. For cultural geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), place is a product of human perception and experience; it is characterized by "stopping, resting and getting involved" in contrast to space which he describes as "an open arena of action" (Cresswell, 2004: 20). Like Tuan, Relph (1976) drew on phenomenology to conceive of place as the stage of human experience and "being." Relph's work was influenced by Martin Heidegger's (1962) understanding of the *dasein*, or essence of human existence, through which nature and culture come together. Thus for Relph, places became defined as "profound centers of human experience" (Cresswell, 2004: 23), a view taken up later by Casey (1996: 18), who writes that "there is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it." This is not to imply that from a phenomenological perspective humans are passive in the creation of place; to the contrary, the relationship between self and place is a dynamic one where humans (and places) play an active role.

For example, the influence of social context on organizational decision making has long been recognized (e.g., Weick, 1979). An emerging body of research also suggests that the physical context—that is, the physical place of organizations—can impact organizational learning, perception, and behavior. Studies show that the physical location of managers impacts the situated cognition of managers (Elsbach et al., 2005; Fazey et al., 2005; Whiteman & Cooper, 2000), the degree of adaptive learning in organizations (Tyre & von Hippel, 1997), and the development of context-specific innovation through the use of "sticky information" (Fazey et al., 2005; King, 1999). That is, certain physical locations facilitate a deeper understanding of the context of a problem, which in turn leads to enhanced learning, greater transfers of knowledge within and across firms, and more innovative responses to complex managerial problems. However, the majority of studies compare physical settings within a narrow range of traditional mana-

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gerial locations, for example, in the plant, office, or lab. A few studies also suggest that complex natural environmental settings have interesting effects on managerial processes, and this deserves more attention particularly from the sustainability literature (Fazey et al., 2005, 2006; Whiteman & Cooper, 2000).

Research in education also suggests that immersion and interaction with place improves learning. For instance, Bogner (2002) studied the influence of outdoor education on environmental beliefs and found that shifting the place for education—to the natural environment—significantly altered students' perceptions of their surroundings, fostered increased conservation beliefs, and facilitated greater emotional attachment to nature and environmental activism. In a review of 150 studies of outdoor education from 1993 to 2003, Dillon et al. (2006: 107) confirmed that outdoor education "offers learners opportunities to develop their knowledge and skills in ways that add value to their everyday experiences in the classroom." Rathunde (2009: 70) further emphasizes the value of "embodied education" and the role of place (and nature) within this: "An embodied educational environment is one that is in tune with the intimate connection of the body and the mind." Embodied education facilitates deeper learning through greater resonance with context and can have restorative effects on attention, thereby alleviating learning fatigue (Walck, 2003, 2004).

In short, we are suggesting that from a phenomenological point of view, a place-based approach to social entrepreneurship highlights the ways in which place, sense of place, and the phenomenological and sensory experiences of the human body unfolding in distinct places (Casey, 1996; Heaphy & Dutton, 2008; Merleau-Ponty, 1962) are relevant to the challenges of social entrepreneurship. They offer the social entrepreneur access to the physical and sensory inputs that are a source of valuable information and insight into the places where the social entrepreneur is trying to bring positive change.

The Sociological Frame

This frame considers place as networks of people with common interests and identities. According to network theory (e.g., Rogers, 1986; Ibarra & Andrews, 1993; Meyer, 1994; and Scott, 2000) people are linked by "patterned communication flows" that vary by task, identity, level of interest, position or status, communication channel, and so on. As mentioned above, these networks may be geographically dispersed as well. As such, this frame gives new meaning to the word, "local," in that local can mean within a given network that spans great distances rather than within a particular location. Thus when McNamee and Hosking (2012) talk about local "relational processes" and "simultaneous inter-actions" (39) establishing norms and patterns of behavior and practices for a given place, they are talking about the interactions within a networked community that create a sense of place that may or *may not* be tied to a location. Here, we are proposing a dynamic perspective on context where geographically dispersed people have not only their own "local" sense of place but also have broad linkages to people in other "local" places. These connections create complex linkages, openings, and opportunities for social entrepreneurs.

To explore this idea further, we turn to Massey's (1994) seminal chapter, "A Global Sense of Place" in her book, *Space, Place and Gender*. Similar to Gupta and Ferguson's perspective referred to earlier, Massey questions conventional notions of community to refer to place and invites scholars to think more broadly about the term. In questioning the value of community to talk about a given place, she elaborates on our earlier point: "On the one hand, communities can exist without being in the same place—from networks of friends with like interests, to major religious, ethnic or political communities. On the other hand, the instances of places housing single 'communities' in the sense of coherent social groups are probably—and I would argue, have for long been—quite rare" (153). Massey also suggests that a "particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (154) is what defines a place. Rather than think of places as "areas with boundaries," it is far better to consider them as "meeting places" with "articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" and ties to the wider world that "integrates in a positive way the global and the local" (155).

Massey concludes with four important points that are relevant to social entrepreneurship education. First, places are "absolutely not static"—they are dynamic and in constant flux. Second, places do not have simple boundaries "in the sense of divisions which frame simple enclosures"—their linkages to the outside are part of what constitutes a place. Third, places do not have "single, unique identities"—they are full of internal conflicts. Last, a place's uniqueness is less a function of internalized history than a "distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations (that) together in one place may produce effects

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which would not have happened otherwise" (155–156).

Massey's sense of place is relevant to social entrepreneurs because it reminds them of the significant challenges and complexities they face in identifying and building social innovations that serve "local" community networks and networks of networks, each of which is likely to have its own norms, patterns of behavior and practices, and sense of place and links to other communities networks. Students must be helped to realize that social innovations designed to change a community cannot be imposed on a place from outside; they must emerge from and reflect local meanings and constructions of problems and problem solutions. To be successful a social entrepreneur needs to be able to build relationships and have dialogue with members of various local networks if they are to innovate in ways that not only make sense to people, but also gain their attention, support, and resources to bring the proposed innovation to fruition.

