Entrepreneurship in the Aftermath of Adversity: Building Resilience and Evolving Needs

By

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Table of Contents

List of Tables i
List of Figures ii
Acknowledgments iii
Declaration v
Published Work v
List of Abbreviations vi
Abstract vii
Chapter 1: Introduction 1
1.1 Overview of the Thesis Chapters 2
Chapter 2: Integrating Psychological Resilience, Stress and Coping in Entrepreneurship: A Critical Review and Research Agenda 5
2.1 Review Methodology 8
2.2 Review Findings 16
2.3 Discussion: An Integrative Model 46
2.4 Research Agenda 50
2.5 Conclusion 59
Chapter 3: Resilience within the Life Course: Different Trajectories Through Refugee Entrepreneurship 60
3.1 Theoretical Background 63
3.2 Methodology 68
3.3 Findings 79
3.4 Discussion 104
3.5 Practical Implications 110
3.6 Limitations and Future Research 111
3.7 Conclusion 112
Chapter 4: Is it Necessity Entrepreneurship? Basic Needs and Beyond 113
4.1 Theoretical background 116
4.2 Methods 121
4.3 Findings 129
4.4 Discussion 142
4.5 Future research and Practical Implications 147
4.6 Conclusion 148
Chapter 5: Conclusion 149

5.1 Contributions 149
5.2 Limitations and Future Research 150
5.3 Practical Implications 151
References 153
Appendix 178
Table 1.A. Articles included in the systematic review 178
Table 2.A. Sample Description 180

List of Tables

Chapter 3

Table 1 84
Table 2 89
Table 3 94
Table 4 99
Table 5 103

Chapter 4

Table 6 125
Table 7 128
Table 3. *Narrative extracts* 130

List of Figures

Chapter 3

Figure 1 11
Figure 2 15
Figure 3 18
Figure 4 47

Chapter 4

Figure 1 77
Figure 2 80

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Declaration

This thesis is my own work based on data that I have collected and analyzed. The chapters of this thesis have not been submitted for a degree at another university. However, the second chapter was accepted for publication in a special issue on "Knowledge Accumulation in Entrepreneurship" in *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* Journal on August 2021. This was a collaborative work where I was the lead author responsible for conducting the systematic review, writing the research paper, tackling and responding to reviewers' comments. The other chapters have not been published yet.

Published Work

Ahmed, A. E., Ucbasaran, D., Cacciotti, G., & Williams, T. A. (2021). Integrating Psychological Resilience, Stress and Coping in Entrepreneurship: A Critical Review and Research Agenda. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*.

List of Abbreviations

MWB: Mental Health and Well-being

ABS: Association of Business Schools

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

GEM: Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

Abstract

This thesis comprises three papers that explore entrepreneurial activity in the aftermath of adversity. The first paper argues for the need to integrate stress and coping while studying resilience in entrepreneurship in order to understand how entrepreneurs build resilience. We conduct a systematic review of the entrepreneurship literature on the three concepts. We develop an integrative model of the process of building psychological resilience in entrepreneurship based on our critical appraisal and organization of the three literatures. Accordingly, we offer a research agenda that outlines key future research avenues. The second paper explores one of these avenues as it expands on findings on the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience and examines how life course can shape this role. We conduct a qualitive study of the life stories of 51 refugee entrepreneurs in Egypt. We identify four resilience trajectories that differ based on the pre-migration life of the entrepreneurs along with their appraisal of the migration experience, and consequently, their functioning outcomes. The life course perspective has contributed to the resilience process in entrepreneurship by adding the key role of dynamic appraisal as well as elaborating different facets of resilience including its dark side. The third paper builds on the recent work on how basic needs can be a boundary condition of necessity entrepreneurship by taking a wider perspective on needs that includes basic psychological needs. We examine how the needs of entrepreneurs unfold in relation to their entrepreneurial activity in necessity conditions. Analyzing the narratives of 13 refugee entrepreneurs has revealed a reinterpretation narrative and a realization narrative. Both narratives show that entrepreneurs develop multiple levels of needs before or after engaging in entrepreneurship rather than just basic needs which they fulfill through pursuing business opportunities.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines the relationship between entrepreneurship and adversity and joins two broad 'scholarly conversations' (Huff, 1999). First, with the increasing uncertainties and adversities entrepreneurs are susceptible to, entrepreneurship research has started to focus on the psychological aspects of entrepreneurship pertaining to the mental health and well-being of entrepreneurs (Rauch et al., 2018; Stephan, 2018; Wiklund et al., 2019). A key part of this research has studied the concept of *resilience* trying to understand the adaptation of entrepreneurs to stressors triggered by both their career as well as other life adversities (e.g., Bullough et al., 2014; Corner et al., 2017a; Dewald & Bowen, 2010). Recent findings have also shown that entrepreneurship itself as an activity can help entrepreneurs build their resilience in the aftermath of mass adversities (Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). However, research on resilience has been thwarted by an incomplete understanding of how entrepreneurs become resilient rather than just be resilient as reflected in studies approaching resilience as a disposition (e.g., Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Obschonka et al., 2018). Moreover, resilience can only be accurately identified when it is studied in light of pre-adversity functioning and life experiences (Bonanno et al., 2015; D. M. Fisher et al., 2019) – aspects which have been overlooked by the research on the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience. Thus, we believe a more comprehensive understanding of the process of building resilience in entrepreneurship is needed.

Second, while adverse contexts of hardship are traditionally understood to push individuals into entrepreneurship as means for subsistence (Carsrud & Brännback, 2011), emerging findings have shown that entrepreneurship in such necessity conditions can be related to more purposeful and meaningful outcomes (Kimmitt et al., 2020; Shepherd et al., 2021). However, this is incongruent with recent proposals

conceptualizing necessity entrepreneurship as motivated by basic physiological and safety needs (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021). There is a need, therefore to understand how entrepreneurs in necessity conditions can be motivated by basic needs while also fulfilling higher psychological needs.

This thesis aims to expand our understanding of entrepreneurship and its role in contexts of adversity through three main studies. First, we systematically review the entrepreneurship scholarship on resilience, stress and coping in order to offer a comprehensive understanding of how entrepreneurs build resilience in the face of adversities. Second, through investigating the life stories of refugee entrepreneurs, we examine the role of life course in shaping how entrepreneurship can build psychological resilience. Finally, we explore how the needs of entrepreneurs in necessity conditions unfold in relation to their entrepreneurial activity.

1.1 Overview of the Thesis Chapters

This thesis is mainly structured around the three studies mentioned above with each study constituting a separate chapter. The three studies intersect, mainly in terms of methods and theory, as explained below. We now outline each chapter.

We argue in chapter 2 for the need to study stress, resilience, and coping together to understand how entrepreneurs build resilience in the face of adversities. Accordingly, we systematically review the entrepreneurship scholarship (125 articles) on these three concepts. We organize and critically appraise these three literatures in light of current thinking in psychology. We then develop a model of the process of building psychological resilience in entrepreneurship based on the intersections and connections between the three literatures. This allowed us to develop a research agenda that offers a clear pathway for future research.

This systematic review lay the foundation for the empirical research in chapter 3. We argue that although research has shown that entrepreneurship can build psychological resilience in the aftermath of adversities, this emerging work is still to explain the mechanisms through which entrepreneurship can play this key role and how it can differ between individuals. Hence, this study examines how life course can shape the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience in the aftermath of adverse experiences through a qualitive investigation of the life stories of 51 refugee entrepreneurs in Egypt. We found that different resilience trajectories unfold in light of engaging in entrepreneurship. These trajectories are built around both the pre-migration life of the entrepreneurs in conjunction with their appraisal of their forced migration experience. Resilience is then manifested through different functioning outcomes. This study expands the resilience process in entrepreneurship by accounting for life course as a key temporal element of resilience as well as the role of appraisal. It also responds to calls for elaborating the dark side of resilience.

Chapter 4 examines the understudied concept of necessity entrepreneurship that is usually regarded as being of negligible value compared to opportunity entrepreneurship – its more significant counterpart. We build on the recent work that argues for basic needs as a boundary condition of necessity entrepreneurship to examine how the needs of entrepreneurs in necessity conditions emerge throughout their entrepreneurial journey. Through analyzing the narratives of refugee entrepreneurs, we show that although some entrepreneurs conveyed that engaging in entrepreneurship was mainly a means for fulfilling financial security needs, after pursuing entrepreneurial opportunities they reinterpreted their experience as fulfilling other psychological needs. However, the narrative of other entrepreneurs showed that despite the adverse conditions they faced, they were initially motivated by a need for more meaningful life

which they managed to realize. Our findings reaffirm calls to reconsider the opportunity and necessity entrepreneurship dichotomy and build the foundation for a needs-based understanding of entrepreneurship.

Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of the studies and our theoretical contributions. It outlines a number of research limitations and opportunities for future research. It also identifies some key practical implications.

Chapter 2: Integrating Psychological Resilience, Stress and Coping in Entrepreneurship: A Critical Review and Research Agenda

Individuals can experience work-related stress in response to triggers ranging in degree of severity from day-to-day work perturbations to significant adverse events such as economic crises and the COVID-19 pandemic (Harrop et al., 2020; Roux-Dufort, 2009; B. A. Turner, 1976). The ubiquity of stressors in organizational life has motivated researchers (Linnenluecke, 2017; Williams et al., 2017) and practitioners (Buckingham, 2020; Sandberg & Grant, 2017) alike to understand *resilience*[1], which has been used to explain why some individuals *maintain functioning* (see Bonanno et al., 2011 for review) and *even thrive* (Maitlis, 2020) when exposed to stressors (i.e., "any event, force, or condition that results in physical or emotional stress", American Psychological Association, 2020). Indeed, there has been a growing and widespread interest in understanding processes of resilience given the damaging effects of non-resilient responses (i.e., chronic dysfunction, post-traumatic stress etc., Bonanno & Mancini, 2012).

As entrepreneurs need to endure, manage, and/or overcome significant and unique work-related challenges to sustain their entrepreneurial ventures (Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Hayward et al., 2010; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, 2016b), it is not surprising that resilience as a concept has extended to the field of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs can experience significant stress due to the challenges posed by highly uncertain, multiplex job demands they face (Rauch et al., 2018), the intertwined nature of their work with their personal lives (König & Cesinger, 2015; Patel et al., 2019), and the ever present threat of entrepreneurial failure (Ucbasaran et al., 2013). Accordingly, in both the practitioner (e.g., Bijoor, 2019; McNeill, 2019) and academic (e.g., Baron et al.,

[1]Our focus is on psychological resilience at the level of the individual, but we use the phrase resilience and psychological resilience interchangeably throughout the paper.

2016; Corner et al., 2017a) literatures alike, entrepreneurs are often characterized as being resilient because of the many stories of entrepreneurs persisting with their ventures despite facing considerable adversity. Indeed, there has been a significant increase in entrepreneurship studies in recent years that explicitly and implicitly reference the notion of an entrepreneur's resilience as a critical input to entrepreneurial outcomes such a venture emergence (Hayward et al., 2010) and growth (Lafuente et al., 2018) as well as individual outcomes for the entrepreneur such as positive psychological functioning (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a) and reentering entrepreneurship following failure (Williams et al., 2020).

While the popular characterization of entrepreneurs as *being resilient* appears well aligned with the reality of an entrepreneurial career (Baron et al., 2016; Corner et al., 2017a), we find the concept of resilience in the entrepreneurship literature to be employed in a rather generic and ill-specified way (Korber & McNaughton, 2018), often invoked in relation to a host of other concepts such as grit and persistence[2]. This lack of specificity limits our understanding of resilience as a construct and its relationship with key entrepreneurial processes and outcomes. Indeed, while directly referencing the psychological nature of resilience, studies exploring resilience in entrepreneurship often deviate from current thinking at the forefront of scholarship on psychological resilience (Bonanno et al., 2015; Hobfoll et al., 2015; Liu et al., 2017; Ungar, 2021).

Perhaps the most noticeable gap between studies of entrepreneurs' psychological resilience and the psychology literature is the conceptualization of resilience and key assumptions surrounding that conceptualization (Korber & McNaughton, 2018; Williams et al., 2017). Psychological resilience is understood to be *a responsive process*

[2] A number of concepts are often associated with resilience such as hustle as a way of achieving positive outcomes (Fisher et al., 2020), grit (Mueller et al., 2017), persistence (Caliendo et al., 2020) and so forth but they tend to ignore the role of adversity or process in favor of emphasizing certain traits or attributes (Williams et al., 2017).

that involves perceptions, thoughts, coping strategies and behaviors in the relation to adversity (Fisher et al., 2019; Leipold & Greve, 2009; Southwick et al., 2014). A core tenet of this resilience process is that it requires accounting for a trigger (such as an adverse event) *as well as* the subjective stress responses (coping strategies) individuals have to that trigger (Roisman, 2005; Windle, 2011). Therefore, adverse events, no matter how severe, are only *potentially* rather than *de facto* stressful in their impact; resilience as a phenomenon requires a defacto stressor event (Bonanno, 2004; Masten & Reed, 2002; Roisman, 2005). While research on resilience in entrepreneurship frequently invokes psychological conceptualizations, systematic advancements in the entrepreneurship literature are possible only when accurately and consistently incorporating the foundations from which it draws. Recognizing resilience as a responsive process triggered by (a) stressor(s) suggests the need to shift the focus from *being* resilient to *becoming* resilient.

Although a handful of entrepreneurship studies have taken a process perspective of resilience (e.g., Gonzalez-López et al., 2019; Liu, 2020; Shepherd et al., 2020), this work is very much in the minority and even then, rarely considers resilience in response to specific stressors; a key feature of the resilience process. In contrast, we find that an entrepreneur's resilience is inferred a-priori by viewing it as a dispositional characteristic (e.g., Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Obschonka et al., 2018). In doing so, we miss *what* the entrepreneur is resilient *to*—entrepreneurs may be resilient to a particular adverse event or set of circumstances but not another (Bonanno, 2004). Furthermore, entrepreneurs might be exposed to the same adverse event (e.g. a global pandemic) but react differently (Bonanno et al., 2015). By decoupling resilience from the adverse event (i.e. what the entrepreneur is resilient to), the focus on entrepreneurs as being

resilient (or not) – as reflected in a dispositional approach to resilience - is likely to provide only a partial account of entrepreneurs' psychological resilience.

In this study, we seek to advance scholarship on resilience in entrepreneurship by systematically accounting for entrepreneurship literature related to *all facets* of the foundational conceptualization of psychological resilience. In doing so, we seek to answer the following research question: *What do we know about how and with what effects entrepreneurs become resilient, i.e. the process of building psychological resilience?* We address our research question by conducting a systematic and integrative review of the literature which was conceptually guided by resilience theories in psychology —it incorporates relevant bodies of entrepreneurship scholarship focused on (1) resilience, (2) stress, and (3) coping with stress.

In reviewing and integrating these three literatures, our paper makes three interrelated contributions. First, we provide a comprehensive understanding of the process of building resilience in entrepreneurship by bringing together the stream of entrepreneurship literature on resilience with what we argue are inseparable streams on stress and coping. Second, in doing so, we develop a model that not only provides an explicit representation of the relationships between the three concepts in entrepreneurship but also highlights existing gaps in what we know about resilience at their intersection. Third, by providing conceptual clarity, the model can serve as a roadmap for systematically advancing scholarship.

2.1 Review Methodology

We conducted a systematic review following the review process outlined by Tranfield et al. (2003). We also drew up exemplar entrepreneurship reviews (Shepherd et al., 2015; Stephan, 2018) and recent methodological recommendations for writing entrepreneurship reviews (Rauch, 2019; Shepherd & Wiklund, 2019) to guide our

search, structure and analysis of the literature. While our analysis was iterative in nature, we followed four primary steps in conducting our literature review.

2.1.1 Conceptual boundaries of the review

Our *first step* involved tracing the conceptual boundaries of psychological resilience in entrepreneurship (see Figure 1). As indicated in the introduction, our initial reading of the literature revealed distinct differences between how resilience was conceived of and measured in the entrepreneurship and psychology literatures. While inconsistently defined and applied in entrepreneurship, psychological resilience has been nearly universally described as the process of adjusting and maintaining functioning in the face of stressful events in psychology (Bonanno, 2004; Williams et al., 2017; Windle, 2011). This definition suggests that resilience can be inferred from the presence of two key indicators: an individual has faced a stressor and yet is functioning normally (Bonanno, 2004; Masten & Reed, 2002).

With respect to the first indicator, a person cannot be described as resilient without actually encountering *stress inducing conditions* (i.e. a stressor) (Britt et al., 2016; Fisher et al., 2019; Mancini & Bonanno, 2009; Roisman, 2005; Windle, 2011). Stress is a substantial imbalance between situational demands and the individual's response capacity (McGrath, 1970; Rauch et al., 2018). Following a potentially stressful situation, stress responses unfold as individuals appraise the encountered conditions as either, irrelevant, benign, or stressful (Lazarus & Smith, 1988). It is essential therefore to separate stress triggers from the experience of stress since not all triggers will be experienced as stressful. Resilience as a phenomenon is only relevant if the encountered conditions are appraised as stressful (Bonanno et al., 2012; Kennedy et al., 2010).

With respect to the second indicator of resilience (i.e. functioning normally), individuals do not simply absorb adversity and maintain functioning without efforts to

minimize losses and maximize gains (Hobfoll, 1989). Resilience does not exist in isolation of attempts to mitigate stressors, and can be influenced by efforts to adaptively *cope* with disruptive stress (e.g, Folkman, 2011; Hobfoll, 2011; Lazarus, 2000; Pargament et al., 1998). Coping is defined as "the thoughts and behaviors used to manage the internal and external demands of situations that are appraised as stressful" (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004, p. 745) and is an integral "resilience mechanism" that minimizes the impact of the stress and allow for ongoing functioning (Fisher et al., 2019; Kossek & Perrigino, 2016; Leipold & Greve, 2009). In fact, Seery et al. (2010) reported that experiencing adversity and coping with it effectively facilitates the development of resilience over time. Therefore, in the interest of understanding what we know in entrepreneurship about the process of building psychological resilience, we cannot consider this concept disconnected from stress and coping. As a result, we extended our conceptual boundaries to include the concepts of resilience, stress, and coping as they relate to entrepreneurship. Consistent with prior work (Stephan, 2018), our review was guided by a definition of entrepreneurship as a broader individual choice of self-employment as an occupation (Hébert & Link, 1982), including new venture creation.

2.1.2 Inclusion criteria

The *second step* of our systematic review involved conducting a search in Web of Science, Business Source Premier and PsycINFO databases for keywords related to our focal topic of interest. The conceptual boundaries described above guided our choice of search terms to identify the relevant articles, and included: (resilien*), (cope*), (stress*) AND (entrepreneur*) or (self-employ*) or (founder*). When reviewing the studies on stress, we realized that the terms "distress" and "strain" were

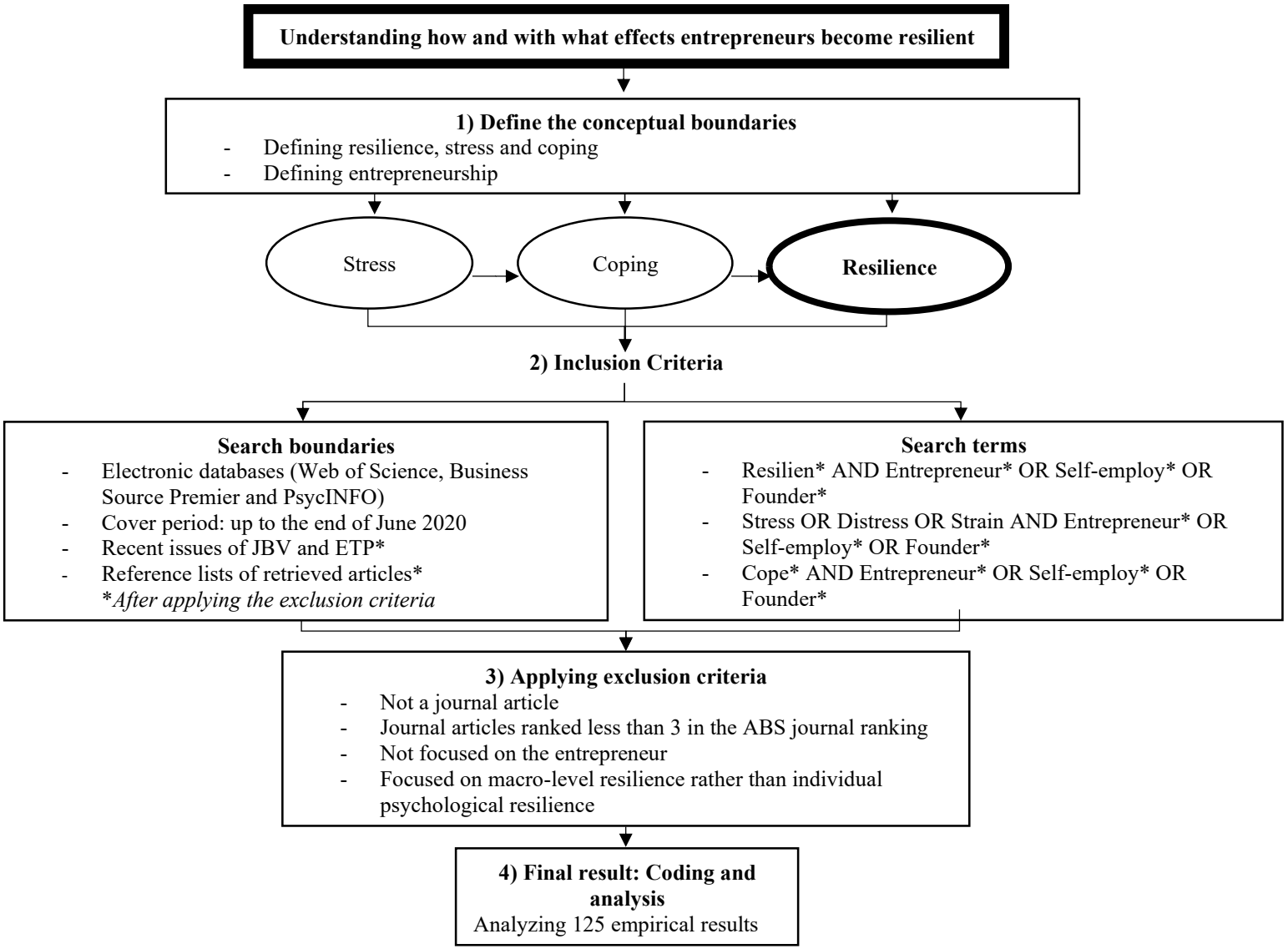


Figure 1. Summary of the systematic review process

both used interchangeably with stress[3] and therefore added both (distress) and (strain*) to our search terms as they were within the conceptual boundaries. Further, since stress research and coping research are highly intersecting, we realized that most synonyms for coping are used in connection with the word stress such as "managing" or "dealing with" and were therefore captured when we searched for "stress". Our search terms to capture entrepreneurship at the level of the individual are consistent with previous reviews (Stephan 2018, Ucbasaran et al., 2013), and include entrepreneurs, founders and the self-employed. While we acknowledge the possibility that self-employment may differ from for example, new venture creation associated with founders / entrepreneurs, we did not detect any notable differences between these groups with respect to resilience, stress or coping. We did not include the terms "enterprise", "new venture" or "small business" given our focus on the individual.

To cast a wide net given our strict criteria, our search was not bound by publication year (Stephan 2018, Ucbasaran et al., 2013). This initial database search retrieved a very large number of results;1,299 results for resilience, 1,671 results for coping and 3,739 results for stress (see the online supplement for a breakdown of the database search results).

2.1.3 Exclusion criteria

The *third step* in our systematic review involved employing exclusion criteria to ensure selected articles were published in relevant academic journals and focused on our subject of interest. This process involved three systematic sub-steps. First, like other reviews (e.g., Nofal et al., 2018), we reviewed articles published in journals indexed in

[3] According to the American Psychological Association Dictionary of Psychology, "Distress" is the negative type of stress which is what researchers generally intend to mean by the word "Stress". Similarly, "Strain" is a state resulting from excessive psychological demands or emotional overload. It refers to the psychological and physiological symptoms resulting from stressors (Koeske & Koeske, 1993).

the most recent Chartered Association of Business Schools (ABS) Academic Journal Guide (2018) [4]. This guide provides a specialized business and management journal ranking that indicates the different quality levels of research based on expert peer review and citation information. As a proxy for high quality, we excluded articles published in journals ranked less than 3. Second, we excluded articles that did not focus on the psychological resilience of the individual entrepreneur—given our focal level of analysis. Therefore, we excluded articles focused on macro-level (environmental, ecological, economic, organization, and/or community resilience) conceptualizations of resilience, stress and coping. When the distinction between the individual level and the business level was not clear, we excluded articles that did not draw on individual-level psychological concepts or theories related to resilience, stress or coping. Following Hartmann et al. (2020), we excluded articles on psychological capital (PsyCap) – a positive psychological state which encompasses resilience as one of its subconstructs alongside self-efficacy, optimism and hope (Youssef & Luthans, 2007) –unless resilience was individually examined as a subconstruct (e.g., Jancenelle et al., 2018).

Having narrowed our search, we sought to identify articles that did not emerge from our initial search, but that were referenced in articles retrieved in the search (consistent with Nofal et al. (2018) & Ucbasaran, et al. (2013)). Following Stephan (2018), we searched recent issues of *Journal of Business Venturing* and *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* to check for in press articles. In summary, our search eventually resulted in 33 articles on resilience, 35 articles on coping and 76 articles on stress. There were articles in common between the three groups of results.

[4] Included articles were published in management journals such as *Academy of Management Journal, Academy of Management Review and Journal of Management* in addition to entrepreneurship journals such as *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, Journal of Business Venturing*, *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal* and *Journal of Small Business Management* and organizational psychology journals such as *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* and *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology.*

Three articles examined resilience and coping, one examined resilience and stress, nine examined stress and coping and three examined all three concepts (see the Venn diagram in Figure 2 for a detailed breakdown). After accounting for both the mutually exclusive articles and the articles in common, our review included 125 articles in total (see Table 1.A in the Appendix for a list of the articles included).

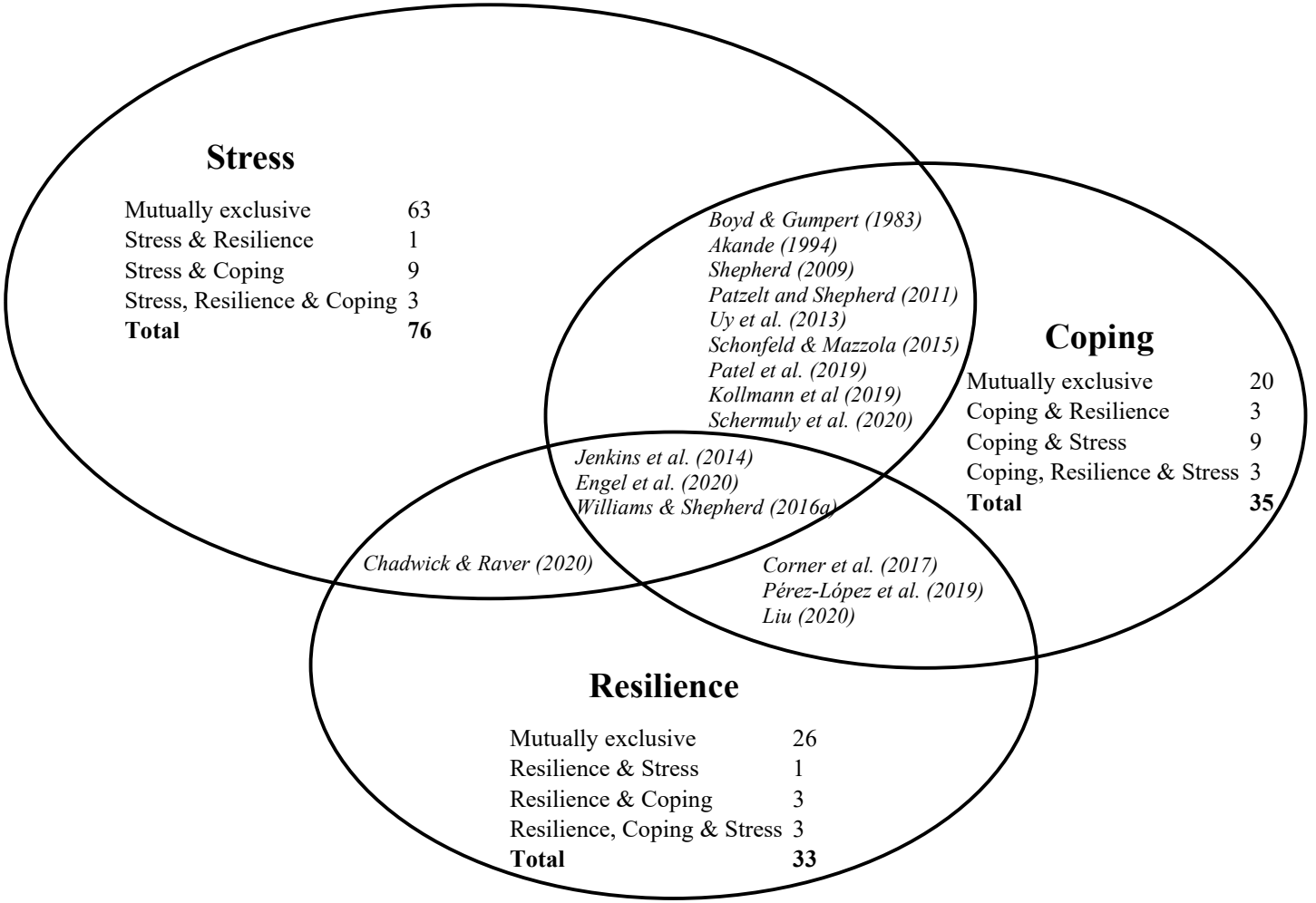
2.1.4 Coding and analysis

Having developed a sample of articles for the review, *the forth step of our systematic review* involved summarizing the key findings of all articles and coding for their conceptualization of resilience, stress and coping, their theoretical base, and research methods. After reading and analyzing each of the articles, we identified the main studied variables and their relationship to each of the reviewed concepts, which provided us with a "picture" of how variables interrelate according to the literature.

In general, we found that these identified variables either sought to explain the determinants of resilience, stress and coping and/or their effects. This insight from our sample led us to categorize the variables by their primary focus, namely by *antecedents* and/or *outcomes* of resilience, stress or coping[5]. In addition, for the stress literature, we noticed that there were variables focused on mitigating stress (including coping), so we added a category for *mitigating factors.* Further, within the coping literature, we identified a sub-set of articles with a distinct focus on how entrepreneurs cope with stress and therefore added a category for *coping strategies*. We then engaged in inductive qualitative coding to cluster the variables under each category into themes

[5] A note of caution is required, however, because this categorization is largely for the purpose of organizing our manuscript. That is, although some studies refer to the "antecedents", "drivers" or "determinants" of resilience, stress & /or coping, their research design might only capture association even if their theoretical argumentation is laden with causality. For simplicity, however, when studies examined resilience, stress or coping as a dependent variable, we coded these studies for examining "antecedents", and when studies examined resilience, stress or coping as an independent variable, we coded these studies for examining "outcomes".

Figure 2. Venn Diagram showing the intersection between the resilience, stress and coping literatures and a break down of the number of articles in each literature



(e.g., social support and culture were clustered under 'social factors' in the resilience literature). Articles could include more than one theme (e.g., examined cognitive and emotional antecedents of resilience) and/or fall into more than one category (e.g., examined both antecedents and outcomes). See Figure 3 for a breakdown of themes and categories for each stream of literature. The online supplement includes a full summary of the reviewed articles and coding results.

Figure 3 also serves to illustrate the building blocks which form the basis for the organizing framework for our review. The figure includes the numbers of articles in each category and its underlying themes, and delineates between conceptual and empirical articles. A framework that includes antecedents, mechanisms and/or outcomes is commonly used in systematic reviews of psychological concepts in the entrepreneurship field including psychological capital (Newman et al., 2014), cognition (Grégoire et al., 2011) and mental health and well-being (Stephan, 2018) and in psychology such as Fisher et al.'s (2019) review of resilience in organizations. Importantly, however, as our review includes three research streams, this organizing structure allowed for a degree of consistency across our review of each stream and helped reveal areas of overlap and connection between the three concepts which we used to derive our integrative model of the process of building resilience (see Discussion). We now turn to the findings of our review.

