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# Entrepreneurial space in the marginalized community : the case of refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem

Crista Plak

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**Université de Limoges**

**ED 613 - Sciences de la Société, Territoires, Sciences Économiques  
et de Gestion (SSTSEG)**

**Centre de Recherches sur l'Entreprise, les Organisations et le Patrimoine  
(CREOP)**

Thèse pour obtenir le grade de  
Docteur de l'Université de Limoges

Sciences de Gestion

Présentée et soutenue par

**Crista PLAK**

Le 25 mars 2022

**The entrepreneurial space in the marginalised  
community: the case of refugee camps  
entrepreneurial ecosystem**

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*I dedicate this dissertation to my precious family*

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---

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# Introduction

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*“As we overcome the pandemic, as we prepare necessary reforms and as we speed up the twin green and digital transitions, I believe it is time to also adapt the social rulebook. A rulebook which ensures solidarity between generations [...] Which puts skills, innovation and social protection on an equal footing”*

European Commission, President von der Leyen speech, 2021.

## 1. Background and practical relevance

Entrepreneurship plays an important role in the economy as it drives innovation and job creation and actively contributes to economic development (Acs et al., 2004). For this reason, how to support entrepreneurship has been a matter of central interest for government policy in many countries around the world<sup>1</sup>. It is well known that entrepreneurship has many facets, which means different aspects receive different kinds of attention and level of analysis. Some types of entrepreneurship remain obscure and at the periphery, not in the mainstream, to the extent that they are easily considered as not being entrepreneurship activities (Baker and Welter, 2018; Lagarde, 2006). The socio-economic and spatial nature of disadvantage brings about social hierarchy, positioning some groups such as women, youth, older people, migrants, and the unemployed as particularly underprivileged in relation to the main society (Martinez Dy, 2020). These impacts their agency, and heterogeneous as these social groups are, they commonly face greater barriers to business creation than the mainstream population (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2019).

Disadvantaged groups who engage in entrepreneurial activities are generally classified as ones driven by negative exogenous motivations, running businesses that do not contribute to economic growth. However, this perspective ignores the social value that these activities often give (OECD, 2014).

In contrast, according to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), some disadvantaged groups worldwide are involved in a wide range of entrepreneurial activities, managing a significant number of small and medium-sized enterprises that create jobs and

---

<sup>1</sup> See different kinds of policy guidance and empirical evidence the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) publishes every year to advise policy development at national, regional and local levels in supporting job creation. Such policies encourage business start-ups and self-employment by people from disadvantaged or under-represented social groups. Available: <<https://www.oecd.org/publications/international-compendium-of-entrepreneurship-policies-338f1873-en.htm>>. Accessed August 2021

wealth (GEM). Further, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO), four out of five companies in the world operate in the informal economy, and over time this form of entrepreneurship continues to increase. Considering the more flexible nature of the informal sector, makes us aware of disadvantaged groups' role in society (ILO, 2021).

Today, particularly with the worldwide economic crisis and uncertainty that arises with health pandemics like COVID-19, social inclusion policy is of primary importance. With issues such as social distancing and border closures, the current crisis has accentuated vulnerability that causes business failures and loss of jobs that particularly affect entrepreneurs' households and SMEs (Tsilika et al., 2020). The impact on the population's mental health caused by isolation and social estrangement, coupled with the financial disruption caused by the crisis, shows up in stress, anxiety, depression, and increased suicide rates, also fracture the family's environment (United Nations, 2021). In these circumstances, governments should do more to support entrepreneurship for disadvantaged groups with a range of tailored instruments that improve access to finance, strengthen entrepreneurship skills, and help build entrepreneurial networks (Botham & Graves, 2009). Despite supportive policies, disadvantaged groups undeniably face a myriad of challenges in starting a business; these include a lack of entrepreneurial skills, difficulty in accessing finance for a business start-up, difficulties in navigating the regulatory framework, fear of failure and lack of confidence (Williams, Round & Rodgers, 2007).

From the bottom-up view, disadvantaged entrepreneurship has been a way to respond to major societal challenges that arise, e.g., due to institutional failure and voids where governments do not provide adequate social services (Bjerregaard & Lauring, 2012). Moreover, supporting entrepreneurship in dire contexts can increase awareness of how improving the quality of their business start-ups can increase and boost a country's economic growth. However, to enhance equal opportunity to create successful businesses, will require a great policy engagement (OECD, 2014).

The challenge of integration and inclusion is particularly relevant to refugee groups, thus it has become a central issue in contemporary society. The UN Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as "someone who cannot or does not wish to return to his country of origin due to a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Protocol, R. (1967), "Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees", *New York*, 31.

The global number of refugees led by conflict and persecution has increased tremendously in recent years (UNHCR, 2016). By 2020, the number of displaced persons seeking refuge from conflict and persecution on a global scale has reached approximately 79.5 million. While most of refugees are displaced internally or to neighbouring countries, a minority have reached the global north (UNHCR, 2020). As a result of such displacement, the population numbers of people segregated in refugee camps (RCs) is rising, and in many cases, their refugee status remains protracted for decades (UNHCR, 2015). The scale of the phenomenon generates many effects in host countries, which pose significant economic, social and even political tensions (Agier, 2010). There is thus a need for programmatic solutions to help refugee receiving countries cope institutionally with challenges for which they are unprepared.

Research has increasingly examined how people from a refugee background re-establish their livelihoods through self-employment (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). However, refugees and ethnic minority business start-ups have been shown to suffer labour market discrimination which correlates with lower levels of sustainability (Smallbone et al., 2003). Even when members of such groups plan to start a business, they show lower levels of actually doing so because of what has been termed their “liability of foreignness” (Irastorza & Pena, 2011). According to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Report (2013), refugees are known to have more business initiative than natives; yet, the rate of refugee businesses’ survival is much lower than that of natives. For example, while refugees to France engage in new businesses more often than native French do, refugee entrepreneurs experience a much lower survival rate, with 60% of those with non-EU backgrounds failing, compared to 50% of the EU-migrants’ businesses<sup>3</sup>. With this in mind, entrepreneurship is seen as one effective way of including migrants and refugees in local economies (Wauters & Lambrecht 2008).

Previous studies have analysed refugees’ economic and have identified different institutional barriers, such as employment restrictions and discrimination that have influenced refugees’ decisions to become entrepreneurs (Alloush et al., 2017; Bizri, 2017; Garnham 2006; Wauters & Lambrecht 2008). The central focus of academic research is on refugees within the developed states of the global north (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). However, as reported in figure 1, the majority of refugees are settled in developing countries, which are primarily countries neighbouring the refugees’ countries of origin.

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<sup>3</sup> See: <<https://www.gemconsortium.org/report/gem-2013-global-report>>. Accessed August, 2020.

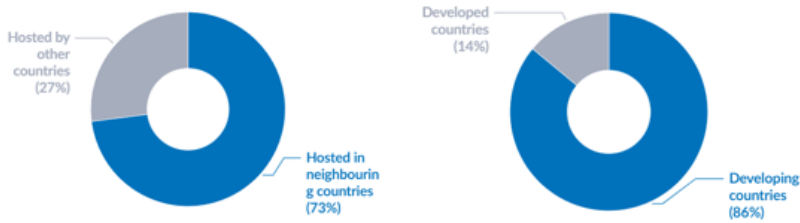
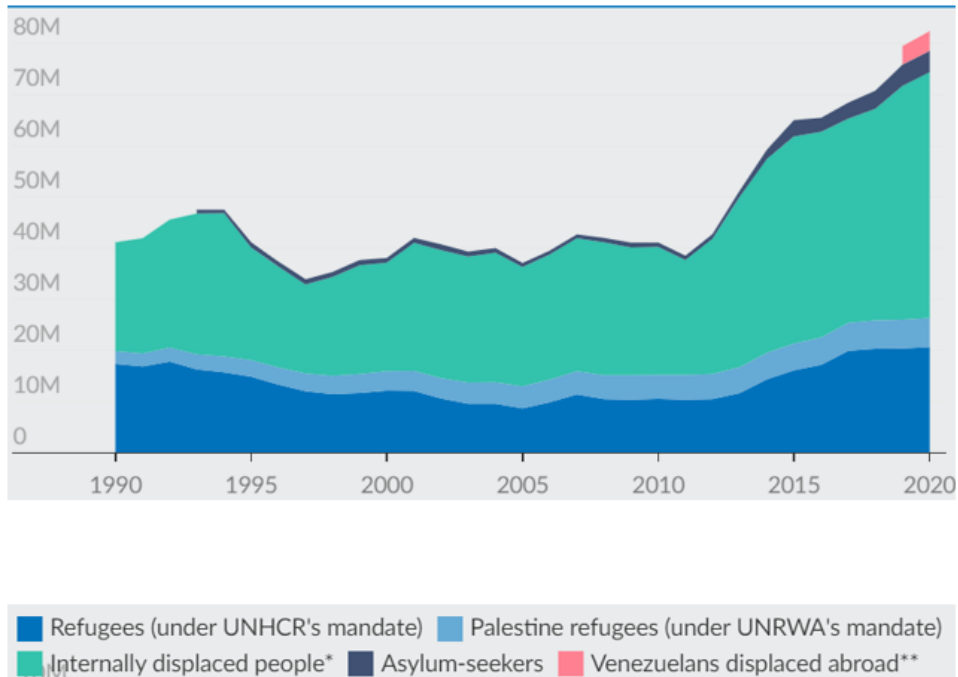


Figure 1: Refugee global number  
Source : UNHCR Global Trends 2020

This thesis is interested in attending to a neglected form of entrepreneurship, to give an analysis that will shed light on the other side of the coin, i.e. on entrepreneurship in the marginalised communities. This will require using a different lens in respect of the traditional view of entrepreneurship. In particular, the study focuses on entrepreneurial practices in a most undesirable and unlikely context, such as refugee camp (RC).



## 2. Contextualisation: defining the significance of the study

The thesis framework followed here (figure 2), builds on a contextualisation approach which is taken as a cornerstone in identifying the theoretical framework. It will best show the study's managerial and methodological significance.

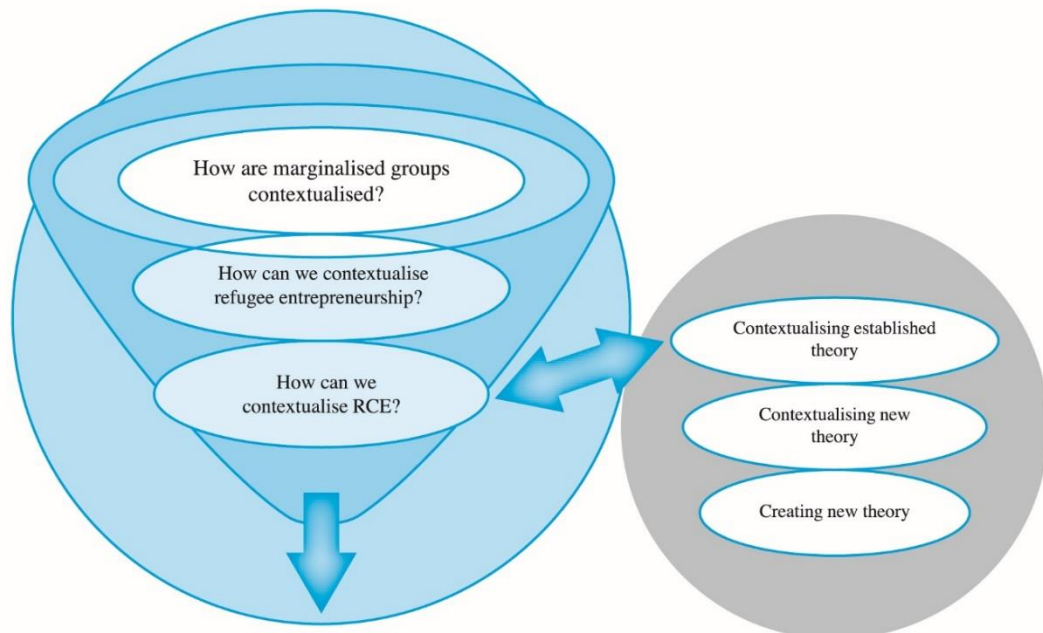


Figure 2: Contextualising entrepreneurship in the refugee camp

Source: own source

### ***Contextualising disadvantaged group***

The concept of entrepreneurship has been closely linked to Joseph Schumpeter through his work "The Theory of Economic Development" (1912, as cited in Hébert and Link, 2006), in which he integrates the notion of innovation in entrepreneurship, and mostly focuses on the entrepreneur as a figure of economic development. The entrepreneurial activity has been acknowledged to be directed towards profit maximization, with risk-bearing and uncertainty as components associated with an individual's behaviour. The concept focuses predominantly on a particular set of contextual factors, such as who (men) undertakes entrepreneurial activity, where (industrialized countries), how (through technological innovations), and why (to generate profits and wealth) (Baker & Welter, 2020). The nature of entrepreneurship contributes to the growing body of literature that questions the hegemony of profit-driven capitalism (Heilbrunn & Iannone 2019; Williams, & Vorley, 2015). Consequently, entrepreneurship research has started to give voice to people on the societal margins and to

open the door that visualizes different types of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 2008). The structures of inequality, including race, ethnicity, and migrant status, affect entrepreneurial activity (Carter & Murphy, 2015). The “otherness” of those on the periphery configures a typology far from a capitalist economy's ideal entrepreneurs (Martinez Dy, 2020).

Therefore, in the first chapter, we discuss how the disadvantaged groups found expression through the motivational lens, looking at necessity vs opportunity entrepreneurship, and by means of institutional analysis, considering a formal vs informal nexus (Tessier-Dargent & Fayolle, 2016; Williams & Gurtoo, 2011). However, this approach, which identifies an entrepreneurial subgroup of marginalised people (women, refugees, indigenous, etc.), seems to homogenize them as a specific class. This is misleading as it does not capture the context's complexity. Rather, this study found that the field would benefit from examining how the entrepreneurial level of the disadvantaged group is idiosyncratic (Martinez Dy, 2020). These groups are embedded in environments and communities in nested structures of social interaction and social discourse (Ferreira et al., 2017). The various environments are as heterogeneous as are the disadvantaged entrepreneurs themselves (Heilbrunne & Iannone, 2020). Scholars have, thus, recognized the need to analyse entrepreneurship bearing specific contextual, cultural and structural factors in mind, that systematically address the needs of a specific disadvantaged community (Hindle, 2010; Johns, 2018; Welter, 2011).

The early scholars who took a contextualisation approach gave limited attention to entrepreneurs' agency in adapting or even changing their context. Therefore, quite recently, research increasingly acknowledges how entrepreneurs "do context", i.e., how they interact with and enact contexts (Baker & Welter, 2017; Johns 2017; Welter, 2011). The context is defined as “circumstances, conditions, situations, or environments that are external to the respective phenomenon and enable or constrain it” (Welter, 2011, p. 167). Therefore, contextualisation is gaining importance in the entrepreneurship domain as an instrument by which to study variations and differences in the nature and patterns of entrepreneurship cross-context (Gartner, 2008; Steyaert & Katz, 2004). This allows us to consider entrepreneurship that captures new, unexpected, and often hidden factors and to question the taken-for-granted theories and prescriptions for management (Welter, 2011). For example, in a given setting, contextualisation allows us to recognize differences between seemingly similar groups.

### ***Contextualising refugee entrepreneurship***

In the second chapter, we discuss one specific group of refugee entrepreneurs, emphasizing some of the key elements in contextualising refugee entrepreneurship. In the specific domain of entrepreneurship, refugees have for long been studied as an integral part of migrant entrepreneurship. Moreover, scholars have started to identify the key differences

that justify the movement towards recognizing an independent research field (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Especially, refugees are shown to have a major disadvantage in terms of their difficult migratory experience, restrictions on them integrating into the regular labour market, and in limited social networks that distinguish their entrepreneurial process from those of more general migrants (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). The field has developed especially rapidly in recent years: half of the relevant publications have appeared since 2010 – their appearance coinciding with the greater visibility of refugee movements that particularly followed the onset of the Syrian exodus (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Although these recent academic publications have contributed to developing the scholarly understanding of refugees as a distinct category of entrepreneurial agents, the research on refugee entrepreneurship is still in an embryonic stage and it currently faces challenges in moving to the next stage (Desai et al., 2021). Refugee business research is still largely *contextless*, with insufficient attention going to how and the extent to which refugees are affected by, and conversely, are able to affect different contexts (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020).

We recognize the heterogeneity among refugees, and consider their contextualisation in order to capture the complexity and diversity of their entrepreneurial processes. A recently published book, "Refugee entrepreneurship: A case-based topography" (Heilbrunn, Freiling & Harima, 2019), presents an analytical framework that introduces the elements that should be considered when scholars contextualize entrepreneurship among refugees. The concept of super-diversity takes into account the various countries of origin (COOs), as well as the country of residence (COR), motivations, journeys, system feedback, refugee entrepreneurship, refugee resources, and levels of embeddedness (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2019; Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020).

Firstly, refugees often "leave" their COO for different reasons. Why they leave, significantly impacts their experiences within the new societies. Refugees have different preparedness levels, plans, and residential legality in the new COR, which certainly influence various entrepreneurial processes. The moment of arrival is not always clearly defined and for many refugees or forced migrants, arrival at their first destination is not necessarily the end of their journey. Therefore, many refugees remain mobile, even within a transitional host country where they sometimes reside for protracted periods of time (Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2014).

Secondly, system feedback of each host country's various policies regarding accepting and integrating refugees influence refugees' patterns of movement, settlement, and economic strategy. One dimension contributing to refugee heterogeneity is the institutional distance between a home and host country, which determines the significance of institutional barriers refugees might face (Alexandre et al., 2019). During the time following arrival in a host country,

refugees remain subject to the strictures of the asylum process. For instance, refugees conducting informal entrepreneurial actions in refugee camps in countries neighbouring their COO, have different institutional circumstances to those operating informally in most developing countries' urban settlements (Betts et al. 2017; De la Chaux & Haugh, 2020).

Thirdly, refugees have different experiences, needs, skills, resources, and hopes for the future. The diversity of refugee experiences, especially situational factors such as trauma, stress, and health problems resulting from torture, separation from close family members, or additional devastating circumstances, are essential elements shaping the structure of entrepreneurial opportunity.

Fourthly, refugees are prone to different levels of embeddedness, as this is determined by the situational settings of refugees at various institutional levels. This diversity is emphasised by the contextual duality of refugees' COR and COO, as well as by the transnational sphere, which shapes the opportunity structure and ability to mobilize resources of refugee entrepreneurs (Kloosterman 2010; Kloosterman et al. 1999; Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020).

### ***Contextualising theory***

Zahra (2007) identified several scenarios that underline how established theory can be applied to both well-known contexts or new phenomena. Alternatively, the new theory can explain the established phenomenon early in its development (Zahra et al., 2014). Table 1 presents four scenarios that link the studied phenomenon, the richness of the context and the theory. Our research is positioned within scenario number two. This means that the entrepreneurial phenomenon is identified in a new setting and the study combines two established theories. The new context of the refugee camp is yet a new area of investigation that was unthinkable a flourishing entrepreneurial space. However, spontaneous, simple camp-based exchanges of goods can grow into a small local entrepreneurial ecosystem, and business interaction can impact the regional and transnational sphere. Therefore, for this study's scope, the study uses the entrepreneurial ecosystem (EE) that gives us an understanding of the complex intersection of agency and structure. So far, scholars have predominantly applied the notion of entrepreneurial ecosystems in urban contexts in which a substantial number of technology-driven, innovative start-ups are generated, such as in Silicon Valley (Adams, 2021), Seattle (Thompson, Purdy, & Ventresca, 2018), Berlin (Baron & Harima, 2020), Tel Aviv (Schäfer et al., 2018), and Waterloo (Spigel, 2017). However, the concept offers greater potential than referring to growth-oriented ventures' regional perspectives (Stam & Welter, 2020).

Table 1: Contextualising theory

<b>Phenomenon</b>	Established	New	Established	New
<b>Theory</b>	Established	Established	New	New
<b>Scenarios</b>	1	2	3	4
<b>Contextual richness</b>	Modest	Moderate	Moderate	Great
<b>Common shortcomings</b>	Applying theory mechanically without regard to setting Ignoring boundaries of theories Ignoring irregular or conflicting findings Over-looking counterarguments	Assuming universality of theory Providing an elusive definition of boundaries Overlooking what findings mean to theory	Failing to explain the relevance to new setting Failing to clearly articulate the superiority of the new theory to others Failing to establish why the phenomenon is worth explaining	Fishing expedition? Giving elusive definition of the phenomenon and theory
<b>How to best Contextualize theory?</b>	Explore new contingencies Examine change overtime Relax assumptions Vary setting in which theory is tested. Conduct meta-analyses	Establish relevance of theory to new phenomenon Provide a fair test of basic arguments underlying theory Give back to theory: how do the results alter the assumptions and predications of theory	Reflect on and capture the richness of the research site; show how characteristics of the site influence the proposed line of thought	Define the boundaries of the phenomenon with some precision Clarify uniqueness of phenomenon being explored Establish the newness of the arguments advanced Discuss conditions under which theory might apply to other phenomena

Source: Zahra (2007)

Further, we combine bricolage theory to understand the entrepreneurial process and how people mobilize resources in an extremely poor socio-economic space. This theory has hardly ever been applied in temporary and precarious spaces such as the RC. It links to context and process variables, adding to theoretical explanations and predictions by exposing missing nuances that are not yet adequately documented in the literature (Zahra & Wright, 2011). In practice, contextualising these existing theories give us the opportunity to identify elements that enrich, confirm or question the existing assumptions.

## **Understanding refugee camps through the lens of the entrepreneurial ecosystem**

Recently, the idea of entrepreneurial ecosystems has received growing attention from entrepreneurship scholars. Particularly since around 2015, the number of articles on entrepreneurial ecosystems published in management journals has greatly increased (Acs et al., 2017). These studies acknowledged the heterogeneity of environmental conditions, such as in support programs (Biru, Gilbert, & Arenius, 2021) and considering the interdependency of cultural, economic and policy elements (Spigel, 2016), which shapes idiosyncratic ecosystems (Guerrero et al., 2021). An entrepreneurial ecosystem (EE) is defined as assets "of interdependent actors and factors coordinated in such a way that they enable productive entrepreneurship within a particular territory" (Stam & Spigel, 2016, p.1). Lange and Schmidt (2020) advocated that the entrepreneurial ecosystem should be considered as a bridging concept that allows us to consider dynamic temporal and spatial elements. They further argue that the entrepreneurial ecosystems' perspective embraces dynamic, diverse and interconnected stakeholders who create a social context of entrepreneurial activities, and therefore offers novel understandings beyond static approaches to space and time.

The central element of the entrepreneurial ecosystem concept relates to various kinds of spatialized social encounters of intensive resource exchanges between interdependent actors and factors (Isenberg, 2011). Refugee camps are characterized by unique spatial and temporal factors and entrepreneurial activities of refugees and locals (Plak, Harima & Lagarde, 2021; Turner, 2016; Werker, 2007). Therefore, we argue that understanding entrepreneurial dynamics emerging and developing in refugee camps through the lens of entrepreneurial ecosystems allows us to address dynamic and volatile spatial configurations that evolve in and around refugee camps (Plak, Harima & Lagarde, 2021). In particular, it offers four aspects that help us to understand entrepreneurial dynamics within the refugee camps as entrepreneurial ecosystems: (i) the role of entrepreneurial agents, (ii) ecosystem-level resources, (iii) embeddedness in a larger context, and (iv) ecosystem evolution.

Firstly, while different types of actors are involved in refugee camp economies, such as humanitarian organizations, camp management, local traders, refugee and local customers, and host-country policymakers, it is essential to consider refugees as autonomous entrepreneurial agents who are central actors in the emergence of entrepreneurial space. In the ecosystem debate, entrepreneurial individuals are a focal point of the system, and the ecosystem perspective emphasizes the ability of entrepreneurs to access resources available within the space (Spigel & Harrison, 2018).

Secondly, the refugee camp's economic activities are embedded in a larger context, such as host-country markets or international political environments. In the ecosystem debate, scholars have demonstrated the embeddedness of entrepreneurial ecosystems in broader time-spatial contexts. For instance, spatial entrepreneurial dynamics are significantly influenced by the historical background of the surrounding geographical location, culture, and national economy (Baron & Freiling, 2019; Biru, Gilbert, & Arenius, 2021; Guerrero et al., 2021). Local embeddedness significantly impacts the emergence and development of entrepreneurial dynamics in the refugee camp since camps are legally under the host country's jurisdiction, even if other legal instruments than those of the surrounding areas are applied in their governance (Turner, 2001). The local market provides resources that can be injected into the refugee camp ecosystem. Simultaneously, the refugee camp's entrepreneurial ecosystem can experience different degrees of (dis)embeddedness due to the host society's interventions, which to a certain extent are due to these camps' exceptional nature (Turner, 2016).

Thirdly, recent scholarly discussions on the evolutionary aspect of entrepreneurial ecosystems help us understand the emergence, development, and decline of entrepreneurial dynamics in the refugee camp. Several studies have contributed to conceptualizing entrepreneurial ecosystems' evolution process and capturing the characteristics of different evolutionary phases (Cantner et al., 2021; Mack & Mayer, 2016). Ecosystem evolution can be understood as the development and diversification of entrepreneurial resources available and accessible in the space, and as intensive resource exchanges between ecosystem actors (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel & Harrison, 2018).

### **The entrepreneurial process of bricolage**

Bricolage theory is one of the emerging theoretical perspectives explaining the logic and behaviour of the entrepreneurial process in a penurious environment (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Bricolage in a business context involves entrepreneurs who refuse to surrender to or act out limitations and opt to make do with what is at hand (Baker & Nelson, 2005). This enactment perspective focuses on how contexts for action emerge from the environments in which entrepreneurs are embedded. Although the term "bricolage" was first introduced in the literature by the anthropologist, Lévi-Strauss (1967), his work did not provide a specific definition of the concept; however, he provided useful insight into what bricolage involved. The notion was popularized in the field of entrepreneurship by Baker and Nelson (2005), who defined bricolage as "making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities" (Baker & Nelson, 2005: p. 333). According to Baker and Nelson (2005), common features of bricolage are: (i) making do – a proclivity towards actively

engaging to address problems or opportunities, (ii) refusal to enact limitation – disregarding commonly accepted interpretations of practices, definitions, standards and material inputs that would restrict the entrepreneur, while instead, trying out new solutions and dealing with results, (iii) using resources at hand – finding value in physical artefacts, skills or ideas and accumulating them based on a belief that they might come in handy, even if they are sometimes deemed useless and of no value, and (iv) recombining resources – combining and reusing resources for different applications than what they were originally intended for.

These bricolage theories have been applied widely used and have overwhelming documentation on their use in a formal and stable organization. However, the theory has rarely been applied in informal subsistence settings such as refugee camps (Heilbrunn, 2019). Moreover, most of the recent work on entrepreneurial bricolage focuses on developed world contexts where resource scarcity is not as extreme as in the developing world (Linna, 2013). Only a few researchers have extended the theory's application to developing economies, in seeking to better understand social entrepreneurship (Linna, 2013; Zahra et al., 2014).

We consider entrepreneurial bricolage a suitable theory to explain the entrepreneurial process under circumstances of extreme scarcity because it depicts resources as being socially constructed, permitting social mechanisms to support creating something from nothing (Baker & Nelson, 2005). In the specific case of this study, firstly, refugees in the camp generally face significant resource scarcity as they have lost their assets or their assets are temporarily not accessible to them due to their forcible displacement. Their entrepreneurial activities create resource flows within and outside the refugee camps. Understanding the RC's emerging entrepreneurial dynamics from the resource perspective of bricolage theory allows an understanding of how refugees thrive in an entrepreneurial space at the intersection of extreme difficulties on individual, community and ecosystem levels (Desa & Basu, 2013). Secondly, the ecosystem perspective acknowledges resources at the regional level as integral elements of the system. Scholars understand the availability and accessibility of entrepreneurial resources, such as a supportive culture, financial capital, knowledge, skills and talents, determine the ecosystem development (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel, 2016). Resource accumulation within the space takes place either by entrepreneurial agents or other ecosystem stakeholders creating or recycling resources, or by external agents acquiring or injecting resources (Brown et al., 2019; Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020; Spigel & Harrison, 2018). RCs lack the essential resources and components that enable a healthy EE to develop. Therefore, in a highly constrained context with the scarcity of resources, institutional deficits, and missing EE components, it is not clear how the entrepreneurial process through which an EE emerges, grows, survives or declines, actually proceeds. Therefore, this theory can enable us in



exploring how resources are created, accumulated or diminished in this unique entrepreneurial space.

### 3. The methodological approach

Due to insufficient empirical evidence and limited theoretical foundations for the observed phenomena in the literature, we use a qualitative, interpretative-constructivist research design in an extreme case study. Qualitative research uniquely contributes to understanding the modern complexity that entrepreneurship research faces (Hlady-Rispal, Fayolle & Gartner, 2021). Therefore, for this particular case, we acknowledge that qualitative methods allow us to capture the complexity and diversity of entrepreneurial contexts and processes within refugee camps' unique and extreme circumstances (Welter et al., 2019). Moreover, it is an important approach to identify the complex overlapping mechanisms of social dynamics and resource interchange, capturing the unique unquantifiable interaction between actors (Fayolle et al., 2016; Hlady-Rispal et al., 2016).

In this perspective of contextualisation research, this study uses the constructivist approach, according to which realities are socially constructed and made up of multiple elements (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2009). Specifically, to rigorously examine the marginalised community's situation and the entrepreneurial behaviours in the particular context, this case study strategy uses interviews, observations, audio-visual materials, secondary data (documents; documentary films; press reports; humanitarian reports) (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). The case study research inquiry, is further classified as an extreme or unique case type, notably in the setting of a refugee camp (Bryman, 2012). The first study was an exploratory pilot study that began just a few months after the Calais Jungle refugee camp was dismantled in the autumn of 2016. Therefore, we built our study *a posteriori* from different primary and secondary sources. Following this, the researcher conducted a field-based investigation in a Somali refugee camp in Eritrea.

The process of building knowledge is influenced by the researcher's prior problematizing work as well as the role of the researcher that 'does context' (Baker, Powell & Fultz, 2017). First, the role of the researcher is contextually defined through the choice of the study object, which is also a unit of analysis (Yin, 1994). Defining the boundaries and components of our research allows us to contextualize our work within established entrepreneurial theories, yet also identify what is novel to our specific context (Zahra, 2007). In qualitative research, it is essential, for the sake of cultural integrity, to acknowledge and be responsive to the cultural and linguistic nuances of a given research setting (Pelzang & Hutchinson, 2018). For instance, the author's deep cultural knowledge of Eritrea helped to

establish contact with local people, and to quickly understand and gather consistent information. One particular, knowing the local community's and culture refugees, in general, allows the researcher to capture some tacit information. For example, many interviewees would avoid giving some detail or would conceal certain information because they are afraid of jeopardizing their refugee status (Osanami, Törngren & Ngeh, 2018). This highlights the potential of a creative qualitative investigatory process; however, at the same time, it can open the risk of bias. Therefore, the study relies on triangulation to minimize bias and bring to light false or hidden information captured in informants' interviews.

The literature highlights a lack of biographical narratives, especially on refugee entrepreneurship through a context lens (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Therefore, this study gives a dense description of the phenomenon studied through a detailed rendering of narration captured in the in-depth interviews. Using narrative analysis to contextualize our study illustrates how different parts of the story are given meaning by which we can reconstruct the entrepreneurial process (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004). Events captured in each narration contributed particular meanings to understand the evolutionary process of the socio-economic-space under investigation (cf. Van de Ven and Engleman, 2004). Therefore, this study takes the temporal element as critical to understanding the emergence, development and decline of entrepreneurial activities in the unique space of RCs (Welter, 2011).

For certainty regarding our reflection on subjective observation of the world, and thus to arrive at the overall conclusions with proper rigor and transparency, we use a multiple validity approach. We verify findings by means of triangulation, reflexivity, peer examination, thick description, an audit trail and a code-recode strategy.

#### **4. Summary of research gaps and research questions**

The foregoing sections have comprehensively illustrated the gaps that this study identifies and addresses. Further, in discussing the background to this study, we highlighted and summarized the gaps that have emerged from each stream of literature at the conclusion of every chapter. Here, to start out, we summarize some of these gaps that justify our research questions.

The research on refugee entrepreneurship is in an emerging phase and the majority of the extant studies have focused on urban refugee areas, especially in the global north context (Heilbrunn, 2019). Only a few studies represent the large populations entrapped in "statelessness", in the seemingly endless temporary state of living in a refugee camp (Dorai, 2021). Refugees in camps are usually grouped in city blocks or peripheral geographic areas (Werker, 2007). The clustering of the population brings about the reconstruction of social life

according to where people live in the camp. The almost accidental nature of the space they occupy within the camp determines the cultural acquisition they learn and their socialization in the new space (Agier, 2002). This process generates complex systems of social relations and material objects (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004). At the same time, the refugee experience is shaped by positive and negative social, environmental and economic factors that create or hinder a business environment developing (Agier, 2016). The consequent concentration of entrepreneurial activities and the new community in close geographic, institutional and relational proximity clearly distinguishes the community. Their situated place becomes an ecosystem *per se* that is embedded in regional, national and international ecosystems. To date, very little previous empirical work exists on how the opportunity construction process takes place in a context of such severe resource constraints. Similarly, the literature hardly covers how this can lead to a virtuous cycle where opportunities are constructed and can evolve (Borissenko & Boschma, 2016).

Therefore, this study asks questions about the specificities of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem. This main research question incorporates agency and space levels analysis. The emerging literature on refugee entrepreneurship currently pays more attention to entrepreneurs than to the contexts in which they operate. Therefore, the literature does not sufficiently capture the interplay between entrepreneurial agents (refugees) and the spatio-temporal characteristics of the camp (Kachkar, 2019; Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020).

At the agency level, refugees in the camp generally encounter significant resource scarcity after having lost their assets or their resources temporarily having been deactivated due to their forced displacement (Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020). Further, only a few studies have invoked the concept of bricolage in harsh socio-economic spaces (Helbriunn, 2019; Mair & Marti, 2009). There is very little previous empirical work on how the opportunity construction process actually takes place in a context of severe resource constraints and on how this can lead to a virtuous cycle in which opportunity construction and evolution takes place (Borissenko & Boschma, 2016). Refugees living in a camp usually encounter persistent difficulties of living in the precarious camp context, undergoing different traumatic events and experiencing dysfunction, which includes emotional distress mostly already started during conditions of war, violence and persecution in their home country. This can negatively or positively affect the motivational decision-making process that occurs in adverse conditions and that is still not uncovered (Bullough et al., 2017; Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020). In this line, the literature does not give us a broad understanding of how refugees can summon the motivation, conceive a business idea, seek or create opportunity, and combine resources in such a challenging context. Nor does it gives insight on how this changes as the refugee camp develops. Therefore, we formulate the first sub-question: (i) How do refugee camp entrepreneurs

mobilize motivation and resources to start and maintain entrepreneurial activities in refugee camps?

At the spatial level, we focus our analysis on the dynamics that allow the informal entrepreneurial ecosystem to emerge. Generally, a typical EE is considered to flourish in a properly supportive and formal institutional context (Stam, 2015). There is a need to study ecosystems that develop outside of existing industrial cluster policies and growth-oriented ventures' regional perspectives. We should go beyond large urban and regional hubs, often located in developed countries of the global north (Mason & Brown, 2014). The entrepreneurial ecosystem studied in our case is of a kind that thrives in communities outside traditional entrepreneurship settings. A critical aspect of the ecosystem configures entrepreneurship as a socially constructed phenomenon that co-evolves via the dynamics of temporal and spatial elements (Lange & Schmidt, 2020). The RC's entrepreneurial ecosystem emerges within the informal economy under severe resource constraints, uncertainty and lack of security. Further, it evolves in a situation of limited market demand and low investment capacity, due also to a reduced capability. Additionally, there are political and administrative constraints, poor infrastructure, conditions of social division, distrust and conflict. No studies have considered how the entrepreneurial ecosystem emerges in a context where such key components are missing or specific interactions between elements of the EE are lacking (Borissenko & Boschma, 2016; Mack & Mayer, 2016). Therefore, we pose the following sub-questions: (ii) How do refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystems emerge and develop? (iii) How do contextual factors influence the sustainability of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem?

## **5. Practical implications**

This doctoral research built on rich empirical evidence offers a holistic reflection on refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystems, which should enable stakeholders to address the obstacles and invest in the potential of refugee entrepreneurs. It provides thick descriptions, which portray an understanding of the refugee background, entrepreneurial experiences, and the strategies implemented at an individual and community level to cope with persistent difficulties. Thus, the study shows evidence of how, in poor settings, refugees have many resources at hand to start and develop small businesses. The process of bricolage varies along the entrepreneurship process, and is specific to each refugee's context and capability. The spontaneous creation of an EE with limited resources and unfavourable environmental conditions contributes to discussions on the importance of entrepreneurship in deprived areas where some entrepreneurs are recognised as “catalytic engines” that can drive economic transformation

At a practical level, by understanding refugees' entrepreneurial potential and limits, policymakers and non-governmental agencies can use this study's findings to make informed decisions on how best to support entrepreneurs in disadvantaged groups, particularly among refugees. We recognize the key role of political willingness in developing both refugee integration policy and entrepreneurship policy.

Entrepreneurship can offer an alternative route to work for some refugees. Refugees' motivation to start a business can be unfolded in different layers, even in a highly constrained environment. Our empirical data suggests that an entrepreneurial culture is disseminated through different mechanisms. The presence of pioneers or innovators as role models among refugees is one such mechanism. Other mechanisms include a humanitarian aid strategy, supportive community culture, experience in the country of origin, the institutional and regulatory environment in the host country, and the length of a refugee-entrepreneur's stay in the host country. We give different proposals for practical application in our analytical discussion in chapter six. These proposals can be summarised according to a bottom-up and a top-down approach. For example, both formal (Umkulu camp) and informal (Calais refugee camp) entrepreneurial ecosystems have emerged through top-down approaches, such as livelihood programs, and through bottom-up initiatives depending on refugees' resourcefulness, i.e. on the initiative of those who see hope in entrepreneurial activities. Our study emphasizes the importance of both bottom-up and top-down approaches.

## **6. Structure of the thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters. After introducing the research aim and the relevance of the study, the first chapter explains the role of contextualisation as an approach to understanding entrepreneurial initiatives in marginalised communities. Moreover, in discussing entrepreneurial practices in disadvantaged groups, we disclose the importance of socio-economic embeddedness, the role of intersectionality/positionality, which emphasizes individuals' different experiences within groups. Finally, we also introduce how sudden negative events create a particular disadvantage and a unique "entrepreneurial context". The second chapter reviews the refugee entrepreneurship literature, primarily highlighting how refugees can be contextualized. Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework that guided this doctoral research. The reviewed research streams help us to identify the current refugee entrepreneurship ecosystem research status. We introduce the relevant concepts, delineate research gaps, and formulate the research questions that guide this study. The fourth chapter presents the methodology used in this study. Methods and processes followed in the research approach, data collection, data selection and analysis are explained. Chapter five gives an exhaustive narrative exposition of entrepreneurs' profiles and the bricolage entrepreneurial

process. Moreover, based on the narratives, the chapter constructs the emergence, development and collapse of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem. The emerging themes from the thematic analysis in Chapter six, give an understanding of the mechanisms shaping refugee camps' temporary entrepreneurial ecosystems and how they are co-created and evolve as part of the overall development of the camp. The thesis finally dedicates a section to conclusions and discussion, in which we draw theoretical implications and practical implications, while concluding with pointers to the study's limitations and possibilities for future research (see figure 3).