The Critical Frame

According to Gruenewald (2003), for critical geographers, places are "expressive of ideologies and relationships of power" (628). From this perspective, place is where power unfolds, and social and physical structures are made through the articulation of power relations. Complicated political, economic, environmental, and social interactions create places in specific ways at specific times by enabling the attachment of meaning and significance to particular locales, by shaping the uses of social and natural resources in particular locales, and by catalyzing distinct emotional attachments or senses of place. From this perspective, "all associations of place, people and culture are social and historical creations to be explained, not given natural facts" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997: 4). Cronon (1983) and Hope Alkon (2004) have both looked at changes to land forms and uses that have resulted from these "complicated political, economic, environmental and social interactions."

From a critical perspective, for example, Guthey (2004) showed how the transformation of the California wine industry resulted from a complex set of place-based actors and actions including several decades of research and development conducted through state-funded universities, significant private investment and entrepreneurship, and fundamental political change and sociocultural "place making." Improvements in wine production quality led to additional innovations in policymaking and environmental management. Thus, the California industry is arguably the product of a complex place-based system of power relations rather than of single individuals or watershed moments. Although it emerged from a shared sense-of-place (a phenomenological perspective), the California wine industry has coevolved over a period of decades into a premium wine industry with a particular sense of place and a unique set of practices and conventions; in this wine-growing community, power relations among the key players of that region played an important role in the place-making process (Guthey, 2008).

More relevant to our work here, Lee (2005) considers how three generations of African woman in Cape Town have been able to rework notions of place in racially segregated townships built during the high phase of the apartheid state from 1950 to 1980. The townships were conceived of as residential dormitories with few commercial zones; people were housed in bleak 40 square meter cinderblock structures, devoid of greenery, with few access roads so that the security forces could seal off the area. In the narrow space afforded to them, the women struggled to expand and renovate what many called their matchbox shells with help of informal community-based finance mechanisms and kinship networks. Lee argues that in the context of insecure land tenure, highly regulated living conditions, and household budgetary constraints, the act of renovation served both as a visible marker and inner affirmation to reinforce one's claim for a place in Cape Town. As we will explain in more detail in our case study, place making in post-apartheid Cape Town, particularly in the newer informal shack settlements, is shaped not only by the legacy of apartheid, but also by new types of community networks and political structures (Harber, 2011).

The Ecological Frame

Social innovation does not exist in a vacuum, yet relatively little research in social entrepreneurship pays attention to local ecologies. To be ecologically embedded means that a social entrepreneur recognizes an enterprise's physical location within a place, gathers ecological information about the physical places where an enterprise is situated (or is proposed to be situated), and develops and maintains a sensitivity to place-based ecosystems in the approach to the enterprise and in their beliefs and practices (Whiteman & Cooper, 2000, 2011). In proposing the use of an ecological frame for thinking about social entrepreneurship, we are not suggesting that *all* social enterprises have to focus *primarily* on sustainability; instead, we are

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suggesting that, from a place-based perspective, some consideration to ecosystems and the complex relationships between a social enterprise and ecosystem dynamics and impacts is important. In some communities where ecosystems are culturally and spiritually important, attention to the ecosystem dynamics is vitally important.

One way to consider place from an ecological point of view is from a bioregional perspective. In 1969, landscape designer Ian McHarg wrote *Design with Nature*, where he suggested that designers consider local ecologies when determining appropriate uses for land in a region. McHarg suggested an approach to bioregional design that was based fundamentally on analysis of key aspects of the local ecologies: the soil, hydrology, climate, landforms, and habitat, among others. According to Gruenewald (2003) in the mid-1970s, Berg and Dasmann (1978) also proposed a bioregional perspective in the Euro-American literature. It emphasized "local knowledge and care" and "suggest(ed) the merging of ecological and cultural thinking" to "revive, preserve, and develop cultural patterns in specific bioregions that are suited to the climate, life zones, landforms, and resources of those regions" (Gruenewald, 2003: 634).

From an educational perspective, incorporating a sense-of-place into social entrepreneurship requires a shift toward an ecologically embedded approach to learning (Jolly et al., 2011). As Walck (2003) attests: "It is one thing to open a book and view models of sustainability and ecosystems, to have a picture in your head of how the natural environment functions in the abstract. It is quite another thing to look out your window and see the land around you—or not—and consider how you relate to it, what feelings it evokes in you—or not. We can see, hear, smell, taste, and touch land. We can see when it disappears or when it becomes so altered that we no longer recognize it. It is easy to envision its loss" (207).

Most theory and research in social entrepreneurship, however, does not discuss the importance of local ecologies and their relationship to the social enterprise. Often, the literature tends to articulate an abstract or decoupled sense of the ecologies of place. Helping students understand the important and often complex relationships between the social enterprise and local ecologies can offer members of various community networks a greater sense of the "immediacy" (Gruenewald, 2003: 633) of the place where they live and potential impacts that a social enterprise might have on local ecologies.

In Table 1 below we have posed several relevant questions that each of these four place frames raises with respect to the clusters of definitions of social entrepreneurship identified in Dacin et al. (2010). While this is not an exhaustive list of questions, it offers students and educators a powerful tool for orientation toward the complex and highly nuanced place-based dynamics inherent in social entrepreneurship and innovation. In this regard we present below a case study set in the informal settlements of Cape Town, South Africa that describes a place-based, project-centered approach to social innovation and entrepreneurship education (and development) pertaining to water, sanitation, and hygiene.

TEACHING SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: ADDRESSING WATER, SANITATION, AND HYGIENE CHALLENGES IN SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The Cape Town Project Centre (CTPC) is part of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) Global Perspective Program, the educational goals of which are to help our predominantly science and technology-oriented students learn to undertake real, open-ended projects that build their self-directed learning skills and appreciation of cultural and social processes (Jiusto & DiBiasio, 2006). As a form of social entrepreneurial education, our goal is to prepare students to bring a strong SE perspective to their future lives as citizens, engineers, planners, managers and the like, whether in enterprises expressly dedicated to social entrepreneurship or in other kinds of enterprises and organizations.