2.2 Review Findings

2.2.1 Psychological Resilience and Entrepreneurship

While most entrepreneurship studies have conceptualized resilience as a capacity that individuals can draw on when confronted with adversity (e.g., Bullough et al., 2014; Doern, 2016), some have been specific about whether this capacity is more of

a state, a personality trait or a process. For example, some studies (Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Obschonka et al., 2018) have conceptualized resilience as a relatively stable personality trait involving "… stable patterns of behaving, feeling and thinking" (Obschonka et al., 2018, p. 176) which is very much aligned with the view of entrepreneurs *being* more or less resilient, irrespective of the nature of adversity. Others have treated resilience as a state-like capacity which can be developed (Luthans et al., 2007) [along with other sub-constructs of PsyCap (e.g., Cascio & Luthans, 2014; Jancenelle et al., 2018)]. Finally, only a small number of emerging studies (4 of 33 studies) have taken a process view where resilience is viewed as "the process by which an actor builds and uses its capability endowments to interact with the environment in a way that positively adjusts and maintains functioning prior to, during, and following adversity" (Williams et al., 2017, p. 742) [see also Wiklund et al. (2018) and Shepherd et al. (2020)]. This process-oriented definition portrays psychological resilience as a dynamic construct, where individuals develop capabilities for resilience (i.e., stocks of resources) to adapt and adjust to adversity (Pangallo et al., 2015). As such, this last conceptualization of resilience is much more consistent with the idea that entrepreneurs build psychological resilience as they cope with the stressors.

Antecedents of resilience

Our review revealed 20 studies exploring the antecedents of entrepreneurs' resilience. We classify these antecedents as emotional, cognitive, prior adversity experience, social, and entrepreneurial action, which function as factors that shape resilience.

Stress

Antecedents (53)	T	E	C
Work characteristics	**39**	36	3
Family-work conflict	**9**	9	-
Business & financial difficulties	**4**	3	1
Life hardships	**3**	3	-
Mitigating Factors (41)			
Psychological traits & capacities	**12**	12	-
Social support	**12**	12	-
Mitigating actions	**18**	16	2
Outcomes (36)			
MWB	**15**	14	1
Engaging in/ withdrawal from entrepreneurship	**14**	13	1
Performance	**5**	4	1
Other outcomes	**3**	2	1

Coping

Antecedents (14)	T	E	C
Personal factors / experiences	**10**	6	4
Social support	**5**	4	1
Strategies (26)			
Emotion-focused	**12**	10	2
Problem-focused	**23**	19	4
Outcomes (18)			
MWB	**9**	8	1
Resilience	**4**	4	-
Sensemaking	**4**	1	3
Re/engaging in entrepreneurship	**4**	3	1
Performance	**2**	1	1

Resilience

cedents (20)	T	E	C
Emotional factors	**5**	4	1
Cognitive factors	**8**	8	-
Prior adversity perience	**6**	5	1
Social factors	**7**	6	1
Entrepreneurial Action	**4**	4	-
omes (22)			
Performance	**11**	11	-
Re/engaging in entrepreneurship	**8**	7	1
MWB	**3**	3	-

Figure 3. Organizing framework for the entrepreneurship research on resilience, stress and coping

T = Total, E= based on empirical data, C= purely conceptual and did not contain data and empirical analysis.
Articles can fall into more than one theme under each category

Emotional factors (5 studies). Some studies have shown that entrepreneurs' resilience can be generated by reducing the negative emotions accompanying adversity and/or building positive emotions to offset these negative emotions. Hayward and colleagues (2010) suggested that the entrepreneur's positive emotions can build cognitive resilience (the formation of positive thoughts), social resilience (the perseverance of the social ties with the founding team members) and financial resilience (the ability to raise funds) after failure. Branzei and Abdelnour (2010) also explained how the positive emotions following the reduction of terrorism can help build the resilience of individuals as they (re)engage in entrepreneurship. Similarly, Engel et al., (2020) built on Fredrickson et al.'s, (2008) work on loving-kindness meditation showing that entrepreneurs who practice this form of meditation develop self-compassion (positive emotions and caring towards one's self), which builds their resilience in the face of threats to their ventures. Entrepreneurs might also resort to emotion-focused coping to build resilience, which includes strategies that reduces distress by avoiding or distancing one's self from the stressor (Corner et al., 2017a) or containing the resulting negative emotions and focusing on the positive experiences (Doern, 2016).

Cognitive Factors (8 studies). Our review revealed a number of cognitive antecedents of resilience including perceptions, mindsets, confidence and problem-focused coping. Some studies examined resilience in relation to the perception of risk. Liu (2020) argued that entrepreneurs' different interpretations of risk can lead to different ways of building resilience. Dewald and Bowen (2010) found that among entrepreneurs who face disruptive business model innovations, those who are more likely to perceive the situation as both a threat and a business opportunity are more likely to display resilience. Drawing on Ajzen's theory of planned behavior (1991), González-López et al. (2019) found that entrepreneurship education increased the

resilience of university students by enhancing their perceived behavioral control. Moreover, Doern (2016) showed the effect of mindsets (core assumptions that shape one's thoughts (Yeager & Dweck, 2012)) on resilience, and found that anticipating crises and containing its effects (mentally) was key to the resilience of small businesses owners after the 2011 London riots. As for confidence, Hayward et al. (2010) suggested that it can enable positive emotions which, as previously explained, can build entrepreneurs' resilience after failure.

Cognitive-focused coping strategies (a form of problem-based coping) emphasize solving the problems associated with a stressor (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004) and can also enhance entrepreneurs' resilience. Corner et al. (2017) found that while entrepreneurs who had failed employed emotion-based coping strategies in the immediate aftermath of failure, they later employed some cognitive tools to shift from overthinking about the failure to reconstructing and moving on in their path to resilience. Cognitive-focused coping strategies thus enable entrepreneurs to visualize a fresh start and identify new opportunities (Muñoz et al., 2019).

Prior adversity experience (6 studies). Some studies build on the notion of 'what does not kill you makes you stronger' (Seery et al., 2010) in seeking to explain how prior experiences of adversity shape the development of resilience. Previous business risk experience enabled resilience as it enhanced the relationship between opportunity perception and the decision to adopt new business models in response to a disruption (Dewald & Bowen, 2010; Osiyevskyy & Dewald, 2015). Muñoz et al. (2019) illustrated, for example, how the accumulated experience from business survival after previous volcanic eruptions was key to entrepreneurial preparedness and resilience.

Beyond business related challenges, non-business hardship can also influence resilience. Wiklund et al. (2018) posit that entrepreneurs experiencing and coping with

mental illness can help build the resilience needed to successfully engage in entrepreneurship. Linking the two forms of experience together, entrepreneurs who lost their businesses or whose businesses were vandalized and looted were able to draw on their previous life hardship or tragedies, such as poverty or death of loved ones, to reframe failure as manageable and thus reduce negative feelings (Corner et al., 2017a; Doern, 2016). The accumulation of previous hardship experiences can encourage the development of the emotional and cognitive factors highlighted above that are needed to adapt to current hardship.

Social factors (7 studies). The availability of social resources also shapes entrepreneurs' resilience. For example, perceived social support for engaging in entrepreneurship increased entrepreneurs' resilience (González-López et al., 2019). Newman et al. (2018) drew on Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1989) and found that the business network of entrepreneurs can be a source of support that boosts entrepreneur's psychological resources, namely their resilience and self-efficacy. Being part of a family businesses can also enhance entrepreneurs' resilience through the social support enabled by the inherent values of collectivism and bonding (Hanson & Keplinger, 2020; Memili et al., 2013; Powell & Eddleston, 2017). At the community level, Muñoz et al. (2019) found that emotional attachment to and engagement with one's community, and creating new community groups can help build resilience. At a more macro level, culture norms in which entrepreneurs operate can also influence resilience. Liu (2020) found that while entrepreneurs from eastern cultures adopted a causal approach in building resilience, others influenced by western cultures adopted an effectual approach. Tlaiss and McAdam (2020) reported that Muslim women entrepreneurs rely on their religious beliefs to build resilience.

Entrepreneurial action (4 studies). A small number of studies develop the notion that entrepreneurship is an activity that not only develops economic resources but also psychological functioning in response to adversity (Nikolaev et al., 2020). Williams and Shepherd (2016a) extended their work on compassion venturing (i.e., venturing to alleviate the suffering of others) (Shepherd & Williams, 2014; Williams & Shepherd, 2017) to investigate its benefits for the individual entrepreneur. Drawing on COR theory (Hobfoll, 1989), they found that those who deployed their human capital (founding experience, education and work experience) to create new ventures that sought to alleviate the suffering of others benefited from positive behavioral (competence in executing personal and social tasks), emotional (experiencing positive emotions) and assumptive (positive life beliefs) functioning. On a similar note, Shepherd et al.'s (2020) resilience model suggests that the entrepreneurial actions of refugees under persistent adversity can be both an antecedent and a consequence of resilience. They found that entrepreneurship facilitated positive functioning reflected in some outcomes including self-reliance, proactive problem solving as well as realistic optimism and multiple sources of belonging for refugees outside of camps. Reciprocally, this functioning enhanced their entrepreneurial actions. Along similar lines, Knutsson (2016) revealed that business ownership can transform the mindset and identity of people living with HIV Aids by enabling them to lead a less dependent and more responsible life.

Critique. Entrepreneurship research has identified a number of antecedents of resilience. When examining these studies, we made the following observations. First, many of the studies deployed research designs that could be deemed problematic for explaining how resilience is built in entrepreneurship. On the one hand, even though resilience is conceptualized as a capacity that can be developed, the most frequently used measure of resilience was based on the Sinclair and Wallston's (2004) Brief

Resilient Coping Scale. However, this scale is based on a conceptualization of resilience as an outcome of a set of *dispositional* skills. On the other hand, the cross-sectional nature of most studies (13 of 17 empirical studies) makes it hard to explain the causal link between the various antecedents and resilience. Together, these research design issues mean that extant studies in entrepreneurship are unable to adequately explain the *mechanisms* underpinning the development of resilience; instead, they largely highlight association between a variety of variables and psychological resilience. For example, it is not clear how business networks enable the entrepreneur to build resilience (Newman et al., 2018) or how engaging in entrepreneurship can play different roles for individuals to build their resilience (Shepherd et al., 2020).

Second, several entrepreneurship studies, including those that define resilience as a process (Gonzalez-López et al., 2019; Liu, 2020), have examined antecedents of resilience without considering the extent and nature of the adversity context (9 of 20 studies) and importantly, whether the adversity is appraised as stressful. This can be problematic because stress induced by adversity is a core precursor to resilience (Mancini & Bonanno, 2009) and the relationship between resilience and its antecedents emerges in a dynamic interaction with the specific adverse environment (Windle, 2011). Therefore, efforts to examine the antecedents of resilience can be seriously hampered if resilience is not operationalized appropriately (e.g., by relying on trait-based measures). Further, resilience is about dealing with experienced adversity rather than just with being exposed to adverse events. “The term resilience is misleading if a stressor would not be expected to normatively tax an individual’s adaptive resources and lead to maladaptation if left unchecked” (Roisman, 2005, p. 264).

Finally, emerging work on post-disaster venturing finds that under conditions of extreme adversity, engaging in entrepreneurship can hold psychological benefits for the

entrepreneur (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, Shepherd et al., 2020). These studies highlight a reciprocal relationship between resilience and entrepreneurship such that entrepreneurship can be both an antecedent and an outcome of resilience. Despite this finding, there are few studies that explore this processual, recursive relationship. We explore this theme further in the next section and then expand on it in our research agenda.

Outcomes of resilience

Our review revealed twenty-two studies that examined how resilience influences various outcomes for entrepreneurs and their ventures. We classify these outcomes into performance, re/engaging in entrepreneurship, and well-being outcomes.

Performance (11 studies). The most frequently studied outcome of resilience is individual and venture-level performance. For example, resilience has been shown to improve household income and reduced the disadvantages faced by entrepreneurs (Branzei & Abdelnour, 2010). At the venture level, Santoro et al., (2018) reported that the entrepreneur's resilience can have a direct positive effect on perceived firm success. Taking this study one step further, Santoro, Messeni-Petruzzelli, et al., (2020) reported a positive impact of employee resilience on the firm's perceived performance but that this relationship was stronger when the entrepreneur reported a higher level of resilience. Resilience was also found to positively moderate the effect of other factors on performance such as the impact of self-efficacy on both individual and venture success among mentally and physically challenged entrepreneurs (Santoro, Ferraris, et al., 2020). Finally, signaling resilience on crowdfunding platforms helped entrepreneurs shorten the length of time to acquire desired funds, as resilience attracted lenders (Jancenelle et al., 2018). These studies suggest that entrepreneurs' resilience can have a direct or indirect effect on (perceived) firm performance.

Resilience was also shown to enhance both venture survival and growth. Chadwick and Raver (2020) found that resilience is positively associated with venture survival; resilient entrepreneurs appraised adversity as challenging rather than threatening and this appraisal enabled their proactivity which in turn lead to venture survival. In a similar vein, resilience of entrepreneurs can help them with the decision to change business models in response to disruptive change (Dewald & Bowen, 2010; Osiyevskyy & Dewald, 2015). It is worth noting however, that resilience might not be the only route to survival following adversity; Davidsson and Gordon (2016) found that although the nascent entrepreneurs in their study survived the 2008 financial crisis, they had not engaged in any significant behavioral or creative responses. As for growth, Lafuente et al., (2018) labelled those who re-engage in entrepreneurship after a previous failure experience as resilient serial entrepreneurs. They found that they were more likely than their novice counterparts to internationalize their ventures as they benefit from enriched cognitive schemas resulting from their failure experiences.

Re/engaging in entrepreneurship (8 studies). Another outcome of resilience is the decision to (re)engage in entrepreneurship, which is a critical action that captures the valuable learnings from a business failure (Williams et al., 2020). Resilience has a positive effect on entrepreneurial intentions (González-López et al., 2019; Pérez-López et al., 2019). There has been an interest in looking at this role of resilience alongside self-efficacy in post-adversity contexts. Bullough et al. (2014) adopted a socio-cognitive perspective (Benight & Bandura, 2004) as they showed that self-efficacy interacts with resilience to increase the likelihood of entrepreneurial intentions by reducing the effect of perceived danger on these intentions in a war environment. Following this line of thought, Obschonka et al., (2018) found that the resilience and self-efficacy of refugees positively impacted entrepreneurial alertness which in turn, influenced entrepreneurial

intentions. In the family business context, the resilience of entrepreneurs can form a legacy that facilitates transgenerational entrepreneurship and shape the strategic activities of their successors (Jaskiewicz et al., 2015). While there is limited empirical work on the role of resilience for re-engaging in entrepreneurship following adversity, Hayward et al. (2010) proposed that emotional, cognitive, social and financial resilience can enable subsequent venturing after failure. Finally, the one study that examined the resilience of institutional entrepreneurs suggested that resilience is the most vital PsyCap resource needed for creating change and transforming institutions in extreme conditions as the entrepreneur grows following hardship (Cascio & Luthans, 2014).

Mental health and well-being (3 studies). Finally, some entrepreneurship studies associated resilience with a number of mental health and well-being (MWB) outcomes. Resilience mediated the effect of self-employment (Nikolaev et al., 2020) and business networks (Newman et al., 2018) on entrepreneurs' subjective well-being. Jenkins et al. (2014) explained how resilience in particular can explain how PsyCap can buffer stress (Baron et al., 2016). They argued that the resilience capacity, gained by previously experiencing and overcoming adversity (Luthar et al., 2000), reactivates self-efficacy, hope and optimism (Luthans et al., 2006). This explains why entrepreneurs with prior experience of failure can have less negative perceptions of failure and less negative effects on their MWB (Jenkins et al., 2014).

Critique. While the scholarship on resilience is advancing, there are a number of limitations that need to be addressed in future research. First, like studies of the antecedents of resilience, that vast majority of studies on the outcomes of resilience are cross-sectional in their design (18 of 21 empirical studies). Psychologists caution against reliance on single sources of data and / or measurement of resilience at a single point in time arguing that resilience may be artefactual; instead calling for consderation

of a range of outcomes (Rutter, 1999; Windle, 2011). We share the same concerns and add that capturing resilience as being built over time as opposed to a one-time measurement can open up to the possibility of inter-individual variation in entrepreneurs' resilience outcomes. For example, resilience outcomes resulting from engaging in entrepreneurship in the aftermath of an adversity (Shepherd et al., 2020) can vary if we account for the entrepreneurs' longitudinal functioning and previous adversity experiences.

Second, we found the entrepreneurship literature has predominantly focused on the positive outcomes of resilience, highlighting how resilience can act as a shield against the negative states that an entrepreneur is highly susceptible to and in turn, have a positive association with an entrepreneur's MWB as well as their performance. It is possible, however, that resilience may not always yield positive outcomes for the individual when we take into consideration research on other psychological characteristics. For example, just as being over-optimistic may hinder venture performance (e.g., Hmieleski & Baron, 2009), being "over-resilient" may have adverse effects on entrepreneurs and their ventures.

Finally, we see again that nearly half the studies on the outcomes of resilience (10 of 22 studies) examined these outcomes in isolation of an experience of stress. As explained earlier, this can be problematic as measuring entrepreneurs' resilience without accounting for the impact caused by a particular stressor (e.g., Santoro et al., 2018) is incomplete. For example, while resilience had a positive effect on the success of entrepreneurs with certain mental and physical challenges (Santoro, Ferraris, et al., 2020), this might hold true in other contexts where adversity is of an acute or more severe nature.

2.2.2 Stress and Entrepreneurship

In building on our findings from resilience, we next sought insights by reviewing the entrepreneurship literature on stress to provide the groundwork for our integration of this related-yet-disconnected concept which is key for building resilience. Stress research in entrepreneurship spans many decades (Eden, 1975), and remains of interest to researchers studying the health and well-being of entrepreneurs (Stephan, 2018). Recent work has examined stress as a process that underlies and goes hand in hand with the entrepreneurial process (see Rauch et al., 2018). We reviewed and organized the research on stress and entrepreneurship into the antecedents of stress, the outcomes of stress and mitigating factors (i.e., factors that help entrepreneurs respond to and reduce stress).

Antecedents of stress

The result of our inductive coding revealed 53 studies focused on the antecedents of stress for entrepreneurs, which included work characteristics, family-work conflict, business/financial difficulties, and life hardship.

Work characteristics (39 studies). The majority of the research on stress in entrepreneurship has looked at the characteristics of the work entrepreneurs engage in as the source of stress. Drawing on Karasek's (1979) Job Demand-Control (JD-C) Model, many of the studies we reviewed examined characteristics such as job demands, job control, autonomy and role ambiguity based on the model's assertion that stress is a product high job demands and low job control. Among these, 24 compared samples of entrepreneurs with employees, seeking to identify if entrepreneurship is more or less stressful than employment, producing mixed results. While some studies have found that entrepreneurs experience higher stress than employees (e.g., Cardon & Patel, 2015; Dolinsky & Caputo, 2003; Jamal, 1997; Lewin-Epstein & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1991; Patel

et al., 2019) others have found that they experience less stress than employees (e.g., Baron et al., 2016; Hessels et al., 2017; Kaldenberg & Becker, 1992) (See Stephan, 2018 for a review and the supplementary document for a full analysis of the these papers). By comparing samples of entrepreneurs with those who are employed, these studies infer that the nature of the entrepreneurs' work is somewhat distinct from salaried employment. However, by comparing two quite heterogeneous groups, it can be hard to identify work characteristics specific to entrepreneurship that can be a significant source of stress.

One group of studies complement the work comparing entrepreneurs with employed individuals by examining some of the work and individual characteristics of entrepreneurs(hip) that can induce stress. These studies have revealed how conflicts with partners and subordinates (Akande, 1994), perceived work overload (De Clercq et al., 2016; Stroe et al., 2018), fear of failure (Stroe et al., 2020) and changes in demand and control over time (Totterdell et al., 2006) represent stressors for entrepreneurs. Monsen and Boss (2009) examined the effect of the dimensions of entrepreneurial orientation on stress and found that risk taking can increase role ambiguity (an aspect of job stress) while innovation can reduce it. However, Giannikis et al. (2019) reported a negative overall effect of entrepreneurial orientation on job stressors. Early research on entrepreneurial stress identified the need for achievement as a stress source (Akande, 1994; Boyd & Gumpert, 1983) since a high motivation to work can lead to an overload of psychological demands and accumulates stress. The entrepreneur's inability to disengage from work, a component of workaholism, is a work-related stressor (Taris et al., 2008). Spivack and McKelvie (2018, p. 360) likened entrepreneurship addiction - "compulsive engagement in entrepreneurial activities" - to workaholism, suggesting it can either hinder the ability to cope with stress or be an additional source of stress.

Finally, Kibler et al. (2019) found that prosocial motivation in commercial entrepreneurs – a drive to provide help to others outside of direct work- increased stress as this motivation can conflict with business requirements. However, their perceived autonomy at work weakened this relationship.

Work-family conflict (9 studies). A second theme of research on the antecedents of stress among entrepreneurs stems from trying to balance work and family demands. Conflicts arising from the family role affecting the work role (family-to-work conflict) and the work role interfering with the family role (work-to-family conflict) (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) can act as stressors that affect the career and well-being of entrepreneurs (Parasuraman et al., 1996). König and Cesinger (2015) found that entrepreneurs experience strain-based work-to-family conflict as they are consumed by thoughts about their work, and time-based family-to-work conflict as there is a family pressure to be more available. Werbel and Danes (2010) and Kwan et al. (2012) drew on COR theory to explain how families can both contribute to resource gains as well as consume and deplete the entrepreneur's resources (Hobfoll, 1989, 2001). Werbel and Danes (2010) found that strain experienced by the entrepreneurs' spouse can intensify the entrepreneur's experience of strain from work and family conflict. In contrast, Kwan et al. (2012) found that while family-to-work conflict can be a stressor for entrepreneurs, this was not the case for family business owners as the family functioned as a social and business support resource. Finally, some studies have explored the notion that female entrepreneurs experience higher work-family conflict than men due to the cultural prioritizing of their gender and family role. While some findings showed that achieving the balance between the family and the business is a stress factor for women (Ufuk & Özgen, 2001), others showed that self-employed women experience low stress from role conflict (Mannheim & Schiffrin, 1984).

Business and Financial difficulties (4 studies). Some studies focused on how financial hardship and business failure induce stress. Facing financial hardships depletes entrepreneurs' resources and increases stress (Annink et al., 2016; Chadwick & Raver, 2019). On the other hand, Shepherd (2003) explored how grief can be an extreme negative emotional response to business failure similar to the experience of losing a loved one, which leads to stress and is accompanied by other secondary stressors such as trying to find a job or selling a house. Similarly, entrepreneurs often personalize and internalize the firm failure, associating it with personal failure, which intensifies grief and stress (Jenkins et al., 2014).

Life hardships (3 studies). Finally, a handful of studies explored general life hardships outside of the business context that can act as an antecedent of stress. For example, studies explored how poverty (Venugopal et al., 2015) and layoffs (Ma, 2015; Virick et al., 2015) can induce stress, which influence entrepreneurial intentions, an issue we return to in our discussion on the outcomes of stress. Indeed, there is an opportunity to better integrate scholarship on general stress/resilience and stress/resilience in entrepreneurship.

Critique. Research on the antecedents of stress in entrepreneurship has been dominated by studies on work characteristics, frequently based on comparing entrepreneurs (self-employed) with the employed (Patel et al., 2018; Hessels et al., 2017). However, the evidence is mixed as to which group experiences more stress, suggesting further refinement of the research question is needed. The lack of a consensus could be due to overlooking or approaching differently the assessment of the nature of stress in terms of is timing and duration. For example, while some stressors can persist for entrepreneurs, others are linked to the phase of business development. Such considerations in understanding the antecedents of entrepreneurs' stress are key

for understanding their subsequent responses and resilience building (Bonanno et al. 2015).

Moreover, there has been limited attention to other adversities unrelated to the venture where antecedents (i.e. triggers) of stress come from other life domains. This has restricted our understanding of the psychological impact of adversities such as natural and man-made disasters, and life-threatening individual incidents (e.g., deadly diseases), and the entrepreneur's subsequent responses such as how they might influence coping and the building of resilience. There is also limited attention devoted to stress experienced prior to engaging in entrepreneurship. Overlooking these stressors limits our understanding of how entrepreneurship can be an outcome of or response to stress (e.g., Ma, 2015) or a resilience building mechanism (e.g., Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, 2016b). We elaborate on this point in our next section.

Outcomes of stress

36 studies on entrepreneurship and stress focus on four main outcomes of stress: Mental health and well-being (MWB), engaging in/ withdrawal from entrepreneurship, performance and other outcomes. We review the papers in these sub-sections and articulate the primary themes that emerged from our analysis.

Mental health and well-being (15 studies). The entrepreneur's MWB has been one of the main studied outcomes of stress. While some have looked at the umbrella concept of MWB, others explore more specific indicators of MWB such as job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and physical health (Stephan, 2018). Unsurprisingly, work stress had a negative direct effect on the MWB of entrepreneurs (Baron et al., 2016; Chay, 1993; Parslow et al., 2004) as well as more specific indicators such as life satisfaction (Tetrick et al., 2000; Kibler et al., 2019), and job satisfaction (Kwan et al., 2012). By inducing stress, financial hardship also decreased the subjective well-being of

entrepreneurs (Annink et al., 2016) while coaching attenuated it (Schermuly et al., 2020). Other research reveals the negative impact of stress on physical health: Kollmann and colleagues (2019) found that entrepreneurial stressors are positively associated with insomnia. Patel et al. (2019) found that allostatic load (a biological indicator of stress) mediated the negative impact of self-employment on physical health. On a more positive note, Williams and Shepherd (2016) revealed that engaging in the aforementioned post-disaster compassion venturing can improve the well-being of individuals by buffering against the stress stemming from the disaster.

Engaging in/ withdrawal from Entrepreneurship (14 studies). Stress is reported to have mixed effects on the intention to engage and engagement in entrepreneurship. Individuals can develop entrepreneurial intentions or actions when experiencing major stressors such as losing their jobs (Ma, 2015; Virick et al., 2015) or facing poverty constraints (Venugopal et al., 2015; Wolfe & Patel, 2017). Yiu et al. (2014) found that experiencing past stressful events drives engagement in social entrepreneurship as a sentimental reaction. However, stress can have a negative impact on entrepreneurial actions in organizations. Perceived work overload (De Clercq et al., 2016) and stress signals from managers (Brundin et al., 2008) can deter the entrepreneurial behaviors of employees. For entrepreneurs, Stroe et al. (2018) found that role overload (i.e., high workload that exceeds one's abilities and imposes time pressure) led to intense engagement in entrepreneurial activity resulting in obsessive passion.

In contrast, entrepreneurs experiencing economic stress and role ambiguity (an antecedent of stress) reported greater intentions to withdraw from entrepreneurship (Pollack et al., 2012; Monsen & Boss, 2009, respectively). Similarly, Andringa et al. (2016) identified stress as one of the factors that motivated the transition from entrepreneurship to paid employment.

Performance (5 studies). A small number of studies explore the relationship between stress and entrepreneurial performance and reveal somewhat mixed results. While stress had a positive impact on the entrepreneur's income (Cardon & Patel, 2015), it has been shown to negatively affect perceived venture performance (Teoh & Foo, 1997; Soenen et al., 2019) However, employing stress coping tactics such as engaging in routinized physical exercise appear to mitigate the adverse effects of stress (Goldsby et al., 2005). These mixed results echo Rauch et al.'s (2018) finding of an insignificant relationship between stress and performance when quantifying the results of a number of entrepreneurship studies.

Finally, our review revealed additional *outcomes (3 studies)* associated with stress in the entrepreneurship process. Shepherd (2003) suggested that the less grief (and therefore less stress) entrepreneurs feel after failure, the more they can learn from information about their loss. Similarly, physiological and mental recovery from stress facilitated the creativity of entrepreneurs (Weinberger et al., 2018). Further, De Clercq & Dakhli (2009) found that sources of personal strain shaped the ethical standards of the self-employed.

Critique. Entrepreneurship research shows that stress can have psychological and behavioral implications for entrepreneurs. Although the outcomes of stress are mainly negative, there are some understudied positive outcomes that occur after experiencing stress (e.g., post-traumatic growth [Maitlis, 2020]). While stress has short-term negative effects on well-being due to discrepancies between current and desired states, coping efforts are often employed to reduce that discrepancy, leading to long-term positive outcomes of stress (Carver & Scheier, 1982) that are indicative of resilience such as enhanced cognitive functioning and imagination (Byron et al., 2010; Sandi, 2013). Similarly, stress inoculation theory suggests that facing stressful events

enhances coping skills and resilience leading to successful handling of future experiences of stress (Meichenbaum, 1985). These insights can explain why, for example, entrepreneurs who manage failure successfully despite experiencing negative emotions at the time can benefit from long-term positive outcomes (Lafuente et al., 2018; Shepherd & Patzelt, 2017).

In summary, the mixed findings in entrepreneurship research on the effect of stress on various outcomes may be indicative of missing variables (Rauch et al., 2018). In light of our previous findings on the outcomes of resilience, resilience is likely a critical factor in shaping positive outcomes from stress such as improved performance and engagement in entrepreneurship. Examining stress, along with coping and resilience might elucidate the relationship between stress and entrepreneurial outcomes. These connections can be clarified by first considering the stress mitigating factors to which we now turn.

Mitigating factors

Our review revealed three main factors that allow entrepreneurs to mitigate stress through their direct and/ or moderating effects on stress (41 studies). These factors include psychological traits and capacities, social support, and mitigating actions.

Psychological traits and capacities (12 studies). PsyCap as well as some of its subconstructs were found to mitigate stress. Baron et al. (2016) found that higher PsyCap of entrepreneurs reduced their emotional exhaustion and cynicism (Roche et al., 2014) and in turn helped in decreasing their stress. PsyCap can also play a moderating role in buffering the stress resulting from failure for entrepreneurs who have experienced prior failure (Jenkins et al., 2014). In terms of the PsyCap subconstructs, optimism negatively moderated entrepreneurs strain resulting from high job demands

and low job control (Totterdell et al, 2006). Evidence also showed that self-efficacy attenuated the stress associated with poverty, which in turn encouraged entrepreneurial intentions (Venugopal et al., 2015).

Others have focused on the role of a number of personality traits in mitigating stress. The entrepreneur's locus of control can have a direct negative relationship with stress (Rahim, 1996) or an indirect mitigating effect through enhancing social support (Chay, 1993). High tolerance for ambiguity, risk-taking propensity (Teoh & Foo, 1997) and positive trait affect (Cardon & Patel, 2015) can also counteract the negative impact of role stress. Furthermore, openness to change enhanced the positive appraisal of the layoff before developing entrepreneurial intentions (Virick et al., 2015).

Social support (12 studies). Social support from family members, friends or others can help entrepreneurs mitigate the negative impact of stress. Indeed, entrepreneurs with more social ties suffered less from the impact of economic stress and subsequently, their ventures were more likely to survive (Pollack et al., 2012). Some studies have examined entrepreneur's perceived social support to focus on their perception of the extent to which this social ties can provide the necessary resources to effectively respond to stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985). While Chay (1993) and Tetrick et al. (2000) found that perceived social support negatively moderated the stress arising from job demands and reduced its negative impact on well-being, Rahim (1996) found that social support had a direct negative relationship with both job stressors and their psychiatric symptoms. However, there are some findings that suggest entrepreneurs receive less social support than employees due to the absence of direct supervisors and peers (Rahim, 1996; Tetrick et al., 2000); highlighting that entrepreneurs may have to look beyond their immediate work place for sources of social support.

Klyver et al. (2018) differentiating between types of social support and find that emotional support is more effective for entrepreneurial persistence during the early venture development phase while instrumental support (e.g., information and tangible assistance) is more effective for younger entrepreneurs. Both support types can help individuals who had been laid off overcome stress and transition into entrepreneurship. Emotional support from affection-based social circles mitigated the stress of the layoff (Ma, 2015) and job-finding support from organizations facilitated the positive appraisal of the layoff (Virick et al., 2015). Finally, social trust reduced the negative impact of financial hardship on the entrepreneur's well-being (Annink et al., 2016).

Mitigating actions (18 studies)[6]. Some work and nonwork-related actions have been found to mitigate stress. Non-work-related actions include exercising (Goldsby et al., 2005), mindfulness (Murnieks et al., 2020; Roche et al., 2014) as well as sleep which can facilitate physiological recovery and combat exhaustion (Murnieks et al., 2020; Weinberger et al., 2018). Among work-related actions, Yamakawa and Cardon (2017) showed that contingency planning can help entrepreneurs better disengage psychologically after their firms were in distress. Nevertheless, Weinberger et al. (2018) found that pondering solutions to business problems after work enables mental recovery. These findings might suggest that the magnitude of the stressor (firm distress vis-à-vis day-to-day business problems) may require different types of stress mitigating strategies. Temporal flexibility at work (i.e., freedom in choosing when to do things) had a negative relationship with the entrepreneur's life stress (Bluedorn & Martin, 2008). Examining both work-related and unrelated actions, Blonk et al. (2006) showed

[6] This theme includes a major overlap between the stress and coping literatures in entrepreneurship (see Figure 2). It includes 10 studies focused on coping strategies and 8 studies on other mitigating actions. Since we have a dedicated review on coping strategies where we analyze those 10 studies, we focused here only on the 8 studies on other mitigating actions which were not covered from a coping lens.

that combining both cognitive behavioral therapy and workplace-intervention decreased psychological complaints among entrepreneurs with stress-related disorders.