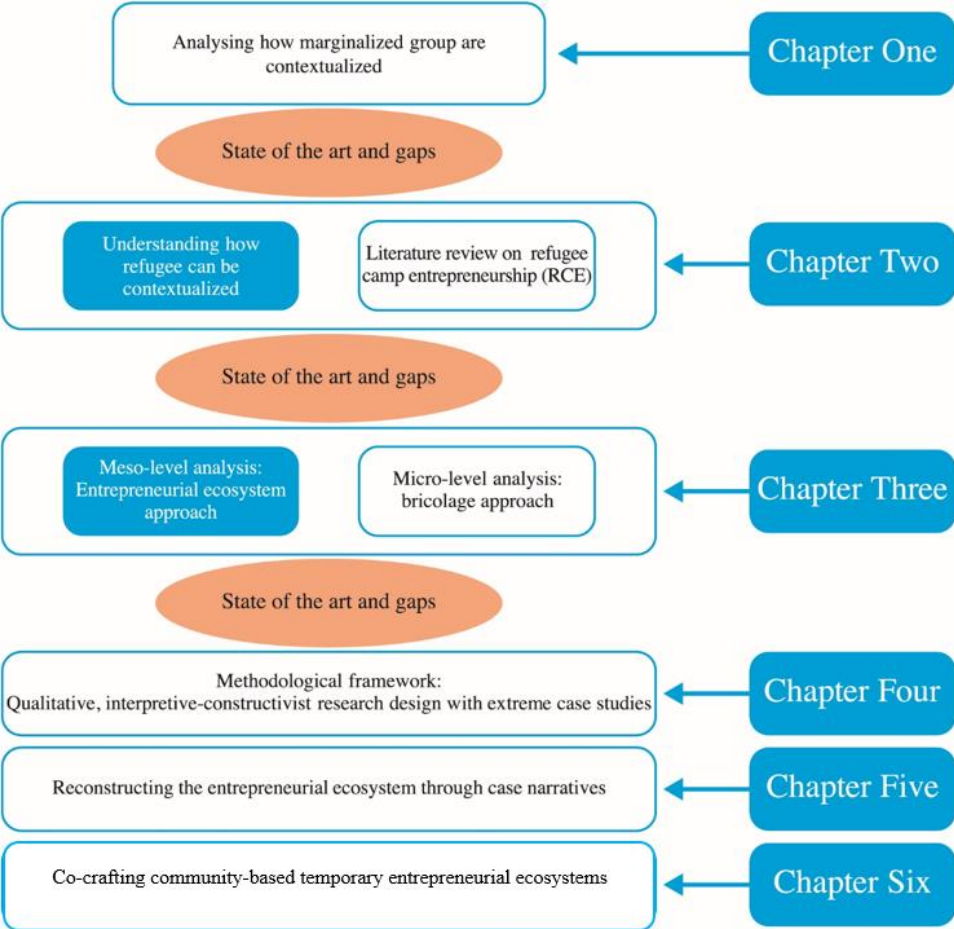


Figure 3: Structure of the thesis

# Chapter I. Entrepreneurship and the role of context

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This chapter illustrates how the emerging entrepreneurial paradigm is gradually re-shaping traditional perspectives, moving away from primary attention to the heroic individual entrepreneur. Research, therefore, now shows the need for contextualized entrepreneurship studies that investigate entrepreneurial venturing and value creation in entrepreneurial processes. The chapter illuminates how the spatial, social, economic, political, and cultural conditions impact structure and agency. We illustrate when margins of society enact business activities through informal and necessary forms of entrepreneurial process (section 1.1). The unique mechanism through which such a society engages with the entrepreneurial venture remains complex and needs a more contextualized investigation. Recent studies have investigated how contextualisation should occur considering a multi-perspective analysis of each context under investigation (section 1.2). Additionally, the chapter tries to understand the entrepreneurship type we find in disadvantaged groups, attending also to their entrepreneurial perspective (section 1.3)

## **I.1. The binary forms of paradigms embracing the marginalised group**

The increasing awareness that entrepreneurship occurs in a variety of contexts is encouraging scholars to go beyond the narrow perspective and extreme focus of one type of entrepreneurship, that of capitalistic and growth-oriented ventures. Therefore, the need to contextualize entrepreneurial research is gradually gaining importance, and the inclusion of the most ignored group of entrepreneurs has become one of the central calls for research in recent years. In this sense, this section introduces how the neglected and usually less interesting form of entrepreneurship began to be studied under some specific form of dichotomies (Tessier-Dargent & Fayolle, 2016; Welter et al., 2017).

First, scholars created a motivational form of analysis under which the necessity and opportunity dichotomy emerged (Tessier-Dargent & Fayolle, 2016). In parallel, another dichotomy emerged through the institutional lens, showing how entrepreneurship is exercised outside the institutional boundary - separating the negative (informal) and positive (formal) forms of entrepreneurship (Williams & Gurtoo, 2013). As Welter et al. (2017) argue, research continues to de-market the binary character of entrepreneurial dichotomy: “Opportunity versus necessity-based; venture capital based versus bootstrapped; formal versus informal; men-owned versus women-owned; innovator versus replicator; promoter versus trustee; growth-oriented versus lifestyle; entrepreneur versus small business owner/proprietor” (p. 314). Highlighting that, all type of entrepreneurship different from the traditional view falls on the “otherness”– which also represent the majority form entrepreneurship in the world (Welter & Baker, 2020 p. 109). At the same time, it is an achievement of a path to include marginalised, invisible, and silenced entrepreneurs. The proliferation of this study has also led to the awareness of the conceptual problem being simplistic and not matching the call for a greater contextualisation (Tessier-Dargent & Fayolle, 2016).

### **I.1.1. The evolution of entrepreneurship**

Historically<sup>4</sup>, the study of entrepreneurship is by no means new. The term “entrepreneur” first emerged in the literature in 1252 (Filion, 2008). However, important contributions started to come from the classical economy in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Landströmp, 2020). The first extensive reflection and accurate conceptualization of an “entrepreneur” are directly attributed to a French banker, Richard Cantillon. The author highlights the role of the entrepreneur in the economic system: an agent who organizes factors of production to produce a new product or service and sells it at an unknown price (Cantillon, 1755). After this initial contribution, many classical authors have made significant contributions to the definition of the entrepreneur. Such contributions are generally grouped in different “traditions”: the French (e.g., Richard Cantillon, Jean-Baptiste Say), British (Adam Smith), German and Australian (Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek). It is not the purpose of this thesis to detail the entire historical context of these different schools of thought. However, we summarise below the three important schools of thought that emerged under the influence of the traditions mentioned above (see figure 4)

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<sup>4</sup> See details: Hébert, R. F., & Link, A. N. (2009), ‘A history of entrepreneurship’, *Routledge*; Carlsson, B., Braunerhjelm, P., McKelvey, M., Olofsson, C., Persson, L., & Ylinenpää, H. (2013), ‘The evolving domain of entrepreneurship research’, *Small Business Economics*, 41(4), p. 913-930.



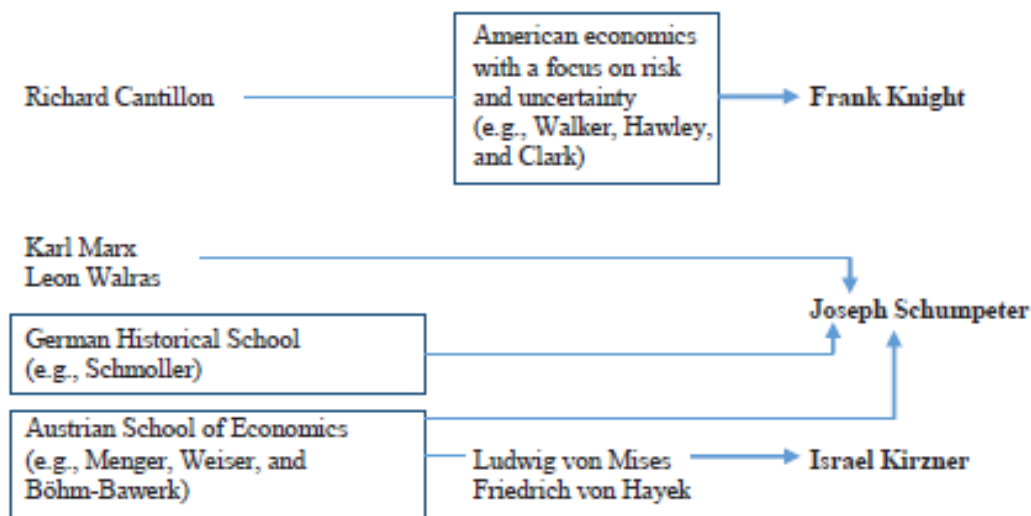


Figure 4: Summary of the three schools

Source: Landström (2020)

The first noteworthy school of thought comes from Frank Knight's<sup>5</sup> (1885-1972) contribution “Risk, Uncertainty and Profit” (1916, revised 1921). The author describes an entrepreneur as an individual who is willing to take risks and can manage uncertainty in order to make a profit. He clearly states the difference between risk and uncertainty. Knight defines risk as a condition in which it is possible to derive a probability of possible future conditions, whereas uncertainty does not allow their determination (Sarasvathy et al., 2003). The second influential school came from Schumpeter<sup>6</sup> (1885–1950). In his book “The Theory of Economic Development”, Schumpeter conceptualised an entrepreneur as someone who combines profit and resources and contributes to new developments, new markets, and new organizations. The influence of Schumpeter's analysis of entrepreneurial innovators and path-breakers has predominantly influenced modern scholars. Therefore, the Schumpeterian tradition school is based on a variety of influences but mainly the knowledge tradition of the German-speaking area in the 19th century. Schumpeter (1934) added the concept that entrepreneurs create “new combinations<sup>7</sup>”, which become a key element of innovations and the engine of the free market

<sup>5</sup>Frank Knight founder of the so-called Chicago School of Economics. He also published several contributions, for example, “Economic Organization” (1933), which is considered a classic of micro economic theory (see also, Landström, 2020 p.92).

<sup>6</sup>Schumpeter was the first to treat innovation as an endogenous process and the entrepreneur as an innovator who leads the economic system to high level of equilibrium. See details Van Praag, M. (2005), ‘Successful entrepreneurship: Confronting economic theory with empirical practice’, *Edward Elgar Publishing*.

<sup>7</sup>The carrying out of new combinations requires a combination of economic, technological and methodological elements that allow new goods or services. Schumpeter in turn, credits Jean-Baptiste Say for being the first to recognize the ‘combining function’ of the entrepreneur. See

economy. The third important school is based on Israel Kirzner's (1973) contribution, especially his book "Competition and Entrepreneurship", which argues the fundamental aspect of an entrepreneur who holds "entrepreneurial alertness" (i.e., the ability to seize opportunities from market imperfection). Therefore, entrepreneurs play an important role in restoring market equilibrium by identifying and dealing with profit-making opportunities. In this respect, the emergence of the Kirznerian tradition of thought, was strongly anchored in the Austrian School of Economics of the 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, Kirzner is seen as a precursor of contemporary research on discovering opportunities (Alvarez & Barney, 2007).

For decades, these authors were seen as opponents, especially regarding the differences between Schumpeter (an entrepreneur is a creator of disequilibrium in the market) and Kirzner (the entrepreneur identifies opportunity from market imbalance, thus creating equilibrium). However, critics have argued that the two lines of reasoning complement each other: viewing the glass as half full or half empty (Landström, 2020). These threads of thought have predominantly influenced neoliberal individualism, drawing the essence of entrepreneurship in the perception, exploitation of new opportunities, and innovative capacity (Filion, 2008).

Despite moments of intellectual lethargy, the discussion on entrepreneurship has developed parallel to industrialization and economic change (Landström & Åström, 2011). Over time, various interpretative keys have also been advanced, and most of the successive work on entrepreneurship has mainly centred on psychology, sociology, and personal characteristics or "traits" (Gartner, 1987). McClelland (1917–1998) was one of the first to present empirical studies in entrepreneurship based on behavioural science theory, focusing primarily on human motivation. The author's work "The Achieving Society" (1961) attempted to question why some succeed while others fail as a crucial way to study key economic development, the growth of the firm, and the distribution of income (Casson 1982, p. 10). The early stream of research is, however, focused on understanding how entrepreneurs have distinguishing characteristics and has subsequently come under sharp criticism. For instance, Gartner (1985, 1988) criticizes the assumption that all entrepreneurs are similar, claiming that diversity among entrepreneurs can be greater than the differences between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs and between entrepreneurial firms and nonentrepreneurial firms. Gartner has also contributed to the shifting of some relevant entrepreneurial research questions from the "who" to the "how" of entrepreneurship development (Gartner, 1980; Baker & Welter, 2018). As one of the early proponents of definitions of entrepreneurship that focus on the

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details: Schumpeter, J. A., & Nichol, A. J. (1934). Robinson's economics of imperfect competition. *Journal of political economy*, 42(2), 249-259.

emergence of organizations, William Gartner wrote a seminal article entitled “Who is an entrepreneur?’ is the wrong question” (1988, see also 1990 and 1993), in which he argued that entrepreneurship concerns a process – the emergence of organizations. Bygrave and Hofer (1991) pursued a similar line of argumentation, stating that “the entrepreneurial process involves all the functions, activities, and actions associated with the perceiving of opportunities and the creation of organizations to pursue them” (p. 14).

In the early 2000s, known as a “Golden Era”, critical studies emerged that signed an intellectual advancement in the entrepreneurship study (Landströmp, 2020, p.155). In particular, Shane and Venkataraman's (2000) work based on the processual and behavioural approach opened a strong debate on how opportunities can be created or discovered. According to the authors, opportunities are defined as “situations in which new goods, services, raw materials, and organizing methods can be introduced and sold at greater than the cost of their production” (p.220). Therefore, opportunities occur at a specific time for a particular reason, and people are fortunate to discover these opportunities. The discovery theory assumes that entrepreneurs who form and exploit opportunities are significantly different and often possess superior knowledge than non-entrepreneurs about a particular market or industry, aligning to Kirzner's thesis of “alertness” (Kirzner, 1973). Kirzner (1973) sees the pure entrepreneur as one “whose entire role arises out of his alertness to hitherto unnoticed opportunities” (p.39). On the other hand, Shane (2003) brings the concept further, stating that: “The mechanism for actualizing an opportunity often initially exists mainly in the entrepreneur’s mind, making the entrepreneur’s idea for how to exploit the opportunity a personal interpretation of the opportunity” (p. 5), recognizing the gap between entrepreneurs first vision and the operational phase, where opportunity does not correspond to profit or are not always earned immediately.

The decision-making context in discovery theory is risky because it assumes that opportunities are objective. Entrepreneurs can calculate and understand the possible outcomes associated with an objective opportunity, along with the probability of those outcomes (Alvarez, 2007). Awareness of opportunities is developed in the third level, in which the primary role is attributed to individuals or entrepreneurs. At this point, everything related to entrepreneurs, their embeddedness in social networks (Singh, 2000), prior knowledge and education, previous experiences (Shane, 2000), and personality traits such as self-efficacy and creativity are inherent elements of the opportunity recognition process (Ardichvili et al., 2003). This idea can explain some scholars’ argument that two entrepreneurs cannot perceive the same opportunity, explaining that entrepreneurs do not possess the same information at the same time (Ardichvili et al., 2003). Moreover, each entrepreneur differs in the way he or she interprets contextual opportunities (Shane, 2003).

In contrast, the creation view of entrepreneurship attempts to complement the discovery view. In the creation view, opportunities are not assumed to be objective phenomena. Instead, they are created endogenously by the actions of entrepreneurs exploring ways to produce new products or services (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Gartner, 1985; Sarasvathy, 2001; Weick, 1979). Consequently, the field of entrepreneurship research has moved away from “who” and “what” an entrepreneur is (Shane & Venkataraman, 2003), and thus away from person-centric into more context-related approaches in which entrepreneurs articulate different narratives for their activities (Garud et al., 2014; Zahra et al., 2014). In this view, entrepreneurs are not simply passively receiving and processing information from the given opportunity. Instead, they assume an active, essential role by taking the initiative to create opportunities (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Sarasvathy, 2001). Therefore, creation opportunities are socially constructed and do not exist independent of entrepreneurs’ perceptions of their environment (Alvarez & Barney, 2007).

The general acknowledgement that the entrepreneurial process encompasses social, economic, institutional, spatial, and temporal-historical environments that influence entrepreneurial behaviours considers that entrepreneurs’ environments challenge different mechanisms in their decision-making processes, producing varied forms of entrepreneurship (Steyaert & Katz 2004; Mair, Martí, & Ventresca 2012; Welter 2011; Anderson, 2000). Consequently, numerous studies emerged assuming that opportunity cannot exist apart from the entrepreneur (Baker & Nelson, 2005). These studies complement other mainstream theories and emphasize that the entrepreneurial process is not standardized and uniform as commonly assumed; instead, depending on contextual factors, entrepreneurs may pursue unconventional means to create their ventures. For example, new concepts and theories, such as “bricolage” (Baker & Nelson, 2005) and “effectuation” reasoning (Sarasvathy, 2001), emerged to explain entrepreneurship in a resource-constrained environment. A vital contribution by Sarasvathy (2001) analyses numerous successful companies, drawing various conclusions, some of which deconstruct the entrepreneur myth. In particular, successful business creators do not proceed using a deterministic projection of future reality (i.e., do not have a planned process), but rather act according to their resources. They are not pursuing a pre-existing opportunity that appeared to them alone; instead, they give rise to an idea, which evolves based on their resources, experience, network, and personality (Sarasvathy, 2001). The decision-making context in creation theory is uncertain and is not a causal chain but a circular motion. Entrepreneurs try to build partnerships and think in terms of acceptable losses and are not expected to focus on a detailed competitive analysis (Alvarez & Barney, 2007). Therefore, it is no longer a question of planning, predicting, and avoiding surprises but of exploiting them (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

Using the New York apparel industry (1997) and later the business banking sector (1999), Uzzi stressed the importance of Contextualising individuals drawing upon their embeddedness for entrepreneurial purposes. Giving importance to context has broadened our understanding of entrepreneurship, which over time has partially decentred the “heroic”, “alert”, and “enterprising” entrepreneur more inclusive entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Anderson & Miller, 2003; Williams & Nadin, 2013).

The next two sections discuss how marginalised/disadvantaged groups find space in mainstream entrepreneurial research, having a specific context in respect to the traditional entrepreneurial view.

### **I.1.1. Necessity entrepreneurship**

The previous section introduced a brief historical evolution of the classic and predominant approach. Therefore, entrepreneurs presumably start their businesses voluntarily by identifying a specific exogenous opportunity, and the entrepreneurial process is rationally planned and develops through pre-existing information and knowledge (Shane, 2000). Entrepreneurs are more likely to be oriented to invest necessary capital by anticipating and systematically preparing for risks and challenges (Block & Andner, 2009), having evaluated and anticipated potential strategy and financial risk, as well as the specific timelines for executing entrepreneurial performances. However, this type of entrepreneurial process does not realistically include all types of entrepreneurship that each reality may produce. In fact, over the past 15 years, analyses alternative to the mainstream rhetoric on entrepreneurship have emerged to challenge neo-liberal orthodox views (Tessier-Dargent, 2018). In these intellectual and theoretical advancements, research started to move toward inclusive entrepreneurship, recovering marginalised group voices (Gartner, 1988). As such, context influences the nature, pace of development, extent of entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurial behavior (Welter & Smallbone, 2011).

From this perspective, based on motivational dichotomies, the theory has split into necessity and opportunity-based entrepreneurship—the necessary form of entrepreneurship to oppose the purely opportunistic and proactive behaviour in identifying profitable activity. The dichotomy between entrepreneurs created by necessity and opportunity stems from Shapero and Sokol's (1982) work, which argues that starting a business correlates with the positive or/and negative contextual factors that influence the motivations to create a business. For example, negative life events, such as a job dismissal, dissatisfaction at work, divorce, bereavement, and illness, can positively trigger individuals to undertake the entrepreneurial venture. Accordingly, Shapero speaks about “displacement”, which involves a change in

behaviour where an actor has no other choice but to seek an opportunity for a new kind of behaviour (Katz, 1992). This notion of displacement, resulting from the psychoanalytical approach, opens the door to a vision that is no longer only functional but contingent on the entrepreneur's life event and how they value, perceive, and react to external shocks (Giacomin et al., 2007). Another important study, which has contributed to the emergence of necessity entrepreneurship, was proposed by the GEM16 Consortium to explain the phenomenon of survival entrepreneurship (Reynolds et al., 2001). The theory proposed was, therefore, within the framework of the paradigm of value creation: in developing countries, individuals are driven to create by poverty and the need to survive, while in developed countries, creation business is driven by the pursuit of opportunities and innovation (Reynolds et al., 2001, p. 56). According to which, necessity entrepreneurs started a business “because it was the best option available”, as opposed to opportunity entrepreneurs, who took “advantage of a unique market opportunity” (Reynolds et al., 2002, p. 4). Cowling and Bygrave (2003) hypothesize the increase in necessity entrepreneurship occurs when market barriers are low, and employment is high. Similarly, Mason (1989) concludes that the proliferation of necessity entrepreneurship might increase during an economic recession and with those suffering from current work dissatisfaction (Noorderhaven et al., 2004). Socio-cultural factors have also been considered, such as focusing on women's marginalisation from the job market or family responsibilities (Orhan & Scott, 2001). Therefore, necessity entrepreneurship initially stems from a defensive reaction to the labour market and personal difficulties.

Necessity entrepreneurs are also classified based on their levels of social advantage, such as individuals with lower education, race (immigrant/refugee), or contextual factors such as social, economic, and political environments that shape individual behaviours and may impact new (Orhan & Scott, 2001). For example, in terms of macro-environmental factors, there is evidence that the lack of property rights protection, business freedom, financial capital, and educational capital positively affects the creation of necessity-based ventures (Fuentelsaz et al., 2015), as well as the funding schemes, interest rates, or welfare state regimes (Haas, 2015). These entrepreneurs are more oriented in creating small enterprises, especially without prior projects, responding to a purely economic need, obtaining an income, and lacking a perceived professional alternative – being much more distant from the Schumpeterian innovation model, having little effect in contributing to economic development as they are oriented to growth and achieving success (Acs & Szerd, 2007). Therefore, necessity entrepreneurs have limited knowledge and skills, lack of resources such as finance and equipment, and strict regulations. In many cases, their business activities are performed in the home, street, and flea markets (Reynolds et al., 2002).

To address the risk of oversimplification, Haas (2015), using developed and poor environmental context, differentiates between the relative and absolute for necessity entrepreneurs. This approach accounts for the demonstration of how different contexts can produce a heterogeneous group of necessity-based entrepreneurs. According to the author, the relative necessity entrepreneurs face some negative situational circumstances, constraining their freedom to freely choose between becoming an entrepreneur versus working as a salaried employee. However, this relativeness is associated with a sustainable environmental context that assures a certain minimum standard of living, such as the availability of welfare schemes, potential private savings, or financial support from the individual's family, protecting those concerned from suffering from absolute necessity. For instance, individuals in developed environments have the necessary essential resources to fulfil their basic physiological needs. Therefore, when supportive institutional levels are absent, individuals tend to capitalize on their skills through higher education and work experience to act entrepreneurially, minimize market uncertainty, and exploit better opportunities.

However, individuals in developed countries face environmental constraints and do not have basic support, such as welfare. Individuals who simultaneously experience negative situational and environmental influences while seeking self-employment are absolute necessity entrepreneurs. Thus, this group is disadvantaged by being doubly affected by negative external influences from two dimensions. The poor environmental circumstances are characterized by a scarcity of critical resources, lack of valuable entrepreneurial opportunities, high unemployment and crime rates, a non-functioning legal system, and low capital availability or high taxation. According to Haas (2015), individuals with an absolute necessity are not only present in a developing country system, but also exist in the western economy. These people are usually disadvantaged and do not have access to the welfare system, such as asylum seekers, illegal migrants, or some tribal groups. However, in the absence of supportive institutional levers, intermediary organizations may help shape market exchanges of goods and services and offer a variety of financial and skill-based support to individuals in need (Dutt et al., 2016; Mair et al., 2012; McKague et al., 2015).

The main criticisms that some scholars evoke relate to: firstly, the methodology used to identify necessity entrepreneurs is harshly criticised due to being susceptible and the biases that arise when entrepreneurs self-declare their motivations. In fact, individuals are often not inclined to elucidate their spheres of necessity (Tessier-Dargent, 2018). Secondly, motivations change and evolve from necessity to opportunity during business development (Williams & Williams, 2014). In many cases, individuals are driven by both need and opportunity factors (Williams & Williams, 2009). Accordingly, Tessier-Dargent and Fayolle (2016) called for more contextualisation of necessity entrepreneurship. In their work, they illustrated the heterogeneity

of necessity entrepreneurs. The authors constructed a contextual typology of necessity entrepreneurs, identifying the complexity of the phenomenon subordinate to the following interdependent multi-dimensional factors: (i) External environment and the level of economic, legal, and social constraints; (ii) the individual's level of entrepreneurial expertise, skills, and traits; (iii) The pull and push motivational factors.

### **I.1.2. Informal entrepreneurship**

In recent decades, a branch of entrepreneurial research continues to prioritize the inclusion of a neglected group (social, criminal, informal, and illegal) that has long been classified as non-entrepreneurial or temporary or endangered forms of initiation (McElwee & Smith, 2015). Such contexts or specific groups are scrutinized from institutional contexts (i.e., formal and informal institutions and the consequent impact on entrepreneurship). Again, research moves into a “binary hierarchy” (Williams, Round & Rodgers, 2007) thought, in which informal entrepreneurs are separated from mainstream formal entrepreneurs. Binary hierarchy depicts informal entrepreneurship as negative and formal entrepreneurship as positive (ibid).

Institutions represent “the rules of the game”, or the prescribed norms regarding the acceptability of activities (North, 1990). On the one hand, the regulative dimension of institutions refers specifically to regulative, cognitive, and normative forms that govern socio-economic behaviour and form the basis of legitimacy in a given institutional environment. On the other hand, informal norms are based on a cultural-cognitive perspective and socially shared rules, which are usually unwritten and which are created, communicated, and enforced into entrepreneurship in the formal or informal sectors (Puffer et al., 2010).

First, informal entrepreneurship is caused due to the asymmetry between formal and informal institutions (Williams & Vorley, 2014). For example, Williams and Vorley (2014, p.2) consider informal entrepreneurship to be an outcome of misalignment between formal and informal institutions, which developed out of inequity, discrepancy, and uneven government attention and support given to formal and informal institutions, while Vu (2013) argues that institutional asymmetry arises due to diverging views between formal and informal institutions on what constitutes legitimate economic behaviour. Therefore, the different orientations between formal and informal institutions shape the size of the informal entrepreneurial activities in a given society. Williams and Shahid (2014) suggest that the wider the differences between the two institutions, the higher the rate of entrepreneurs operating in the informal sector. Therefore, “illegality” in the formal institutions can be “legitimized” by norms, values, and beliefs comprising a society's informal institutions (Webb, 2009). The second common perspective is that informal entrepreneurship arises due to the flaws of inadequate formal



institutional provisions the formal regulative institutional supports in terms of regulation, contracts, enforcement, and incentives. In this way, in weak formal institutions and malfunctioning states, entrepreneurs tend to reduce uncertainty by compensating or substituting the formal institution's deficiency through informal institutions (Williams & Vorley, 2014; Puffer et al., 2010). Third, researchers argue how socio-cultural rules and conventions strongly influence fostering different levels at which informal entrepreneurship operates (Williams & Gurtoo, 2013, North, 1990). Therefore, the cultural-cognitive and normative institutional perspectives consider informal entrepreneurship a product of social networks and relationships, trust, norms, customs, tradition, and resistance culture. Furthermore, societal norms, values, and customary practices often strongly influence developing collective behaviour and shape human interactions because they "determine the setting and legitimacy" of human interactions (Thai & Turkina, 2014, p. 491). For example, social networks, in particular, have been noted to have a strong influence on informal entrepreneurial behaviour through the use of the connection, favour, and collective action, identity, cooperatives, town unions, and trade and market associations to access resources, have a voice, and reduce uncertainty in business transactions (Lyon & Porter, 2009).

The motivational factors related to informal entrepreneurship have been positioned at the two ends of the population spectrum: lower-income populations (Ahmad, 2008; Williams, 2009d), relatively older entrepreneurs, and the less educated are more likely to operate informally (Gurtoo & Williams, 2009; Williams, Round & Rodgers, 2007). Generally, for many scholars, informal entrepreneurship is more prevalent amongst necessity-driven entrepreneurs who engage in such entrepreneurship due to their involuntary exclusion from the formal realm and as a last resort in the absence of alternative means of livelihood, by virtue of limited skills, lack of resources, gender, age, race, or immigration status (Webb et al., 2020).

Survival activities include holding casual jobs, temporary jobs, unpaid jobs, or multiple jobs. These activities may not necessarily portend illegality, whereas unofficial earnings such as tax evasion, avoidance of labour regulation and other governmental or institutional regulations, and non-registration of the business are all illegal activities (Williams, 2009d). In contrast, modern informal entrepreneurship is often voluntary to escape the costs of formality or earn higher profits than formal entrepreneurs. These are characterized by monetary resources, professional and technical skills, and the capacity to employ a small number of workers (Williams et al., 2015). Many agents choose to participate in the informal economy because they find more autonomy, social networks, ease of entry, flexibility, and freedom to operate their own businesses than in the formal sector (Renooy, 1990).

Recently, scholars have begun to contest the dichotomies of opportunity versus necessity and formal versus informal have limited explanatory power of learning experiences and changes in aspirations and expectations over time, thus oversimplifying the complex nature of informal entrepreneurs (Welter, & Smallbone, 2011; Williams, 2009). A conventional approach to these dichotomies does not allow one to grasp the heterogeneity of the necessity and formal entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial dynamic (Williams, 2016; Baker & Welter, 2015, p.9). Williams (2007) states that “for many years in western nations, the informal sector was represented as a largely negative realm and hindrance to development”. In the other hand, scholars start to see the important role that informal business play in the lives of the poor, especially evaluation is made by including the non-economic implications of informal enterprises (Korsgaard & Anderson, 2011). Scholars suggest that economic value should be combined with more traditional values such as family, community and social norms and customs and the macro-level or societal effects of these activities (Sauka & Welter, 2007).

As discussed, Figure 5 displays the intersection of formal/informal and necessity/opportunity entrepreneurs. In addition to the prevalent assumption that necessity entrepreneurship operates in the informal and opportunity within the formal, both necessity and opportunity can be exercised within the formal and informal sectors. The more disadvantaged society is positioned in the spectrum of necessity entrepreneurship, operating predominantly in the informal context. For example, refugees are often likely to be involved in informal entrepreneurial activities, especially in countries with weak institutions (De la Chaux, 2015; Refai et al., 2018).

However, these groups are not homogeneous, and their status is not static. Research needs to progress and begin to dissect the multiple social and cultural settings from which necessity entrepreneurs emerge, explicating the heterogeneity of the phenomenon. Hence, even in the multi-deprived refugee status and context, these studies remain open to the multidimensional perspective of analysis.

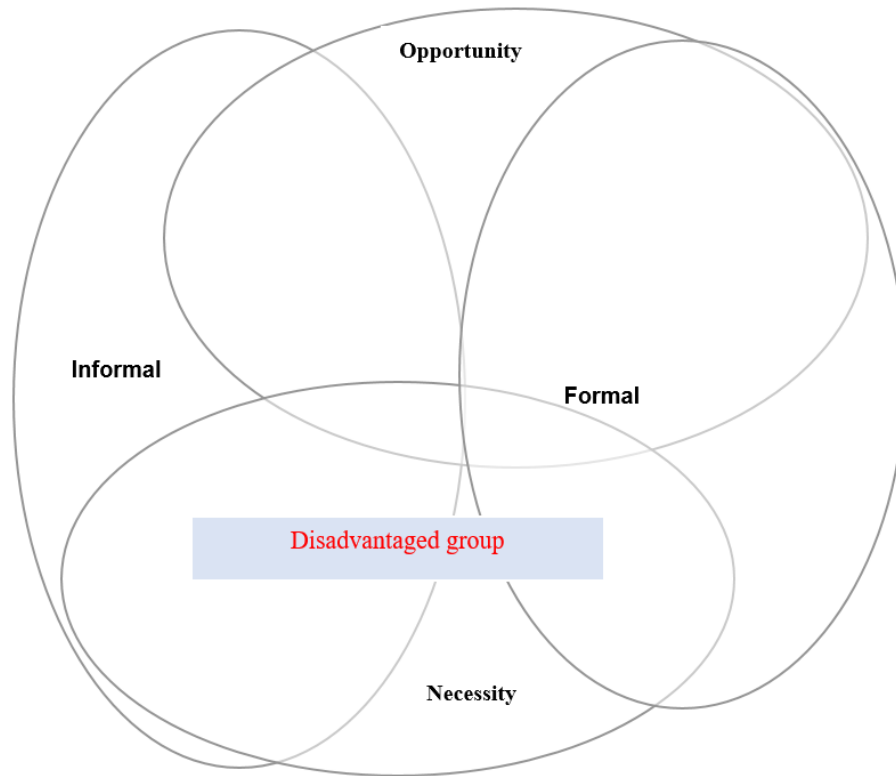


Figure 5: Positioning disadvantaged group in the intersection of necessity/opportunity-formal/informal

Own source

## **I.2. Toward the contextualisation process**

The previous sections explained how the two dichotomies embracing the marginalisation thesis (i.e., informal entrepreneurs are small, mostly from marginalised groups, and undertake such endeavours out of necessity) has started to be scrutinized in recent years. Examinations of entrepreneurial groups in the margins have often been treated as externally homogeneous (Tessier-Dargent & Fayolle, 2016). However, these groups have a heterogeneous nature of entrepreneurship and multifaceted context, implying the generalization simplistic (Williams & Horodnic, 2016). According to Gartner (2004), researchers need to shift from “othering” everything different from existing models and research interests to accepting the challenges of incorporating the astounding varieties of entrepreneurship into theories and research approaches.

### **I.2.1. The importance of contextualisation approach**

Context is gaining importance in the managerial domain; still, this research interest is relatively new. In reviewing studies that claim to contextualize research, Welter and Baker (2020) found that in the majority of works the study context had a minor role. Furthermore, they suggested the importance of considering context as not “out there”, but as an intrinsic element to the entrepreneurial process through which they construct contexts. Therefore, the embeddedness of social, economic, institutional, spatial, and temporal-historical environments that influence entrepreneurial behaviours must be considered, as well as how this context affects entrepreneurs ability to draw on social and economic resources (Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Mair et al., 2012; Welter 2011; Anderson 2000).

First, context has been an element of argument throughout the multi-disciplinary spectrum, thus it lacks a homogeneous definition. Dilley, a social anthropologist, highlighted context as an analytical device “by means of which anthropologists are able to reveal hidden meanings and deeper understandings, or to forward certain kinds of interpretation and particular forms of explanation” (Dilley 1999b, p.3). In contrast, from an organizational perspective, Johns (2006) defined context as “situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behaviour as well as functional relationships between variables” (Johns 2006, 386). An alternative definition is also given by Welter (2011): “circumstances, conditions, situations, or environments that are external to the respective phenomenon and enable or constrain it” (Welter, 2011, p. 167).

Thus, context is a set of unique factors through which socio-spatial structure constructs different opportunities (Zahra, Wright, & Abdelgawad 2014; Welter, 2011). Contextualisation fosters novel analyses and allows understanding of the uniqueness of the dimension and how

this influences entrepreneurial activity (Zahra & Wright, 2011). Welter (2011) distinguishes between Contextualising theory and theorizing context. In author interpretation, the first is primarily the application of situational and time boundaries to entrepreneurship theories, which requires useful comparative research. On the contrary, theorizing has broadened the horizon to address wide-ranging questions about who is involved in entrepreneurship and where and when, as well as the complex relationships between the contextual elements. Contextualisation are relevant for various reasons:

First, Contextualising entrepreneurship concerns investigating the multiplicity of sites where entrepreneurship occurs and accounting for the cross-context variations and differences in the nature and patterns of entrepreneurship (Gartner, 2008; Steyaert & Katz, 2004). This strategy allows researchers to consider entrepreneurship that captures new, unexpected, and often hidden factors (Johns, 2018). Contextualisation also helps one reconsider the taken-for-granted theories and management recipes that have predominantly represented the western society view of growth-oriented business (Welter, 2011). Second, Contextualising allows not only identifying atypically hidden variation but also provides new insights into similar phenomena. Thus, the method allows one to identify differences of entrepreneurship in a context where, as mentioned, the disadvantaged group can be simplistically idealised as having identical types of ventures. Third, contextual models can improve our explanatory insights and theoretical development, demarcating boundaries. As Johns (2006) highlighted, some conditions can explain anomalous research result, including reverse insights regarding previous findings, as well as identifying the cause of reverse finding or tipping points in which small changes in context often have great implications (Johns, 2001, 2006). Therefore, as Zahra (2007) suggested, Contextualising entrepreneurship research can add to the research's rigor and relevance (Zahra, 2007). Finally, contextualisation permits integration across research areas and levels of analysis, identifying what they have in common as settings for organizational behaviour (Johns, 2018, p. 21).

In recent years, scholars have accelerated in identifying the potential to improve operationalizing and looking forward to embracing context in its critical dimension. This includes emphasizing specific theories, the methodological perspective, and critical components to be considered in order to rigorously understand context (Johns, 2018). While it is enthusiastic to see the contextualisation approach as having the potential for holistic integration of interacting elements of context, it has risks and limits. In the first place, extreme attention to the subjective nature of the context can, however, lead to radical forms of individualism, therefore to the proliferation of unique points of view, increasing the risk of fragmentation of falling into the “abyss of infinite regress and solipsism” (Welter & Baker, 2020 p.7). Second, debates arise because of the complex multidimensionality nature of context that

make difficult the delimit of contextualisation of elements and angle of analysis (John, 2006). Third, the need to integrate non-linear elements of context renders applicability and operationalizing difficult to measuring and time consuming (Steyaert & Katz, 2004).

### **I.2.2. The dimension of context**

The leading works of Welter (2011) and Zahra Wright and Abdulgawad (2014) have attempted to capture the different aspects of entrepreneurs. Theorizing context leads to addressing different layers of contextual elements through broad-ranging of questions. Welter (2011) analysed who is involved in entrepreneurship and where, when, how, and why they come to be involved, as well as with what consequences to them and to others (see table 2). “Who” is the entrepreneur’s position in the context. Context is not something that just “is” for entrepreneurs but instead is something they enact as a construct, often in idiosyncratic ways, typically through routine interactions (Baker & Welter, 2018). In line with this perspective, many authors evoke the need to “give voice” to “other” entrepreneurs, the less privileged, those at the margins of society (Gartner, 2013). In the question of “who”, therefore, the Contextualisation approach includes various types of entrepreneurs who are “doing contexts” (Baker & Welter, 2020 p.41).

“Where” refers to the manifold environmental factors that have an important role in presenting entrepreneurs with opportunities. Researchers have examined different factors within the national level, including differences in countries’ levels of development (Gupta & Wang 2009). Moreover, some have focused on the entrepreneurial ecosystem approach and regional context, including clusters, spillover of knowledge, and available resources such as talent and technology (Powell et al. 2012), and the dynamics these enterprises and activities can create. Welter (2011) identified four dimensions of the place and spaces in which entrepreneurship occurs: business (the default context for most entrepreneurship research), social (networks, households, and families), spatial (urban versus rural places or communities), and institutional. The author adds two dimensions of when: temporal and historical. Each context element can be proximate (social environment or the local neighbourhood) to distant (for example, countries, political systems, or society). Such a perspective acknowledges the intertwined social, societal context (household and family embeddedness) and geographical contexts as wider social contexts.

The “when” perspective draws attention to temporal and historical contexts by referring to entrepreneurship as occurring in contexts changing over time. Moreover, this perspective considers the historical influences on the nature of the present entrepreneurial context, evoking

complex relationships between entrepreneurs and structural, temporal, and historical contexts, where they co-create and enact their contexts (Baker & Welter, 2017).

Table 2: Domain of contextualisation

<b>WHO</b>	Individual/team, community, business	Doing context: How do individuals, communities, and businesses interact with <i>where</i> and <i>when</i> contexts? How do they adapt and/or change <i>where</i> contexts? Why do individuals, communities, and businesses interact with contexts?	Institutional entrepreneurship, entrepreneuring identity
<b>WHERE</b>	Social Spatial Institutional	How/where are contexts constructed? Why does the where context impact entrepreneurship?	Relational geography, embeddedness
<b>WHEN</b>	Time History	How/when are contexts constructed? Why does the when context impact on entrepreneurship?	Time geography, history studies

Source: Welter, 2011

Other authors also started to include some complementary elements; for example, Zahra and Wright (2011, 75) suggest, in the spatial, timeline perspectives, considering the importance of practice and change as elements to operationalize context. In their later work, they again extended the initial typology by integrating the organizational, ownership, and governance dimensions (Zahra, Wright, & Abdelgawad, 2014). While these studies have come further in identifying the dimension of context, it is not clear which elements of context have more importance (Welter & Baker, 2020). To answer to this question, one must recall that context cuts across levels and interactions, showing that context on a higher level of analysis (e.g., the institutional context at the national level) interacts with the individual level (e.g., the opportunity recognition of entrepreneurs), thus resulting in a context-specific outcome (Johns, 2006). Such complexity emphasizes how the contextual dimensions are interdependent and intertwined, implying that it is not one context alone that matters but the interactions between them and the

agency of entrepreneurs in dealing with these contexts (Welter, 2011). In line with this theory, one of the major contributors to the advancement of the conceptualization of context in the organizational domain, Johns (2006)<sup>8</sup>, created a distinction between “discrete” and “omnibus” contexts. The author asserts that any modelling strategy a researcher takes, included in a micro-system “omnibus context” where one necessarily recurs to have a myriad of “omitted variables” (Johns, 2006, p. 388). Hence, showing how much contextualisation is, in fact, immersed in limitless elements, and the effect of any element is itself probably considered context dependent as well fluid and changing over time (Johns, 2006). Thus, researchers should be aware of their importance and role in “doing context” where, through their interpretation, they co-create and enact the contexts (Baker & Welter, 2020: p. 35),

A major contribution in the methodological perspective comes from Zahra (2007), who discusses the lack of attention to context when applying or building theory. The author identified several scenarios that underline how established theory can be applied to both well-known contexts and new phenomena. Alternatively, the new theory explains an established phenomenon early in its development (Zahra et al., 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to adequately and rigorously define the context in which the entrepreneurial phenomenon occurs (Zahra et al., 2014). This definition helps one fully understand the object of study, establish an adequate scope of application, and determine the degree of generalization of the investigated studies and theories used (Johns, 2006; Welter, 2011).

The next section continues to discuss the cardinal elements of entrepreneurship enacted by a group having different types of disadvantages, such as social, spatial, and multilevel intersecting elements.