As suggested in our opening quote, CTPC has both an educational and a social mission. As a social enterprise, it provides support to local actors engaged in sustainable community development efforts in Cape Town, particularly in its informal settlements (or "squatter camps"). As an educational enterprise, it operates in the experiential, or service-learning space, so that students learn by facilitating social innovation and entrepreneurship through intensive, short-term projects sponsored by local governmental, nongovernmental, and community-based organizations. In relation to Dacin and colleagues' (2010) definition of social entrepreneurship, CTPC serves as a resource that local sponsors leverage to address social problems. Although CTPC is entrepreneurial, it does not need to generate revenue from its activities to sustain itself; instead, it is funded through tuition and grants that are independent of the community or services it provides. CTPC pedagogy and operations, therefore, focus little on how to secure the center's own economic sustainability,

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TABLE 1
Key Dimensions of Social Entrepreneurship From the Perspective of Gruenewald's 4 Place-Based Frames

Key dimensions of SE definitions (Dacin et al., 2010)	Four approaches to place (Gruenewald, 2003)			
	Phenomenological	Sociological	Critical	Ecological
Leveraging resources	How do the proposed "innovations"—technologies, activities, programs, products, etc.—align with the aesthetic, topographic, and social sensibilities and aspirations of people in local community networks? How emotionally invested are key stakeholders and potential users in the services or products that are proposed and provided?	Given a particular problem addressable through social innovation, which community networks are most/least connected to the problem? How are they connected to it? In what ways are they relevant to both stakeholders (suppliers, employees) and markets for the social enterprise?	What will mobilize members within relevant community networks to become engaged in the work of a social enterprise? How can that be sustained?	How might local ecosystem resources enhance or leverage possible solutions? Can the enterprise as defined provide a much needed service and be ecologically sustainable?
Establishing/operating the social enterprise	How is the opportunity-recognition phase of a social enterprise grounded in the felt needs, topographical constraints/opportunities, and lived experiences of community network members?	How are these community networks connected to each other and to other networks and places? What are the possibilities for synergy and conflict? What are the implications for scaling the social enterprise or moving to new locations?	What contextual power dynamics (e.g., the role of the state; gender relations) have a bearing on the problem and potential solutions?	How might sensitivity to local ecosystem impacts benefit (or detract from) social enterprise solutions? How might enterprise solutions benefit (or detract from) local ecosystem health in terms of biodiversity, air pollution, chemical pollution, greenhouse gas emissions, water security, etc.?
Utilizing processes and resources wisely	How can social enterprise leaders appeal to the felt needs of community members to build interest in local problems? How can they leverage this interest to generate solutions, acquire resources, and build the enterprise?	How can hidden sources of local knowledge and skill be applied to the problem and its solution?	What bearing do power relations have on acquisition of resources and markets?	What are the potential long- and short-term benefits and consequences of a given social enterprise solution for a local ecosystem (or complex set of nested local ecosystems)?
Defining the mission and outcomes	How have the experiences in particular places among the key drivers and stakeholders associated with a social innovation served to shape their sense of vision/mission/purpose for the enterprise? Do these dimensions of the enterprise make sense to them? How?	Who are the thought leaders within these networks? How can social entrepreneurs build relationships with these leaders and gain their perspective on "local" problems?	What power can members of community networks and their leaders bring to bear on "defining" a particular problem and identifying potential solutions across multiple community networks? How does that shape the mission and strategy of the enterprise?	What importance do local ecosystems have within the problem as it is defined? How might they set limits on possible solutions? What role do local ecosystems play in potential solutions to social problems?

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and instead concentrate on discovering how to support community development that requires learning, innovation, good will, and cooperation across multiple stakeholder groups, in places with few resources, considerable poverty and hardship, complex social relations, and significant social tension caused in part by a legacy of oppression created through years of apartheid.

The "CTPC as social venture" is cocreated by students, faculty, sponsors, communities, WPI, and others. Learning and action are tightly intertwined and freely shared: Students learn about social entrepreneurship by helping advance the capacity of local actors to address issues that deeply concern them, while CTPC grows as community members, sponsors, and students educate faculty who manage and guide the center and constitute its institutional memory. Because we want to emphasize pedagogical strategies informed by concepts of place and place making here, the case study is told from the perspective of how students learn about and then execute their projects in Cape Town. The case study draws on CTPC experience in Monwabisi Park informal settlement from 2007 to 2010, and Langrug settlement from 2011. Whether talking about the felt needs of community members and leaders, the networks of people and political dynamics associated with addressing common problems, or the ecological dimensions of the problems that community members face, it is possible to see the complexity of social entrepreneurship work in these places through Gruenewald's (2003) four frames discussed above.

We start the case by discussing selection of students and their introduction to the broad sociological context of their work in South Africa's informal settlements. We then posit the crux of the water and sanitation problem, which CTPC has been working on for several years, as essentially a "placeless" paradigm underpinning how state- and private-sector actors approach transformation of these emergent communities. We walk through how students are introduced to project opportunities arranged by CTPC with local sponsors and communities, as well as how they conduct background research and preliminary stakeholder analysis, before traveling to Cape Town for immersive field work. Along the way we discuss teaching innovations that have emerged from this strongly place-based approach to learning. Last, we talk about the implications of a place-based perspective for engaging students more fully in social entrepreneurship.

Placing Students in WaSH-Related Opportunities for Social Innovation

Selection

In the fall of their sophomore year, WPI students who are interested in a Global Project experience during their junior year apply to one of 16 global project centers. They write two short essays and interview with the project center director. About 24 students are selected to work in 4-person teams on six different projects, based on various factors including especially their interest in South Africa's vibrant multicultural context and their ability to work well in informal settlements, where planning is difficult and improvisational flexibility essential.

Summer Preparation: Introduction to Place-Based Context

In the summer before starting their projects, students read about South African history and culture and participate in small on-line discussion groups with their peers. For example, they read *Sizwe's Test* by Jonny Steinberg (2008) that, through an examination of HIV/Aids issues, introduces students to Xhosa culture that is common to many Cape Town settlement dwellers. Some learn about apartheid and its overthrow by reading Mandela's (1995) autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*. They also learn about informal settlements, South Africa's manifestation of the global migration of rural people to cities in search of new economic and social opportunities, establishing "squatter" communities where large numbers of people live in unhealthy and often dispiriting conditions, suffering from inadequate access to water, sanitation, jobs, health and educational services, and many essential household and community amenities. Despite challenges, informal settlements are also often vibrant and culturally rich places where people strive toward better futures (Jiusto, 2012), constituting through both cooperation and conflict a long historical process of urban place making (Neuwirth, 2005).