Critique. The stress literature has highlighted some key internal and external factors that influence how entrepreneurs deal with stress. We noticed that these factors overlap with the antecedents of resilience we identified earlier. For example, just as social support and various stress mitigation actions can help minimize the detrimental effects of stress, they can also drive the entrepreneur's resilience. This lends support to our earlier argument that experiencing stress is a pre-condition for building resilience because the capacity for positive adaptation is closely linked to the extent to which the individual is able to cope with stress (Britt et al., 2016; Shoss et al., 2018). However, the link between resilience and mitigating stress has not been made explicit in entrepreneurship; an issue we seek to address below.

We also observed that most of the studies we reviewed do not examine the feedback loop that unfolds after mitigating stress; how one deals with stress now can affect future coping with stress (Almeida, 2005; Williams et al., 2017). The route through which we can make the link between stress and resilience is by examining coping (Fisher et al., 2019; Leipold & Greve, 2009). The concept of coping can help explain *how* some of the aforementioned mitigating factors of stress operate as well as how stress leads to some of the outcomes we reviewed above. In fact, many of the mitigating actions can be seen as ways of coping with stress (see Figure 2 for the intersection of stress and coping). We now turn to entrepreneurship research that has focused on coping with a view to explicating the relationships between resilience, stress and coping.

2.2.3 Coping and Entrepreneurship

Within the body of entrepreneurship research on mitigating stress, there is a dedicated literature on coping in entrepreneurship which largely draws on coping theories in psychology (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Stroebe & Schut, 1999). By definition, the concepts of coping and stress are related. However, despite the relationship between stress and resilience identified earlier (i.e. that resilience emerges in response to stress), our review revealed only three studies where the three concepts are explored together. We organize our review on coping under three broad headings; the coping strategies themselves, the antecedents of coping and the outcomes of coping for entrepreneurs.

Coping strategies

We identified a number of ways through which entrepreneurs cope with stress (27 out of 35 studies) variously referred to as coping mechanisms or strategies. Early studies found that entrepreneurs manage stress by first acknowledging its existence, adopting coping strategies then reflecting on their stress experiences and their needs (Akande, 1994; Boyd & Gumpert, 1983). Several studies adopted Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) seminal typology of coping strategies. Accordingly, coping strategies can be *emotion-focused (12 studies)* or *problem-focused (23 studies)*. Emotion-focused coping involves changing the relation to the stressor by distancing one's self from it to limit the associated negative emotions, while problem-focused coping involves acting to change the situation itself. Schonfeld and Mazzola (2015) found that entrepreneurs generally use problem-focused strategies more frequently than emotion-focused strategies. Examples of problem-focused strategies included changing business practices, seeking help from outsiders and using diplomacy. Emotion-focused strategies included self-talk, meditation, religion and exercising. Although Schonfeld and Mazzola

(2015) found that entrepreneurs generally use problem-focused strategies more frequently than emotion-focused strategies, as we will explain below, others have investigated the role of both strategies for mental health (Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011; Uy et al., 2013), physical health (Patel et al., 2019), in response to failure (Byrne & Shepherd, 2015; Corner et al., 2017a) and after traumatic experiences (Haynie & Shepherd, 2011). Building on Lazarus and Folkman's typology, we can identify other strategies that fall under problem-focused or emotion-focused coping.

Thinking in terms of metaphors can act as a problem-focused strategy for coping with uncertainty for entrepreneurs. Metaphors facilitate communicating abstract concepts and reducing the equivocality of novel situations (Hill & Levenhagen, 1995; Johannisson, 2011) by conceptualizing a domain of experience in terms of another domain (Wee & Brooks, 2012). Other strategies involve engaging in behaviors to cope with specific problems. Angel investors, who tend to be former entrepreneurs, resorted to problem-focused coping in the form of working harder to cope with the stress associated with their investments' performance (Duxbury et al., 1996). Older entrepreneurs coped with the problem of social exclusion by negotiating to change discriminating opinions, changing their reference groups or just avoidance (Kibler et al., 2015). More recently, Gomes et al. (2018) have suggested that entrepreneurs can go beyond individual coping strategies to deploy collective learning experiments in order to cope with uncertainties perceived collectively by partners.

Bricolage and effectuation can also be viewed as problem-focused coping strategies in entrepreneurial settings. Johannisson (2011) and Keating et al. (2014) highlighted the role of bricolage as a way of creatively coping with ambiguity by identifying new uses of resources and social activity. As explained earlier, entrepreneurs varyingly utilized effectuation and causation as cognitive logics that guide their

resilience-building coping strategies (Liu, 2020). Effectuation can facilitate coopetition as a strategy to cope with uncertainty (Galkina & Lundgren-Henriksson, 2017).

On the other hand, three studies examined specific emotion-focused coping strategies and these tended to focus on failure. Loving-kindness meditation can help entrepreneurs overcome the negative emotions linked to fear of failure (Engel et al., 2020). Entrepreneurs can cope with the intense negative emotions associated with failure through emotion regulation (Shepherd et al., 2009). Shepherd (2009) suggests that entrepreneurs can cope with the grief resulting from the loss of family businesses by oscillating between confronting loss and avoiding it.

Critique. More than half of the studies reviewed (14 of 26 studies) are about either coping with uncertainty or just coping with general stress. Although uncertainty is an antecedent of stress in entrepreneurship (Rauch et al., 2018), it is important to understand how entrepreneurs cope with other specific sources of stress (e.g., failure, traumatic events) which are psychologically taxing due to actual loss or shocks. Further, despite being a seminal typology, there are alternative theories and typologies to Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) problem-focused and emotion-focused coping typology that can reveal further mechanisms for dealing with different types of stress (cf., Folkman, 2011; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). We also observed that many coping strategies overlap with the antecedents of resilience identified earlier. For example, Corner et al. (2017) have shown how both emotion-focused and problem-focused coping strategies form the microprocesses that build the entrepreneur's resilience after failure, suggesting further scope for exploring the relationship between coping and resilience following adversity.

Antecedents of coping

Our analysis revealed that the antecedents of coping (14 of 35 studies) revolved around two main themes: personal factors/experiences, and social support.

Personal factors/experiences (10 studies). Differences in personal abilities can shape coping approaches. Both coping self-efficacy and coping heuristics enhances cognitive abilities to cope with uncertainty (Lanivich, 2015) and grieving from failure (Shepherd et al., 2009). In a similar vein, reliance on cognitive biases, including illusion of control and generalizing from small samples of data, can help entrepreneurs cope with the risk of starting a venture (Simon et al., 2000). Shepherd (2009) suggested that emotional capability at the family level and emotional intelligence at the individual level are positively related to grief regulation ability after family business loss. Further, Frese et al. (1997) reported that personal initiative - behaviors of proactive and persistent nature - are associated more with problem-focused coping than emotion-focused coping. Jennings and Mcdougald (2007) suggested that gender differences can affect coping as work-family conflict pushes female entrepreneurs to adopt coping strategies that prioritize their family over their business.

Entrepreneurs' previous experiences can help the accumulation of entrepreneurial knowledge and skills that can increase their ability to cope with the obstacles of managing new ventures (Politis, 2005). Past experiences with hardships like losing loved ones can enable entrepreneurs to deploy emotion-focused coping strategies that help reframe failure (Corner et al., 2017a). Jenkins et al. (2014) found that appraising failure as associated with loss of self-esteem and financial strain restricts entrepreneurs' ability to cope well. However, the tendency to appraise failure in this way was lower for portfolio and hybrid entrepreneurs compared to those who had only one firm as their sole occupation.

Social support (5 studies). Similar to the stress buffering factors, we identified additional studies which explored the role of social capital and support in enabling coping. Although Shepherd, Covin et al. (2009) suggested that social support can help corporate entrepreneurs develop their coping self-efficacy, Schermuly et al. (2020) failed to detect a significant effect of coaching, as a social support tool, on coping. However, coaching indirectly facilitated coping by changing the entrepreneur's appraisal of stressful situations to be more positive. Social networks, family and friends formed a resource that enabled coping in unstable institutional contexts (Welter et al., 2018).

Critique. Relative to coping strategies and the outcomes of coping, the antecedents of coping have received less attention. We therefore know very little about what determines the use of each type of coping strategy compared to how entrepreneurs cope. Noticeably, although appraisal shapes the experience of stress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), only two studies focused on how appraisal shapes coping (Jenkins et al., 2014; Schermuly et al., 2020). Appraising a situation as taxing and stressful is what triggers the coping process followed by an appraisal of one's available resources and coping options (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Park & Folkman, 1997). However, we did notice that many of the antecedents of coping appear to overlap with the antecedents of resilience, highlighting that coping and resilience are inextricably linked (Coifman, Bonanno, Ray, & Gross, 2007). We observed a similar pattern when analyzing the outcomes of coping which we review next.

Outcomes of coping

Most of the entrepreneurship research on coping has focused on its benefits in five main areas (18 studies): Mental health and well-being, resilience, sensemaking, re/engaging in entrepreneurship and performance.

Mental health and well-being (9 studies). Similar to stress research, MWB was the most frequently studied outcome of coping. Uy et al. (2013) found that while avoidance coping (a type of emotion-focused coping) increased the immediate well-being of experienced entrepreneurs, it decreased the immediate well-being of less experienced entrepreneurs. Over time, however, well-being improved by coupling active (problem-focused) coping and avoidance coping. Most of the work on coping has focused on the emotional aspects of well-being. Using both types of coping reduced entrepreneurs' negative emotions (Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011), attenuated fear of failure (Engel et al., 2020) and helped in managing negative emotions after failure in a timely manner (Byrne & Shepherd, 2015; Shepherd, 2009). Recent work has also examined physical well-being. Patel et al. (2019) reported that using problem-focused coping reduced allostatic load. Meanwhile, Kollmann et al. (2019) found that the accumulated coping skills of experienced entrepreneurs did not reduce the impact of stressors on insomnia.

Resilience (4 studies). Coping has been examined in relation to resilience. As explained earlier, coping can be an underlying mechanism that determines the resilience trajectories of entrepreneurs (Corner et al., 2017; Liu, 2020). Emotion-focused coping strategies like meditation can build entrepreneurs' resilience (Engel et al., 2020). Following Sinclair and Wallston (2004), Pérez-López et al. (2019) associated coping behaviors with resilience as key factors behind deciding to engage in entrepreneurship. We expand on these findings in our integrative model to illustrate the interrelation between coping and resilience.

Sensemaking (4 studies). Coping, for example through the use of metaphors can help individuals make sense of events (Hill and Levenhagen, 1995). While limited in number, the bulk of the work exploring the relationship between coping and

sensemaking has explored sensemaking after failure events. Building on Shepherd's (2009) work suggesting that coping with grief can support sensemaking and learning, Byrne & Shepherd (2015) demonstrated that utilizing emotion-focused coping to deal with the negative emotions associated with failure enhanced sensemaking. However, Shepherd (2009) noted that prolonged coping with grief can reduce learning and making sense of the business loss.

Re/engaging in entrepreneurship (4 studies). Coping can influence the decision to (re)engage in entrepreneurial action, often by lowering perceived risk (Pérez-López et al., 2019; Simon et al., 2000). Haynie and Shepherd (2011) found that combining both emotion-focused and problem-focused coping strategies is vital for a successful transition into entrepreneurship after traumatic life events. Further, after experiencing failure, coping through emotional regulation can enable reengagement in entrepreneurial projects (Shepherd et al., 2009).

Performance (2 studies). Finally, the limited evidence that exists suggests that coping strategies can affect venture performance. Lanivich (2015) found that entrepreneurs reporting a coping heuristic oriented towards developing, acquiring and protecting resources, were associated with greater venture performance and perceived success. Conversely, strategies that female entrepreneurs use to cope with work-family conflict might negatively affect their business growth potential (Jennings & Mcdougald, 2007).

Critique. Our review of the coping literature has revealed the various outcomes that can unfold when entrepreneurs cope with stress and that many of these outcomes mirror the outcomes of resilience. Our review also literature shows that resilience and coping are so entwined that some resilience scales have been used to measure entrepreneurs' coping behaviors (Pérez-López et al., 2019) and resilience itself is one of

the outcomes of coping (e.g., Corner & Singh, 2017). This suggests, once again, that these concepts need to be studied altogether to understand their impact on entrepreneurship but that the relationship between the three concepts needs to be explicated to enable conceptual clarity.

2.3 Discussion: An Integrative Model

We began this study seeking to answer the following question: *What do we know about how and with what effects entrepreneurs become resilient, i.e. the process of building psychological resilience?* We answer this question with an integrative model (see Figure 4) which offers a visual representation of what we know about how entrepreneurs build resilience (i.e., become resilient), what factors interfere with this process, and what entrepreneurial outcomes result from this process. This model also serves as the foundation for a research agenda to address the most pressing gaps in our current understanding.

To build our model we adopted an abductive approach involving interplay between our data (i.e., the literatures we reviewed) and theory (i.e., psychological theories of resilience) (Van Maanen et al., 2007). Specifically, we adopted a three-step process. In the first step, we used psychological resilience theories to guide our literature review [i.e., establish the core relationships that resilience has with stress and coping (see Figure 1 and the discussion on conceptual boundaries in our review methodology)] and critique this literature.

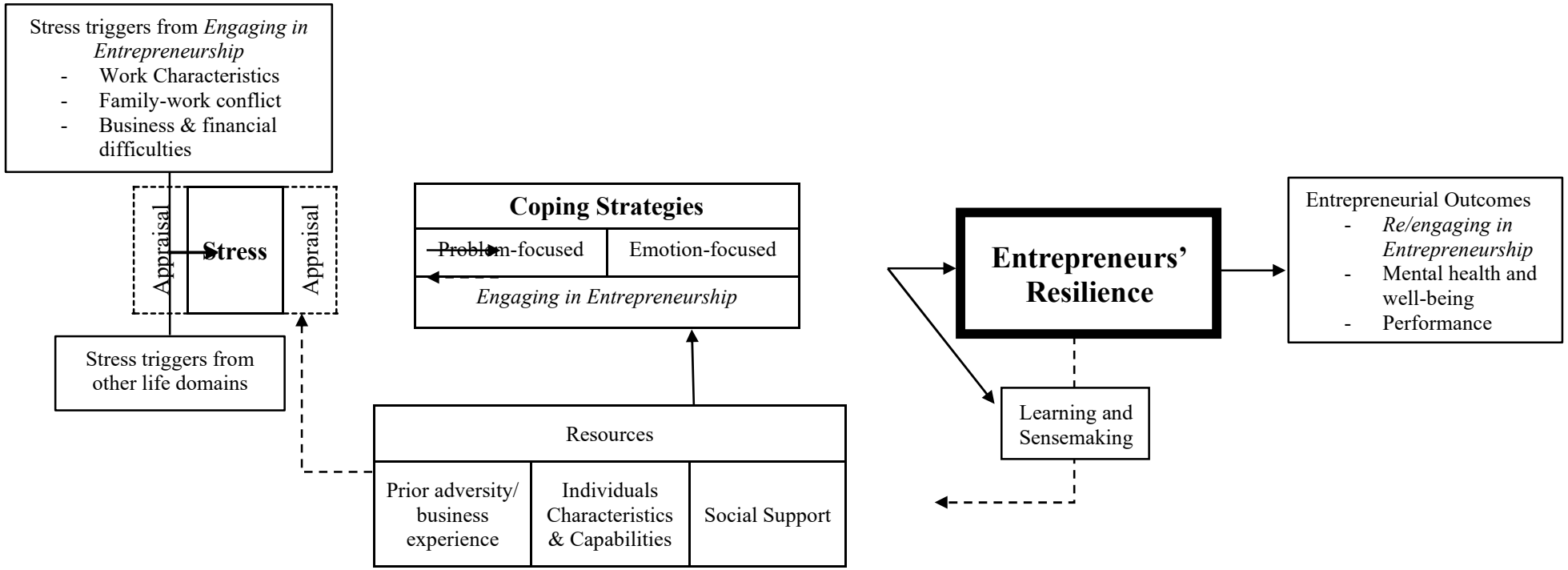


Figure 4. An integrative model of the process of building resilience in entrepreneurship

Solid lines indicate the studied concepts and relationships. Dashed boxes and arrows indicate understudied relationships that we added to the model.

For example, in our model we illustrate coping strategies as a mechanism that builds resilience based on this established relationship in psychology (e.g., Mancini & Bonnano, 2009; Fisher et al., 2019). However, we contextualized, grounded and corroborated this relationship in entrepreneurship by examining the extent to which the antecedents of resilience aligned with the coping strategies and stress mitigating actions that we identified in our review of the entrepreneurship literature.

We then built on the knowledge from the above in our second step, where we analyzed the entrepreneurship literatures on resilience, stress, and coping (i.e., our data) to reveal areas where these three concepts intersect and connect. First, while many of the studies in the three streams take place in adversity contexts, stress research in particular explains how adverse factors (i.e., stress triggers) can generate the psychological experience of stress and this represents the starting point for our model. Second, we reveal answers to the question of how entrepreneurs respond to stress (i.e., cope) in aspects of all three literatures; the 'emotional and cognitive antecedents' of resilience intersect with 'coping strategies' identified in the coping literature and 'stress mitigating actions' highlighted in the stress literature (see Figure 3). Figure 3 highlights other intersections among the three literatures with respect to factors influencing responses to experienced stress such as individual level factors (e.g. 'psychological traits & capacities' (in stress), 'personal factors / experiences' (in coping) and 'prior adversity experience' (in resilience) and social factors (labelled 'social support' in stress and coping). Finally, as for the outcomes, we see that resilience is an outcome of coping with stress, and that there is significant overlap in the outcome variables (MWB, engaging in entrepreneurship and performance) associated with all three concepts.

In the third step, we then went back to theories of resilience to identify and make sense of gaps in our knowledge about the process of building resilience in

entrepreneurship. Specifically, based on advances in psychology and management research, we added two understudied relationships in our model that can help explain how entrepreneurs (vary in how they) build resilience (see dashed boxes and arrows). While *appraisal* initially establishes that the encountered adversity is stressful (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), individuals also vary in appraisals of their coping ability and re/appraisals of their coping options (Lazarus & Smith, 1988). Hence, appraisal processes can be a vital mechanism that determine the choice of coping strategies and thus, how resilience is built (Bonanno et al., 2012; Mancini & Bonanno, 2009). Also, while we identified sensemaking as an outcome of coping in our review, sensemaking may also play an important role in explaining the recursive nature of the entrepreneurs' resilience process through a *resilience feedback loop* (Almeida, 2005; Williams et al., 2017). As entrepreneurs encounter both business and life adversities, they are engaged in ongoing sensemaking and learning that shape their resources and how they appraise and cope with future stressors.

Although a small number of entrepreneurship studies have started to examine parts of the process of building resilience in entrepreneurship (e.g., Corner et al., 2017; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a), we seek to offer a more comprehensive understanding of this process and provide greater conceptual clarity through our abductively developed model (see Figure 4). The process starts with facing triggers which are appraised as stressful. Prior to engaging in entrepreneurship, individuals may have faced stress resulting from different life domains (e.g., poverty, natural disasters). If they coped effectively with this stress, they are likely to have built resilience which they can then draw upon to take the decision to engage in entrepreneurship (here, entrepreneurship can be seen as an outcome of the process triggered by the original life stressor). Alternatively, these individuals might engage in entrepreneurship as a strategy to cope

with this life stress (e.g., compassion venturing). When individuals engage in entrepreneurship, they can then adopt problem-focused (e.g., business pivoting, partnerships) and/or emotion-focused strategies (e.g., exercising, meditation) to cope with new stress resulting from their entrepreneurship experience. To cope with stress, entrepreneurs can draw on their personal characteristics and capabilities, social support (e.g., business networks, coaching) and their previous business-related and/or life experiences of adversity. Changes in these resources can lead to reappraising the situation and changing coping strategies. These coping experiences help entrepreneurs build resilience which can in turn, enhance their MWB as well as the performance of their ventures, and, as explained earlier, a resilience feedback loop can unfold.

Our integrative model can be considered as a conceptual foundation for future entrepreneurship research seeking to advance scholarship on the hermeneutic relationship between resilience and entrepreneurship.

2.4 Research Agenda

Building on our integrative model, we propose five research avenues that are most likely to advance theory on resilience in entrepreneurship and serve as a guide for the design of empirical research.

2.4.1 Specifying the nature of stress and examining other life domains

In our review, we have highlighted that a significant part of the existing research in entrepreneurship studies resilience as an ex-ante concept that decouples resilience from a specific stressor. Indeed, resilience studies need to account for the experience of stress in order to explain how resilience unfolds. However, as each stressful situation can lead to a different resilience path with a different set of coping strategies to reach a resilient outcome (Pangallo et al., 2015), specifying the nature of stress becomes important. The stressors entrepreneurs face can vary in terms of life domain, timing in

relation to entrepreneurial activity, and duration. There is considerable scope, therefore, to examine a wider range of stressors and how they might shape entrepreneurs' resilience processes.

Contexts with a mass impact such as natural disasters (e.g., famines, epidemics, pandemics), man-made disasters (e.g., wars, terrorist attacks, forced migration), and individual incidents (e.g., experiencing life-threatening incidents, a deadly disease, domestic abuse) hold considerable potential for better understanding entrepreneurs' resilience against stressors of different magnitudes and nature. Further, these stressors can vary in timing; occurring before or during entrepreneurial activity. For example, by examining pre-entrepreneurship stressors, we will be in a better position to deepen our understanding of variation in entrepreneurs' resilience. Those who have had to cope with significant stress prior to engaging in entrepreneurship may have a greater repertoire of coping strategies at their disposal which helps them build resilience for entrepreneurship and therefore supports them along their entrepreneurial journey. Alternatively, others might use entrepreneurship as a mechanism for building resilience against such stressors—again highlighting the dynamic relationship between entrepreneurship and stressors (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, 2021).

Accounting for the duration of stressors also provides opportunities to better understand entrepreneurs' resilience, as acute stressors (e.g., loss of a loved one) and chronic stressors (e.g., ongoing abuse) are associated with different resilience trajectories (Bonanno et al., 2015; Bonanno & Diminich, 2013). Bonanno and Diminich (2013) identified a minimal-impact resilience trajectory following acute stressors where return to functioning is rapid and an emergent trajectory for chronic stressors with gradual, slower return. Similarly, what might the resilience process look like for an entrepreneur facing a natural disaster compared to one facing a chronic disease. Further,

what might the resilience process look like when faced with both types of stressors. For example, how might a refugee entrepreneur deal with the stress of closing down a business (acute) during a pandemic (chronic)?

2.4.2 Engaging in entrepreneurship to build resilience

While there has been a strong emphasis on entrepreneurs being or becoming resilient, we see significant opportunities for exploring how entrepreneurial activity itself can be a mechanism (i.e., vehicle) for building resilience. Our findings have shown that whereas resilience can be an antecedent of engaging in entrepreneurship, there is limited research showing how resilience can also be an outcome of entrepreneurship. Building on the work on compassion venturing (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, 2016b) and venturing during persistent adversity (Shepherd et al., 2020), scholars might usefully examine how engaging in entrepreneurship can help individuals cope with various stressors. For example, engaging in entrepreneurship can be seen as a problem-focused coping strategy for someone who is suffering from the effects of economic deprivation (Venugopal et al., 2015), or it might represent an emotion-focused coping strategy that psychologically distracts from significant traumas or persistent stress. Entrepreneurship may therefore create or preserve a sense of mastery by exercising control over a life domain after losing it in another domain (Taylor, 1983). The sense of ownership of a business and managing others can make up for the loss of resources in other areas of life (e.g., loss of home, marriage breakdown etc.) (Hobfoll, 1989) and have emancipatory effects (Ruebottom & Toubiana, 2021).

Similarly, engaging in entrepreneurship may facilitate the development of coping to address other life adversities and building resilience (Shepherd & Patzelt, 2015). This can help us understand the significance of the resilience feedback loop we suggested in the integrative model as we can examine how entrepreneurs can learn from

their entrepreneurial experience, and draw on the abilities and resources they garnered from it to face stressors in other life domains.

Certain forms of entrepreneurship that involve supporting others such as compassion venturing (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a) and prosocial entrepreneurship (Shepherd et al., 2020) may involve humanitarian coping (coping with work stressors by doing good to others) (Schonfeld & Mazzola, 2015) and buffer every day stressors (Raposa et al., 2016). We also encourage researchers however, to be mindful of findings on stress associated with prosocial motivation (See Kibler et al., 2019). Further, a more communal perspective on resilience might lead to individuals refraining from utilizing certain coping strategies in response to adversity if they fear that this may cause distress in others (Wells et al., 1997). For example, might entrepreneurs compromise their own coping in order to help others (such as employees or family members) cope with an adverse situation such as having to close down a business? And if so, how does this affect building resilience for the entrepreneurs themselves?

2.4.3 Heterogeneity in entrepreneurs' resilience trajectories

Within the existing literature, we have found a lack of explanation of the mechanisms through which entrepreneurs build resilience. Accordingly, our integrative model lays down key mechanisms which not only shows how entrepreneurs build resilience, but also how they do this differently. Different trajectories of resilience are likely to exist as we know that the nature of the stressor (as discussed above), differences in appraisals (Olff et al., 2005), coping strategies (Mancini & Bonanno, 2009) and pre-adversity functioning (Bonanno et al., 2015) can shape the resilience process. We encourage future research on these potential differences.

First, a key research question relates to how different appraisals can shape the resilience process for entrepreneurs. Addressing this question may benefit from

adopting the challenge-hindrance stressor framework (Cavanaugh et al., 2000) which suggests that workplace stressors appraised as challenges are linked to problem-focused coping and building resilience while stressors appraised as hindrances are linked to coping through venting and reduced resilience (Crane & Searle, 2016; Searle & Auton, 2015). Further, why might entrepreneurs differ in their appraisals of stressors? For instance, the global meanings that individuals hold (their basic beliefs and assumptions about life, the self and one's life goals) can influence their appraisals of the personal significance of a stressful situation as they compare the situation's meaning to these beliefs (Park & Folkman, 1997). Self-enhancement, a value associated with entrepreneurial tendencies (Liñán et al., 2016; Morales et al., 2019), has been found to facilitate resilience despite its social costs (Bonanno et al., 2005). Little is known, however, about how self-enhancement influences entrepreneurs' appraisal of stressful situations and how they build resilience. Finally, since appraisal is a multi-stage mechanism (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Park & Folkman, 1997), we see value in building on Schermuly et al.'s (2020) study and further scrutinizing the appraisal process to see what can change the entrepreneur's appraisal of a stressor and how this can affect if and how they build resilience.

Second, we see opportunities to reveal differences in resilience trajectories among entrepreneurs by going beyond Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) widely-adopted typology of coping strategies. For example, other models that depart from coping in response to experienced stress to include more future-oriented coping (Schwarzer & Knoll, 2003) might help better understand entrepreneurs' preparation for anticipated stressors (Williams et al., 2017) such as approaching an off-season period or facing a potential market crisis. Religious coping (drawing on religion in appraising and responding to events) also represents an integral dimension of the coping process which

can add to our understanding of the entrepreneur's resilience when facing major stressors (Pargament, 1997, p. 310).

2.4.4 Additional resilience outcomes

We have shown that the currently studied outcomes of entrepreneur's resilience can be deemed too narrow and sometimes inaccurate due in part to overlooking stress contexts and in part to the cross-sectional nature of most of the research. Thus, first, we see scope to revisit the main manifestation of resilience: maintaining functioning (Bonanno, 2004; Williams et al., 2017) by asking "what does it mean for an entrepreneur to maintain functioning?" To answer this, we suggest researchers investigate two sub-questions.

The first sub-question is: "How can functioning be observed?" Entrepreneurs can exhibit functioning through their behaviours, emotions and beliefs (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). For example, Shepherd et al. (2020) took self-reliance, being a proactive problem solver and having a broad purpose as evidence of refugee entrepreneurs' functioning. Future research can examine other ways to observe functioning. The second sub-question is: "What was the baseline or pre-adversity functioning of the individual and how does it compare to post-adversity functioning?" With the exception of Williams and Shepherd (2016a) and Corner et al. (2017), few studies account for pre-adversity functioning, however, not doing so is problematic because it is not possible to discern if an entrepreneur's functioning is restored, improved or diminished after experiencing a stressful encounter. If some individuals have low pre-adversity functioning that is left unidentified, it might appear that they are experiencing a dysfunctional response to the adversity even though they might actually be functioning normally (Bonanno et al., 2015; Mancini et al., 2011). Some individuals might also experience post-traumatic growth (positive psychological change resulting

from the adverse experience) (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). So, research can, for example, examine the conditions that can facilitate entrepreneurs' experience of post-traumatic growth

Second, we believe that sensemaking is a critical area that warrants further attention. In the only empirical study we identified, Byrne and Shepherd (2015) found that entrepreneurs who experienced consistent positive emotions after failure (which they took to indicate high resilience) actually reported limited sensemaking about the failure. This suggests a potential dark side of resilience (Williams et al., 2017). Does rapid return to functioning obstruct making sense of stressful events? When does resilience facilitate entrepreneurs' sensemaking and when does it obstruct it? Further, as current research does not establish causality, future research should also be mindful of the potential role that sensemaking might play in returning to normal functioning.

Third, we echo Williams et al.'s (2017) call for considering the potential long-term maladaptive outcomes of drawing on certain psychological capacities and / or adopting certain coping strategies (such as repressive coping) despite the initial advantages they offer for building resilience. For example, while self-enhancement might help entrepreneurs cope with adversity, it is also associated with narcissism and negative perceptions from others (Bonanno et al., 2005; Paulhus, 1998) which might limit the ability to draw on social support that can also aid coping. Therefore, might the liabilities of self-enhancement outweigh the assets? Or might the maladaptive effects of self-enhancement be less relevant for entrepreneurs if self-enhancement supports entrepreneurial action (Morales et al., 2019)?

Finally, we suggest going beyond the outcomes for the individual entrepreneur to examining the impact on employees, the team and/or the venture. How might the resilience process of the entrepreneur influence that of employees in adversity contexts,

and what happens when they differ? For example, what are the consequences if entrepreneurs and their employees appraise an adverse event differently so that one party perceives it as a threat while the other perceives it as a challenge? Is this tension beneficial or detrimental? Similarly, future research can explore the same questions for entrepreneurial teams facing adversity. How can the resilience process and its mechanisms take place collectively? Research can examine the antecedents and outcomes of collective cognitive mechanisms (West, 2007) as well as collective emotions (Cardon et al., 2012), and how does the entrepreneurs' resilience align with their ventures' resilience? How do they shape each other?

2.4.5 Research design

Our review leads to some recommendations that can help entrepreneurship researchers design quantitative and qualitative studies to examine the process of building resilience. First, as resilience is a response process triggered by stress, researchers need to make sure they study resilience in research settings where adversity has unfolded or is unfolding as suggested above and that they select individuals who have experienced the adversity as psychologically taxing (i.e., stressful) rather than those who are just at risk of experiencing stress (Roisman, 2005).

Second, we call for more longitudinal entrepreneurship studies on resilience to facilitate causal inference and dynamic considerations. Such designs have been crucial in psychology where studies have shown distinct longitudinal and prospective trajectories of responses to life stressors (Bonanno et al., 2002, 2005; Mancini et al., 2011). As resilience can change over time (e.g., some people might show signs of normal functioning but then experience a delayed negative reaction) (Pangallo et al., 2015), longitudinal entrepreneurship studies can capture this dynamism, its reasons and effects. Moreover, since entrepreneurial activity, stress and resilience are not mutually

exclusive, longitudinal studies are required to investigate how and at what point these constructs interplay to influence one another.

Tracking resilience over an entrepreneur's life time, not just whilst s/he is an entrepreneur, might contribute to a richer understanding of resilience as suggested by a life course perspective (G. H. Elder, 1998) as it is important to account for entrepreneurs' past experience with stressors (Bonanno et al., 2007) even if these stressors are unrelated to their entrepreneurship experience. Such a perspective might enrich our understanding of how entrepreneurs' resilience develops (Bonanno et al., 2015; Fisher et al., 2019). However, for longitudinal quantitative studies, we encourage researchers to adapt resilience scales which are of high psychometric quality and align with a more comprehensive understanding of resilience as a process rather than a trait (See Pangallo et al., 2015 and Windle et al., 2011 for methodological reviews of resilience scales).

Similarly, qualitative research designs can probe the lives of entrepreneurs before, during and after adversities. This can be facilitated using a life story approach in data collection where research participants outline and narrate their life stories (McAdams, 2008; Peacock & Holland, 1993). Drawing on historical data like archival records can also capture a life course perspective of resilience. Process studies (Langley et al., 2013) that utilize longitudinal and / or participant observation data might usefully shed light on the mechanisms for building resilience such as appraisal. As a sensemaking tool, narratives can give meaning to the post-adversity transition as it effectively structures one's psychological state and social relationships (R. a Neimeyer, 2006); potentially very useful for studying coping and resilience. Narratives about experiencing and dealing with stressful events can also reveal novel coping strategies (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004).

2.5 Conclusion

The main goal of our review was to provide a clear understanding of the process of building psychological resilience in entrepreneurship. We have sought to achieve this goal by bridging resilience with the key constructs of stress and coping where the former is the key trigger of the resilience process and the latter is its core underlying mechanism. We took stock of the entrepreneurship literature on the three concepts and amalgamated our findings in an integrative model. Our model guided us to identify a number of promising research opportunities that can advance entrepreneurship research on resilience to stressors.

