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Inclusive Entrepreneurship and Motivation Among People with Intellectual Disabilities: “Why They Act”

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Abstract

Social entrepreneurship is a growing trend for people with intellectual disabilities (ID). This reflects a shift in contemporary policy towards entrepreneurship and self-employment as a viable employment option for people with disabilities in general; a strategy which is intended to promote autonomy and reduce dependence on entitlement-based services as well as to reduce employment disparities and stimulate business and job creation. However, it is not well understood what exactly this means for people with ID involved in social entrepreneurial ventures. This research approached the issue by conducting dyadic interviews to explore the motivations of people with ID who are participating and supported in social entrepreneurship – “why they act.” In exploring these motivations, this article investigates push-pull factors, the role of the social mission, and how support influences motivation.

Keywords: employment, entrepreneurship, motivation, support, policy, qualitative

Introduction

This research builds upon a synthesis of disability studies and entrepreneurship studies (Parker Harris, Caldwell, & Renko, 2014), incorporating ID scholarship, an intersection that has not been previously explored in empirical research (Caldwell, Parker Harris, & Renko, 2012). Bridging the two disciplines makes it possible for one to inform the other and thereby address gaps in each field attendant to the question of entrepreneurship for people with ID. The purpose of this interdisciplinary research is to explore how people with ID are participating and supported in social entrepreneurship, and their motivation for pursuing social entrepreneurship. Specifically, this research focuses on: (1) whether and to what extent push and pull factors affect motivation; (2) what is the role of the social mission; and (3) how does support influence motivation? This article reports findings from a qualitative study that uses dyadic interviews with seven individuals with ID and their support persons. The objective is to offer new insights and information for practitioners, policymakers, and other professionals committed to the full inclusion of people with ID that will inform the expectations we set for entrepreneurship as a sustainable employment option, from the perspective of social entrepreneurs with ID themselves.

The concept of motivation for people with intellectual disabilities (ID) is critical in employment as motivation explores the reasons *why* people become involved in a particular employment strategy. By understanding their motivation, we can learn what factors are driving people with ID to pursue social entrepreneurship as an employment option and provide critical insight into how choice and self-determination manifest. Moreover, exploring motivation from the point of view of people with ID will help address concerns in the field regarding the potential co-optation of social entrepreneurship. In particular, concerns that the term can potentially be used to repackage employment practices that have historically been exploitative, or that social

entrepreneurship may be used as a neoliberal strategy to remove responsibility for the provision of employment services from the public to the private domain (Caldwell et al., 2012).

Background

The discipline of entrepreneurship exists at the intersection of economic theory, the social sciences, managerial and organizational science (Swedberg, 2000); not only accounting for the rich and diverse nature of its development thus far, but also resulting in a fragmented research focus (Low & MacMillan, 2007; Schildt, Zahra, & Sillanpää, 2006; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). The focus of entrepreneurship research echo these disciplinary divisions: motivation: *why they act*, management: *how they act*, and outcomes: *what happens when they act* (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Stevenson & Jarillo, 2007). In exploring the central research question of how people with ID are participating and supported in social entrepreneurship, this research was structured around the three foci above. This structure was chosen because not only are these questions at the core of entrepreneurship research, but also because they can be used to break down complex concepts into concrete, easily understandable, and accessible plain language sub-questions. The findings presented in this article focus on unpacking the first component: understanding why they act: what are the motivations of people with ID participating and supported in social entrepreneurship. Findings on management ([Removed for review]) and outcomes ([Removed for review]) have been published separately due to the depth of information.

Operationalizing Social Entrepreneurship

While social entrepreneurship can be considered a subtype of entrepreneurship, it has also developed into its own distinct field of study. Yet, within disability employment research the terms self-employment, entrepreneurship, and microenterprise are used interchangeably

(Yamamoto, Unruh, & Bullis, 2011). This presents problems in the development of effective policy, programs, and practices (see Parker Harris, Caldwell, et al., 2014 for detail).

-- FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE --

Entrepreneurship differs from self-employment in that its goal is not just job creation for one individual with the goal of becoming financially self-sufficient, but rather the creation of a profit- and growth-oriented business that has the potential to employ others in the future. That is, in order to be profitable a business must grow, and as that business grows it will need to hire employees. If entrepreneurs with disabilities hire employees with disabilities, then supporting entrepreneurship for people with disabilities and empowering them to hire others can have an exponential impact. Subsequently, entrepreneurship is both an employment strategy and an anti-poverty strategy. This is the way that entrepreneurship has been used successfully among other disadvantaged communities such as among ethnic, immigrant, and women entrepreneurs. However, while disability employment policy and programs support self-employment, research indicates it is not fully supporting entrepreneurship (Parker Harris, Caldwell, et al., 2014; Parker Harris, Renko, & Caldwell, 2013). There are many factors that motivate people to pursue entrepreneurship. In general, entrepreneurs are driven by three motivations: 1) the desire for power and independence, 2) the will to succeed, and 3) the satisfaction of getting things done (Swedberg, 2000). Among marginalized populations, blocked social and economic mobility has acted as a catalyst for business activity and the acquisition of business skills (Bates, 1997; Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 2000). Events such as traumatically acquired disability (Haynie & Shepherd, 2010) or perceived hiring discrimination on the basis of one's disability (Blanck, Sandler, Schmeling, & Schartz, 2000) may serve as the impetus driving an individual to pursue entrepreneurship.

