

Integrating social enterprise and social marketing with shadow framework

A case for peacebuilding

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to argue for an integrative model of social enterprises (SE) and social marketing (SM) to usher in desirable change, instead of the currently adopted either/or approach. We offer the shadow framework to integrate these two paradigms in the context of peace-building organizations.

Design/methodology/approach – Using purposive sampling strategy, 19 cases of peacebuilding initiatives were identified and reviewed from secondary sources. Ashoka Fellows working in the domain of peacebuilding, along with a few other exemplary cases across the globe were considered.

Findings – We found an emerging typology of three forms in the organizational responses to peacebuilding initiatives: (a) pure charity-driven work, (b) dual structure of charity plus business enterprises, and (c) social enterprises with distinct revenue model.

Research limitations/implications – Building upon previous theoretical research, we find a lot of merit in SEs adopting the SM toolkit. We contribute to theory building by showing the interaction between paradox theory and stakeholder marketing in the context of SEs dealing with wicked problems such as peacebuilding. Consequently, we propose a shadow social marketing (SSM) model that would camouflage the real offering of peace through an apparent offering that would be non-controversial in nature and result in moderate-importance small wins for the multiple stakeholders involved with conflicting interests.

Practical implications – From a managerial perspective, chances of success of the desired social change increases by complementing the efforts of SEs through the SM toolkit. Organizationally, although all the three forms of peacebuilding initiatives can benefit from systematic usage of the SSM, they need to reframe their efforts toward those that are not pro-peace, rather than preach to the converted. Consequently, the answer may lie in efforts at building cultural sensitivity to promote entrepreneurship amongst such target groups amongst such target groups in conflicting communities, with an organizational form that successfully marries SEs and SM.

Originality/value – Though previous scholarship mentions the need for finding complementarities between social marketing objectives and social enterprise missions, no paper yet has suggested a roadmap for achieving it. This paper highlights an integrative plan that, in this specific case of peacebuilding initiatives, or social enterprises in general, can leverage to evolve better organizational practices, improve financial sustainability and measurable impact to effect the desired social change.

Keywords Social marketing, Social enterprise, Wicked problem, Peacebuilding, Paradox theory, Shadow social marketing, Social entrepreneurship, Stakeholder marketing

Paper type Conceptual paper



Introduction

Kotler and Zaltman (1971, p. 3) in their seminal paper on planned social change through social marketing quote Wiebe (1952) who asks, “why can’t you sell brotherhood like you sell soap?” It is quite obvious that a clear answer to this question has not emerged in more than sixty years. In this paper, we attempt to understand why it is such a difficult question and also try to see how best to sell brotherhood in a world that is seeing increasing polarization and protracted conflicts. Brotherhood, peace or such other complex ideas of social good are not a neatly packaged offering like soap, with a clear benefit to all stakeholders involved. Social welfare and community good are nuanced complex offerings with a myriad shades that are not universally acceptable in the same way to different people-groups. In this paper, we examine two approaches of offering such social good, namely, social enterprises (SE) and social marketing (SM), and propose that an integrated approach works better when problems are inherently messy and “wicked” in nature like conflict, and clear solutions are not readily available. As a theoretical framework, we use the stakeholder marketing approach to back the proposed integration of SE and SM and additionally suggest what we call “shadow social marketing” (SSM) to veil the idea of the real social value offering and usher in incremental small-wins that would not be resisted by multitude stakeholders whose interests are often at loggerheads with each other, thereby pursuing paradoxical objectives at the same time. Our conceptual framework thus uses stakeholder marketing (Hult *et al.*, 2011) and paradox theory (Lewis, 2000) to suggest the integrative SE–SM approach through the proposed shadow social marketing paradigm.

Both the SE and SM approaches have gained currency in recent times as effective delivery mechanisms of community-level benefits as they are considered to function well in a world characterized by freely operating markets and shrinking welfare states. The SE approach is a direct interventionist approach of building a sustainable enterprise around a social problem, and the SM approach is an indirect attempt of nudging voluntary behavioral changes of the citizenry towards desirable goals. Both concepts sound similar in their aim to usher in social change that is achieved through voluntary methods, yet are different in their approaches, suggested by some to be even in “conflict with each other” (Madill and Zeigler, 2012; Basil *et al.*, 2015). Previous scholarship suggested a schism between the two approaches – while social marketing aims “individual level change”, social entrepreneurship targets “transformative social change”. In attempting one approach, practitioners tended to focus less on the other. For example, in the domain of social enterprises, shoestring budgets proved restrictive in executing full-blown social marketing campaigns, leaving managers only partially perusing the SM tool-kit (Madill, 2010). In the opposite context of classical social marketing initiatives, proposed behavior changes were implemented top-down and perceived to be “manipulative, and not community-based” (Andreasen, 2002, p. 4) hurting the social entrepreneurship ethos and violating its essential feature of bottom-up evolved solutions. Taking a contrarian view to this prevailing logic, in this paper, we argue that instead of adopting an “either/or approach” (promoting either an SE, or adopting a SM strategy), integrating both would lead to better outcomes in a way that SM principles could assist in developing better value-propositions for the SE. Such an integrative approach would ultimately help in improving the success rates of social change initiatives, especially the difficult-to-solve “wicked” problems that are typically present in the development sector.

The notion of wicked problems has been especially useful in understanding contexts characterized by multi-stakeholder partnerships (Detoni *et al.*, 2018). Specifically, multi-stakeholder partnerships refer to collaborations between business actors and civil society organizations that may come together in finding common approaches to solving complex problems affecting all the parties involved (Roloff, 2008; Rasche, 2012). With contesting

viewpoints, it becomes crucial to understand the nature of the problem from multiple perspectives and accordingly organize the governance aspects of the partnership in which a non-linear grounded approach of solving wicked problems is found useful. The principles of wicked problem-solving have been applied to a wide range of issues like tackling obesity (Parkinson *et al.*, 2017), consumer education (McGregor, 2012) and medicare (Glouberman and Zimmerman, 2004). In our pursuit of exploring the proposed integrative approach between social marketing and social enterprise, we pick the context of peacebuilding that refers to efforts of reducing conflicts among the disputing parties.

There are two dominant approaches in the study of peacebuilding (Cox, 1981) – a functionalist “we-can-fix-it” approach that aims to reduce conflicts through problem-solving among disputing communities, and a critical paradigm that goes beyond problem-solving by understanding power relations in society and targeting wider structural inequalities existing at the root of the conflict. Given the widespread presence of multiple stakeholders involved with conflicting worldviews, “peacebuilders [. . .] can benefit from acceptance that there is a fundamental indeterminacy in the conditions at hand when grappling with complexity of peacebuilding and state building across contexts” (McCandless, 2013, p. 229). We prefer a functionalist approach as it promises better possibilities of bringing the various stakeholders together and moves towards addressing the deeper inequalities plaguing society. Additionally, an inherent challenge in taking the critical paradigmatic approach is that it may not foster a common ground for conflicting parties in seeking a universally acceptable solution. This choice of functionalist approach builds a solid foundation to address the very wicked issues that the critical paradigm attempts to solve. Unlike previous research, which has only attempted identification of complementarities between SE and SM approaches at a theoretical level, we extend social entrepreneurship scholarship by proposing a conceptual model that provides a template of integrating the two. Managerially, this would infuse better sustainability into the project and increase the likelihood of achieving desired social change.