Chapter 3: Resilience within the Life Course: Different Trajectories Through Refugee Entrepreneurship

While we continue to grapple with the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, other global crises not only persist but are also escalating. Natural disasters such as wildfires and flooding have been increasing throughout the last few years (IPCC, 2021). Similarly, forced displacement is still a major crisis, with a record of 79.5 million forcibly displaced at the end of 2019 (UNHCR, 2021b). Although the war in Syria has put this crisis under the spotlight, recent unrest such as the deteriorating conditions in Venezuela and Afghanistan have contributed to more than doubling of the total number of displaced people compared to 2010 (UNHCR, 2021b). Consequently, researchers have been looking at mechanisms and responses which can build the resilience of the victims of these tragedies.

With the befalling of both natural and man-made disasters, entrepreneurship has emerged as an influential response that can build the resilience of individuals (Ahmed et al., 2021; Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a) and even communities (Williams & Shepherd, 2016b, 2021). Engaging in entrepreneurship can help maintain both economic and psychological functioning (Branzei & Abdelnour, 2010; Nikolaev et al., 2020). However, this research is still in its infancy. Specifically, it ignores two inter-related aspects of how resilience unfolds – the *life course* and the *appraisal* of adversity. As the life background and experiences of individuals influence their appraisals of adversity, and subsequently how they adapt to it, it is important to account for both aspects in our understanding of resilience.

Despite efforts to illuminate the role of entrepreneurship as a resilience mechanism in response to crises, this work has tended to focus on the impact of and response to a particular adversity, often isolating the adversity experience from the individual's wider life and past experiences (Seery et al., 2010; Windle, 2011).

Resilience would not be accurately captured if we do not understand how the individual was functioning prior to the adversity (Bonanno et al., 2015). Adversity accumulates over the lifetime, shaping whether individuals are vulnerable or resilient against new adversities (Rutter, 1999; Seery et al., 2010). For example, successful coping with previous stressors like mental disorders can build coping skills that help entrepreneurs with successful adaptation to future stressors (Wiklund et al., 2018). Taking a life course perspective (Elder, 1985; Elder et al., 2003) on resilience suggests that the ability to maintain functioning while facing adversity reflects the ups and downs experienced and corresponding previous adaptation throughout the life course (Rutter, 1999; Windle, 2011). Thus, to understand the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience, the entrepreneurs' experience of resilience needs to be placed within the context of one's life more broadly.

Relatedly, taking a life course perspective on resilience has implications for appraisal. To accurately understand the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience, it is important to understand how adversity is appraised rather than only assuming that it entails loss and distress- an assumption made in most entrepreneurship studies (Ahmed et al., 2021). Appraisals are shaped by the experienced life stressors (R. J. Turner & Lloyd, 1995) as well as internal and external resources (Bonanno et al., 2007; Hobfoll et al., 2015) accumulated throughout the distinctive life courses of individuals. In turn, appraisals affect how individuals build resilience (Bonanno et al., 2012; Mancini & Bonanno, 2009). Therefore, it is inaccurate to assume a uniform stress appraisal among entrepreneurs when examining the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience (Ahmed et al., 2021). Moreover, although few studies have examined the effect of appraisal on the entrepreneurs' response to market disruptions (Dewald & Bowen, 2010) and business loss (Jenkins et al., 2014), the dynamic nature of appraisal is

generally overlooked in the literature (Schermuly et al., 2020). So, for the same individual, one might initially appraise the situation as extremely stressful, but then revise this appraisal to a more positive one if new information that changes the meaning of the situation comes to light (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Thus, scrutinizing appraisals and its inherent dynamism can be key to examining the resilience of entrepreneurs.

To enhance our understanding of how entrepreneurship can build the resilience of individuals in the aftermath of adversity, we see scope to consider two inter-connected factors: the life course of the individual and the appraisal of adversity. We seek to explore *How can the life course shape the role of entrepreneurship in building psychological resilience in the aftermath of an adverse experience?* To answer this question, we expand on previous work on the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience (Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, 2016b) by examining the life stories of 51 refugee entrepreneurs with different pre-migration backgrounds who had been forced to migrate to Egypt. Our findings revealed that entrepreneurs experience different resilience trajectories following forced migration. Their pre-migration life as well as the adversity encountered after migration led to different combinations of appraisals. Consequently, we identified four resilience trajectories, which we labelled "maintaining entrepreneurial identity", "growth", "revival" and "escaping", that showed different functioning outcomes associated with entrepreneurship.

Our findings offer three main contributions to entrepreneurship scholarship on resilience. First, we extend theorizing on the resilience process in entrepreneurship (Ahmed et al., 2021; Shepherd et al., 2020) by theorizing trajectories within this process. Studying resilience from a wider life course perspective helped us account for

the pre-adversity functioning of the entrepreneurs and capture both their past and current life events (Bonanno et al., 2015; Windle, 2011). Taken together, these experiences can help explain why individuals encountering seemingly similar adversities respond differently in utilizing entrepreneurship to build their resilience. Second, we reveal the key role of dynamic appraisal as a key element in the resilience process. Extant research has conceived appraisal as either positive or negative showing that resilience can facilitate entrepreneur's positive appraisal of stressors (Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Jenkins et al., 2014). However, our findings show that different appraisals form a dynamic mechanism in the resilience process that connects the life history of the entrepreneurs with their migration experience, and accordingly shapes how entrepreneurship contributes to their resilience.

Finally, as current research has focused on the positive aspects of resilience (Williams et al., 2017), we show that entrepreneurs can experience resilience differently through a range of functioning outcomes, some of which reflect a dark side of resilience (Bonanno et al., 2005; Paulhus, 1998). We find that experienced entrepreneurs who re-engaged in entrepreneurship after migration benefited from self-enhancement through derogating others. So, our findings suggest that, as a tool of building resilience, entrepreneurship can be an egoistic behavior.

3.1 Theoretical Background

3.1.1 Resilience

Resilience has been conceptualized as the ability to maintain functioning and adapt to disruptive life experiences (Bonanno, 2004; Masten, 2014). While some positive psychology studies have studied resilience as a stable trait that explains how people differ in their response to stressors (Block & Kremen, 1996; Ong et al., 2006; Waugh et al., 2008), a more popular view is that resilience is a capacity which can be

developed (Bonanno, 2004; Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 2001; Windle, 2011). Individuals, such as the bereaved (Bonanno et al., 2002) or survivors of life-threatening events (Bonanno et al., 2005), tend to normally thrive after adversity and experience healthy trajectories with no signs of exceptional heroism. Accordingly, resilience has been used as a core theoretical lens to explore post-adversity entrepreneurship (Branzei & Abdelnour, 2010; Bullough & Renko, 2017; Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). Emerging entrepreneurship studies (Williams and Shepherd, 2016a; Wiklund et al., 2018; Shepherd et al., 2020) have taken a process view of resilience that describes it as a dynamic construct where individuals interact with their environment to develop the ability of adapting to adversity (Williams et al., 2017). However, with recent studies still conceptualizing resilience as a trait (e.g., Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Obschonka et al., 2018), this process view is still relatively understudied (Ahmed et al., 2021) with a limited understanding of its mechanisms.

Entrepreneurship research has mainly focused on identifying factors that help entrepreneurs build resilience including, for example, experiencing positive emotions (Fredrickson, 2001) through self-compassion (Engel et al., 2020) and social resources such as business networks (Newman et al., 2018) and community support (Muñoz et al., 2019). However, emerging research on the process of resilience has built on arguments that entrepreneurial activity itself can build psychological resources that reduce stress and develop resilience (Shepherd & Patzelt, 2015; Williams et al., 2017). Growing evidence on compassion venturing (Shepherd & Williams, 2014; Williams & Shepherd, 2017) suggests that that those who deployed their human capital to create new ventures to alleviate the suffering of others after an adversity, benefited from better functioning than those who did not venture (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). Shepherd et al. (2020) extended this work by building a resilience model of refugee entrepreneurship. They

found that entrepreneurial action led to resilience outcomes for refugees both inside and outside of camps. However, as this work either took place in a specific context where there was no consideration of the pre-adversity period (Shepherd et al., 2020), or it controlled for pre-disaster functioning (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a), we see room for better examination of the role of the different background of entrepreneurs before the adversity.

We can still further understand the resilience process beyond contexts where entrepreneurs are a group with a homogenous background. Indeed, psychology research has established that identifying functioning outcomes (Bonanno et al., 2015; Fisher et al., 2019) would be "impossible" if we do not ask two main questions - "how individuals, families, or communities had been functioning prior to the aversive circumstances (i.e., their baseline psychological adjustment), and how they were functioning following the aversive circumstances" (Bonanno et al., 2015, p. 142). The salience of the temporal elements of resilience reflects the significance of taking a life course perspective when examining resilience.

3.1.2 Resilience and the life course

Findings on entrepreneurs' responses to business related adversity highlight the positive effect of experiencing previous adversity on entrepreneurs' resilience (Dewald & Bowen, 2010; Muñoz et al., 2019). Corner et al. (2017) show that some entrepreneurs who lost their businesses drew on past life-hardships to reframe failure as manageable. However, the role of past experiences in shaping future behaviors and reactions goes beyond negative experiences to include both positive and negative personal, social and cultural experiences, which is referred to as *life course perspective* (Elder et al., 2003; Hareven, 1978). Thus, while Williams and Shepherd (2016a) considered the effect of pre-adversity human capital on post-adversity functioning, we believe a life course

perspective offers a broader and more comprehensive perspective by accounting for the role of past experiences and pre-adversity functioning in shaping how entrepreneurship can build individuals' resilience.

Life course refers to "a sequence of socially defined events and roles that the individual enacts over time" (Giele & Elder, 1998, p. 22). Life course is used as a paradigm to study human lives with an emphasis on time, context and process (Elder, 2007). Underlying the life course, trajectories are long-term behavior patterns that depict pathways of development over the lifespan such as criminal behavior and work career. Embedded in trajectories are transitions; events with shorter time spans (e.g. first job, prison sentence) (Elder, 1985). Seminal developmental psychology research on resilience has indeed built on the life course perspective (Masten, 2001; Masten et al., 1990; Rutter, 1987). Elder's (1974) study of the children of the great depression showed that older children who had to assist the family during that time were better able to cope with life demands than younger children. Such early life accomplishment and position of responsibility can build protective mechanisms against adversities (Rutter, 1987). More recent conceptualizations of resilience appreciate the importance of taking a life course context to highlight turning points during the lifespan (Windle, 2011) and the developmental trajectories of resilience (Pangallo et al., 2015). Yet, such conceptualizations have not made their way into entrepreneurship research.

Accordingly, a key aspect of studying resilience involves recognizing its temporal elements (Bonanno et al., 2015; Fisher et al., 2019) including pre-adversity functioning as well as the duration and intensity of the adversity. For example, resilience can be about bouncing back following acute stressors (isolated events like loss or injury), and more about maintaining functioning following chronic stressors that endure throughout one's life (long-term conditions such as poverty or ongoing abuse)

(Bonanno & Diminich, 2013; Fisher et al., 2019). A life course perspective on resilience can capture these temporal elements when we study how entrepreneurship helps build resilience. An important reason for accounting for the temporal elements of resilience is because of their bearing on how adversity is perceived (i.e., appraised).

3.1.3 Resilience and Appraisal

Appraisal forms a key first reaction to adversity that explains how individuals react and respond to adverse conditions (Ferguson et al., 1999; Tomaka et al., 1997). It is "the process of categorizing an encounter, and its various facets, with respect to its significance for well-being" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 31). Appraisal processes are a core resilience mechanism that shape how individuals cope with stressors and achieve psychological functioning (Fisher et al., 2019; Mancini & Bonanno, 2009). Appraising adversity as stressful is a critical precondition for psychologists to infer resilience (Masten & Reed, 2002). Appraisal determines the level of disruption in functioning which in turn shapes the mechanisms and outcomes of adjusting to that disruption (Chevalier et al., 2009). For example, challenge appraisals rather than threat appraisals of traumatic physical injuries were associated with resilient outcomes (Bonanno et al., 2012) and lower depression (Kennedy et al., 2010). Appraisals influence the subsequent coping strategies by which stressors are buffered (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000). For example, since threat appraisals are associated with heightened negative emotions (Tomaka et al., 1993), this can lead to adopting coping strategies that are more emotion-focused (i.e., distancing one's self from the stressor to limit the associated negative emotions) than problem-focused (i.e., acting to change the situation itself) (Olff et al., 2005).

Hence, appraisal can be a key mechanism that complements the process of building resilience in entrepreneurship. Yet, the majority of entrepreneurship research

has taken a narrow view on the subjective experiences of stress and stress responses by not accounting for the individual appraisal of stress (Ahmed et al., 2021). While resilience facilitated more positive appraisals of business startup conditions (Chadwick & Raver, 2020) and failure (Jenkins et al., 2014), the impact of appraisal on resilience has been less of a focus [with a few exceptions which suggest that different business risk perceptions can shape how entrepreneurs build resilience (Dewald & Bowen, 2010; Y. Liu, 2020)]. Further, while some limited evidence suggests that entrepreneurs' previous adversity experiences can affect how they appraise (Jenkins et al., 2014) and cope with stress (Corner et al., 2017b), we believe taking a life course perspective will provide a richer understanding of appraisal and in so doing, enhance our understanding of entrepreneurs' resilience.

Accordingly, we examine how life course can shape the role of entrepreneurship in building psychological resilience in the aftermath of adversity by 1) taking a life course perspective on resilience and 2) looking at how life course can affect stress appraisals during the migration adversity. Life stories of forced migrants provide a suitable context to examine this phenomenon.

3.2 Methodology

We followed an inductive theory building approach to answer our research question (Gioia et al., 2013; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This research design is suitable for our study because: 1) Inductive theory building can help develop theory in an area with limited theoretical development (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). It can help answer the "how" and "why" type of research questions (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009) which can help us identify the mechanisms of building resilience from the refugees' own rich narratives (Miles & Huberman, 2013). 2) Given the life course perspective we are adopting, we are interested in the broader context of each refugee, and qualitative

inductive methodology is suitable for exploring behavior patterns highly embedded in contexts (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Through systematic comparing and contrasting, we can reveal both patterns and variations within the life stories and experiences of refugees, and thus add rigor to the inducted theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). 3) Since narrating adversity and post-adversity transitioning involve more cognitive processing and sensemaking than positive life stories (Burton & King, 2004), it can be vital for understanding resilience (R. A. Neimeyer, 2004). This narration can reveal stressors and the mechanisms used to cope with these stressors (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Indeed, inductive approaches have been previously employed to study entrepreneurs' responses to adversity (e.g., Muñoz et al., 2019; Singh et al., 2015) and how entrepreneurship can facilitate resilience (e.g., Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016b).

3.2.1 Research Setting

The research setting for examining our research question is forced migration in Egypt. Since the Syrian civil war broke out in 2011, the refugee crisis has soared with Syria becoming the main country of origin for refugees alongside the prolonged deteriorating conditions in some African countries like Somalia, Afghanistan and South Sudan and conflicts in Asia like Afghanistan and Myanmar. 86% of the refugees in the world are hosted in developing countries. Egypt is one of these countries which host 329,322 refugees and asylum seekers as registered by The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2021a). However, actual numbers are believed to be much higher than the registered numbers. As a neighboring country to Syria, Egypt has been one of the top Syrian refugee hosting countries with Syrians accounting for 50.4% of the total refugee population followed by Sudanese (19%), South Sudanese (7.7%), Eritreans (7%), Ethiopians (6.2%), Yemenis (3.6%), Iraqis (2.7%), Somalis and

other nationalities (0.6%) (UNHCR, 2021a). This diversity in the refugee population was enriching to our research and was reflected in our sample.

With a population of 100 million, Egypt is a developing economy which is still grappling with high unemployment rates (7.4%) and poverty rates (29.7%). Although Egypt is part of the refugee convention which protects refugees' rights to employment, Egyptian employers need to prove that there is no Egyptian national available to be hired for the job before a work permit is issued for a refugee (Sadek, 2016). So formal employment is difficult for refugees. However, the informal sector in Egypt accounts for 40% to 50% of the GDP with 85% of SMEs in this sector (Soliman, 2020). This creates a major alternative for refugees as the majority of Egyptians are employed informally. UNHCR delivers cash grants but only to the extremely vulnerable refugees, and it usually does not cover the basic needs of a family. However, a number of humanitarian NGOs provide livelihood programs which train and support refugees for either employment or self-employment. Those NGOs were key to accessing our sample as we explain in the next section.

Compared to other refugee populations, Syrians are considered to share the most in common with Egyptians. For example, although both Syria and Sudan, the two biggest refugee populations, are Arabic speaking countries, the Syrian dialect, culture, and ethnic background are closer to the Egyptian than the Sudanese. Thus, Syrian refugees tend to be more socially integrated than other refugees. This was confirmed by our interviews with the case workers in the NGOs, and also proved to be significant in our conversations with the interviewed refugees.

3.2.2 Sampling

We developed some criteria for selecting the research participants who would represent the phenomenon we are interested in and would fit the nature of our research question. Thus, we created a profile of the individuals we wanted to include: a) we were interested in individuals who are forced migrants[7] including both refugees[8] and asylum seekers[9]. b) They became self-employed or started formal or informal businesses after migration. c) We included both novice (first-time) entrepreneurs, and experienced entrepreneurs who were entrepreneurs in their home countries but they restarted after migration. d) We included forced migrants who have experienced loss of resources (financial, assets, social resources, experience credentials…etc.) due to their migration. Although they might have transferred or maintained some pre-migration resources, the point is that they are not just immigrants who were able to transfer all their resources after migration with no experienced hardship (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). This is key for investigating resilience because as a phenomenon, resilience unfolds only after individuals face stressful adverse conditions (Mancini & Bonanno, 2009; Masten & Reed, 2002; Roisman, 2005).

Gaining access to our sample was a timely demanding process due to the vulnerable nature of forced migrants and the extra caution and protection they exercise in talking to researchers. Thus, we had to mainly cooperate with a number of Humanitarian NGOs in

[7] The International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) defines forced migration as "a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects" (See the IAFSM website: www.iasfm.org).
[8] The 1951 United Nations Convention defines a refugee as "any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNHCR, 1951, p. 14)
[9] Asylum seeker is someone whose request for refugee status has not yet been determined (UNHCR, 1951).

Egypt to act as gatekeepers. This involved organizing meetings and submitting applications for ethics approval. We were even denied access by some NGOs. However, we managed to gain access through three NGOs that develop livelihood programs for refugees. These programs provide self-employment training, coaching and micro-funding. The NGOs deliver these programs through project offices in some neighborhoods and satellite towns in Cairo which are populated by refugee communities. The first NGO gave us access to 13 entrepreneurs from Sudan, 6 Syrians and 1 Eritrean through one of their project offices in Ard El-Lewa. They organized interviews with. The second NGO gave us access to 15 Syrian entrepreneurs in projects located in ElObour and 6th of October, and the third NGO gave us access to 6 Syrian entrepreneurs in 6th of October. Moreover, the first author, who is Egyptian, managed to get access to some entrepreneurs who are refugee community leaders. Then through a snowballing process (Patton, 2014), those leaders connected him to other entrepreneurs. This eventually led to locating 10 more refugee entrepreneurs. In total we included 51 entrepreneurs.

As our theoretical ideas developed through our fieldwork, we engaged in ongoing theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to include additional participants who would help in elaborating themes and relationships. For example, as we coded the data from our first phase of interviews which included a majority of Syrian entrepreneurs, we began to notice interesting differences in the experiences of the fewer Sudanese and Eritrean entrepreneurs we interviewed. Thus, we went back to the field to interview more Sudanese entrepreneurs and this gave us more insight into the experiences of entrepreneurs who are suffering from persistent adversity. We also realized the vitality of ensuring variation in our sample to ensure "an appropriate level of abstraction" and "add further elements" to our theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Therefore, despite access difficulties, we made sure to not only include refugees from different countries but also different ages, both male and

female, sole and team founders and different types of ventures. Table 2.A in the appendix provides a description of our sample.

3.2.3 Data collection

Interviews. Our primary data collection took place through semi-structured interviews with the 51 refugee entrepreneurs over a period of 17 months. All Interviews were conducted by the first author in Arabic except for one interview that the participant preferred to speak in English, and were audio recorded with permission. Average interview duration was 48 minutes with some interviews lasting over 2 hours. Depending on each entrepreneur's preference, most interviews took place at their shops, offices or homes, and sometimes at a coffeeshop. Some NGOs assigned a caseworker to organize the interviews and escort the interviewer to assure confidentiality. The NGO project office in Ard El-Lewa organized the interviews for us in their office. Interviews with entrepreneurs followed a life story approach (McAdams, 2008; Peacock & Holland, 1993) where by each participant was asked to narrate his or her life story. This provides an autobiographical account of contextualized events, behaviors and feelings within specific ordered time frames in the life of the individual (McAdams, 2008). The interview covered 1) the entrepreneur's background and life before migration, 2) migration experience and settling, 3) starting the business and 4) the impact of the entrepreneurship experience on their various life domains.

Furthermore, following (Muñoz et al., 2018) we utilized some graphic elicitation methods; relational maps and timelines (Bagnoli, 2009) to complement the interview questions. First, we showed the participants a map with three concentric circles and asked them to write down the three most important things in their life before migration, and then to do the same thing for after migration. The most important thing would be inside the inner circle and then the least important would be towards the outer circles.

Second, we showed them an empty chart with two axes; X-axis referring to time and Y-axis referring to stress. We asked them to draw how their stress levels changed since migrating up till the present moment back then, and what are the main events or circumstances behind these stress levels. Although these graphic elicitations were not analyzed and coded to find patterns (Muñoz et al., 2018), these methods brought about vital points which some participants have missed in their answers but they were key to understanding their resilience with a life course perspective. This was also very useful in allowing us to probe into the psychological aspect of each participant's entrepreneurship experience and gauge its role in their life journeys.

Moreover, we interviewed 7 employees from the three NGOs including business mentors, caseworkers and a psychologist who worked closely with the entrepreneurs. These interviews gave us further insights into the experiences of these entrepreneurs and their backgrounds. It also informed us about the social, economic and legal environments of refugees in Egypt, and how these can demographically differ between refugees. In total, all interviews amounted to 2766 minutes of recording. We transcribed and translated the transcripts into English using a professional transcriber and translator yielding around 920 single-spaced pages.

Secondary data. Finally, to triangulate our findings we gathered media articles, videos as well as case studies and reports issued by organizations supporting refugee entrepreneurship. One of the NGOs provided us with the application forms for their micro-finance programs and the guiding criteria which they use to assess the vulnerability of the refugees and their qualifications. As I discussed these documents in the interviews with the NGO representatives, it gave us insights into the economic, social and psychological backgrounds of our research participants.

3.2.4 Data Analysis

We analyzed the data following an inductive theory building approach (Gioia et al., 2013; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We adopted a systematic approach to code our data following the method describe by Gioia et al. (2013). We 1) started with first order coding, 2) organized the codes into theoretical themes which we used to 3) build aggregate dimensions. Then 4) we identified a typology using the theoretical dimensions as its matrices (Powell & Baker, 2014). However, our analysis was iterative in nature going in parallel with data collection and involving frequent literature consultation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We explain each step-in detail.

First, we used NVivo software in our coding process to organize and categorize the data. We started by open coding as we went through each interview transcript to label statements. This stage started after conducting the first 20 interviews and it went in parallel to our field work. Early on we started noticing common themes as well as variations in our codes. For example, we noticed that social integration was reported by most entrepreneurs. However, we noticed that entrepreneurship was a self-realization experience for some, while for others it was just a way of emotionally distancing themselves from the adversity they have experienced. We logged these differences and other interesting initial findings in memos on NVivo to be used for the second-order codes. As we coded more than half of the interviews and with around 150 codes, we identified some redundant codes that could be collapsed.

Second, as we finished coding most of the interviews we went through the first-order codes to identify the ones which can be categorized into common themes. At this stage we started becoming more theoretically driven as we tried to make sure these themes are derived from our knowledge of the literature (Gioia et al., 2013). For example, in the early stages of coding we noticed that some codes were related to how entrepreneurs dealt

with forced migration (e.g., having a positive outlook and rebuilding out of loss) while other codes were related to their current conditions (e.g., persistent hardship). After getting back to the literature we combined both types into codes related to the concept of appraisal which varies between individuals (e.g., opportunity, Harm-threat).

Third, we fully moved to "the theoretical realm" (Gioia et al., 2013) as we clustered the themes into overarching dimensions that can explain our research phenomena. For example, we noticed that there were themes related to the entrepreneurs' both positive and negative experiences before migrating or even back in their childhood. One of the authors suggested linking this to the life course perspective. Then as we consulted the literature we realized that life course was used to provide a more comprehensive explanation of resilience. Thus, we clustered these themes as life history. In total we identified 4 aggregate dimensions that we used as the foundation for our model. Figure 1 summarizes our data structure.

Fourth, as we had our data structure established, our initial focus was on building a process model of our findings (Langley et al., 2013). The phases of this process were based on the identified theoretical dimensions. However, as we had noticed early on during both our data collection and coding that there are different patterns of resilience emerging, we looked carefully at each entrepreneur's journey and we were able to code each case into a pattern (Miles & Huberman, 2013). Accordingly, we identified a working typology of four patterns of resilience that we labeled as resilience trajectories (*maintaining entrepreneurial identity, growth, revival* and *escaping*) with the aggregate dimensions in our process model (Life history, Migration appraisal, functioning and entrepreneurial career outlook) forming the matrices of this typology. Then we moved up our analysis from in-between cases to in-between trajectories (Powell & Baker, 2014). Comparisons between trajectories facilitated identifying the different combinations of theoretical themes across the typology dimensions for each trajectory. Finally, we returned to examining each case to make sure

that it fit its trajectory's combination of underlying theoretical themes. Figure 2 illustrates the resilience trajectories.

Figure 1. Data Structure

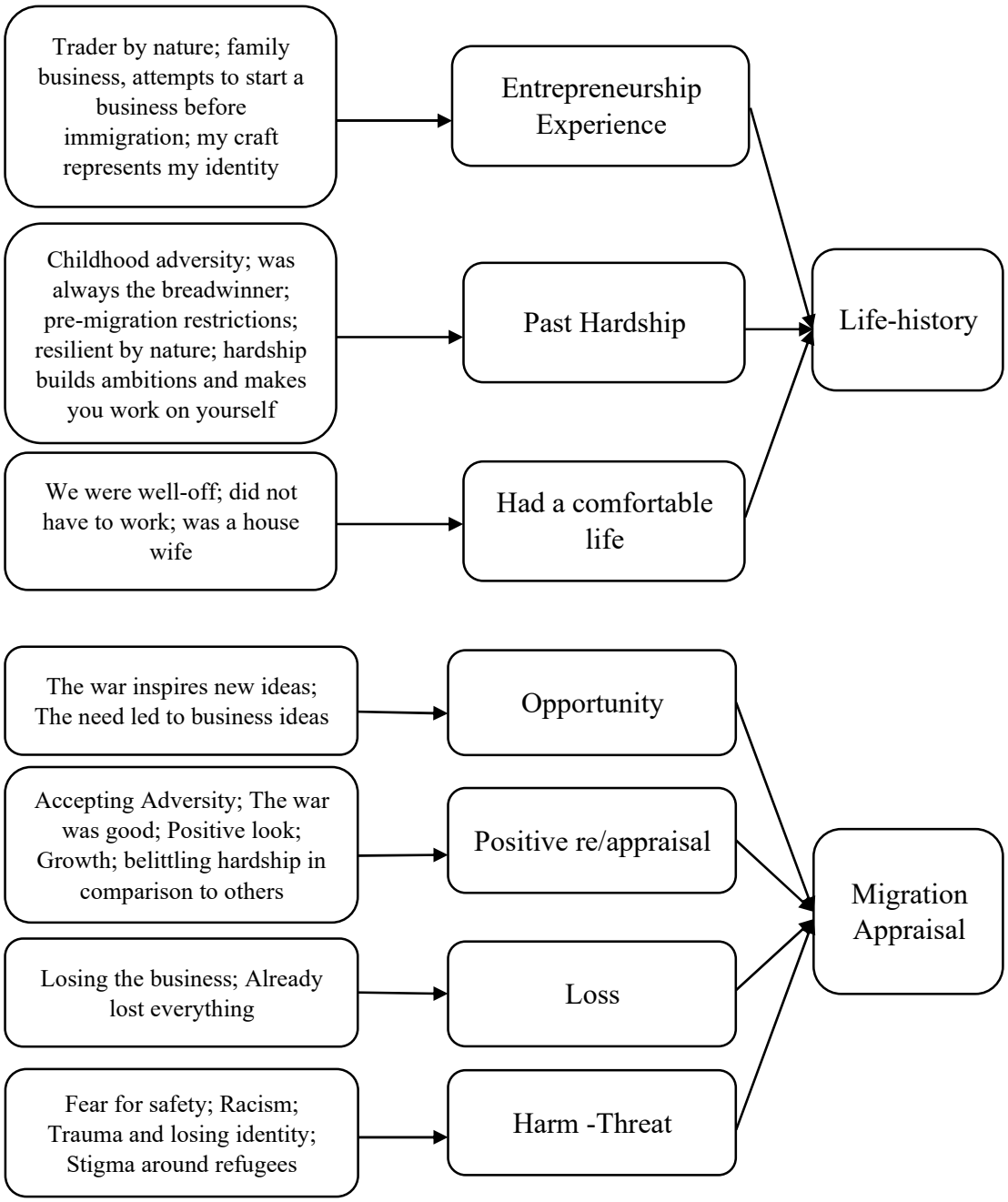


Figure 65. Data Structure - continued

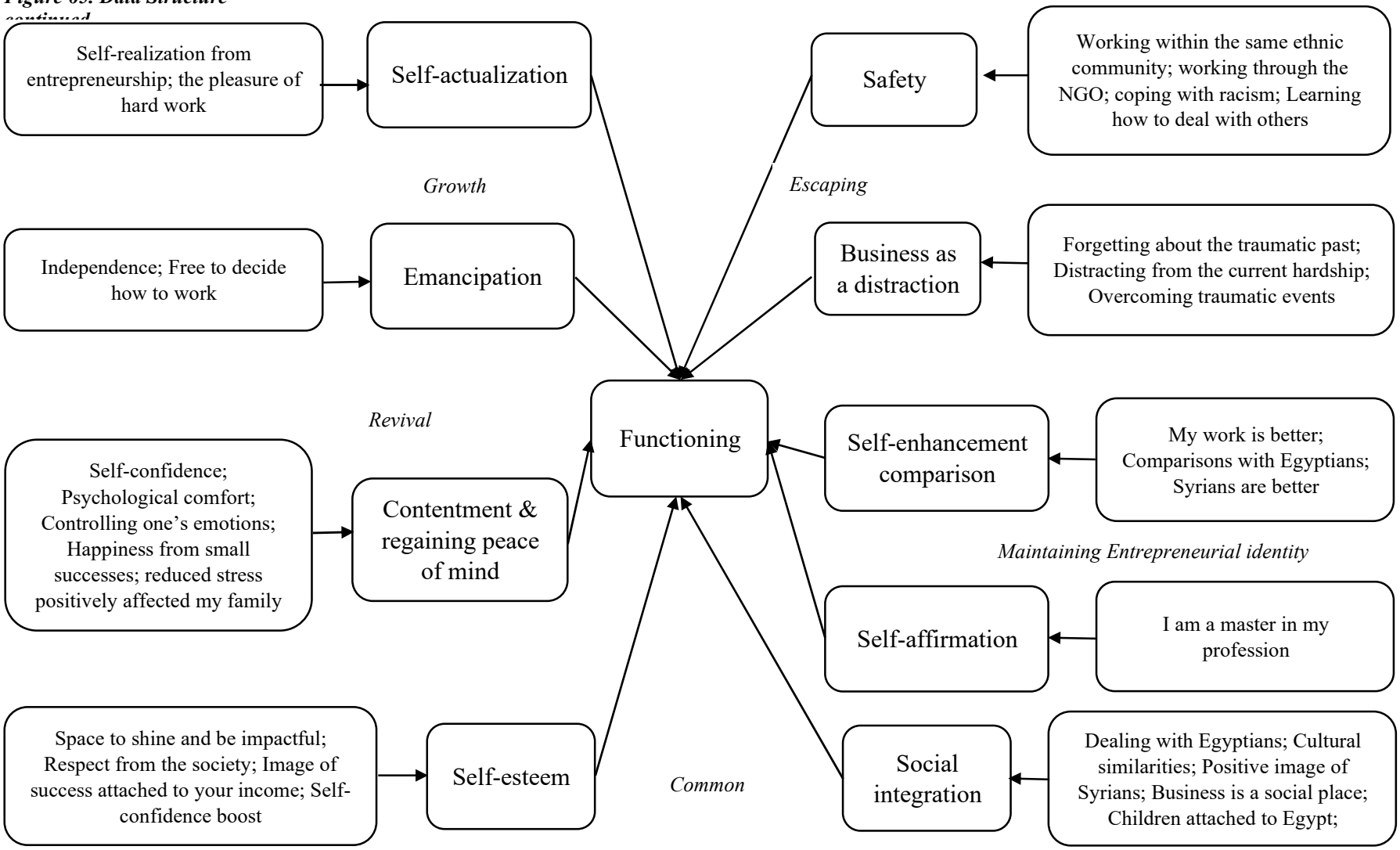
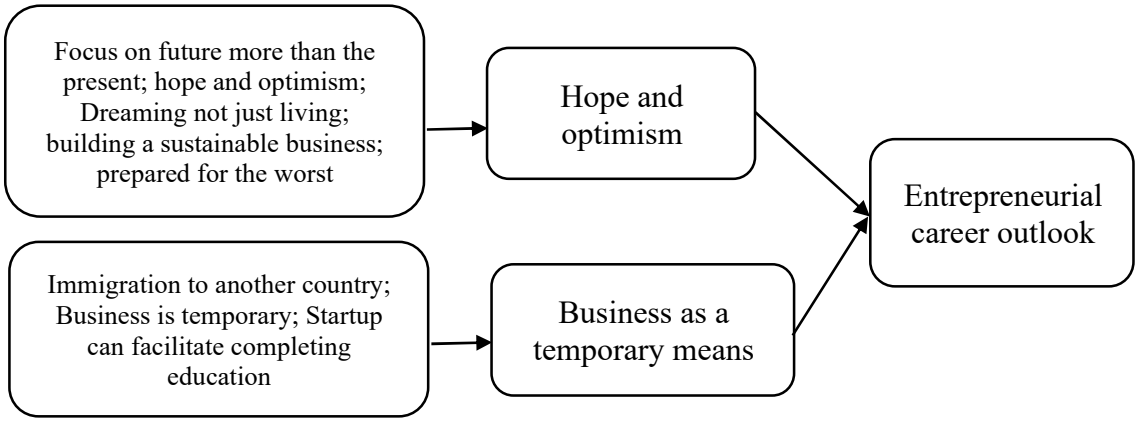