Social entrepreneurship is a distinct form of entrepreneurship that refers to a business that is intended to create both a monetary profit as well as address a social mission (Parker Harris et al., 2013; Parker Harris, Renko, & Caldwell, 2014). While a commercial business may be socially responsible, for a social enterprise the social mission must be central to the business itself (Austin et al., 2006). Social entrepreneurs are motivated by lived experiences; their mission related and interwoven with social value (Austin et al., 2006; Bornstein, 2007; Bornstein & Davis, 2010). Many social entrepreneurs are motivated by social problems and unmet needs they encounter in their community. In response, they generate creative ideas for solving these problems and meeting these needs (Shaw & Carter, 2007; Zahra, Gedajlovic, Neubaum, & Shulman, 2009). Because of their experience with marginalization and disadvantage, people with disabilities have the potential to create solutions based on problems they see in their daily lives and, in this way, to become social innovators.

Push-Pull Motivation

Push-pull theory is one way of conceptualizing entrepreneurial motivation and served as a helpful cognitive tool for discussing motivation with participants in this research. Push-pull theory provides an understandable and relatable concept: that someone might choose to pursue entrepreneurship either because of difficulty finding work and/or a lack of other options (push motivation), or because they have an interest and/or passion (pull motivation) for the work they are doing. Push-pull motivation has been studied with regard to gender (Hughes, 2003; Kirkwood, 2009) and the social mobility of immigrants and ethnic minorities (Bates, 1997; Clark & Drinkwater, 2000). It has been suggested that push factors are the result of blocked opportunities and status incongruence (Bates, 1997; Verdaguer, 2009), and that entrepreneurship has the potential to correct this disparity to achieve status recognition (Reynolds, 2002).

Haynie and Shepherd (2010) examined career transition for veterans with disabilities and observed a strong link between career and identity. They found that pull factors are considered to be positively motivated whereas push factors imply self-employment is chosen under duress, despite one's preference, due to a lack of other options (Bates, 1997). Research looking at motivational and attitudinal factors of social entrepreneurs with disabilities, not specific to ID, found that disability-entrepreneurship is motivated by both push and pull factors (Caldwell, Parker Harris, & Renko, 2016). This finding is particularly important given the relationship between motivation and policy development. Push motivation often results in necessity-based entrepreneurship, whereas pull motivations often lead to opportunity-based entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship policy design has developed primarily in response to pull motivations (Dawson & Henley, 2012). Conversely, disability employment policies develop primarily in response to push motivations. As a result, entrepreneurship has focused on creating opportunity-based policies, while disability-employment has focused on creating needs-based policies (Caldwell et al., 2016). Many entrepreneurs with disabilities are currently operating outside of both the disability and business service systems because neither are fully meeting their needs for both push and pull factors (Parker Harris, Caldwell, et al., 2014).

Methods

Dyadic Interviewing is a methodology informed by a disability studies ideology, ensuring in-depth interviews are person-centered and self-determined (see Caldwell, 2014 for more detail). This technique for dyadic interviewing comprises three interviews: one with the person with ID, one with the individual that the person with ID has identified as being a key support to provide supplementary information, and a follow-up interview with the individual with ID. This structure of separate dyadic interviewing allows for comparisons, cross-checking, and

triangulation of the data while still maintaining focus of the unit of analysis on the individual with ID (Caldwell, 2014; Eisikovits & Koren, 2010).

Purposive, criterion sampling was used to obtain information-rich cases that meet certain criteria (Patton, 2002). A targeted recruitment strategy was used that began by identifying local employment service providers and asking them to share recruitment materials, dissemination via a state-wide network of developmental disability organizations, and sharing recruitment materials via social media networks. Screening identified which of the potential participants met the inclusion criteria for social entrepreneurship in this research: 1) the business was intended to be profit-generating; 2) the business was intended to be growth-oriented; 3) the business had a social mission in addition to a profit-generating one; and 4) the social mission was central to the business. These criteria are the same as that used in a larger associated research project exploring the experiences of social entrepreneurs with disabilities that was not specific to people with ID (Caldwell et al., 2016; Parker Harris et al., 2013; Parker Harris, Renko, et al., 2014). Seven dyadic interviews were conducted with individuals with ID participating in social entrepreneurship in the [Removed for review] area (n=7), and the person they identified as being most important in supporting their entrepreneurship (i.e. key support person, n=7). Of the seven individuals with ID, four had started their own social enterprises and three were working at a local social enterprise that employs people with ID, “Budding Futures” (see Tables 1 & 2). During data collection, two of the participants with ID working at Budding Futures revealed that they were in the beginning stages of starting their own business. All participants in this research have been assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

[INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Participants self-identified as having mild to moderate ID when contacting the researcher in response to the recruitment materials.