In the following sections, we initially examine peacebuilding as a wicked problem and outline a brief genesis of the SE approach and SM concepts with illustrations of the underlying synergies between them. Then we propose the research question, describe the methodology adopted for the study and follow it with our research findings. Finally, the paper concludes by reflecting on the results and implications for managerial practice and theory building.

Violence and peace-building initiatives

Peacebuilding is said to be the “range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing conflict” (UN Secretary General’s Policy Committee, 2007) as quoted by [United Nations Peace-building Fund \(2018\)](#). Some scholars like Paul Jackson consider post-conflict rebuilding to be the primary focus of peacebuilding ([UKDCR, 2014](#)). It includes measures to “prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root-causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation” (Boutros-Ghali, 1995) as quoted by [Maiese \(2003\)](#). In a study on the meaning attributed to “peace-building” by 24 governmental and international bodies, [Barnett *et al.* \(2007, p. 42\)](#) illustrate how these bodies define the term differently depending on the scope of their own activities, but also broadly encompass “positive peace; the elimination of the root causes of conflict so that actors no longer have the motive to use violence to settle their differences”. The logical question that arises is how do we build positive peace? One approach extended by Conflict Resolution literature is the contact hypothesis ([Allport, 1954](#)) that proposes establishment of contact between groups involved in conflict under conditions of similarity

in status, common goals, institutional support and intention to cooperate. However, such contact usually happens between self-selected participants and might in fact be preaching to the choir. It has been pointed out that “attitude changes of individuals are difficult to measure, time-limited, and generally confined to a very small group of self-selected participants” and

[...] self-selection of participants in people-to-people dialogues and workshops in conflict environments is another limitation that is generally overlooked. Volunteers for such frameworks are predisposed towards communication with and positive images of “the other” from the beginning, while others without these views are not interested in, and are generally not invited to participate in these frameworks (Steinberg, 2013, p. 44; Hermann, 2004; Hanssen, 2001) as quoted by Steinberg (2013, p. 47).

Ironically, the threat to peace does not come from these self-selected participants but from those that feel aggrieved by perceived injustices and have no interest or belief in formal processes advocating peacebuilding. Steinberg (2013) also reported that personal-level changes that are the outcome of contact with the “other” might not translate to peace in the political processes at the macro level. What might be the reason for this paradoxical outcome? Forbes (2004, p. 83) argues that “contact” with the “other” might even be counterproductive by being a “cause of conflicts of interest due to the *fear of assimilation*” (our emphasis) and this might be the reason that “high levels of contact often coexist with high levels of ethnic antagonism”. The fear of assimilation may in fact be the prejudices of the human mind that propagates intolerance of the “other” religion, color and race. Forbes (2004, p. 83) posits that

[...] the failed history of peacebuilding clearly shows that in the context of intense and protracted conflict, the ‘common human dimension’ is insufficient to make the transition from war to peace.

So how does one tackle issues related to the failures of traditional peacebuilding efforts using contact hypothesis with self-selected participants who are already pro-peace, whereas the real challenge of addressing root-causes of conflict, especially among those that are against peace efforts, remains unaddressed? It is said that “the real partitions which are the most stable and the least flexible, are in the minds of men” (Gottmann, 1951). Debilitating fear of the “other” drives adoption of violence as a way of protecting “us” from “them”. Goswami (2014, 2017) argues that there is a deep psychological need to keep the metaphorical “container” wall intact between communities that have a long history of violent conflict. Any intervention/initiative to promote tolerance and reduce fear needs to be cognizant of the metaphorical “container” wall in designing behavior-change efforts. The mental metaphorical “wall” that stands between groups that have a history of violent conflict may therefore be made more porous, without really attempting to tear down the “container” “walls” which would be detrimental.

In this scenario, can peacebuilders make room for porous “walls” between groups that see themselves as inhabiting separate container spaces? Although addressing long-held prejudices in the context of violent conflict is tough, extant research provides evidence that practical skill-building in terms of an economic development program instead of overt peace messages works better and argues for setting goals of behavioral-change objectives such as increased generosity and the reducing of discriminatory behavior rather than attempting to reduce out-group directed prejudice (Scacco and Warren, 2018). Although there is a dire need for such behavior-change campaigns to promote harmonious relationships between people-groups that are locked in violent conflict, how does one economically sustain the expenses of such efforts? Changes in the minds of men are not going to happen overnight. This requires the development of a model of behavior change that is not only scientifically designed to address long-held prejudices and fear of the “other”, but also financially viable.

In addition to the financial viability issue, in recent years, there has been a growing realization that traditional approaches to foster peacebuilding in international discourse and practice would be long-term and sustainable only when such initiatives become rooted in the local contexts, taking into consideration interests and priorities of affected people. Previous efforts were largely template-driven by actors who had no grounding in the local context. Further, peacebuilding was a messy terrain fraught with uncertainties and unknowns. Scholars such as [McCandless \(2013\)](#) have used the concept of “wicked problems” in describing these kinds of challenges. The wicked problem template has been used in the design domain for dealing with a class of social system problems which are ill-formulated and reveal confusing information due to contested and conflicting viewpoints. [McCandless \(2013\)](#) reasoned that a wicked problem-solving approach could benefit peacebuilders across contexts to tackle the indeterminacy lying at the core of the conflict scenario. We wish to build onto this logic by acknowledging peacebuilding to be a wicked problem that needs a nuanced approach. We attempt to address this inherent wickedness of peacebuilding by proposing a template of SE in which multi-stakeholder engagement is to be achieved by leveraging the SM toolkit. To do so, we now focus our attention to the genesis of SE and SM literature.

Agenda of social enterprises

At one extreme, [Friedman \(1970\)](#) suggested earning profits to be the only social goal of a business, and on the other, [Davis \(1973\)](#) argued that since all businesses are socially embedded in their operating context, the long-term success of an enterprise is to be judged by their ability to serve goals that “fulfills the dignity, creativity and potential of free men”. It goes without saying that [Friedman’s \(1970\)](#) viewpoint is the dominant one with most businesses narrowly focusing on generating profits for shareholders. How can we then address the complex needs of society in the neoliberal world order? Can non-profit organizations (NPOs) offer a viable way out? With their lack of adequate marketing skills and resultant financial hardships, they hardly offer much hope to solve pesky challenges facing our world today. In this context, SEs have emerged as an innovative organizational form that are business-like contrasts to the traditional NPOs, thereby building a bridge between business and benevolence through the application of entrepreneurial principles ([Roberts and Woods, 2005](#)). Embodying the philosophy of delivering social value through market-based exchange mechanisms, SEs exhibit a strong spirit of activism, ingenuity in spotting institutional voids, and formulating business models that are scalable and replicable at a faster rate than ever before ([Woolley et al., 2013](#)). Examples include innovative SEs providing affordable healthcare, solar lighting to off-grid communities, environment-friendly sanitary pads for women, quality primary education, clean drinking water, sustainable livelihoods by providing better market access to the remotely located artisans/farmers, etc. Clearly, the domain of SEs is expanding its ambit to cover more areas of human misery and develop innovative methods and approaches that can directly link actions and impact.