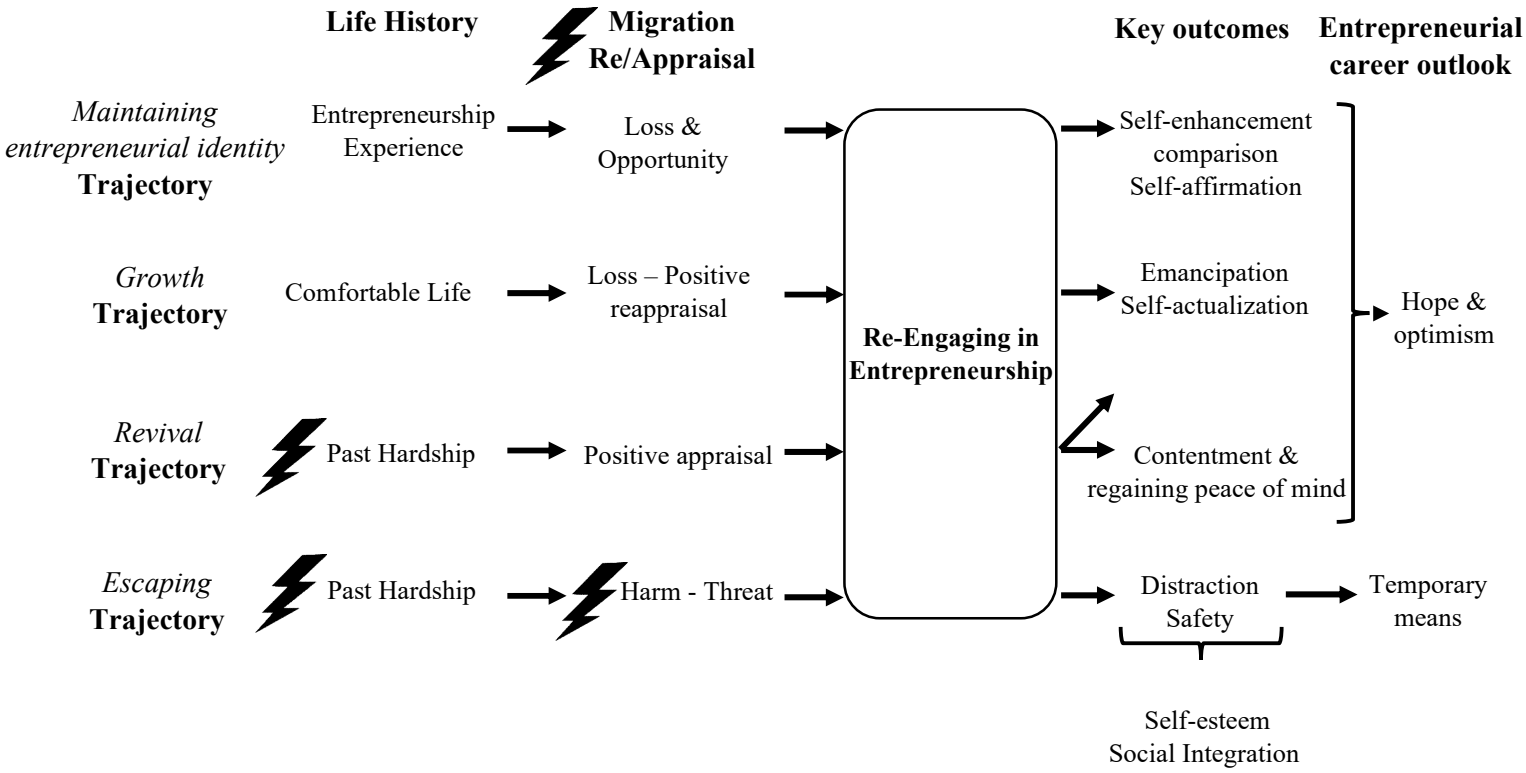
Figure 129. Data Structure - continued



3.3 Findings

We discuss our findings in light of the data structure and illustrate the main themes which form the building blocks for our model. Our high-level finding – which shaped the framing of our manuscript -was that the resilience process of the entrepreneurs is shaped by their life history and their appraisals of the migration experience. Both the pre-migration and post-migration lives of the entrepreneurs influenced how they appraised the forced migration experience. In turn this shaped the role that the entrepreneurship experience played in restoring their functioning. Within this process, our analysis has revealed four distinct resilience trajectories, which we label as: *maintaining entrepreneurial identity, growth, revival* and *escaping*. These trajectories differed mainly along life history, migration appraisal, how resilience is manifested (i.e. functioning outcomes) and entrepreneurial career outlooks. However, there were some common themes between the four trajectories.

Figure 193. Resilience Trajectories of Refugee Entrepreneurs



We explain each trajectory based on the main stages of the process (i.e., the theoretical dimensions of our data structure). Then we explain the common functioning outcomes which were reported by entrepreneurs in the four trajectories. Tables 1 to 5 contain representative quotations that support our findings.

3.3.1 Maintaining Entrepreneurial Identity Trajectory

We observed the maintaining entrepreneurial identity trajectory in those refugees who used to be entrepreneurs back in their home countries. They typically appraised their migration experience as loss, even though they also appraised it as an opportunity as they realized they can re-engage in entrepreneurship. Accordingly, their re-engagement in entrepreneurship contributed to their resilience through self-affirmation and self-enhancement comparison as they maintained their identity as entrepreneurs.

Life history: Entrepreneurship experience. Some of the refugee entrepreneurs were already entrepreneurs back in their home countries where they owned and managed their own businesses or their family businesses. Many of them indicated how successful their businesses were and how it was of a much bigger scale than their current businesses. AM, a Syrian refugee who used to be an owner of a hand-craft accessories business back in Syria, was reminiscent of his business success.

> "I had a workshop and I had workers, thank God, things were going well, I was specialized (my specialty) in bride accessories, shoes accessories, garments accessories, and everything, I was number one in this industry there, in models, and production, a huge production. I had so many workers…my work was going well."

Other younger entrepreneurs who were getting trained before immigrating to take their roles in their family businesses also showed pride in what their future would have looked like. MO and YASS, who are both co-founders of a bath products business, stated that "if we were in Syria, I think we would continue our studies, this is the first

point, secondly, his father owns a factory, so as my father, so we would work with our fathers there, and develop our business" and "If we were in Syria, we would work in another business, a bigger one with more revenues so it would be larger than what we have here."

Migration appraisal: Loss and opportunity. This group of entrepreneurs were reminiscent of the destruction of their businesses during the war or having to lose it after leaving everything behind to escape. Accordingly, this resulted in a loss appraisal of their migration experience. ABOW, an owner of an upholstery business, explains how he lost his business and wealth: "I had my own workshop and shop and I was doing very well, but you know what happened…We lost everything… we came to Egypt with only 50 dollars. We came to the airport with only 50 dollars."

However, they also found a silver lining in their forced migration. They identified opportunities to start businesses that can build on their experience and offer products or services which are different or of higher quality than the local competition. This has led to an opportunity appraisal of forced migration. NA3, who owned a confectionary business in Syria and then started a similar business on a smaller scale after migration, explained that:

> "Here the materials are more available than there (Syria). Peanuts are available here as well as the sesame seeds, you cultivate them, you have sugar, and you make good sugar in your factories. All the materials are available here. When we were in Syria, we used to import from Egypt…there are many workers here, if you want to teach workers and establish them for our work, it will be easy to do it here."

Nevertheless, both loss and opportunity appraisals occurred simultaneously as their re-engagement in entrepreneurship did not necessarily make up for their loss. When asked whether his current business compensates for the loss of his business in Syria, NA3 said "No, of course not, this is very primitive work. Here I work alone. It is

close, but the difference is in the money, there in Syria, I am the boss, I don't work much with my hands like here." This discord between appraisals influenced the role of entrepreneurship so that it can make up for the loss and maintain their entrepreneurial identity.

Functioning: Self-enhancement comparison and self-affirmation. As refugees in this trajectory re-engaged in entrepreneurship, their entrepreneurship experience helped them maintain their entrepreneurial identity through self-enhancement comparison – having an overly positive self-perception compared to perceiving others (Wills, 1981; Zuckerman & O'Loughlin, 2006) – and self-affirmation – reinforcing one's abilities, traits and skills in order to maintain self-worth (Sherman & Cohen, 2006). Some of those refugee entrepreneurs showed self-serving biases by comparing themselves to their Egyptian counterparts to show how their work is better and how Syrians in general are better workers and entrepreneurs. ABORAF, a Syrian refugee who founded a handicrafts business with his wife, made this comparison stating that:

> "There is a difference between Syrians and Egyptians, the Egyptian tends to sleep and makes his wife go to work, but he doesn't want to work even if he is in need of money. Whereas the Syrian doesn't sleep, he works all his life, he is a hard worker, he prays to God to bless him and give him what he needs."

Many of those entrepreneurs stated that their customers are always more satisfied and happier to deal with them than other Egyptian businesses. For example, RAF, a self-employed furniture carpenter, said: "They (customers) told me that I'm unique, when I asked them why, they said that the week for Egyptians means a month. I give you a date and I try to deliver before it as to build trust with customers."

Many of the entrepreneurs in this trajectory showed how their businesses affirmed their own value as successful and skillful entrepreneurs. They described themselves as "Masters" in their respective professions or vocations who are used to

managing others rather than be managed. AM said: “I am a master, I want to open a workshop and work, I proved to them that wherever I go, I can achieve a high level of work…This is my identity in life, god sent me this gift.”

Entrepreneurial career outlook: Hope and optimism. Although many of those entrepreneurs face some obstacles in formalizing their businesses, they had high hopes to sustain and grow their businesses. As they were reaping both psychological and financial benefits, they were optimistic about how they can build and improve their new lives supported by their businesses. RAF said: “There is someone who only seeks to get 100 EGP by the end of the day, this is not my aspiration, I aspire to collect 100,000 EGP to be able to enlarge my project, I try to think how to expand my project, I work here, I display my works online.”

Table 1. Representative quotations: Maintaining Entrepreneurial Identity Trajectory

	Dimension: Life History
Entrepreneurship experience	“I have a craft and I'm experienced in it, I'm a master in my craft, nothing is hard for me in my craft, that's why I didn’t prefer to kill it and start another one” (RAF) “At school, since I was at primary stage. During the summer vacation, I used to join my father and my two uncles in our workshop. The main field was Aluminum windows and doors” (KAR) “I have been working back in Syria in upholstery and curtains since 1970…now I am 61 and I have been working in upholstery since I was 10 years. I finished my military service and returned, and then I opened my own workshop” (ABOW) “My dad had a patisserie factory, but my idea was to take a relatively less privilege so when I join my dad, I would develop his business. This is what I had in mind…to add to it rather than being a dependent. So, I did this. After working for 5 years, I worked with my dad, we added new types of desserts and savories” (ABOAR) “I used to take on projects in towers and big buildings, to establish its electricity infrastructure…My office was in the same building I lived in and I had a team working for me. I was the owner of the business and I was very successful in Syria. I was responsible for the electricity work in the biggest tower in Homs” (ABOIB)
	Dimension: Migration Re/Appraisal
Loss	“Everything stopped because of the war. The factory with the warehouse were all destroyed. Everything was gone of course. My house after I bought it, my own house, also gone. So, I realized I am going to become something, I will become dependent on my father. Do you know what dependent means? It is a big burden on him” (ABOAR) “we had to leave everything and move to another area in Sham…A month and ten days passed and the war was not over. We returned back to our place to save our supermarket and to take our goods. However, we were just able to take the

	cigarettes and the rest was gone. Everything was gone even the refrigerators" (KAR) "We migrated like everyone did, we left everything as is, our shop, our house. It was fully working, manufacturing and distribution. However, I got nothing out of it. If I had for example 100 million pounds, but all in real estate and then an earthquake happened, I'd basically end up with nothing. So, for me, everything I had was in the business… I suddenly had nothing, nothing I swear to god" (AZZ) "I used to be a businessman, and a craftsman, but the difference is that in Syria, I had money, a big capital, like wealth, but here, I don't have this, the NGO just gave me a grant" (AM)
Opportunity	"The internet in Egypt is better than in Yemen which was an opportunity to expand the scope of our work. In Yemen, the internet is slow and somehow expensive, which was an obstacle in our way. Our success is based on the internet, as it is much better here in Egypt. we post ads and videos at ease. We could work better with our clients" (RAD) "In Lebanon we used to work with engineers who were living in Europe, so they used to bring new designs and new ideas, that's what I liked to apply here in Egypt, this table is all made of wood but in Lebanon they mix wood with metal to make more elegant designs and that's what I'm trying to apply here in the market" (RAF) "I went to 'El Nomrossy' shop, which has so many branches here in Egypt and showed him my work…he started to ask me to make dozens of pieces….He called me lately and asked me for another order, this happened many times…I said 'you represent a good opportunity for me, and I represent a good opportunity for you…so thank God, we worked for this season" (AM) "We are the first to introduce this size and model to the markets, another one with a new stick, look at this one, they put this with the shampoo offers…when we first checked it, we found that there are few of them, only made in China…we didn't find anyone who works like us…it is expensive to import it" (YASS and MOH)
	Dimension: Key Outcomes
Self-enhancement comparison	"Actually Egyptians here do not do any work, please don't be bothered by my words, in our country, we call it 'Public Syria', it means that it has cheapest products, we produce large amounts of goods and export them to Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, they live on our products, we give them our goods, the Iraqi people do not have eggs, so we export eggs to them" (ABORAF) "My Egyptians customers are more than my Syrian customers; they tell me that they ran away from the Egyptian competitors because they are tardy and dishonest." (ABOW) "I swear even at work they (Egyptian counterparts) never exert effort. So, if the work takes 2 days, they finish it in 4 days. He wants to work by the pace which suits him, with no extra effort. On the contrary, I worked hard..." (ABOIB) "I told him 'give them the work and they can make pieces one by one, if they knew how to make them well, you can keep the work going like this, no problem', he told me 'No, they don't know how to do his', I know that they do not know, because I am different from the Egyptians here, and even the Syrians as well" (AM)
Self-affirmation	"Our insistency is the reason why we succeeded here, even if there are wars in our country but we have to resist, wherever we go we prove that, that's what we did in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, anywhere we stay, we arrange (set) places, streets of our own" (RAF) "I have a good background in this field, I know how to deal with this merchandise, while they have no idea about that, so within a month and a half or two months, I managed to sell all of them…I have my own way in selling and buying, this is my job, I used to sell a container of goods in Syria" (ABORAF)

Dimension: Entrepreneurial career outlook	
Hope and Optimism	"One always aims to develop something for oneself. It might be less income. It is an adventure. You feel like you have your own body. It can open for your brighter futures because a job, no matter how long it lasts, it will eventually die" (ABOAR) " I tell my wife that if I have a chance to travel to a rich country to gather 20000 or 30000 $, I won't return to Syria, I will come to Egypt, to establish a factory and develop it, I will build it in my own way" (AM) "I have to look forward to the future, thanks God, you know that any young man's power is in his health and body, if these are fine it means that you are fine, you can then work, hold, or exert effort" (RAF)

3.3.2 Growth Trajectory

Those who had a fairly comfortable pre-migration life showed that they initially appraised the loss of this life when forced to migrate. However, they later reappraised their migration more positively as they realized that they can have a more meaningful life through the opportunity of becoming self-employed. They then experienced personal growth as an outcome of entrepreneurship.

History: Comfortable life. A group of entrepreneurs, mostly Syrian women, explained how they came from a comfortable life as housewives who did not have many responsibilities other than caring for their families, and many of them used to benefit from life's luxuries without having to work. NE, a social entrepreneur who runs a catering business that recruits refugee women, viewed her comfortable pre-migration life negatively, explaining that:

> "The problem is that I was, and still, from the rich of Damascus. You were not striving for a living. This point is very important. When I was in Syria I was not worried about my stipend or having money. I was just looking to fill up my spare time. That's it! I had my car, I had a maid...The most important thing for me was my kids. I was living for my kids."

Entrepreneurs in this trajectory also included young entrepreneurs who did not have responsibilities back in their home countries and they were living their lives as teenagers or young adults who were supported by their parents. YAZ who is a 20-year-old self-employed Air conditioning technician said:

> "We had enough money, cars, we didn't need anything, I didn't have to work, because my father was working well, and he was paying for all our expenses, he had money, and we used to go to the beach in summer. Actually, I thought about that once, if I were in Syria, I wouldn't have to work."

Migration appraisal: From loss to positive reappraisal. In the early period as refugees in Egypt, this group of entrepreneurs experienced a sense of loss as life for them was no longer as comfortable as it used to be. AK, a social entrepreneur who founded a refugee training center, described how he felt when he fled from Syria and stayed with his sister in the UAE before having to move to Egypt.

> "I was in great pressure. Despite being in my sister's home, who was financially comfortable, and the house has a pool and a gym, but all this has no value for me, you feel as a young man that you are useless, and has nothing to do, it feels terrible. It's a totally uncertain future. You miss your family, your fiancé, your friends, and many other things, actually, I cried in secret so many times, I got angry in secret… there was a total lack of control over my feelings."

However, as they settled in the new community and found that they now had to work to contribute to supporting their households, they started realizing that they could now utilize their skills and engage in more meaningful activities than in their pre-migration life. These refugees started realizing that they would not have reached this if it was not for their forced migration. Thus, they reappraised their migration experience in a more positive sense to the extent of thinking that "the war was good." They became more accepting of the migration adversity or belittled it in comparison to what others have faced. AMA, an owner of a small handicrafts business, said: "Glory to be Allah, the war was a good thing for us. Seriously…It was good for me because first thing, it made me aware of myself. I have become aware that I have talents that I did not discover, I did not release it, now it is released." She also describes her reaction when she visited her destroyed house in Syria later after settling in Egypt:

> "I always like to see the positive advantage, I never ever look at the negatives. Even when I went to check my house and it was bombed and in ruins. So, imagine I went to tell this to my parents in a way that I was laughing. They were

> crying and I was laughing. My uncle and his son died on the same day. I saw that thank god, my children are ok, nothing happened to me."

Functioning: Emancipation and self-actualization. The entrepreneurship experience of the refugees in this trajectory led to some elevated psychological outcomes that reflected personal growth (Hobfoll et al., 2007). Forced migration was eventually the reason why they (especially Syrian women) experienced emancipation; seeking autonomy, breaking out from the societal constraints and taking ownership of oneself (Rindova et al., 2009). While before migration many of these entrepreneurs were housewives whose lives were restricted mainly to house chores and the conservative culture limited their opportunities to start a business, they experienced independence and self-realization through the opportunity of becoming "a business woman." NAG, an owner of a poultry and spices shop, expressed this: "It is very good, I was talking with my friends here before, one of them mentioned that Egypt gave Syrian women a value, we feel that we are more valuable not just sitting at home, but in Syria, it's impossible to do this." AMA asserted that

> "Actually, whenever my husband opens with me the discussion on going back to Syria, I have a condition: I want to work! Don't tell me stay home. Here I stood with you hand in hand, and in Syria it would be the same. I am not staying at home, I am not returning back to my old life. I am not returning back to being the housewife who likes to stay at home. No, I want to strive for working, and I like to develop myself."

Furthermore, many of these entrepreneurs expressed a higher level of self-fulfillment that was of psychological importance to them as forced migrants. They felt that for the first time they had realized their personal potential and what hard work feels like. Thus, we labelled this outcome as self-actualization. They also expressed why having a job would not give them the same feeling. For example, AMN who runs a training and education center for refugees, said:

> "If I worked in a governmental organization, will I develop this governmental organization or develop myself? neither…May be if I am in my home country, I can

attain self-realization but for me as a refugee, I cannot attain self-realization, nor do I make any impact to this organization, or the sector I work in, but when I am self-employed, I will be effective."

Entrepreneurial career outlook: Hope and optimism. Entrepreneurs in the growth trajectory were highly eager to sustain these growth outcomes that they have never experienced before. NAG noted that "when we started the project our children started to dream of making many things, they started to say we want so and so, we started to dream and dream not just to live, although we were secured." Some were motivated by small successes to be hopeful about the future thinking about the absence of the safety net that they used to have in their countries. YAZ explained his hopes and the reason behind it, saying:

"God helped me. although it was my first year as self-employed, I managed to save this money, so, I was just thinking, 'I managed to do all this in one year, I wonder what I would do next year, my old clients will call me, and new clients will come as well…I think about the future before the present, as the present will pass, but I have to think about the future in order to live…the Egyptian will know how to live here, whether he works or not, because he lives in his own country, among his people, he has his money, his house, he is not worried about anything, he can work in any craft, but as for me, it is different…"

Table 2. Representative quotations: Growth trajectory

	Dimension: Life History
Comfortable Life	"In Syria we were well-off financially. Glory to be Allah when someone is in his country you are in your own house, you are not paying rent, your house is there, your income is there and that is why you don't think of anything" (AMA) "I studied at the university after delivering my last son... My husband was a senior scholar in biochemistry…everything was provided in my house, we also had a car, so, the salary I took was sufficient for us and even more, I put in in the closet, so that anyone needs anything, I can provide it to him" (AMN) "I used to work before marriage but I quitted after being married, as people say that Syrian women are spoiled…I used to stay at home with my children, all I thought is that I want them to study, to grow up" (NAG) "We were living in Mazzeh district, The Hostel palace is on the right and the Presidential Palace is on the left. we see them from here, they call our district 'the safe region"" (OMRAF)
	Dimension: Migration Re/Appraisal
Loss	"I was not used to working. There are the wives of my husbands' friends, I just got to know them because I didn't know anyone in Egypt, and I did not even know if I went out how I would come back to the building" (ALA2)

	"we were depressed, frustrated, and confused, we were in great confusion, we haven't survived from the shock we are four individuals, five including me, 3 boys, father and mother. So, the conditions were so harsh, we went through a very very tough time, you cannot imagine what we have gone through, sometimes, when I was giving food to my children, I tell them; 'eat your food', their father and me were not able to eat, we were fasting, we were only drinking water" (AMN) "Actually, here I lost one thing, the social side, I have lost it, it was so important for me, it helps in growing ideas, and it develops the human, you get to know new things which you were ignorant about, this is what I lost here in Egypt" (AMN) "what I used to work on I just kept it in a closet because my house is small. I said I would use all of this in my new big house if god's will. I stored all these things in a big box that I had for when I move to my new house. Thank god and Glory be to Allah everything was stolen…I came here to Egypt. The conditions were a bit tough for us, a bit difficult" (AMA)
Positive reappraisal	"I found out that when you see the people and their problems, on the contrary, you become strong. Any problem in your life you can deal with it. There is no one who doesn't have problems, there is no one who doesn't have a bad side in their life. Once you are able to deal with it, you say here I am. I am better than many people thank god" (AK) "War makes one stronger. It makes one strong, not weak. The war creates artists, and talented ones. It does not leave one in despair or let you collapse" (FAR) "Even our children were under pressure, we raised them up on the concept that we are all around all the time, the idea of leaving them alone at home was rejected by them, but they bore the responsibility with us, thank God, it was a positive experience, they learnt how to be reliable "(NAG) "the need generates (creates) ideas. your need for something generates ideas for it… Everything has a positive side and a negative side, however, if I made a comparison between both, I think that in the current state, the positive aspects is more than the negative aspects" (AMN) "Even our children the war was good for them. Why? Maybe if they were back at home, and with our comfortable financial situation, they would have been spoiled. My Elder daughter have experienced the war, maybe the most among her sisters, and she is already smarter than her age" (AMA)
	Dimension: Key Outcomes
Emancipation	"The man is considered a main hindrance for the woman…there is the biological nature, pardon me, I am talking to you very clearly, but other than that, he has not of importance. I was discussing this with my brothers before, I told them that in general, we need men to have children and that's it, that's the important thing, this is the mission, not more than that" (AMN) "In Yemen girls want to work, they bake cakes, decorate, study online, and they do many other things. It's no more shameful. According to customs and traditions, men do not marry working ladies because they believe that some jobs are disgraceful as the hairdresser for example. One wouldn't propose to a lady who has such jobs, but now the situation has widely changed"

	"when I took the course, I was shy of saying that I sell chicken but after the course I realized that I'm a businesswoman not chicken seller. My thinking has changed. I can't work this job in Syria but here it is normal, the atmosphere here accepts that. The Egyptian society is open, it accepts the idea of women's work, but in Syria most women are housewives, there in Syria women work only in governmental jobs, there is more openness here." (NAG)
Self-actualization	"I felt like one can create something good out of his own hands, develop his life, not to just leave your life only about the house, the children, eating, drinking. No no no, Life has better things, especially when the person becomes creative" (AMA) "this has changed me, I used to stay at home with my children, all I thought is that I want them to study, to grow up, but here, my view is changed, now there is work" (NAG) "I began to go to schools, looking for work there, then I found that the interests of these kinds of jobs do not suit me, as they do not give me self-fulfillment" (AMN) "Private business means that you are free, you feel that you work for yourself. I receive a lot of job offers for a higher salary because I don't care about 200 or 300 pounds more. My own business is better, you work for yourself and you feel you are developing" (RAWHUS)
Dimension: Entrepreneurial career outlook	
Hope and optimism	"I want to have a future ahead of me. I want to have a car and stuff like that. Do you understand me? I do not want to stay as I am. I want to improve myself. I mean, thank God, I have good health and so on. I want to contribute (through my business), not to sit and say there are no jobs" (OS) "I see that I work for the future that may be more than any other work I might do at this time, but its problem is that it is growing slowly, but it is growing, that is the good news" (AK) "I will not keep it at this level, I want to develop it more than this, I have more, I want to make it international. God willing" (AMN)

3.3.3 Revival Trajectory

Entrepreneurs in this trajectory had experienced past hardships before migration. However, they managed to appraise their new life positively as they recalled how they survived past hardships and framed migration as a chance to move on. Thus, their entrepreneurship experience helped them regain peace of mind, and, similar to the growth trajectory, it emancipated them after having felt constrained by past hardships.

History: Past Hardship. While the aforementioned entrepreneurs had a positive pre-migration life whether it was an entrepreneurial background or a stable comfortable life, others recalled past hardships which had significantly affected their lives before

migration, and later influenced their appraisal of the migration experience and the role of their entrepreneurship experience. These hardships included personal experiences such as growing up in poverty, suffering from terminal diseases and divorce. RS, a single mother who started an education center for mothers, described how she was in a bad psychological state before immigration:

> "I left Syria with bad psychological conditions, mainly I was divorced, the conditions in the country were so bad, and I had a child, I had ambitions and aspirations for this child in order to live in a proper society, without war, without fear, and with security, and stability."

Other hardships were more chronic. For example, YAS has been living with a critical heart condition. She said "I was born and raised in Sudan and I came to Egypt to have a heart operation, to change a heart valve. When I met the doctor, he said the surgical success rate is low, only 5%. So, I was scared and dropped the idea and started my business."

Migration appraisal: Positive appraisal. While the migration experience had negative consequences for those refugees, they promptly realized the positive aspect of their forced migration and how it could work in their favor to start a new chapter in their lives and overcome past hardships. The negative psychological impact of the divorce on RS made her realize the benefit of immigrating. She said that "the thing that helped me is that I left the country, I almost left all the painful memories, and I had a new beginning, I always feel that the refugee has a chance for a new beginning, which cannot be provided for any other person."

They also asserted how these previous hardships had strengthened them and built their ambitions so that they can be positive against other life hardships. For example, RAK, a self-employed graphic designer, explained why he had the ambition to become self-employed rather than taking a job saying:

> "It is due to the (forced migration) circumstances, but not only that, even from before the war. I lived in a very poor environment in a small village named Byanon. My dad died when I was 7 months old, I don't know him. I grew up under my mum's shadow. I can't go out of the house without her permission. I was so isolated from the outer world. I was significantly affected by that in my childhood… So, ambitions started then. Ambitions and desire have always influenced me."

So, while both the revival and growth trajectories included a positive appraisal, their contrasting life histories contributed to this appraisal in different ways.

Functioning: Contentment and regaining peace of mind. The entrepreneurship experience of those refugees had a distinctive role in helping them to regain psychological functioning. They expressed contentment and a regaining of peace of mind – "an internal state of peacefulness and harmony" (Lee et al., 2013, p. 571) – after the negative experiences they had suffered from in the past. ALA explained how her business has revived her after a traumatizing past experience that she chose not to reveal. She said: "I had a bad experience two years ago, my psyche was negatively affected, but this place strengthened me, it made me (talking to herself) "stand up again and don't make anything affect you"."

Emancipation and self-actualization. Some entrepreneurs in this trajectory expressed how they had also experienced emancipation and self-actualization. This goes back to the nature of their past hardship which blocked their growth and realization of their personal potential, but then this changed after they immigrated and engaged in entrepreneurship. For example, SAM suffered from the early divorce of her parents while also being raised in a patriarchal family. She explains:

> "I belong to a conservative family in Yemen, but here I have so many chances. I will not limit myself because of the customs of our society. For example, in Yemen, I cannot display my profile picture on social media. It's not right to show my face on public. This was one of the struggles that I managed to overcome with this new experience, but my family didn't, because it was hard for them to accept the idea of modernization, it was a real struggle, but with time, they started to trust me."

Their entrepreneurship experience in light of their life hardships have also facilitated their self-actualization as they managed to realize a purpose in their lives after the hardships that they have been through. ALA, who owns an education center for children, realized her role as a social entrepreneur saying "I felt that I represent the social work, I felt that it is something that highly resembles my personality. I started to feel that I am well known for kindness and helping people."

Entrepreneurial career outlook: Hope and optimism. Given their positive appraisal of the forced migration experience, these entrepreneurs were optimistic about that new chapter in their lives when interviewed. NOS, an owner of a beauty center, noted: "I dropped out of school at a young age. My mother was always saying; 'surely, if you go abroad…you have to complete your education, as you will be living a good life and you will be happy God willing, so you have to be optimistic." Then, the outcomes of their entrepreneurship experience have enhanced this optimism. NOS added: "I have to focus on working at the shop, as it needs patience, it needs strength to be able to face all the challenges. However, I am also so optimistic that I will succeed and be at a high position."