Posing a Common Problem Dynamic

As a starting point for understanding why South African society has struggled to meet the basic needs of informal settlement shack dwellers, we offer the students a diagnosis which essentially argues that *the basic national strategy for dealing with settlements has been place-effacing and limiting of the social entrepreneurship capacities of most stakeholder groups*, notably community members themselves. With the advent of democracy in

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1994, the state promised to provide housing for all in need, a promise it has found impossible to deliver on in either a timely or effective manner. Until recently, the dominant approach has been to remove citizens from settlements, often for long periods of time during which their fragile social networks fray, while the area is bulldozed and a rectilinear grid of roads, sewerage lines, and tiny plots and homes are erected with little attention to the social, cultural and commercial needs of community life. Government planners, engineers, accountants, and project managers, along with private-sector companies contracted to do the work with a modicum of unskilled local labor, have largely controlled the entrepreneurial change agenda, with community structures, NGOs, and others left to critique and sometimes protest. Critically for this case study, an inability to rethink the architecture of water and sanitation services has contributed much to this flawed planning paradigm.

In recognition that such development processes most often yield dysfunctional, placeless simulacrums of suburban neighborhoods, state policy is beginning to embrace an alternative strategy of "*in situ* upgrading of informal settlements" (Huchzermeyer, 2006), emphasizing incremental improvements across a range of physical and social domains (e.g., water and sanitation improvements, flooding control, early childhood and youth skills development, etc.) achieved by engaging and leveraging the capacities of communities and other stakeholders to engage in social innovation. In situ upgrading thus recognizes the dynamic reality of informal settlements as emergent places to be nurtured rather than razed and replaced. Putting these insights into practice, however, remains a devilishly difficult process of exploration and innovation fraught with social, political, and technical difficulties. This is the place we work in with our community sponsors; it is also the place that we invite students to work in and learn through.

Formal Preparation: Place-Specific Opportunity Identification and Research

Formal preparation of students involves 7 weeks of intensive effort at WPI during the fall term. Preparation is comprised of two interrelated activities: a preparation course and a weekly project meeting for each team with the two faculty advisers who mentor their preparation and then travel with them to Cape Town for 2 months beginning mid-October. Each team develops a proposal that includes background research and a preliminary plan of action appropriate to the project topic and location.

Haugh (2007) defines the starting point for social venture creation as opportunity identification, the "[r]ecognition of a felt need within a community/society (arising from) internal/external sources, personal experience, local knowledge, formal analysis, stakeholder suggestions, action from local people, intervention by local authority" (170). To assure that student projects take a strong place-based approach to social entrepreneurship and community engagement, each project is planned and undertaken in close collaboration with a local project sponsor drawn from local municipalities, nonprofits, community-based organizations, or, less often, academics and businesses working in disadvantaged communities in and around Cape Town (Jiusto & Hersh, 2009). We routinely ask sponsors to select a small group of community members to serve as "coresearchers" with whom students can work closely over the 2 months of project development. Coresearchers are paid a small stipend by CTPC to participate in the project as colleagues, key informants, guides, translators, cultural advisers, learners, and creative agents with potential to continue advancing project goals following WPI's on-site involvement. Students and coresearchers alike thus learn about social entrepreneurship by advancing the social innovation work of the CTPC, local sponsors, and community members. Our approach thus aims (in a small way) to stimulate desirable network effects that support the synergistic entrepreneurial capacities of multiple local actors.

In terms of pedagogy, project sponsors serve as SE mentors and role models with strong linkages to place. Project sponsors and coresearchers are also the primary agents for translating short-term projects into longer term accomplishments. It is interesting that sponsors often see the student projects as ways to engage more deeply with a broader array of community members and other stakeholders in a particular place than may be possible for the sponsor, given time and personnel constraints. For example, students can spend days in the field working with coresearchers to document current conditions, analyze problems, mobilize interested people, and begin planning and often implementing targeted change efforts—in effect, simultaneously developing the SE insights and abilities of both students and locals. Students also move easily across social and sectoral divides, as they are often perceived as being genuinely interested in various viewpoints and unencumbered by local political commitments. CTPC's capacity for social innovation is also bolstered by

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the ongoing commitment of WPI faculty, who help leverage student projects into a coherent program of sustainable community development.

Once the CTPC director and local sponsors identify projects that address local needs and are within the capacity of students to execute, brief descriptions are shared with students to solicit their preferences before assigning them to project groups. In 2011, project topics included "Sustainable Livelihoods Through Beekeeping," "Supporting Asset-Based Community Development in Maitland Garden Village," "Envisioning the Future Development of Oude Molen Eco Village," and "The Black River Corridor: Visions for Restoration and Recreational Use" (see all final student project reports at CTPC, 2012).

The excerpts below from a (slightly revised) 2011 WaSH project description show how phenomenological, sociological, critical, and ecological dimensions of the project are conveyed to students early on, so as to guide their research and planning:

> A central challenge to sustainable community development in informal settlements worldwide is the provision of safe, reliable and environmentally sound water and sanitation services. In Cape Town, the city at considerable effort and cost has provided improved access to water taps and shared temporary toilets, but this infrastructure is so vulnerable to vandalism, misuse, breakage, contamination, and poor servicing, and so minimally ambitious with respect to services (e.g., little to no consideration of hot water, hand-washing, bathing, gray-water disposal, etc.) that residents continue to suffer with respect to health, dignity, and convenience. Complicating matters further, the Western Cape region as a whole is experiencing crises in municipal water supply and wastewater treatment capacity. WPI has studied these issues for four years, planning and building small-scale interventions, and securing seed funding for innovative new approaches to water and sanitation service provision.
>
> The Municipality of Stellenbosch, along with Shack Dweller International is partnering with WPI to plan and develop sustainable, multi-stakeholder and community-based approaches to water and sanitation services in Langrug, an informal settlement near Franschhoek. The goal of this project is to work with community co-researchers and sponsors to begin laying the groundwork for this collaboration. Project elements include:
>
> 1. Background research: Review all prior WPI water and sanitation-related projects, synthesizing key principles and strategies. Refine these ideas in light of additional research into how various public and private stakeholder groups worldwide have participated in developing sustainable water and sanitation systems for low income urban areas.
> 2. Document existing water and sanitation systems in Langrug: Assess their strengths and weaknesses relative to user satisfaction, city satisfaction, health and safety, environmental performance, cost, and so on.
> 3. Market analysis: Identify the range of services that would be desired by community members at potential sites, and assess important considerations pertaining to providing said services.
> 4. Entrepreneurship analysis and capacity development: Explore opportunities and considerations for involving, and supporting, local social entrepreneurs in WaSH program and facility development, including especially community co-researchers.
> 5. Critical path planning and implementation: Create a plan for improving services in the upcoming year, and where possible, begin implementation.