SE business models are expected to be the new drivers of social change by increasing social awareness of noble causes and exhibiting heightened environmental consciousness while pursuing goals of revenue generation. With this diversity in its intended purpose, literature suggests a clear tension in establishing the characteristics of SEs and defining its organizational boundaries ([Dacin et al., 2010](#)). How does the SE model connect marketing and financing in addressing the social problems? It has been suggested that they need to garner additional sources of revenue from sustainable sources in addition to grants and donations that NPOs rely on ([Artz et al., 2012](#)). With the SE paradigm, inspired individuals

thus try to confront chronic global challenges and create value at the societal level with the support of patient capital[1], thereby overcoming the lacunae of previous economic models.

For the present case, we take a middle ground definition of social entrepreneurship as proposed by [Hibbert et al. \(2005, p. 159\)](#):

Social entrepreneurship can be loosely defined as the use of entrepreneurial behavior for social ends rather than for profit objectives, or alternatively, that the profits generated are used for the benefit of a specific disadvantaged group.

Thus, SEs aim to address social issues and create “pattern-breaking” social change ([Grossman, 2013](#)) by operating in a market-based economy. The search for long-term sustainability becomes imperative for the SEs irrespective of their legal format viz. “for-profit”, “not-for-profit” or “public sector” ([Carson and Griffith, 2009](#)). Of late, even NPOs are being forced to choose a hybrid model of opening a *for-profit* enterprise to support its non-profit activities ([Kably, 2013](#)). It is only logical to assume that with such dominant market influences, the pressure to commercialize operations and adopt typical marketing strategies would have been prevalent on the minds of the top leadership of SEs. However, the duality of purpose that SEs face in terms of social and economic objectives manifests an operational tension and percolates through various organizational processes and practices ([Smith and Lewis, 2011](#); [Mitchell et al., 2016](#)). From a managerial perspective, it becomes a challenge to navigate through the conflicting demands ([Mitchell et al., 2016](#)) and identifying the best course of action. Theory suggests that marketing strategy helps in communicating congruence with environmental norms and achieve alignment among different stakeholder groups ([Mish and Scammon, 2010](#)), especially given marketing discipline’s evolution from being transaction-based to relationship-based ([Palmatier et al., 2006](#)). So research on marketing strategies of SEs should reveal critical insights about their functioning and methods of balancing their dual missions. But our academic search for relevant literature yielded limited results, and it seems research on the marketing aspects of social enterprises has been ignored by previous scholars ([Shaw, 2004](#); [Bloom, 2009](#)). Even when SEs may realize the importance of using commercial marketing principles in their regular operations, the deliberate adoption of social marketing techniques has been missing ([Madill and Zeigler, 2012](#)). We take up this issue after a brief introduction of the concept of social marketing.

Role of social marketing in social change

The world of marketing took a “positive” turn by seeking to broaden its ambit and scope by creating value for society at large, in addition to creating value for the promoting firm and its customers. This new attempt was termed as “social marketing” and involved ushering in social and behavioral change through the application of marketing concepts ([Andreasen, 1994](#)). This approach was identified as an application of the standard marketing mix to induce individual behavior change for attainment of common good ([Lefebvre, 2011](#); [Gordon, 2011](#)). In essence, the purpose remained as either accentuating adoption of positive behavior (such as physical exercise) or decrease usage of negative behavior (such as consumption of junk food) by influencing individuals to move away from negative actions (under-exercising, over-eating) towards more positive outcomes (exercise, healthy diet) ([Dann, 2010](#)). Application of social marketing has been applied across domains, such as reducing alcoholism ([Kubacki et al., 2015](#)), improving public health ([Whitelaw et al., 2011](#)), poverty alleviation ([Kotler and Lee, 2009](#)) and sustainable consumption ([Peattie and Peattie, 2009](#)).

SM refers to the application of well-known marketing tools and techniques to foster social change ([Wymer, 2011](#)). Like its commercial counterpart, SM practitioners focus on the 4Ps – Product, Price, Place and Promotion – but all in the context of the intended behavior

change. For our present understanding, we adopt [Andreasen's \(1994, p. 110\)](#) definition of social marketing as:

Social marketing is the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part of.

Much of the initial application of SM came in the health domain and promotional campaigns were relatively straightforward in their execution until about the 1980s. Later, several new concepts and approaches of SM were inspired from other disciplines to take up more complicated challenges ([Kubacki et al., 2015](#)). Theorists have tried to enrich the notion of SM with other theoretical models like theory of reasoned action, social cognitive theory, and the health belief model ([Lefebvre, 2001](#)). More recently, [Hastings \(2007\)](#) has proposed SM as a means of enhancing social goals and also as a framework for analyzing the social consequences of marketing policies and decisions. One distinction is often made in the focus of SM initiatives between being upstream or downstream. This is a framework used to indicate the audience of the ultimate behavior change through the social marketing campaign. It is upstream when targeted towards decision makers, policy regulators or opinion makers; and downstream for individual behavior change. Thus, while the initial SM research targeted downstream behavior, in recent years some work has also gone into making the concepts go upstream ([Gordon, 2011](#)).

Synergies between SE and SM

In spite of similarities between SM and SEs in terms of operationalizing social change, the approaches have evolved in isolation, both conceptually and in practice. We find extant literature examining SEs and pointing out the lack of application of SM. For example, [Madill and Zeigler \(2012\)](#) explored the attempts of a Canadian enterprise in changing community behavior around water usage applying the concepts of SM. They concluded that SM tools could be effectively leveraged by SEs. Few scholars ever since have tried to explore this idea of using a SM approach in a SE setup. [Mitchell et al. \(2016\)](#) used grounded theory methodology in investigating the tensions interplayed between economic and social objectives for fifteen Canadian social enterprises and concluded that SM approaches could play a significant role in alleviating the tensions. [Dessart and van Bavel \(2017\)](#) stressed that by enriching SM literature with insights from behavioral sciences, policymaking can be made more effective resulting in enhanced societal well-being. Correspondingly, SM strategists and practitioners also should consider SE as a possible organizational vehicle to execute the behavior change campaigns ([Jordan, 2015](#)).