Table 3. Representative quotations: Revival trajectory

	Dimension: Life History
Past Hardship	"My parents got divorced very early in my life, so I lived with my grandfather at first for some time, then my mother was married and moved. So, I felt that I don't want to live with my grandfather anymore. I decided to move to my aunt's house. these movements created something different in my personality… if I compare myself with the people I know I feel that they are feeling secured because they haven't gone through the experience of losing everything suddenly" (SAM) "They locked the nursery and I worked in a company, because my father was ill, he had chondroplasty, and he was completely incapable of work. My mother was also working but she is the main carer in the house, we are 11" (NOS) "I had a bad experience two years ago (did not want to reveal it), my psyche was negatively affected" (ALA) "I had a kidney removal surgery and I was so sick. Before leaving Syria to Egypt, I was detained for 11 days. when I was released my body was very sick. So, when I came to Egypt I had two operations here in Egypt…I had 3 surgeries, and if someone asks me to lift some rocks for example for 50LE, I cannot lift them even if he gives me 500 EGP, not just 50" (MAR)

Dimension: Migration Re/Appraisal	
Positive appraisal	"Life goes on, what doesn't kill you, makes you stronger" (ALA) "I feel that my immigration to Egypt is considered a plight not a grant, and I managed to transfer the adversity into a grant. I managed to transfer the agony, of course there was agony, and difficulties, at the beginning it was not easy for us, but I was the only one in my family who was pleased and accepting it, and this much helped me psychologically" (RS) "I do not think that being in my own country is a point of strength, or that it could be in favor of the entrepreneur to be in his own country, no, sometimes it is the other way around, you see what I mean" (RS) "I have a deep belief that God loves me, I feel this inside me…I feel that God cares about me and my upbringing, it's true that I had gone though many things, but everything I have gone through flowed into me, taught and guided me, in every stage in my life, I was the best as I can be at that moment" (SAM) "I faced many difficulties, but with each challenge, I can learn from it and take care of how to deal with it at other times, instead of giving up, or closing the place and stop working, or refusing to stay at this country, no I have to stay until things get better, and I can migrate to another country, but not all people in the Egyptian society are bad. there are many good, chivalrous and kind-hearted people" (NOS)
Dimension: Key Outcomes	
Contentment and regaining peace of mind	"you can say that the idea of this business has changed my life so much, currently I study at the university, no entity supports me, or pay university expenses, which are $450 per year, at the same time, this business gave me strength to complete my education" (NOS) "I cannot ignore that I worked hard to improve myself in order to get to this stage of inner strength, as I have gone through many psychological difficulties" (RS) "Psychological comfort comes from the financial comfort somehow. When you are financially stable (RAK) "I learned that I have to be rational and emotional at the same time, you have to be a flexible person who can solve problems quickly and control it, my personality changed a lot…You perceive things, think about it first rationally and then emotionally. I'm now immunized… I found out that when you see the people and their problems, on the contrary, you become strong. Any problem in your life you can deal with it" (ALA)
Emancipation	"I can be employed according to them in an international school, my salary can reach 12000 EGP, but this is not what I want, I face an internal conflict, this is not what I want, I do not want to be just an employee, I do not want to have limits, I want to achieve my aspiration, there is a dominant idea in my mind" (RS) "Now, I feel that I am an independent person, I feel that I am not working for anyone, I feel that with my persistence and determination, I can achieve success in this field, by dealing and communicating with people, who liked my work" (NOS)
Self-actualization	"we added things, in Europe you can't add anything new to them, you have to follow their rules and regulations and not to make something of your own, here you can have your own project but in Europe no because of taxes and expenses" (TAL) "I joined as a project coordinator, and it was the first time to go through the experience of training, I was the trainer of the team, they told me that they need to train the team on many things, including your specialty, which is the early childhood stage and its characteristics, so, I tried to do this and I loved the idea, I found that I can be creative in this field, it touched me so much, from this point, I started to think; 'why not taking the path of training, as a career?" (RS) "If I worked in the governmental sector, the NGO's, or the civil society, I will not be able to serve people in the best way, because for me as a person, I will not grow, I cannot grow at these places, if I have a miserable sad life, it's impossible

	that I can help anyone. If I work in the government, I will just get my salary every month, what can I give to others? but if you work in the private sector as an entrepreneur, you have a much better chance more than any other job to serve other people, when you are part of this is not like when you are the owner of it" (SAM)
	Dimension: Entrepreneurial career outlook
Hope and optimism	"I am working hard and I love my ambitions to grow and to develop my business… if I know how to deal well without comparing myself to others, work on my own and have my clients, I can grow my business and ambitions and even my dreams can grow and I can fulfil all of them" (YAS) "I swear to God if I had money as I wish, I would make not just one project, but several projects…God willing once things become better, when I am able to make more money, I would sell this electric bike and I would buy a brand new one, and I would be happy…It will make a difference." (MAR)

3.3.4 Escaping Trajectory

Some entrepreneurs suffered from not only past hardships, but also persistent post-migration hardships. This led them to have more negative appraisals of their migration experience as harm and/or threat. Consequently, entrepreneurship was a way of coping with these threats by ensuring their safety and by psychologically distracting them from the psychological pressures they faced.

Life History: Past hardship. Entrepreneurs in this trajectory came from a hardship background mainly due to the prolonged war and political and economic disruption that they endured for most of their lives before immigrating, or from a traumatizing migration experience. KH, a Sudanese fashion retailer who tailors and exports African clothing, vividly remembered all the details of his adverse childhood in war-torn Darfur. He said:

> "I was 6 years old when a sudden attack happened in our village…there was death, displacement, killing and genocide…Thank god we survived and escaped to the mountains… they killed all the children who were 6 years or older. My mum dressed me in my aunt's clothes as she was my age/ so I was the only child who survived."

ABOM, an owner of a car body repair business, went through a life-threatening immigration journey with his family through the sea:

"The inflatable boat exploded and sunk, we remained for around 5 hours in the sea, 42 persons including children, till the Greek police was informed and they rescued us. All of our stuff was lost. To cross the borders, we had to walk for days in a rainy cold weather, my son and daughter kept falling in the water and I had to carry them from 4 to 10 hours."

ABOM's misery did not stop at this point as his wife left him afterwards and took away their children, and he was hospitalized twice for having strokes. All of these shocks accumulated and left him with enduring psychological trauma. He stated that "When the boat sunk…drowning… we saw death… me and my kids. I have a problem every time I remember this."

Harm – Life threat. While entrepreneurs in the other trajectories either had positive appraisals or initially appraised forced migration as loss but later developed more positive appraisals, entrepreneurs in the escaping trajectory had more harm and/or threat appraisals of their migration experience. This was mainly due to the adverse events they faced and the persistent adversity they were still facing. Racism was commonly reported by refugees of color. This racism was experienced in everyday social interactions, work and even in dealings with the government. FAT, an Eritrean refugee, expressed this:

> "The conditions in Egypt are not supportive for Africans. Maybe it is possible for Arabs. They know the country, there is a common culture…but as Africans, their projects do not succeed. They feel the homesickness and the racism, pardon me, Egyptians are racist to Africans. Go check how they deal with them in the immigration office."

Several Sudanese refugees experienced physical attacks. KH was attacked by some thugs when he was working as a salesman in a shop before starting his business:

> "They stormed into the shop, took some stuff by force and said we are not paying, this is a security fee…that day they told me to leave the neighborhood or they will kill me…next day, I was in a coffee shop, the same guy came and attacked me. He burned me with his cigarette and told me I am ready to slaughter you."

AF, a Sudanese tailor who just started her business, was raped one day on her way back from work. This has significantly affected her as she suffered from PTSD.

She described her feelings: “I was so scared…from everyone. I felt that the rapists are still around me, watching me. This incident left me with psychological traumas, and I had a severe Anemia. I used to tell myself why am I living? What is the point of my existence?” The impact of this incident persisted as she fell pregnant and subsequently gave birth to a child she had to raise. Such severe adversities left many of those refugees with feelings of continuous threat; that they were not safe and couldn’t fulfil their basic human rights. HAM, a Sudanese owner of a tailor shop, expressed this feeling:

> “My ex-colleagues asked me what happened? Why are you hurt? I told them that there are Egyptian thugs, they asked me why did not you stand against them? Unfortunately, I do not have the experience to stand against thugs. An Egyptian can stand for himself and even if he goes to the police, he can get his rights.”

Functioning: Distraction and Safety. As a result of their persistent adversity and the threat appraisals, the entrepreneurship experience was more of an escape mechanism for these refugees. It helped create a sense of safety by avoiding the stress from racism and life-threatening conditions. For example, HAM lives in an unsafe suburb and he was assaulted several times in attempt of robbery. He highlighted the importance of ensuring his safety after starting his business by working within his local neighborhood:

> “When I came to Ain Shams, I found it more difficult and unsafe there, and I was always scared. Things changed after having my business. I know more people and if something happened you can find someone you know who can defend you. I go to my shop and there is more safety.”

Their entrepreneurship experiences also strengthened them to cope with the racism. HAG, a Sudanese perfume maker, explains that “due to my work and business, I started getting along with people normally, even when someone swears at me and says “you black”, I don’t reply and I just ignore them. This happens frequently every day. I just learned how to not take them seriously and deal with abusers.”

Others who were traumatized by the life-threatening migration journey and their losses, or by other adversities, used entrepreneurship as a distraction from the trauma or

the adversity. ABOM stressed that: “This business and the work... they make me forget. Just this. Work is the only thing that makes me forget what happened to me... I taught myself to forget... till now I am away from my children…what makes me forget is work”. AWA, who runs a Sudanese catering business, also conveyed this saying:

“Before starting my business, I had some hardships, especially financially. It was very tough and my son had a cranial problem, it was so tiring. My kid is sick; our finances are not enough. Every time I sit and think, I think all the time, thinking…thinking, but after I studied the idea of the restaurant, I am not asking or thinking about that”.

Entrepreneurial career outlook: Temporary means. Unlike the other trajectories where the main career outlook is full of hope and optimism about their entrepreneurial career, entrepreneurs in the escape trajectory mainly think of their entrepreneurial career as temporary means to other goals. The aim of many of these entrepreneurs is to complete their higher education. HAM noted: “The current priority in my life is education. The business for me is routine… a life routine because you know that here in Egypt to be able to continue your education and secure your needs, there has to be work and education”. Others indicated that the business is just temporary as they hope to immigrate to another country. AF, who expressed how she was dissatisfied with her life in Egypt, said “I just want to get outside of Egypt for my psychological state to improve so that I am able to work”.

Table 4. Representative quotations: Escaping trajectory

	Dimension: Life History
Past Hardship	“In Sudan, we could not make a living. Sometimes I remember the situation there and everywhere there are difficulties…I know that all my family are facing hardships….my dad has been sick and he can’t help me and I can’t help him. Back in Sudan there are no work but farming in Darfur…if I tell you about the war we have lived in 2003. They now live in camps. They can’t even find shelter from the rain” (HAG)

	"as for resilience, I have several experiences in Sudan. Since I was 14 from high school till the first year at Uni after we finish school, we used to go do some physically demanding work… It is perseverance during hardships, and my character has this... handwork and perseverance... I used to spend a day or two without food" (HAM) "I faced severe problems back at university… political and security issues that forced me to migrate here in a dangerous illegal way…It was a Wednesday and we were gathering, they targeted us and attacked us…" (AFR)
Dimension: Migration Re/Appraisal	
Harm - Threat	"I got this opportunity; my salary was good… I thought of brining my family but the problem is that there are no Sudanese there. Even the small kids when they meet a black person it was a problem for them, not used to seeing someone like me and gave me these weird looks. So, I thought my kids will face problems in in integration and this would cause them psychological issues" (PET) "I worked as a cleaner with a family in Zamalek, work was exhausting and all insults from the family which had 3 kids…I was subject to insults and abuse from the kids…" (HAG) "On the first month of my business while I was on the way I found some young people in front of the house holding a dog and I am afraid of dogs. Once they saw me, they let the dogs run after me... I was carrying the perfume bottles and they all fell and broke, I was screaming and no one came to help me… I was so scared and afterwards I left this area" (HAG) "You have definitely heard about Ein-shams. It is a very, very dangerous neighborhood. Once it is 7 or 8 at night I finish work and go home… there are gangs which can rob you of everything and beat you. I have been in Egypt for 2 years and I have encountered several situations from Egyptians and Sudanese" (HAM)
Dimension: Key Outcomes	
Distraction	"My kids are away from me, I have three… I used to keep working till 2 am to forget, to release the energy I have" (ABOM) "I am working and studying and filling my time with something beneficial because staying at home makes you think a lot. After I started my business I am thinking of nothing but work. Even the harassments in the street no longer bother me". (HAG)
Safety	"I started displaying my products in the NGO office… my customers recommend me to others so I felt safer. When someone comes and tells me I know you through the NGO, I become relieved. So, I can visit her at her place or the place she wants but I more assured that it is going to be safe and they will not harm me; nothing will happen to me" (AF) "I see the number one thing is safety because if what I have been through and what I am currently experiencing, relatedly, financial safety… Safety is currently the most important thing…" (PET)
Dimension: Entrepreneurial career outlook	
Temporary means	"If South Sudan was safe, I will leave today before tomorrow because the benefit that I find there is more than here, and the social value. So, I walk here in the street hiding under the buildings, I can't walk in the street because I am afraid a car or a motorcycle would hit me without even stopping or someone would attack you. Why would I live with my head down?" (PET) "Life is hard but I wish I can travel abroad… to another country, Europe for example, and we'll remember Egypt of course with its good and its bad" (HAG)

3.3.5 Common Outcomes

The four trajectories shared some common functioning outcomes mainly pertaining to the entrepreneurs' self-esteem and social integration in their host society.

Self-esteem. Although most of the resilience trajectories we identified had different sets of key functioning outcomes, a common outcome that entrepreneurs across the four trajectories expressed is the sense of self-esteem and the ego they feel by being respected and appreciated in a society to which they are an outsider.

For those who were maintaining their entrepreneurial identity, their businesses gave them the opportunity to shine and show their work to others; a feeling they were used to when they were entrepreneurs back in their home country, and now they managed to maintain it. RAF explains:

> "Most Syrians here work in Food and drinks (Beverages) projects, I did not prefer to enter these fields as I have a craft and I'm experienced in it, I'm a master in my craft, nothing is hard for me in my craft, that's why I didn't prefer to kill this craft and start another one, let me show people my craft and what I have learned,

Others on the growth trajectory got to experience for the first time being an entrepreneur who is of value to their societies. They enjoyed that feeling as AK explains: "When I felt that what I do, makes me popular, that is ego, it gives you a great feeling, which is more important than income, that people know me…I started to feel that I am popular, people know me, it feels nice, it gives a motivation to give more later on".

Those who suffered from the loss of their self-esteem due to their past hardship also felt a significant boost to their self-confidence. For example, SAM gained the courage to stand up against her family after launching her business. She said:

> "This is me, I know myself. I believe in what I am doing, and I feel good that I did that, and I feel good about everything I went through, I know what I exactly

want to do, I know that I am going with this business, whether they like it or not, thank God, I feel relieved, I am very confident on what I am doing"

Finally, those in the escaping trajectory were escaping from the threat to their self-worth that was triggered by racism and other adverse events they have faced. Their entrepreneurship experience helped them gain the respect they were lacking. For example, NEG, who manufactures and sells leather products, explains how he was proud of his status after the negative experiences he had. "I am proud of myself and this is very good. I have the social side as well now… the society will take advantage of you if you don't have knowledge and status. So, to have a profession is something very good, it gives me self-confidence."

Social integration. Entrepreneurship helped facilitate the integration of refugees in the society, but this took place in different ways. Some entrepreneurs described how their businesses are a social place and that their children have become attached to Egypt. ABOW who has grown his business and his sons have taken part in that explains "My sons found themselves here, those who came here as 10 are now 15 and those who were 12 are now 17 and those who were 20 are now 30, got married and so on. They believe that they have established their future here"

Many entrepreneurs noticed the cultural similarities between Syria and Egypt and most importantly realized that they were exalted and seen in a very positive light by the Egyptian society as resilient people who managed to overcome forced migration and build a reputation of being successful entrepreneurs. RS reflects this "I have received support, admiration, a feeling of… I won't say sympathy but Egyptians usually view us as diligent, successful, and so, you see, this much keeps high spirits".

On the other hand, others who were facing fears of dealing with Egyptians or feeling alienated in their new communities learned how to deal more effectively with

others. NOS explains this: “I found that people in this street are so good to me, and the customers who come to me are Egyptians but I managed to cope with different nationalities”. HAG also shared that “Honestly, before starting the project I had no contact with anyone, I was even scared of the Sudanese. I did not trust anyone, just between home and work. The difficult conditions affected me a lot. After starting the business, thank god I improved”.

Table 5. Representative quotations: Common outcomes

Self-esteem	“I was being honored. I was surprised to hear my name, I have received a shield on this honoring, 'AK has spent 4 years in volunteering for Syrian society... and so and so… we have the honor to....' I was the only person who was honored for this. I had a great feeling, regardless of all I did with money in return, but I am so happy for this. I had two feelings, the first one that people really see what I do, secondly; the feeling of ego” (AK) “My work, thank god, is going well and I started to be known… It helped me more in that I got to know more people. I became more well-known. I am happy when I am offering something and people like it and express their liking. This thing is very, very good” (AMA) “I can say that this project gave me a great thing in return, although it did not gave me that much money, but it gave me support, as I felt that my image which I have drawn has been somewhat achieved, so I do not want to let it go; that RS is the manager of 'Mom's Club', a manager and founder, I am the one who started it” (RS)
Social Integration	“I like to promote integration between Egyptians and Syrians, even when I worked in public schools with ‘Save the Children’ during the education project, I was so pleased because we tried to promote the idea of coexistence between Egyptians and Syrians” (AL) “I got a phone call from UNHCR asking me whether I'd like to travel to Europe. and my answer was no. do you want to know what I have told them? I told them; ‘I am here in my motherland; how can I leave my mother and go to another one?’ because here I feel that I'm in my own country no need to travel abroad and feel like a foreigner. the one on the phone with me who was an Egyptian he was laughing from my answer” (MAR) “I cannot leave AbuNag (one of his employees) and leave my friends, I have many people who I love so much, if I thought of going to Syria, I will return here again, if it is for work or a visit, or a trip, it is okay, one would be lying if he says there is a country better than his country, even if you were in Germany” (NA3) “I am still optimistic because I have a base of customers. When I close my mobile, people ask about me. And the people in the street love us and so on. This exactly is what makes me optimistic” (OS)

3.4 Discussion

Our study aimed to understand how the life course can shape the role of entrepreneurship in building psychological resilience in the aftermath of an adverse experience. We explored this research question in the context of forced migration as we inductively examined the journeys of refugee entrepreneurs in Egypt who come from different backgrounds. Our findings confirm the importance of contextualizing entrepreneurship theory (Baker & Welter, 2020; Welter, 2011). When we examined the journeys of refugee entrepreneurs who had different pre and post migration experiences, we found that the resilience process is more heterogeneous than that depicted in previous research (Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2017; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a, 2016b), including in similar forced migration contexts (Shepherd et al., 2020). We inductively developed four resilience trajectories that emerged due to the varied pre and post migration life experiences of the refugee entrepreneurs. Our findings offer three main theoretical contributions: 1) expanding the resilience process in entrepreneurship to resilience trajectories, 2) revealing the role of dynamic appraisals in the resilience process and 3) showing both the bright and dark sides of resilience.

3.4.1 Expanding the resilience process in entrepreneurship to trajectories

Despite the increasing work on resilience in organizational psychology (Britt et al., 2016) and entrepreneurship research (Ahmed et al., 2021), most researchers have overlooked the role of baseline (pre-adversity) functioning (Bonanno et al., 2015; Mancini et al., 2011) and the wider life-course (Elder, 1985; Windle, 2011) as key temporal aspects of resilience. Accordingly, our first contribution is showing that different resilience trajectories unfold when we study resilience in entrepreneurship from a life-course perspective. Since resilience scholars further afield, agree that understanding resilience requires studying it from different perspectives and in various

domains of life (Southwick et al., 2014), we believe that our contributions can extend to psychology literatures. While psychologists have identified multiple trajectories of adjustment to adversity which include resilience (Bonanno et al., 2012; Bonanno & Mancini, 2012), we have identified different trajectories of resilience itself when we examined resilience in a context of entrepreneurship.

Through a life course perspective, our research has shown that incorporating life history, including pre-adversity functioning, in the resilience process in entrepreneurship can lead to different trajectories. We observed marked differences in how our participants reacted to the forced migration shock, how they approached and engaged in entrepreneurship and in the key outcomes they achieved from this engagement. While we did not quantitively measure the pre and post migration functioning of those entrepreneurs, the narratives of our participants suggest that the psychological outcomes resulting from their entrepreneurship experience were shaped by their life journey starting before migration. For example, while some have partially developed or regained a core part of their identity as entrepreneurs, others have enjoyed growth as they realized a sense of self-actualization that they were unable to realize in their pre-migration lives.

We also added to the growing work on life adversities and engaging in entrepreneurship. Emerging entrepreneurship research has shown the effect of childhood adversity on developing he propensity for entrepreneurship (Churchill et al., 2021; Cheng et al., 2021). The underdog theory of entrepreneurship (Miller & Breton-Miller, 2017) and research on mental health conditions (Antshel, 2018; Wiklund et al., 2016, 2018) have shown that adverse backgrounds can equip individuals with coping skills that are key for entrepreneurship. Our findings have expanded that work by showing how the accumulation of hardships relate to entrepreneurship. The revival

trajectory of resilience showed that the pre-migration hardships of refugees, including childhood adversities, have strengthened them and built their ambitions so that migration opened a new chapter in their lives with entrepreneurship as its key mechanism of regaining peace of mind and self-worth. However, this was not the case for many of those who suffered from persistent adversities beyond migration as they were obstructed from starting this new chapter.

3.4.2 Revealing the role of dynamic appraisals

A second main contribution that our study makes is revealing the role of the dynamic nature of appraisal in an entrepreneurship model of resilience. Appraisal is regarded as the primary stress mechanism after which coping efforts emerge, and both appraisal and coping are integral parts of a resilience process (Fisher et al., 2019; Mancini & Bonanno, 2009). While research on employee resilience has incorporated appraisal in understanding how employees respond to workplace adversities (Britt et al., 2016; Crane & Searle, 2016; Shoss et al., 2018), resilience research in entrepreneurship, with few exceptions (Chadwick & Raver, 2020; Jenkins et al., 2014), has overlooked this key mechanism. Our findings show that appraisals formed a key mechanism linking the life histories of the entrepreneurs and the adversity experience with their decision to engage in entrepreneurship in the aftermath of the adversity.

We illustrated the dynamic nature of appraisal (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) in the entrepreneurs' resilience trajectories. Those with previous entrepreneurship experience had dual appraisals as they saw an opportunity, yet they were still reminiscent of their loss. Others on the revival trajectory managed to positively appraise forced migration as they compared it to their previous stress experiences (Kalisch & Kampa, 2021), while those who had a comfortable pre-migration life managed to move from loss appraisal to a positive reappraisal of their

experience as they realized that their life can be more meaningful (growth trajectory). Conversely, those on the escaping trajectory, who were still facing persistent adversity after migration, had a threat appraisal, or, when they faced a traumatizing event, a harm appraisal which "is always fused with threat because every loss is also pregnant with negative implications for the future" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 32).

Accordingly, appraisal expands the refugee entrepreneurship model of resilience developed by Shepherd et al. (2020); how forced migration is appraised acts as a key mechanism between adversity and entrepreneurial action that explains variation in the resilience outcomes of refugee entrepreneurs. In doing so, we respond to calls for explaining how appraisal can produce different trajectories of resilience (Ahmed et al., 2021; Corner et al., 2017). Moreover, not only do we show that positive challenge appraisals are key for positive outcomes (Chadwick & Raver, 2020), but we explain how negative appraisals and combinations of positive and negative appraisals can build resilience and lead to relative positive outcomes. "Positive attention or appraisal draws animals and humans toward stimuli that are pleasurable and rewarding and that sustain life, whereas negative attention or appraisal directs them away from threats and dangers. Both are essential to maintaining resilience" (Southwick et al., 2015, p. 49). We therefore contribute to theorizing on the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience by introducing the important role played by appraisal.

3.4.3 Showing the bright and dark sides of resilience

Our final contribution stems from answering the question of what indicates positive adaptation as an outcome of entrepreneurship (Shepherd et al., 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). Generally, entrepreneurs can exhibit functioning through their behaviors, emotions and beliefs (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). Shepherd et al. (2020) identified a range of resilience indicators associated with refugee entrepreneurs living in

or outside camps (e.g., proactive problem solving, self-reliance) and other outcomes specific to those living outside camps (e.g., realistic optimism, multiple sources of belonging). Our findings reveal a variety of different outcomes which are contingent on refugee entrepreneurs' pre-migration lives as well as the conditions they encounter whilst engaging in entrepreneurship. Although these outcomes reflect positive functioning, they show both bright and dark sides of resilience.

Our findings indicate that entrepreneurs' resilience was manifested through a very basic form of functioning as well as a state of growth compared to before the adversity (Hobfoll et al., 2007; Richardson et al., 1990). While those on the escaping trajectory utilized entrepreneurship as an avoidance coping mechanism (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) to build their resilience (Bonanno, 2004; Mancini & Bonanno, 2009), other entrepreneurs managed to grow through their post-adversity entrepreneurship experience. Those who enjoyed a comfortable life but were restricted from engaging in entrepreneurship in their pre-migration lives experienced a growth trajectory as they felt emancipated (See Al-Dajani et al., 2015; Jennings et al., 2016; Rindova et al., 2009) and reached self-actualization. Similarly, those with past hardships were also able to achieve these growth outcomes in addition to feeling content and regaining peace of mind.

On the other hand, our findings responded to calls to examine the dark side of resilience to entrepreneurs (Ahmed et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2017). Entrepreneurs who lost their businesses as a result of forced migration and then re-engaged in entrepreneurship, benefited from self-enhancing comparison and self-affirmation; two outcomes which are related to resilience (Bonanno et al., 2005; Taylor & Sherman, 2008), but relates to inflated or unrealistic positive self-conceptions (Bonanno et al., 2005; Westphal & Bonanno, 2007). This was reflected in how some of those refugee entrepreneurs derogated their Egyptian counterparts to have a superior view of

themselves. So, although this self-serving bias helped them adapt, it had a social downside.

Despite this heterogeneity, all entrepreneurs shared two outcomes; building self-esteem and social integration. Developing elements of self-esteem such as a sense of competence, self-acceptance and feeling respected by others is one of the main psychological functioning outcomes of entrepreneurship (Nikolaev et al., 2020; Shir et al., 2019). However, self-esteem can be even more salient for refugee entrepreneurs who suffer from the loss of a range of sources of self-esteem such as social support, careers and possessions (Beiser et al., 1989; Miller & Rasmussen, 2017). As for social integration, although our findings align with those of others who find that entrepreneurship allows refugees to experience greater social integration (Bizri, 2017; Shepherd et al., 2020), we observed that while this integration created a culture of social acceptance to an extent of exaltation for some, sadly, not all refugee entrepreneurs experienced social integration; instead, experiencing ongoing racism. Nonetheless, engaging in entrepreneurship allowed them to operate in circles where they were less exposed to racism and forge healthy social relationships.

Together, the positive functioning outcomes of entrepreneurship, enabled the refugees in our study to have a positive outlook on their careers as entrepreneurs characterized by hope and optimism, which aligns with Shepherd et al.'s (2020) finding that refugee entrepreneurs outside of camps were characterized by realistic optimism. They had plans to grow their businesses and sustain it even if the circumstances allow them to return to their countries. In contrast, however, we also noted that some refugee entrepreneurs – those in the escaping trajectory – viewed entrepreneurship as a temporary means to achieve other lifer goals such as continuing their education or

migrating to another country. This can indicate that the growth potential of post-adversity entrepreneurship can depend on how resilience is experienced.

3.5 Practical Implications

Our findings have some important practical implications for the development sector practitioners including humanitarian NGOs as well as policy makers. Understanding the psychological role of entrepreneurship for refugees would be valuable to designing livelihood programs and micro-funding schemes for refugees. One of the NGOs which we presented our research to did acknowledge the value of our findings. Indeed, they believed that the UNHCR as the main funding body, and other fellow support providers have to add the functioning outcomes to their impact indicators and fund allocation criteria. The success of a self-employment program should not only be evaluated according to the income created. This evaluation criteria do not capture the psychological benefits which are vital for individuals who faced and might still be facing severe life difficulties. It is also critical to assess not only the psychological impact of the migration experience on refugees but also pre-migration hardships. Identifying these hardships beforehand can help later in accurately evaluating the success of the self-employment programs for those refugees.

Moreover, NGOs ought to work closer with the refugee entrepreneurs experiencing persistent adversity beyond the initial training they receive. However, they should be wary of investing long-term resources in these businesses because entrepreneurship is just a temporary solution for those refugees as they prioritize other future goals. Policy makers can also build on our findings to mobilize the various experiences of refugees to establish businesses that create jobs for both citizens and refugees. In Turkey, the top refugee host, around 10,000 Syrian businesses were

established since the Syrian refugee crisis started in 2011[10], and According to a UNDP report, Syrians Contributed with over $800 million into the Egyptian Economy[11]. Such potential can be enabled by easing the regulations for starting businesses by refugees, supporting NGOs and combating racism to ensure the sustainability of these businesses.

3.6 Limitations and Future Research

Our study lays out some avenues for future entrepreneurship research on resilience. First, longitudinally investigating the resilience experiences of entrepreneurs can add further insights to the resilience trajectories we identified. Although we have managed to include entrepreneurs with different years of experience in our research and collected retrospective accounts of their experience, a longitudinal study which starts in the present and tracks entrepreneurial journeys in real time (Mcmullen & Dimov, 2013) can expand these trajectories or reveal additional ones. For example, it can show a relapse or a delayed disruption in functioning (Bonanno et al., 2012). It is important to note that the entrepreneurs in our study conveyed how stressful their work is or how they had previous failed attempts to start their businesses. So, over time they might exit due to failure or inability to cope with the stress. Such cases are worthy of investigation.

Second, our research has flagged the vital importance of context in understanding the resilience process in entrepreneurship in general and the role of entrepreneurship in building resilience in specific. While contexts of continuous threat (Muñoz et al., 2019) and persistent adversity (Shepherd et al., 2020) have led to important findings, examining entrepreneurship and resilience in other adversity contexts can add further insights. As different resilience trajectories can unfold in response to acute and chronic stressors (Bonanno & Diminich, 2013), the role of

[10] https://www.tepav.org.tr/en/haberler/s/10023
[11] https://www.jobsmakethedifference.org/full-report

entrepreneurship can differ in relation to each stressor type. Similarly, research on entrepreneurs experiencing individual stressors like chronic diseases or domestic abuse can have different contributions than research on those facing adversities of mass impact like pandemics and wars.

Finally, as our research was focused only on entrepreneurs, we believe that comparing the resilience of those who engaged in entrepreneurship with those who opted for wage employment in the aftermath of adversities can be an interesting research avenue. The refugees in our study have conveyed that entrepreneurship, rather than employment, helped them have a more purposeful and meaningful life after migration. However, as wage-employment can also construct meaningful work (Britt et al., 2001; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009), it remains unclear what are the differences that can facilitate resilience either through self-employment or wage-employment.

3.7 Conclusion

Our study builds on the emerging literature on how entrepreneurship can build the resilience of victims of adverse events. Through examining the life stories of refugee entrepreneurs, we have shown the importance of a taking a life course perspective when studying the resilience process in entrepreneurship. We illustrated four resilience trajectories that unfolded in light of engaging in entrepreneurship based on the entrepreneur's' different life histories and subsequent appraisals of the migration experience. Accordingly, we showed how resilience can be manifested through various functioning outcomes. These findings have key implications for entrepreneurship research and the practice of refugee development.

Chapter 4: Is it Necessity Entrepreneurship? Basic Needs and Beyond

"Poverty is not just a lack of money; it is not having the capability to realize one's full potential as a human being" *Amartya Sen*

When we think of those who start their businesses out of poverty, unemployment or a lack of skills and education, we typically think of what we label as necessity entrepreneurs. Among impoverished contexts (Sutter et al., 2019), necessity entrepreneurs – as traditionally described – are pushed into entrepreneurship by a lack of employment options rather than a market opportunity (Reynolds et al., 2002; Thurik et al., 2008), and they gain minimal economic and well-being outcomes (Binder & Coad, 2013; Block & Koellinger, 2009) while "living as a muppet" (Ryff, 2019, p. 8). However, this prevalent view of entrepreneurship in such contexts tends to oversimplify and degrade the drivers and outcomes of what constitutes the majority of entrepreneurship in the world (Baker & Welter, 2020). In fact, there is more to necessity entrepreneurship than meets the eye (Shepherd et al., 2021; Tobias et al., 2013) suggesting the need to rethink and deepen our understanding of this kind of entrepreneurship.

Individuals can be both pushed and pulled towards entrepreneurship (Shepherd et al., 2021; Williams & Nadin, 2010) and what is labelled as necessity businesses can actually have potential for growth and development (Welter et al., 2017; Williams, 2008). The established dichotomy of opportunity versus necessity entrepreneurship has recently been subject to scrutiny. This dichotomy also tends to ignore key variations among necessity entrepreneurs (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021) leading to "lumping all "necessity entrepreneurs" together as homogenously uninteresting" (Baker & Welter, 2020, p. 110). In attempt to show this variation, Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., (2021) reconceptualized necessity entrepreneurship by arguing that it can be motivated by either physiological or safety needs. However, this approach overlooks the

simultaneous nature of needs (e.g., motivated by both safety and self-esteem needs) (Maslow, 1954) and focuses solely on basic motivations that could be more relevant in rare conditions of extreme deprivation (e.g., famines) (O'Donnell et al., 2021). In addition, emerging findings suggest that those who are pushed into entrepreneurship, as aligned with the mainstream understanding of necessity entrepreneurship (Acs, 2006; Carsrud & Brännback, 2011), can gain outcomes beyond merely fulfilling basic (economic) needs such as building prosperity expectations (Kimmitt et al., 2020) and the betterment of their children's future (Shepherd et al., 2021). While our understanding of necessity entrepreneurship is clearly evolving, we are currently unable to explain how entrepreneurs can be motivated by basic needs (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021) while also being able to achieve beyond-basic outcomes.