A semi-structured interview guide was used for each interview, which provided a flexible guideline for asking questions and facilitated in managing information between and among dyads. The interview guide was structured around the three foci of entrepreneurship research: motivation (why they act), management (how they act), and outcomes (what happens when they act). The findings presented here focus on understanding the motivations of people with ID participating and supported in social entrepreneurship. Questions for participants with ID explored why they started their business, whether they started it because it was something they wanted to do (pull) or because of a lack of other options (push); how they came up with the idea; what the social mission of the business was when they started, why it was important, and whether it had changed since they started the business. The same questions were asked of the key supports, reworded to focus on the person with ID.

Field notes were instrumental in keeping track of information from interview to interview, for cross-checking, and identifying probe questions that would lead to information-rich responses (Caldwell, 2014). In particular, responses from the first interview with individuals with ID were cross-checked with their key support person during the second interview. The key support persons' response as well as the person with ID's response were then member-checked with them during the final interview to look for discrepancies and agreement for triangulation of the data. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed before being coded in ATLAS-TI using a process known as index coding, wherein a set of well-defined codes is produced from external sources (e.g. a literature review), field notes, and a quick reading of the transcripts (Deterding & Waters, 2018). Thematic analysis was used to categorize and interpret the coded data segments.

Findings

Motivation was one of three foci of this research. The themes that emerged through interviews with participants included how push and pull factors affect entrepreneurial motivation, the role of the social mission, and how support influences the motivation of social entrepreneurs with ID.

Push and Pull Motivations

Both push and pull factors played a role in motivating the social entrepreneurs with ID in starting their businesses, in pursuing a social mission, and in continuing to work on their business. While all four social entrepreneurs interviewed (Nathan, Derek, Heather, and Julie) acknowledged the push factors affecting them, such as the state of the economy and difficulty finding a job, they expressed greater value for the pull factors, such as desire to start a business and passion for their social mission (see Table 3).

Regarding push motivations, Heather and Julie were motivated by making the most of their talents and strengths, whereas Nathan and Derek were both dissatisfied with their previous jobs, which were not a good fit for their skills or interests. The pace of work can operate as a barrier to people with ID and thus serve as motivation to pursue social entrepreneurship. For instance, Nathan found the work he was doing too fast and stressful, whereas Derek found it too slow and he felt he was not involved enough. Working on their own businesses allows Nathan and Derek the control and flexibility to work at their own pace. Pace was also a concern for Julie. Her mother believed that Julie's health problems and physical disability limited the time she could spend working and the type of work that she could do.

Living arrangement also emerged as an important push factor, with location affecting the type of work available. This research provides a strong indication that living at home with family

may provide the support needed to start a social enterprise. It was only after moving to a more independent living arrangement, a Community Integrated Living Arrangement (CILA), that Nathan felt his business became legitimate. Up to that point, Nathan's business had been only a hobby and not a "real" business.

One of the central pull factors identified by the social entrepreneurs with ID was fulfilling their dream of business ownership and being a professional. While Derek enjoys being the boss, in charge, and in control; he comes alive when talking about his customers and their enjoyment of a quality, ethically-sourced product. Indeed, Derek's customers' enjoyment of his product seems to be his chief motivation. Another pull factor identified was the desire to help others, contributing to their social mission. People with ID are often portrayed as recipients of care, in dependent roles that do not recognize their capacity to help or to act as social agents. In this context, it is this very assumption that social entrepreneurship challenges. The social entrepreneurs with ID interviewed in this research got enjoyment and satisfaction out of helping others, expressing a sense of social responsibility:

Heather: I have been blessed with the privilege and use my voice because other people cannot use their voice so I'm here for them.

Indeed, Heather's primary motivation is to help people who lack the opportunities she had by teaching them to advocate for themselves and equipping them with the tools to help make that possible.

The social enterprise "Budding Futures" was established on push motivations, founded by a group of parents in response to the lack of opportunities for young adults with ID and reflected more their personal motivation as a parent than the motivation of their son or daughter. Parents acknowledged a lack of pull factors; however, push factors carried more value. This underscored the temporary expectation of a job intended to provide work experience and

something to do, amass work credits to qualify for disability benefits should they be needed in the future, develop skills for future employment and a strong work ethic, allow for scheduling flexibility, and provide job security while pursuing other employment opportunities.