So although we find voices in both camps asking for cross-collaboration, we failed to find a single paper that has created a conceptual model for the execution of this collaboration. In this paper we propose such an integration between the two camps in the context of peacebuilding and approach this issue at two levels:

- (1) First, we seek to explore the existing peacebuilding initiatives to know their marketing and outreach strategies in engaging with communities.
- (2) Second, knowing the state of the art, we try and see if we could argue for a better application of SM strategy within the underlying business model of SE.

Methodology

Given the exploratory nature of the topic, we reason case-study method to be best suited for this paper, as they have often been used as a useful technique for hypotheses generation

purpose (Yin, 2009). This popular approach is often used by qualitative researchers because of its purposive sampling as selection strategy compared to the generalized ones in statistical approaches. This allows an in-depth exploration of processes and issues rather than aiming to discover multi-variable relationships (Powell and Osborne, 2015). By locating the study in real life settings and collecting evidence through a combination of data sources (Patton, 2009) it allows the researchers to explore different perceptions of reality held by key actors and construct their sense-making (Silverman, 2010), thereby enabling theory building from empirical evidence and creating conceptual understanding (Eisendhardt, 1989).

Several scholars have developed typologies of case studies to be selected for investigation contingent upon purposes served by the respective studies (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Given the nature of our research objective of identifying successful examples of peacebuilding organizations as “cases” of fusing a social enterprise model along with a social marketing approach, we deemed it appropriate to consider “exemplifying” cases. We expected such a cross-sectional approach of comparing and contrasting selected cases to reveal patterns of commonalities and differences among these peacebuilding initiatives and offer insights into their performance, highlighting what worked for them in sync with emerging scholarship from peace psychology and SM literature. This comparative multi-case strategy is expected to improve the exploratory evidence compared to a single case analysis (Yin, 2009). To sound a caveat, although cases for comparison were based on secondary sources and purposively selected, it was crucial for providing the richness and variety necessary for conducting an exploratory study of this type (Roy, 2012).

We will now examine social change models of few organizations working on peacebuilding. Given the nascent stage of our idea of fusing a SM-driven approach in a SE, we felt Ashoka[2] would be an ideal platform for choosing suitable organizations. Over the years, the Ashoka Fellowship has become an excellent initiative to identify promising ideas and support visionary individuals in building organizations that have a potential for impact (Arogyaswamy, 2017). Such a methodology of relying solely on secondary sources like the Ashoka Fellowship for exploring social entrepreneurship research has been adopted earlier for understanding resource configurations (Meyskens *et al.*, 2010) and bricolage (Sundarmurthy *et al.*, 2016). The initiatives we examine include the ones promoted by Ashoka Fellows, as well as other SEs, and NPOs working in the area of peace. By closely analyzing these models, we aim to propose certain modifications in their existing mode of operation whereby they could design successful SM-led SE interventions that would be economically and behaviorally sustainable. Accordingly, 19 initiatives were identified across the world. They were all organizations that explicitly identified themselves to be working on the theme of peacebuilding. The selected cases are listed in Table 1 that summarizes the “exemplifying” models identified as successful movements working with the explicit aim of fostering peace among conflicting communities.

Findings

From Table 1 we can infer that the “nonprofit” route is the most preferred legal format for setting up peacebuilding initiatives, while a “for-profit” format is not much opted for. Only four of the 19 initiatives were private companies or social enterprises. As nonprofits, the identified initiatives run educational programs for college-youth/schoolkids or communication consultancies that advocate peace through non-direct means like celebrity endorsing, food joints or cruise trips. This preference for a nonprofit route is not surprising given the nature of peacebuilding, displaying features of being a public good. Though not deliberately aimed, but the purposive sample does exhibit diversity of geographical presence and methods/strategies adopted by them to achieve their objectives. We report our

Sr. no.	Organization name	Inception	Intervention area	Founder(s) name	Underlying model of change	Legal format	Funders	Status
1	Against Violent Extremism	2011	Global Network	Jointly formed by Institute for Strategic Dialogue, Google Ideas and the Gen Next Foundation	AVE was formed with the aim of initiating a global conversation with people of younger generation by sharing real life stories of former extremists and survivors of violence. AVE facilitated cross-pollination of ideas to counter all forms of violent extremism	NPO	Corporate Grants	Active
2	Aman ki Asha	2010	India, Pakistan	Conceptualized by 'Friends without Borders, in association with media houses - Times of India and Jang Group, Pakistan	People contact campaign jointly conducted by two leading media houses in their respective countries encouraging schoolchildren to write "heartfelt letters" to each other. It also focused on developing diplomatic and cultural relations between two nations	NPO	Jointly funded by Times of India & Jang Group, Pakistan	One-time campaign, now inactive
3	Coffee for Peace	2008	Philippines	Joji Pantoja	Sells Coffee beans, owned by community of business owners and farmers from conflict torn Mindanao region of Philippines	Social Enterprise	Sale of Arabica Beans and Philippines Civet Coffee	Active
4	Conflict Kitchen	US	US	Jon Rubin and Dawn Weleski	CK is a restaurant operating in US that served cuisine from countries with which the US is in conflict with the idea that conversations over food could lead to people getting more nuanced views about the conflicts. Cuisines have featured from Iran, Afghanistan, Cuba, North Korea, Venezuela, Palestine and Haudenosaunee	Private cafe	Corporate & University grants along with profit sharing by sale of food by a student initiative of Carnegie Mellon University	Closed

(continued)

Table 1.
Typologies and characteristics of peacebuilding initiatives

Table 1.

Sr. no.	Organization name	Inception	Intervention area	Founder(s) name	Underlying model of change	Legal format	Funders	Status
5	Dapoer Bistik		Indonesia	Nura Huda Ismail	Rehabilitate convicted terrorists after their release from jail in working in 2 restaurants in Indonesia	Social Enterprise	Info not available	Active
6	Gh.o.st	2006	Ramallah, West Bank and Jerusalem, Israel	Zvi Schreiber	Web application that allowed users access their documents from any computer by acting as a cloud. It employed Israelis and Palestinians working as staff members	Private company	Info not available	Business failed due to lack of funding and closed
7	IFYC	2002	US	Eboo Patel	Developed a curriculum, takes courses across campuses in US	NPO	Corporate Grants	Active
8	LUTA	2011	Brazil, UK, US	Luke Dowdney	Sports clothing company that gives half of its profits to charity called 'Fight for Peace'	Private Company	Sale of shoe products	Active
9	Metta Center for non-violence	1982	-	Michael Nagler	Curate educational resources for online sharing of 'nonviolence' principles, ideas and thoughts. Purpose is the effective adoption of these principles by people at large, wherever they are located. Metta Center has created online courses on the theme of non-violence. Their website has a rich collection of podcasts and other reference material to raise awareness of nonviolence as the option in present crisis situations	NPO	Corporate and individual donations	

(continued)