We see an opportunity to advance scholarship on necessity entrepreneurship by examining the needs of individuals engaged in entrepreneurship under necessity conditions (e.g., need for survival (Carsrud & Brännback, 2011) and lack of employment options in a developing economy (Reynolds et al., 2002)) as well as how these needs might unfold. By departing from the "push" notion, it is important to not only focus on what might externally "pull" individuals to entrepreneurship, but on their various needs. This can be vital for identifying the motives behind the behaviors of those entrepreneurs and their expected outcomes. Hence, better entrepreneurship support can be designed and provided for them. Thus, we ask: *How do the needs of entrepreneurs in necessity conditions unfold in relation to their entrepreneurial activity?* To answer our question, we examined narratives of 13 refugee entrepreneurs about their entrepreneurial journeys following forced migration. We found that although some entrepreneurs sought to fulfil some basic needs by becoming self-employed, they promptly *reinterpreted* the value of their entrepreneurship experience as they discovered

other fulfilled needs that are important for their eudaimonia (e.g., self-realization and having a meaningful life). However, other entrepreneurs started their journey seeking not only basic needs, but also higher-level needs pertaining to a more meaningful post-migration life or to fulfilling the dream of becoming an entrepreneur. Eventually, this latter group of entrepreneurs managed to *realize* these needs.

Our theoretical contributions are twofold. First and foremost, by revealing how multiple levels of needs can motivate entrepreneurship in contexts of necessity, we extend the boundary conditions for necessity entrepreneurship as defined by Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., (2021) beyond basic needs. Further, we highlight the importance of taking a temporal perspective on needs; needs have an important role in the decision to engage in entrepreneurship but we show how the entrepreneurial journey itself can unlock different needs – needs that aren't typically associated with entrepreneurship in necessity conditions. Second, we challenge previous findings on the lack of procedural utility obtained by necessity entrepreneurs (Block & Koellinger, 2009) by showing how entrepreneurs in necessity conditions can achieve procedural utility (i.e., non-instrumental pleasures of processes that lead to outcomes) besides outcome utility (i.e., instrumental outcomes such as financial benefits) (Benz et al., 2005; Frey, 2008). We find that entrepreneurs in extreme conditions like forced migration develop a need to rebuild their eudaimonic well-being that the process of starting a business can fulfill. Collectively, our contributions inform the debate on the opportunity versus necessity dichotomy (Baker & Welter, 2020; Coffman & Sunny, 2021). We show how entrepreneurs in necessity conditions can have motivations which resembles entrepreneurs traditionally described as motivated by opportunities (Nikiforou et al., 2019), and how they identify and exploit opportunities when supporting factors exist. Accordingly, our work further challenges the necessity-opportunity dichotomy and

instead, calls for a needs-based conceptualization of entrepreneurship that accounts for multiple evolving needs.

4.1 Theoretical Background

4.1.1 Opportunity and necessity entrepreneurship

Shane and Venkaterman's (2000) paper popularized the concept of opportunity as a major cornerstone of entrepreneurship research which has informed a key dichotomy in our field that relates to the motivations for engaging in entrepreneurship; opportunity entrepreneurship and necessity entrepreneurship. While opportunity entrepreneurs are depicted as being pulled into entrepreneurship by its attractiveness as they identify and exploit opportunities, necessity entrepreneurs are seen as being pushed into it by the unavailability of employment options (Hessels et al., 2008; Reynolds et al., 2002; Thurik et al., 2008). While opportunity entrepreneurship has been positively associated with long term growth and significant economic potential, necessity entrepreneurship is typically associated with replicating other businesses and therefore short term payoffs and limited economic potential (Acs, 2006; Carsrud & Brännback, 2011). However, this dichotomy has recently been subject to criticism on several grounds.

Although dichotomies can be useful in examining phenomena at a nascent stage of research, some of these dichotomies can take "the form of invidious distinctions", become too absolute and inscribed as a reality (Welter et al., 2017, p.4). As Coffman and Sunny (2021) note, Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) data categorizes entrepreneurs into one of the two boxes depending on their response to a simple yet confusing question: "Are you involved in this start-up/firm to take advantage of a business opportunity or because you have no better choices for work?" (Reynolds et al., 2002). But what if both conditions apply? Findings from entrepreneurs in the informal

sector (Gurtoo & Williams, 2009; Webb et al., 2013), transition economies (Aidis et al., 2007) and slums (Shepherd et al., 2021) have shown that entrepreneurs can be necessity driven while simultaneously pursuing attractive opportunities. Alvarez and Barney (2014) have also posited that poverty contexts include the simple self-employment opportunities as well as opportunities akin to discovery and creation. Thus, this simple dichotomy has arguably led to a conceptualization of necessity entrepreneurship that undervalues this kind of entrepreneurial activity.

Attempting to theoretically develop the concept of necessity entrepreneurship, Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., (2021) adopted motivational theory (Carsrud & Brännback, 2011) and Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs in order to establish the boundary conditions for this form of entrepreneurship[12]. They proposed a typology of entrepreneurial processes with an assumption that necessity entrepreneurs in developing countries would seek to fulfill their basic physiological needs (food, clothing…etc.) and their counterparts in developed countries would seek to fulfill the basic safety needs (personal and financial security…etc.). Entrepreneurial processes would then vary in each country based on the entrepreneur's level of human capital and the presence or absence of supportive institutions. This work has taken a key step forward by showing that necessity entrepreneurs can indeed engage with opportunities depending on their human capital and availability of institutional levers (Alvarez & Barney, 2014; Nikiforou et al., 2019). However, the notion that necessity entrepreneurship is confined to conditions of basic needs has been challenged (O'Donnell et al., 2021). Further, needs are not necessarily fulfilled in a rigid level progression – an issue Dencker and his colleagues (2021) acknowledged – and most behaviors are motivated by simultaneous

[12] As ranked from bottom to top, Maslow's five-level hierarchy of needs includes physiological needs, safety needs, love and belonging, esteem and self-actualization. Dencker and colleagues (2021) used the term "basic needs" to describe the two bottom levels of needs (Physiological and safety needs).

needs (Maslow, 1954; Neher, 1991). We therefore question why basic needs are assumed to be the only boundary condition and why "fulfilling higher level needs" would depend on "transition from necessity to voluntary entrepreneurial activity" (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021, p. 73).

Although Dencker, Bacq, & Gruber (2021) refuted these comments[13] by asserting that they did not preclude necessity entrepreneurs from having simultaneous needs, the applicability of the framework would remain contextually limited. While financial security can be a key motivator for necessity entrepreneurship in many cases (e.g., Nikiforou et al., 2019), it might be too simplistic to reduce these needs in developing countries to physiological needs, especially with emerging evidence that refugee entrepreneurs in developing countries are motivated by social and even prosocial needs beside economic security (Shepherd et al., 2020), and Indian slum entrepreneurs driven by the betterment of their family's future (Shepherd et al., 2021). The choice of entrepreneurship in these cases was driven by its perceived ability to fulfill the higher-level needs rather than solely physiological needs which can in some cases be fulfilled by the less attractive work options. Thus, while we see the value of the theoretical developments resulting from taking a needs perspective of necessity entrepreneurship (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021), we see scope for further theoretical development through empirical scrutiny of some of their ideas and delving deeper into the nature and roles of needs.

[13] For more information see the Academy of Management Review commentaries (Coffman & Sunny, 2021; Dencker, Bacq, & Gruber, 2021; O'Donnell et al., 2021) on Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al's (2021) paper.

4.1.2 Types of entrepreneurship and needs

Entrepreneurship research has looked at the needs motivating entrepreneurs and the fulfillment of these needs (Ryff, 2019). While entrepreneurs generally are positioned to have higher need for self-determination, contributing to their happiness compared to traditional employment (Benz & Frey, 2008), necessity entrepreneurs are often the underdogs. In her review of mental health and well-being, Stephan (2018) reported that most entrepreneurship studies found that opportunity entrepreneurs benefit from higher mental health and well-being than necessity entrepreneurs (e.g., Fuchs-Schündeln, 2009; Johansson Sevä et al., 2016). This was attributed partly to the opportunity entrepreneur's higher desire for independence, power and intrinsic work motivation (Binder & Coad, 2016; Johansson Sevä et al., 2016) compared to necessity entrepreneurs, who are just escaping unemployment rather than seeking autonomy (Binder & Coad, 2013). However, this research typically takes an overly simplistic view of needs. For example, entrepreneurs are asked in the GEM survey to select only one entrepreneurial motive; whether they are motivated by autonomy, increasing wealth or necessity. The result is a somewhat artificial group of entrepreneurs with limited aspirations (Reynolds et al., 2002) who depend on their business for only fulfilling their economic needs (Hessels et al., 2008). As a result, we have seen the development of a stereotype of necessity entrepreneurs as "muppets" who would unlikely experience eudaimonic well-being; a type of happiness related to self-realization of one's potential and purpose in life (Ryff, 1989). However, this stereotype of necessity entrepreneurs is not based on rigorous empirical scrutiny of the needs of necessity entrepreneurs (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021; Ryff, 2019; Stephan, 2018).

A few notable exceptions have emerged recently that surface some of the psychological needs of entrepreneurs in necessity contexts. For example, despite being

pushed into entrepreneurship by the lack of employment opportunities, slum entrepreneurs developed aspirations for their children's educational attainment to break the cycle of poverty and have a better future (Shepherd et al., 2021). Similarly, entrepreneurship in poverty contexts can be more than just a "remedial" activity that alleviates poverty from a hedonic perspective (e.g., pleasure attainment and life satisfaction); it can build future prosperity expectations that are akin to eudaimonia (Kimmitt et al., 2020). Finally, Shepherd et al., (2020) found that refugee entrepreneurs developed a broader purpose related to returning to their home country and belonging to both their home country and host community. These findings indicate that entrepreneurs under the conditions of deprivation do consider having a meaningful life and future, and discredit the idea that "…human aspirations such as life purpose, self-realization, and belonging will be mostly understood to be secondary in such contexts, and become undermined in light of more profound and urgent problems" (Kimmitt et al., 2020, p. 3).

Emerging evidence therefore suggests that there can be more to entrepreneurship under necessity conditions than the basic needs suggested by Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al. (2021). Although psychological needs are considered higher-level needs in Maslow's (1943) terms, more recent psychology literature on needs labelled psychological needs including autonomy, competence and relatedness as "basic psychological needs" (Chen et al., 2015; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Deci, 2000). According to self-determination theory, fulfilling these needs is vital for human thriving (Deci & Ryan, 2000), while failing to do so can lead to maladjustment and ill-being (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). Although some needs can be more salient than others across individuals, such psychological needs were found to be universal across cultures and individual differences representing "essential nutrients" for human functioning (Chen et al., 2015;

Chirkov et al., 2003). Hence, despite their conditions, entrepreneurs who lack decent employment options and seek means for subsistence will experience basic psychological needs. This can explain emerging findings that similar to opportunity entrepreneurs, necessity entrepreneurship can contribute to the mental health and well-being of necessity entrepreneurs independent of income changes (Amorós et al., 2021; Nikolova, 2019). However, the psychological needs of such entrepreneurs are rarely examined.

Accordingly, we see an opportunity to build on suggestions to keep an open mind on the types of needs entrepreneurs in necessity condition try to fulfill and how these needs emerge (Coffman & Sunny, 2021). Using an adversity context to examine our research question can be of value. While necessity entrepreneurship can be psychologically beneficial through "escaping the misery of unemployment" (Nikolova, 2019, p. 681), the needs behind it can be expanded in adversity conditions where individuals are looking to make up for losses or mend other context-specific problems (Ahmed et al., 2021; Shepherd et al., 2020). Therefore, we believe that the context of forced migration in a developing country can contribute to this understanding as we explain next.

4.2 Methods

We adopted an inductive qualitative research approach to answer our research question. A qualitative approach is suitable for revealing interpretations and motives from the perspective of the individual (Denzin, 1989; Maitlis, 2005). It examines the phenomenon from a paradigm of discovery rather than validation (Van Maanen et al., 2007), which is important for our aim to scrutinize established theories on necessity entrepreneurship (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011). A qualitative approach was effective in revealing new understanding on necessity entrepreneurship (Shepherd et al., 2021)

unlike the predominant quantitative research using GEM data that has a narrow view on the types of entrepreneurship (Baker & Welter, 2020; Williams et al., 2014).

Similar to previous research (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009; Symon & Whiting, 2019), our initial focus was not on necessity entrepreneurship as this study was part of a broader qualitative research project looking at the entrepreneurial journeys of refugee entrepreneurs. We received some intriguing feedback on this research assuming that refugees are necessity entrepreneurs who are just pushed to self-employment. However, a different perspective on necessity entrepreneurship emerged from our coding of the collected rich data. Hence, "flexibility in the connections within and between the conceptual (ideas) and empirical (data) planes" (Van Maanen et al., 2007, p. 1146) has facilitated this study.

4.2.1 Refugee entrepreneurship as a context of necessity

Our study took place in the context of refugee entrepreneurs in Egypt; forced migrants who became self-employed (Heilbrunn et al., 2019; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). This context is an exemplar of entrepreneurship under conditions of poverty (Sutter et al., 2019) and psychological traumas (Siriwardhana et al., 2014). Although conditions for refugees can vary between host countries, entrepreneurial activities of such ethnic-minority businesses are often labelled as necessity entrepreneurship (Carter et al., 2015; Ram & Jones, 2008) as it is a viable livelihood option in a restrictive labor market. Thus, the refugee entrepreneurship context is an exemplar where so-called necessity entrepreneurship is "transparently observable" (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 537).

Specifically, formal employment of refugees in Egypt is difficult. Egyptian employers need proof that there are no Egyptian nationals available to be hired for the job before a work permit is issued for a refugee (Sadek, 2016). However, since the

informal sector accounts for 40% to 50% of the GDP and 85% of SMEs, it offers an employment option for refugees in Egypt (Soliman, 2020). Yet, these jobs do not always provide the best financial security or working conditions for refugees, which can make them opt for self-employment to capitalize on the huge informal market. The refugee development sector in Egypt supports these self-employment efforts through training and micro-funding (UNHCR, 2021a). The NGOs in this sector implement programmes that cater for the needs of refugees in areas populated by refugee communities as the case in our sample.

4.2.2 Sampling[14] and data collection

Due to the nature of the research setting, we followed purposive sampling to select entrepreneurs who exemplify the phenomenon we are exploring (Charmaz, 2014). Our research participants were part of a development project provided by the NGO *Save The Children International* in Ard El-Lewa – a densely populated neighborhood in Giza where Sudanese, Eritrean and some Syrian refugee communities are located. This project aimed to develop the financial and social conditions of the refugees by fulfilling protection, education, cultural and livelihood needs. The livelihood program included both wage employment and self-employment tracks which refugees between the age of 18 to 25 could join after an assessment of their vulnerability and viability. This selection criteria ensured our sample capture the context of necessity in a consistent manner. Vulnerability was assessed based on the social, education and livelihood conditions of the refugee, while viability was assessed based on skills and work experience. Refugees selected for the self-employment track would ideally have a need for a source of living, and personal and social conditions which would allow them time to focus on their

[14] The research project, that this study is part of, had a larger sample accessed through several NGOs. However, in this study we included a subsample accessed through one NGO that fits the focus of the study.

business. The viability requirements were not high but the more skills and experience (e.g., cooking, vocational skills, trading) a refugee has, the better suited they would be for self-employment. Refugees would submit a business idea and the resources they would require to start. After they get accepted, they would undergo a technical training for a week after which they received a micro-fund between 2000 to 10000 EGP depending on their business requirements to purchase tools, materials…etc. They would then receive coaching sessions throughout the first three months of starting.

One of the authors, who is Egyptian, managed to interview 20 refugees who took part in this livelihood program. The interviews were conducted in Arabic which is the native language of the interviewed South/Sudanese and Syrian refugees as well as the Egyptian interviewer. Average interview duration was 60 minutes with some interviews lasting for 90 minutes. All the interviews took place in the NGO project office except for two interviews; one took place at the entrepreneur's office while the other took place at the entrepreneur's house. The interviews followed a life story approach (McAdams, 2008; Peacock & Holland, 1993) where the interviewer asked the respondents to narrate their journeys starting from pre-migration life. The interview covered areas relating to their skills and, if there were any, employment experiences before and after migration. It also covered the economic, psychological and social conditions which led them to start their businesses, the steps they took to start and how they were finding the experience and its effect on them so far. Throughout the narration of these stories, the interviewer sometimes probed for elaborations.

We transcribed the interviews and translated the transcripts into English using a professional transcriber and translator. Then after going through the transcripts we realized that some interviews were either too short or did not provide the rich narratives

we were looking for (Yin, 2009). Thus, we eliminated 7 participants[15] leaving us with a final sample of 13 entrepreneurs including 7 Sudanese, 2 South Sudanese, 3 Syrians and 1 Eritrean. This included 8 male entrepreneurs and 5 female entrepreneurs. The age range of the entrepreneurs was between 20 to 25 years except for 2 entrepreneurs who participated in a previous version of this program who were in their 40s. All of the research participants were first-time entrepreneurs, however, two entrepreneurs belonged to a family who used to own a business back in their home countries before migration. Table 1 provides a description of the participant entrepreneurs.

Table 6. Description of participant entrepreneurs

Name	Gender	Nationality	Year arrived	Business Age	Business Description
AWA	Female	Sudan	2014	1 year	Catering
FAT	Female	Eritrea	1981	23 years	Handicrafts
HAM	Male	Sudan	2017	1 year	Tailor Shop
ISR	Female	Sudan	2016	1 year	Cosmetics
JUS	Male	South Sudan	2004	13 years	Handicrafts
KH	Male	Sudan	2016	6 months	Fashion export
MO	Male	Syria	2017	1 year	Bath products
NEG	Male	Sudan	1997	6 months	Leather products
NOS	Female	Sudan	2014	1 year	Beauty Centre
PET	Male	South Sudan	2015	1 year	Home services
YAS	Female	Sudan	2014	2 years	Beauty Centre
YASS	Male	Syria	2017	1 year	Bath products
YAZ	Male	Syria	2013	2 years	AC Technician

4.2.3 Data Analysis

We used narrative analysis to make sense of our data. As the interviews followed a life story approach, each interview was a rich story that had characters,

[15] Those entrepreneurs were not systematically different from the included research participants in terms of age, nationality, nature of the business or its age…etc.

scenes in sequence and a plot with a conflict (Creswell, 2007). Analyzing these stories using a narrative approach can be effective because individuals make sense of the events and changes in their lives through narratives (Bruner, 1990). It is a "sensemaking device" that organizes events meaningfully to show consequences emotionally and cognitively (Maitlis, 2012, p. 492). For example, Symon and Whiting (2019) analyzed the narratives of social entrepreneurs to understand how they constituted meaningful work within a sociometrical perspective. Therefore, narrative analysis can be helpful as we want to understand the experiences of the entrepreneurs from their own stories rather than presumptions about their entrepreneurial activity (e.g., pushed by basic needs) and stereotypical narratives of their conditions (e.g., forced migration) that they are typically defined by.

What is special about narratives is that they have a temporal dimension that shows the unfolding of events over time, reveal processes and life-changing epiphanies (Denzin, 1989; Lieblich et al., 1998). Narratives rest on three main elements "an original state of affairs, an action or an event, and the consequent state of affairs" (Czarniawska, 1998, p. 2); in our case, life before migration and becoming entrepreneurs, engaging in entrepreneurship and life after engaging in entrepreneurship. This temporal dimension has proved useful in other research on for example entrepreneurial failure that utilized narrative research to understand how entrepreneurs deal with stigma before and after failure (Singh et al., 2015) and how they function in the short-term and the long-term after failure (Corner et al., 2017a). Similarly, both the forced migration event and the entrepreneurship experience constituted a rich narrative in our study. A narrative approach views entrepreneurial journeys as dynamic processes and the entrepreneurs as the narrators of these journeys who frame and reframe their past and their future as the journey unfolds (Garud et al., 2014; Garud & Giuliani,

2013). These characteristics and functions of narratives align well with the nature of our research as we examine both the motives and outcomes of entrepreneurial journeys.

We followed Maitlis's (2012) guidance on narrative analysis. First, we carefully examined each interview transcript to understand how each entrepreneur talks about him/herself before and after becoming entrepreneurs. We tried to identify how entrepreneurs narrated themselves as refugees who became entrepreneurs, and how they made sense of their decision to engage in entrepreneurship after migration. Second, we created one-page summary narratives after examining each transcript (Maitlis, 2005, 2009). These summary narratives were mainly descriptive points following a timeline from before migration till the time of the interview. We integrated some key quotations to support these points and added a brief statement in each summary to describe the relationship between the needs of each entrepreneur and the outcomes of the entrepreneurship experience. Finally, we worked across the narratives through a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) where we compared the content of the narratives looking for common themes. This led us to identify two overarching narratives which we labelled *Reinterpretation* and *Realization* that are structured around needs before engaging in entrepreneurship, the choice of engaging entrepreneurship, and fulfilled needs. Our thematic analysis of the narratives identified themes under each component of the narrative structure. Table 2 summarizes the narratives and their structure. The constructed narratives in this table represents the main theoretical finding inducted from our analysis (See Symon & Whiting, 2019 for a similar representation). These narratives capture the entrepreneurs' experiences in theoretical terms. We explain both types of narratives and their components in the next section.

Table 7. Summary of narratives

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Reinterpretation</th><th>Realization</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Needs before engaging in entrepreneurship</td><td>I needed a source of income…

The main motivation behind engaging in entrepreneurship is a financial need. Needs are mainly focused on financial security to support one’s self and family, and improve their standard of living.</td><td>I needed a meaningful life…

Despite a financial need behind engaging in entrepreneurship, there were other psychological needs as well. There was a need for a more meaningful life to make up for the negative effect of forced migration.</td></tr>
<tr><td>I needed a source of income to achieve another goal…

Engaging in entrepreneurship is a means to achieve another goal. Needs are mainly focused on financial security to support one’s self and family in order to be able to continue education and/or find a decent skilled job.</td><td>I needed a meaningful life through entrepreneurship…

Despite a financial need behind engaging in entrepreneurship, there has always been a dream to become an entrepreneur. Achieving this dream is core to a meaningful life.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Engaging in entrepreneurship</td><td colspan="2">… So, I capitalized on external support and my skills to pursue an opportunity…

• The guidance and support provided by the NGO as well as personal networks have both helped in identifying opportunities and providing connections to some important resources.
• Skills gained before migration or from job experiences after migration were instrumental for pursuing opportunities.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Fulfilled needs</td><td colspan="2">… Now I am more secured financially…

Becoming self-employed was key to reducing financial burdens through securing a financial income. Compared to employment, the income is much better given the time and effort invested. There is a belief that the financial returns will increase in the future.</td></tr>
<tr><td>… and I discovered psychological benefits from the work itself

Reinterpretation of the needs that are relevant to entrepreneurship as other psychological needs became more salient shortly after engaging in entrepreneurship.</td><td>… and I have met my psychological needs

Realization of a more meaningful life as the psychological needs are attained.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">I have become more independent, socially connected and have a more meaningful life as well as higher self-worth</td></tr>
</table>

4.3 Findings

We identified two overarching narratives of 'necessity entrepreneurship' which we labelled reinterpretation and realization. Both narratives differ on how the needs unfolded before and after engaging in entrepreneurship. Under the reinterpretation narrative, entrepreneurs expressed that they just needed a secure source of income and this source of income was either the goal in itself or it was a step towards achieving another goal. Under the realization narrative, entrepreneurs expressed that they were looking for a post-migration meaningful life or they were looking to achieve this meaningful life specifically through entrepreneurship. To fulfil these needs, refugees identified opportunities as they capitalized on external support and on their skills. The self-employment experience then helped secure their basic financial needs. However, the reinterpretation narrative revealed that the entrepreneurs also discovered benefits from the work itself as they fulfilled other needs that are beyond basic. Entrepreneurs with a realization narrative attained their sought-after meaningfulness as they realized their social and psychological needs. We explain each narrative and its components in detail supported by illustrative extracts. Table 3 provides additional narrative extracts.

4.3.1 Needs before engaging in entrepreneurship

I needed a source of income (to achieve another goal)

Refugee entrepreneurs presenting the reinterpretation narrative expressed that they were looking for a decent secure income that can cover their living expenses after migration. Some clearly highlighted that this was their sole goal of looking to work and start a business. YAS who immigrated with her family and is responsible for supporting them along with her mother explains that: "the salary from working as a hairdresser was not enough for our rent, so I thought of opening a hair dresser shop and things have been better since then. We can pay our rent, medication and the living expenses".

Table 3. Narrative extracts

Reinterpretation HAM KH PET FAT YAS JUS	Needs before engaging in entrepreneurship	"If I had reached self-sufficiency I would have at least been able to secure my university fees…my top ambition is to continue my education in the area of business administration and develop my languages, also working in an office and developing my computer skills" (HAM) "when one comes here, his family are living abroad, most of refugees are like this, they depend on their families or they can work any job they find, they must have some help from anyone else…. However, one who has his faith in God, and his health, has to work to maintain his dignity. This is what motivated me to work" (FAT) "I have a degree, experience, worked as a teacher and so on, but the conditions forced me to look for another source of income. I had to take risks to live" (PET)
	Engaging in entrepreneurship	Support: "There is a shop in the All Saints' Cathedral in Zamalek It is a nice shop, they take the work of Egyptians and also refugees, selling there is good… Any refugee comes here, he does not find a place or a school, then the first and only thing he finds is the schools established by the churches…this is the only available thing for him, they gathered us, we started to feel that we are not alone, the schools and churches related to St. Andrews managed to gather the refugees. The programme of St. Andrews is considered the biggest self-employment program for refugees" (FAT) "I learned and I gained experience from my colleague in the training course. Since then I used to go to his shop and train for 3 hours every day. I saw how he deals with customers and I learned a lot from him" (HAM) Experience and Skills: "Due to the experience I gained as a carer, and even when I was in Sudan, I saw that the society needs this. for example, those who are working and have a good salary but they cannot balance work and home. So, they would bring someone who would help in cleaning or taking care of the elderly person that they have…" (PET) "My mum is more experienced than me. I learned from her. She has been working since 1999. So, I gained my experience from her and she is my partner in this business. When I

	applied, they asked for a partner as she is more experienced and to keep the work and money fair between us" (YAS) Opportunity: "I tried to search, to find out what the Egyptian society prefers, I found that, Mashallah, Mashallah, women like accessories so much, so, I tried to learn it as a hobby, I haven't studied it, but I learned to make accessories, and thank God, they loved the accessories, so, I engaged in this field" (FAT) "I worked in a Sudanese Boutique that had Sudanese cosmetics, perfumes, accessories, clothes and Henna. When I worked there, I brought clothes like this. This is the new century's fashion. African clothes were not there before. This has just become trendy everywhere" (KH)
Fulfilled needs	"When we started working from home, I felt that there is big difference. My mum is more comfortable. Her children are with her, she can work and cover their expenses and the house expenses" (YAS) "Here I have become able to go anywhere, know places and people. There when I got to know someone new, they asked who is this and how did you know him? Here I also learned self-confidence. I can go on my own without fear while there my self-confidence was shaken…my self-confidence increases a lot with the business" (YAS) "Psychologically, when I offer a service to someone I will be comfortable because I am helping a brother or a sister who are in need so that they do not have to beg for help from anyone and work. When I offer them this service, it will be better. So, I give them a fishing rod and teach them how to fish rather than giving them a fish" (PET) "My old job is routine and exhausting, but this makes me learn about new cultures, new people. It does not restrict you. You can use your time to read a book, communicate with others over the phone" (KH)

Realization MOH YASS NOS NEG YAZ ISR AWA	Needs before engaging in entrepreneurship	"imagine yourself leaving your own country due to a war crisis, without a penny, without anything, you have to live and eat, you have to secure your family, so you have to exert a great effort in order to live" (YASS) "we thought that we (Himself and MOH) have to continue in this path, to develop our project, we didn't think to work for anyone, if you decide to work for a person, you will limit and restrict yourself, but working in your own business makes the horizon open to you" (YASS) "I tried to look for a job here, and I worked, I was working in any job to earn my living, even in a restaurant or whatever. I decided that I have to help my family, as the rentals were so high, and they tend to exploit (gain profit from) us when they know that we are Syrians, they think that we have money, and that we came to Egypt with our treasure, and I needed to work." (YAZ) "I decided to go back to the career of air conditioning maintenance, I wanted to work alone for myself, to put my mind at rest, even if I couldn't earn much money, but this craft will eventually benefit me" (YAZ)
	Engaging in entrepreneurship	Support: "When I used to cook these things, they loved it, and when I saw all this people telling me come and cook…come and cook, when I had this opportunity I thought of staring my own catering business" (AWA) "I started to learn from him step by step until I managed to learn how to dismantle the air conditioner and clean it and things like that, until I learned so many things inside it such as,

its electrical circuit, and internal board. I worked with him for 4 years… I still return to him to ask for help" (YAZ)

Experience and skills:
"After I left industrial safety I worked in a leather factory. So, I loved this area so much. I felt it is part of me. I stayed there 3 months exactly, but 3 months which made up for a lot of things. I loved the work and I decided to continue in this area" (NEG)
"After I travelled to Khartoum, I was studying and I was helping my aunt in making perfumes and I gained the experience from her" (ISR)

Opportunity:
"I was so clever at trading, my mother was keeping some things from Sudan, such as Sudanese incense and aromatic scents, Sudanese creams, at the same time, we had some shortage of money, so I told my mother an idea, instead of keeping these things until it becomes expired (rotten), what about selling these products in Sudanese associations?" (NOS)
"When I came here I found a lot of Sudanese who want Sudanese food, because not everyone can make it. Before opening my restaurant, I went and asked around the restaurants and I asked what type of dishes they make and what is most in demand and they told me about these and that they don't have time to make them. So, I said how about I make these dishes which you can't make?" (AWA)

	Fulfilled needs	“the idea of this project have changed my life so much, currently I study at the university, no entity supports me, or pay university expenses, which are 450 $ per year, at the same time, this project gave me strength to complete my education “I feel that I am an independent person, I feel that I am not working for anyone, I feel that with my persistence and determination, I can achieve success in this field by dealing and communicating with people” (NOS) “After starting my business, I wake up at 6 am now to make everything, I more psychologically relieved not in depression, and I am not feeling homesick. and that I do not feel alone. Since I live in Egypt, so I am a foreigner not in my own country... Egypt is not my country, is it? I feel isolated as a foreigner at home, but once I make the food and go outside to see the people and talk to the people, I feel I am better than staying at home” (AWA) “I am thinking that my business, first of all, to be a sustainable business…When I am on the internet and I see the data and where the world is heading… so in the future I am thinking rather than throwing away the left-over leather, I can recycle it. I can partner with a company or I can bring machines which can help me do this… I am also thinking on the long run I can start an initiative to clean my neighborhood” (NEG) “The profit is not up to the expected level yet, but I learned and I am called an entrepreneur now. So, this is very good. This has been my dream since my childhood, but now the dream is actually a reality. I do have my own business, I built it. Mashallah it is working and it can be called a startup” (NEG)

However, other entrepreneurs had another goal which they sought to achieve through having a stable financial income. PET and HAM wanted to continue their university education to be able to find jobs in their fields of study, and to be able to do that, they were looking for work that can secure their basic needs while at the same time allow them to have time for their studies. KH highlighted the importance of flexibility in his work:

> "I was looking for a project that I can make me more stable financially because it was unstable. I want to improve my family's situation so I thought if I found a stable project here in Egypt it would be good…the idea of the business was the only option. it would not take time from me while studying at university. I can work with a phone call… this business does not restrict me as I am studying and the more important thing for me is my education**"**

Entrepreneurship for them was not a permanent thing, it was rather an important tool as they think thought that leading a good life after migration would require a higher education degree. PET who already has a university degree from Sudan also had an ultimate goal of pursuing an academic career. Although his business was doing well, he considered in his next step to continue his postgrad studies.

"I can see this is the beginning, and in the beginning one should not be desperate but should be hopeful. If my project goes a step forward, the first thing I will do is to continue my postgrad studies and increase my educational qualifications and find a degree that will help me be competitive. I can then find a job as an assistant lecturer in an Egyptian university in my subject area"

While, the narrative taken by these entrepreneurs reflected normal expected needs from individuals living as refugees who want to lead a decent life, it is worth noting that these needs were a level higher than just physiological needs (e.g., food, clothes, shelter) as they also aimed for longer-term safety. However, some entrepreneurs took a narrative that reflects needs that go beyond basic.

I needed a meaningful life (through entrepreneurship)

As refugees, many of those entrepreneurs voiced their need for a solution for their homesickness and the severe feelings of dejection they had after immigrating and leaving behind their lives. Despite the urgency of securing an income, they also had a pressing need for a more meaningful life and not falling into depression. ISR's husband was unemployed when they migrated then he found a job in a mobile fixing shop and they have a child who added a financial burden on them. However, ISR conveyed her feelings before starting her business: "In 2016 I did not know anyone. I was feeling very lonely. I did not know what to do. I used to think a lot, I don't have anyone here. This was very tough on me because I felt homesickness and loneliness".