### **I.3. Entrepreneurship by disadvantaged communities**

Multiple social and spatial disadvantage forms within the socio-economic context may affect a specific group of individuals. “Social disadvantage” refers to individuals or households who cannot lead their lives in ways available to the majority of the population and who thus, cannot fully participate in society (Headey, 2006). On one side, social disadvantage objectively refers to an individual’s resource endowment in respect to the majority of the population. On the other, the subjective element refers to an individual's perception of feeling deprived (Headey, 2006). The structures of inequality, including race, ethnicity, and migrant status, affect people’s entrepreneurial activity (Carter & Murphy, 2015). For example, the literature on

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<sup>8</sup> The paper won AMR’s “decade” award as the most important paper the journal published in 2006. The author highlights the impact of context on organisational behaviour is not sufficiently recognised or appreciated by researchers. Thus, understanding the implications of cultural context remains a challenge.



entrepreneurship refers to socially disadvantaged women, immigrants, ex-prisoners, and disabled individuals as disadvantaged entrepreneurs (Miller & Breton-Miller, 2017).

Spatial disadvantage is concerned with concentrations of disadvantaged social people or spatial mechanisms, such as lack of transportation that function as barriers to resources and opportunities (Wilson, 1987). Miller and Breton-Miller (2017) developed a model of challenge-based entrepreneurship emphasizing that particular social group marginalisation is clearly the result of multiple disadvantages. The authors listed different states of adverse economic, socio-cultural, cognitive, and physical/emotional personal circumstances that may lead to people who are more likely to become entrepreneurs (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2017, p.3). The different and frequent subsequent intersecting negative factors individuals undergo, provide distinctive motivation to seek and develop adaptive behaviour, such as cognitive and social resources that can constitute a significant impetus for entrepreneurial endeavours (see figure 6). Therefore, the next section highlights the consideration of entrepreneurs' embeddedness in the socio-spatial context and the intersectionality of multilevel disadvantage.

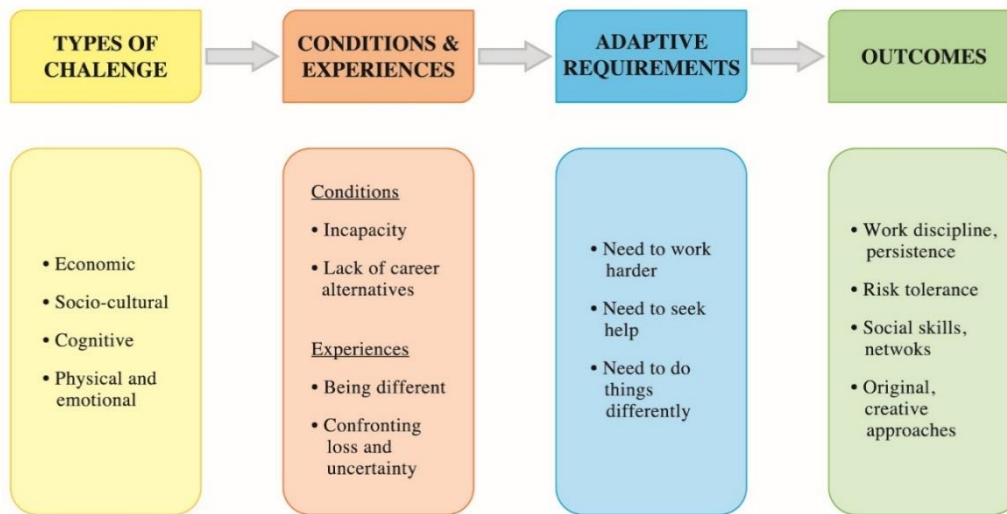


Figure 6: A model of challenge-based entrepreneurship

Source: Miller and Le Breton-Miller (2017)

### I.3.1. Socio-spatial embeddedness

The socio-economic dynamics of a place anchoring in certain territories may reflect varying intensities and embeddedness levels that give different entrepreneurial forms (Oinas, 1997). According to Granovetter<sup>9</sup> (1990), embeddedness is defined as follows: “economic action, outcomes, and institutions are affected by actor’s personal (dyadic) relations, and by the structure of the overall network of relations” (p. 98). Thus, economic actors are embedded in specific contexts (see Welter, 2011), such as organizational or institutional, which in turn can be shaped through engagement networks. For example, multi-dimensional social spheres, such as social networks, households, family, social hierarchy, and institutions, are configurations for a socio-spatial organization that gives unique shape to the entrepreneurial context (Autio et al., 2014).

The process of local socio-spatial embeddedness extends beyond the business’s physical location to a broader “space” of socio-economic interaction (Müller & Korsgaard, 2018). In this regard, traditionally, scholars attempt to understand space separately from the place. The former is subjectively defined and constitutes the social mechanisms, operating in

<sup>9</sup> In this sense, Granovetter were among the first to bring the attention to the measurement of tie strength relationships that are of varying strength. Understanding the strength of social ties can be critical. It is used by sociologists trying to understand user-to-user interactions in complex network dynamics.

a complex interplay of human, temporal, and political-economic circumstances and is how individuals perceive the given social, institutional, cultural, and relational structure (Hudson, 2001). Therefore, the place is not simply the location of an economic resource but is the scene of experience, action, and meaning based on narratives and constructed in part through storytelling, legend, and myth (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004). In contrast, space refers to the objective, physical space in which entrepreneurship occurs. In reality, the two elements are interdependent, and place does not exist without physical space; social systems are shaped by space as well as actively shaping spaces. Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996) argued that space is the physical and social landscape imbued with meaning in everyday place-bound social practices and emerges through processes that operate over varying spatial and temporal scales.

Entrepreneurial spaces then involve geographical location, material elements, and the meanings and values attached to them, transforming “business spaces” into meaningful locations. From a social geography perspective, these entrepreneurial places coexist beyond the physical environment, with social constructions elaborated from collective assets and memory matters through emotional attachment to the spatial context. (Cresswell, 2010). Therefore, scholars have started to re-connect place and space, a social and mental sense of activity in organizations (Hernes, 2003). Furthermore, Welter and Baker (2020) explained the connection in this way:

*“place not so much as a static indicator of geographic and theoretical boundaries, but more as the locus of historical and ongoing processes of power and contestation that both bring together and separate people across changing configurations of stories, memories, and architecture” (p. 3)*

. Entrepreneurship from this perspective shifts from being purely individualistic to having socialized outcomes. In this sense, the perspective provides a new vision to the consideration of both the function and the impact of entrepreneurship on society and society’s construction of the entrepreneurial context. This recursive link between entrepreneurship and its context emphasizes the “double sociality of entrepreneurship” (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2006 p.1).

The literature explains the complex relationship between entrepreneurs and the socio-spatial context. According to scholars, considering the socio-spatial embeddedness mechanism whereby the entrepreneur becomes part of the social context through systems of social relations, networks, bonds, and local ties is important (Granovetter, 1985; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Uzzi, 1997). Uzzi (1997: 22) referred to embeddedness as the material quality, configuration, or structure of ties among actors. The configuration of this element is an

important mechanism for identifying opportunities and for understanding the protocols through which resources are distributed, shared, and utilized. The socio-spatial structure has a unique, idiosyncratic resource of capital. First, a socio-spatial space can have specific human capital, such as knowledge; financial capital; natural capital; or cultural capital (Flora & Flora, 2008). Second, resources are embedded in social ties, relationships, and trust, which serve as catalysts in facilitating new venture creation through providing information (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Connected individuals share a community in terms of structural and moral congruence; shared understandings of mutuality; insidership; shared group identities, responsibilities, and moral obligations; shared values; within-group trust; and historical reciprocity (Anderson et al., 2012). These opportunities are not driven by purely economically rational and opportunistic individuals but encompass long-term cooperative relationships with collective-level benefits for learning and risk-sharing (ibid). Further, embeddedness can facilitate the exchange of resources through interpersonal ties, which are difficult to acquire through market exchanges (Uzzi 1996; Mair & Marti 2009). However, several community factors, such as community-based socio-cultural barriers and community institutions institutional voids, community norms, and kinship norms, impede entrepreneurial activity (Mair et al., 2012)

Some scholars investigate entrepreneurship as a socio-spatial process, explaining how and why certain localities are more entrepreneurial than others or how the level of embeddedness an attachment to place enable or inhibit entrepreneurial cultures (Anderson, 2000; Brown, 2000; McKeever, Jack & Anderson, 2015; Welter, 2011; Welter, 2013). Research has included a family, neighbourhood, and community as essential sites and places for entrepreneurship, demonstrating the complexities of the interactions between place and space (Welter & Smallbone, 2011). However, few studies on entrepreneurship research have begun to embrace spatial context as an explanatory lens (Zahra et al., 2014). For instance, Müller and Korsgaard (2017), in their study on rural entrepreneurs in Denmark, outline how entrepreneurs relate to their spatial contexts, continuously and creatively reinterpreting and recombining resources. The authors emphasize the role of “spatial embeddedness”, which is defined as the “Intimate knowledge of and concern for the place tangled with strategically built non-local networks” (p.574). Moreover, they distinguish entrepreneurship that is located but not embedded in rural contexts and rural entrepreneurship. The former entrepreneurs leverage local resources, enacting strong local embeddedness, and are unlikely to relocate to a different spatial context. At the same time, entrepreneurship in rural areas is distinguished because entrepreneurs identify profit-oriented ventures, even not being spatially embedded and use beyond local resources. In addition, the authors show how entrepreneurship embedded in a specific local context can also change place identities and reputations, draw on their social bonds and affinity to the community, and do context in creating, renewing, and reifying a

positive identity their place. Thus, this study identifies the milieu in both a place and the collective mechanism that explains and facilitates various social ties, allowing a collective entrepreneurial spirit to blossom and providing the basic resources (Müller & Korsgaard; Korsgaard et al. 2015). However, scholars have also noted the impediments of strong community orientation on resources leveraged from external sources by creating barriers to knowledge resources from other communities (McDermott, Corredoira & Kruse, 2009). As Granovetter (1973) argued,

*“social relations, rather than institutional arrangements or generalized morality, are mainly responsible for the production of trust in economic life. [...] while social relations may indeed often be a necessary condition for trust and trustworthy behavior, they are not sufficient to guarantee these and may even provide occasion and means for malfeasance and conflict on a scale larger than in their absence”*(p. 491).

Parkinson et al. (2016) point out how discursive<sup>10</sup> practices and narratives that people use may shape elements of place, and thus the context people use to co-construct their community as unenterprising. The author suggests that a specific socio-spatial context should be analysed beyond the “where” and consider social practices that comprise context to help understand and not overlook the richness of the circumstances. Hindle (2010) discusses how community-making has complicated the relationship with place meanings. He suggests that researchers should systematically specify the attributes of a particular community to help capture the complexity.

This section discussed how the socio-spatial milieu directly or indirectly affects entrepreneurial activity and human behaviour. The next section continues this discussion, focusing on disadvantaged communities and how scholars contextualize research in this specific group.

### **I.3.2. Contextualising through intersectionality and positionality**

Social and spatial disadvantages can be intertwined and form multi-level disadvantages. For example, Wilson (1987), in the book<sup>11</sup> “The truly disadvantaged”, argued

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<sup>10</sup> This approach examines the production of knowledge in entrepreneurship through language by focusing on unpacking how language is used by entrepreneurs to conceptualize and describe their ventures, as well as how scholars, media, and others use language to describe entrepreneurship.

<sup>11</sup> This book, originally published in 1987, remains an essential piece of work to this day, illustrating the increase of unemployment in most Western societies around 1980s.

how inner cities' spatial isolation worsens economic and social conditions, and the formation of "culture poverty" was strengthened in the marginalised neighbourhoods of U.S. cities ghettos. This phenomenon created a homogeneous socio-demographic where people naturally interact due to their similarities and experience spatial or virtual proximity, which usually stigmatizes poor communities (ibid). The entrepreneurial opportunity and process within this particularly disadvantageous community can have a different perspective. As Heilbrunn et al. (2014, p. 143) explain, "race, ethnicity, gender, religion, and other characteristics influence the process of entrepreneurship via opportunity structure".

As previously highlighted, scholars recognize that disadvantaged groups are not homogenous and stress the need to understand diverse lived experiences (Martinez Dy et al., 2017). One approach that scholars have considered in order to understand the "multi-dimensionality of marginalised subjects" is the intersectionality lens. This approach was developed by Crenshaw (1997), who stresses the importance of simultaneous categories of oppression that constitute differences in power. Intersectionality recognizes the overlap of multiple social identities, including gender, race, ethnicity, social class, and religion (Abbas et al., 2019). Collins (2015) argues that intersectionality allows one to understand multiple social identities and complex social inequalities. Therefore, intersectionality is deeply embedded in existing societal structures and the subjective identities of individuals situated at the intersection of different structures (Bilge, 2014; Staunæs, 2003). Therefore, specific group members might have a different experience depending on their ethnicity or class and other social locations. Sensitivity to such differences enhances insight into social justice and inequality issues in organizations and other institutions, thus maximizing the chance of social change (Martinez Dy et al., 2017). The multiple dimensions of identity intermix to condition entrepreneurial outcomes that have multiplicative rather than additive effects (ibid). Scholars have also extended the intersectionality by evoking positionality (Anthias, 2008; Martinez Dy et al., 2020). The social arrangements emerging from intersectionality give rise to particular forms of positionality, defined as the juncture between "structure (social position/social effects) and agency (social positioning/meaning and practice)" (Anthias, 2013:15). In this perspective, the positionality of individuals and groups clearly shapes life chances and conditions, perpetuating stratification.

From a positionality perspective<sup>12</sup>, individuals are positioned by implicit and explicit hierarchies conditioning the motivational perspective of agency impact upon resource

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<sup>12</sup> Positionality also is useful to higher levels of analysis as well – firms and organisations positioned differently in social hierarchies are, as a result of such positioning, able to access (or not) various resource pools and the impact in the decision-making of managers. See for detailed information Athias, (2008); Martinez Dy (2014; 2017).

asymmetry and access. Martinez Dy et al. (2020), discuss how positionality has implications for the development of human and social capital relevant to entrepreneurial opportunities and outcomes. In particular, the authors highlight how social positionality determines the unequal distribution of resources where groups disadvantaged by social positionality tend to have limited access to resources. Murzacheva et al. (2020), combining the perspectives of human capital, intersectionality, and positionality in the mixed embeddedness framework, identified how gender-level and space-level interrelated constraints hinder women from taking advantage of any human capital leading to a double disadvantaged social position. Thus, the multiplicative effect of human capital and deprivation deters nascent women entrepreneurs from potential growth.

Because of social and spatial inequalities, the micro approach to intersectionality and positionality can allow researchers to contextualize the differences between disadvantaged entrepreneurs. This discussion continues with evidence of multi-level disadvantaged entrepreneurs, such as depleted communities. Moreover, experiencing certain crises, such as natural disasters and war, leads to different forms of disadvantage that change previous individual social structures. These disadvantages also anticipate the multi-deprivation and the emergency management of the specific refugee camp entrepreneurial community context.

Figure 7 shows the different intersecting areas of disadvantage that this study considers.

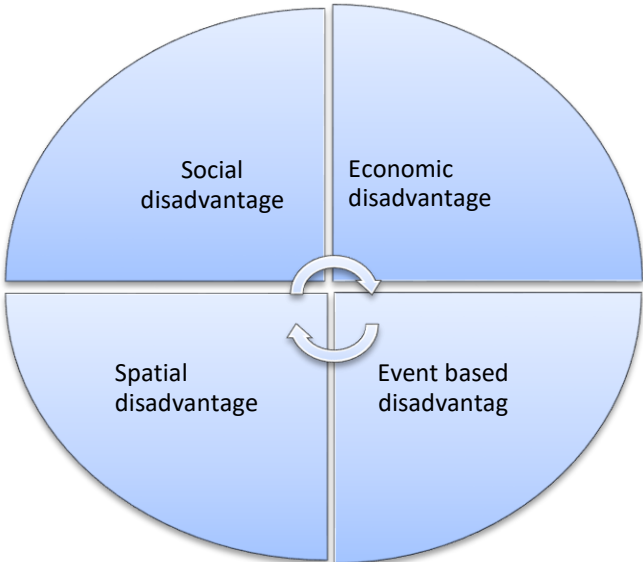


Figure 7: Intersections of disadvantage domain  
Own source

### **I.3.3. Entrepreneurship in a community affected by disaster**

A significant stream of research worthy of being recalled for the scope of this thesis is entrepreneurship after an event-based disadvantage, such as entrepreneurial activity in the aftermath of disaster events (Williams & Shepherd, 2016a), terrorism (Branzei & Abdelnour, 2010), and war (Bullough, Renko & Myatt, 2014). Thereby, affected communities are also left in a depleted state relevant to opportunity perceptions. These natural and communal environment changes can increase the likelihood of recognizing opportunities for sustainable development (Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011; Williams & Shepherd, 2018).

While the literature acknowledges that disasters can constrain resources for entrepreneurs through the loss of property and loved ones, other pre-disaster resources, such as human capital (start-up experience, education, and work experience), remain. After Hurricane Katrina, many small businesses in the US had similar experiences and cash flow interruptions, resulting in financial hardship (Runyan, 2006). Despite the negative effect, the community recovered through new entrepreneurial opportunities.

First, when investigating victim entrepreneurs of natural disasters, for instance, Williams and Shepherd (2016) found that being an integral part of the community or striving to solve a pressing community problem can motivate ventures and influence entrepreneurial intentions. For this purpose, a specific type of entrepreneurship can arise from the affected community. For example, the authors identified the compassion venturing enacted by victims who have intimate knowledge of the gaps in these government or NGO responses and community needs (Shepherd & Williams, 2014; Williams & Shepherd, 2018). Johannisson and Olaison (2007) introduced the concept of “Emergency Entrepreneurship”, attempting to develop a theoretical lens to an alternative image of entrepreneurship. Within this framework, they explained the creative organizing in the face of the (natural) catastrophe of Hurricane Gudrun in Sweden in 2005. Importantly, crises can uncover commercial and societal opportunities and fulfil goals for entrepreneurs focused on alleviating the suffering of victims (Grube & Storr, 2017). Scholars have also discussed business continuity by maintaining the flow of goods and services, which maximizes recovery in the aftermath of a crisis to reconfigure social and economic infrastructure within communities (Herbane, 2010; Dutta, 2017). Moreover, some authors evoke business continuity and resilience through the improvisational firm capacity to cope with sudden disasters.

Second, crises can provide the impetus for resource gains from the external resources of governmental and non-governmental voluntary aid. Beyond the benefit of these resources, crises can also create a resource-asymmetry problem: extreme resource scarcity at the local level and resource abundance (e.g., donors) at the non-local level. Therefore,



entrepreneurship also results from the public's failure to meet critical community needs and rapidly deliver customized solutions (Williams & Shepherd, 2016).

Third, as a result of addressing the gap created by resource asymmetry, spontaneous ventures used bricolage or “make do” with the means and resources at hand, which included “dependence on pre-existing contact networks as the means at hand”. Similarly, Johannisson and Olaison (2007) found that organizing rationale appears as a “social bricolage” dealing with ruptures in everyday life. The entrepreneurial process is characterized by the need for immediate (inter)action in the face of non-negotiable conditions. The authors claim, while the bricoleur, according to Lévi-Strauss (1966), brings together redundant resources to compose local responses to problems as they present themselves, social bricolage is produced from combining locally embedded resources (in time as well as in space), integrating chunks of everyday routines according to the events that the drama produces.

Fourth, crises have an essential impact on intangible resources, such as psychological effects (Shepherds, Saade & Wincent, 2020). Bullough, Renko & Myatt (2014) in a study on a war zone community, found individuals’ entrepreneurial intentions were negatively affected by the increasing danger. However, individuals with high resilience, self-efficacy, and risk-oriented behavior seem to seize opportunity in the given context. Their result suggests that resilience is critical to developing self-efficacy and the positive effect of entrepreneurial intentions. Moreover, individual consciousness in their ability is more likely to develop a strong entrepreneurial intention. Therefore, spontaneous venturing to alleviate victim suffering after a disaster promotes resilience by (i) committing individuals to future actions and engaging them socially (supporting behavioural resilience) and (ii) enabling the cultivation and sharing of positive and negative emotions (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007; Williams & Shepherd, 2016).

Fifth, in contrast, the study of disaster recovery is united by considerable uniformity around the definition of disasters and their temporal sequence and the nature of the phases composing this sequence (Shepherds, Saade & Wincent, 2020). However, Bishop (2018) highlights the need to consider the pre-disaster resource, knowledge stock, as a pool of accumulated ideas within a particular socio context that can highly affect how individuals reconstruct opportunities and the magnitude of recovery through entrepreneurial endeavours in a community affected by a disaster.

## **I.4. Conclusion**

Our line of discussion in this chapter considers the context in its wide dimension, bringing together aspects of agency and socio-spatial variation. We recognize the importance

of focusing predominantly on a particular set of contextual factors, answering questions as to who the entrepreneurs are (men), where these groups are established (industrialized countries), how the entrepreneurial process is enabled (through technological innovations), and why such endeavours develop (to generate profit and wealth) (Welter, Baker & Wirsching, 2019). Accordingly, our research tries to understand how scholars have started to give voice to disadvantaged groups.

First, we discussed the study's focus on the motivational aspect, showing how the literature positions disadvantaged groups in the nexus of necessity entrepreneurship. Additionally, our analysis used an institutional lens to show how the disadvantaged group found expression, especially identifying the legal form of their business structure as informal or even illegal business. However, moving beyond binary distinctions of opportunity vs. necessity and formal vs informal business helped to recognize different facets of the disadvantaged group's entrepreneurial diversity. Identifying entrepreneurial sub-groups such as women, refugees, indigenous minority groups, and homogenizing them as a specific class of disadvantaged communities is misleading since it does not capture the complexity of the context. Instead, the study posits that the field could benefit from examining how a specific group of disadvantaged entrepreneurs is idiosyncratic on various levels (Martinez Dy, 2020). Disadvantaged entrepreneurs are embedded in environments and communities within nested structures of social interaction and social discourse. These environments are as heterogeneous as are the disadvantaged entrepreneurs themselves (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2019). Scholars have, thus, pointed to the need to systematically investigate specific disadvantaged communities concerning specific contextual factors, analysing cultural and structural features (Hindle, 2010). Based on the functions of Contextualising a given scenario as set out in this chapter, we believe it is appropriate to analyse the context in which the refugee entrepreneurship in question is inscribed. Welter (2011) suggests approaching the contextualisation of entrepreneurship through a multidisciplinary perspective, since different levels are intertwined within a given context. We could show how scholars have identified certain approaches that help to embrace the contextual complexity of refugee entrepreneurship. Earlier scholars who took a contextualisation approach rarely attended to the entrepreneurs' agency in adapting to or even changing their contexts. Therefore, as mentioned above, recent studies increasingly acknowledge how entrepreneurs "do context" by interacting with and enacting contexts (Baker & Welter, 2017; Pret & Carter, 2017). This chapter discussed the different intersecting "disadvantageous contexts". For example, we discussed the entrepreneurial endeavours that occur in a subsistence economy context, i.e., in a multi-deprived space. Further, we identified circumstances of event-based disadvantage in which entrepreneurship emerges in the midst of crisis management. Considering multi-

disadvantaged contexts turns attention to the refugee camp context that will be extensively reviewed in the next chapter.

The openness to contextual multi-dimensionality leads us to a new perspective in investigating the different approaches to studying entrepreneurial ecosystems, such as a mixed-embeddedness approach which considers specific social and economic contexts, or an intersectionality vs. positionality approach which considers the structure of a given society and specific individuals' experiences within such a group).

# Chapter II. Refugee entrepreneurship and contextual specificity

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This chapter gives a general understanding and overview of the existing research on refugee entrepreneurship. Firstly, the chapter illustrates how the literature calls for studying entrepreneurship among refugees as an independent research field, identifying them as a distinctive group, different to the general economic migrants. At the same time, this specific group of entrepreneurial refugees is heterogeneous, each group showing context-specific features, thus, need further contextualisation. Next, we highlight how refugee entrepreneurship can be contextualized and what the literature discloses about various entrepreneurial perspectives of refugees (section 2.2). The chapter focuses on entrepreneurship in the specific spatial context of the refugee camp, giving a short literature review that allows us to identify the research gaps that led us to focus on this study's specific problem formulation and to identify an appropriate theoretical approach (Section 2.3).

## II.1. Contextualising refugee entrepreneurship

In the last decade, forcibly displaced populations achieved 79.5 in 2019 due to persecution, conflict, violence, and human rights violations (UNHCR 2020). As of August 2019, more than 25.9 refugees and 3.5 million people were seeking asylum worldwide (UNHCR, 2019). This mass flow of refugees has evoked world attention, resulting in a diverse societal response. Especially, host country policy and citizens are continually under two crucial questions about whether the refugee should be considered a threat or an opportunity (Naimo, 2016). For example, there is fear that forced migration may be a driver of economic deterioration for the receiving country, at the same time, there are indications that refugees have productive capacities and assets and impact host country economies (Maystadt & Verwimp, 2014; Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000 & Werker, 2007). The positive aspects of refugees are usually attributed to long-term economic gains in entrepreneurial activities and job creations (Betts, 2016). However, empirical evidence on the effects of refugees on host countries is scant<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, whether refugees positively or negatively impact the host country remains under discussion and a reason for controversial policy (Zetter, 2012). Some studies suggest heterogeneous impacts, with negative shocks more likely to affect poor host-

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<sup>13</sup> Parsons (2016), conducted a meta-review of the literature on the economic impact of refugees (mainly from Australia and some studies from UK, the EU, Canada, and the USA) and tempt to identify the key factors of the economic impacts of refugees, and to understand how methods of impact assessment influence findings. See: Parsons, R. (2016), "*Refugees: Economic burden or opportunity*". E-International Relations, 7.

country households (Whitaker, 2002). Despite this, there is a wide recognition that host countries' policies that encourage entrepreneurship among refugee groups are strategies that can facilitate integration and independence (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2005, 2007, 2008).

While the recent academic publications on refugee entrepreneurship have contributed to developing the scholarly understanding of refugees as distinctive entrepreneurial agents, the research on refugee entrepreneurship currently faces challenges in moving to the next stage (Desai et al., 2021). Refugee entrepreneurship study highlight how refugee entrepreneurial study can capture the diversity of refugees' entrepreneurial activities that vary broadly throughout contexts (Freiling, Harima & Heilbrunn, 2019). Thus, it emerges the importance of considering different institutional contexts and their heterogeneity.

This study contextualizes refugee entrepreneurship in the specific space of refugee camps (RC). The temporary situation of the camp has usually turned into an economic hub of a unique form (De La Chaux & Haugh, 2015). After introducing how refugee entrepreneurship can be seen as a new field of research, the sections to follow will take a more comprehensive look at how this new refugee phenomenon can be contextualized and what we know about the general entrepreneurial process of refugees.

### **II.1.1. Refugee entrepreneurship a new field of research**

In the field of entrepreneurship studies, refugees have long been an integral part of migrant entrepreneurship (Heilbrunn & Ianonne, 2020). Moreover, scholars identify some key differences that justify an independent research field (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Especially, refugees show a significant disadvantage level because of the challenging migratory experience, restrictions to labour market integration, and limited social networks that distinct their entrepreneurial process (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). The field has more rapidly developed in recent years, especially since 2014, increasing the contributions dealing with refugee entrepreneurship (Heilbrunn & Ianonne, 2020). Roughly half of the publications appeared after 2010, coinciding with the strengthened visibility of refugee movements that especially ensued at the onset of the Syrian exodus (ibid).

However, the field is still in its embryonic phase and needs further investigation. To this matter, the scholars should recognize the heterogeneity between refugees and consider the contextualisation to capture the complexity and diversity of their entrepreneurial process. Scholars have contributed with insights across different disciplines but mainly focused on individuals' mobility from emerging economies into developed countries (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013; Mawson & Kasem, 2019). However, most refugees live in neighbouring countries in the Middle East and Africa (UNHCR, 2018). Moreover, about 4.5 million people are currently living

in managed refugee camps worldwide, mostly in developing countries, and approximately 2 million are sheltered in self-settled camps (UNHCR, 2020).

By taking advantage of a critical aspect concerning the difference between migrant and refugee, literature and migration policies do not provide a homogeneous tool for a fair classification that clearly differentiates the two population groups. In particular, the fundamental difference between refugees and migrants is closely related to their 'mobility' motivations. While forced immigrants "flee" their countries for the basic need of personal safety, fleeing persecution, war and violence; displacement; historical ties; and reunification with family education (UNHCR, 2011; Kunz, 1973). According to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees<sup>14</sup> defines a refugee as:

*"a person who owing to a 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"*<sup>15</sup>.

Moreover, the literature includes within the forced migration class those induced or forced to leave their homes internally displaced people (IDPs) that are generally those who move from one part of their country to the other (Collyer, 2007). However, critics emerge on legal labelling and the dichotomy between voluntary and forced migration that fail to provide a realistic picture of migration motivations and experiences (Collyer 2010; Crawley & Skleparis 2018). So far, "labelling" refers to the political character of classifying, governing and representing migrants according to historically contingent categories (Scheel & Squire, 2014, p. 189).

For entrepreneurs school, Wauters and Lambrecht (2006) list six significant differences between migrants and refugees: (i) the lacking social network of refugees in the host country; (ii) the inability of refugees to return to their home countries (limiting the possibility to acquire additional resources from home country); (iii) the experience of traumatic events both in the home country and during the flight; (iv) the inability to prepare for the stay in the host country

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<sup>14</sup> The 1951 Convention were only applied the refugee category to Europeans displaced by World War II. The 1967 Protocol removed the limitations of time and place and By 2015, 148 countries adhered to the protocol. See for more details UNHCR. (2011), "*Handbook and Guidelines on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status: Under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*", UNHCR, Geneva.

<sup>15</sup> UN General Assembly, Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 28 July 1951, *United Nations Treaty Series*, Vol. 189. Available: < [https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=V-2&chapter=5&Temp=mtdsg2&clang=\\_en](https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=V-2&chapter=5&Temp=mtdsg2&clang=_en)>. Accessed 22 November 2020.

due to having to flee all of a sudden; (v) the inability to bring along resources such as capital or important documents; (vi) the frequent unsuitability for paid labour due to the refugees' limitations concerning skills and qualifications. Entrepreneurship in the context of refugee camps is an important question that has thus far received little nuanced treatment in the literature on refugees (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015).

The recently published book<sup>16</sup>, "Refugee entrepreneurship: A case-based topography" presents an analytical framework that introduces what elements should be considered when Contextualising a specific refugee group (see Figure 8) (Freiling, Harima & Heilbrunn, 2019). The concept of super-diversity expounds on COO where refugees can have different reasons to leave their countries COO and different levels of preparedness. Second, refugees should be considered in relation to their journey where diversity of refugee experiences or additional circumstances are essential elements that can influence the entrepreneurial process. Third, the system feedback of each host country that relies on various refugees acceptability and integration policies influences refugee movement patterns, settlement, economic strategy, and legal status in a new COR. Fourth, this study extends this framework by including an essential element of refugees' multi-embeddedness that determines structural opportunity and resources access (Kloostermann et al., 1999; Harima, Harima & Freiling 2020).

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<sup>16</sup> The book presents sixteen case studies and an analytical framework for refugee entrepreneurship studies. For more details see: Freiling, J., Harima, A., & Heilbrunn, S. (2019), "Refugee Entrepreneurship A Case-based Topography". *Machmilan, Switzerland*.

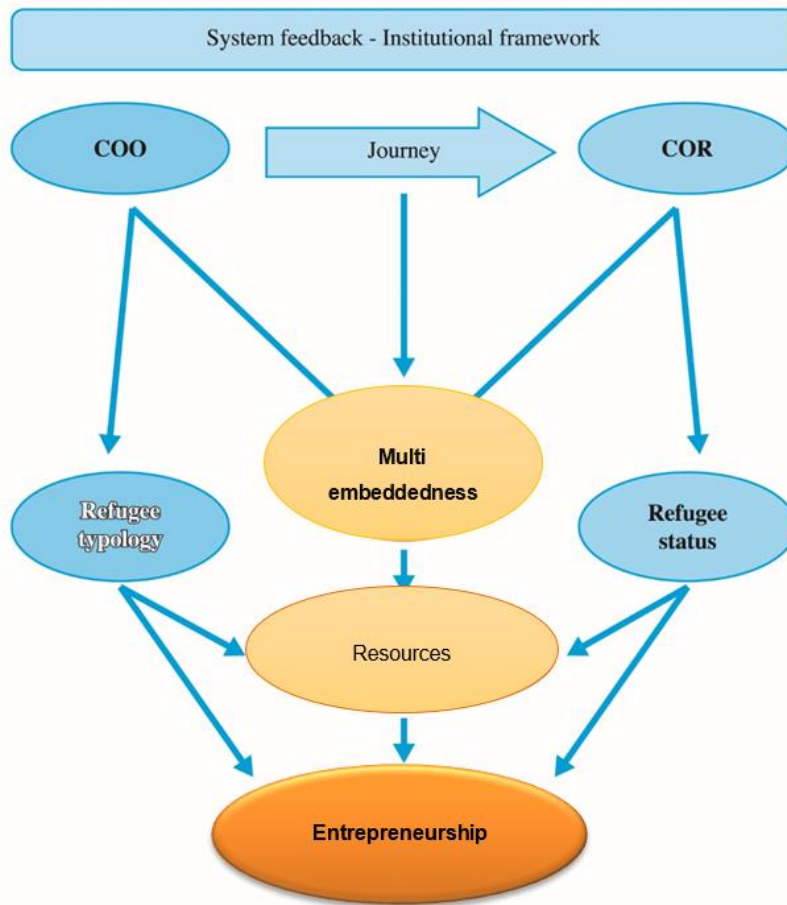


Figure 8: Refugee heterogeneity

Elaborated from Heilbrunn et al. (2019); Harima, Harima & Freiling (2020)

### II.1.2. Refugee typology

The migratory process movement is complex, unpredictable with different stages that involve leaving, the journey, entrance, settlement, return and remigration, and onward migration (Malkki, 1995: 508). Richmond (1993) emphasizes that the complex interaction between political, economic, social, environmental, and bio-psychological determinants may lead to a forced migratory process. Regarding the refugee motivation and journey to country of destination, Kunz (1973, 1981) adopts the “kinetic model” and classifies refugee movements as anticipatory or acute drivers. The anticipatory individual may sense danger beforehand and have time to be prepared to leave the country. This may occur due to different “predisposing factors” such as extreme economic inequality, the process of globalization and political



instability (Richmond, 1993). On the other hand, acute migratory movements start due to “precipitating events” (Richmond, 1993) given by sudden changes events such as an outbreak of war, internal revolution or the institution of racist or religious programs and genocidal policies (UNCHR 2017). The phenomenon has highly increased in the last decades.

Farther, Kunz (1981) has conceptualized three types of refugees. The first relates to “majority-identified” refugees, who share the same social and political oppression. A recent example is the massive Syrian movement, which has brought thousands of people to host mainly in neighbourhood countries like Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, or Iraq (UNHCR, 2016). Furthermore, most neighbouring counties may lack human rights and have a bad economic conditions. Refugees in a country of transition may have time to gain more information about the suitable country and be of social, economic, and political opportunities (Haas, 2010). The second regards the “events-alienated” refugees that have different personal motivations, such as ethnic or religious discrimination – and they usually tend to have ambivalent attitudes toward compatriots and their country. The third classification is the self-alienated group where refugees’ exile is caused by the different ideologies they care.

In the majority of cases, the journey of refugees is very long and challenging (Bernardie-Tahir & Schmoll, 2018). Only a small number of refugees can travel directly from their country of origin to an industrialized country with an established asylum processing system (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015). The decision-making in the choice of the host country is a dynamic and flexible process (Rousseau et al., 2002). Thus, a person may leave their country of origin to travel to a particular destination but change the plan due to encountering obstacles in reaching that country or seizing opportunities that arise to travel to another country (Spinks, 2013). In particular, there is evidence that historical ties between countries also play a role in influencing destination choice (ibid). Moreover, favourable migratory program/well-being; work opportunities of the host country can influence migration choices at every stage of the decision-making process (Richmond, 1993). The most important factors that refugees may consider in choosing a country are language and the cultural affinity between the country of origin and the country (Spinks, 2013; Rousseau et al., 2002). Social networks are crucial in explaining all migration patterns, making a destination country more desirable and accessible, and encouraging movement (Brekke & Aarset 2009). Generally, economic security is also an important element and, thus, the perception that a country is rich and has potential for economic opportunity. The decisions of refugee journeys are constrained by factors such as geography, finances, available travel routes, visa options, and the networks and routes used by smugglers (Haley, 2006). Besides these numerous constraints, refugees are still oriented to make rational choices based on a “place utility” (Wolpert 1965). This perspective shows how refugees’ choices are sensitive time and circumstances, going beyond the immediate needs

of the physical need of security - also considering the most suitable destination countries, the potential to gain employment and be economically secure (Spinks, 2013). However, it also involves an element of chance and this is often more important in influencing the eventual destination country than choice (Spinks, 2013). This does not mean refugees are economic migrants—rather, it indicates, perhaps unsurprisingly, that in making choices about suitable destination countries are triggered by different motivations that evolve within the migration lifecycle (Barsky, 2000).

### **II.1.3. System feedback and institutional framework**

The System Feedback, thus host country politics and community response, may determine the movement of refugees in a particular country. States may pursue negative or positive policies against refugee entry, depending on the socio-economic capability (Richmond, 1993). The lack of legal status in transit nations prompts onward movement, indicating there is a potential shift in aspirations from physical safety to other forms of safety, such as legal or economic (Spinks, 2013). Paludan (1974), classified new and traditional refugees according to the context of their settlement. New refugees are culturally, racially and ethnically different from their hosts. For example, some refugees come from countries less-developed than the host country and are likely to lack kin and/or potential support groups in their country of resettlement. They are more likely to experience great difficulties during the acculturation process and settlement in the new country. Traditional refugees, on the contrary, are culturally and ethnically similar to the people in their host country.

This century migration crisis is particularly complicated in terms of border control (especially maritime) by national authorities and the development of new ways of managing the wider dynamic of global mobility (ibid). Over the year, in an attempt to control unauthorized migration triggered a global reconfiguration of geographical borders and legal limits that increased the difficulties and complicated migratory pattern (Bernardie-Tahir & Schmoll, 2018). Principally, the legal situation is usually granted to those who flee their country for a well-founded fear of suffering persecution or being a victim of violence for reasons related to one's race, religion, nationality, belonging to a particular social group or political opinion (UNHCR, 2011). However, the system is complex and not homogeneous throughout the countries (Scheel & Squire, 2014). Introducing, therefore, a certain degree of ambiguity in the criteria used to evaluate the situations of individuals. People with different kinds of motivations travel together, and individuals may change categories or belong to more than one category at the same time (Apostolova, 2017).

Zetter (1991, 2007) and Scheel and Squire (2014) use the terms “labelling” and “figures of migration”, respectively, to refer to this eminently political character of classifying, governing and representing migrants according to historically contingent categories (Scheel & Squire, 2014: 189). The element of voluntariness itself becomes more problematic when the determinants of displacement consist instead in unfavourable conditions present in the current place of residence, such as unemployment, lack of services, low socio-economic standards, presence of crime (Crawley & Skleparis 2018; Foucault et al. 2007; Lee & Nerghes, 2018).

Moreover, according to Schuster, the certain group are “rejected asylum seekers, difficult to deport, thus without status as illegal migrants”, these remain in legal limbo with no chance of regularizing their stay in the country. There is also a gap between the definitions imposed from above by states and international institutions and the self-definitions by displaced people who sometimes reject the refugee label or only use it situationally when interacting with authorities<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, people with different kinds of motivations travel together, and individuals may change categories or belong to more than one category simultaneously (Apostolova, 2017). This leaves a space for future clarification and the possibility to develop a more comprehensive framework, such as treating both phenomena as part of a larger continuum of migration (Haas, 2012).

#### **II.1.4. Refugee entrepreneurship**

Refugees commonly suffer from the so-called “refugee gap” (Bakker et al. 2017) where, they face numerous challenges such as labour market disadvantages, barriers of laws and regulations, lack of language skills, unemployment and lower wages (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2017). Moreover, when refugees have undefined legal status, and they are more likely to experience racism and discrimination in the host destinations (Fong et al., 2007; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008; Bizri, 2017).

Self-employment is often considered a solution to refugee unemployment, poverty and it is an effective tool that helps refugees integrate into the host country's local social and economic fabric (Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019; Alrawadieh et al., 2018; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). This falls in line with the theory of the labour market disadvantage of minorities (Light,

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<sup>17</sup> Usually, refugee status may be a favourable legal category for gaining admission to a state's territory, yet it may be unfavourable when the identity is stigmatized and impedes belonging. See also: FitzGerald DS. (2014), 'The Sociology of International Migration' In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, New York: Routledge, p. 115–47.

1979; Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2017). Bizri (2017) also mentions a distinct motivation of refugees to succeed as entrepreneurs in their host country, a fact that he describes as a “one-way-ahead attitude” (p. 861). Refugees are thus motivated to create economic sustainability and acceptance and belongingness to their host country through entrepreneurship. For example, as Garnham (2006) described, refugees frequently turn to entrepreneurship for financial security and a lowered dependence on welfare since they are struggling to partake in the domestic labour market. However, the motivational factors for refugees to start a business are attributed to a range of push and pull factors (Fong et al., 2007). Refugee entrepreneurial activities are additionally a mechanism to counter xenophobia (De Mello, 2018), improve the image of refugees (Turner, 2020), contribute to political activism (Lee, 2018), and enrich spatial practices in urban areas (Harb et al., 2019).