The participants with ID interviewed who worked at the Budding Futures (Andrew, Kimberly, and Wayne) stated their central motivating factor was that their parents thought it was a good idea given the lack of opportunities. Pull motivations identified by participants included not only a desire to work and for greater social inclusion, but also because their friends worked there and the job was “fun.” However, for all three of these participants, being a “Team Member” was not their ideal job. Budding Futures was described by all as a transition job, building skills towards a next step in employment. Indeed, all three participants concurrently held other jobs more in line with their interests: Andrew was a janitor at a local college, Kimberly worked at a retail store, and Wayne volunteered at a grocery store as well as the athletics department at his local high school. Andrew, Kimberly, and Wayne were all in the transition period from the child to adult service system where they are trying to figure out what opportunities are available, their parents trying to set them up for the best possible outcome.

Sharing the Social Mission

A key part of each social entrepreneur’s motivation was the social mission of their business. There may be multiple social missions for the social entrepreneur with ID, and not all of them directly related to the mission of the business itself. For example, the *direct social mission* for Nathan and Derek’s businesses relate to fair trade, organic coffee. However, Nathan also has an *indirect social mission* that is motivated by his experience living as a person with ID. Conversely, the direct social mission for Heather and Julie draws explicitly on their experiences with disability, although not necessarily ID specifically, and it is their indirect social missions

that reveal ancillary motivations. The relationship between social mission and disability appears complex.

Three of the four social entrepreneurs had indirect social missions. For Nathan, it was important to show to others, with and without disabilities, that someone with ID could start a business. This was motivated by a negative experience that he had while in school with a teacher who had discouraged him from following his dreams:

Nathan: If people tell you because of your disability that you can't dream dreams, I tell them it's not true. You just try and try again and if it doesn't work, then it's not for you and you try something else. It's true for all the disabled community and we should have rights because we're human beings. I'm seeing a big change now because back in the day they said if you had Down Syndrome you had to be given away or if you had my disability, you had to be locked away.

Nathan's fear of segregation and institutionalization was similar to a sentiment expressed by Heather and, in both instances, the participants seemed appreciative of the opportunities they were afforded and were motivated by a desire to help people who did not have the same support that they had.

Heather's situation is distinct because, while her direct social mission has to do with disability issues and her educational experience as a student with ID, her indirect social mission is entrepreneurial. Heather wants to help others start businesses, whether it is as a part of her social enterprise or independently. This motivation was particularly interesting because it suggests an impact far beyond one social enterprise, to possibly catalyzing a social movement by entrepreneurs with disabilities.

In line with her direct mission, Julie's indirect social mission is to help service animals. Notably, Lisa (Julie's key support person) believed that Julie had difficulty understanding the more conceptual aspects of social entrepreneurship:

Lisa: I don't even know if she knows what [the goal and mission] mean. I'm sure you'd get answers across the board. I don't think she's in a place where she cares. For her, it's

important to get out and help the service dog program, but she's such an in the moment girl so we never made sure she knew what those things were. We're not going out to get support so she doesn't need the script right now. It's never been a high enough priority to discuss that with her.

Yet, Julie articulated a vision for the larger social impact that helping her service dog program with day to day expenses could have for the animals as well as the families that rely upon it; recognizing the financial difficulties that families impacted by disability often experience. By helping to support the service dog program, Julie's social entrepreneurship could help to support her community.

Regarding Budding Futures, it became clear during the interviews with people with ID that they did not share the mission of the organization. However, the key support persons interviewed were more involved. The social mission of the organization overlapped substantially with their own motivations, which is likely because Budding Futures was started by parents and therefore parents were involved in the development of the social mission from the very beginning. It could also be attributed to the key support person's justifying the time and effort expended volunteering at Budding Futures. While the participants with ID were grateful for the opportunity to work there, they felt they were not a part of the organization and were motivated more by the opportunity to be paid above minimum wage for their work.

This is a striking difference from the social entrepreneurs with ID interviewed, who developed the social mission and thus were integrated at the foundational level and who are integral to the business itself. Making money was an important motivating factor for both groups of participants with ID, as it was seen to have implications for their quality of life. Whereas the social entrepreneurs with ID gave greater importance to their social mission, participants with ID working at Budding Futures were more money-motivated than by the social mission. They had their sights set on futures beyond Budding Futures. Andrew is thinking about going to college

and has found through working at the greenhouse that he would like to become a gardener professionally, although it was not clear if their key support person is aware of this dream yet. Over the course of their first interviews, both Kimberly and Wayne revealed that they are in the process of starting their own business along with three friends. Kimberly has always dreamed of owning a restaurant and loves working retail. Wayne would ideally like to work in a full-time, paid office position:

Wayne: Because I think of myself as a businessman... that's why I like [the athletics department job] better. It's more of a business. I picture myself on the telephone taking calls for the company and running errands.

Both Kimberly and Wayne are motivated by a desire to work with their friends and live on their own or with friends in the near future. They also want to make money so that they can stop working at Budding Futures and gain more control over their lives; because, if successful, they will not have to depend as much upon someone else for their livelihood.