Sr. no.	Organization name	Inception	Intervention area	Founder(s) name	Underlying model of change	Legal format	Funders	Status
10	Pax for Peace	2006	14 countries across Africa, Latin America, Middle East, (South) Eastern Europe and Eurasia	Formed as consortium by two already existing movements	Mobilize public campaigns in conflict areas to influence national decision makers through advocacy to international forums like EU, NATO and UN	NPO	Crowdfunding, Corporate and Govt. Grants	Active
11	Peace Boat	1983	Japan	Yoshioka Tatsuya	Conducting boat cruises for travelers and promoting the message of peace, human rights and sustainability	NPO	Info not available	Active
12	Peace First	1996	US	Eric Dawson	Peace Education Program	NPO	Crowdfunding	Active
13	Peace is Sexy	Info not available	US	Marianne Perez de Fransius	Developed Communication strategies. Sells merchandise with PIS logo, organises fee based webinar, donations	NPO with income earned	Sale of PIS merchandise	Active
14	Peace through Commerce	2009	US	Michael Strong	Provide consultancy services to businesses in designing sustainable and peaceful solutions leveraging their proprietary developed "Matrix of Peace"	NPO	Various Foundation Grants	Active
15	People Against Violent Extremism (PAVE)	2013	Australia	Anne Aly	Devise Social Media campaigns against violent extremism	NPO	Info not available	Active

(continued)

Table 1.

Sr. no.	Organization name	Inception	Intervention area	Founder(s) name	Underlying model of change	Legal format	Funders	Status
16	Plant for Peace	2007	Afghanistan	James Brett	Replace the poppy fields to pomegranate orchards and sale harvest in UK Markets	NPO	Info not available	Active
17	Search for Common Ground	1982	Headquartered in US, operates in 36 countries	John Marks	Collaborate with people living in conflict areas and provide them a platform to communicate, get media attention to their problems and advocacy of their rights	NPO	Various Foundation Grants	
18	Universal models of Peace	2008	Global	Michael William-Paul and Sara Hirsch	Network of Fashion and Media experts working on sustainability issues	NPO	Info not available	Active
19	World Savvy	2002	US	Dana Curran Mortenson and Madiha Murshed	Developed school curriculum for K-12, competence certificates for teachers	NPO	Various Foundation Grants	Active

Source: Compiled by authors

analysis of comparing the 19 peacebuilding initiatives at two levels – one at the level of the individual intervention itself, trying to identify its inherent features (like communication and outreach strategies) and second, at an inter-organizational level, trying to compare the different models to make meaningful conclusions.

We collected information about these 19 initiatives from secondary sources to understand their underlying theory of change as well as assess strategies employed by them for peacebuilding. Also, wherever available, information on their outreach methods to engage with the conflicting communities were noted. Our analysis revealed the following three themes:

- (1) *NPOs working on peace using standalone strategies and approaches*: Activities of such voluntary initiatives towards peacebuilding typically involved raising awareness of the aggrieved communities and engagement in some form of community building in a post-conflict scenario. In terms of the approaches adopted to engage the target communities and spread awareness about the peace initiatives, true to their tradition, the NPOs were found weak in adopting the SM toolkit. For example, in our sample, initiatives like Peace First or World Savvy are run as pure charities conducting educational programs aimed at college or school-going kids. Whether the interventions designed by the NPOs would work or not in finding the right peace solutions is debatable, as they are not conceived scientifically by trying to usher in behavior change of the target group. Additionally, evaluation of interventions is necessary to judge the efficacy of interventions. In most cases, such evaluations remain absent.
- (2) *Consultants/NPOs working on peace using the SM approach for awareness and revenue creation*: Few NPOs were found to be adopting commercial approaches that generate revenue through some business activities (like promotion of livelihoods or marketing of handicrafts) and channelize part of the profits towards peacebuilding efforts. Even within the NPO format we found organizations that are selling their specialized services to support such voluntary initiatives. For example, Peace Boat is a Japanese international NPO that conducts cruise-trips with awareness events for its guests on topics of peace. Communities are likely to respond better to NPOs that adopt intelligently crafted strategies jointly drawn with a buy-in of the target group. Thus, the target community is essentially pro-peace and may be looking for capacity-building in peace-building approaches. However, people who adopt or support violence have almost no chance of responding to such initiatives.
- (3) *Social enterprises that 'sell' peace-related products*: Few peacebuilding initiatives took the form of a private company and clearly identified an economic objective for engaging with communities affected by conflict. They work with the belief that economic motives form the best type of integration, both among warring communities and people affected by the conflict trying to come back to mainstream society. These initiatives identify themselves as SEs with revenue being generated from peace related business activities. It is also possible that part of the income is contributed towards NPOs working on peace rather than playing a direct interventionist role. In either form, we expected this to be the most sustainable and prevalent model of operation but our sample suggested otherwise. We came across two such initiatives – Gh.o.st and LUTA in our sample. Gh.o.st was started as a startup by an Israeli technopreneur with offices both in Ramallah in the West Bank and Jerusalem in Israel. However, due to financial difficulties it had to wind-up

business within two years of its formation. LUTA is another Brazilian sports company that started in 2011 with the aim of contributing 50 per cent of its profits in supporting the non-profit arm named Fight for Peace. By 2014, the brand LUTA was acquired by Reebok. SEs find it difficult to stay afloat as organizations selling peace products, perhaps due to the public good nature of peace. We take up this issue in the discussion section where we propose a better framing of peacebuilding SEs by integrating the SM approaches.

Overall, we find that not all the elements of SM are used by existing peacebuilding initiatives, irrespective of their legal formats. Going back to our initial review of SM literature, we know one reason behind SM's popularity was its ability to help managers engage with communities with respect to social problems like public health and poverty reduction, and frame more acceptable behavior-change policies. In the same spirit, we have tried to compare the three types of peacebuilding initiatives for their community engagement approaches on dimensions of operating strategies, criteria for target group (TG) identification and impact evaluation methods. Results are summarized in [Table 2](#). One clear trend that is emerging from the [Table 2](#) is that due to restricted application of either

	NPOs working on Peacebuilding using stand alone strategies and without using SM tactics	Peacebuilding NPOs/ Consultants using SM tactics	SEs selling peace or apportioning a part of their profits to NPOs working on Peace
Operating Strategy	Funded by corporate houses and individual donors, these initiatives devise a 'social change' strategy and implement it without using a managerial/marketing approach of identifying a clear 'value-proposition' to address the real 'needs' of the target group (TG) whose behavior they seek to change	There are a handful of NPOs/ consultants working on 'peace' using the SM toolkit. The main emphasis is on employing novel tools and techniques to facilitate peacebuilding	With saleable products/ services related to the concept of 'peace', these organizations allocate a major portion of their proceeds to NPOs working on peace
Target Group (TG) Identification	Given the lack of professional management the initiatives find correct identification of TG to be a major challenge	Though an attempt is made to leverage social marketing principles, challenge faced by these enterprises is lack of formative research prior to designing the social marketing-mix	While the challenge of financial sustainability is addressed by the underlying business model of the social enterprise, other problems faced by NPOs working on peace are inherited in this model by design
Impact Evaluation Issues	Seldom are the interventions evaluated in terms of the behavior change they attempt to accomplish	Due to faulty selection of TG, product and promotion adopted could go wrong and absence of appropriate 'framing' of the intervention	In absence of formative research driving the NPO-led peace intervention, TG is likely to be those that are already pro-peace, and emphasis is on capacity-building in the area of peace-making

Table 2.
Typologies and characteristics of peacebuilding initiatives

Source: Authors

marketing or social marketing concepts, peacebuilding organizations lack heavily in terms of their TG identification, development of a grounded value-proposition and overall engagement with the community.