The narratives of some entrepreneurs showed that entrepreneurship in specific was the main route needed to have a more meaningful life. Entrepreneurship in this case had been in the mind of those refugees even before facing the depressing life conditions. NOS faced a lot of tragedies since her migration with her family, and this created a need for her to work and support her family. She explains:

> "my elder brother disappeared…this has affected us so much, especially me, he was the closest one to me, you can say that I broke down, I stopped my education, at the same time, my mother was so down, and she became ill, she suffered from many things in her stomach, and she complained of some pain in her back, so she stopped working, no one or authority would pay our expenses or support us with our needs"

However, she admits at the same time that entrepreneurship was her dream that she finally got the chance to fulfil. "I had this idea of staring this business since a long time, I wanted to be independent and work in something I love, not forced to do anything, nor imposed by anyone, and it's not necessary to be related to my field of study, but I dreamed to work in something I really love". Similarly, NEG who had to be employed for some time before starting his business said: "I read about this call for

applications on the internet. I have always wanted to be a businessman since my childhood. It is something since I was a kid, but the circumstances have been very difficult".

While it does not disregard the salience of basic needs, this narrative clearly points out that the necessity conditions do not preclude the refugees from experiencing the need to improve their psychological state. These needs stem from the desire to alleviate the psychological problems experienced due to their forced migration conditions but can also derive from a desire to fulfil a pre-existing dream such as becoming self-employed and achieving a higher status in life.

4.3.2 Engaging in entrepreneurship

The self-employment of these refugees was facilitated by some factors which reflected a "pull" effect alongside the "push" effect of the needs. First, refugees who opted for employment as a first solution highlighted that although it did not properly fulfil their needs or it was a negative experience, they did learn some key skills from this experience which they drew on to move into self-employment. YASS and MOH, who are cousins and cofounders, had different work experiences after migrating; one of which was very exhausting. YASS explains:

> "we used to work for 12 hours in the factory, very stressed and tired, after coming back home with high pressure at 7 Pm you could just eat anything and go to the bed to be able to wake up early at 7:00 am in the next day, then you had to go to work on foot to save the 15 EGP of the transportation"

However, they acknowledged that their accumulated work experience and especially working in the detergents factory, which they referred to as exhausting, taught them about the industry and the market where they later found a business opportunity. YASS recalled this:

> "we thought about making our own project, when we felt that we are able to work in the market, we started to think about quitting from the factory and work for our own, so we didn't do it automatically, we checked the Market at first, studied the conditions, then we did this step of starting the project"

Others had some skills learned from their families or just hobbies that they have. They capitalized on these skills and hobbies to start their businesses. AWA recalled how she learned cooking skills form her mother: "Back in Sudan my mum used to offer catering for events, and I got this idea from her. When she used to go to these events I asked to go with her and then I would watch how she cooks". Then, when she started practicing this as hobby after migration, she saw an opportunity to start her catering business. "When I cook these things, they really like it. When I saw all these people asking me to cook this and that, when I got this opportunity I said I can do my own restaurant and earn something that can help me in my house and can become a source of income".

Second, the support that was provided to those refugees by NGOs was vital to their realization of the opportunity of self-employment. They credited NGO for their business success as they provided them with necessary training, micro-funding and marketing outlets. FAT reflected the importance of the training she received:

> "An American woman from the NGO, told me that; "it has to be simple, it does not take time and affordable; so that my prices would be reasonable" and this helped me… and also to be distinctive, and at the same time to be attractive, and this is exactly what I tried to do in my project, these are the conditions I followed, my work is good and simple"

Similarly, the networks of those refuges also had an instrumental role in connecting them to opportunities and gaining needed resources to start their businesses. When HAM started his business, he did this with the support of a more experienced friend: "I thought and I knew there is risk, but when I started my business, I did not do this on my own. No, I chose to have someone with me who has 6 years of experience

here in Egypt. He took me to the vocational course, I trained with him and till now he is motivating me".

Building on their skills and the support they received, opportunity was reflected in the narratives of the refugees. They identified opportunities in a new post-migration environment. YAZ explains how he chose the air conditioning business:

> "when I was young, we had an air conditioner at home, it was constantly malfunctioning, and they used to call the maintenance worker to fix it, and he used to take money in return every time, so I thought that I want to benefit and learn about that as I love this field, here in Egypt, people use air conditioners in summer and winter as well"

In summary, the narratives of all the refugee entrepreneurs reflected a number of factors that attracted them to their choice of entrepreneurship as a solution to satisfy their needs. There was a clear opportunity identification taking place as facilitated by their skills and external support.

4.3.3 Fulfilled needs

I am more secured financially and I discovered psychological benefits from the work itself

There was a tone of satisfaction in the entrepreneurs' reinterpretation narrative as they managed to secure stable livelihoods that fulfilled their needs for a stable income. For those who had other goals, entrepreneurship helped them in pursuing these goals (e.g., continuing their education). KH expressed that "Stress started to decrease after I launched my business. I have two terms left to finish my university studies. I am busy thinking now so what? Will I do postgrad studies? or will I look for a job in my field of study?".

However, while they initially started with basic needs, those entrepreneurs discovered that they fulfilled other psychological needs related to independence, growth

and belongingness. As they had engaged in entrepreneurship, these psychological needs, which they did not realize they had earlier, surfaced. They conveyed the perceived autonomy and development that was realized from the entrepreneurship experience. Comparing self-employment to normal employment, KH also mentioned that: “I can go back to employed jobs but there is nothing new in this life, routine work which restricts you”.

The social aspect of the entrepreneurship experience was strongly conveyed. Although it was not mentioned as a pressing need that motivated the decision to engage in entrepreneurship, harvesting positive relationships was among the key benefits. This can be explained within the context of forced migration where those individuals would significantly value building such social relationships. HAM explained:

> “I widened my circle of friends and got connected to new friends from different nationalities. Even with other NGOs we are integrated now and we take part in support programs. We are meeting new people and guiding them to opportunities. Everyone is asking me about training opportunities, when does the vocational training starts and when can we apply…I have become a guide to others. I have become someone who is socially visible and there is a nice feeling of friendship and amiability”

Furthermore, through their business achievements, some of them learned that they are responsible towards others and they need to take this responsibility. They managed to move from the position of needing support to providing support to others who are in need. This gave them more purpose in what they are doing. FAT who started training fellow refugees reflected this:

> “our religion said that, I like an old wisdom, which says; 'the one who lives for himself does not deserve to be born'. God ordered us to have a role in the society we are living in, you have to give something in this life, I learned that I am responsible in society, I have to direct this responsibility towards learning and work, if there is anything I can do to help them, I will give it to them”

All in all, the needs that those refugees managed to fulfill through entrepreneurship turned out to be more than what they initially had in mind. They ended

up feeling higher self-worth as their narratives reflected a sense of pride. FAT evoked this feeling: “Imagine that you are a refugee and do like I do, just like you are now a refugee, and entered university, you are feeling proud of yourself, you established a business, you do not need help from anybody, you depend on yourself, you teach people, this is a good shift for me”.

This suggests that the needs of entrepreneurs are subject to reinterpretation. Although the conditions behind their engagement in entrepreneurship initially focused on their needs to secure an income, this changed shortly after they had become entrepreneurs. Their entrepreneurship experience unlocked additional needs beyond securing an income as they have fulfilled psychological needs which were implicit early on in their journey. Thus, they reinterpreted the value of an entrepreneurial career and how it relates to their needs.

I am more secure financially and I have met my psychological needs

On the other hand, the realization narrative conveyed a similar satisfaction with the fulfilment of the basic financial needs. However, most importantly, the psychological needs pertaining to a more meaningful life were also attained. Those who aspired to become entrepreneurs expressed their sense of achievement and competence. YAZ, who had always wanted to be self-employed, evoked confidence and how he proved to others what he can accomplish as a refugee:

> “I gained experience and confidence, so why do I give this experience to other employers? I have to take advantage of it. some people underestimate me, so I will prove to them what I will be after several years, when they see that I am well known, they will realize that I am a skillful worker, I can even make them work for me. This is what I intend to do because I was affected by what they have done to me.”

Feelings of higher self-worth and becoming socially visible were also an attained need for those who were aspiring for a more positive life after migration. AWA reflected how the simple call for an order gave her a very positive feeling;

> "At first, I used to go to customers and take their orders, but now they call me and order what they want. So, I started realizing I am someone important. I realized my value. Even if someone told me do this thing, even if it is simple, I become really happy because someone asked me to do something for them"

Realizing independence was vital for those who were used to being supported by their family members. As they had the urgency to financially contribute to their household, they enjoyed feeling independent and growing as a person. This personal growth was a key component of their narrative. ISR explained this shift:

"My project has added a lot of things to my life aside from the financial side. It made me know a lot of people and it made me able to realize the difference between the good person who I can deal with and who is the person that I should take care of. made me realize the value of my existence. It made me organize my time and become a responsible person, it made me depend on myself. Now, if my husband gives me money it is ok, if he did not, I do not ask. If he is not working, I can take care of myself…there is a big difference. When I started my business, my life changed to something beautiful because I have become a business owner, I have responsibility, manage my time. Responsibility is good and it decreased the stress"

Therefore, entrepreneurship was both a key tool for filling the gap in some psychological needs, and was in itself a fulfilled dream for some refugees. The narratives of some entrepreneurs conveyed that the realization of psychological needs was indeed more salient than the importance of securing their financial needs.

4.4 Discussion

Our study sought to reveal the needs of entrepreneurs in necessity conditions and how these needs unfold in relation to their involvement in entrepreneurial activity. We examined the narratives of refugee entrepreneurs about their entrepreneurial journeys and identified two overarching narratives reflecting how needs can emerge under necessity conditions. We seek to make two primary contributions to a needs-

based view of entrepreneurship. First, by accounting for the temporal aspect of needs, we reveal how entrepreneurs operating in necessity contexts can have multiple needs, some of which can emerge as they engage in entrepreneurship. Second, our findings revealed how these entrepreneurs can derive procedural utility as their basic psychological needs become salient when they engage in entrepreneurship. We therefore highlight the need to extend the proposed boundary condition of "retaining basic needs" associated with necessity entrepreneurship (Dencker, Bacq, & Gruber, 2021), enriching the needs-based view of entrepreneurship to one that can involve pursuing opportunities to fulfill more than basic needs. We expand on our contributions below.

4.4.1 Multiple-levels of needs rather than basic needs

Our study has empirically scrutinized the recent proposition of basic needs as a boundary condition of necessity entrepreneurship (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021). We have shown that this boundary condition can extend to multiple levels of needs (Coffman & Sunny, 2021). While basic financial needs can be a main motivator for some entrepreneurs, other entrepreneurs had higher level of needs which were as vital as the basic needs. As much as they needed work to provide for themselves and for their families a decent and secure living, the narratives of some of those entrepreneurs were mainly focused on higher psychological needs. These higher-level needs pertained to either the adversity context or pre-existing entrepreneurial aspirations. In adversity contexts where individuals experience a stressful period, they lose some important personal and social resources and they develop a need to make up for this loss (Hobfoll, 1989) and cope with it (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This need can motivate engaging in entrepreneurship in order to cope with these losses. Moreover, being in conditions of necessity does not preclude individuals from having entrepreneurial aspirations and a

need for achievement just like opportunity entrepreneurs (Carsrud & Brännback, 2011; McClelland, 1985). Based on the evidence in our study, it would be inaccurate to describe basic needs as the main motive behind entrepreneurship.

Most importantly, our findings highlight the importance of taking a temporal perspective (Langley et al., 2013; Langley & Abdallah, 2011) on the needs of entrepreneurs. A more temporal perspective in entrepreneurship has previously revealed unanticipated consequences (Jiang & Tornikoski, 2019) and patterns of entrepreneurial actions (Jiang et al., 2021). By understanding how they conveyed needs throughout their narrated stories, we have identified two ways through which entrepreneurs in impoverished conditions fulfill psychological needs. Entrepreneurs who initially started with a need for financial security reinterpreted the value of their entrepreneurship experience. While they did not intentionally emphasize or seek to fulfill their psychological needs, these needs surfaced as engaging in entrepreneurship showed their salience. Therefore, not only did they realize the hedonic benefits of entrepreneurship pertaining to the satisfaction of basic needs, but they also benefited from developing positive relationships, increased self-worth and having a purpose in life. However, others who were in quest of meaning in their lives realized this through becoming more socially visible, independent and competent. These findings respond to calls for additional research on the eudaimonic aspects of entrepreneurship (Ryff, 2019; Stephan et al., 2020) especially in understudied necessity contexts (Kimmitt et al., 2020; Shepherd et al., 2021).

Our findings also challenge the generic assumption that the macro context of developed/developing country taxonomy can determine the type of necessity entrepreneurship (Dencker, Bacq, Gruber, et al., 2021). Assuming that necessity entrepreneurs in developing countries are mainly looking to satisfy their basic

physiological needs appears to miss part of the story. In a context of forced migration in a developing country where social security and welfare programs are absent for both citizens and refugees, entrepreneurs did not convey physiological needs, but they rather conveyed safety as well as psychological needs. It is important to note that despite the unfavorable economic conditions in developing countries like Egypt, there are substantial informal markets offering informal employment that can satisfy the physiological needs. Therefore, we evidence the argument that using physiological needs as a boundary condition for necessity entrepreneurship in developing countries might only be applicable in in relatively rare, extreme cases (O'Donnell et al., 2021).

4.4.2 Procedural utility under necessity conditions

Our second contribution is to the research on entrepreneurs' well-being as we demonstrate how entrepreneurs in necessity conditions can achieve procedural utility from their entrepreneurship experience. Previous research has shown that while entrepreneurs who started their ventures with free will (i.e., pulled) and a motivation to pursue a business opportunity can gain benefits over and above the financial rewards (safety needs) such as autonomy and personal growth (psychological needs), entrepreneurs who were pushed to start their businesses would lack such benefits (Block & Koellinger, 2009; Kautonen & Palmroos, 2010). By responding to calls to contextualize research on entrepreneur's mental health and well-being (Stephan, 2018), our findings indicate that entrepreneurs who are escaping unemployment and seeking means for subsistence can also gain procedural utility from their entrepreneurial work itself besides the outcome utility from the financial income (Benz et al., 2005; Frey, 2008). These findings support recent suggestions that necessity entrepreneurs can experience mental health gains (Amorós et al., 2021; Nikolova, 2019). Whether entrepreneurship was only a way to achieve basic goals or it was a goal in itself, the

entrepreneurs' narratives strongly conveyed that they cared about and enjoyed its financial and psychological outcomes as well as the processes leading to these outcomes such as identifying an opportunity, establishing and managing their businesses.

This procedural utility was mainly derived from the entrepreneurs' pursuit of opportunities despite their conditions. We show that entrepreneurs can pursue opportunities in the midst of adverse circumstances and necessity conditions if they have access to skills and experiences acquired from previous jobs held, as well as external support. Thus, our findings support the proposals of Dencker and colleagues (2021) on the role of both human capital and supportive institutional levers in facilitating opportunity identification and exploitation in necessity contexts. However, we add to these proposals by demonstrating that the availability of these factors can help entrepreneurs derive pleasure from the entrepreneurship process as it made them more grounded and better able to pursue opportunities. Consequently, this enrichment of the entrepreneurial process facilitated the procedural utility that entrepreneurs can derive from their work.

All in all, our research helps develop a more context-sensitive perspective of the needs of entrepreneurs (Baker & Welter, 2020; Welter, 2011) and considers heterogeneity among entrepreneurs based on this sensitivity (Davidsson, 2016). As contexts can amplify certain social and psychological entrepreneurial outcomes (e.g., Tobias et al., 2013), the context of our research amplified psychological needs and procedural utility for entrepreneurs counter to the more traditional economic view of entrepreneurship in necessity conditions. While the forced migration context necessitates poverty alleviation, it also creates a gap in psychological functioning (Williams & Shepherd, 2016). Our findings suggest that entrepreneurship can fill this

gap by providing procedural utility which helps fulfill needs for self-determination, freedom and relatedness.

4.5 Future research and Practical Implications

Our research surfaces a number of directions for future research. First, we believe that our contributions question the value of the opportunity versus necessity dichotomy (Baker & Welter, 2020; Coffman & Sunny, 2021). Showing that entrepreneurs in necessity conditions can be both pushed and pulled to entrepreneurship and that they can seek both basic economic and psychological needs through pursuing opportunities, blurs major differences between opportunity and necessity entrepreneurship. Thus, we suggest the need to avoid assuming that entrepreneurs operating in necessity conditions cannot identify entrepreneurial opportunities nor that they are primarily motivated in entrepreneurship to fulfil basic needs. Second, in order to advance a needs-based conceptualization of entrepreneurial motivation as a possible replacement for the necessity-opportunity dichotomy, the needs lens has to be extended to examining entrepreneurs who are in more favorable conditions, have more resources and fit the traditional definition of opportunity entrepreneurs. Finally, since our study included only nascent entrepreneurs, we did not get to examine how their needs can change in the longer term and how enduring the salience of their psychological needs would be if their business is/not growing; this represents an interesting opportunity for future research.

Our findings offer some important insights for practitioners. As it reaffirms the seminal role of institutional support programs in developing entrepreneurial careers of individuals in disadvantaged conditions like forced migration, it reveals some key dimensions to be considered while designing such programs. First, understanding the long terms goals that those individuals seek from self-employment is key in order to

design support activities which are compatible with these goals. For example, since self-employment can be an end goal in itself, support programs can be more extensive and more funding can be allocated to ensure the sustainability of these self-employment activities. Second, it is important to assess the impact of these programs in light of the wider scope of needs that those entrepreneurs want to satisfy. As a result, it would be more accurate if this assessment considers the different dimensions of well-being including psychological well-being rather than focusing only on economic well-being. Finally, policies which are aimed at supporting individuals who are unemployed or lack employment alternatives can include more on enhancing their access and ability to exploit entrepreneurial opportunities.

4.6 Conclusion

This study explored how the needs of entrepreneurs in necessity conditions unfold. Through exploring the narratives of refugee entrepreneurs, our findings have illustrated how entrepreneurship in necessity conditions can be related to multiple levels of needs rather than basic needs. We showed that psychological needs can emerge at different times throughout the entrepreneurial journey. We laid the foundation for a needs-based conceptualization of entrepreneurial motivation that does not preclude entrepreneurs, even in disadvantaged contexts, from pursuing opportunities that can fulfill a variety of needs beyond basic ones.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis has tackled some key research gaps related to our understanding of entrepreneurship and its role in adversity contexts. We have conducted an in-depth investigation of the concept of psychological resilience in entrepreneurship in our first two studies. In chapter 2, we systematically reviewed the entrepreneurship literatures on resilience alongside the literatures on stress and coping, and in chapter 3 we examined the how life course can shape the role of entrepreneurship in building the resilience of refugee entrepreneurs. Finally, the third study in chapter 4 explored how the needs of entrepreneurs in necessity conditions unfold in relation to their entrepreneurial activity. The three studies make a number of contributions.

5.1 Contributions

By systematically reviewing and integrating the entrepreneurship literatures on resilience with its related concepts on stress and coping in chapter 2, we make a contribution by providing a more comprehensive understanding of the process of building resilience in entrepreneurship through. Guided by advances in the psychology scholarship on resilience, we developed a theoretical model of this process by explicating the relationships between the three concepts which have traditionally been studied in isolation in our field. Based on our model, we outline a number of research avenues in an exciting research agenda that aims at advancing entrepreneurship research on resilience.

In chapter 3, we revealed four resilience trajectories that entrepreneurs experienced in the aftermath of their forced migration adversity contributing to a richer and more nuanced understanding of the resilience process. Thus, by taking a life course perspective we elaborate on the resilience process in entrepreneurship by theorizing

trajectories within this process. Our findings have also identified the key role of dynamic appraisals within the resilience process in shaping how entrepreneurship can contribute to resilience. We have shown that entrepreneurs can experience resilience differently through a range of functioning outcomes, some of which reflect a dark side of resilience.

In chapter 4, we contribute to knowledge on entrepreneurship in necessity conditions by taking a temporal perspective on the needs of entrepreneurs. In so doing, we reveal how multiple-levels of needs, rather than just basic needs, emerge under these conditions. We found that while some entrepreneurs started their ventures with the aim of fulfilling their financial needs, they subsequently reinterpreted their experience as entrepreneurship unlocked other psychological needs. In contrast to the more established view of entrepreneurship in necessity conditions however, we identified a group of individuals who entered entrepreneurship with a need to fulfill higher psychological needs; seeking a more meaningful life despite their necessity and hardships. We have also demonstrated that those entrepreneurs can achieve procedural utility (i.e., non-instrumental pleasures of processes that lead to outcomes) through pursuing business opportunities besides outcome utility (i.e., instrumental outcomes such as financial benefits).

5.2 Limitations and Future Research

In Chapters 2-4 we highlight several opportunities for future research, some of which are based on the limitations of our work. Here we remind readers of the main research gaps that future researchers can address. We highlight the importance of longitudinal investigations of the resilience process in entrepreneurship. This can facilitate causal inference and consider how resilience changes overtime (Bonanno et al., 2015; Mancini et al., 2011). Hence, we can identify if there are relapses or a delayed

disruption in the entrepreneur's functioning. There are also opportunities to explore the role of entrepreneurship building resilience in alternative contexts of chronic or acute stressors, and individual and mass adversities as these can reveal different mechanism and contributions. Future research can also compare entrepreneurship and wage-employment in terms of how each can facilitate resilience and the mechanisms of doing this.

Furthermore, our findings in chapter 4 reaffirm the calls to scrutinize the opportunity versus necessity dichotomy (Baker & Welter, 2020; Coffman & Sunny, 2021). We can see value in extending the needs-based view of entrepreneurship to other types of entrepreneurs in more favorable conditions who are traditionally labeled as opportunity entrepreneurs. Moreover, as our research was mainly focused on nascent entrepreneurs, future research can examine the needs of entrepreneurs and how it can change in light of their longer-term business performance and growth.

5.3 Practical implications

Our findings offer some key insights for practitioners. First, NGOs in the development sector can better evaluate the success of their self-employment programs. Such programs should not only be evaluated according to the financial impact and income created. It could include different dimensions of psychological well-being and functioning outcomes which are vital for individuals who faced and might still be facing severe adversities. Second, the evaluation that these NGOs conduct as part of the self-employment program application can consider the pre-adversity background of the beneficiaries (e.g., refugees) including past hardships. This can facilitate more accurate evaluation of the program success. Third, programs and policies ought to give more support to refugees who are facing persistent adversity. However, it is important to understand the long terms goals of these refugees in order to allocate support resources

more efficiently. For example, as many of them would see entrepreneurship as just a temporary means to achieve other future goals, support programs can be wary of investing long-term resources in these businesses compared to others who consider self-employment as a long-term sustainable solution.

We also offer motivation for policy makers to tap into the entrepreneurship potential of refugees. This can be done through easing the regulations for starting refugee businesses and combating racism to ensure the sustainability of these businesses. On the other hand, policies which aim to support the unemployed or individuals in typical necessity conditions can include more on enhancing their access and ability to exploit entrepreneurial opportunities. Finally, entrepreneurship as a tool for resilience can be a key addition to mental health and well-being initiatives. Individuals who have faced psychological traumas or experienced a life shock can seek some key psychological benefits and contributions through engaging in entrepreneurship.

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Appendix

Table 1.A Articles included in the systematic review

Resilience	*Stress*	*Coping*
Dewald & Bowen (2010)	*Eden (1975)*	*Boyd & Gumpert (1983)*
Branzei & Abdelnour (2010)	*Boyd & Gumpert (1983)*	*Akande (1994)*
Hayward et al. (2010)	*Mannheim & Schiffrin (1984)*	*Hill & Levenhagen (1995)*
Cascio & Luthans (2014)	*Lewin-Epstein & Yuchtman-*	*Duxbury (1996)*
Jenkins et al. (2014)	*Yaar (1991)*	*Frese et al. (1997)*
Bullough et al. (2014)	*Kaldenberg et al. (1992)*	*Simon et al. (2000)*
Osiyevskyy & Dewald (2015)	*Chay (1993)*	*Politis (2005)*
Zou et al. (2015)	*Akande (1994)*	*Jennings & Mcdougald (2007)*
Jaskiewicz et al. (2015)	*Parasuraman et al. (1996)*	*Shepherd et al. (2009)*
Knutsson (2016)	*Rahim (1996)*	*Shepherd (2009)*
Williams & Shepherd (2016a)	*Teoh & Foo (1997)*	*Haynie & Shepherd (2011)*
Doern (2016)	*Jamal (1997)*	*Jansson (2011)*
Davidsson & Gordon (2016)	*Tetrick et al (2000)*	*Johannisson (2011)*
Corner et al. (2017)	*Ufuk & Ozgen (2001)*	*Patzelt & Shepherd (2011)*
Powell & Eddleston (2017)	*Shepherd (2003)*	*Wee & Brooks (2012)*
Wiklund et al. (2018)	*Dolinsky & Caputo (2003)*	*Uy et al. (2013)*
Newman et al. (2018)	*Parslow et al. (2004)*	*Jenkins et al. (2014)*
Lafuente et al. (2018)	*Goldsby et al. (2005)*	*Keating et al. (2014)*
Obschonka et al. (2018)	*Blonk et al (2006)*	*Byrne & Shepherd (2015)*
Jancenelle et al. (2018)	*Prottas & Thompson (2006)*	*Kibler et al. (2015)*
Santoro et al. (2018)	*Totterdell et al. (2006)*	*Lanivich (2015)*
Pérez-López et al. (2019)	*Wallis & Dollard (2008)*	*Martins et al. (2015)*
Muñoz et al. (2019)	*Taris et al. (2008)*	*Schonfeld & Mazzola (2015)*
González-López et al. (2019)	*Brundin et al. (2008)*	*Williams & Shepherd (2016a)*
Shepherd et al (2020)	*Saarni et al. (2008)*	*Corner et al (2017)*
Engel et al (2020)	*Bluedorn & Martin (2008)*	*Galkina & Lundgren-*
Liu (2020)	*Monsen & Boss (2009)*	*Henriksson (2017)*
Hanson & Keplinger (2020)	*De clercq & Dakhli (2009)*	*Schneckenberg et al. (2017)*
Tlaiss & McAdam (2020)	*Rubino et al. (2009)*	*Welter et al. (2018)*
Chadwick & Raver (2020)	*Shepherd (2009)*	*Gomes et al. (2018)*
Santoro, Ferraris, et al. (2020)	*Werbel & Danes (2010)*	*Patel et al. (2019)*
Santoro, Messeni-Petruzzelli, et	*Stephan & Roesler (2010)*	*Kollmann et al. (2019)*
al. (2020)	*Patzelt & Shepherd (2011)*	*Pérez-López et al. (2019)*
Nikolaev et al. (2020)	*Pollack et al. (2012)*	*Liu (2020)*
	Kwan et al. (2012)	*Schermuly et al. (2020)*
	Uy et al. (2013)	*Engel et al. (2020)*
	Jenkins et al. (2014)	
	Roche et al. (2014)	
	Yiu et al. (2014)	
	König & Cesinger (2015)	
	Cardon & Patel (2015)	
	Venugopal et al. (2015)	
	Virick et al. (2015)	
	Ma (2015)	
	Schonfeld & Mazzola (2015)	
	Andringa et al. (2016)	
	Annink et al. (2016)	
	Baron et al. (2016)	
	Williams & Shepherd (2016a)	

Toivanen et al. (2016)
De Clercq et al. (2016)
Kwong & Thompson (2016)
Yamakawa & Cardon (2017)
Hessels et al. (2017)
Wolfe & Patel (2017)
Klyver et al. (2018)
Stroe et al. (2018)
Spivack & Mckelvie (2018)
Weinberger et al. (2018)
Warr (2018)
Rauch et al. (2018)
Stephan (2018)
Kibler et al. (2019)
Patel et al. (2019)
Kollmann et al. (2019)
Ryff et al. (2019)
Toivanen et al. (2019)
Freeman et al. (2019)
Giannikis et al. (2019)
Soenen et al. (2019)
Chadwick & Raver (2019)
Schermuly et al. (2020)
Murnieks et al. (2020)
Schjoedt (2020)
Chadwick & Raver (2020)
Stroe et al. (2020)
Engel et al. (2020)

Table 2.A. Sample Description

Name	Gender	Nationality	Year arrived	Previous entrepreneurship experience	Business Age	Business Description	Other Co-founders	Employees	Resilience Trajectory
ABD	Male	Somalia	2018	Yes	1 year	Bakery	0	1	Maintaining EI
ABOAR	Male	Syria	2012	Yes	2 years	Fast food and Catering	1	0	Maintaining EI
ABOIB	Male	Syria	2013	Yes	4 years	Building Contracting	0	5	Maintaining EI
ABOK	Male	Syria	2012	Yes	1 year	Poultry and Spices	1	0	Maintaining EI
ABOM	Male	Syria	2017	Yes	1 year	Auto body repair	1	2	Escaping
ABORAF	Male	Syria	2013	Yes	4 years	Handicrafts	1	0	Maintaining EI
ABOW	Male	Syria	2012	Yes	5 years	Garments	1	2	Maintaining EI
AF	Female	Sudan	2014	No	1 year	Tailoring	0	0	Escaping
AK	Male	Syria	2013	No	4 years	Refugee Services Provider	0	0	Growth
ALA	Female	Syria	2014	No	2 years	Child Education Centre	1	15	Revival
ALA2	Female	Syria	2016	No	1 year	Catering	0	0	Growth
AMA	Female	Syria	2013	No	1 year	Decorations & Handicrafts	0	0	Growth
AM	Male	Syria	2017	Yes	1 year	Handicrafts	0	0	Maintaining EI
AMN	Female	Sudan	2015	No	2 years	Training and Education	0	0	Growth
AWA	Female	Sudan	2014	No	1 year	Catering	1	0	Escaping
AZ	Female	Sudan	2016	No	4 months	Cosmetics	0	0	Growth
AZZ	Male	Syria	2013	Yes	5 years	Detergents Manufacturer	0	0	Maintaining EI

BA	Female	Syria	2013	Yes	2 years	Graphic Designer	0	0	Maintaining EI
FAR	Female	Yemen	2016	Yes	3 years	Online arts academy	1	0	Growth
FAT	Female	Eritrea	1981	No	23 years	Handicrafts	0	0	Escaping
FAY	Female	Sudan	2016	No	5 months	Fast food	1	0	Escaping
HAG	Female	Sudan	2016	No	1 year	Perfumes	0	0	Escaping
HAM	Male	Sudan	2017	No	1 year	Tailor Shop	1	0	Escaping
ISR	Female	Sudan	2016	No	1 year	Cosmetics	0	0	Growth
JUS	Male	Sudan	2004	No	13 years	Handicrafts	0	0	Escaping
KAL	Female	Eritrea	2016	No	5 months	Catering	0	0	Escaping
KAR	Male	Syria	2013	Yes	5 months	Aluminum works	1	0	Maintaining EI
KH	Male	Sudan	2016	No	6 months	Fashion export	0	0	Escaping
MAR	Male	Syria	2013	Yes	1 year	Food Bike	0	0	Revival
MO	Male	Syria	2017	No	1 year	Bath products	1	0	Maintaining EI
NA3	Male	Syria	2013	Yes	4 years	Confectionery	0	2	Maintaining EI
NAG	Female	Syria	2012	No	1 year	Poultry and Spices	1	0	Growth
NE	Female	Syria	2012	No	6 years	Catering	0	47	Growth
NEG	Male	Sudan	1997	No	6 months	Leather products	0	0	Escaping
NOS	Female	Sudan	2014	Yes	1 year	Beauty Centre	0	0	Revival
OMRAF	Female	Syria	2013	No	4 years	Handicrafts	1	0	Growth
OS	Male	Syria	2012	No	4 months	Fast food	2	0	Growth

PET	Male	Sudan	2015	Yes	1 year	Home services	1	0	Escaping
RAD	Male	Yemen	2016	Yes	3 years	Online arts academy	1	0	Maintaining EI
RAF	Male	Syria	2018	Yes	8 months	Furniture Carpentry	0	0	Maintaining EI
RAK	Male	Syria	2012	No	2 years	Graphic Designer	0	0	Revival
RAW	Female	Syria	2012	No	2 years	Catering	1	0	Growth
RAWHUS	Female	Syria	2012	No	2 years	Catering	1	0	Growth
RS	Female	Syria	2012	No	3 years	Mothers Education Centre	0	0	Revival
SAM	Female	Yemen	2015	No	1 year	Cosmetics	0	0	Revival
SAMI	Male	Syria	2012	No	5 years	Education Support	2	0	Growth
TAL	Male	Syria	2014	No	2 years	Barber	0	0	Revival
TAR	Male	Syria	2014	Yes	1 year	Mechanic Shop	1	0	Maintaining EI
YAS	Female	Sudan	2014	No	2 years	Beauty Centre	1	0	Revival
YASS	Male	Syria	2017	No	1 year	Bath products	1	0	Maintaining EI
YAZ	Male	Syria	2013	No	2 years	AC Technician	0	0	Growth