Support & Motivation

There were discrepancies between what the key support person perceived as motivating factors versus what the social entrepreneurs with ID said motivates them. Markedly, the key support persons tended to emphasize push factors over pull factors. For example, when Derek spoke of his motivations, he mentioned he held previous jobs that he did not like. However, Charlie (Derek's key support person) identified this as Derek's main motivation for pursuing social entrepreneurship rather than his dream to own a business. In fact, Derek was motivated by the potential that new venture provides rather than by his past negative experiences. This effect, whereby key support persons emphasized push factors, was somewhat less among the two key support persons who were themselves entrepreneurs, James (Nathan's key support person) and Mary (Heather's key support person).

Interestingly, the motivations identified by Lisa (Julie's key support person) had little to do with the service dog program, which she spoke of as incidental. Rather, Lisa expressed that the business was primarily intended as a distraction from Julie's health problems and a vehicle for social interaction; indicating the possibility for key support persons to conflate their own motivations with the motivation of the social entrepreneur. More precisely, key support persons appeared to have difficulty distinguishing between their own motivations for helping an individual to pursue social entrepreneurship and the actual motivating factors driving the individual with ID to pursue social entrepreneurship. This can be particularly problematic as it may signify a conflict of interest depending upon the support person's role in the business and the extent to which the social entrepreneur relies upon them for carrying out their vision. The self-determination of a social entrepreneur with ID will be inadvertently limited if their key support person has a different vision for the direction of the business.

For the most part, the social missions identified by the participants with ID were not as central to the business for the key support persons. This does not mean that the key support persons were unaware of the social mission, but that the social mission did not have the same value or hold priority in the key support persons' perceptions. The only exception was Mary, who is business partners with her daughter Heather. Like Heather, Mary is committed to the social mission of inclusion and self-advocacy, but from the perspective of a parent-advocate so there was still some differentiation in focus. Whereas Mary had a dual focus on both the social mission of the business and Heather's employment, for the other key support persons the central focus of the business was on employing the individual with ID.

Although the discrepancies between the motivations and direct social missions identified by key support persons and social entrepreneurs with ID were clear, it was more difficult to

discern the degree to which the key support persons were aware of or support the indirect social mission. Mary appears to share Heather's vision for developing future goals around helping others' start similar businesses. Both James (Nathan's key support person) and Lisa (Julie's key support person) appear aware of the indirect social missions. The social mission plays a significant role in distinguishing social entrepreneurship from self-employment. Discrepancies in this area can be problematic if the key support person is focused on a mission of self-employment and not necessarily that of social entrepreneurship, in which case the social entrepreneur with ID may not be getting the resources, information, or support that they need. For example, when Lisa (Julie's key support person) stated earlier that she had not seen the need to discuss the goal or social mission of the business with her.

Discussion & Conclusion

This research indicates that social entrepreneurs with ID are motivated by many of the same factors that motivate social entrepreneurs in general, such as a desire to help society, closeness to the social problem, and a nonmonetary focus. However, these motivating factors are inextricably influenced by the experience of disability (physical, intellectual, and/or psychological) and by the socio-cultural and political-economic barriers attendant. Disability may manifest directly or indirectly through the development of one's social mission.

On the surface, the motivations of social entrepreneurs with ID may seem idealistic, but unrealistic when compared to the motivations of people with ID working in a social enterprise. However, exploring the motivations of people with ID who work at a social enterprise and who also want to start their own business provides insight into deeper factors behind the motivations of social entrepreneurs with ID beyond those of people with ID engaging in other types of

employment. Further insight can be provided through unpacking the structural environment within which motivations are socially constructed.

These interviews were conducted during a time when disability advocates in the state of [Removed for review] were in the midst of fighting for deinstitutionalization and integrated employment legislation. In 2011 the “Ligas Decision” was entered, a class action lawsuit on behalf of individuals residing in private, state-funded Intermediate Care Facilities for Persons with Developmental Disabilities (ICF/DD). The consent decree ensures that individuals who do not want to live in these facilities will not be forced to for lack of resources and supports. In 2013, [Removed for review] passed the “Employment First Act,” to contribute substantially towards the inclusion of people with disabilities in employment across the state. States that have adopted Employment First policies mandate that service providers who receive federal funding to give priority to integrated employment options, affording everyone the presumption of employability, before directing consumers to center-based and day habilitation services only if necessary (Martinez, 2013; Niemiec, Lavin, & Owens, 2009). This shift in policy would make segregated and sheltered work arrangements the exception rather than the rule. The increasing number of people with ID being able to live in community-based settings will increase the demand for employment services and supports in a disappointing labor market. People with disabilities, their families, and service providers have increasingly been looking towards social entrepreneurship as an innovative solution. It bears further consideration whether, at the structural level, social entrepreneurship is going to be motivated by the lack of other available options in a market that has been saturated by discriminatory labor practices, or whether it is going to be motivated by the opportunities created in the wake of recent advancements in policy.