Understanding the Challenge of WaSH

Presented the foregoing challenge, the 2011 WaSH team's first objective was to understand lessons drawn from 4 years of CTPC work in the informal settlement of Monwabisi Park in partnership with various NGOs and City of Cape Town agencies. Key findings were that government had responded to the urgent need for water and sanitation in unplanned "illegal" squatter communities mainly by providing unmonitored, communal taps and toilets, the latter often shared by a dozen or more families. Up to 75% of both toilets and taps in the area were malfunctioning, however, reflecting a citywide plague that nonetheless had spawned little in the way of experimentation with fundamentally different strategies. Toilets were (and are) all variations on stand-alone portable toilets, located along the perimeter roads of settlements that make them accessible for servicing, but also prone to vandalism, breakage, and uncleanliness. Women and children are vulnerable to attack if using them at night. Taps are simple standpipes that also were unhygienic and frequently broken. Conditions such as these have been a flash point for "service delivery protests"—political actions that express deep anger of citizenry at what many see as an overly slow pace of transformation in real living conditions nearly 2 decades following political transformation that ended the apartheid regime. Cape Town's "toilet wars" in 2010 that saw

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toyi-toying and rioting also revealed cynical political undercurrents that sometimes attach themselves to "taps and toilets" (Baldauf, 2010).

When the City of Cape Town is spending two thirds of its informal settlement water and sanitation budget simply on repairing and replacing stolen infrastructure (Zille, 2009), and being castigated for service delivery failures, pressing questions arise: Why are so few examples of innovative efforts by the state, NGOs, and communities to develop alternative WaSH strategies in evidence in Cape Town? Why haven't commercial enterprises been able to find technical, "better mousetrap" solutions to the problems of taps and toilets? Our operating premise is that, to the extent key stakeholder groups ever explore alternative WaSH strategies, they do so largely in isolation from one another and hence with inadequate capacity to address WaSH dynamics that are at once deeply personal (phenomenological lens), intensely political (critical lens), and sociologically and ecologically challenging. CTPC's WaSH work is largely focused on helping build a partnership for exploring social and technological alternatives to current practice.

Stakeholder Analysis: Assessing Social Entrepreneurial Capital

During the preparation term, we also introduce students to simple models of stakeholder analysis that provide idealized ways to think about the different positions that public and private actors bring to civil society. We start with a short newspaper article from central Massachusetts that illustrates how simply changing a road culvert can involve almost 20 different formal and informal actors with divergent interests, responsibilities, and capacities. We then contrast the strongly institutionalized and legally ordered nature of this process in "our" state with the far murkier, less rigidly ordered processes in informal settlements generally, and analyze what we know specifically about stakeholder perspectives, commitments, and personalities in their project locales as gleaned from formal documents and past CTPC project reports, as well as e-mails, ethnographic videotape, and other sources. We share with them what we've learned as well about the intense rivalries that contest social development processes within, and belie the simple sense of unity hidden in the frequent reference to "the community" by all parties (Harber, 2010).

Students later flesh out the stakeholder analysis when in the field to better understand WaSH system stakeholders and strategize with them about expanding their SE potential. Table 2 summarizes limitations of key stakeholder groups with respect to WaSH innovation.

In light of the SE limitations of stakeholder groups to effectively develop WaSH alternatives independently or in collaboration with others in South Africa, the 2011 CTPC student WaSH team (Kenney, Sheppard, Shooshan, & Siemian, 2011) looked for promising models of how various actor groups are contributing to improved WaSH services elsewhere in the world and brought ideas with them to share in Cape Town in a process akin to Massey's notions of cross-place networking and coconstitution.

Arrival in the Settlements: Phenomenological Presence

Upon arrival in South Africa, we introduce students to their project locale, sponsors, and community coresearchers with whom they will work closely over the coming 2 months. The phenomenological impact of place on students can be powerful, as one WaSH team student evidenced in response to an early reflection assignment:

> When I first entered Langrug, I was shocked. It was like nothing I had seen before. People live in shacks that are thrown together with scrap pieces of corrugated metal, wood, plastic, and any other material that can be found in a dumpster. The paths are filled with trash. Polluted grey water flows everywhere except the very top of the settlement. The smell is strong in many places, and you must always watch where you walk...
>
> The water and sanitation situation here is dire as well (though not as bad as I had expected from the research I did in A term). In the upper part of the settlement, there are *zero* water taps and toilets. For water, people need to walk, and for sanitation, people simply defecate in the forest above the settlement. When it rains, all of this human waste washes into the community, where people live and children play.
>
> Seeing these settlements caused some serious contemplation. Never before had I witnessed so dire a situation—I was moved when I first walked through the facility. Listening to people talk about the situation is even more powerful . . . Harold told me about the devastating fires that occur within the community (there have been 240 in 15 years). He was telling me about the most recent tragedy where a fire broke loose and . . . people

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TABLE 2
Summary of Social Entrepreneurial Constraints of Select Stakeholder Groups

Local Government: Municipal infrastructure "line departments" and those responsible for planning and social development in general all operate with little coordination and suffer from underresourcing and bureaucratic inefficiency and instability (Graham, 2005). The City of Cape Town unit responsible for water and sanitation in informal settlements, for example, consists of a half dozen or fewer people responsible for providing essential services to perhaps a half million people in over 220 informal settlements. Not surprisingly, staff find it hard to recognize and deal effectively with complex social dynamics across such a range of communities, or to innovate new approaches (Although see Naranjo et al., 2010, for the most important exception to this rule). Government is often also risk averse and slow to embrace innovation for fear of controversy arising from potential failure in new, rather than tried and true, forms.