With the need for adopting the SM toolkit by peacebuilding initiatives clearly established across their possible legal formats, we now develop a SM framework that would be useful for such organizations. Table 3 has been constructed by assuming an imaginary continuum of the organizational format of peacebuilding organizations and is inspired by the Dees (1998) hybrid spectrum of SEs. The two extreme corners highlight initiatives either working on pure charity or pure commercial basis. The middle ground is being increasingly covered by hybrid organizations, which are trying to achieve both social and economic objectives. Following the Dees (1998) characterization, this middle column is trying to move away from grant-based dependencies towards self-sufficiency by creating stable income streams and are more market-oriented than voluntary organizations. In our case narratives we found many initiatives working on peacebuilding struggling to keep themselves afloat in the absence of a stable income stream, and in extreme cases like Peace First or Gh.o.st, they are forced to either close programs or change organizational format.

Discussion

In the previous section, we found that the purely philanthropic models of peacebuilding organizations involve direct attachment with affected communities, whereas in case of SEs, the link is indirect and includes contributing part of the profits towards such social causes. Each model has its own set of advantages and drawbacks – while the NPO approach works more effectively towards mission accomplishment due to a direct communication chain with the target community, SEs are able to leverage financial resources better. Our argument is that peacebuilding SEs can do a much better job by directly involving themselves with intended communities in terms of creating desired social impact rather than just supporting the communities financially. The SM approach could help the SEs in proper identification of a business opportunity, better communication of potential benefits and faster acceptance by users. Intended and susceptible groups which appear pro-violence, have to be approached with a “product” framed in a way that does not oppose their worldviews.

With this thinking behind our approach, we now try to elaborate our conceptual model which is represented in Figure 1. Because we are dealing with a wicked problem of conflict with two or more communities who have clashing viewpoints, it is important to understand the nature of the conflict from the perspective of both the parties before a SE business-model is formulated. Enough time has to be spent with the concerned communities to get a deeper understanding of the issues underlying violence. As explained by Naaeke *et al.* (2011, p. 160) in their work citing Trouillot (1995):

[who] rejects the facile proposition that history is no more than self-justifying propaganda written by the winners of conflict. Rather, he suggests that we can gain a broader and more accurate view of past events by striving to listen to a broader spectrum of voices [...] the variety of voices is there; we simply have to work harder to hear them’ and ‘endeavor to know, respect, and understand a people and their culture by immersing himself/herself into the culture.

Conceptual framework of integrating SM with SE

For the peacebuilding SE, community immersion eases out dealing with the wicked problem by providing critical understanding about the thorny issues and contested viewpoints. The insights gained from the community immersion should help SE managers in segmenting the community as per their predisposition for the other group. Based on their attitude, these

Table 3.
SM Tactics for
peacebuilding across
organizational
spectrum

Key stakeholders	Motives, methods and goals	Purely Philanthropic NGO (without SM)	NGO/Consultant (with SM)	NGO+ Social Enterprise (without SM)	Purely Commercial Social enterprises with wider goals
Beneficiaries (community in conflict)	Benefitted by the intervention made, and in some cases even direct involvement in terms of generating resources and providing services	Sell 'peace' as the product promoting the goodwill mission of the initiative Initiate dialog between communities-in-conflict, promote behavior-change campaigns as well as train the population in peace-building and conflict-resolution techniques	The community 'learns' to move from negative violent behavior to positive peaceful behavior	The SEs may be involved in selling a product/service that directly benefits the society-in-conflict. Sometimes these product/services are related to peacebuilding activities. A proportion of profits generated by such SEs are diverted to NPOs working on peace	No direct involvement in terms of business operation
Capital/Funding	Donation from Charities, Donor Agencies, individuals, donor agencies, and corporates	Donation from Charities, Donor Agencies, individuals, donor agencies, and corporates	(1) Donation from charities, individuals, donor agencies, corporates (2)Expertise offered to Govt., municipalities and law-enforcing agencies through a fee-structure	Profit generated by product/service of SEs	Usual corporate funding sources
Workforce	Volunteers and staff	Experts in advisory role rather than a direct hands-on approach	Professionals paid salaries in SEs, and volunteers and paid staff in NPOs	Professionals paid salaries	Professionals paid salaries
Suppliers	Make in-kind donations or are paid for products/services	Make in-kind donations or are paid for products/services	Paid for products/services	Paid for products/services	Goods exchanged at market rate prices

(continued)

<i>SM Tactics</i>	Segmenting, Targeting, Positioning (STP)	Not clear if all any clear segmentation of the entire affected population is done. Only the marginalized sections that are ready to adopt peaceful behavior are targeted. The image in the minds of the TG is that of enterprises involved in facilitating and training in peace-building techniques	STP done but lack of robust formative research that typically requires conducting research on TG to help discern what drives a negative behavior pattern	Create a brand espousing social concern and therefore SEs target the segment willing to adopt the products/services. However NPOs do not adopt STP as required by SM approach	Brand espousing social concern and therefore target the segment willing to adopt the products/services. However, NPOs do not adopt STP as required by SM approach
Price	Behavior-change price would be involved but not done as per SM point-of-view	Behavior-change price would be involved	Price of SE done as per marketing principles, but for NPOs, SM-directed behavior-change price is not set	Banking on the social appeal, priced at competitive market prices	
Product	Social change strategy	Product-design driven by SM strategy, but not majorly by formative research	Products of SEs not as per commercial marketing principles. NPOs do not design product/service after understanding competitive behavior as necessitated by SM strategy	Uses commercial marketing principles in designing its product	
Place	Affected neighborhood of the community	Affected neighborhood of the community	Products of SE could be sold outside affected community, but NPOs operate in affected community	Sourcing often done from the third-world countries, to be sold in affluent economies	
Promotion	Done but not as a part of SM strategy	Done using cutting-edge communication tools of SM tactics	Usual commercial promotion tools of Marketing used, while NPOs use promotion in a different way, not necessarily in accordance with relevant marketing/SM principles	Done as per commercial marketing practices, but their products/services get more acceptance due to Cause-related Marketing advantage	

Source: Adapted from Dees (1998)

Table 3.