Entrepreneurial Motivation & Disability Employment Policy

Overall, motivation has been understudied in the context of disability employment and intellectual disability in particular. The goals of economic independence and self-sufficiency are central to discussions on disability employment. This phenomenon has much to do with how we define, value, and recognize work in our society (Lysaght, Ouellette-Kuntz, & Lin, 2012). Most people with ID and their families want to be employed, working towards the goals of economic independence and self-sufficiency (Nord, Luecking, Mank, Kiernan, & Wray, 2013). Employment confers a status of community integration and social participation that is essential for social mobility from the margins to the mainstream. Work, however, should also be meaningful, productive, and gainful, leading to higher job satisfaction and retention. Research has found that people with ID want to work not only for pay and other economic benefits, but also because it provides an opportunity for networking with others, to stay busy and meaningfully occupied, for pride and satisfaction, and for new learning and experiences (Lysaght, Ouellette-Kuntz, & Morrison, 2009). Motivation appears to play a pivotal role in determining whether people with ID gain entry to employment and retain employment for three months or more (Hensel, Kroese, & Rose, 2007).

Motivational factors for entrepreneurs with disabilities are often couched in the language of “benefits” of self-employment and entrepreneurship as an employment alternative (Blanck et al., 2000; Lind, 2000; McNaughton, Symons, Light, & Parsons, 2006). These stated benefits comprise seven categories: 1) participation in the mainstream economy; 2) promotion of economic growth; 3) promotion of attitudinal change; 4) improved quality of life; 5) independence, autonomy and empowerment; 6) accommodations and flexibility; and 7) integration and social participation (Parker Harris, Caldwell, et al., 2014). However, these benefits do not equate to entrepreneurial motivation *per se*.

In entrepreneurial motivation pull factors are primarily viewed as being positively motivated, whereas push factors imply that entrepreneurship is a reluctant choice, due to a lack of opportunity (Amit & Muller, 1995; Bates, 1997; Dawson & Henley, 2012; Gilad & Levine, 1986). In general, research indicates pull factors are more common among entrepreneurs than push factors (Dawson & Henley, 2012; Gilad & Levine, 1986; Kirkwood, 2009). During economic recession, however, push factors play a more central role due to unemployment and insecurity (Dawson & Henley, 2012; Giacomini, Janssen, Guyot, & Lohest, 2011; Hughes, 2003). Social entrepreneurs with ID were motivated by both push and pull factors, but placed greater value on the pull factors. The participants with ID working at Budding Futures were also motivated by both, but their motivation did not appear to be as strong. In talking with social entrepreneurs with ID about their businesses, there was a sense of excitement and drive for the future, both for themselves and for their business. Conversely, conversations with participants at Budding Futures were indicative of the transitory nature of the position and relatively noncommittal, signifying the role that pull factors play in motivation for seeking other employment, including entrepreneurship as Kimberly and Wayne demonstrated.

Whereas entrepreneurship policy has been opportunity-based and “tends to be framed around the predominance of ‘pull’ motivations” (Dawson & Henley, 2012, p. 714), disability employment policy has been necessity-based, primarily framed around push motivations (Caldwell et al., 2016). Social entrepreneurs with disabilities find themselves at an impasse where neither entrepreneurship policy or disability employment policy fully meet their needs (Caldwell, Parker Harris, & Renko, 2014; Caldwell et al., 2016). This research indicates a need for an ideological shift in disability employment policy away from focusing on push motivations and necessity-based entrepreneurship, towards an approach that integrates pull motivations to

promote an environment that facilitates opportunity-based entrepreneurship. Doing so would mean not simply looking to entrepreneurship as a last option for people with disabilities who are unable to find other work, but also recognizing the potential for people with disabilities to act as social innovators. Subsequently, implementing social entrepreneurship as an effective employment strategy would require policy that addresses the barriers identified by push motivations in addition to facilitating and incentivizing pull motivations to employ not only the individual, but also to sustain a business over time that has the potential to create jobs for others with disabilities and address a social problem/need in the community.

Key Issues with the Social Mission

There is concern regarding the influence of the charity-model of disability on the social mission. Disability has long been used as the justification for social enterprise development, invoking a charity-model approach rather than recognizing the agency of people with disabilities (Parker Harris, Renko, et al., 2014). Because we are familiar with this approach to social entrepreneurship, people with disabilities may be susceptible to employing a charity-model approach or having that model ascribed to their social mission and thereby misrepresenting it. For example, Derek does not have a social mission that is related to disability. Yet, when he received media attention for his business in a newspaper article, it spoke only of him as a disabled business owner who “overcame” his disability and said nothing about his work or the quality and ethical sourcing of his coffee.

People with ID working in social enterprises, such as Budding Futures, face a different concern regarding the social mission. Typically, organizations that employ and/or serve people with ID do not involve them in the business development process. For social enterprises, this means that the social mission is often created without the voices and perspectives of people with

disabilities. Indeed, a study examining social enterprises serving people with disabilities in the UK found that few service users or caregivers were aware of the existence or purpose of the social enterprise (Secker, Dass, & Grove, 2003). Subsequently, even though people with disabilities and their families may be the subject of the social mission, it is not necessarily their mission or motivation for working there. That is not to say that each employee needs to be a part of business creation, as that would be impractical operationally; but there should be representation in the process – *nothing about us without us*. Absent this representation, a social enterprise working with people with disabilities cannot reliably actualize their social mission if the development of the mission itself is not an inclusive process.