Commercial Enterprises: Actual sanitation services—placing, maintaining, and emptying of toilets—are mostly provided by private companies under municipal contract, and government officials and community members alike often complain about the uneven level of private service provision. The sanitation alternatives available for government consideration are likewise generally put forward by private entrepreneurs, and include schemes for chemical toilets, composting toilets, toilets on trailers, myriad tank systems, etc., few of which fundamentally rethink WaSH dynamics by comprehensively addressing social, ecological and technical challenges. Such a rethink does not fit well with the abilities, constraints, and interests of most private business operators.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs): Community development NGOs generally focus on the social dimensions of settlement upgrading but often lack technical WaSH sophistication. City planners and engineers, for example, often express frustration with NGOs not appreciating the complexity and limitations that sewerage and stormwater infrastructure development places on the potential layout and process of *in situ* upgrading. Our NGO partner in Monwabisi Park was highly innovative in trying dry composting toilets, worm composting toilets, a biodigester, and a flush toilet-to-worm-filled-latrine, but their capacity to assess and protect public health in the operation of sanitation alternatives was limited, and thus, systems often performed poorly or inadequately protected environmental health and safety.

Community Members and Groups: Community members have complicated, intimate, and highly variable relationships with and views about how toilets and taps are built, operated, and maintained. Most hold government responsible for providing toilets and taps, although some dig their own privies and others use "the bush." Once installed, shared facilities require residents to negotiate others matters, such as how access will be organized, cleanliness maintained, and malfunctions reported to local authorities. From an institutional standpoint, few projects or programs have figured out how to actively involve communities in more strategic WaSH interventions and comanagement of facilities. Community members are mobilized mainly to protest poor service delivery rather than to improve their lot.

lost everything they owned in a single day. This attests to the lack of stability that life in slums brings. Slum life is truly day-by-day.

Nevertheless, these slums are not all bad. Many of the people living in them are vibrant and full of life. All of our coresearchers are wonderful people. If I did not know them and had a chat with them in a grocery store line, I would never have known they lived in a shack. Also, I am still amazed by the capacity of many shack dwellers to learn new languages. Trevor told us he speaks eight different languages. Eight! I do not personally know anyone in the US who can say the same. In addition, although the exteriors of the shacks are rundown and difficult to look at, the interiors are often modern (though small) and comfortable. I saw many shacks with satellite TV, nice counters, and furniture.

After being here for 3 weeks, I have begun to understand these contrasts and conditions in South Africa's informal settlements. . . This learning, however, is not the only thing I have begun to understand: As I said, I am starting to see the challenges that people meet in *changing* the current conditions in South Africa's informal settlements as well.

Paradoxically, we have found that even though the phenomenological experience of place is often unsettling for students, it often opens them up to engaging with people in the settlements, and certainly to appreciating their challenges. Coresearchers and sponsors also regularly comment on the powerful impact that a willingness of CTPC students and faculty to work closely with community members has on their motivation, mobilization, and learning.

Analyzing Existing Conditions: Coresearching in Place

With respect to the WaSH projects, the first research methodology assignment we usually give to students and their coresearchers is to analyze existing conditions by documenting the state of WaSH facilities and services and informally discussing what things are working well and less well and why, the history of past efforts, ideas for possible changes, and so on. Working methodologies are often quite informal as appropriate to the locale, such as interviews with community members conducted during walk-arounds and "focus group" discussions that might emerge around a set of wash basins as coresearchers introduce stu-

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dents to the women doing laundry and children hanging around, and explore with them their experiences and ideas for improvements. Later on, somewhat more formal planning charettes are often used to explore possible designs for improved WaSH facilities by, for example, asking residents to make and discuss hand-drawn sketches or to look at aerial photographs and comment on the spatial configurations of existing and potential services.

Reflections on Place-Based Adventures: Successes, Failures, and Learning

As part of our action-research orientation to WaSH innovation, alongside "research" we have worked with community members to implement small-scale interventions designed to "learn through doing" that also respond to community initiatives, demonstrate commitment to action where possible, and develop the capacity of all involved to collaboratively plan, build, and sustain facilities and programs in "townships." Thus, in 2007 students and community members built a communal laundry facility that demonstrated the principle of transforming WaSH facilities from utilitarian, ugly, and uncomfortable places to valued social spaces where women could wash clothes conveniently while watching their children play, and where rainwater and a simple solar heating system contributed to water supply and wastewater was used to irrigate a small garden. Similarly, after assessing various forms of dry composting and anaerobic biodigestion systems in 2008 and 2009, students and advisers in 2010 designed and built with local labor a small anaerobic biodigester system that embodied principles of separate gray water and black water treatment, leach field disposal, and a plan eventually for urine divergent toilets. We also developed with our municipal partner and NGO partners a strategy for making early childhood development a cornerstone of WaSH facility and community upgrading.

Most recently, students and coresearchers in Langrug prototyped improvements in the aesthetics and functioning of existing facilities, through such measures as painting toilets and building gray water channels and an innovative water tap. Longer term plans were drafted for a new multipurpose community hall with a model WaSH facility to include a salon for women that would employ local entrepreneurs as well as a children's center that would promote hygiene and early childhood development. With respect to addressing the urgent need for ecologically sustainable sanitation alternatives, we expect to put into practice in these model facilities concepts of resource recovery through composting, anaerobic digestion, and water efficiency developed in earlier projects.

We have learned much from our failures as well. For example, our core NGO partner in Monwabisi Park and its "Indlovu Project" was essentially a partnership of two women, one a visionary white middle class permaculturist and the other a dynamic black community leader. With community participation, they imbued the Indlovu Project with a buoyant sense of possibility and openness to experimentation in creating a community and youth center, crèche, and clinic. Unfortunately, this partnership and the community strengthening initiatives in Monwabisi Park began unraveling in 2010, when tensions within the NGO, and between NGO principals and various community factions, led to the collapse of the Indlovu Project after about 5 years, a sad but not unprecedented denouement for smart, creative, and good-hearted individuals trying to bring social innovation to complex places. Our efforts to help this NGO put the Indlovu Project on firmer ground by networking with municipal and other partners were ineffective due to our own limited understanding of the social, institutional, and political barriers to collaboration. We also found our approach to community-based innovation out of step with the more measured pace of our municipal partner. We shared with students our insights into these processes that often undo collaborative efforts.