The initial motivation of refugees is initially driven by necessity rather than an opportunity (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008; Bizri, 2017). Nevertheless, different push and pull motivational factors can intersect to refugees' entrepreneurial initiative where motivation can change over time and usually stem from a change in an individual's “life path” (Elfving et al., 2009). In terms of pull factors, studies emphasize the significance of personal factors, particularly the desire for independence, including autonomy, flexibility and personal satisfaction (Garnham, 2006; Obschonka et al., 2018). Refugees often reside in illegal and uncertain legal status (Barrett et al., 2002). Consequently, refugees might easily engage in the informal economy, still enduring harassment and discrimination (Ram et al., 2007). Besides various challenges, refugees take different alternative pathways to overcome personal and contextual limits (Betts & Bloom, 2015). Sternberg, von Bloh, and Brixly (2016) evidenced that refugees may even be more likely to start businesses than natives may by mainly accessing the ethnic market. Refugee entrepreneurship also promotes the homeland's culture (Tavakoli, 2020) and fills institutional voids (De la Chaux & Haugh, 2020).

Moreover, studies have found that the economic impacts had low value-added to the overall business activities. However, the business's significant contribution relates to building managerial skills and local social capital (Lyon & Syrett, 2007). According to Brzozowski et al. (2014), ethnic entrepreneurship has low competition, small profit margins and limited growth perspectives. It is also perceived as a kind of survival strategy used by those individuals who rely on the social capital provided by their ethnic groups. Refugees become “necessity entrepreneurs” due to long-term unemployment or lack of better alternatives.

Despite this, few studies show how refugees enhance growth-oriented business activities. In their entrepreneurial activities, they contribute to their host societies by offering economic and various types of socio-political values. Previous studies highlighted refugee

entrepreneurship as a source of innovation (Betts, Bloom & Weaves, 2015). Moreover, Daniel et al. (2019), in a study of UK large-scale social sciences dataset for the UK, found that ethnic minority entrepreneurs, contrary to the dominant belief that minority groups operate in small-scale businesses, are involved in the high-growth venture. According to the authors, this depends on four characteristics: gender, education, proficiency in English, and occupational status.

### II.1.5. Refugees entrepreneurial resources

The refugee's entrepreneurial venture generally differs from the native counterpart in terms of their resources (Fong et al., 2007; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008; Bizri, 2017). The relative lack of financial and educational capital precludes refugees from entering the most profitable market sectors and often makes them dependent on the lowest and most competitive segments. On the other hand, refugees can be endowed with specific human, cultural, social capital acquired through their unique life experiences. In addition, refugees are subjected to persistent hardships that imprint various traumas. Therefore, besides the well-known general capital of entrepreneurship (human, social and financial) (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004), an important capital that interests the specific group of refugee entrepreneurs is the psychological capital (PsyCap) (Luthans & Youssef, 2004) (see figure 9).

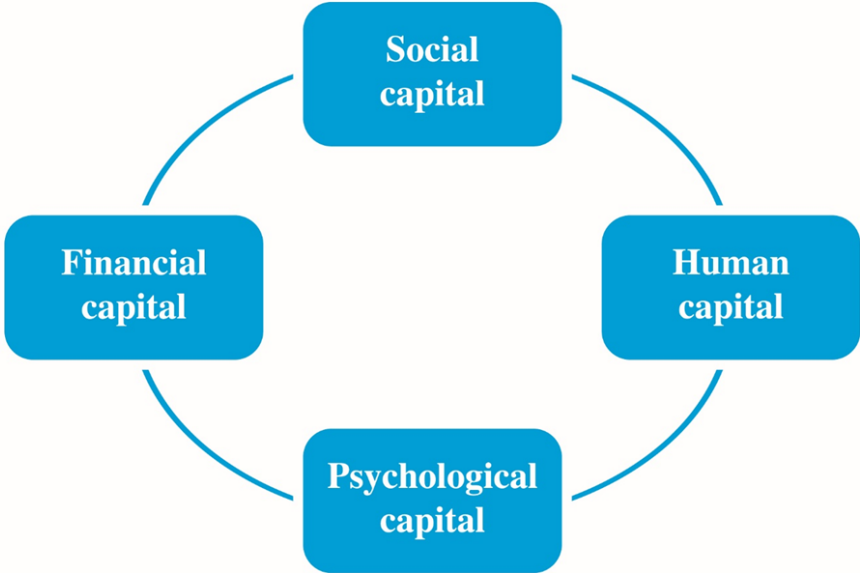


Figure 9: Refugee capital  
Own source

### **II.1.5.1. Human capital**

The literature suggests that some individual characteristics, skills, competencies, education, proactiveness, determination, self-efficacy, flexibility, adaptability, and self-awareness can allow opportunity recognition and action to succeed in the entrepreneurial venture (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008; Williams et al. 2017). Refugees tend to have a more global and cross-cultural perspective, as well as a more entrepreneurial spirit (Youssef & Luthans, 2003). In addition, refugees are also more accustomed to uncertainty, who frequently demonstrate low risk-adversity by leaving their home country and embarking on risky journeys (Naudé et al., 2015). Refugee entrepreneurs may also carry both previous self-employment/entrepreneurship experience and varied skills and knowledge that often allow them to create a competitive entrepreneurial venture (Hartmann & Schilling, 2019; Alrawadieh et al., 2004; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006; Mawson & Kasem, 2019). In the absence of labour disadvantage, individuals with higher levels of education, including the qualifications acquired in their COO can be used to create a new entrepreneurial venture in the new host country (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020; Shneikat & Ryan, 2017; Fong et al., 2007). Educated entrepreneurs may be described as being more self-confident and more enthusiastic about expanding their businesses than non-educated refugees (Altinay & Wang, 2011). On the other hand, the research found that refugee entrepreneurs with lower education levels adopted more positive attitudes towards starting their business in respect of the educated refugee (Alrawadieh et al., 2018).

Being fluent in the host country's language was an important factor in facilitating individuals to reflect more proactive actions and broader opportunities (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008; Shneikat & Zaid Alrawadieh, 2019). Significantly, younger entrepreneurs were presumably more integrated the first to learn the local language and become assimilated to the local culture (Plak & Lagarde, 2019; Fong et al., 2007). Moreover, the cultural background of refugees is another factor increasing the positive attitude towards entrepreneurship. Accordingly, some studies show that some ethnic groups are endowed with social institutions and cultural norms that foster entrepreneurial talent (Wilson & Portes, 1980). Historical differences between countries in the rate of entrepreneurship will influence the likelihood of individuals becoming entrepreneurs (Sternberg & Wennekers, 2005). For instance, refugees from certain cultures have positive associations with self-employment that they bring into their host country. Syria has a long history of entrepreneurial activity and traditionally has high levels of self-employment (Mawson, Laila & Kasem, 2019).

### **II.1.5.2. Financial and social capital**

The greatest challenge that refugees entrepreneurs face is the lack of financial capital to start a business (Lyon et al., 2007; Refai et al., 2018). In fact, access to exploit opportunities available in the host country is often hindered by high barriers to entry due to the capital and know-how to be invested (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Gold (1992) explains that refugee aid programs and investment funds positively affected the entrepreneurship of Vietnamese and Soviet refugees in the US. However, refugees may lack information on the incentives offered to new business activity and do not know much about the local capital and labour markets, creating unfair competition (Hartmann & Schilling, 2019; Harima, Freudenberg & Halberstadt, 2019). Sometimes, refugees are not willing to express the clear pathway for financial accumulation (Plak & Lagarde, 2019).

Some studies report that refugees use different sources, including personal savings, from their previous jobs or businesses in their home country (Lyon, Sepulveda, & Syrett 2007). Studies highlighted that refugees prefer to rely on alternative financial support based on informal social circles including, various “bootstrapping” methods to minimize costs, such as obtaining loans from family and friends, sharing business premises, buying on consignment, cash discounts, and delaying payments to suppliers (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

Social capital is the most available resource that refugee entrepreneurs often rely on (Bizri, 2017; Gericke et al., 2018; Gold, 1992). Entrepreneurial resources are embedded in refugees' social structures and they are critical for them to succeed with their entrepreneurial endeavours (Aldrich & Kim, 2007). Most of the time, refugees can have limited social capital in the COR (Heilbrunn, 2019). Moreover, as refugees are often unable to return home to acquire funds, capital or labour for their ventures are likely to have less extensive network than migrants, who are often better able to access social capital through ethnic ties and/or shared cultural values (Wauters & Lambrecht 2008; Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019; Lyon et al., 2007). On the other hand, refugees can access resources gained through internationalization processes (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020).

Refugee entrepreneurs' advantage is mainly related to opportunities and resources that are generally embedded in their “ethnic enclaves” (Light et al., 1994). The relational embeddedness allows entrepreneurs with a means to compensate for the lack of conventional capital (Gold, 1992). Especially access scarce resources, such as intangibles (information; support; know-how, such as tacit and complex knowledge) and economic resources (informal loans) with the expectation that these resources will be reciprocated by the recipient (Moran, 2005). Some studies also emphasize the role of customers as friends, social media, friends, neighbours, and suppliers as friends that help exploit the underdeveloped markets which have

emerged within 'ethnic enclaves in the host country (Koning & Verver 2013). Moreover, entrepreneurship helped refugees to have wider social networks in the local society and break themselves out of refugee or co-ethnic circles (Lyon et al., 2007; Bizri 2017). Bizri's (2017) study on Syrian refugees in Lebanon reveals distinctive networking behaviours, including pseudo-family business perception and collective bootstrapping. Strang and Ager (2010) suggested that refugees' informal networks effectively create bonds networks grant safety, emotional stability and independence for refugees. Yassine et al. (2021) have observed that Syrian refugees in Lebanon create protective spatial clusters with their relatives and close acquaintances. In addition, it helps refugee entrepreneurs enhance their social well-being.

In examining access to different forms of capital, Iannone and Geraudel (2018) in their seminal paper, found refugee capacity in building social capital from scratch. These social networks are usually weak ties that are strengthened within the "value homophile", which build trust based on a supportive and altruistic feeling. Another critical element highlighted by the authors is that these ties give place to "uncalculated cooperation". Therefore, the social capital developed within their own ethnic community and that contained within their family unit is an essential initial support network for the refugee entrepreneur. Weak ties can still be an essential source of social capital for immigrant entrepreneurs in terms of new business customers and new and innovative information that can be leveraged for competitive advantage.

Bisignano and El-Anis (2019) analysed how refugees use their social resources during the conception and development of their business. While in the initial settling period, associate the word community to social ties revolving around systems of obligations- privileging the social obligation within their specific community using few trustworthy social networks, such as family or clan members. Following this, refugee entrepreneurs serve the community with similar cultural capital, attempting to use this cultural capital to gain community acceptance as a rudimentary strategy to compete in the market. Then, as the business develops and grows, refugees start to invest their resources into reputational capital. Consequently, refugees hire and mentor wider ethnic groups and extend their service to the entire local community- transforming the symbolic capital to gain prestige and recognition in the (local) social networks to their position within the entire local community. Therefore, refugee embeddedness in the local structure as an essential asset for the growth of their firms.

### **II.1.5.3. Psychological capital**

Arguably, refugees face different traumatic events and consistent challenges throughout their exile; therefore, refugees' psychological capital (PsyCap) is an important entrepreneurial resource (Luthans, 2002a, 2002b; Luthans and Youssef; 2004; Shepherd et



al., 2020). Even when they are in the host country, they have to overcome several challenges, such as language challenges, health-related issues, ethical issues, administrative and legal constraints. As a result, refugees need to reconstruct their lives while overcoming various barriers and their psychic resources can be central as motivational drivers to enhance entrepreneurial activities (Bullough, Renko & Myatt, 2014; Shepherd et al., 2020).

PsyCap has its roots in the positive psychology movement and it focuses on the strengths of people instead of weaknesses (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Snyder & Lopez, 2002; Luthans, 2002a, 2002b; Luthans & Youssef, 2004; Wright, 2003). PsyCap is conceptualized as a combination of self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience that act synergistically to build psychological capital within individuals. It is important to note that these four constructs are not psychological traits but psychological states ((Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Snyder & Lopez, 2002; Luthans, 2002a, 2002b; Luthans & Youssef, 2004). As a state of mind, PsyCap allows overcoming the emotional challenges of the moment (Csikszentmihalyi, 2004). Luthans and Youssef (2004) suggest that the combination of self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience act synergistically to build PsyCap within individuals.

Resilience is defined as “the positive psychological capacity to rebound or bounce back from adversity, uncertainty, conflict, failure, or even positive change, progress and increased responsibility” (Luthans, 2002, p. 702). As refugees must often (face various barriers and areas of personal struggle, they simultaneously stimulate adaptive capacities and resiliency through entrepreneurial action (Obschonka & Hahn, 2018, p.183). There have been numerous anecdotal stories of refugee entrepreneurs displaying resilience (Freiling & Harima, 2019; Palalić et al., 2019; Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020). Moreover, resilience is not traceable to single occurrences, instead is a cumulative process depending on the individual, relational, community, cultural and contextual factors (Montgomery, 2010).

Self-efficacy is a motivational construct that has been shown to influence behaviour in several ways. According to Bandura (1977), self-efficacy is influenced by four principal sources of information: performance accomplishments, vicarious experience, persuasion, and judgments of one’s own physiological states, such as emotional arousal. Self-efficacy can be developed in a variety of ways, including vicarious learning (or modelling), through persuasion and arousal (i.e., a contagion effect), and especially through mastery experiences (i.e., being successful). Moreover, an individual’s sense of self-efficacy can be influenced through four processes: (a) enactive mastery, (b) role modelling and vicarious experience, (c) social persuasion, and (d) judgments of one’s own physiological states, such as arousal and anxiety (Bandura, 1986).

Instead, Hope is defined by Snyder, Irving, and Anderson (1991, p. 287), as a positive motivational state that is based on an interactively derived sense of agency (goal-directed energy) and pathways (planning to meet these goals). Thus, hope includes willpower (goal-directed energy) and way power (a means of accomplishing the goal). Moreover, the willpower and way power components of hope may have the potential to create a positive upward spiral where the components build on each other (Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007). Through this continuous hope-filled reiteration between the willpower of performing creatively and the power to explore alternatives, overall cognitive activity and effort toward goal attainment are increased (Snyder, 1996). When it comes to refugees, willpower can be interpreted as individual ability to cope with adversity and initiate, sustaining motivation for business (Snyder & Feldman, 2000).

Finally, the construct optimism involves the individual expectation of positive outcomes for the future (Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007). Optimists look at failure as externally-driven, whereas success is internally-driven (ibid). The disposition of a right amount of optimism in the context in extreme difficulty is an essential element to keep your mind sober, fix a goal, generate multiple ways to survive, and acquire essential financial and human resources (Barton, 2007). The literature differentiates realistic optimism and unrealistic optimism effect on entrepreneurial performance. Realistic optimism is still positive and looks at the future in favourable ways, but it is tempered by ensuring when to be optimistic and realistic. Thus, realistic and flexible optimism minimizes the potential problem of false optimism and losing a sense of reality (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

### **II.1.6. Mixed embeddedness**

The concept of embeddedness was initially introduced by Granovetter (1985), one of the leading scholars of the New Economic Sociology. The author argued that economic rationality must always be considered incorporated into social relations, an intuition that was often neglected in sociological analyses. Following the concept was adopted to analyse the entrepreneurship among minorities by Waldinger (1989). The author suggests that the development of the minority business cannot be traced back to a single characteristic - rather, it depends on a complex interaction between opportunity structures and group resources. The structure of opportunities refers to the set of structural conditions that can affect immigrant entrepreneurship and includes: market conditions for ethnic and non-ethnic products, the characteristics of the labour market, the conditions of access to the company, which in turn are influenced by the regulatory context and national policies. The structure of the opportunities is not fixed and includes the presence of immigrant communities that contribute to modifying the possibilities of economic integration with their specific needs. The larger the cultural

differences between the immigrant group and the host country, the greater the need for ethnic goods and services and the potential of the niche market. According to Waldinger, this is the typical economic context in which the entrepreneurship of many immigrants would initially emerge, offering new opportunities compared to the markets typically occupied by local entrepreneurs.

The subsequent development of this approach was inaugurated by the works of Rath and Kloosterman (1990) and their introduction of the concept of mixed embeddedness applied to the field of migration studies. According to the authors, the appropriate way to study the emerging and success of immigrant businesses depend on a multiplicity of factors operating at different levels, which together contribute to determining the structure of opportunities and potential market spaces accessible to immigrants; this dimension, neglected by many of the previous studies more focused on the entrepreneurial offer side. Therefore, Kloosterman and Rath propose to explore the two variables of the structure of opportunities on three different levels of analysis: national, regional/urban and neighbourhood level. At the national level, political institutions determine, through laws and regulations, the boundaries between the goods that can be produced and sold on the markets and those supplied by the public apparatus, families, or other private organizations. Refugees are not familiar with the system and the structure of the host country. Thus, legal barriers and restrictions are difficult for them to cope with. Moreover, the lack of clarity about the legal procedures makes it even more difficult for refugees to deal and overcome legal barriers (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Moreover, the importance of considering geographic levels can be useful because entrepreneurship is embedded in a geographic context, especially when studying and comparing the entrepreneurial paths of refugees. Some authors argue that spatial concentrations of migrants with similar migration rationales and compatriot networks can positively affect the choice to enter into entrepreneurship for opportunity (Audretsch, Lehmann & Schenkenhofer, 2018)

A recent contribution based on an extensive empirical study developed a mixed embeddedness framework to understand refugees' entrepreneurial outcomes' diversity (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020). This study highlights the heterogeneity of refugee entrepreneurial initiatives that are highly dynamic. First, the framework poses the connectedness is the country of origin of refugees or their level of embeddedness and re-embeddedness that occur over time. The second perspective posits the level of refugees embeddedness in the mainstream society, refugee or specific ethnic community, and refugee support environments. As we already discussed, the level of embeddedness in COR will also depend on the cultural and institutional differences between the home and host countries (Alexandre, Salloum & Alalam, 2019). In the third perspective, the model considers the

refugee's embeddedness in the transnational contexts where refugees can take advantage of some countries having similar ethnic backgrounds. In other cases, refugees build transnational human and social capital from their previous transition experience (Moghaddam et al., 2018).

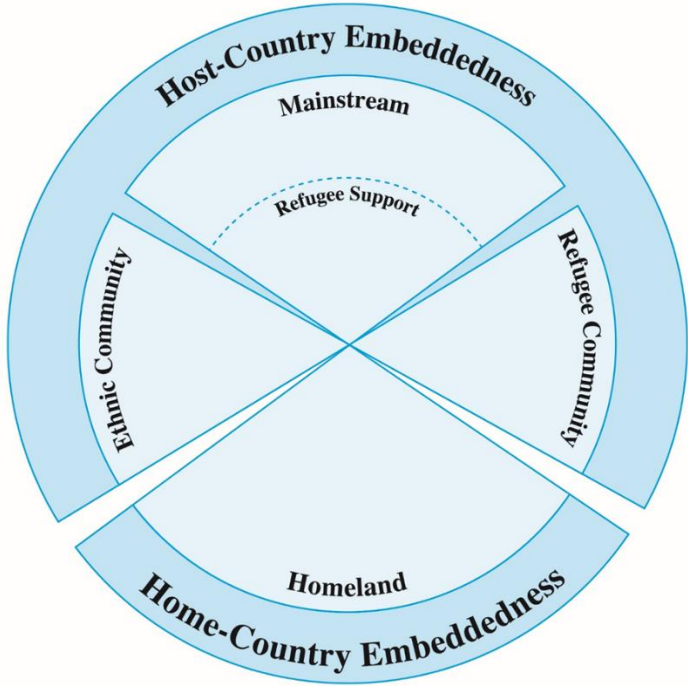


Figure 10: Multiple embeddedness and refugee entrepreneurial diversity

Source: Harima, Harima, & Freiling (2020)

Based on this framework, the authors identified six types of entrepreneurial opportunities. First, refugees exercise entrepreneurial opportunity through their homeland resources where they serve their ethnic community. The second type of entrepreneurial opportunity refers to refugees acting as a middleman through overcoming their homeland dis-embeddedness by mobilizing resources from the neighbouring countries. The third type invokes the social entrepreneurial opportunity refugees identify to facilitate integration into the refugee community. The fourth opportunity relates to the qualified refugee entrepreneurs who create opportunities in the host country market.

The mixed embeddedness perspective gives an essential understanding of multi-level refugee embeddedness in the host country, homeland, the refugee community, and transnational reality (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020). Moreover, the temporary status that refugees usually experience in different countries accentuates how an individual's time horizon can be an important determinant of how the person accumulates or loses resources to become an entrepreneur (Desai & Vahed, 2013).

## II.2. Review on refugee camp entrepreneurship

### II.2.1. General understanding of the refugee camps

The term “camp” has often referred to a place such as a creational or educational facility for athletic or military training for a limited time<sup>18</sup>. The term also refers to the place occupied by supporters of a particular party or doctrine regarded collectively to protest camps (Ramadan 2013; Ataç 2016). Thus, “camp” has a range of different uses made to a close and open space involving a group of individuals living temporarily in an area or outdoors (Hailey, 2009, p. 3). The first recorded use of the term dates to the Iron Age as an enclosed or fortified site, generally used for nomadic hunter-gathering<sup>19</sup>.

A type of camp that has dramatically marked human history is the concentration camp, initially started by the Spanish colony in Cuba (1896). This use was followed by the Second World War period through the massive concentration camps (including Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau). Furthermore, between the 1960s and 1970s in Asia and the Middle East, and from the late 1980s on a massive scale in Africa, another type of camp, internally displaced person camps, refugee camps, migration detention centres, and transit camps, were used (Minca, 2015).

Refugee camps (RCs) are settlements meant to be temporary where refugees are assisted in a centralized way. Usually, the government imposes this solution to maintain security and control refugees. Moreover, camps can facilitate the rapid provision of protection assistance in a large-scale refugee population (UNICHR, 2009). Nevertheless, refugees who are unable to return to their country and settle permanently in a camp become protracted. In reality, these camps are located largely in inhospitable areas, and refugees’ lives are placed on hold as they wait for resolution, leading to idleness and a destructive cycle of dependency (Kibreab, 1993). Poverty, crime, and deprivation are characteristics typically attributed to RCs and are considered a menace to the social and economic stability of the host countries (UNHCR, 2012). The demarcation may be fenced or unfenced and often, the wall is invisible, yet the distinction between the inside and the outside is remarkable (Turner, 2015). The camps limit refugee rights and freedoms since the refugees are often under the authorities’ constant watch (Hailey, 2009).

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<sup>18</sup> Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Available: <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/camp>>. Accessed December, 2017

<sup>19</sup> Lexico English Dictionary Oxford, Available: <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/camp>>. Accessed December, 2017

In many countries, settling in a refugee camp is perceived as the most viable temporary solution. However, most refugees prefer being autonomous, living outside the camp, especially if they have main networks and resources. Indeed, over half of the world's refugees now live in urban areas. Moreover, three options, representing an impossible choice, are presented to refugees: long-term encampment, urban destitution, or perilous journeys (Betts, 2010). Many refugees move to urban areas in the hope of finding safety, a sense of community, and economic independence. Others live in urban areas out of necessity—to access specialized health services that do not exist in refugee camps or because they have been targeted for abuse, harassment, and violence in refugee camps. Unlike a camp, cities can give better opportunities for refugees, presenting better job opportunities and independence to choose different livelihood strategies to improve their future. Nevertheless, they also face some dangers. Refugees may be vulnerable to exploitation, arrest, or detention, have limited access to public facilities, work in informal jobs, and pay high rent. In reality, many instead find isolation, poverty, and harassment (Betts, 2010). Urban refugees face all the problems of the urban poor in their adopted city, such as inadequate and overcrowded shelters, but they mostly confront unique challenges related to their refugee status and lack of legal protection. Therefore, the level of refugees disadvantage living in the camp and outside the camp varies on the individual, resource, opportunity and livelihood strategy that they take in consideration (Shepherds et al., 2020)

Considering the legal position, camp can be formal or informal (Maestri, 2017). In alleged emergency situations, camps are officially created and managed by governmental agencies and forcibly segregated (often ethnically) to stigmatize subjects for a protracted period of time. Generally, these camps are “open”<sup>20</sup> and legally under the jurisdiction of the host society but also exempted from it (Turner, 2005). The majority of these camps are located in Africa and Asia, which host more prominent refugees for far more extended periods (UNHCR, 2016). There are other camps, such as asylum accommodation centres, that are totally under the host country's administration. For example, this type of camp, such as transit centres for asylum seekers, has been characteristic of most industrialized countries and often turned into real detention centres (Minca, 2015). They are all planned on former military structures in rural areas isolated from the amenities and cultural facilities concentrated in cities (Dikens & Laustsen, 2005).

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<sup>20</sup> See more details: UNHCR, 'Life in Limbo: Inside the World's 10 Largest Refugee Camps'. Available: <<https://storymaps.esri.com/stories/2016/refugee-camps/>>. Accessed November, 2016.

The informal types of RCs are settlements without any legal authorization and without any support from governments or the supervision of international organizations (Hovil, 2007). There are also spaces occupied abusively by some individuals residing in the country illegally, forming an informal and self-managed camp, yet the camps can be the subject of social intervention until local authorities dismantle them (Piasere, 2006; Hailey, 2009). Indeed, in many cases, these camps may draw the attention of charitable organizations and volunteers that develop in an organic way to assist refugees in their needs (Maestri, 2017). This type of camp represents large quantities of refugees over the world (Karadawi, 1983). For example, over the past decades, these self-settled camps have been the symbol of refugee crises in Europe<sup>21</sup>, such as “Idomeni” in Greece or the “Calais Jungle” in France (Agier, 2018; Babel, 2016). Similar to this type of camp, the Roma camps, composed of families of Sinti and Rom, are camps for “nomads in transit” (Maestri, 2017).

#### **II.2.1.1. The specificity of refugee camps: between inclusion and exclusion**

Refugee camps created to respond to refugees' state of emergency are an exceptional and temporary measure before normality is restored. Michel Agier views the camp formula to host refugees in the most dispossessed regions of the world as the formation of a global space for the “humanitarian” management of the most unthinkable and undesirable populations of the planet:

*“ The camps are both the emblem of the social condition created by the coupling of war with humanitarian action, the site where it is constructed in the most elaborate manner, as life kept at distance from the ordinary social and political world, and the experimentation of the large-scale segregations that are being established on a planetary scale” (Agier, 2002, p. 320).*

Agier elaborates and concretizes this statement by arguing that camps may be defined in three ways: extraterritorial, exception, and exclusion (Agier, 2014, p. 20). The extraterritorial aspect often refers to camps being placed in secluded areas and rarely marked on official maps, for example, although a camp in Northern Kenya may have the largest concentration of people, trade, and exchange in the whole region, it is not officially recognized. By belonging neither here nor there, refugees challenge the assumed link between nation, state, and citizen. Second, they may be characterized as exceptional in legal terms since the refugee camps are usually governed by legal instruments other than those in the surrounding areas. They are

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<sup>21</sup> This migrant movement constitutes one of the largest movements of displaced people through European borders since World War II. At the same time, the crisis is accentuated by the lack of a sustainable policy that can be applied by all European countries to manage migration flows. See: (UNHCR, 2016).

legally under the jurisdiction of the host society but also exempted from it; this legitimizes an entirely different form of human settlement, with an alternative sort of belonging as citizenship (Turner 2011) and which others have compared to a new “campzanship” (Sigona, 2014).

The exceptional situations of emergency induced by natural disasters, war, and violence are also expressed, such as “refugee crisis” and “complex emergencies”, where RCs attempt to contain and re-stabilize the national order (Agier, 2011). Furthermore, by labelling refugees in terms of an emergency, humanitarian and state responses are also often perceived as “emergency measures” to meet refugees’ biological needs. By virtue of their perceived position as victims, they are solely assumed to be without a past, political will, and agency (Turner, 2010). In addition to refugees lacking home, nation, and citizenship, they are also “lacking proper agency, proper voice, proper face” (Soguk, 1999, p. 243). By conceptualizing a refugee as someone marginal and lacking, a “citizen/nation/state constellation” is also lead in being “constitutive outside” the national order (Soguk 1999, p. 51).

The quasi-permanent aspect of the RC accentuates exceptionalism. More importantly, people are unable to leave, whether for political or financial reasons (Turner, 2016; De la Chaux et al., 2018), as in the case of the Dadaab refugee in Kenya, which now holds its third generation of refugees (De la Chaux et al., 2018). The normal length of stay in an RC is 20 years, which constitutes a whole life for some refugees (Turner, 2016). While refugee camps often persist and become a temporal limbo, the refugees are paradoxical “on the move”, on their way home or somewhere else in the future; at the same time, they cannot remain on the move as they possibly are not going anywhere (Turner, 2016)

Agamben refers to this move as “bare life”, a life that is “included solely through an exclusion” (Agamben, 1998, p. 7, 11). Agamben calls the camp the nomos of our time because of its *permanent exception* (Agamben, 1998). “Camp”, theorized by Agamben, is a space of indeterminacy or of bare life stripped of the basic dues of citizenship. Agamben analyses the exception in relation to sovereign power and explains, “exception is the structure of sovereignty” (Agamben, 1998, p. 28). Exclusion and inclusion enter in this way into a “zone of irreducible indistinction” (Agamben, 1998, p. 9). Such an approach considers the camp a specialization of exception, and state power has sovereignty over every decision. As the author reported

*“the camp, the state of exception, which was essentially a temporary suspension of the rule of law on the basis of a factual state of danger, is now given a permanent spatial arrangement, which as such nevertheless remains outside the normal order”.*  
(Agamben, 1998, p. 169)



Agamben (2005, p. 4) underlined that the state of exception “is not a special kind of law”, but “it defines law's threshold”. In contrast, the Foucauldian approach takes a critical stance on Agamben, conceptualizing the camp as the complexity of power through the notion of governmentality. Foucault's proposal offers an alternative to state-centred understandings that an analysis of power should not assume the sovereignty of the state as given but consider the “multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate” (Foucault, 1995, p. 92). Based on this assumption, analyses have indicated the complex, multiple, and contesting sovereignties and exclusionary mechanisms in the refugee camp. Therefore, the camp is co-produced by multiple institutions and organizations (Ramadan, 2013)

Foucault refers to “multi-sovereign power” that has juridical-politically evolved into two concomitant forms: (i) “anatomy-politics of the human body” centred on its disciplining and (ii) bio-politics of the population centred on regulatory mechanisms, including liberal. One of the main aims of the refugee camp is the spatial organization of forced migration and “discipline” (Foucault, 1995, p. 141). The disciplinary regimes that create forms of exclusion and normalization is one aspect of many other principles embodied in the camp (Diken & Laustsen, 2005). As Rabinow (2003) stated, “control and distribution of bodies and individuals in a way that achieves efficiency, docility and hierarchy” (p. 357).

However, these two approaches complement each other and reveal the RC paradox. On the one hand, the RC camp is primarily framed around an “exclusionary paradigm”, according to which authorities are excluding camp dwellers and forming places to warehouse the undesirables or places of abandonment (Agier, 2011). On the other hand, refugees' visibility emerges in the object of humanitarian politicization and enacting citizenship subject to special regulations and treatment (Neto, 2018).

### **II.2.1.2. The neo-liberal regime**

The camps are seen as arenas of governmentality that produce exceptionalism and ambiguous spatial practice (Turner, 2010). However, within the spatial and temporal peculiarities, extreme difficulties also unfold in new social forms and opportunities. Agier (2000) argues that social life, power relations, hierarchies, and sociality are remodelled and may intensify in the camp. The everyday practices that unfold and the identities that emerge in the camp and explore concretely and contextually make life in the camp different from life elsewhere. This space is seen as the assemblage of social, institutional, and diasporic relations and practices, and it is a space of enduring liminality circumscribed by a particular temporality that limits development and insists refugees seek a home elsewhere (Ramadan, 2012).

The international approach of helping refugees as perennial victims was highly criticized as a mechanism of generating “dependency syndrome” (Omata, 2017, p.145), which had a negative effect on refugees, leading to a loss of dignity and confidence (Kibrab, 1993; Turner, 2010). To respond to these negative effects, governmental and non-governmental agencies have long worked to promote market policy and refugee self-reliance. According to Omata (2017), neoliberalism ruling enables minimal state intervention, flexible markets, and individualism; hence, the individual self-reliance strategy appears logical in this context.

Significantly, the refugees in the camp do not merely reproduce their assigned roles as passive victims. Instead, they are proactive entrepreneurial agents. With the emergence of informal markets in protracted settlements and multiplying business ventures, refugees’ entrepreneurial potential and the agency has begun to be recognized. Therefore, self-reliance has become “a critical component” of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees’ (UNHCR) livelihood programming, which calls for “the reduction of dependency through economic empowerment and the promotion of self-reliance” as central to its protection mandate that aims to reduce refugees’ “vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance”( UNHCR 2012, p. 6). According to UNHCR<sup>22</sup>, self-reliance is defined as

*“ The social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health, and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity” (UNHCR, 2006, p. 1).*

The promotion of refugee entrepreneurship as a strategy for self-reliance is often embedded in a context of diminution of funding from UNHCR, with livelihood activities handed to local governments (Omata, 2017). Several researchers have criticized the new focus on neoliberal notions: resilience, adaptability, and entrepreneurship of refugees (Easton-Calabria & Omata, 2018; Omata, 2017; Turner, 2020).

First, humanitarian agencies lack rigorous and systematic criteria to measure the degree of refugee self-reliance. For example, one of the most exemplary camps of Budurama that has long since become independent of humanitarian aid is identified as the most self-reliant RC community<sup>23</sup>. However, according to Omata (2017), refugees still remain dependent on others, such as family and friends living in developed countries. This finding demonstrates

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<sup>22</sup> See: UNHCR (2005b) “Handbook for Self-Reliance” Reintegration and Local Settlement Section Division of Operational Support UNHCR, Geneva.

<sup>23</sup> See more details in: Omata, N. (2017) “*The Myth of Self-reliance: Economic Lives Inside a Liberian Refugee Camp* (Vol. 36). Berghahn Books, England.

that the policy and criteria of self-dependency is not yet effectively addressed for refugee well-being. Therefore, the neoliberal orientation of promoting self-reliance risks shifting the entire burden from the state to individuals (Omata, 2017). Turner also suggests “instrumentalising the survival strategies of marginalised populations”, expecting refugees to adapt to their new circumstances and “embrace the forces of free-market capitalism”(Turner, 2020, p.139). Turner also provides a critical understanding of the lack of focus on structural changes, enabling the restoration of connections between host countries, host populations, and refugees (Turner, 2020).

This section provided a general outline of how the RC is conceptualized. The next sections focus on the literature on entrepreneurship in the RCs.

## **II.2.2. Review methodology**

The scope of this review is to explore and provide a basis for understanding of entrepreneurship related to refugees since few works exist in this field. Therefore, multidisciplinary literature provided studies with evidence and gaps on refugee camp entrepreneurship (RCE) and was a guide to identify a theoretical framework. In the first step, the author used Google Scholar and various databases (Scopus, Journal of Refugee Study, Emerald, Science Direct) and entered the keywords “entrepreneurship in a refugee camp”, “refugee camp economy”, “business activities in a refugee camp”, and “refugee camp entrepreneurship”. Next, the thesis reviewed the assembled literature from references cited in the most recent publications. In the first instance, a quick reading of the content was enough to select the article. The selection criteria were based on the minimum information on entrepreneurial activities in RCs.

The extensive literature on RCs is related to protracted RCs (Crisp 2002; Smith, 2004). These are mostly legal and policy-oriented studies that intend to assist, criticize, evaluate, or otherwise engage in refugee-hosting matters (Jansen, 2011). As introduced, the literature highlights how individuals are kept under miserable conditions and most of their rights, such as employment, mobility, and education, are contravened (Smith, 2004; Diken & Laustsen, 2005). Some scholars have defined the camp as a “Warehouse” (Smith, 2004 p.38) or a limbo (Turner, 2014). Others have argued that the assistance policy brought refugees into a vicious cycle of dependency (Kibreab 1993; Smith, 2004) and miserable conditions that often lead to negative survival strategies (Crisp, 2000). Other studies have focused on the legal and governing aspects of relief operations and, in this sense, the camp, as governmental technology managed by an external body or agency, has the function of an ordering device

and disciplinary space (Hyndman, 2000; Malkki, 1995) and a biopolitical instrument (Maestri, 2017). While these studies provide insights into the RC's dynamics, they do not contain information on the mechanism of RCE. Therefore, they were not part of the research analysis.

However, there are emerging studies focusing on the socio-economic space of the camp and the refugees' ability to build their lives with simple and creative survival strategies (Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2017; Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Dick, 2002; Jansen, 2009; Omata, 2016; Porter, 2008). Notably, this subject is relatively contemporary and unexplored. This literature is split into two groups:

The first literature group is mainly from the disciplines of refugee study, sociology, economy, and anthropology. The study considered 20 pieces of literature that included academic twelve articles, five reports and humanitarian working papers and three books. The reports and working papers on refugee livelihood had the most information on refugee camp economies and livelihood strategies because humanitarian organizations or studies on refugee and migrant livelihood are usually the primary actors interested in publishing periodical reports. The studies on refugees' livelihoods were useful to partially understand how refugees fill the gap and which strategies they use to be self-sufficient. These findings contribute to the literature that analyses the refugee settings through an economic lens.

Moreover, the domain of anthropology and geography have been interested in the socio-economic transformation of the camp as a unique space to be analysed. However, each study has focused on its fields and the entrepreneurial activities are only described generally. Despite evidence of RCs becoming cities, those studied are scarce in respect to overall worldwide RCs (Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2014). Moreover, there is little information about the entrepreneurs' profiles. In all the reviewed literature, the studies were done minimum after two years (after the emergency state) of refugee camp establishment. Moreover, the major focus of RCE is on large camps, especially RCs in Kenya and Uganda.

The second group of literature is from the entrepreneurship domain. Refugee entrepreneurship, had mostly been echoed by media and news that emphasized the phenomenon as a unique and surprising event. Although relevant, important publications from the entrepreneurship domain regarding RCE emerged mainly after 2018 (most of the papers were published in 2020). When these studies began to emerge (De la Chaux, 2016; Heilbrunn, 2019), the literature for this thesis had already been analysed. However, the gradual integration of refugee entrepreneurship from the mainstream helped consolidate and improve our theoretical framework. The study found seven articles to be included.

### II.2.3. Findings

The first empirical work reveals how refugee self-sustainability allowed virtual cities to emerge as market towns of Kakuma and Dadaab RCs in 1998. The study reported on many businesses by observing the trading pattern of each nationality (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000). In the camp, refugees were forced to sell their relief food distributed by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to purchase the items they lacked, such as shoes, clothes, meat, milk, pasta, kerosene, and matches.

Different studies had similar findings, comparing Kenyan RCs to a unique new setting (Agier, 2002; Oka, 2014; Omata, 2016). Recent studies have illustrated a more dynamic market structure (Oka, 2014; Omata, 2016). The authors analysed the informal economy's role in bringing refugees to a state of normality and found many sophisticated activities in respect to the previous articles, such as shops with luxurious items, internet cafés, and mobile banking linked with the global money transfer. In addition to refugees selling portions of relief food, the article links other business activities within Kakuma RC: informal refugee wholesalers and retailers supplying goods and services to refugee consumers; non-refugee informal-formal activities supplying refugee wholesalers-retailers; formal-informal banking and remittances; and illegal-illegitimate activities, such as flow of drugs, weapons, and other extra-legal or illicit activities. The refugee camp economy continuously interacts with the formal economy of the host country and cannot be easily differentiated (Oka, 2014; Omata, 2015).

Another RC camp with a unique setting is Uganda Camps. Werker (2007) analysed the economy of Kyangwali refugee settlement, focusing on economic distortion (policy distortions, restrictions on movement, lack of political agency, isolation, transportation cost, information cost, market size, terms of trade, and refugee identity distortion), which affects and shapes the RC economy. Therefore, refugees can identify opportunities in the distortions affecting their economic lives. In particular, as the author highlighted, the camp's institutional environment (host-country refugee policies and isolation), the demographic make-up of the refugees, and the nature of humanitarian assistance characterize the refugee camp economy. Moreover, he underlines that the camp's economy is fairly complex, and a minority of refugees have businesses in the settlement (Werker, 2007). Various empirical contributions are from a series of studies conducted by the Refugee Studies Center of Oxford University's Refugee Economies Programme<sup>24</sup>. Betts et al. (2014) assessed the economic life of refugees in Uganda to report several case studies that demonstrate refugees' creativity, such as the reuse and

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<sup>24</sup> See detail in "Refugee Economics Programme". Available: <<https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/research/refugee-economies-programme>>. Accessed October 2016.

adaptation of available resources; different crafting activities, such as milling; a computer game business; cinema; music shops; and production of wooden bikes. Uganda allows refugees to work and be self-reliant; thus, the RC market is vivid with some exemplary innovation (Betts Bloom, Omata, 2015). Moreover, the freedom of movement and action afforded to refugees, and asymmetric integration of camps with local economies, creates expanded opportunities and incentives for employment, production, and exchange (Alloush et al., 2015). For example, the rich soil of Nakivale and Kyangwali encourages most refugees to engage in agricultural production (Betts et al., 2014). However, refugees still face other institutional barriers to full participation in the formal economy and, in successful cases, represent the minority of refugee entrepreneurs (Betts et al., 2017).

Different authors have investigated the Budurama RC, where refugees achieved self-sufficiency through enterprising after the emergency period. The first study was conducted by Dick (2002), who debates the stereotype of refugees being passively dependent by demonstrating their ability to adapt, enterprise, and adjust to changing circumstances. In another in-depth study, Omata (2017) contested the nominated self-reliant reputation of Budurama RC. Although the author confirms refugees' different economic strategies, including their entrepreneurial capacity, Omata reveals the overall difficulties in claiming that the Budurama camp is self-reliant since the camp economy relies greatly upon remittances. Privileged refugees by remittance constituted 10% of the overall population, and the camp was characterized by substantial economic inequality. Moreover, the author also found how, in general, businesses operate under extreme difficulties and limited profitability.