Choice & Self-Determination

The social entrepreneurs with ID interviewed were motivated by a desire for self-determination: to control the direction of their own lives, to have the freedom to follow their dreams, to do work that they enjoy, and to help people/society. Participants with ID working in a social enterprise had a different motivation for self-determination: they began working at Budding Futures because their parents thought it was a good idea, their friends also worked there, and they needed something to do. While their decision to start working at Budding Futures was not necessarily self-determined, their motivation to continue working there was. Participants saw it as a step towards the achieving the quality of life they wanted.

Choice and self-determination play an essential role in the decision to pursue social entrepreneurship because it is, first and foremost, a decision. A distinction should be made between the “decision” and the “desire” to start a business. There is an element of selection bias inherent in this sample because it involves people who had the support necessary to make their choice a viable option, and their decision an actionable one. There is a connection between self-

determination and having access to adequate supports and accommodations in community-based working environments, which affects the amount of choice and opportunities one feels they have (Wehmeyer & Bolding, 1999). Individuals with ID who have a desire to be social entrepreneurs may not see it as a viable choice or have the support necessary to act on their motivations. We do not know how many latent social entrepreneurs with ID exist. Nor do we know whether their ideas are viable, marketable, or their chances of success. Regardless, it is clear that this pathway to employment may be blocked at the motivational level if the individual is not supported in making the entrepreneurial decision and does not feel as though they can effectuate that decision.

Entrepreneurial self-efficacy is important not just in the decision to start a business (McGee, Peterson, Mueller, & Sequeira, 2009), but also in entrepreneurial persistence, wherein an entrepreneur continues to pursue an opportunity despite opposing forces. Persistence decisions vary depending upon individual values and the level of adversity experienced (Holland & Shepherd, 2013). Social entrepreneurs with ID need to be supported in making the decision whether or not to start a business and whether or not to persist over time. Both the individual with ID and their support person(s) need the information and resources to make informed decisions. Not all people with ID will want to become social entrepreneurs, nor should they all necessarily. The decision should be the individual with ID's choice, and they should have equal opportunity to succeed or fail based on their own merits, not purely on the basis of their disability. The decision to start a social enterprise should be one that is self-determined and person-centered; particularly if one is motivated to sustain social entrepreneurship as an employment strategy in the long-term.

There are limitations to this study that can help inform us in moving forward in this area. There is a great need for more research on entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship in our

employment efforts with people with ID. The research presented here is intended to start a conversation about why people with ID are motivated to participate in social entrepreneurship, from the perspective of social entrepreneurs with ID themselves. Given this focus, more information has been provided in other manuscripts regarding the management process for participants, in particular the barriers they experience, business models, and detailing the specific supports that others provide ([Removed for review]); as well as the outcomes for participants, in particular perceptions of profit/self-sufficiency, growth, and social innovation to challenge how outcomes have been traditionally assessed ([Removed for review]). There is also a need for research looking at motivation in employment for people with ID across various types of employment, including but not limited to entrepreneurship. As indicated by the findings here, future research should also include exploration of the motivations of various support persons and key stakeholders with regards to how they affect the employment decisions of people with ID.

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Figure 1: Operationalizing Social Entrepreneurship