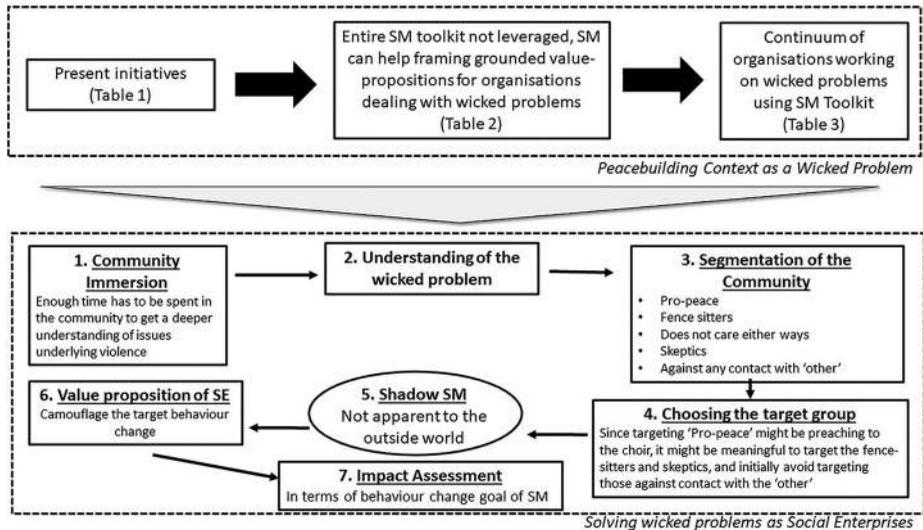


Figure 1. Developing Value Proposition of Social Enterprises dealing with wicked problems through segmentation, targeting and shadow framework

categories could range from people who are “pro-peace” that are already positive towards a peace agenda, “fence-sitters” that are likely to support the peace route with little persuasion, “does not care either way” that are not bothered by the external social environment, “skeptics” that have reservations against the peace process and are likely to oppose such efforts and “against any contact with “other”” that are against any “assimilation” and want the “container” walls firmly in place. Once this segmentation is done, the target group needs to be consciously selected and it might make sense to not target the ‘against any contact with “other”’ group as it might be counter-productive in the beginning. The “pro-peace” group might be the right target for people-to-people contact efforts but they are not really threats to peace in any case. “Fence-sitters” could be easier to bring to the fold, while “skeptics” might be harder but still meaningful to target.

In an attempt to build theory on peace-building efforts within the domain of Social Marketing, we propose what we call shadow social marketing (SSM). The value offering of SSM would be more than what is apparent to the target audience. The product or service X that is being offered would not only satisfy the stated and easily accepted need of the target audience, but offer Y too, though we would not explicitly state that in any communication to our target audience or external stakeholders. We call the approach “shadow” social marketing as it is an offering that is not immediately apparent. We do it to ward off the skepticism and doubts of “fence-sitters” and “skeptics” towards the idea of peace. Instead, peace is an outcome of the value offering (what we refer to as “Y”), not the offering itself (or “X”). The working of this shadow SM would not be apparent to external stakeholders such as suppliers or consumers of the SE’s value offering.

Let us try to explain this with the help of an example. To target hardliner groups like “skeptics” or “against contact with other”, the “product” has to be framed in a way that does not oppose their respective worldviews. Even tea-party sympathizers of USA that are skeptical of any contact with the “other” realize the importance of commerce between nations, and appreciate the need to understand the cultures of these nations to be able to successfully run business operations there. In our reviewed list of peacebuilding

organizations, one example of this reconfigured mechanism could be World Savvy. Compared to its existing NPO model of the skill-development of school kids to improve their competency levels, a SE-driven model can be formed by incorporating “contact” between middle-schoolers of communities/nations in conflict. So X would be an offering to middle-schoolers to increase their cultural competence to improve entrepreneurial success with communities/nations in conflict, whereas the SSM intervention would involve “contact” between middle-schoolers of communities/nations in conflict to improve cultural competence, and Y would be the resultant empathy in the target group that the out-group is very similar to themselves. We do not offer Y to our target group, but rather offer X. Y happens as a result of X. We do this swap as Y might make the audience wary and shy away from the offering. Since the intervention would not talk about peace, the two identified segments would not oppose it.

Outcomes are also expected to be better in the SE format compared to the NPO format where financial sustenance is a permanent question mark. Crafting a well-balanced 4Ps framework after successful segmenting of the market and choosing the right target group to position the re-framed value proposition of “selling entrepreneurial abilities and promoting cultural understanding” (or X) among nations/communities in conflict, may be the light of hope for peace (or Y).

The last question we ask is whether direct contact with the “other” is really an appropriate strategy to adopt. In a recent study by [Agarwal et al. \(2019\)](#), it was found that some middle school students had a negative implicit attitude towards students of the “other” religious group. So, they invited these students and formed mixed-religious teams to come up with ideas to improve the living conditions of their community with no reference to the real intention of improving their attitude towards “other”. At the end of the exercise, it was found that the implicit attitude of these students improved, and even those students who did not actually participate in the efforts had a positive spike in their implicit attitude when they saw videos of such interaction. This goes on to prove [Wilson’s \(2011\)](#) tenet that story-editing approach of showing a different story helps reduce bias towards “other”. However, the [Agarwal et al. \(2019\)](#) study showed that two students whose interactions went badly during the “contact” had reduced attitude scores from their original, going on to show that “contact” can also backfire if the container walls are taken down completely. Hence, in the aforementioned World Savvy case example, we propose that X be offered in a setting wherein the contact between middle-schoolers between conflict-groups avoid direct “contact” and have porous “container” “walls”; and this porosity be ensured through web-based intervention. This design of X would ensure a non-threatening osmosis-like contact through the imaginary walls in the minds of the conflicting groups, and eventually ensure Y. We explain the proposed model through a diagrammatic representation ([Figure 2](#)).

Summarizing, we can say that using SM, and specifically SSM, would fit well with previous research of understanding SEs from a resource-based perspective in which social entrepreneurs rely on tangible and intangible resources to create value ([Meyskens et al., 2010](#)). Thus, SEs would do well to add the SSM toolkit as an additional intangible resource base similar to tangible resources such as financial, physical, human capital and organizational resources as listed by [Barney \(1991\)](#).

Integrating social marketing and social enterprise: theoretical contribution

Let us now examine the theory behind the proposed SE-SM integration. In looking at the business model of a social enterprise through the prism of social marketing concepts, we have addressed the dualities in both domains that past scholars have spoken about. Social enterprise managers are often concerned that adopting a marketing approach would be perceived as trivialization of the core mission of the SE by seeming oversimplification.

Figure 2.
Shadow Social
Marketing (SSM)
Framework:
Distinguishing
between SSM and
Apparent Offering



Similarly, social marketers are divided between upstream and downstream routes. Unlike past studies, our purpose is not to propose any marketing strategy for social enterprises that is referred to as “social enterprise marketing” in literature (Bandyopadhyay and Ray, 2019). Instead, we offer that as “hybrids” that advance market-based solutions to social change efforts, SEs face tensions that could be better handled by leveraging the tools of SM.