Dorai (2010) investigated Lebanon refugee camps and revealed how these camps become integral parts of the cities due to their commercial zones with different shops. The concentration of Palestinians in camps and gatherings has facilitated the permanence of village and family solidarity. These camps became the place of social change and the construction of Palestinian society in exile, reinforcing its cohesion and social networks in exile, but they are also spaces of conflict with the host societies.

Alloush et al. (2015) studied Rwandan RCs, comparing them the economy of three Congolese RCs. The three RC markets reflect the economies of the local area: Nyabiheke (a largely agricultural economy with low wages), Gihembe (predominantly commercial), and Kigeme (agriculture and commercial).

Some studies reporting the market dynamic of the Jordan RC, Zaatari (Dalal, 2015; Turner, 2019), have emerged in the short time since its establishment. In just a few years, the area has had exponential growth, with the long street market, commonly referred as Champs-Élysées, including restaurants, coffee kiosks, a billiard centre, a wedding dress shop, and

furniture shops. According to the market assessment by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2014, the camp had developed 1,438 businesses across the market (UNHCR, 2014).

The second group of literature has a managerial approach. The studies emerged only recently from entrepreneurship research, and each study has highlighted different aspects of the emergence of RCE. One of the first works on RCE was by De la Chaux and Haugh (2016), who adopted an institutional lens to investigate how context influences RCEs and is characterized by “institutional paralysis” in which formal institutions impede entrepreneurship. However, refugee entrepreneurs exploit and maintain institutional misalignment to preserve the advantageous aspects of formal and informal institutions (De la Chaux & Haugh, 2020). Heilbrunn (2019) revealed how African asylum seekers built an informal market space outside the camp to address institutional voids. According to the author, bricolage is probably the only possible strategy within such an extremely institutionally restricted environment and a way to create an identity in a context that denies participation in occupation threatens and dignified life. Brown et al. (2020) investigated Malawi refugee camps and analysed business using an evolutionary perspective of businesses (inception, survival/growth, and expansion), which illustrates the complex and dynamic picture of multiple interacting mechanisms. The business dynamics are highly influenced and supported by refugee entrepreneurial spirit, market mechanisms, and communication affordances. While the study stresses the key role of refugees’ entrepreneurial spirit and background in the inception stage of their businesses, it highlights how this is not enough to ensure long-term survival. Alexander et al. (2019), through a quantitative analysis of Syrian RCs in Lebanon, found a certain entrepreneurial spirit among refugees in a favourable environment. Demonstrating a degree of resilience, these refugees fought to start businesses to regain their autonomy and confidence, avoiding unemployment and discrimination despite financial and administrative discouragement. Similarly, Shepherd, Saade and Wincent (2020) investigated Palestinian refugees in Lebanon through the lens of positive psychology and highlighted refugee entrepreneurs’ resilience to the persistent and harsh adversity facing them. Refugee entrepreneurs navigate their substantial and persistent adversity conditions, constructing multiple identities and developing resilience. While refugees’ entrepreneurial motivation is induced by self-interest, this self-interest, directly and indirectly, influences their resilience outcomes but not their adversity. With this idea, the authors highlight three recursive relationships: between resilience outcomes and refugees’ entrepreneurial actions; integration efforts and refugee entrepreneurs’ multiple identities. Figure 11 shows how the findings give an initial understanding that RCE is a complex entrepreneurial system. These findings are going to be discussed in the next sections.

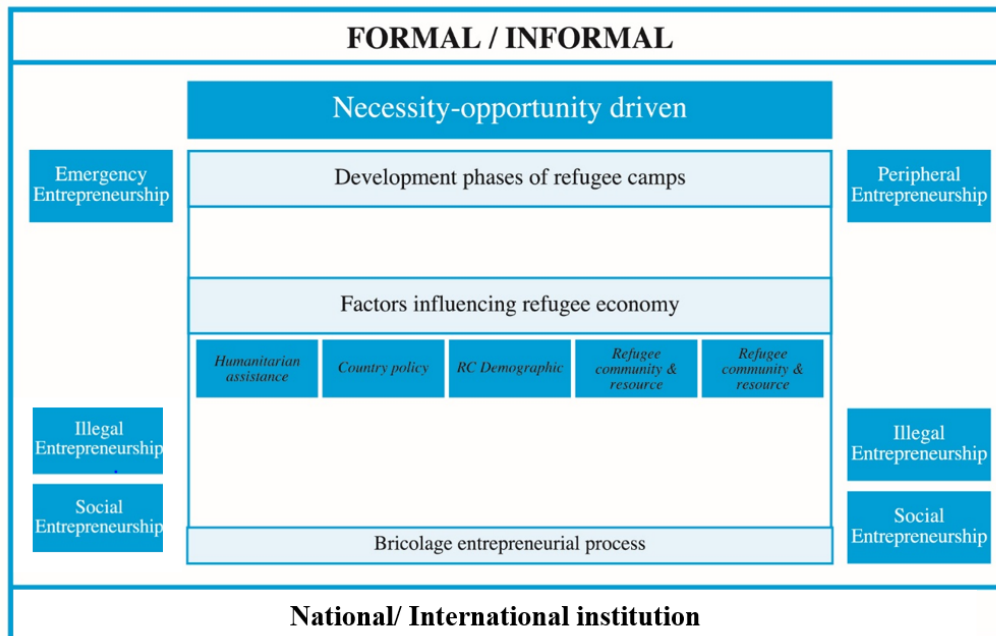


Figure 11: The dynamic of refugee camp entrepreneurial system  
Own source

The framework illustrated above (figure 11) summarizes the complexity of RCE and how it should not be considered and represented as a single and homogeneous phenomenon. Considering the chronology of RC development through time (Jensen, 2009 p: 227), it becomes clear that at each stage has different interrelated actors and institutions are embedded in different structures, i.e., in national vs. international communities, in informal and formal structures created by unique demarcated patterns of socio-economic interaction and that distinguish the refugee entrepreneurship from entrepreneurship in the surrounding area (Betts et al., 2017; Oka, 2011; Turner, 2009; Werker, 2007). Additionally, the protracted existence of some refugee camps tends to deliver structures that resemble small cities rather than transient settlements. Then the evolving process in the camp can create a complex socio-economic structure, and its economic activities become embedded in a larger context (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Remnick, 2013). With this unique multilevel-embeddedness, we conclude that we can conceptualise the RC as an entrepreneurial. This ecosystem can involve different types of EE components such as international and local humanitarian organizations, the demographic and individuals' refugee economies host country market, infrastructure and policy, resources (financial, natural, refugee community's resources); local entrepreneurs (Allush, 2015; Werker, 2017), heterogeneity of environmental conditions, such as support programs (Alam, Ibn-Boamah, and Johnson, 2019; Biru, Gilbert, & Arenius, 2020) and culture which forms and idiosyncratic ecosystems (Spigel, 2017).



The findings of entrepreneurial dynamism are grouped within the following themes: (i) the genesis of opportunity; (ii) entrepreneurial type, (ii) refugee camp development; (iii) type of entrepreneurship; and (iv) entrepreneurial resources.

The next sections discuss the findings on RC entrepreneurial dynamism within the following themes: the genesis of opportunity, entrepreneurial type, RC, and entrepreneurial development.

### **II.2.3.1. The genesis of business opportunities**

The conditions of exile require refugees to adapt and adjust. However, social norms and cultural practices continue to be utilized and nested in new patterns of survival (Agier, 2000). Therefore, to explain how a refugee community re-establishes themselves in a foreign land, refugees must be understood within their historical context (Dick, 2000). When refugees flee across borders, they are faced with new markets, new regulatory environments, and new social networks (Betts et al., 2014). In the high insecurity of the RC, identity distortion hinders refugees from fully participating in the host country markets (Werker, 2007). The literature analysis indicates that refugees use every means possible to create different livelihood strategies in their novel environment. In particular, the literature highlights that refugees go beyond their constraints to survive in a challenging environment. They try to satisfy personal needs, such as dignity and autonomy, and fight against frustration when indefinitely segregated in a camp (Oka 2014; Betts et al., 2017).

A refugee's legal status has significant implications for the socio-spatial organization of this community (Dorai et al., 2015). Although the Geneva Convention (1951) grants refugees the right to work, in many countries, this socio-economic right has been narrowly interpreted by states creating institutional barriers to refugees' participation in the formal economy (Kibreab, 1993; Omata 2015). Refugee mobility is constrained by a regulatory environment similar to a prison economy. However, in the context of the camp, the boundary is virtual; refugees still leave the camp and even cross beyond the host country territory, the transboundary movement for commercial activities (Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2015; Oka, 2014). The public in camps do not have a political body responsible for their collective interest " as the home country and with the hosting nation unwilling to grant civil rights, we can say that the categories of public and private do not apply in a refugee camp" (Dalal, 2015).

Aid organizations' resource allocation is the first resource on which refugees lay. Like the prison economy that emerges in the first camp period, rations are comparable to local currencies supplemented by an implicit credit system or gift economy engendering services against gifts, and vice versa (Ranalli, 2013). The prison economy is usually seen as an analogy

to RC in an initial phase, particularly regarding the genesis of the economy (Alloush et al., 2015). As Radford (1945) explains, first, spontaneous exchange by bartering their free rations occurs. The intra-prisoner economy later grows in scale, forming trade relationships with external economic actors. Radford, in his analysis, provides a living example of a simple economy common in many prison camps he visited. First, the exchange occurs between individuals who receive a roughly equal share of essentials. Most trading patterns were for food against cigarettes or other foodstuffs, and the cigarette became the standard of value. The price varied with the general level of organization and comfort in the camp. He noted that the transit camp was always chaotic and uncomfortable. Thus, the price highly varied within the same camp. However, individual preferences are what triggered exchanged of necessities and luxurious products: “the essential interest lies in the universality and the spontaneity of this economic life; it came into existence not by conscious imitation but as a response to the immediate needs and circumstances” (Radford, 1945, p. 2).

Similarly, camps produce a vibrant exchange economy; food ration packages, like cigarette ration distribution, serve as the numeraire currency. However, the prison economy refers to a smaller economy than the RC's potential economy. In the analysed literature, the first business activities that emerged in the camp were selling relief goods. These activities were performed to fulfil the refugees' need to buy other goods for their daily lives. While refugees may have similar basic needs for food, shelter, and water, however, in the reconstruction of a refugee's daily life, often, refugees have manifested different needs beyond the basic ones. These needs are equally necessary for the individual's well-being, so it is difficult to replace or classify them. Often humanitarian organizations fail to meet these needs. Thus, they create space for the exchange of goods and services. In particular, the relief food is unsuitable to refugees tastes and not their cultural food; in other words, the food is tasteless and provides nothing more than a basic level of nutrition (Betts et al., 2016; Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015; Oka, 2014; Werker, 2007). Even in a refugee camp, the ability to consume food that tastes good and reminds them of their past lives or gives them hope for their future becomes central to their daily well-being and self-respect (Oka, 2014). Therefore, instead of becoming a passive agents, refugees become economic actors who act rationally to maximize personal utility or satisfaction (Shepherds, Saade & Wincent, 2020; Heilbrunn, 2019).

The emergency context of the camp has similarities with the previous literature on disaster entrepreneurship. As reviewed, entrepreneurship emerges in the process of recovering disaster-affected communities. Unlike emergency entrepreneurship, which involves civil society, the refugee camp is a relatively closed arena. While emergency entrepreneurship is geared toward restoring people's lives, the camp is meant to be temporary until people are able to return home. Johannisson & Olaison (2007) introduced emergence entrepreneurship

to develop a theoretical lens of entrepreneurship as a form of emergency recovery. Within this framework, they explained entrepreneurs' creative organization in the face of (natural) catastrophes of Hurricane Gudrun in Sweden in 2005.

The distinctive characteristic of emergence entrepreneurship is also seen in the specific context of RCs: First, dealing with ruptures in everyday life: Different external events, like war and persecution, make individuals flee from their country to another host country. With respect to Sweden's population, the reconstruction of life and identity occurs in a new environment and with a new community in which refugees have no sense of belonging. Therefore, the daily activity to survive within a hostile environment and social interaction are more complex and difficult. Second, the roles of social capital as the major potential resource: The initial resource of refugees on their arrival is provided by the national/international organization. Refugees' survival, in many cases, is highly dependent on the distribution of humanitarian aid, especially in emergency phases, segregated camps, and camps located in remote areas where interaction with the local economy is minimal (Dalal, 2015).

Third, the organizing rationale in emergency entrepreneurship appears as a social bricolage. Similarly, RC creates a new social appraisal with a "bricolage of new identities", which are novel identities of refugees grafted on the old ones (Agier, 2000; Shepherds, Saade Wincent, 2020). Lastly, the entrepreneurial process on Emergency entrepreneurship is characterized by the need for immediate (inter)action in the face of non-negotiable conditions: The socio-political challenges require refugees to be resourceful to meet their needs, crafting with what is immediately available to them. Refugees improvised different activities to sustain their lives. For example, they transform their most basic needs for shelter, food, and water into income-generating opportunities (Dick, 2000; Agier, 2011; Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Werker, 2007).

### **II.2.3.2. Refugee camp development**

How long the camp exists or inhabitants stay in the space is determined neither by camp management nor by the refugees, leading to disruptions in the continuity of refugees' lives (Kublitz, 2016). Refugee camps are usually settled in remote and peripheral areas with limited economic activities (UNHCR, 2008). In the process, the specific rural or peripheral context of socio-economic interaction gradually transforms in "bricolage cities", resulting from a process of accumulation of spontaneous constructions with social interaction and economic activity (Zandberg, 2008; Agier, 2000; Oka, 2014). Over time, the emergency response changes, the solutions led by the community become more prominent, and the dwellings become denser and more solid (Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2015; Jensen, 2009; Agier, 2000). Some have compared RCs to a "city" (Agier, 2002, p.322), an "accidental city" (Jansen, 2011,

p.2), or a “state within a state” (Turner, 2004, p.67) away from the initial purpose of temporariness. The rural RC’s distinct physical environment shapes a camp-based economy (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015), a place where people live and develop different strategies over time to diversify their risk, creating complex systems of social relations, cultural acquisition, and strengthening.

Therefore, in a protracted case, RCE can intersect with the study of rural or peripheral entrepreneurship where refugees act immediately to cope with the lack and scarcity of infrastructure (Anderson, 2000; Betts et al., 2017, Dick, 2002). The periphery is far away from a communication system or the controlling centre of the economy (Goodall, 1987). They are three dimensions of peripheral distance that effects entrepreneurship: geographic, which increases costs; travel time, which limits information and knowledge flow; societal, which includes institutions, organizations, and networks of actors involved in an economy, and cognitive, which refers to cultural and technological shared mindsets (Fuduric, 2007). The distinctive hybrid refugee regulatory frameworks and the cultural diversity create social and cognitive distance between the central populations (even when camp is placed near an urban area) (Dorai, 210). In many refugee settlements and camps, existing infrastructure and services fail to fully meet the demand of those living inside the RC. Usually, this rural area has a limited water supply, poor road networks, and lacks transportation services, creating significant gaps between the market levels of demand and supply. Moreover, with a lack of adequate health care and education and formal electricity provision, there is space for innovative individuals to provide alternatives. Establishing camps and starting business activities has, in some cases, stimulated the growth of road transport, linking the refugees with the rest of the country (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Betts et al., 2017). The lack of infrastructure and services becomes an opportunity to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Refugees and local individuals engage businesses, such as transport and provision of power (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015; Oka, 2011; Werker, 2000). For example, in Al Buss circle RC, small cafés and fast food have also been created to satisfy the travellers from the south to Sidon or Beirut while they are waiting for their bus or their taxi, and Mar Elias and Al Buss became the main market because the low price and the well-connected area attracted shopkeepers and costumers from neighbouring locations (Dorai, 2010). The growing population can generate a huge surge in demand for goods and services, creating a boom in the refugee economy (Dorai, 2010; Oka, 2011). For example, in Kakuma camp, the growing population increased the monthly sales from 100,000 USD in 2008 to 250,000 USD in 2010. Between 2008 and 2011, the number of retail shops increased from 7 to 56 (Oka, 2014). A sufficient population of firms can initiate a self-reinforcing clustering process and generate significant economic agglomeration (Bürcher et al., 2017).

Some RCs have a reverse relationship between centre and periphery, in which the camp becomes a market centre attracting investors and customers from urban areas. For example, Hagadera market, the largest of the three Kenyan camps, is run by businessmen of urban origin (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000 p: 213). Many host country transportation companies directly or indirectly connect to RCs to urban areas (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015). At the same time, refugees also engage in transnational trade where refugees try to take advantage of the resource available in the neighbouring country. Cross-border trade is a current practice; refugees take the risk to cross the border even in their country to take local goods (Betts et al., 2017; Dick, 2002).

Technology has been one of the key factors that reduced the camp's isolation by facilitating the communication between suppliers and traders and national and international networks. This itself plays into their income-generating strategies, creating a business opportunity due to the high demand of refugees. In fact, telephone and internet café businesses are current activities. For example, in Ghana RC in 2000, the camp had ten communication centres, both owned by Liberians and Ghanaians (Dick, 2002: 29). Telephone and internet café businesses changed life in the camp in many ways (Betts et al., 2014). Consequently, new transactions through any payments mobile applications have facilitated communication between suppliers and traders and national and international networks (Alloush et al., 2015; Betts et al., 2017; Oka, 2014). Beyond mobile phones and the internet, many refugees create and use appropriate technologies. These technologies are built on locally available resources and economically and socially appropriate to the context in which they are used (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015).

However, the urbanism of RC towns remains incomplete (Agier, 2000; Oka, 2014). Moreover, not every RC has a positive peripheral development. Negative impacts, such as demand for the provision of social and welfare assistance for refugees; the degradation of natural habitat by depleting woodland for construction and firewood, and the perdition of host country image and security, lead to the decline of economic and touristic activities (Mpinga, 2014; Zetter, 2012).

### **II.2.3.3. Type of entrepreneurship**

Refugee entrepreneurs might start their businesses as the only method of survival and adapt in entrepreneurial ways by then creating an informal economy. Necessity entrepreneurs constitute an essential part of the refugee community, seeking self-sufficiency and satisfying their basic needs for food, shelter, and security (Addo, 2008). Most of the businesses are small-scale, such as food vending, trading, hairdressing, and dressmaking. Despite the benefits and advantages of microenterprises, establishing and developing microenterprises remains

minimal among refugees in camp settings, who encounter many obstacles to profitable business (Omata, 2017). In most camps across the world (e.g., Zaatari in Jordan, Dadaab in Kenya, and Breidjing in Chad), retail and wholesale shops within the camps openly provide luxury and essential goods and services for refugees who receive remittances from diaspora networks, as well as bank-like institutions that manage the remittances (Agier 2011; Jacobsen 2005; Oka, 2014; Turner, 2020). Thus, people, despite the lack of basic needs, give importance to other needs. The same author observed that comforts and luxury goods rather than necessities are purchased in large amounts by wealthier refugees or in small, locally packaged quantities for poorer ones (Oka, 2014; Agier, 2000). On the other hand, formal business around the refugee can find opportunities within the camp. Even international companies can identify opportunities to start or extend their businesses in RCs. For example, France Telecom-Orange established a large base camp radio tower to give service through mobile money transfer (Betts et al., 2014, p 34).

Refugees' business activities are usually within the informal sector since many countries do not allow refugees to work or undertake business activities (Oka, 2011; Omata; 2016; Werker, 2007). In many refugees, self-employment and employment remain illegal, but they are sometimes tolerated (Agier 2000; Oka, 2014). The informal economy had become the fundamental mechanism by which the refugees can gain a sense of "normal", reducing violence, uncertainty, and stagnancy (Oka, 2011). In some cases, refugee entrepreneurs in Kakuma camp are requested to register their shops with the district municipality (Omata, 2016). Despite the positive contributions of genuine business activities and potential for legitimacy, some authorities still consider the business initiative punishable, creating obstacles to broader entrepreneurship needed in such camps (De la Chaux & Haugh, 2020). The lack of overall legitimacy renders refugees' business difficult and highly unstable

Identifying the informal understanding of whether business activities are legitimate or illegitimate in this context is essential. Webb et al. (2009) argued that illegality based on established laws and regulations might be accepted by large social groups, thus being made legitimate. Instead, opportunities outside both formal and informal institutional boundaries remain illegal/illegitimate. Furthermore, RCs produce hostile economic forces like illegal (illicit) or criminal activities that are potentially harmful livelihood strategies, such as prostitution, drugs sales, robbery, or gambling (Porter et al., 2008: 239; Jensen, 2009: 13; Dick, 2002:33).

In general, how refugees start and maintain businesses within the camp is not clear. However, business creation may be possible with the action of "bricolage", which includes acquiring and combining resources when taking on novel tasks using diverse skills (Heilbrunn, 2019). Many refugees have exploited pre-existing skills from former jobs in their country of

origin. They recreate something adapted to the context. Alternatively, they create or use appropriate technologies through available resources to provide services, such as internet cafes and video games (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015). For instance, Alexander et al. (2019) found having a business background stretched refugees' willingness to start new businesses with few resources at hand. Moreover, some studies found that refugees have the problem-solving capacity that allows combining, adapting, reshaping, reusing, and upgrading the available material and skills to adopt appropriate context (Betts et al., 2017; Heilbrunn, 2019). Thus, RC entrepreneurs repurpose the resources at hand, especially humanitarian aid resources, by altering their primary purposes and using them for alternative purposes. For example, tents pitched on streets with high footfall become business premises, and ration cards are used as debt collateral (De la Chaux & Haugh, 2020).

National and international organizations commonly find fertile ground for social entrepreneurship in RCs. However, although refugees in the camp are engaged in social ventures, they remain under the shadow. Recently, various studies reported many cases of self-led initiatives to social enterprises where they create social values by providing products or social services. For example, they may start schools and programs for girls' education and art to improve the conditions of the camp community (Betts et al., 2017; Heilbrunn, 2019; Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020).

#### **II.2.3.4. Entrepreneurial resources**

In general, in most analysed literature, the entrepreneurial resources of refugees is not clearly defined. However, from the general information, most refugees use a different source to gain entrepreneurial resources.

Refugees usually hold different identities while holding their refugee status to pursue different livelihood strategies (Dick, 2002; Shepherds, Saade & Wincent, 2020). First, as already discussed, refugees can accumulate resources from selling their ration. Second, refugees, especially those living in the neighbouring country, can have some resources from their home country (Dalal, 2015). Including skills acquired in their country are valuable and unique resources for refugees to start a business (Shepherds, Saade & Wincent, 2020). For example, Betts, Bloom and Wearver (2015) report cases of trained nurses that create health care businesses; tailor retail clothing, fabrics, and repair services who used their skills to easily start a business.

Third, humanitarian self-resilience, livelihood promotion, microfinance and loans from NGOs can be other financial means to start a business (Jacobsen, 2005). Moreover, international organizations, such as religion-based humanitarian aid, have become a means

to access resources and be broadly connected to organizations and individuals abroad. The presence of churches in many refugee camps also provides a place where people can build and maintain social networks (Dick, 2002).

Fourth, an important means of resource comes from refugees' social networks. During exile, refugees retain and often develop a socio-economic network with their homeland and frequently with fellow nationals disposed to other countries' networks within their homeland as refugees. As represented by access to remittance and cross-border trade, the transnational connection is integral to refugees' socio-economic lives (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Omata, 2017). Refugee personal networks are important financial assets for the creation of new ventures with poor financial capital (Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2015, Dick, 2002). Therefore, some individuals use their own distinctive social capital to have successful business innovation (Betts et al., 2014). For example, better remittance from social networks abroad enabled Somali refugees to embark on successful business (Betts et al., 2017; Omata & Kaplan, 2015; Werker, 2007;). Moreover, borrowing finance or material (which other refugees usually would not do) is another way to engage in entrepreneurial activities (Betts et al., 2014; Dick, 2002).

As mentioned, the natural development of the demand and supply network through refugee needs usually goes beyond the basic needs network in the RC. The small commercial interaction and the market can develop into complex commercial relations without market regulation but with a network of trust and social capital. Commercial activities rely both on refugee and national customers, with refugee and non-refugee suppliers and vendors (Betts et al., 2014; Oka, 2014).

### **II.3. Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the genesis of business opportunities that start from an economy of distribution to create a simple economic exchange similar to the prison economy. Also, we compare the emergence of an entrepreneurial socio-economic space in the emergency phase to the phenomenon of "Emergency Entrepreneurship", where entrepreneurial activities emerge to fulfil immediate needs, supporting a process of social bricolage that leads to recovery. Once the camp has moved from a briefly temporary to a protracted state, the entrepreneurial type of this socio-economic space can resemble a small rural or peripheral entrepreneurial space. Thus, at this stage, we view the entrepreneurial camp activities as Peripheral/Rural Entrepreneurship (PE) where business activities typically emerge in response to the lack of facilities and services (Betts et al. 2016). In the protracted phase, camps are more like a "bricolage-city" in which the entrepreneurial ecosystem is more varied and complex. As RC can transition from temporary to permanent settlements, different



entrepreneurial activities might occur at any phase of the refugee camp's development, which explains the heterogeneous nature of business activities. For example, looking at the motivational aspect, RCs can produce both necessity-driven and opportunity-driven ventures. We find various such ventures, ranging from social forms of entrepreneurship to illegal entrepreneurship forms;

Individuals' improvisational problem-solving behaviour characterize the activities in the camp markets as innovative, resembling what is known as bricolage. Not all camp refugees have an entrepreneurial capacity, neither are all individuals able to produce innovative solutions.

The findings published in the existing literature, in general, demonstrate the complexity of the entrepreneurial socio-economic space of the RC. However, there are several limitations:

Firstly, besides the mechanism of re-selling rations, which is the genesis of economic exchange in this context, it is still unclear which further dynamics underpin the emergence of the entrepreneurial space.

Secondly, considering the development process of the RC as a social space, we lack a clear understanding of how entrepreneurial opportunities are recognized and how they change over time.

Thirdly, while we could understand the available resources of RCEs, it is still not clear how refugees mobilize, accumulate and exchange resources within the entrepreneurial space, nor how these entrepreneurial processes change the resources in play, as well as the whole development of the camp.

Fourthly, from the perspective of the type of entrepreneurship we found, we could get a glimpse of various types of entrepreneurship, e.g. necessity vs. opportunity entrepreneurship. Existing studies report different types of motivation, such as in entrepreneurial activity for physical and psychological survival. However, there is no evidence of how motivation varies in response to different socio-economic and institutional spatial factors. Additionally, we have shown how camps produce legitimate informal activities, illegitimate informal activities and social entrepreneurship, even while there is little evidence of the typology of activities produced in places such as RCs.

Fifthly, only a few studies give logical and empirical evidence of the bricolage entrepreneurial process regarding the entrepreneurial process in this unique and highly constrained socio-economic context. None of the extant studies gives a deep understanding of what happens on the individual, community and spatial level, thus in the entire ecosystem.

In the next chapter, we discuss the entrepreneurial ecosystem literature and the bricolage entrepreneurial process as the theoretical framework of this study. Analysing the RCE through the lens of an entrepreneurial ecosystem can allow us to capture this complexity at the intersection of space and agency. While the literature has given us important insight, many aspects of RCE remain unexplored.

## Chapter III. Theoretical framework

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This chapter presents the study's conceptual background by conducting a literature review on two research streams. The first stream refers to research on entrepreneurial ecosystems. While the concept of entrepreneurial ecosystems is relatively new, the number of studies published on this topic has rapidly increased in the past few years. This study considers the conceptual peculiarities of entrepreneurial ecosystems, such as their complex and evolutionary nature (section 3.1). The second stream refers to the theoretical approach identified as the bricolage entrepreneurial process (section 3.2), a new concept in entrepreneurship research, which allows us to understand the entrepreneurial process in a highly constrained context. Regarding generating and mobilizing resources, and how this relates to entrepreneurial ecosystem, we posit that new venture creation traditionally relied predominantly on a resource-based approach. The entrepreneurial ecosystem concept allows us to understand the emerging entrepreneurial space within the RC at the macro level. We, therefore, consider the resource flow, entrepreneurial outcomes, and value created in terms of socio-economic space. Bricolage theory then allows us to capture the entrepreneurial process at the micro-level, considering the resources the entrepreneur has at hand and how entrepreneurs individually distinguish themselves from others by mobilizing their idiosyncratic resources.

### III.1. The concept of the entrepreneurial ecosystem

The concept of an entrepreneurial ecosystem (EE) in the research area of entrepreneurship has gained attention over the last few years (Brown & Mason, 2017; Isenberg & Onyemah, 2016; Martin, 2015; Stam, 2018). The concept was originally introduced by Moore (1993) to provide tools that explain entrepreneurship from a systematic approach by considering the interconnected nature of the business environment (Borrissenko & Boschma, 2016). In particular, the concept gained popularity after the “grey” business literature and practitioner communities (Isenberg, 2010; Napier & Hansen, 2011; Feld, 2012), offering a practical perspective destined for public leaders to develop self-sustaining and self-sufficient holistic intervention (Isenberg, 2011). Therefore, this approach highlights the need for specific supportive intervention to the key elements that anchor the companies, such as supportive infrastructures and networks, and creates synergies between the various stakeholders (Stam, 2015). Accordingly, this literature has given more practical than theoretical insight (Brown & Mason, 2017). According to Acs et al. (2017), initially, the EE concept flows from two sources of literature: regional development and strategic literature.

The regional development literature encompasses a set of related concepts, such as industrial clusters (Marshall, 1890), regional industrial clusters (Porter, 1998), and regional innovation systems (Stam & Spigel, 2016). First, regional clusters and industrial districts are composed of companies where networking and knowledge exchange between actors strengthen their competitive advantages (Porter, 2000). The notion of regional cluster implies to the EE essentially that the firm agglomeration allows connection between actors creating a process of knowledge accumulation and exchange. However, while cluster relates to homogeneous firms, the EE is composed of a heterogeneous set of companies, focusing on start-ups and high-growth firms (Mason & Brown, 2017; Stam & Spigel, 2016). Moreover, the traditional regional cluster models focus on technological and market knowledge, while the entrepreneurial ecosystem approach adds a third aspect: the knowledge that is anchored and dispersed within the entrepreneurship process (such as developing a business plan, scaling a business and presenting an idea to investors) (Stam & Spigel, 2016). Therefore, entrepreneurs become crucial, acting as mentors and connecting with other entrepreneurs (Brown & Mason, 2017).

The tradition of research on regional development also includes the regional innovation systems that focus on institutionalized providing a fertile environment in which innovation and growth are continuously stimulated, such as research institutes or universities as they are the cornerstones of these ecosystems (Cooke, 2001). Similarly, the literature of EE also emphasizes the essential role of the institution as a way to attract high knowledge and human resource within the ecosystem (Stam, 2018). Moreover, both approaches leverage the role of governments in creating a supportive environment. Finally, the regional innovation system and the EE consider the importance of developing networks that are embedded in the regional socio-economic context (Christopherson & Clark, 2007). However, the regional innovation system focuses on the performance of innovative firms and the role of national governments, giving a marginal role to entrepreneurs. By contrast, EE emphasizes the role of entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial process as the focal point of the anchor of the interaction within the ecosystem (Spigel & Harrison, 2018). Entrepreneurs are seen as stimulators of virtuous cycles of resource creation and resource flow among actors, leading to multiplication effects (Brown & Mason, 2017).

The second literature from which this approach originates is the strategic literature (Acs et al., 2017): the "business ecosystem" as a form of economic coordination in which the ability to create value and take ownership of a company strongly depends on different groups of actors who produce complementary products or services (Iansiti & Levien, 2004). EE and business ecosystem emphasize interdependencies and interaction of the actors and evolving nature of the entire ecosystem. However, the business ecosystems focus on the value

captured and created of one leading firm. Instead, EE focuses on the primary role of the entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial process within regional boundaries (Spigel, 2017).

For Spilling (1996, p. 91), the EE “consists of complexity and diversity of actors, roles, and environmental factors that interact to determine the entrepreneurial performance of a region or locality”. The system of EEs and the interaction of their components and actors are critical. As a system changes over time, its elements and relationships among elements change, making the interrelated system mechanism dynamic local process of entrepreneurship as cumulative causation (Malecki, 2009).

Entrepreneurial ecosystems have been subject to diverse intellectual antecedents and multi-unit analyses, allowing interpretative flexibility. Furthermore, the EE is only one of the many types of ecosystems in the literature (Acs et al., 2017; Gomes et al., 2016). As a result, many distinct definitions have been proposed, most of which highlight the combination and interaction between elements, often through networks that produce shared cultural values that support entrepreneurial activity. As Stam (2015) indicated, “there is not yet a widely shared definition”. According to Malecki (2018), this lack of definition is partly due to the different definitions of EE, formulated at different scales and with different data and research designs. Table 3 considers several definitions among the most cited definition (see Malecki, 2018), which can help us frame and understand the particular case of the Refugee Camp entrepreneurial ecosystem.

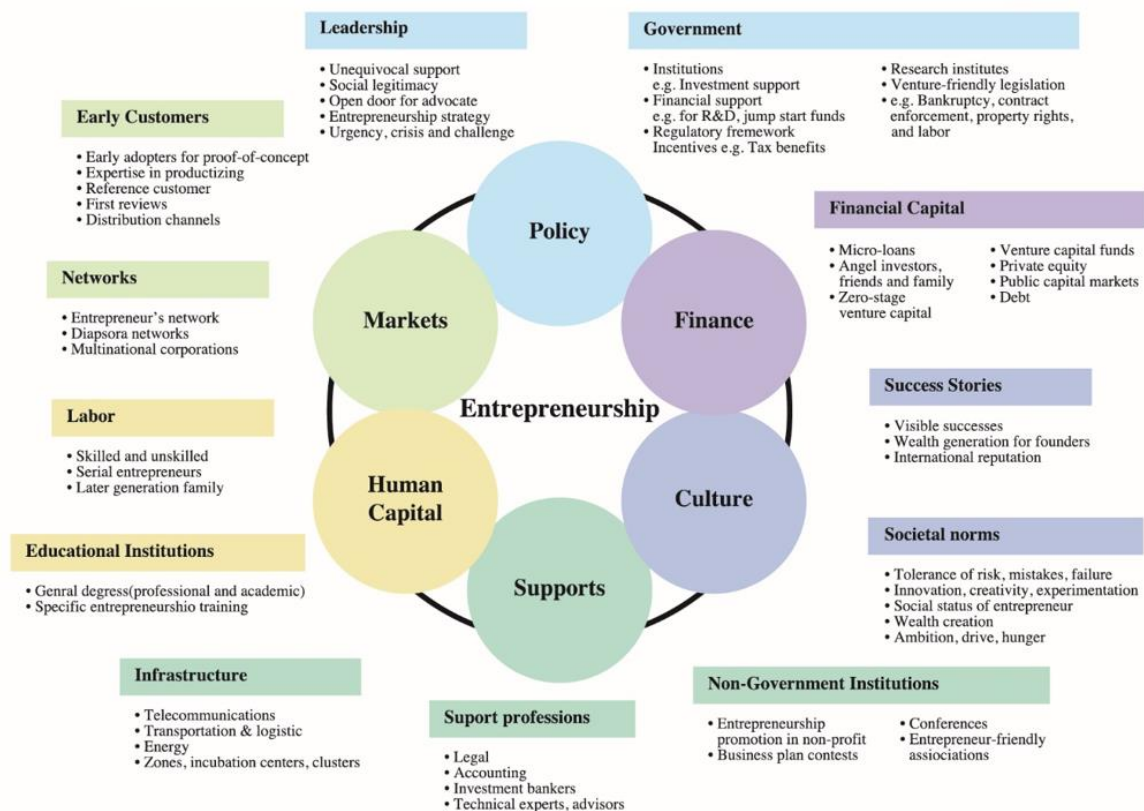
Table 3: Definitions of entrepreneurial ecosystem

<p><b>Cohen (2006)</b></p>	<p><b>Sustainable entrepreneurial ecosystems are defined as an interconnected group of actors in a local geographic community committed to sustainable development through the support and facilitation of new sustainable ventures. (p. 3)</b></p>
<p><b>Isenberg (2011)</b></p>	<p>The entrepreneurship ecosystem consists of a set of individual elements—such as leadership, culture, capital markets, and open-minded customers—that combine in complex ways. (p. 43) Ignoring the interconnected nature of the ecosystem elements can lead to perverse outcomes (p. 50).</p> <p>This entrepreneurship ecosystem consists of a dozen or so elements (which we consolidate into six domains for convenience sake; see the diagram) that, although they are idiosyncratic because they interact in very complex ways, are always present if entrepreneurship is self-sustaining. So although the combinations are always unique, in order for there to be self-sustaining entrepreneurship, you need conducive policy, markets, capital, human skills, culture, and supports (p. 6).</p>
<p><b>Mason and Brown (2014)</b></p>	<p>A set of interconnected entrepreneurial actors (both potential and existing), entrepreneurial organizations (e.g., firms, venture capitalists, business angels, and banks), institutions (universities, public sector agencies, and financial bodies), and entrepreneurial processes (e.g., the business birth rate, numbers of high growth firms, levels of “blockbuster entrepreneurship”, a number of serial entrepreneurs, degree of sell-out mentality within firms, and levels of entrepreneurial ambition) which formally and informally coalesce to connect, mediate and govern the performance within the local entrepreneurial environment (p. 9).</p>
<p><b>Stam (2015)</b></p>	<p>A set of interdependent actors and factors coordinated in such a way that they enable productive entrepreneurship (p. 1765). The entrepreneurial ecosystem concept emphasizes that entrepreneurship takes place in a community of interdependent actors. (p. 1761). The systemic conditions are the heart of the ecosystem: networks of entrepreneurs, leadership, finance, talent, knowledge, and support services. The presence of these elements and the interaction between them predominantly determine the success of the ecosystem. (p. 1766)</p>
<p><b>Spigel (2017a)</b></p>	<p>Entrepreneurial ecosystems, are the union of localized cultural outlooks, social networks, investment capital, universities, and active economic policies that create environments supportive of innovation-based ventures. (p. 49)</p> <p>Entrepreneurial ecosystems are combinations of social, political, economic, and cultural elements within a region that support the development and growth of innovative start-ups and encourage nascent entrepreneurs and other actors to take the risks of starting, funding, and otherwise assisting high-risk ventures. (p. 50)</p>

Source: elaborated from Malecki (2018)

### III.1.1. Components of an entrepreneurial ecosystem

Most studies on EEs have identified principally involved actors in the EE as key elements to the creation of new businesses and the development of ecosystems (Motoyama & Knowlton, 2017). Van de Ven (1993) was the first to not focus exclusively on an entrepreneur's individual characteristics by emphasizing the importance of universities, funding mechanisms, a pool of human skills, and an institutional setup to legitimize, regulate, and standardize entrepreneurship activities. Subsequently, Neck et al. (2004) identified six EEs' fundamental components: incubators, spin-offs, informal networks, formal networks, infrastructures, and culture. Another study (Feld, 2012) focused on two macro-categories, the "leaders" and "feeders". The author recognized that the entrepreneur should be the actor, thus, the leader, while all other actors were feeders. A further contribution, from Isenberg (2011), identifies 50 components divided into six macro-categories: a favourable culture, facilitating policies and leadership, available and adequate financing, quality human capital, friendly markets for products, and institutional supports. These pillars also emphasize the importance of local resources (workforce, funding, and support services) and informal (cultural support) and formal (universities, regulatory framework, and infrastructure) institutions to facilitate entrepreneurial activity (see figure 12).



Source: Isenberg (2011)

Stam (2015) identified two main elements necessary for a successful EE: framework conditions (i.e., formal institutions, culture, physical structure, and demand) and systemic conditions (i.e., networks of entrepreneurs, leadership, finance, talent, knowledge, and support services). According to the author, systemic conditions are “the heart of the ecosystem: networks of entrepreneurs, leadership, finance, talent, knowledge, and support services (see figure 13). The presence of these elements and the interaction between them predominantly determine the success of the ecosystem” (Stam, 2015, p. 6).

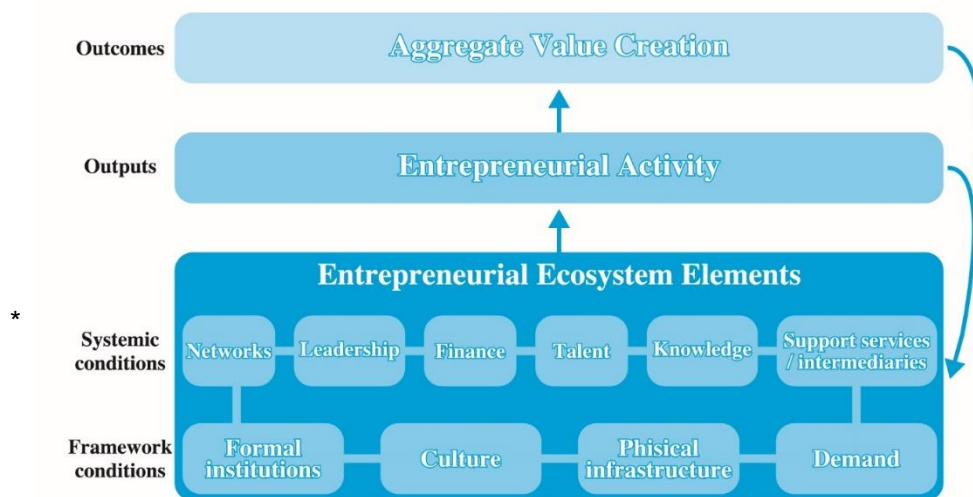


Figure 13 : Key elements, outputs, and outcomes of the entrepreneurial ecosystem

Source: Stam (2015)

Following this line, various models were developed to highlight the aspects of the EE components. For example, Brown and Mason (2017) provide a series of prerequisites necessary for forming an ecosystem. The first key element is the presence of different types of entrepreneurs who identify opportunities that inspire other potential entrepreneurs. For example, the authors mention the relevance of successful companies’ “blockbusters” that become critical tangible and intangible resources that can flow within the development of EEs. A second essential prerequisite is the presence of resource providers, which can be formal (bank) and informal actors (peer-to-peer lending and crowdfunding) and essential resources for forming and developing entrepreneurial opportunities. The third prerequisite is the role of entrepreneurial connectors, typically with strong informal and formal networks, which are essential, especially in the resource-scarce context. The fourth group unfolds within the



entrepreneurial culture and, specifically, positive societal norms and attitudes toward entrepreneurship, recognized as a key component of EEs.