Upon reflection, in our 4 years in Monwabisi Park, we made many mistakes but also learned much about how to engage WPI students and faculty advisers productively with community members and other stakeholders in collaborative learning and targeted project development. We realized also that the partnership, like many such efforts, failed to resolve the complex riddle of how to achieve in that specific place a sufficiently broad and strong enough alliance needed to sustain community improvement through social innovation. We also learned that while as outsiders we may seek to ground and legitimate our engagement in place by acting only at the invitation of local sponsors, we are nonetheless inevitably implicated in the power dynamics and processes of place making pursued by various street committees, civic organizations, ward officials, municipal and provincial planning bodies, soup kitchen organizers, lay churches, gangs, and others. We have learned how opaque these structures often are to us—and to other stakeholders—which is one important reason that we ask our students to reflect on their

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positionality, or position with respect to others, how they are likely to perceive and be perceived by others, and what they owe (and don't owe) the people with whom they will work and interact.

From a teaching perspective, we also learned how to collaborate more effectively with our coresearchers and to put them in a position to express their tacit knowledge about power dynamics in the informal settlements, notions of reciprocity, individual and communal aspirations, and how life for them can feel contingent, raw, and improvised as they try to lead decent lives. Our work with the coresearchers is premised on the notion that knowing is something that is socially constructed by people who have relationships and connections with each other, and who interact in manifold ways with their environment. Thus we rely on the coresearchers to inform our understanding of place.

We tried to put this idea into practice on the very first day we and our 24 students arrived in Monwabisi Park in 2010 and met our six newly recruited coresearchers for the first time. When students first arrive, the experience is often shocking to them. Although the distance from the main road to the sponsor's building is no more than 100 yards along a sandy path, in that short distance the students might witness sheep heads grilling on a roadside brazier, two ramshackle taverns (*shebeens*) whose customers seemed solemn and watchful, a small shop built like a fortress from concrete blocks, and with a heavy metal grate to safeguard the Somali proprietor and his family, and tin shacks, some painted others not, some blaring music others quiet, set down in no apparent order. Some people greet the students warmly; others walk past in a hurry. While the students have seen photographs and videos of Monwabisi Park, they are often unprepared for the bustle, for the lively intonation of Xhosa, for the admixture of poverty and dynamism, for the way the residents seem to invent the world beneath their feet.

After introductions and ice-breaking activities, we asked the coresearchers if they could accompany our students on an hour-long walking tour of Monwabisi Park. As part of the tour, we asked if they would be willing to use digital cameras to take pictures of places in Monwabisi Park that were in some way important to them. None of the coresearchers had used a camera before, but they were all keen to try. Before coming to Monwabisi Park, we had asked our students to be ready to explain how to operate the camera and to leave it at that. We didn't want our students to talk about lighting or composition or to assume the role of expert. We told them that when they returned we would reconvene in the community,

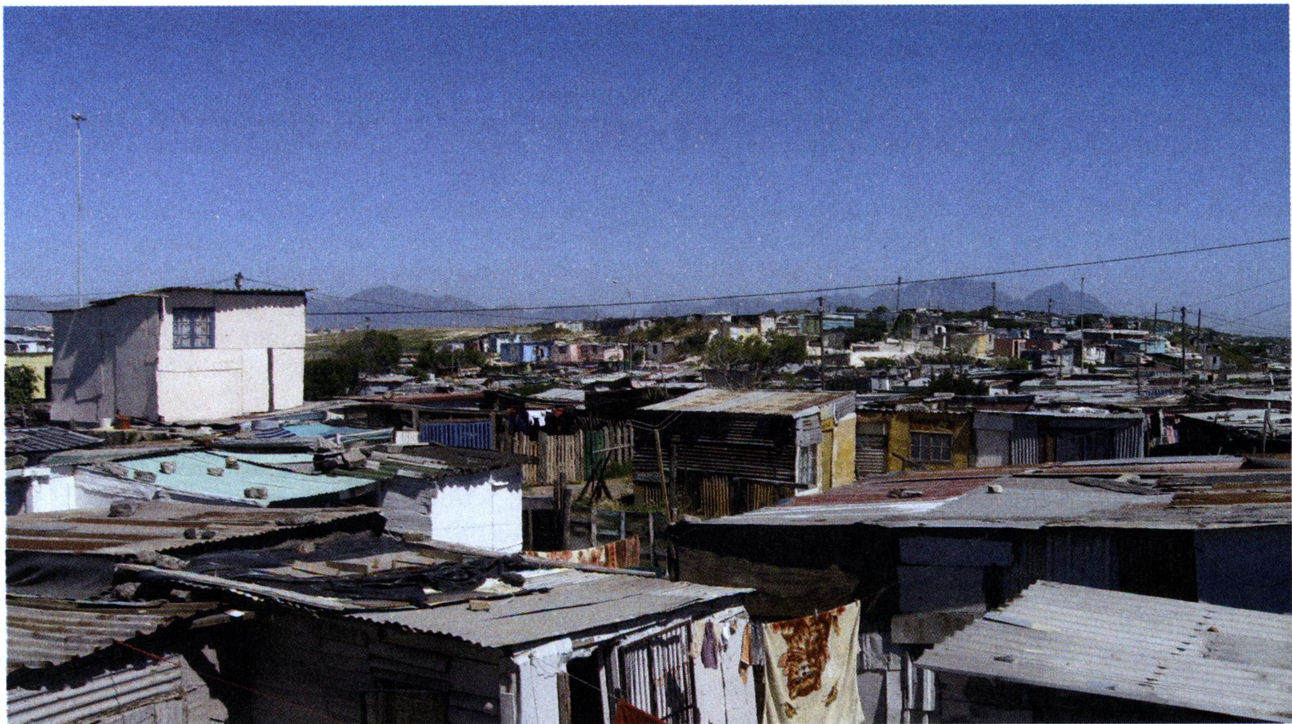

FIGURE 1
Monwabisi Park

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FIGURE 2
Investigating Water Taps

transfer their pictures to a laptop we had brought with us, project the images on a whitewashed wall, and try to understand together what we were looking at. Figures 1 through 4 were among

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FIGURE 3
Community Meeting at Ablution Block

those the coresearchers brought back.