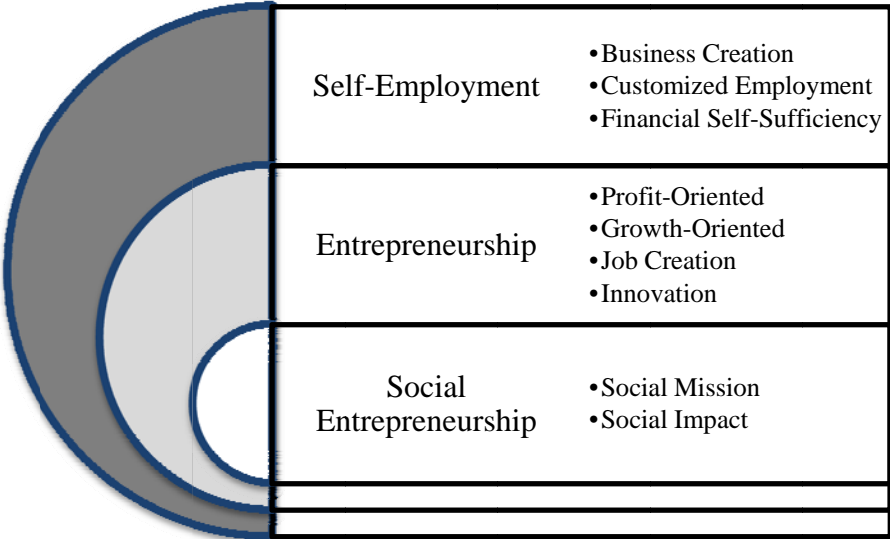


Table 1: Demographics of Participants with ID

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Other Work</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>
1. Nathan	Fair Trade, Organic Coffee	Artist	40	Caucasian
2. Derek	Fair Trade, Organic Coffee		29	Multiracial
3. Heather	Public Speaker & Consulting	Clinic Intern	25	Caucasian
4. Julie	Public Speaker & Jewelry Design	Student	20	Korean
5. Andrew	Greenhouse	Community College Janitor	24	Multiracial
6. Kimberly	Greenhouse & Baked Goods Start-Up	Goodwill	19	Caucasian
7. Wayne	Greenhouse & Baked Goods Start-Up	2 Volunteer Jobs	20	Caucasian
Average Age			25	

Table 2: Demographics of Key Support Persons

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Position/Title</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Other Work</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>
1. James	Job Coach	Job Coach	Entrepreneur	40	Caucasian
2. Charles	Co-Manager	Cousin		24	Multiracial
3. Mary	Partner	Mother		59	Caucasian
4. Lisa	Empowerer	Mother	Writer	52	Caucasian
5. Sylvia	Job Coach/Volunteer	Mother		58	Caucasian
6. Deborah	Job Coach/Volunteer	Mother		52	Caucasian
7. Bill	Job Coach/Volunteer	Father	Sales	61	Caucasian
Average Age				49	

Table 3. Motivational Factors of Social Entrepreneurship

<i>Social Entrepreneurs with ID (Nathan, Derek, Heather & Julie)</i>	<i>Working at Budding Futures (Kimberly, Andrew & Wayne)</i>	<i>Wanting to start a Business (Kimberly & Wayne)</i>
<p>Push Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boredom with other options, lack of interest, don't like other options • Productivity, feel time would not be well spent • Not a good fit, pace is too fast or too slow, too stressful • Health problems limit options • Difficulty finding other jobs due to economy and disability discrimination • Actual & expected disability discrimination • Lack of social interaction • Want to change living arrangement 	<p>Push Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard to find a job, build skills to find another job • Need work credits • Transition or temporary job, want a new/different/more permanent job • Need/want to make money, not just to volunteer • Need to fill up time, want something to do • Want to change living arrangement, go to college 	<p>Push Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other work is not matched to interests/talent • As a side job while look for other work • Lack of choices, don't want to overlook opportunity to be paid
<p>Pull Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dream or desire to start a business • Interest and passion for social mission • It is fun, want to do something they like • Want to be productive, contribute, to help • Born or chosen, have a talent • Self-advocacy/advocacy, social responsibility • Had an opportunity • Flexible, not confining or limiting • To have a "real" job or profession • Counteract stigma that someone cannot do something because of their disability • Social interaction with community, because they like people 	<p>Pull Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have friends working there • Parents want them to, heard about through social network • Work is fun and easy • Disability-friendly environment, security and flexibility • Want to do something productive, good work ethic 	<p>Pull Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dream or interest in starting a business • Being a boss, running a business • Working with friends • Interacting with customers, like working with people in customer service/retail

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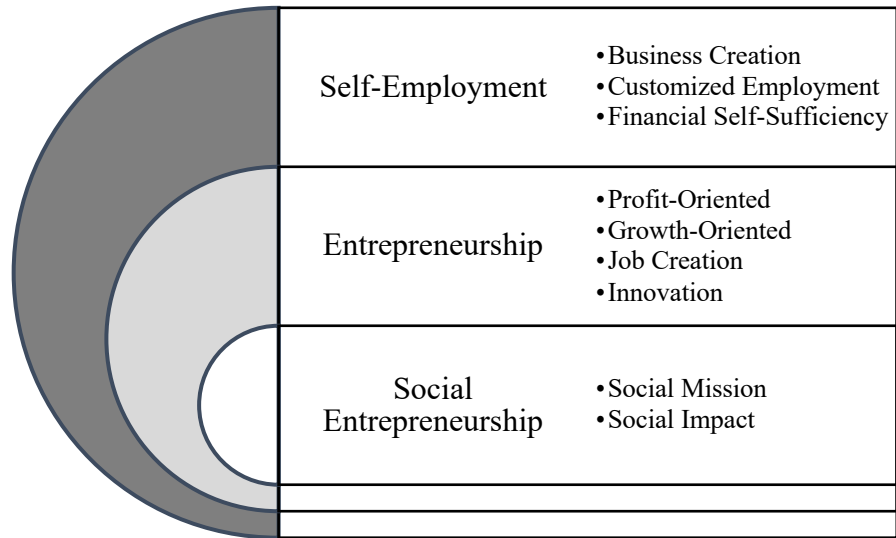


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(Nathan, Derek, Heather & Julie)*

*Working at Budding Futures
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*Wanting to start a Business
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Push Factors

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- Productivity, feel time would not be well spent
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Pull Factors

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- Born or chosen, have a talent
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- Have friends working there
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Push Factors

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