Once the categories belonging to EEs were identified, the theory moved to study the relationships between the various components of an ecosystem to provide correlations between these categories and the results obtained by EEs. Motoyama and Knowlton (2014) identified key relationships and connections between entrepreneurs, support organizations, and critical support organizations and, finally, miscellaneous support relationships. According to the authors, connections between support organizations are functional and strategic or informal. Such communication between entrepreneurs and key organizations provides two types of support. On the one hand, they provide mentoring and connections, encouraging mentor-mentee relationships and expanding the network of entrepreneurs, while on the other, they supply functional and financial support, providing spaces and pitch practising (Motoyama & Knowlton, 2000). The presence of entrepreneurs within the ecosystem is important, but their interaction is even more important (Motoyama & Knowlton, 2016). Finally, miscellaneous relationships are other support activities that entrepreneurs need to have contact with, such as media as a validation tool, universities, and entrepreneurship events. Motoyama and Knowlton (2016) limit themselves to describing and examining only four types of connections. A broader approach that examines how different relationships between all possible components reproduce the ecosystem as a whole is provided by Spigel (2017).

According to Spigel (2017), the attributes of an ecosystem do not develop in isolation but rather develop in tandem, influencing and reproducing each other. Analysing this reciprocity is essential to understanding the broader role of an ecosystem. Spigel's (2017) relational approach focuses on constituting internal attributes of EEs and the relationships and interactions within a region. He distinguishes between cultural, social, and material attributes, such as resources. Spigel holds that "successful ecosystems are not defined by high rates of entrepreneurship but rather how the interaction between these attributes creates a supportive regional environment that increases the competitiveness of new ventures"(Spigel, 2017). Cultural attributes represent the fundamental beliefs and attitudes about entrepreneurship. In this regard, positive risk perception and entrepreneurial success stories contribute to a robust entrepreneurial culture. Social attributes relate to those resources associated with social networks and social capital. Formal and informal networks are essential to acquiring resources, creating and exchanging knowledge, and accessing the market.

### **III.1.2. Entrepreneurial ecosystem evolution**

An ecosystem is as a dynamic structure, which naturally evolves through the interconnection between its players (Wallner & Menrad, 2011; Isenberg, 2010). Rather than

seeing ecosystems as static, they are better understood as ongoing processes through which entrepreneurs acquire resources, knowledge, and support, increasing their competitive advantage and ability to scale up (Spigel & Harrison, 2018, p.165). The entrepreneurial ecosystem is a highly variegated, multi-actor, and multiscale phenomenon. In its evolutionary perspective, entrepreneurial ecosystems generally entail significant changes that could lead to multiple outcomes (Brown & Mason, 2017).

Based on Isenberg's ecosystem framework (Isenberg, 2011, containing the six elements of policy, finance, culture, supports, human capital and market, Mack and Mayer (2016) developed an evolutionary model of an EE with four stages of development: birth, growth, sustainment, and decline (see figure 14). For instance, there are few success stories in the birth phase and low engagement toward building an entrepreneurship-oriented support infrastructure. Instead, the domains become increasingly oriented toward entrepreneurship during the growth phase, involving broader regional, national, and international markets. As a result, resources in terms of specialized human capital (serial entrepreneurs, educational institutions, role models) and financial capital are more accessible as investors develop trust. The entrepreneurial culture and societal norms strengthen, and entrepreneurial networks expand and become denser. The support infrastructure and the region's economic development policy start to become more specialized and targeted toward new firm creation.

After the growth phase, the EE reaches the sustainment phase, which is characterized by a smaller number of firm births and a larger number of firm deaths. In this phase, market opportunities and networks start to weaken. There is also a general decline in the number of new ventures and a severe decline in the number of serial entrepreneurs as the opportunity cost of self-employment rises and entrepreneurs trade self-employment for other types of employment. Investor confidence begins to wane, and financial capital becomes harder to access. In this final phase, firm deaths are significantly larger than firm births. Market connections and networks disappear. Entrepreneurship is no longer perceived as a viable career option. Financial capital declines and becomes unavailable. There is a general decline in entrepreneurship support and policies in favor of new venture creation. As a result, the regional culture is not conducive to entrepreneurship, and the EE either disappears or begins the cycle anew.

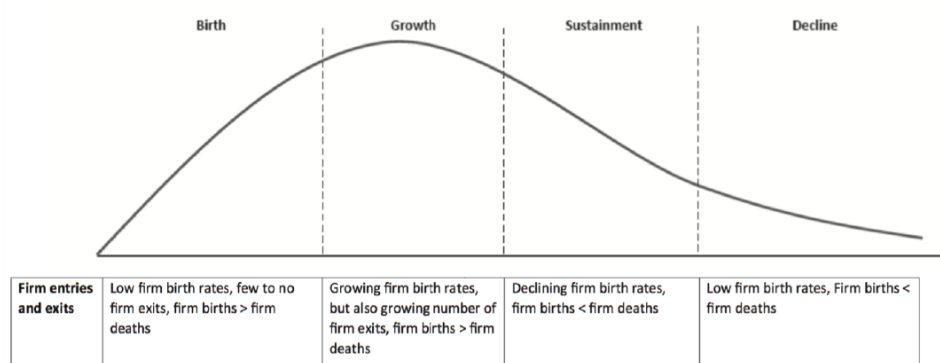


Figure 14 : Evolution of an entrepreneurial ecosystem

Mack and Mayer (2016)

Building on Mack and Mayer (2016), Cantner et al. (2021) take a dynamic lifecycle view on EEs, which involves a transitional perspective. The authors implement five stages in the development process: birth, growth, maturity and stabilization, decline, and re-emergence. The birth phase of an EE starts with an individual's idea, which may be triggered by a knowledge spillover from different sources, such as universities or established firms, which was overlooked and stayed unutilized by others. If such ideas are exploited and translated into increasing new venture creations or spin-offs, the EE starts to evolve. In the second stage, the growth phase, all elements in the ecosystem form and specialize in the requirements of entrepreneurship. A "vibrant entrepreneurial scene" (Cantner et al., 2021, p. 9) is the emergence of a regionally embedded entrepreneurial culture, which inspires and motivates others to start their ventures. The number of entrepreneurial ventures weakens during maturity and stabilization due to less attractiveness in the EE, and incumbent firms start reintegrating existing successful enterprises. Here lies the tipping point, where the EE starts to transform into a business ecosystem with plenty of established actors. In the decline stage, the ecosystem's transformation into a business ecosystem with established firms, routines, and norms is completed. This transformation is marked by the exploitation of incumbents' opportunities rather than entrepreneurial ventures, and radical innovations are replaced by incremental ones in line with established technological standards. Importantly, this stage poses new opportunities for potential entrepreneurs, which is the basis for the upcoming phase of re-emergence. In this case, the lifecycle starts anew but with different, more advantageous conditions. Supporting networks, institutions, routines, and norms are already in place, and the entrepreneurial culture continuously re-emerges.

Colombelli et al. (2019) proposed a theoretical framework on the evolution of the governance of an EE in its various phases: birth, transition, and consolidation. The birth phase

is initiated when different actors begin to form communities in a close geographical, institutional, and relational context directed toward facilitating entrepreneurial processes (Colombelli et al., 2019). These early-stage communities and their growth are often facilitated and dominated by one or a few catalyst organizations, referred to as anchor tenants. The transition phase refers to the moment when the first successful cases initiate a cascade of social, cultural, political, and economic feedback mechanisms that strengthen the growth of EEs. The last consolidation phase describes an EE with a highly relational design wherein actors are well embedded within dense networks that reinforce interactions among ecosystem players and the overall regeneration and growth of EEs (Colombelli et al., 2019).

Spigel and Harrison (2018) conceptualize the EE evolution with the perspective of a resource-based view through which EE processes can be understood and entrepreneurs acquire resources, knowledge, and support. Such an approach helps one to recognize whether entrepreneurs and ventures act differently in other stages in their lives or the venture life cycle. The researchers developed three sets of research propositions regarding influencing factors of ecosystem advancement by targeting three aspects. The first EE aspect relates to how entrepreneurial actors acquire resources within the undeveloped ecosystem. The key resources are embedded within the social network, and personal characteristics will affect their ability to draw on resources from the EE network, which is one of the distinguishing aspects of entrepreneurs. Thus, entrepreneurs' personal relationships and networks also play a role, as entrepreneurs base decisions, such as where to start or grow their business, not solely on economic factors but also on social factors, such as the amount of encouragement they receive from family and friends (Spigel & Harrison, 2018). Moreover, public sector actors, universities, and philanthropic groups may also play an important role in advocating network and resource acquisition.

The second aspect is the creation and recycling of entrepreneurial resources, characterized by high levels of resource reuse, such as entrepreneurial knowledge, financial capital, successful mentors, and skilled workers. This recycling is a key process of resource accumulation over time by previous rounds of successful and failed entrepreneurship recycled throughout the ecosystem. These resources strengthen the entrepreneurial culture that helps sustain the ecosystem and attract more resources. The third aspect of the EE evolution concludes that EE is also subjected to different internal or external shocks, which push the EE to different levels of functionality. The framework has two dimensions: resilient and weakened ecosystems. The first ecosystem can retain resources that several successful and influential entrepreneurs have attracted and created over time and exert strong positive imprinting effects on future entrepreneurs. By contrast, the weakened ecosystem has a low level of resource accumulation and recycling process and experiences resources leaking from the

entrepreneurial ecosystem toward more established and attractive ecosystems. The two identified systems are embryonic ecosystems and scale-up ecosystems. Spigel and Harrison conceptualize certain commonalities regarding the number of enterprises, level of ecosystem interaction, level of enterprise orientation, nature and availability of funding, level and importance of dealmakers, fluidity and diversity of EE actors, level of blockbuster entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial recycling, spatial dynamics, and public policy level. These key elements are modest in the embryonic type of EE compared to the scale-up ecosystem. Moreover, embryonic ecosystems are the most dominant type of EE (see figure 15).

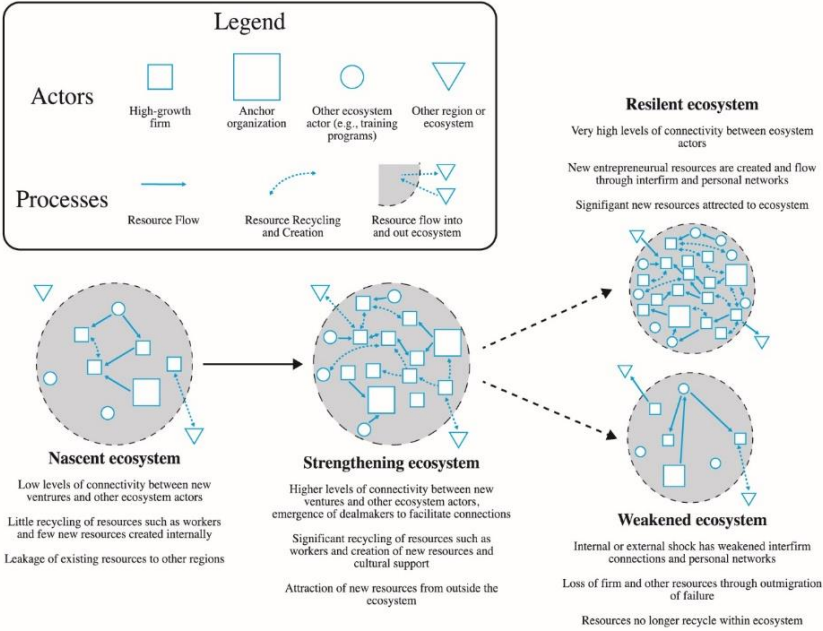


Figure 15 : Transformation of entrepreneurial ecosystems  
 Source: Spigel and Harrison (2018)

For an EE emerging in a disadvantaged community, the framework developed by Emery and Flora (2006) analyses changes processes from a system perspective by identifying the assets in each capital (stock) and the type of capital invested (flow). Typically, this framework illustrates an ad hoc community intervention that enhances community capital and, consequently, the community's entrepreneurial capability. "Capital" is defined as "a resource or asset that can be used, invested or exchanged to create new resources" (Flora & Flora, 2008, p. 17). The community can be empowered by specific resources, such as corporate access to qualified knowledge through the financing of infrastructure entrepreneurship programs, providing specialized training, information, and technical support or the organization of network events (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020; Flora & Flora, 2008). In a virtuous circle, the availability of skilled labour and the presence of different networks encourage increases in the collective capacity to achieve wealth-capture goals. Several studies have contributed to conceptualizing entrepreneurial ecosystems' evolution process and the characteristics of different evolutionary phases (Cantner et al., 2021; Mack & Mayer, 2016). Ecosystem evolution is the development and diversification of entrepreneurial resources available and accessible in the space and the intensiveness of resource exchanges among ecosystem actors (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel & Harrison, 2018). However, one of the main problems in the literature concerns the evolution and life cycle of ecosystems and, therefore, their growth, evolution, and survival. Indeed, whether entrepreneurial ecosystems develop in the same way in different places and at different times is unclear (Malecki, 2018).

Based on the discussion above, my investigation of RC entrepreneurial space considers the identification of the RC components that enable the emergence of an entrepreneurial ecosystem. The evolutionary aspect of that helps determine the emergence and development of entrepreneurial dynamics within the RC. Therefore, combining the previously discussed RC literature (see chapter 2), this work configured the Refugee Camp Entrepreneurial Ecosystem (RCEE) components.

### **III.1.3. Refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem components**

Entrepreneurial Ecosystem concept offers larger potential than understanding growth-oriented ventures' regional perspectives. Lange and Schmidt (2020) advocated that the entrepreneurial ecosystem should be considered as a bridging concept that allows considering dynamic temporal and spatial elements. They further argued that the entrepreneurial ecosystems' perspective embraces dynamic, diverse, and interconnected stakeholders who create a social context of entrepreneurial activities, and therefore offers novel understandings beyond static approaches to space and time.

As discussed, RCs are characterized by unique spatial and temporal factors and by refugees' and locals' entrepreneurial activities (Turner, 2020; Werker, 2007). The RC's spatial configuration, institutional framework and formal and informal rules create unique demarcated patterns of socio-economic interaction contradistinguished from the surrounding area (Turner, 2009; Werker, 2007). Moreover, over the years, protracted RCs tend to resemble small cities rather than transient settlements. Their evolving process can create a complex socio-economic structure, and RCs' economic activities can be embedded in a larger context (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000). Therefore, understanding the entrepreneurial dynamics emerging and developing in RCs may require a more holistic approach, such as the EE concept, which also allows one to address dynamic and volatile spatial configurations that evolve in and around RCs. In the ecosystem debate, scholars have demonstrated the embeddedness of EEs in broader time-spatial contexts. For instance, spatial entrepreneurial dynamics are significantly influenced by the historical background of the surrounding geographical location and national economies (Adams, 2021; Baron & Freiling, 2019; Guerrero et al., 2021).

From the existing literature on RC economics and EE literature, this study defines RCEE as: spontaneous combinations of social, political, economic and cultural elements that lead to specific socio-economic interconnections between groups of actors inside and outside the refugee camp, who informally connect to mediate limitations imposed by the institutional and socio-economic spheres and achieve a self-governed entrepreneurial system in a specific local space. However, in respect of the traditional type of EE, this one is, by definition, temporary EE.

The core element of the EE concept that we predominantly consider is the various types of spatialized social encounters of intensive resource exchanges between interdependent actors and factors (Spigel & Harrison, 2018). Therefore, RCEE has a type of distinctive key elements that fall into the components predefined by the EE literature (see Isenberg, 2010; Stam; 2015) (see figure 16). These distinctive elements are grouped as follows. (i) institution: local politics; international and local humanitarian organisations; (ii) refugee camp community: demographics; entrepreneurs; culture; resources; (iii) resources and (iv) host country socio-economic specificity: local community; market, infrastructure, and culture

### **III.1.3.1. Institution**

The camp is formed by allocating humanitarian agents recipient under multiple states (Agier, 2002), mainly the humanitarian emergency governance involving the UNHCR with numerous national and international NGOs. This cluster of organizations for the bureaucratic organization of the camp creates a distinctive institution for the unique socio-economic space. The national and international policy choice to manage refugees ad hoc in a centralized way

in a specific geographic concentration is the genesis of a collective system of a socio-economic cluster. The host country government also specifies the legal status of refugees in camp work and mobility (Betts, Bloom & Omata 2017; Shepherds, Saad & Wincent, 2020). One particular aspect RCEE is the development of an economic hub within the “grey zone” under substantial legal challenges. In general, RC lacks an institutional support system to develop EE and humanitarian aid practices, and domestic legislation impedes refugee entrepreneurship (De La Chaux & Haugh, 2015). Despite the institutional impediment, entrepreneurs are mostly able to overcome the many hurdles to forming a profitable business (Betts et al., 2014). However, in some camps, refugees operate under the certitude of institutional inefficiency to sanction low infringement (Shepherds, Saad & Wincent, 2020).

Becoming a refugee, per se, strips away an individual’s right to work, run a business, or own property. Therefore, RCEE should benefit from local government support through policies that emphasize economic development and support entrepreneurship and recognize the RC market hub as a potential EE for poverty alleviation and integrate refugees into the host community (Spigel, 2017). For instance, implementing host country policy that facilitates refugee social and economic inclusion, effective legislation (e.g., tax benefits, the enforcement of property rights, and contracts) and business permits and licenses can lead to a healthy EE (Isenberg, 2010; 2011). The government’s political view of the refugee populations can change quickly, and without the authorities’ political will, creating and implementing a supporting policy framework is difficult to build a strong EE (Jacobsen, 2005). In response to RCs’ economic boom, some government have also changed their restrictions and attempted to regularize through a fee and registration of the business venture (Omata, 2016). However, this action lacks a veritable commitment as the government might be challenged by the priority to protect the local community economy and resources from outsiders (in this case, the refugee community). Some countries, such as Uganda, have implemented a policy that supports refugee economic integration. For example, they give refugees land and opportunities to practice agriculture and be self-reliant. However, many RCs are in a constrained institutional environment, with corruption that encourages unproductive entrepreneurship (De La Chaux & Haugh, 2015).

Humanitarian aid deals with service delivery, facilitating relief and reconstruction assistance, and political advocacy for refugees. These organizations can also promote and preserve the use of skills and assets to assist refugees in becoming self-reliant (Omata, 2017)

### **III.1.3.2. Refugee community – entrepreneurs**

The RC community has its own social structure, capital, and resources that can facilitate community members’ connection and interaction, increasing their ability to acquire



new knowledge and trust between different actors with diverse goals and expectations (Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020).

This community can thrive autonomously with entrepreneurial agents as central actors in the emergence of the entrepreneurial space. Entrepreneurial individuals are a focal point of the system, and the ecosystem perspective emphasizes their ability to access resources available within the space (Spigel & Harrison, 2018). The entrepreneurs act as conduits for knowledge spillovers by bringing knowledge to the market that would otherwise remain uncommercialized (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2007). Therefore, entrepreneurs can play multiple roles in an EE (Foster et al., 2013). For example, successful entrepreneurs can act as role models, encouraging other individuals to start their own businesses (Isenberg, 2010). The previous RC literature identified some refugee entrepreneurs who had established businesses in camps can stretch beyond their own households by contributing to an improved quality of life for those around them, inspiring others to embark upon new ventures (Betts et al., 2017). The success stories ignite the dispersion of a risk-taking mindset across the region, which finally creates an entrepreneurial culture (Isenberg, 2010). Refugees' engagement in entrepreneurial activity in camps seems to improve both refugees' socioeconomic prospects and the camp's climate (Betts et al., 2017).

The specific entrepreneurial human capital is limited in the camp and often lacks the deep reservoirs of human capital. The forcibly displaced in protracted refugee situations thus face the prospect of leading lives characterized by frustration (Kibreab, 1993). The success stories (and failure narratives) of ventures in an ecosystem can contribute to such learning by allowing entrepreneurs to learn from the experiences of other entrepreneurs who are concurrently or were previously in the system (Spigel, 2017). However, most refugees living in camps do not engage in entrepreneurial activity (Werker, 2007).

In addition, the different levels of embeddedness accruing within the refugee community must be considered. As discussed, community embeddedness, including social networks, embeds knowledge from history-bound routines, gradually transmitting implicit and explicit knowledge and business practices and embeds in new cultural and institutional dimensions. This process can foster collaboration and standardization, facilitating community-based empowerment and accelerating entrepreneurial initiative (Flora & Flora, 2008).

### **III.1.3.3. Resources**

The ecosystem perspective acknowledges that resources at the regional level are integral elements of the system (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel, 2017). Resource accumulation within the space occurs either through resource creation/recycling by entrepreneurial agents

or other ecosystem stakeholders or resource acquisition/injection by external agents (Brown et al., 2019; Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020; Spigel & Harrison, 2018). Refugees in camps generally face significant resource scarcity as they lose their assets or their assets are temporarily deactivated due to forcible displacement. Their entrepreneurial activities create resource flows within and outside refugee camps. Understanding refugee camps' emerging entrepreneurial dynamics from the resource perspective allows one to explore how resources are created, accumulated, or diminished within this unique entrepreneurial space. The land allocated for camps "does not tend to be of the highest quality" (Werker, 2007, p.472), and refugee camps are often located in deserts or other resource-scarce environments (UNHCR, 2012). Thus, refugees are likely to face barriers to securing the raw materials required to create goods and services to sell. Although RC entrepreneurs may leverage human capital accrued prior to their refugee status, highly skilled refugees are fewer than the overall RC population (Betts et al., 2017). Thus, investing in refugee education programs is necessary.

Humanitarian agencies have limited resources to maintain RC through a protracted period<sup>25</sup>. One of the most frequently cited barriers to entrepreneurship is access to finances and credit to buy resources. Implementing microfinance for refugees is considered one of the hardest tasks as they usually lack the prerequisites for financial institutions. As a result, small businesses and creative ideas struggle to launch or grow due to a lack of finance or loans (Beets, Bloom, & Omata, 2015). However, because of the lack of this important component, informal and poorly structured financial markets might emerge in which refugees rely on personal networks and informal financial agreements to fund their entrepreneurial ventures (Betts et al., 2017).

Moreover, a grassroots initiative of the humanitarian, local, or refugee community may attempt to establish RC-based innovation centres to provide access to business advice, marketing support, and seed capital. In the absence of a formal banking system, the RC can rely on informal community-based sources of finance and capital (Betts et al., 2017). Social networks play a vital role in economic strategy (Omata, 2016; Werker, 2007). However, these networks do not efficiently substitute all the resources refugees lack from the exclusions of micro-lending institutions that allow access to seed capital for ventures. Therefore, practitioners suggest that improving access to financial markets may increase the presence of organizations specializing in providing financial services in camps.

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<sup>25</sup> (<http://www.unhcr.org>, 2014).

Natural resources in the region in which camps are situated can impact RCE, especially if refugees have access to these resources. Some resources are inaccessible to refugees to avoid tension with the host country community (Werker, 2002).

#### **III.1.3.4. Host country socio-economic specificity**

Studies of EE in large urban areas have found that successful ecosystems are built on several layers of infrastructure (Isenberg, 2011). For instance, for entrepreneurs, success is determined on the physical components of a city, such as its transportation infrastructure, stock of affordable housing, and available office space (Stam, 2015; Isenberg, 2011). This infrastructure is absent or limited in the RC, such as poorly developed physical infrastructures for transport, electricity, and water (Werker, 2007). However, the inevitable endurance of the RCs and hence the proliferation of refugee needs has forced the relief agenda to include services such as education, vocational training, and public health (Lischer, 2006). Notwithstanding, the opening up of new opportunities such as formal and informal employment and distance universities through community technology (Jacobsen, 2005).

The market structure may be undeveloped by lower local demand, and customers may be limited due to low average income levels. Moreover, as explained, access to suppliers and markets is inhibited by the physical isolation of the camp from its host communities (Werker, 2007). As a result, local embeddedness has a significant impact on the emergence and development of entrepreneurial dynamics in the RC since camps are legally under the host country's jurisdiction. The local market is a provider of resources that may be injected into the RC's ecosystem. Simultaneously, the RC EE is (dis) embedded from the host society to a certain extent due to its exceptional nature (Turner, 2016). Market gaps created by the movement of a population to a new context are identified by RC entrepreneurs as a source of opportunity to meet the community demands.

Market access is one of the most common challenges that face RC entrepreneurs due to the remoteness of the camps and their separation from the broader environment (Werker, 2007). Access to market information is crucial for entrepreneurial success as it assures that products and services are tailored to consumers' preferences and remain competitive with similar products (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Competition with local products and enterprises, legal constraints, language barriers, and lack of proximity to markets from RC increase refugee challenges (Katchar, 2016). However, some empirical studies report that individuals try to fill these gaps over time through personal networks (Omata, 2017) and novel virtual infrastructure through mobile phones and the internet (Oka, 2014; De la Chaux & Haugh, 2020).

Refugee relationships with the locals play a significant role in a healthy EE in and around the camp. Although host communities may benefit from an overspill of humanitarian support from the camp, refugees often face local hostility and resentment (UNHCR, 2012). Empirical studies report how indigenous people living around the camp and refugees have various violent clashes (Omata, 2016). The level of cultural affinity between refugees and the host community facilitates trust and business transactions (Betts et al., 2017). Host community entrepreneurs may see refugees as potential business partners and customers, thus a way to exploit new opportunities (De la Chau & Haugh, 2020)

Host country communities may face competition from refugees in the labour market and competition for the country's resources, becoming hostile toward the refugee community (Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020). Moreover, the host community may not feel comfortable seeing humanitarian resource mobilization for refugees while they also struggle with basic economic needs. Therefore, in promoting refugee empowerment, considering the host country community is also important. For example, the farmer field school program in Uganda has trained both refugees and local farmers to avoid conflicts between the two populations (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015). Moreover, the conflict between locals and refugees can be mitigated through economic interaction that is highly valued by the parties (Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020). Adapting Stam's (2015) framework, figure 16 illustrates how the refugee camp can be considered an entrepreneurial ecosystem with specific distinctive components.

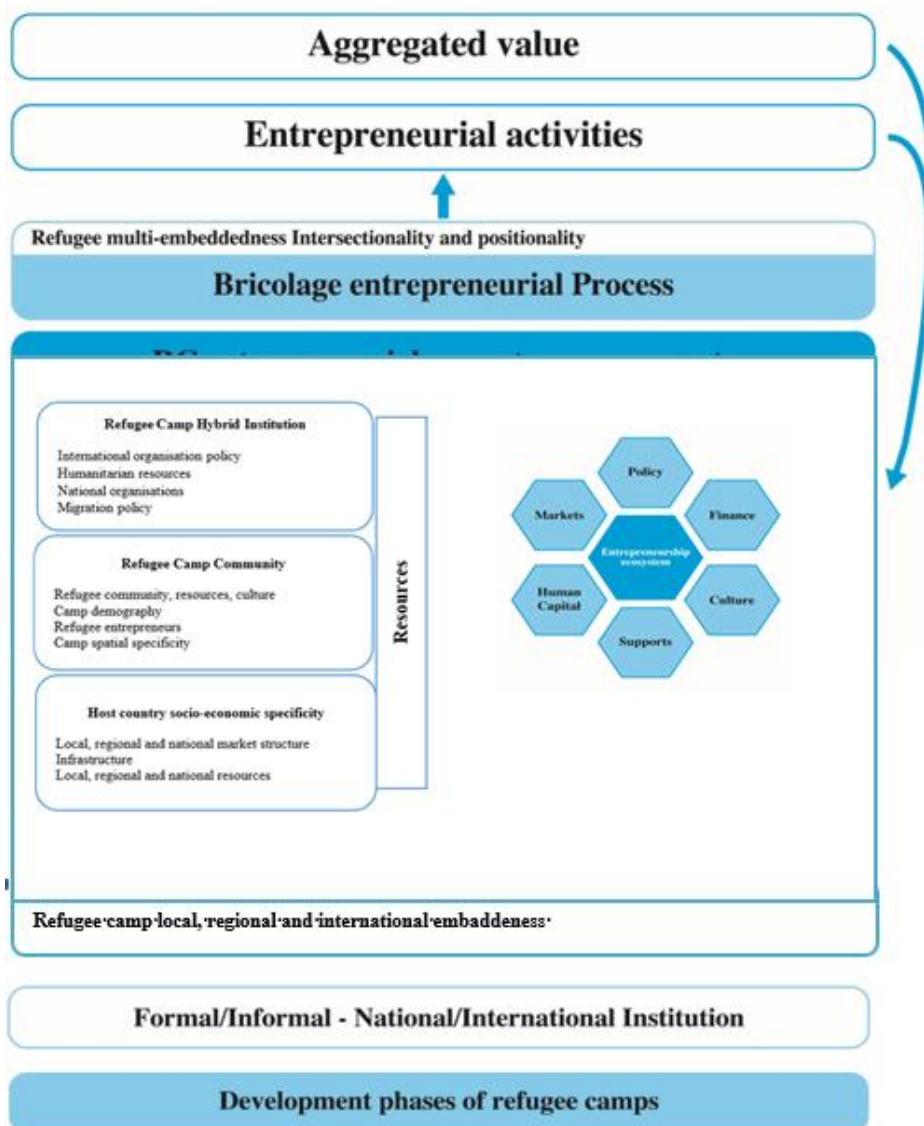


Figure 16 : Refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem framework  
 Source: Adapted from Stam (2015)

### III.1.4. Value in the context

Entrepreneurship is the process through which entrepreneurial individuals and groups remove economic and social constraints and thus create new possibilities for themselves and society (Steyaert, 2004). Value can be generated, created, and captured through complex and recursive interactions between interdependent enterprises and stakeholders' relationships (Hlady-Rispal & Servantie, 2018). Value generation refers to the entrepreneurs' capabilities to

combine and transform internal and external resources into a product or service that meets customers' needs. The nature and extent of entrepreneurial value creation depend on the entrepreneur's individual goals and self-perceptions with regard to possibilities for venture creation and development, which influence, the steps entrepreneurs take to establish and/or expand their venture.

In contrast, value capture can occur at two levels: company and inter-company. The individual firm-level actualises profit-taking, that is, how firms eventually pursue their own competitive advantages and reap related profits. If this were not the case, there would be no incentive for organizations or individuals to participate in the system. Value is also shared, and value sharing refers to the exchanges of value that occur between the organization and the society. Value capture represents the logic for earning profit (Hlady-Rispal & Servantie, 2018). However, different methods of value creation are intertwined in economic value and maybe financial (economic) or non-financial (social and environmental) (Mair & Mart; 2006;). Thus, value shaping considers value exchanges among stakeholders and capital offered by the cluster activities, enhancing the economic, societal, and environmental value flows occurring within the cluster (Hlady-Rispal & Servantie, 2018).

At the ecosystem level, value creation refers to the collaborative processes and activities of creating value for customers and other stakeholders. Business ecosystems add mutual value: the whole is greater than the sum of the individual parts (Stam, 2015). Ecosystems are mostly treated as multi-stakeholder venues for value (co-)production, and the conceptualizations of value and co-creation reflect that emphasis (Adner, 2017). Moreover, stakeholders in a business ecosystem play different roles in the process of creating value. Co-creation can thus occur when two or more groups influence or interact with each other at different levels of the entrepreneurial process (Grönroos & Voima 2013;). In fact, the value creation-capture logic in business ecosystems extends the focus on a particular company to wider sets of collaborative agreements in which the companies engage (Hlady-Rispal & Blancheton, 2020).

In recent conceptual work, Ramaswami and Ozcan (2016) defined value co-creation as enacting interactional creation across interactive system environments. Thus, interactions are the basis of value co-creation with two additional premises: co-creation experiences and the individual as central to the co-creation experience (Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004, p. 15). Exclusive focus on wealth creation and competitive advantage reflect an entrepreneurial perspective of context with sufficient resources that create significant value for society by addressing unsatisfied market needs and increasing productivity (Acs, 2007).

However, in a subsistence context, entrepreneurs often lack practice in deploying cognitive skills to discern, evaluate, and exploit growth-oriented opportunities (Viswanathan, 2007). Thus, what constitutes value in this context can have different social, cultural, and economic meanings (Welter & Smallbone, 2004). This notion is sometimes referred to as “value-in-context” (Akaka, Vargo, & Schau, 2015). Edvardsson et al. (2011) expanded this view and proposed the notion of “value-in-social-context”, which “recognizes that an individual’s value perceptions are, at least in part, dependent on the relative position of the individual within the wider social context” (p. 334).

Recently, Akaka et al. (2015) further extended this view to include the notion of “value-in-cultural-context”, arguing that value co-creation is dependent on multiple aspects of culture. This context regulates perceived value and the interaction to co-create value for themselves and others and contribute to and shape the broader social context in which value is co-created (Welter & Smallbone, 2004). For instance, Frith and McElwee (2009) argue how entrepreneurs at the margins of the socio-economic context can contribute to “value-adding” as well as “value-extracting” and the extent to which these entrepreneurs’ activities can become accepted and/or tolerated by external actors, particularly with an ethical code. Therefore, value-adding entrepreneurship can be defined as legitimate activities that do little to change or affect the margins within which they operate. Conversely, value-extracting entrepreneurship, such as illegal enterprises, including drug dealing and fencing (selling “hot” or stolen goods), impoverish or damage the community within which they occur (Baumol, 1999). Environments where entrepreneurs experience a higher uncertainty and ambiguity, may both restrict and enable their ability and possibilities to produce any value (Welter & Smallbone, 2004).

Yang et al. (2017) identified the different levels of value to understand a sustainable EE. The first is the value surplus, which exists but is not required (as waste in a company or unnecessary value delivered to stakeholders). The second refers to value absence in which the value is required but does not exist (lack of needed resource), such as a temporary lack of labour, recycling service, experts in certain fields, or a platform. The third is value missed, which is a value that exists and is required but is not exploited. This level could create more value but does not (waste with high potential to be used). The final level refers to value destroyed as value with adverse outcomes (pollution, poor product and service quality, bad working conditions, and health and safety problems).

In this specific case, EE literature recognizes the importance of entrepreneurial processes and the interactions occurring within a specific socio-economic space (Brown & Mason, 2017). However, in a highly constrained context with the scarcity of resources and institutional deficits, how the entrepreneurial process through which EE emerges, grows,

survives or declines is unclear. Therefore, the next section discusses the theory through which its application can help explain how refugees thrive in an entrepreneurial space in the intersections of extreme difficulties at the individual community (Desa & Basu, 2013).

The next section complements the theoretical framework by discussing the entrepreneurial bricolage theory.

### **III.2. The entrepreneurial process in a resource-constrained context, bricolage approach**

Entrepreneurship is defined as “the process by which individuals — either on their own or inside organizations — pursue opportunities without regard to the resources they currently control” (Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990: 23). As explained in the first chapter, the process of venturing has primarily been derived from neo-classic theory of the rational entrepreneur, accepting risk-taking, identifying business opportunities, and exploiting these opportunities, and the entrepreneurial process is conceptualized through complex stages that develop linearly (Gartner, 2004). This process is also conceptualized as “causation” in Sarasvathy’s work, which usually is effects-driven, emphasizes expected returns, and relies on a competitive analysis approach. To contrast this approach, emerging new theoretical perspectives, such as effectuation (Sarasvathy, 2001) and bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005), suggest that the entrepreneurial process may unfold differently within particular contexts or under certain conditions. This literature is steadily replacing conventional planning-oriented entrepreneurial behaviour emphasizing the importance of action instead of planning, engagement with stakeholders, and iterative experimentation that improvises strategies to cope with uncertainty and resource-constrained environments (Fisher, 2012; Hmieleski & Corbett, 2008; Sarasvathy, 2001). In this context, the active creation and implementation of business can converge. Mainly, this literature helps explain how to mobilize resources for the emergence, growth, and survival of ventures in highly resource-constrained environments (Ciborra, 1996).

These emerging theories are grounded in a resource-based view (RBV)<sup>26</sup>, which provides a foundation for explaining that heterogeneity and differences in firms’ tangible and intangible assets, idiosyncratic resources, or capabilities create competencies for competitive advantages (Peteraf & Barney, 2003; Wernerfelt, 1984). According to the RBV theory, the resource can be, on the one hand, unequally distributed. Thus, certain firms have more resources that generate more value than others. On the other hand, RBV considers existing

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<sup>26</sup> These theories conceptualize the process of firms resource mobilization as a creative and entrepreneurial skilled craft which requires substantial firm-specific resources and tacit knowledge. See for more details: Barney, J. B., & Arikan, A. M. 2001, “The Resource-Based View: Origins and Implications”, in *Handbook of Strategic Management*.



and potential resources limited across firms and difficult for competitors to replicate (Ibid). These RBV theories also underline how resource mobilizing is an important part of the entrepreneurial process (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000).

Literature on bricolage effectuation has addressed how new ventures mobilize resources, especially when weak institutions are against granting new ventures access to funds (Desa & Basu, 2013; Villanueva et al., 2012). Through this lens, scarcity is seen as an obstacle and resources as given, objective, unproblematic, and dependent on the specific organization (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

For instance, effectuation is based on the understanding that rapid change has led to a situation in which the future is unknown, and entrepreneurs must make decisions about companies, markets, and industries that do not yet exist. Sarasvathy (2001) first conceptualized effectuation theory as an alternative way to understand the entrepreneurial process in the issues related to the dynamic change of entrepreneurial environments, lack of sufficient information, or skills needed by entrepreneurs to readily recognize and evaluate opportunities before their exploitation. Using effectuation logic enables the entrepreneur to assess themselves rather than the opportunity. The process can be summarized into several non-linear key elements. First, entrepreneurs explore the available means. Thus, instead of having a predefined end, entrepreneurs assess every resource under their control by asking, “Who am I?”, “What do I know?”, and “Whom do I know to uncover opportunities?” Second, entrepreneurs make their decisions based on their willingness and commitment to accept affordable losses rather than expected returns. Therefore, it is possible to determine how much loss is affordable and experiment with different strategies. Third, effectuation emphasizes strategic alliances and pre-commitments from different stakeholders to reduce and/or eliminate uncertainty and overcome entry barriers. Fourth, the effectual approach tends to identify the controllable aspects of an unpredictable future rather than predicting an uncertain one. As effectuation intends, there is no need for future predictions. While the causation model assumes that the market existence is not dependent on exogenous factors and the entrepreneur must conquer the given opportunities, in the effectuation model, the entrepreneur creates the opportunities by bringing in enough stakeholders who also develop the company.

Another relevant theory, developed parallel to the effectuation theory, is bricolage, which refers to applying and recombining existing resources and altering their original intent for new purposes (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Levi-Strauss, 1967). From a bricolage perspective, a company can survive in competitive markets by exploiting new opportunities through inexpensive means and using the resources at hand instead of acquiring new resources (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Baker and Nelson (2005) derived the theory of entrepreneurial bricolage by

asserting that, in a condition of extreme environmental constraint, entrepreneurs have three options: (a) seek resources outside the firm domain; (b) avoid new challenges by remaining inactive, downsizing, or disbanding; or (c) enact bricolage through using a combination of resources at hand to solve new problems and create new opportunities.

Although bricolage and effectuation are often presented as two separate theories, the concepts overlap (Chang & Rieple, 2018). Both theories assert that scarcity can be a source of opportunity creation, and both contrast with ideas in the more traditional economic models of entrepreneurship (e.g., causation model). Fisher (2012) created a framework by attempting to integrate ideas from Sarasvathy (2001), Baker and Nelson (2005), and Chandler et al. (2011), identifying four foundational dimensions where the two theories overlap: (i) existing resources as a source of entrepreneurial opportunity, (ii) action as a mechanism for overcoming resource constraints, (iii) community engagement as a catalyst for venture emergence and growth, and (iv) resource constraints as a source of creativity (see table 4).

This study first considered that bricolage is the most congruent type of entrepreneurial process, while it is true that both approaches start with an available resource for new options. The context is highly scarce as well; the RC community suffers from the loss of several assets. Therefore, “affordable lost” logic of effectuation that usually is adopted by expert entrepreneurs (Sarasvathy & Dew, 2008) cannot be fully applied to RCE. Second, RC is a temporary setting that accidentally becomes a permanent socio-economic space; still, it is highly precarious, and the refugee community themselves do not have a secure definitive future consideration. Therefore, entrepreneurs' logic could not be oriented to control the future; instead, for RCE bricoleurs, improvising through trial and error processes, with innovative reuse of available resources might be more logical to achieve their purpose (Fisher, 2012; Heilbrunn, 2019).