We spent an hour or so looking at the pictures projected on a wall with each coresearcher discussing his or her shot, and answering our questions. The pictures conveyed many things about place, about the differences in how the coresearchers lived in Monwabisi Park, and about the relationships they hoped to establish with us in the 7 weeks we were there. The presentation left a powerful mark on our students. They were struck by the way Monwabisi Park as a place fused together through subjugation and community resilience. They saw well-furnished crèches and ramshackle pool halls, well-tended gardens, and broken taps and toilets. And they listened to what the coresearchers had to say which was, more or less, the informal settlement can be a creative response to structural violence—no work, poor housing, inadequate sanitation, lack of health care. The coresearchers' presentation helped us understand the cultural assumptions and blind spots implicit in our preparation. With their guidance and expertise, we were better able to understand local knowledge systems, how to interact more respectfully with local residents, and the complexities of translating research into changes in the material conditions of Monwabisi Park.

Case Study Conclusion

We believe that this case study highlights how sensitivity to, and active engagement with, place dynamics is central to the entrepreneurial ambition of the Cape Town Project Centre. The sense of place as a verb, an always unfolding process of place making, is abundantly evident in informal settlements, which by definition are places that have been seized by people eager for a place to live. The transformation of landscape, and "socialscape," is often dramatic, as vacant land rapidly fills with tin shacks and sometime thereafter, forlorn clusters of rudimentary toilets and taps. All places, however, are continuously produced and reproduced, in part through processes with com-

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FIGURE 4
Shaping Place Through Informal Stormwater Channels

mon roots, such as globalization of economies and culture, but also through place- and time-specific dynamics. Understanding both kinds of dynamics helps clarify opportunities and constraints for social entrepreneurial creativity.

We recognize that while our project work with students and sponsors falls within the domain of social innovation and entrepreneurship, we are not training our students to become social entrepreneurs in the traditional sense. Nevertheless, most students who have participated in the CTPC project program have been deeply moved by what they experienced and learned and acquired a deeper understanding of the possibilities and challenges for creating directed social change. Overall, students have reported very high levels of satisfaction with their project experiences as well (e.g., an average rating of 4.9 out of 5.0 when asked on anonymous postproject student evaluations to rate "The project's overall value as an educational experience," $N = 97$ with nearly 100% response rate).

Implications for a Place-Based Approach to Social Entrepreneurship Education

From the perspective of this case and each of these four frames, why should social entrepreneurship educators incorporate place into their pedagogy? We are suggesting that conventional ways of analyzing social entrepreneurship (as simple communities or business environments) may not allow for a full appreciation of the social entrepreneurial challenges in places such as Monwabisi Park, where, for example, the bureaucracy is overburdened, the private sector is disconnected from the realities of everyday life, and the community is disconnected from the WaSH planning process. Underlying these observations are deep historical and political relationships that complicate service delivery at every turn. And it is in this context that CTPC and WPI students are attempting to help with alternatives. They are doing it by drawing upon a place-based perspective that, we believe,

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offers a more robust and holistic framework for capturing the social fabric of a community network (or network of networks) in terms of felt meanings, key relationships, community networks, power dynamics, ecosystems, cultural practices and norms, historical events, and economic forces that are central to understanding social problems and solutions. In short, we are suggesting that conventional notions of social context may not be sufficient to prepare students for the complex, dynamic, evolving, "boundaryless" places that they will enter as social entrepreneurs and innovators.

Consider the WaSH case in Monwabisi Park through the lens of Table 1, using Gruenewald's place-based frames and related questions. If we think of Dacin's (2010: 38) definition of *social entrepreneurship* as "leveraging resources to address social problems," Gruenewald's four frames provide educators and students with important questions to consider in thinking about how best to leverage resources. With respect to the phenomenological perspective, for example, if technological solutions are not aligned with the aesthetic, topographic, or felt sensibilities of people in those communities, they will be rejected, even if outsiders deem them as appropriate or state-of-the-art. Likewise from a sociological perspective, unless educators and students have some understanding of the social networks within various communities, the meaning-making processes, and the important linkages within and across these communities, they are likely to have difficulty knowing which members to talk to, how to talk with them, or how to invite them into the processes of framing the problem, generating solutions, and implementing those solutions. Likewise, educators' and students' understanding of the power dynamics that underlie social problems and their solutions forms the basis for approaching, and mobilizing key stakeholders and community leaders. Last, Gruenewald's framework invites educators and their students to consider the importance of ecosystems as both inputs and outcomes in any social innovation: Clearly, solving the problems of WaSH at Monwabisi Park can only improve ecosystem health in those communities that, in turn, can serve as leverage to other problems where residents' quality of life is at stake.

Finally, since social entrepreneurs are also products of the places they live or have lived, a better understanding of a sense of place may help them to become more reflexive about how place defines them and to take a more holistic approach to identifying place-based opportunities and solutions around them. As Walck (2003) notes, "When land is local, bounded, and personal, it becomes a place" (207). Similarly, the places that shape researchers and educators also influence the ways that they think about and frame social entrepreneurship and innovation; a more reflexive approach to place may help students think more skillfully and mindfully about how they frame and assess the complex challenges that arise when initiating social change. As Cresswell, (2004) notes, "Place is not simply something to be observed, researched and written about, but is itself part of the way we see, research, and write" (15). Thus, the kinds of questions we ask and the sorts of research issues we identify are shaped in part by how we are placed as researchers and how that affects the ways we think about social innovation.

In short, a place-based approach to social entrepreneurship education builds upon and adds to more conventional notions of context found in the literature on business environment and community. It invites students and educators alike to understand and engage with the complexity, dynamism, and nuance of the places they come from and the place-based social problems they seek to address through the mindful and creative leveraging of resources.

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