We further contend that for complex social issues like conflict, that necessarily involves multiple stakeholders with objectives that might not be matched by a long haul, it would serve the SEs well if they adopt elements of the SM toolkit for designing their value-proposition. In fact, for conflicts to be resolved and peace to be ensured permanently, it is critical that interests of all stakeholders are uncompromised in the process. Consequently, for a true and sustained social change accomplishment within the peace-building mission, the proposed marriage of SE–SM would necessitate designing value offering(s) that address the paradoxes and conflicting needs of the various stakeholders like multiple nation-states, communities in conflict, activist groups and the likes. In this context, the paradox theory that Smith *et al.* (2013) talk about for addressing the operational tensions faced by SEs, fits well with the wicked problem of peacebuilding. Paradoxes refer to “contradictory, yet interrelated elements that seem logical in isolation, but absurd and irrational when appearing simultaneously” (Lewis, 2000, p. 760). Working in the framework of conflicts that are multi-layered complex issues with various parties exhibiting ambiguous and conflicting needs, the field seems apropos to application of the paradox theory. In fact, conventional marketing paradigm that is traditionally customer-centric is likely to fail to design an agreeable value-proposition in such a paradoxical field with multiple stakeholders involved. This builds satisfactorily into the theory of stakeholder marketing that proposes that customer-centricity alone is unable to deliver value effectively in a complex social scenario (Bhattacharya and Korschun, 2008). We thus hold that SEs operating in peacebuilding initiatives are essentially operating in hostile environments with multiple stakeholders that have conflicting interests. It is thus tough to craft a value-proposition that satisfies all and sundry at one go. Such SEs may therefore stand to benefit from a SM approach by taking a “small-wins” framework that proposes to take up and implement solutions related to issues of moderate importance that are “less overwhelming, less threatening, and have the

potential to accumulate into transformative change through non-linear processes” that “include a change in routines, beliefs or values” (Termeer and Art, 2018, p. 303-304) and thereby sow the “seeds of transformative change” (Urpelainen, 2013; Weick, 1984) as quoted by Termeer and Art (2018, p. 304) without majorly ruffling feathers of parties involved in conflict. Working within the theoretical framework of paradox theory and stakeholder marketing concepts, the crafted value-proposition using a small-wins approach might be much more palatable and acceptable to the involved stakeholders by not proposing anything dramatic, yet not majorly disappointing any party. We additionally propose that this value offering should refrain from targeting peace as its primary product, and instead have it as an eventual outcome. Effectively peace is what we call the shadow marketing offering, whereas the small-wins value proposition is the apparent offering.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have tried to seek avenues of complementarities which can be created between the two approaches of social value creation. Although SEs usually identify an unjust equilibrium that cause human suffering through exclusion, and develop a value-proposition that alleviates the suffering (Martin and Osberg, 2007), SM speaks of inducing voluntary behavioral change among individuals that would lead to social good through improvement in health, prevention of injuries, protection of the environment, and contribution to communities (Lee and Kotler, 2011). Existing literature and praxis speak of taking an either/or approach; while we have argued for adopting a both-and-more strategy, especially in the context of wicked problems like peacebuilding. For the SEs the underlying value-proposition may necessitate a behavior-change by the identified target group, to benefit the individual as well as the society he/she belongs to. We argue that such behavior change cannot be automatically assumed. We argue that because SM attempts to use commercial marketing principles to influence voluntary behavior changes for social good (Lee and Kotler, 2011), it might be far more effective for SEs to use the SM tool kit. Because both SEs and SM are fundamentally attempting the same “social good”, albeit SEs focusing on disadvantaged social groups, we propose a marriage of the two ideas in a systematic way. Additionally, we argue that only for-profit SEs could successfully implement the SM approach, in view of the fact that over-reliance on donor funding or crowd-funding social change is inherently unsustainable in the long-term. Additionally, SM requires specialized training, costs for which could be deemed unproductive for not-profit SEs. Similarly, behavior change interventions by NPOs/network organizations through SM too, cannot be sustained via donor funding alone.

Our study shows that there are three broad categories of peace organizations: NPOs that do not use SM, NPOs that use SM, and SEs that tie-up with NPOs. Each of these organizational formats face certain challenges in targeting the pro-violent segment, as only the pro-peace segment is willing to participate in the capacity-building intervention promoted by these initiatives. Hence, we have proposed through our conceptual framework that in the context of a wicked problem like peace-building that is inherently “wicked”, “messy”, “unstructured”, “intractable” or contested (Crowley and Head, 2017; McCandless, 2013), there needs to be a community immersion (Trouillot, 1995) to hear the wide and varied spectrum of voices, and only thereafter can a nuanced understanding be developed about the problem under consideration. This understanding can then help in the task of segmentation of the target groups and careful development of the SE value-proposition for the chosen groups that are not inherently pro-peace, like fence sitters or skeptics. The process of developing the value-proposition is assisted by the SSM process that carefully designs a value-proposition that hides the real intention of the SE. In effect, what we propose is a re-

framing of the value-proposition offered to tune it to the needs of the SSM-driven desired behavior of the target group. For instance, the SE could then sell “cultural understanding” to build entrepreneurial abilities amongst middle-schoolers of nations in conflict, in an effort to reach out to skeptics. Thus, the hidden intention would be “peace”, and it would be an outcome of the SE’s apparent product that is seemingly developing cultural competence through honing entrepreneurial skills. The format driving social change that ushers in peace is essentially a SE that adopts the SM approach. This alone would ensure that the skeptics of peace are persuaded silently and voluntarily to pro-peace behavior.

What we contribute in this paper is the development of a conceptual framework that would aid SEs dealing with wicked problems, like conflict and peacebuilding, to use hidden agenda setting through SSM as a precursor to develop its value proposition to successfully usher changes in the domain of sticky social issues that are inherently difficult to deal with. This also implies that impact assessment of these SEs would be done in terms of this SSM driven desired behavior change. In terms of financial sustainability, they cannot depend on philanthropic contribution for sustenance, as the real intention of the SEs cannot be divulged to the general public or target customers of the SE.

In terms of theoretical contribution, our SSM model offers a concrete path to SEs in the peacebuilding domain to use the SM tool-kit. We support our model through the twin interaction of paradox theory and stakeholder marketing through the successful integration of SE–SM to show how the small-wins that SSM offers through its apparent offering indeed goes a long way to handle the wicked problem of peace-building and the elusive “selling” of “brotherhood” that Wiebe (1952) talks about.

Notes

1. Also referred to as long term capital, the provider of funds (investor) is willing to make financial investments in a business with no expectation of turning it into quick profit and instead looking for impact with an expectation that the long term windfall gains would compensate for the immediate forego.
2. Ashoka is the leading global network of social entrepreneurs founded by Bill Drayton in 1980. Working with the principle of ‘everyone a change-maker’ it promotes inspired individuals to take up causes on social issues plaguing communities. In partnership with private, philanthropic organizations and fellow citizens, Ashoka is building an ecosystem of social revolution where everyone contributes to change for the good of all.

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