Table 4: Key elements of causation, effectuation, and bricolage

	<b>Causation</b>	<b>Effectuation</b>	<b>Bricolage</b>
<b>Attribute</b>	Decision-making logics	Decision-making logics	Resourcing behaviours
<b>Theoretical foundation</b>	Rational decision-making perspectives of neoclassical microeconomics	Bounded rationality stemming from perceptions of uncertainty	Penrose's distinction of resources and services: a resource can be viewed as a bundle of possible services
<b>Underlying assumption</b>	To the extent we can predict the future, we can control it.	To the extent we can control the future, we do not need to predict it.	
<b>Principle and elements</b>	Goals driven; expected returns; competitive analysis; avoiding the unexpected	Means driven; affordable loss; partnerships; acknowledging the unexpected	Resource environments are socially constructed rather than predefined.
<b>Process</b>	Select means to create a given effect	Start from means to allow the effect to emerge	Making do; Using resources at hand; combining resources for new purpose
<b>Applicable</b>	Static, linear, and independent environment	Dynamic, non-linear, and ecological environment	Resource-scarce environment
<b>Opportunity</b>	Market imperfection; opportunities are identified a priori	Unspecified possible (near-term) future; Entrepreneurial opportunities are subjective, socially constructed, and created through a process of enactment.	Unspecified (known or unknown problem); resource environments are socially constructed.

Source: Fisher (2012)

### III.2.1. Bricolage theory

Lévi-Strauss (1966) used “bricolage” to understand the practical form of indigenous knowledge through intimate exploratory experience. In this organic concept, the author explains bricolage as an individual’s ability to intuitively combine the heterogeneous repertoire at hand to build something meaningful through the art of recombination. This bicolour contrasts with the scientist who creates means and results in the form of events due to constantly elaborated structures, hypotheses and theories (Lévi-Strauss, 1966, p 5). The author described a bricoleur as someone who can perform many diverse tasks by utilizing whatever is available to them. What is at hand can be a set of tools and materials that are finite and heterogeneous in that they may not be related to the current project. The use of the resources is contingent on the need of the moment. Today, this paradigm has been adopted in the plurality and complex dimension of knowledge (Rogers, 2012) and is often closely aligned with political bricolage, “institutional bricolage” (Mari & Marti, 2009), entrepreneurial bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005), and social bricolage (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007).

When Baker and Nelson (2005) wrote their often-referenced article *Creating Something from Nothing: Resource Construction through Entrepreneurial Bricolage*, they defined bricolage as “making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities” (p. 333). Another notable definition was given by Pina and Cunha (2005): “local, contextual, and sudden process [. . .] which cannot be thought of outside the specific situation where it appears” (p. 6).

According to Baker and Nelson (2005), firms that engage in bricolage create something from nothing using what they have at hand to render innovative services, and they are willing to refuse to enact limitations commonly accepted by others. Firms’ ability to engage in bricolage to test and counteract limitations involves creativity, improvisation, and various social and network skills (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Weick (1993) described a bricoleur as an entrepreneur who is creative under pressure using whatever material they have to achieve an aim. Based on their superior knowledge of the material at hand, they can recombine it into a novel form (Weick, 1993). Bricoleurs have been described as tinkerers, improvising, imagining, and playing while searching for new, unexpected cultural resources to achieve their aims (Miettinen & Virkkunen, 2005). For example, Garud and Karnoe (2003) observed that engineers in the Danish wind turbine industry who had a practical interest in wind energy but few financial resources approached scrap dealers for materials. In contrast, optimization involves the acquisition of new standard resources that have proven capabilities for the specific application for which they are intended (Garud & Karnoe 2003). For example, new ventures use optimization to enhance operating, improve organisational efficiencies, and realize desired

ends by obtaining high-quality resource input irrespective of the cost (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). It is also clear that, in this literature, improvisation is the building block as Baker and Nelson argued that bricolage sometimes appears as the cause of improvisation (p. 360).

The bricolage approach is associated with many positive outcomes of the bricolage use in the emerging stage of opportunity identification (An et al., 2018), firm performance (Senyard et al., 2011), firm growth (Baker & Nelson, 2005), and sales and innovation (Senyard et al., 2010). Bricolage capability provides survival advantages during periods of low resource stocks experienced by most new firms, even in a generally munificent environment. Similar advantages may occur for firms in poor resource areas and in the munificent environment (Baker & Nelson, 2005). However, some argue that bricolage might give rough, incomplete, and low-quality outcomes, often leading to poor performance and stagnation (Lanzara, 1999; Hulsink, 2006). According to Servantie and Hlady-Rispal (2016), the use of bricolage combined with effectuation and causation can lead to a more successful venture.

In temporary situations, emergency context usually induces technical and social bricolage (Johannisson & Olaison, 2007; Agier, 2000). The literature also extends bricolage to explain the entrepreneurial process in the aftermath of disaster bricolage (Nelson & Lima 2020 Williams et al., 2017; Gilbert-Saad et al., 2018) and crises management, such as the current global distress of Covid-19 and firms' response through combining (Kuckertz et al., 2020). Johannisson and Olaison (2007) have thus used "social bricolage" as a spontaneous collective effort produced by social capital as a coping mechanism in natural disasters. Resource mobilization through bricolage becomes inevitable during the emergence of new institutional arrangements, according to scholars such as Lanzara (1999). Indeed, scholars argue that new institutions (e.g., new markets) are built through the redeployment of available resources to meet the demands of changing markets through reusing and redeploying resources (Ciborra, 1996; Mair & Marti, 2009).

However, few studies explore bricolage in specific settings of extreme resource constraints. How entrepreneurial bricolage is practised in the developing extreme resource-constrained context, especially in the RC, is relatively underexplored (Heilbrunn, 2019). Moreover, studies have not yet focused on the role of bricolage in formal and well-institutionalized organizations. However, the informal context represents a consistent part of the camp's economy (Betts et al., 2017). While bricolage is often used in relative scarcity, its application in a penurious area is also important to understanding low-income individuals venturing in an informal economy that is a socially embedded institution (Cleaver, 2002; Holt & Littlewood, 2017 Webb et al., 2009)

### III.2.2. Entrepreneurial process of bricolage

Baker and Nelson (2005) reconfigured the entrepreneur. The starting point of the bricolage process is a penurious environment, which is described as follows: “it presents new challenges, whether opportunities or problems, without providing new resources” (2005, p.353). The process of entrepreneurial bricolage captures the options available to entrepreneurs in penurious environments: avoid challenge, seek resources, or make do with available resources (see figure 17). Baker and Nelson (2005, p.333-334) divide the definition of bricolage into three elements: to make do, resources at hand, and recombination of resources for a new purpose. By making do with what is on hand, an entrepreneur can leverage physical, institutional, or human resources in novel ways.

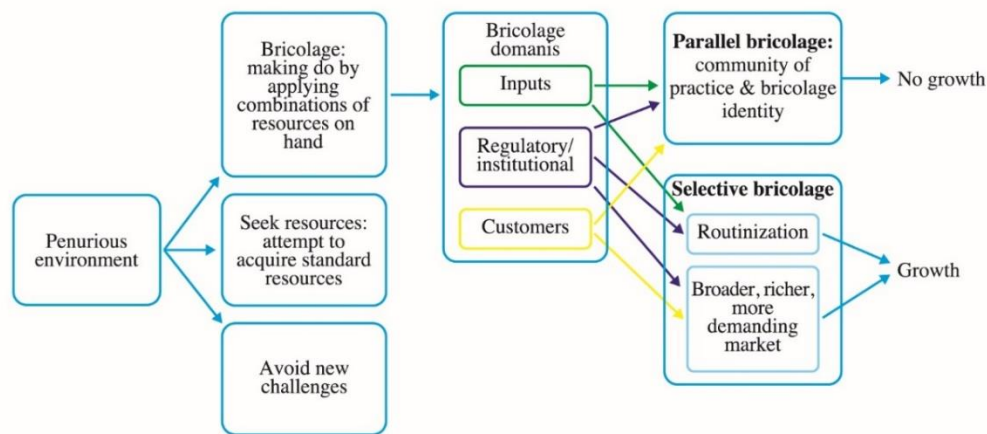


Figure 17: Process of entrepreneurial bricolage

Source: Baker and Nelson (2005)

Making do imply a bias toward action and active engagement with problems and opportunities. By “making do”, entrepreneurs refuse to enact resource limitations and persist in finding ways to address challenges. Consequently, out of necessity, bricoleurs find imperfect solutions by using and combining unusual and unrelated resources (Senyard et al., 2014). Although these imperfect solutions can be useful in the short term, they can lead to a lack of focus on strategic planning and more permanent solutions, as well as an inability to develop learning competencies (Baker et al., 2007; Johannisson & Olaison, 2007; Miner et al., 2001). Baker et al. (2007) identified five domains in which bricolage might be applied: physical input, labour, skills, customers, and the institutional environment. The authors specified

*“ Bricolage across multiple domains generates mutually reinforcing patterns and, in some cases, firm identity and community of practice that cements firms into the practice of parallel bricolage and stalled growth [ . . . ] In contrast, firms that engaged in*

*selective bricolage created something from nothing in fewer domains. Evidently, because they escaped the self-reinforcing dynamics of the parallel bricolage identity and organizational form, these firms often preserved the ability to leverage the unique services created through bricolage to generate growth” (p. 354).*

Baker and Nelson (2005) highlighted entrepreneurial bricolage as the pursuit of opportunities through close regard to resources at hand, distinguishing between selective and parallel bricolage. When pursuing parallel bricolage, entrepreneurs consistently and repeatedly use bricolage in every dimension mentioned above. Moreover, entrepreneurs often lack proper education on how to use resources and may fail to take advantage of growth potential. In contrast, entrepreneurs engaged in selective bricolage temporarily adopt and take advantage of this behaviour in a selective way. This prospering use of bricolage is often observed during the founding process of businesses, further opting for a more growth-oriented performance (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Rönkkö, Peltonen & Arenius, 2013).

Vanevenhoven et al. (2011) described how bricolage influences the process of entrepreneurship conceptualized by Shane (2000). The authors theorized that bricolage improves the viability of entrepreneurship by providing bricoleurs with the means to progress through three dimensions of the entrepreneurial process: opportunity generation, development, and exploitation. They explained that entrepreneurs seek, appropriate, assemble, and leverage internal and external resources. The process is quite flexible and non-linearly characterized by continuous interaction and feedback. Thus, an opportunity can be modified, abandoned, rekindled, and revised, so it can return to the beginning of the process. The authors conceptualize the generating phase as a distinctive phase whereby entrepreneurs grasp an entrepreneurial idea and identify a potential opportunity from their prior knowledge and their surrounding environment. Often in an environment characterized by economic and institutional instability, entrepreneurs do not actively scan for an opportunity but find one through tacit unplanned occurrence or casual environmental scanning. Bricoleurs usually start with a rough idea and, instead of planning, improvise and start making-do actions. They scan their immediate environment for available resources to further their progression into the entrepreneurial process. This strategy develops experiential learning and familiarity with their context and stakeholders that gradually allows the final modelling of the business concept (Baker et al., 2007; Ferneley & Bell, 2006).

Moreover, in the development phase, entrepreneurs need strategy and visible action to mobilize resources to exploit an opportunity. Bricolage allows an entrepreneur to progress from thinking to the executive dimension. Thus, the entrepreneur can surmount the physical and cognitive impediments perceived as factual or fictitious barriers. Here, bricolage enables strategy formation and recognition of new combinations of resources by means of prior

knowledge to progress from discovery to development (Vanevenhoven et al., 2011). Once an opportunity has been sufficiently developed, entrepreneurs must turn their attention to exploitation by controlling the resources at hand. Therefore, market knowledge to meet customers' needs and problems is indispensable. The more skilfully bricolage is applied to develop a generated opportunity, the more likely the entrepreneur will progress to the development phase. Likewise, the more skilfully bricolage is applied to a developed opportunity, the more likely an entrepreneur will progress to the exploitation phase (Baker et al., 2007). Figure 18 highlights the whole bricolage process; each stage relates to the combination of internal and external resources.

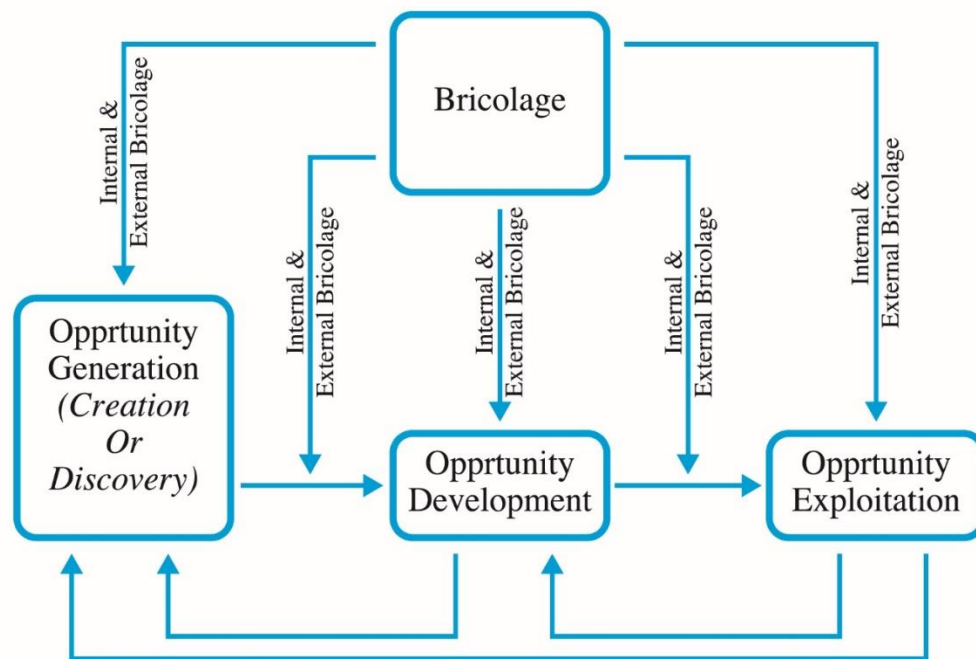


Figure 18: Bricolage entrepreneurial process: internal and external resources

Vanevenhoven et al. (2011)

The bricoleur's resources at hand may be materials, which are usually cheap and free, or non-material resources collected independently, associated with an individual's personal resources, which are the prior knowledge specific to their life experience and the unique bundle of resources to which they have access (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Baker, 2007; Dyumedjian & Rüling, 2010).

As Morris (1998) observes, resources are a vital part of the entrepreneurial process and a key role of the entrepreneur is to determine, access, and employ the necessary and appropriate resources. Baker and Nelson (2005) suggest that an entrepreneur's resources, knowledge, and application are critical links between development and exploitation. Both internal and external bricolage is vital to success in the entrepreneurial process. Internal



bricolage is associated with an individual's idiosyncratic resources, which are prior knowledge specific to their life experience and the unique bundle of resources to which they have access. External bricolage is associated with the pool of resources immediately available cheaply or freely (Keating, Geiger & McLoughlin, 2014) in the entrepreneur's external environment (Vanevenhoven et al., 2011). Literature also primarily attributes the success and failure of mobilizing resources to individual differences (see Katz and Gartner, 1988). Moreover, individual networks are predominantly used to improve resource mobilization by overcoming the liabilities of resource constraints in unfavourable circumstances (Baker et al., 2013; Banerjee & Campbell, 2009).

While resource scarcity forms a primary backdrop that prompts bricolage behaviour, resource scarcity is not a sufficient condition to describe bricolage behaviour. Simply seeking low and discounted prices and/or using a resource for its intended purpose, such as obtaining a loan from the bank, is not bricolage (Baker, 2007). The bricoleur who uses the "right resource, and then combines it with other resources to take advantage of some new opportunity, exemplifies bricolage" (Baker, 2007 p.705). Although most entrepreneurs operate under conditions of resource paucity (Baker & Nelson, 2005), marginalised communities operate under extreme contexts, where businesses are particularly constrained by individual and external resource availability. Thus, entrepreneurs in these environments can engage in bricolage to challenge the rules and norms of existing institutional arrangements by mobilizing idiosyncratic resources to capitalize on what are often necessity-based opportunities and progress through the entrepreneurial process (Mair & Marti, 2009). With severe constraints on material resources, bricoleurs focus greater attention on institutional resources, such as relationships, local knowledge, social norms, and cultural beliefs (Mecague and Olivier, 2016), imposed by conventional institutional norms, beliefs, and logic (De Domenico, Haugh and Tracy, 2010; Baker & Nelson, 2005). Baker and Nelson (2005: 336) argue that bricolage, at the level of normative and cultural institutions, recognizes the "socially constructed nature of idiosyncratic firm resource environments".

Linna (2013), in their study on the context of Kenyan innovator-entrepreneurs who design low-cost renewable energy solutions for rural people at the Base of the Pyramid, identified three bricolage behaviours associated with different stages of the innovation process: a social mindset combined with resourcefulness, making do with resources at hand, and improvisation as a way of proceeding. Therefore, some abilities, such as adaptability, improvisation, active engagement, and integrative thinking, facilitate bricolage behaviour within the entrepreneurial process itself (Winkel et al., 2013). The need for resource mobilization becomes more crucial and prominent in the extreme context of poverty, such as RC

entrepreneurs using bricolage; however, it is not clear how these entrepreneurs progress from opportunity discovery to opportunity development (Winkel, 2013, Webb et al., 2009).

### **III.2.3. Bridging institutional barriers**

Studies report bricolage's role in navigating institutions by having a creative way to overcome the barriers (Mair & Marti, 2009; Rodriguez, 2013). Institutions can be generally defined as formal and informal constraints (and incentives) devised by humans that structure social, political, and economic interaction (North, 1990). Such institutions may significantly influence the nature of entrepreneurship and the way entrepreneurs behave (Ahlstrom & Bruton, 2010). This influence is particularly apparent in emerging economies where the institutional framework is often weak, ambiguous, and turbulent, generating major uncertainties for firms (Ahlstrom & Bruton, 2010; Welter and Smallbone, 2011).

Institutional barriers generate negative consequences for society, such as the over-exploitation of human and natural resources, and the possibility to facilitate illegal activities is negatively associated with the level of innovativeness and risk-taking (Rodriguez, 2013). However, studies have reported that environmental uncertainty increases the propensity of business firms to become more entrepreneurial through creativity, proactiveness, and acceptance of risky measures (Gao et al., 2015; Mair and Marti, 2009).

Institutional barriers are different from one context to another, and there is no static and standard configuration and they institutional can result from the following:

- Inadequate institutional infrastructure, such as poorly specified property rights and contract laws (Li & Atuahene-Gima, 2001)
- Institutional voids related to the lack of rules and regulatory systems, contract-enforcing mechanisms, governance structures, control systems, property rights, specialized intermediaries, limited access to capital, missing services, and weak infrastructure (Mair & Marti, 2009);
- Institutional susceptibility/obstacles, such as excessive regulatory requirements and requests for bribery (Luo & Junkunc, 2008);
- Ambiguous and redundant amounts of legislation that increase transaction costs and decrease operating efficiency (Ahlstrom & Bruton, 2010);
- Social barriers include different languages, social approaches, socio-cultural traits, and habits and attitudes of foreign customers and clients, as well as verbal and non-verbal language differences (Doern & Goss, 2013);

- Institutional barriers can also rise to specific groups such as refugees, where the government creates intentional voids through complicated and ambiguous legal frameworks. Preventing, therefore, the proliferation of refugees (Heilbrunn, 2019).

Cleaver et al. (2013) attempted to understand how state and citizens interact to produce local institutions, suggesting hybrid arrangements are formed through bricolage. This perspective portrays governance arrangements as negotiated and structured, benefiting some and disadvantaging others. They use “situated agency” ideas to define bricolage practices: “they are not just creative processes in which every outcome is possible: they are situated in social life and shaped by routines, traditions, social norms or culture” (De Koning & Benneker, 2012, p.3).

Bricolage has also been conceptualized as a tool to create institutional bricolage in an emergency situation for unexpected events or one-off crises (Ciborra, 2002; Johansson & Oliason, 2007; Weick, 1993). Many later articles cite Lanzara (1998) as developing the idea of “institutional bricolage” (with Weick and Ciborra). He states that bricolage may be seen as a second-best strategy, yet it is the only way to build and innovate in situations characterized by high uncertainty, risk adversity, lack of trust, political conflict, and resource shortage: “it is a way of coping with complexity.” Khanna and colleagues (Khanna, Palepu, & Sinha, 2005; Khanna & Palepu, 1997; Khanna & Palepu, 2011) underline the possibility of entrepreneurial agency exercised by organizations in overcoming bureaucratic barriers or replacing public institutions. In a similar vein, Mair, Marti, and Ventresca (2012) describe how entrepreneurs in Bangladesh have taken advantage of institutional voids to socially innovate in a strategy of inclusion. Mair and Marti (2009) conceptualize bricolage by analysing institutional entrepreneurs who address the institutional voids through the political nature of bricolage. This bricolage behaviour encompasses the continuous combination and recombination of different practices, organizational forms, physical resources, and institutions to rearrange the institutional barriers to access the market. Moreover, the study also highlights the unintended and potentially negative consequences that institutional entrepreneurs achieve through the employment of bricolage behaviour.

De la Chaux and Haugh (2015) identified important institutional voids that characterize the context of RC: “institutional paralysis” when actors seek legitimacy, ignoring the formally institutionalized rules; ambiguity through different informal institutions that co-exists in the absence of formal and strong arrangements; and incongruence in the institutional rule. Betts et al. (2016) developed a theoretical framework viewing the present RC market distortion as a source of opportunity. As these voids arise from the incapacity of an institutional system to

calibrate multiple refugee demands (Hall & Soskice, 2001), individuals act as an agency by taking advantage of artificial scarcity and asymmetric or incomplete market information and elevated transaction costs (Betts et al. 2016 p:49). Multinational resources from outside the environment or the resources combined by a business group inside the environment can fill these institutional voids (Schrammel, 2013). Moreover, cross-sector alliances between commercial companies and local social entrepreneurs have been shown to reduce the uncertainty caused by weak market institutions (Webb et al., 2010).

### **III.3. Conclusion**

Refugee camps often develop an idiosyncratic space for entrepreneurial activities, which enrich not only the life of camp inhabitants but also the local economy. The entrepreneurial activities are intertwined with the camp context and the economy in the surrounding area, which results in the emergence of a unique entrepreneurial space. Previous studies have not thoroughly investigated interactions between entrepreneurial agents and spatial factors.

We find the ecosystem approach appropriate here as RCs often develop their own economy, doing so primarily through refugees' entrepreneurial activities, which are entwined in the camp's spatial factors, embedded in regional, national and international ecosystems. The process creates complex systems of social relations and material objects; it concentrates entrepreneurial activities and the new community in close geographic, institutional and relational proximity. Thus the process brings a clearly distinction of the community and place. In this ecosystem perspective, the entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurial processes are taken as a central point of analysis. We combined this perspective with the theory of bricolage in order to understand the highly constrained context with its scarcity of resources and institutional deficits.

The combination of these theories allows us to conduct micro-level and meso-level analysis, and to embrace multiple constructs, combining concepts that enable consideration of dynamic temporal and spatial EE elements. In particular, the theories helped us to recognize four core aspects that are helpful in understanding entrepreneurial dynamics within the refugee camps as entrepreneurial ecosystems (i) the role of entrepreneurial agents, (ii) ecosystem-level resources, (iii) embeddedness in a larger context, and (iv) ecosystem evolution.

Firstly, the entrepreneurial ecosystems perspective embraces dynamic, diverse and interconnected stakeholders who create a social context of entrepreneurial activities.

Therefore, it offers novel insights that go beyond static approaches to space and time. Entrepreneurial individuals are a focal point in the system, and these theories emphasize entrepreneurs' ability to access resources available within the space. Then, bricolage allows us to understand how in t in the lack of adequate resources.

Secondly, the ecosystem perspective acknowledges resources at the regional level as integral elements of the system. Scholars understand that a supportive culture, financial capital, knowledge, and individuals' talents and skills determine ecosystem development. However, As RCs generally face significant resource scarcity, the ecosystem does not have the same access to entrepreneurial resources as the traditional EE does. Understanding the refugee camp's emerging entrepreneurial dynamics from the bricolage perspective allows us to explore how resources are created, accumulated or diminished within this highly deprived context.

Thirdly, the refugee camp's economic activities are embedded in a larger context, such as the host-country markets or an international political environment. In the ecosystem debate, scholars have demonstrated the embeddedness of entrepreneurial ecosystems in broader time-spatial contexts. In addition, this study highlights that the refugees' level of embeddedness outside their local context, and included in their host country and on international level, can allow resource mobilization and accumulation within the RC.

Fourthly, recent scholarly discussions on the evolutionary aspect of entrepreneurial dynamism in the RC help us understand how EEs emerge, develop and decline, as well as how the process of building value changes and evolves over time. In particular, this allows an understanding of how the entrepreneurial activities can be sustainable from a micro-level and meso-level perspective as contextual deprivation either intensifies or as some factors become more favourable.

Finally, having considered this essential element of space, we aim next to give a holistic perspective on the dynamism of RCs, the entrepreneurial ecosystem's outcomes (entrepreneurial activities) and the output of aggregated value.

# Chapter IV. Methodological framework

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This chapter aims to present the methodological framework of the research by giving a detailed description of our qualitative approach. Making the most of our adapted research methodology was a process that developed through the research journey. The chapter consists of three sections. The first section discusses the research design (5.1), addressing the underlying philosophical, epistemological presuppositions and the research strategy that nourished our theoretical reflections. The second section (5.2) presents the research procedure, giving a detailed specification of the data collection and of the case study particularly chosen for conducting the research. Finally, the chapter presents a section (5.3) on data analysis and trustworthiness, in which we describe the way we analysed the data and the different techniques used to ensure maximum transparency.

## IV.1. Research design

### IV.1.1. Process of contextualising our research domain

The frontier of contextual entrepreneurship research has moved from such a circumscribed meaning of context towards a richer understanding which allows us, at least theoretically, to understand “context” as fluid, temporally uneven, occurring on many levels, and as a social construction which is influenced by language, cognitions and the actions of entrepreneurs and the people with whom they interact (Baker & Welter, 2018).

This section summarizes the key elements considered when contextualising entrepreneurial activities within the context of the RC. In the contextualisation process, it is important to highlight the researcher’s role in defining context through the choice of the object of study, which implies a unit of analysis (Yin, 2011). Defining the boundary and components of this research allowed us to establish the correct methodological process (Zahra, 2007). In contextualisation research, it is recommended to adopt methods that promote better visibility into the processes through which contexts are constructed and enacted (Baker & Welter 2017) and “give meaning to the findings, clarify the field’s contestable boundaries and enhance the overall research quality” (Zahra & Wright, 2011, p. 68). Therefore, we reflected on which elements of context become important elements of the models and how entrepreneurs create context by interpreting and enacting their social, spatial, and institutional contexts (Johns, 2018). In the thesis, RCE is seen as a specific context, and chapter 2 highlighted what defines the RCE as a unique entrepreneurial space and how it differs from other spaces, in other

words, the unique characteristics that explain when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved (Welter, 2011). For this study, we considered the contextual domain and the operational suggestion to define the research boundary.

First, the research serves, in general, disadvantaged groups, particularly refugee entrepreneurs. In entrepreneurship research, the heterogeneity of migrant groups led scholars to focus on the specific group of refugees, legitimising an area of research that falls under the subgroup of migrant entrepreneurship (Heilbrunn & Ianonne, 2020). Therefore, in this study definition of research contextualisation acknowledges that refugees can be a heterogeneous group (Martinez Dy, 2020). Their “otherness” contribute to the interplay of agency, structure, and culture and has provided vital insights into the relevance of social hierarchies for the study of entrepreneurship (ibid). Thus, from the literature, we identified the potential key elements needed to contextualize the specific group of refugee entrepreneurs (see chapter 2). In doing so, this study identifies the specific context of refugees in the camp as a distinctive socio-economic space representing a refugee entrepreneurship typology. This perspective can also highlight the persistence and change in the differences among similar groups and communities (Johns, 2018).

Second, RC as context also englobes the intersection of multiple levels of disadvantage. Therefore, contextualising RC means considering the intersection of multidimensional constructs of multiple deprivations (such as spatial, economic, and institutional) (Welter & Baker, 2017). The intersectionality lens mentioned in the first chapter helps to identify a context and position this study in a (relatively) more homogeneous group of refugees within the marginalised space and their individual and contextual disadvantage levels. Significantly, the constructivism approach that we adopted in this thesis broadens the intersectionality element by examining each individual’s multiple positionalities across various axes of disadvantage and advantage. In this place, social construction manifests in the “everyday entrepreneurship” influenced by culture, cognitions, and regional and national actions at broader levels (Senyard, 2010, p.3).

Third, another critical element is the temporal (i.e., understanding changes over time). Moreover, the historical element of a place and community generates collective memories, influencing entrepreneurship (Parkinson et al., 2017). To understand places as contexts for entrepreneurship, examining historical narratives and collective memories that shape peoples’ sense of what is desirable and feasible for the future is useful to determine opportunities for entrepreneurship (Stevenson & Jarillo, 2007). Moreover, particularly negative and positive events can form a specific place for entrepreneurship. For example, disaster entrepreneurship emerges in the construction of and recovery from a sudden adverse event (Williams &

Shepherd, 2016a). Similarly, the RC is the result of the massive influx of refugees fleeing from war and persecution, creating emergency recovery in a temporary space (the refugee camp). This place is susceptible to time and events that shape the history of the camp.

Therefore, this study considers the dynamic angle of analysis and multidimensional perspective, including evaluating an individual's attributes, context, and process, and the temporal dimension of an entrepreneurial venture in RC (Gartner, 1985; Stam, 2006). Figure 19 shows the process of contextualising our research through the literature and the emergence of research enquiry.



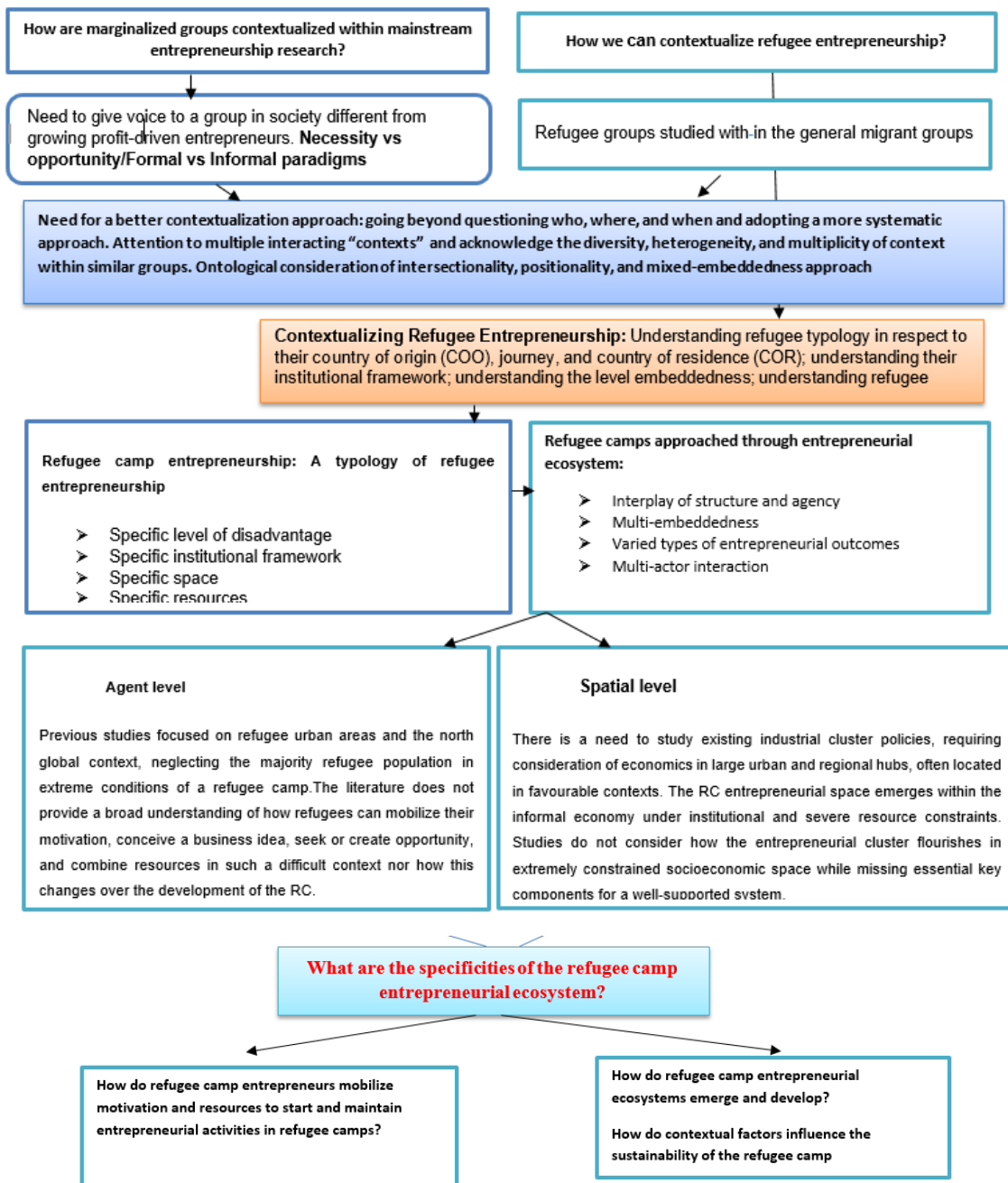


Figure 19: Identification of contextualisation elements and definition of research questions

#### **IV.1.2. Philosophical worldview**

The research paradigm is useful for understanding the varieties of interpretive research and the underlying assumptions that define what should be studied, how it should be studied, and how the study results should be interpreted (Lincoln, 2000). A paradigm comprises four elements: epistemology, ontology, methodology, and axiology. The anthropological point of view allows one to be explicit about what they believe regarding the nature of reality. Consequently, the researcher's assumption of the reality can be objective (seeking the reality) or subjective (making meaning through the researcher's cognitive process (Punch, 2005). The epistemology perspective focuses on the nature of human knowledge and comprehension. Thus, the researcher should justify how they uncover knowledge in the social context and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known. Axiology refers to the ethical and value systems or the right decisions in the process of research (Finnis, 1980). Different qualitative techniques or methodological approaches may be applied and generate distinct research designs (Hlady-Rispal, 2014).

Generally, there are two main philosophies: positivism oriented and interpretivism oriented. The first perspective is applicable when researchers seek objectivity by using rational and logical approaches and remaining emotionally neutral. Statistical and mathematical techniques are central to generalizing the investigation context (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). In interpretive research, researchers tend to understand and interpret human behaviour, rather than generalize and predict causes and effects (ibid). In this perspective, researchers aim to understand motives, meanings, reasons, and other subjective experiences of the phenomenon under study (Hlady-Rispal, 2002).

This study explores the refugee entrepreneurial experience in the new and temporary socio-economic space of RCs, hence requiring a more humanistic and subjective approach. Consequently, the underlying philosophical assumption on which this study relies is social constructivism. The construction position says that social phenomenon is due to social actors and is performed with social relations and interactions (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2009). Constructivism adopts an inter-subjective view, which leads the researcher to identify patterns and themes in the “complexity of views rather than narrow meanings in a few categories or ideas” (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). Entrepreneurially speaking, the social constructivism perspective challenges the linear, individualistic, and descriptive models of opportunity discovery. Consequently, opportunities are produced through a process of social construction (Steyaert, 1997; Sarasvathy, 2001; Baker & Nelson, 2005).

This study also reflects the suggestion that the study of entrepreneurship invites an in-depth investigation of the people, the processes, and the contexts in which entrepreneurship

occurs (Gartner, 1985). The RC's temporary institutional space is embedded between state and international governance, formal and informal sectors, and national and transnational economies (Betts et al., 2016). This study aims to enhance the understanding of these complex interactions that interplay and influence the phenomenon and its changes over time (Hosking & Hjorth, 2004). In other words, this research allows one to see context and the spatial aspects, as well as how cultural/social practices travel and migrate, thereby contributing not only to the construction of social reality but also to the formation of new opportunities in a new context (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2009). Social constructivism allows people to identify the intersection of structural inequality” (Bowleg, 2016) within a homogeneous group based on the positionality of each type of entrepreneur. In other words, even in the context of the RC, individuals with similar basic economic conditions where resources are unequally accumulated among the community creating a different form of social stratification (Martinez Dy, 2020). Therefore, this constructivist approach allows for the identification of different positionalities within the homogeneous group.

#### **IV.1.3. Qualitative research approach**

This dissertation is designed as a qualitative study with an abductive approach that moves between induction and deduction reasoning (Hlady-Rispal, 2002). Scholars continually evoke how qualitative research uniquely contributes to understanding the modern complexity that entrepreneurship research faces (Hlady-Rispal, Fayolle & Gartner, 2021).

Entrepreneurship is a phenomenon in a constant state of flux and shape and is also shaped by entrepreneurs' responses to perceived opportunities (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). Therefore, qualitative research is useful in understanding the emergence of new phenomena (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). While quantitative studies emphasise cause-and-effect explanations on the specific aspect of the phenomenon, qualitative studies consider a holistic approach that is open to understanding the phenomenon from multiple perspectives (Hlady-Rispal, 2002). According to Ulhøi, & Neergaard (2007). “The goal of qualitative research is to develop concepts that enhance the understanding of social phenomena in natural settings, with due emphasis on the meanings, experiences and views of all participants” (p.4). Qualitative methodology is a research strategy that uses various techniques of data collection and analysis in order to explain and interpret a human or social phenomenon (Hlady-Rispal, 2002). Researchers are invited to observe, talk to and interact with real-life entrepreneurs to capture the intangibles, the tacit and not immediately observable knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Moreover, it is an important approach to identify the complex overlapping mechanisms of social dynamics and, resource interchange, capturing the unique unquantifiable interaction between actors (Fayolle et al., 2016; Hlady-Rispal et al., 2016).

This study is one of the few studies to investigate the dynamic of EE within the extreme context of RC. Therefore, there is scarce empirical evidence concerning and theoretical foundations for the observed phenomena of refugee camp entrepreneurial dynamics. Therefore, for our particular case, we acknowledge that qualitative methods capture the complexity and diversity of entrepreneurial contexts and processes of context shaping entrepreneurs and vice-versa (Welter et al., 2019).

This research seeks to develop interpretive theories by exploring new causalities. Interpretive theories is to understand meanings and actions and how people construct them. According to Charmaz (2014), “Interpretive theory calls for the understanding of the studied phenomenon. This type of theory assumes emergent, multiple realities; indeterminacy; facts and values as linked; truth as provisional; and social life as processual” (p. 231). In contrast, the positivist point of view places value on explanation and prediction and emphasizes generality and universality (Charmaz, 2014).

As we already mentioned at the beginning of this section, this study's logic of reasoning is based on an abductive approach. While deductive research logic begins with theory and aims to test the theory from a hypothesis, an inductive strategy consists of lived experiences that attempt to verify the assumptions associated with the theory. Further, an abduction approach allows researchers to expand their understanding of both theory and empirical phenomena (Dubois & Gadde, 2001). The abductive approach was chosen for this study because it allows for the exploration and understanding of a social phenomenon through the social actor's lens (Dubois & Gadde, 2002).

In this context, we considered Dubois and Gadde (2002) “systematic combining” approach where theoretical framework, empirical fieldwork, and case analysis evolve simultaneously (See figure 20). Systematic combining is not nonlinear and path-dependent, where researchers are constantly involved in overlapping data analysis with data collection (Eisenhardt, 1989).

The preliminary analytical framework consists of identifying the research area and explaining the particular field of interest. The process is followed by a review of existing concepts, facts and research on entrepreneurship among refugees and other marginalised populations. Parallel to the search for useful theories and developing a general framework, the author gets involved in the empirical observations of some informal camps in Paris. Since the beginning of the research, the author contacted and interviewed several actors specialists of RC management to understand the phenomenon and collect important information on the feasibility of the field study. Therefore, the collected pre-filed empirical material and analysed

the literature, which helped determine research gaps, research questions, and interview themes to support field-based inquiry.

This back-and-forth method between, on the one hand, the collection of data and its analysis and, on the other hand, the analytical components themselves, effectively provides essential contributions in terms of the quality of the data collected. Consequently, it is possible to detect missing data and prepare for the next round of data collection. Thus, this method makes it possible to obtain the details necessary for a thorough understanding of the processes involved and to verify the initial conclusions on the data to ensure plausibility. Thus, this is a necessary step to ensure that data saturation is reached, without which the credibility of the research is questionable (Dubois & Gadde, 2002).

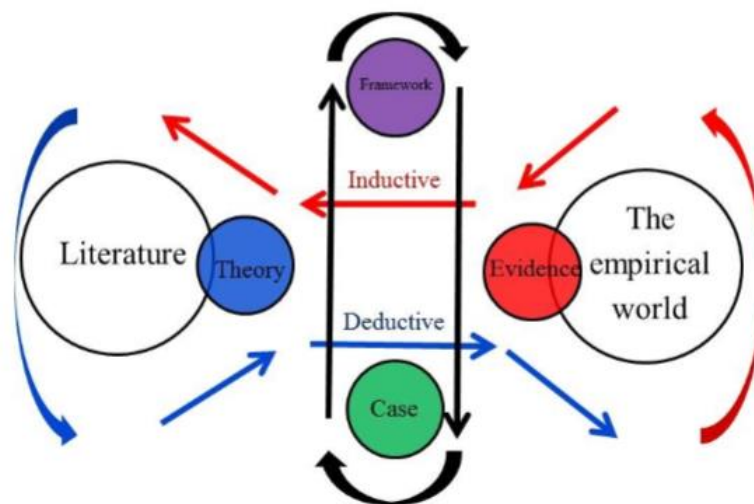


Figure 20: Systematic combining  
Dubois & Gadde (2002)

Systematic combining also consists of giving continuous direction and redirection to the study. Accordingly, Dubois and Gadde discuss that the use of multiple sources allows the investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues. This study also combines multiple sources of evidence while shifting between analysis and interpretation (Yin, 1994; Denzin, 1978). Section 4.3 also explains the rigorousness that this study implies through data analysis.

#### **IV.1.4. Research strategy**

The strategy adopted to explore this topic is a case study to frame the uniqueness of the RCE phenomenon (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2014). The camp-based refugees are temporary communities associated with multilevel problems (e.g., poverty, marginalization, legal and economic instability). Therefore, a case study was deemed most appropriate to gain an in-depth understanding of the entrepreneurial process in a deprived context. Further, to rigorously examine the marginalised community's situation and the entrepreneurial behaviours in the particular context, this case study strategy uses interviews, observations, audio-visual materials, secondary data (document, documentary, press, humanitarian report) (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Although the case study has a limitation in the transferability of the findings and operational disadvantages due to a large amount of data for analysis, in line with the research objectives, such a research design allows for an investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 1994). Using case study research permits the grounding of observations and concepts about social activities and social structures in natural settings studied close at hand. This approach provides information from a variety of sources over a period of time, thus permitting a more holistic examination of complicated social context and social action (Creswell, 2014).

The case study is a particular technique for gathering, formatting, and processing information that seeks to account for the evolving and complex nature of phenomena in a specific context (Yin, 2009). The case study, therefore, aims to reveal the trajectory followed by the phenomena studied to identify their particularities, to report a real situation taken in its context, and to analyse this situation to discover how the phenomena in which the researcher is interested manifest and evolve (Hlady-Rispal, 2016).

Case studies are classified as follows: single instrumental; collective or multiple as intrinsic, instrumental, or collective; and intrinsic (Creswell, 2014). Moreover, based on the conditions, the situations in which a case study is employed can be extreme or unique cases, representative or typical (exemplifying) cases, revelatory cases, or longitudinal cases (Yin, 2009; Bryman, 2012). This research's case study approach involves two exploratory studies: a pilot study and one field-based investigation. The cases are further classified as extreme or unique case types of the RC (Yin, 2009; Bryman, 2012). Despite the two institutional contexts of the cases, the EEs have similar resource scarcity and significant poverty levels that produce a subsistence type of entrepreneurship.

## IV.2. Research procedure

These RCs are complex social phenomena where the camp is a “special place” created in this pattern of refugee movement and system constructed on a pre-existing physical location but with new functions (Agier, 2000). For this study, two elements were considered to classify RC. The first regards the camp structure, where refugee spaces are classified as open or closed. The first are refugee camps, accommodation centres, and reception centres (Dikens, 2005; Hailey, 2009). While the second concerns the RC's legal position, where they can be formal or informal (Maestri, 2017). Formal camps are generally established by NGOs or United Nations (UN) agencies. They are legally under the host society's jurisdiction but also exempted from it (Turner, 2005). In contrast, informal camps are without any legal authorization, support of governments, and/or the supervision of international organizations (Hovil, 2007). These communities are usually seen as self-segregating (Hailey, 2009). This represents a large number of refugees across the world (Karadawi, 1983). Over the last decade, these self-settled camps have characterized the refugee crises in Europe, such as Calais Jungle in France).

This study focuses on formal and informal open refugee camps. The selected cases pertain to two extreme cases in two different institutional contexts. The first study was an exploratory pilot that began just a few months after the Calais Jungle refugee camps' dismantling in the autumn of 2016. Therefore, this study was *a posteriori* from different primary and secondary sources. Following this study, the author conducted a field-based investigation in an RC in Eritrea. Little is known about the Somali RC; the majority of refugee economy studies have focused on large countries receiving a huge number of refugees (Jacobsen, 2005; Werker, 2007; Betts et al., 2015; Alloush et al. 2015; Oka, 2014). Therefore, this study was selected to represent Eritrea's particular context with a limited migrant population as it lacks laws regarding the protection of refugees, who are usually not recognized. Around 18% of the total migrant stock are recognized refugees (UN DESA, 2015a).

The unit of analysis needs to be well-specified to develop a decent theory because a superficial unit of analysis reduces the possibility of meaningful conclusions (Yin, 2009). The study adopted a multilevel approach in exploring entrepreneurship in constrained external environments, considering the entrepreneur, the firm, and the entrepreneurial environment (Gartner, 1985). The data collection process detailed in each case is described in the following sections (see table 5).

Table 5: Details of the two case studies

	Calais refugee camp	Umkulu refugee camp
	<b>Exploratory case study</b>	<b>Fieldwork experience</b>
<b>Purpose</b>	Serves as a pilot case study to understand the phenomenon	Understanding the context through lived experience
<b>Period</b>	Started <i>a posteriori</i> of the RC dismantlement (10 years) of transit camp and 2-year socio-economic space	Two decades of camp establishment
<b>Type of camp</b>	Informal camp in France	Formal camp in Eritrea
<b>Specificity</b>	Extreme case, unique in its type; rich institutional context	Extreme case, unique in its type; poor institutional context
<b>Unit of analysis</b>	Entrepreneurs; entrepreneurial process	Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial process
<b>Data collection approach</b>	Interviews; journal; article; documentary (video); press	Interviews; observation; secondary documents
<b>Extreme case</b>	Unique in its typology. The largest unofficial camp in Europe	Small camp, unique in its typology and barely accessible to scientific investigation

### IV.2.1. Semi-structured interviews

To capture consistent data, we use predominantly applied semi-structured interviews. Then, additional data collection instruments were used, depending on each study's specificity. All interviews were audiotaped with the consent of participants (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). Interviews are important because they are a tacit self-explanation of originating actions (Hindle, 2010). Semi-structured interviews were chosen to allow the interviewees a degree of freedom to explain their experience yet be oriented by the pre-structured topic of interest (Hjorth, 2007).

Although the qualitative study does not impose strict rules (Valentine, 2005), there are key procedures that researchers need to define, including a clear definition of the topic and a list of topics or questions to ask participants. For the interview guide and selection criteria, the study attempts to understand the entrepreneurial process according to Betts, Bloom and Omata guidelines (2015) (see Appendix 2). Therefore, formal and informal interviews with refugee entrepreneurs, consumers, NGOs, and other relevant actors were conducted. The interview guide served as a reference point and, in particular, as a final check before closing the interview (Burnard, 1991).



The interview structure consisted of three primary sections. The first section asked for the interviewee's description and background, followed by questions that explored strategies used in the entrepreneurial journey (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004). This second section also aimed to determine the entrepreneurs' financial, social, cultural, and environmental enablers/constraints. In the first instance, open-ended questions were posed to the participants to ensure they felt comfortable and open to express their perspectives on RCE. Once the participants were comfortable, specific questions emerged to refine and deepen the study's objective (Eisenhardt's, 1989a). This approach occasionally resulted in irrelevant information, but this information was tolerated and even encouraged to move the discussion to areas that we had not previously considered (Yin, 2009).

The third section explored the business value, capturing the changes that occurred in the RC's evolution. Using the narratives of entrepreneurs allow us to contextualize our study and how different part of the story receive their meanings to reconstruct the entrepreneurial process (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2004). Events captured in each narration had a particular meaning for our analysis to understand the evolutionary process of the socio-economic-space under investigation (cf. Van de Ven a & Engleman, 2004) (see figure 21). Therefore, this study takes as the temporal element as critical to understanding the emergence, development, and decline of entrepreneurial activities in the unique space of RC (Welter, 2011).

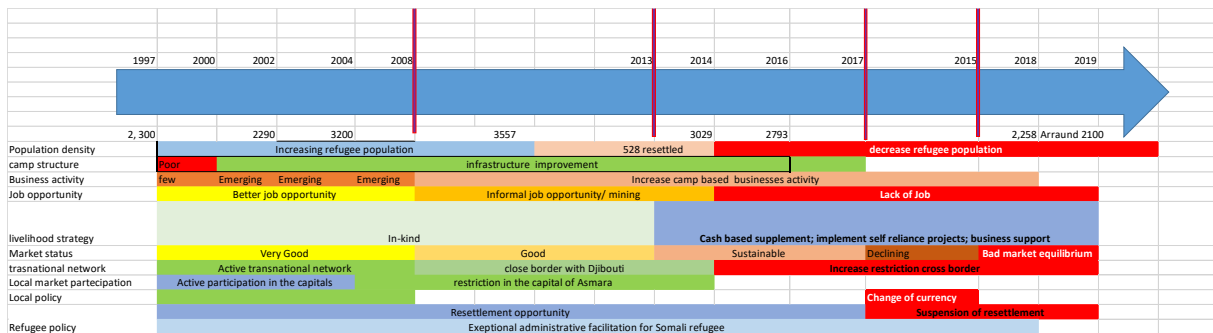


Figure 21 : Evolutionary event capturing process

Own source

## IV.2.2. Pilot study

### IV.2.2.1. Calais refugee camp

Calais is a city in the north of France, positioned at the narrowest point of the English Channel. Thus, Calais a key hub in connections between the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe, both by sea and by the Eurotunnel (see figure 22). Calais as an entry tunnel to Britany began early in 1998 by refugees coming from Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan (Camille Adaoust, 2015).

There are different reasons for the commencement and intensification of these around Calais port of France. First, the fall of the Communist regimes led citizens of East European countries to an ex-migratory flux. The number of people arriving rose sharply, particularly with the war in Kosovo (Reinisch, 2015). Second, the opening of the Channel Tunnel in 1994 created a new underground border between France and the UK, allowing people to easily reach Britain (Agier, 2018). Third, over the years, different wars and political pressure in the middle east and Africa have created an uncontrollable mass movement of refugees that echoed the European migrant crisis from 2004 to 2015 (ibid). The aggravation of the conflict in Afghanistan after 2005 led to the arrival of a larger number of Afghan refugees in Europe, which became a sensitive issue at the UK border. Fourth, in 1995, the Schengen Area was created, allowing people to travel freely between an initial seven European countries without any passport controls at the borders (Ibrahim, 2016). Fifth, England has become an attractive country for situations in terms. The 2014/15 Jungle escalated during periods when British and French unemployment and levels of economic activity diverged, which fuelled perceived and actual differences in prospects of newcomers (Mould et al., 2014). These jobs are attractive to migrant workers, refugees, and traffickers as their bureaucratic and “official” oversights are low or non-existent, effectively annihilating the barriers to entry (ibid).

In 2015, the flow of refugees was augmented due to multiple conflicts in the world, creating the origin of migrants diversity to Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Eritrea (Camille Adaoust, 2015). This time the formation of the camp evolved differently in respect to the previous camps in the Calais borders. The Jungle was also hosting asylum seekers waiting for the process in France and family reunification in the UK. The informal camps then emerged spontaneously as precarious installations of a waiting population, a vast and chaotic complex with thousands of people inside tents or shacks, in conditions of poverty (Babel, 2016). The exponential increase of refugees caught international public attention and encouraged social movements to protect and advocate for refugees from different parts of Europe (Sandri, 2017). Therefore, this unauthorized sprawl filled with migrants became the largest of its kind in Europe and the first slum to be tolerated by the French authorities since the closure of the Sangatte centre in 2002 (The connexion, 2009). In one year, the camp developed a distinctive socio-economic space that has attracted journalists' attention. These journalists particularly highlight the entrepreneurial activities emerging in the margin area of Calais—termed the “Jungle” which reinforces the wild, chaotic, and ephemeral place with no project and no social contract (Williams, 2015). In February 2016, the French authorities ordered the eviction<sup>27</sup> of the camp, and since then, the space returned to strict surveillance to avoid informal settlements.

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<sup>27</sup> Jean-Baptiste François. “Calais : l'évacuation imminente inquiète les ONG”, *La Croix*, 10 octobre 2016. En ligne. <<http://www.la-croix.com/France/Immigration/Calais-levacuation-imm-inquete-ONG-2016-10-10-1200795190>>. Accessed December 2016.

#### IV.2.2.2. Data collection

This exploratory study began right after the dismantlement of Jungle Calais RC. Therefore, a series of semi-structured interviews with former refugee entrepreneurs, volunteers at that time, NGOs directors and key informants was conducted. Moreover, several interviews with refugees who had business in the camp, volunteers, and NGOs members were performed. Different data sources, such as press photographs, journals, and video documentaries describing the informal business within the Jungle Calais, books, and articles, complemented the interviews (see table 6).

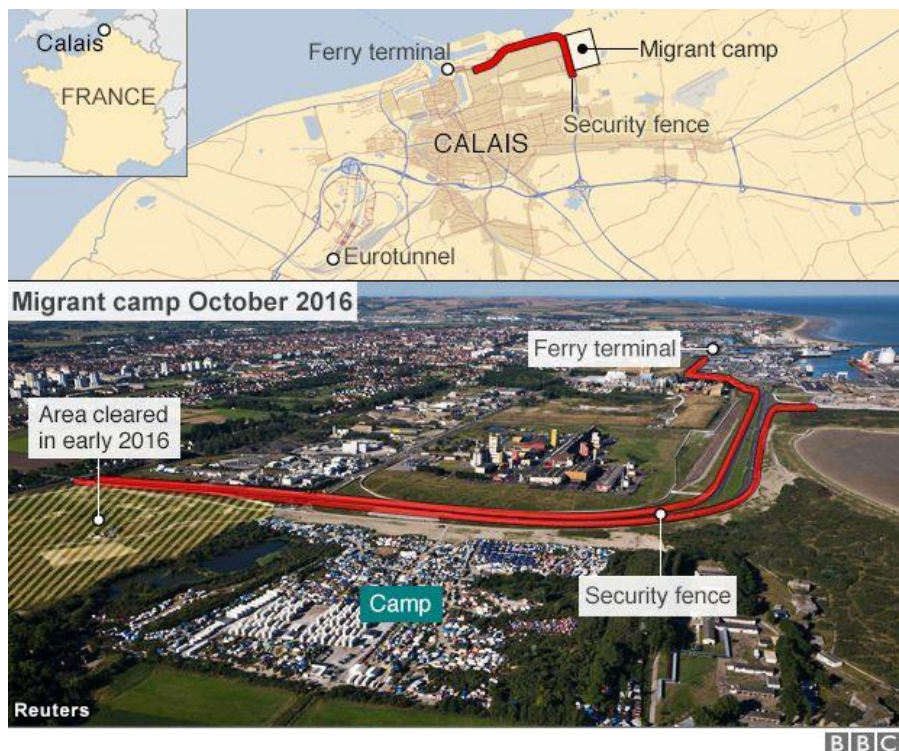


Figure 22: Calais “Jungle” refugee camp

Source: BBC, 2016

In addition to the legitimate criticism and scepticism of the journalistic data, which is usually associated with distortions and inaccuracies, this data is also recognized for its significant impact and effect on public awareness, perceptions of the social and physical environment, and cultural and biological needs (McKenna, Myers & Newman, 2017). The photographs and video documentation act as powerful empirical material (Maire & Liarte, 2018) and trace the entrepreneurial activity vividly in Calais Jungle's shantytown of refugees. The visual insight helped to capture reality (Mogalakwe, 2006) and identify former refugee entrepreneurs. Moreover, social media resulted a powerful instrument to search and contact former entrepreneurs of Calais Jungle RC (McKenna, Myers & Newman, 2017).

Table 6: Data source specifications

Data sources		
Media news	Number	Specification
Article	16	Predominantly English
Videos	5	YouTube (BBC news, RT news, The Worldwide Tribe, France24, France3, Unilad Nomad barber)
Interviews	Number	Specifications
Refugee ex-entrepreneur	3	3 Restaurants
Volunteer	2	
Journalist	1	
Key informants		
Refugee	4	Refugees who have transited through RC
NGOs member	2	

Own source

### IV.2.3. Field-based investigation

#### IV.2.3.1. Umkulu refugee camp

Eritrea is a small, coastal country strategically located along the Red Sea in the Horn of Africa and bordered by Sudan, Ethiopia, and Djibouti (see figure 23). Eritrea regained self-rule in 1991 and full independence in 1993, and Somali refugees arrived in 1996 in the middle of the stabilization, reconstruction, and development period after the long liberation war. Eritrea clashed again with Ethiopia in 1998-2000, which triggered a rapid slide into institutional hardiness and economic fragility. Eritrea is mostly known as one of the most refugee producing countries. Consequently, the country is mostly known as one of the most refugee producer countries. Somali refugees arrived in 1996 in the middle of the stabilization, reconstruction and development period from post a long liberation war, and they count 97.5 per cent of refugees and the rest are from Sudan, Ethiopia, and South Sudan have been recognized as refugees.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>See more details on Eritrea and Somali refugee in Eritrea in: UN, S. (2013). *Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea pursuant to Security Council Resolution 2060 (2012): Somalia*. S/2013/413. Available: <[http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/ct/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_2013\\_413.pdf](http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/ct/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2013_413.pdf)>. Accessed 02/09/2014). MMGSG. (2017). *Eritrea migration profile. Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa*. Maastricht: Maastricht Graduate School of Governance

Most Somali refugees arrived in Eritrea because the government was exceptionally giving refugee status to Somalia. Somali account for 97.5% of refugees, and the rest from Sudan, Ethiopia, and South Sudan have been recognized as refugees (UNHCR, 2017; Marchand et al., 2016). The Eritrean Office of Refugee Affairs, in partnership with UNHCR, delivers protection and assistance to refugees of the camp (UNHCR, 2015). Refugees do not have the right to citizenship. Basically, refugees have camp-based healthcare and education. If needed, they can have access to regional or national health services. Regarding education, refugees attend primary school at the camp, and they can attend secondary schools in the regional state schools.

Refugees are not allowed to have a license or work permit. However, they can engage themselves in informal employment within 25 km of the camp. Moreover, they can start an informal business in the camp.

The camp remained for almost two decades under transitional political arrangements focused on national security and an economic model based on self-reliance and a more state-led planned economy (Connel, 2018). The unique aspect of the camp of Umkulu, with its administrative centre, was self-regulated through the refugee community as any local area of the country. According to most interviewees, the shops did not have any security concerns. However, due to the lack of durable solutions and increasing difficulties, since 2016, refugees within the Umkulu camp have diminished. Especially with the temporary opening of the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia, refugees crossed the border and the total refugee number by September 2021 arrived at 80<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> See : "Unhcr appeals eritrea somali refugee camp closure". Available: < <https://www.tesfanews.net/unhcr-appeals-eritrea-somali-refugee-camp-closure>>. Accessed December, 2019

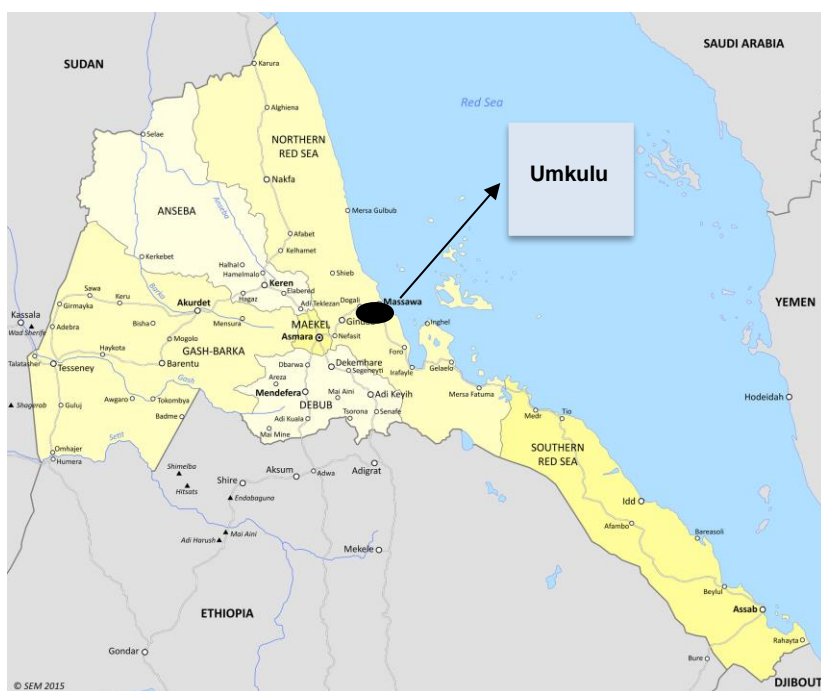


Figure 23: Umkulu refugee camp in Eritrea

Source: EASO(2015)

#### IV.2.3.2. Research protocols

##### Phase 1: gaining access

The process of accessing the camp took almost two months. First, the author collected information on Somali RC using some personal contacts, some of whom were former UN workers. Once the author understood that the RC has a distinctive entrepreneurial ecosystem, the first phone contact was made with the UNCHR office of Asmara. It was, thus, possible to have a first informal interaction with the UN director and coordinator, discussing the nature of the research and the interest in studying the Umkulu refugee camp. From these initial contacts, the researcher sent a formal proposal at the request of the UNHCR directors. Consensus feedback was received after at least three weeks, for which a series of meetings were scheduled. However, the authorization for the field study had to be given by the Office of Refugee Agency (ORA), particularly by the head of the emigration office. Meanwhile, the author had several meetings with UNCHR staff and principal directors, and the project was discussed with them to gain a preliminary understanding of the Somali refugees' situation in Eritrea. After several bureaucratic procedures, authorization was obtained from the head of the immigration office in February 2018.

##### Phase 2: field data collection

The author performed data collection supported by an assistant to facilitate the interaction with the refugee and the local community. The primary source of data was approximately two weeks of permanency in the region of Massawa. Before entering the camp, we spent two days interacting with locals to understand their business perspective established in the refugee camp, followed by ten consecutive days of the camp visit.

The first day of the camp visit was a briefing day, which allowed the author to structure the research for the following days. A meeting was first held with the director of the RC administration, who provided an overview of the RC history and essential information on how to interact with the refugee community. A social assistant was made available to facilitate the RC visit and introduce the camp's entrepreneurial activities. On the same day, the entrepreneurs' names, ORA numbers, year of the establishment, the type of business, and their availability to be interviewed were registered.

Next, the author selected the entrepreneurs to be interviewed considering their heterogeneity and based on the following criteria: (i) years of establishment: to have information in the evolution of the ecosystem; (ii) type of business: includes the structured shop and street-based business, animal trading; (iii) business status: includes successful, surviving, and failing business; (iv) social groups: women entrepreneurs, youth entrepreneurs, local entrepreneurs.

Every day, the author selected about four participants to be interviewed for the following day and chose the interview time and place. In this way, the author attempted to match the participant's needs and the organizational efficiency in the data collection process. The data collection process was mainly in the place where the participants held their activity. The author had one Somali woman interpreter, who had an important role as a key informant as she helped to construct RC dynamics of the field in each interview.

Each day, the author and the assistant took the bus from Massawa at 5:30 am to reach the Camp around 6:00 am. It was highly recommended not to remain in the camp after the administration's working hour (4:00 pm). Moreover, the extreme temperature made interaction difficult during the afternoon.

The author observed 45 market-based businesses and interviewed 27 entrepreneurs (see Appendix 3 and 7). In general, informal interaction occurred for the first 30 minutes, often buying something from the store or having breakfast or lunch. This moment was critical as it often created a comfortable atmosphere and an easy dialogue with customers in the shop. The recorded interviews typically lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. Often, The author would return the following day for further conversation. In addition to interviews with entrepreneurs, the author interacted daily with clients, community seniors, and the ORA social worker. For the



formal interviews, the respondent's permission to use the audio recorder was granted, and the participant signed a consent form. The author kept a personal diary to take notes before, during, and after the interview. These notes included informal observations (Mulhall, 2003) and discussions not recorded as part of the interviews (Emerson et al., 1995). The author conducted formal and informal interviews with individual entrepreneurs between one and a half and two hours. Moreover, video-based evidence was recorded on the first visiting day. However, the author decided to interact with the community without video interference unless it was necessary.

The spontaneous interaction with the community was useful to understand the community dynamics. Mainly, the author, interacted using the local language. Often, young people know the local language, and they were available to translate the conversations with elders. Furthermore, some people naturally became a guide for exploring the community. In addition to the interactions in shops and in the market, bus trips were another way to communicate with different people. Often, in the morning, conversations were created with the bus drivers, while in the afternoon, upon returning to the hotel, conversations were held with the refugees on the bus. In addition, in the evening, the researcher often went with some friends to different bars in the city of Massawa, where several informal conversations on the dynamics of entrepreneurship in the sector and in the region occurred, helping to capture the local population's perception of Somali refugees and their activities.

Finally, the author spent the last two days in Massawa's market, observing how refugees conduct business and interact with locals.

### **IV.3. Data analysis and building trustworthiness**

#### **IV.3.1. Thematic analysis**

Each source was separately analysed through a thematic analysis to order, structure and interpret the collected data. Thematic analysis is a flexible tool for identifying, analysing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This study analysed transcripts using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019), which allows researchers to inductively and deductively develop codes through the combination of theoretical approaches, research questions, understanding of literature, and data (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Data in this research was analysed continuously through the data collecting process (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed into a Word document through which the author began to gain a general sense of the information and ideas the participants

conveyed. During this step of data familiarization, potential topics started to emerge, and the author made a list of all related topics then clustered them together. Thus, the identification of the themes was partially input for the coding process.

In the next step, the author went back to the data within the list to generate codes, which were both theory-driven (deductive) and data-driven (inductive), aligning with this dissertation's abductive approach. First, data were coded manually using Word and Excel documents by working through paragraphs. This process to generate codes for the descriptions led to a small number of categories or themes.

Following, code-recode strategy in which the same data is coded twice after a first coding gestation period (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). Therefore, a deep analysis was needed to understand the different components that structure the emerging categories and themes for this specific phenomenon. This analysis was followed by developing a more systematic approach to deepen the data and ensuring rigour through a transparent data analysis. Therefore, data were systematically organized using a qualitative data analysis software program called MAXQDA (see Appendix 5). This program also permitted a larger number of codes to be included than is manually possible. The second coding started after a three-month gestation period, using line-by-line coding (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Then, codes were reviewed and organized using more conceptual and abstract terms. Using the two-step coding approach described by Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2013), the generated list of sub-categories was grouped under descriptive labels from informant-centric (first-order terms). In the next step, theory-centric themes (second-order) were developed through an interactive process. During this stage, interaction with an outside researcher enabled the evaluation of the emerging concepts and sophisticated abstraction (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This phase aimed to reduce the amount and complexity of the information we gained from the interviews while maintaining the respondents' original voice as much as possible (Charmaz, 2014). This process resulted in more than 1,600 (see Appendix 5). The author then developed first-order codes to overview what types of information were contained in the collected data. These codes were not highly analytical or theoretical in nature but rather descriptive, and this process helped all the authors share the overview of empirical data and start initial theoretical discussions. In the second phase, the author clustered the first-order codes into more analytical categories. In the process of first-order aggregation codes into the second-order categories, the author kept reformulating the theoretical framework as several critical causal relationships started to emerge. In the final phase, the author abstracted the second-order themes into overarching dimensions by consistently comparing the emerging dimensions. By linking these themes, it was possible to transform static factors into a dynamic process model (Corbin & Strauss, 1990)

### IV.3.2. Building trustworthiness

Qualitative research is based on a subjective perspective framed by different epistemological and ontological assumptions than quantitative research. Thus, measures to assure rigour and trustworthiness are challenging aspects of the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In qualitative research, instead of the expressions of validity and reliability used in quantitative research, the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability hold more meaning in ensuring trustworthiness (Blackburn & Kovalainen, 2008). Depending upon a researcher's paradigmatic position, researchers may engage a variety of techniques to ensure the quality, reliability and validity of the study (Lincoln et al., 2013, p. 205).

The credibility criterion address the issue of congruency and the credibility of the researcher's explanation of the respondents' views and perceptions of their reality. Credibility is demonstrated through member checks, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and audit trails (Lincoln, 1995). Transferability refers to whether the findings would be similar if the same questions, with similar people, in the same basic situation were studied. According to Bitsch (2005), the "researcher facilitates the transferability judgment by a potential user through thick description' and purposeful sampling" (p. 85). The third criterion of dependability ensures the traceability of the research process. An audit trail is one tool that documents data, methods, decisions, and end product, which can be examined by an external inquirer (Schwandt, 2001). In contrast, confirmability is "concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the inquirer's imagination, but are clearly derived from the data" (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p. 392). Confirmability of qualitative inquiry is achieved through an audit trail, reflexive journal, and triangulation (Tobin & Begley, 2004).

The techniques adopted to ensure this study's credibility are as follows: triangulation, reflexivity, peer examination, thick description, audit trail, and code-recode strategy (see table 7).

The triangulation method allows ensuring data quality by analysing a research question from multiple perspectives. Patton (1999) identified data, investigator, theory, methodological type of triangulation (Patton, 2002). This study adopts different triangulation on idea convergence principles and confirmation of findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Thus, the author used various evidence sources, such as observations and field notes, photographs, videos, and other documentation. Further, the author had continuous interaction with a supervisor who had investigated several camps of Paris (investigator triangulation), which provided different perceptions of the inquiry and strengthened the integrity of the findings.

Peer debriefing was used as data was analysed, the author improved the inquiry's quality with interaction from other professional researchers. This process clarified the interpretation and contributed new or additional perspectives to the issue under study.

This study provides a thick description by describing an extensive set of details concerning methodology and context and elucidating all the research processes, from data collection and the context of the study details on each sub-cases to the production of the final report (Li, 2004) and descriptions of the study, to ensure its transferability. Interview settings were precisely described, allowing transfer to other studies. Through the stringent structure in the theoretical framework regarding the contextual factors, the author created a guideline for the reader.

Fourth the study used purposive involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Clark, 2011). The selection of participants is highly defined by the research question and underpinning the study's theoretical framework (Ary et al., 2010). This study used Stam (2015) and Spigel and Harrison (2018) EE ecosystem development for sampling and gathering information from different actors, directly and indirectly, involved with the refugee camp EE.

Fifth, to ensure the integrity and non-biased information from participants, the author's position was described to the participants. Once in the field, the author clarified and honestly informed participants that the research differs from any other field research performed to improve the refugee livelihood in the camp. At the time of the fieldwork, there was an ongoing distribution of micro capital to promote self-reliance. Therefore, the author's nonpartisan decision of future beneficiaries has been highlighted. Thus, each person approached had the opportunity to refuse to participate in the project to ensure that the data collection sessions involved only those who were genuinely willing to contribute and prepared to offer data freely (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The collected data is not representative of all RCs. However, the research design and data collected provided details on the entrepreneur, the entrepreneurial activities, and the context, allowing analytic rather than statistical generalization (Yin, 1994).

The strategies to enhance confirmability are created by transparency and full documentation of evidence, including a concise explanation of procedures, thorough description and analysis, maintaining memoranda, and the development of a case study database during the data collection stage (Yin, 1984). The author extensively documented the procedure of conducting this research study, which includes retaining audiotapes, verbatim transcripts, field notes, documents, and other materials (such as photographs and a short video).

The study used the code-recode strategy, the same data is coded twice, providing a gestation period between each coding (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). This study used this strategy to gain a deep understanding of data patterns and improve the presentation of participants' narrations through multiple observations (Ary et al., 2010).

Table 7: Techniques adopted to ensure credibility

<b>Quality aspect</b>	<b>Adopted strategies</b>	<b>Applied area</b>
<b>Credibility</b>	Triangulation	Data collection
	Peer examination	Data analysis/ report
<b>Transferability</b>	Thick description	Report
	Purposeful sampling	Data collection
	Audit trail	Data collection
<b>Dependability</b>	Code-recode strategy	Data collection
	Substantial documentation	Data Analysis
<b>Confirmability</b>	Integrity and ethics	Data collection and analysis

## IV.4. Conclusion

This chapter has described and justified the methodology we used in our research. Firstly, we highlighted how the author considered essential elements of contextualisation and identified the epistemological position essential to this inquiry. Inspired by the constructivism research paradigm, following a qualitative methodology, the researcher chose to do a case study. The chapter presented the motivation for doing an extreme case study anchored in the field investigation and the usefulness of the prior pilot study. In this particular context, this case study strategy used semi-structured interviews, observations, audio-visual materials, and secondary data in the form of reviewed documents, documentary material, press reports and humanitarian organizations' reports.

An interview protocol supported the data collection process, and all ethical considerations were followed during the fieldwork.

This analysis, data collection and interpretation approaches gave us access to the representations the interviewed actors have of the nature and specificity of their economic models. We could then compare them to draw lessons that can be generalised to the context selected for investigation. Based on this tool, a research protocol was drawn up detailing both the data sources and the analysis methods used in the empirical research.

# Chapter V. Constructing refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem through cases narratives

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This chapter sheds light on the complexity of entrepreneurial processes and the evolution of the entrepreneurial ecosystem in two refugee camps. In the first pilot case study, for several reasons, we prefer to speak of an entrepreneurial space rather than a real entrepreneurial non-ecosystem. The two camps, each with their unique features, present a complementary reality of two different institutions in the field. More specifically, the chapter consists of two sections, each describing a specific context. Section 5.1 describes the socio-economic space of the Calais refugee camp. Section 5.2 describes the emergence and development of the entrepreneurial ecosystem in the Umkulu refugee camp. This chapter is purely descriptive, presenting the cases in narrative form through a dense description, including each sub-case of individual entrepreneurs running businesses in the respective refugee camps. The description is enriched by evidence given as verbal quotes from interviews and triangulated with secondary data. In addition, each case is described under an anonymous name.

## V.1. The “Jungle” Calais refugee camp’s socio-economic space

This section is distinguished from the field case study section for two reasons. First, the study was completed retrospectively with only a few cases, which did not allow us to capture the dynamics of resource mobilisation, accumulation, and exchange among all entrepreneurs. Second, the field was informal and lasted only 18 months, which also limited the growth of a healthy socio-economic space. The case was useful in understanding an informal RC’s preconditions for a socio-economic space to emerge and the potential to develop into a true entrepreneurial ecosystem if this space lasts for several years. This section describes the emergence and the development of the socio-economic space. Moreover, the sections report the analysis of case narratives where each sub-case study is preceded by a brief presentation of the individual profile, its background, and a description of its main characteristics. This background is followed by the entrepreneurial bricolage process of each individual or category of entrepreneurs. Moreover, table 8 presents the categorisation of the entrepreneurs, which further helped us to understand the different entrepreneurs with this specific socio-economic space.

Table 8: Specification of cases

Cases Calais refugee camp			
Group	Specification	Single cases	Description approach
Pioneers and bricolage innovators	Proactive behaviour	<i>CTRE1: the first women entrepreneur in the Tioxid informal Camp</i>	Detailed description of their profile
		<i>CJRE2: The first Afghan restaurant in the Jungle</i>	Single description of their entrepreneurial process
Imitators	Imitators	CJRE3: The three idiot	

### V.1.1. The emergence of the informal refugee camps in Calais

The informal camp of Calais, also called “the Jungle”, is the result of years of illegal movements of migrants wishing to settle in England or asylum seekers awaiting their refugee status. Evidence of migrant populations forming various informal settlement sites along the Franco-British and Belgian borders can be traced back to the late 1990s (Schuster, 2003). In 1999, due to the urgency of the war between Kosovars, Afghans, Iranians, and Iraqi Kurds, one of the first memorable formal emergency centres, Sangatte, was established to offer resident exiles food, care, hygiene, and legal advice on how to apply for political asylum in France (UNHCR, cited in Reinisch, 2015, p. 521). Sangatte was run by the French Red Cross and, at the time, reached 3,000 migrants. However, given the tension between France and England, Sangatte was dismantled, and all attempts to rebuild formal or informal camps were under the strict control of the French police (Rigby, 2013). This migration flow was the result of differences between the French and British economic and asylum systems.

Later, the security of the border between France and Britain began to be reinforced through a series of the protocol<sup>30</sup>. In 2000, the port of Calais was surrounded by many forms of reinforcement, such as the 2.80-meter-high fence, equipped with a detection system, which cut it off from urban space. Video surveillance cameras and CO2 gas detectors also surrounded the area with constant police monitoring in demolition to control the “spread” of the Jungle (Agier, 2018; Feigenbaum & Raoul, 2016). These difficulties substantially decreased the migrant population in Calais and increased their time spent in Calais before crossing the

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<sup>30</sup> French Senate, draft law, N° 220/ 2011, presented on behalf of Mr. Lionel Jospin by Mr. Hubert Védrine, “Protocole additionnel sur le contrôle des personnes empruntant la liaison ferroviaire entre la France et le Royaume-Uni”. Available: < <https://www.senat.fr/leg/pjl00-220.html>>. Accessed March 2018.



border, which partly explains the increase in the number of migrants (ibid). In successive years, formal refugee facilities were not available, yet the ports continued to be an occasional crossing site where informal encampments and squats existed in constant cycles of construction and destruction. The camps' appearance and disappearance were strictly dependent on political announcements and local and national political dynamics (Reinisch, 2016).

The number of migrants in Calais continued to increase, reaching 1,200 to 1,400 by July 2009. This year was also marked by the rise of European “no border” activists, who held a weeklong protest camp in the area with the intention of confronting the authorities over their treatment of displaced people. The number of refugees on the UK border increased again in summer 2013, and by summer 2014, there was a spread of encampments at the ports of the Calais region, Brittany, and Belgium borders. This new situation led to a series of new Franco–British agreements in 2014, 2015, and 2016<sup>31</sup>, which resumed and amplified the repressive measures contained in the agreement of 2009, adding a calculated financial contribution from the UK side (Agier et al., 2018). In January 2014, around 350 refugees started building small-tent camps in different areas in Calais, which attracted more refugees and migrants. In 2015, the flow of migrants increased due to the world's multiple conflicts that saw converging migrants from different origins, primarily from countries affected by war or civil war, including Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Eritrea (Camille Adaoust, 2015). As a result, the government's effort to block these borders without giving refugees better alternatives increased the creation of illegal camps. Indeed, after the closure of Sangatte, nine camps were dispersed near the French-English border, including Tioxide, the Galloo squat, the Bois Dubrulle, and Leader Price. There were also smaller sites (squats or encampments) of Sudanese, Syrian, Egyptian, and Afghan migrants (Agier, 2018; Reinisch, 2015).

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<sup>31</sup>. Barber L. & Boukanoun A. (2016), « Purgatory: a history of migrants in Calais », *Euronews*, 24/10/2016. Available: <<https://www.euronews.com/2016/10/24/purgatory-a-history-of-migrants-in-calais> >. Accessed on November 2016.

At the beginning of March 2015, a sign of a community began to appear at the Tioxide camp, housing between 700 and 900 migrants. This camp began to reflect more sophisticated architecture, such as the Ethiopian Coptic Christian Orthodox Church, mosque, a French language school, library (see figure 24). This community would later be extended into a more complex urban structure in the new Jungle.



Figure 24: Jungle library  
Source: Support Refugees<sup>32</sup>

The author traced businesses in early 2014 in the old Jungle “Tioxide camp”(see section 5.1.3.1), which was still the largest camp until it was dismantled in 2015, soon after the emergence of the New Jungle. Subsequently, all resident migrants moved to the New Jungle, increasing the population. Despite the precariousness of the camp, many commercial activities emerged, and those who started businesses in the Tioxide camp continued in the New Jungle (UMinfo-3).

The New Jungle, formed in January 2015, evolved differently from the previous camp. The creation and development of this socio-economic space no longer occurred in isolation but in symbiosis and concomitance with various other spaces and events created by different actors, including the government, the solidarity activist community, and the media.

Perhaps the first catalyst for all other spaces was Jules Ferry, a reception centre established by the government and run by the non-profit company La Vie Active. Jules Ferry

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<sup>32</sup> Image extracted from “Support Refugees: A Jewish response to the refugee crisis”. Available: <<https://www.supportrefugees.org.uk/volunteering/volunteer-in-calais/>>. Accessed October 2017.

was the first formal settlement after Sangatte to welcome vulnerable people such as women and children, with an active voluntary distribution of meals and breakfasts. Later, the Jungle emerged around this centre. This informal encampment was gradually organised by migrants with the assistance of individual volunteers, voluntary organisations, and NGOs. At the time, media and social movements created a virtual space where the public had access to this mass movement of people through all platforms, particularly social media (Ibrahim, 2016). The continued clearing and harsh and violent policies toward illegal migrants at the Calais border began to capture the attention of the international public opinion. This attention also led to the arrival of volunteers, mainly from the UK but also from other European countries. These volunteers were active in accumulating and allocating resources for migrants. Moreover, this influx was coupled with the arrival of activists from different parts of the European country to advocate for migrants (Sandri, 2018).

Another space, the Centre d'Accueil Provisoire or CAP (Temporary Reception Centre), represented the alternative to the shantytown proposed by the state and was run by La Vie Active (who already ran the Centre Jules Ferry). The CAP consisted of containers and could accommodate up to 1,500 people. Accordingly, the Jungle's informal encampment could not be dismantled with the same pattern and frequency as the previous settlements, and after the closure of the Sangatte centre, this new Jungle became the first slum tolerated by the French authorities (Agier, 2018). Thus, the living conditions of this informal encampment, gradually organised by migrants with the assistance of individuals, voluntary organisations, and NGOs, seem to provide more stability than the others. Although a form of migrant community emerged in the previous camps, the Jungle turned into a real socio-economic space with its own market and was a living space for 6000 migrants, including families, women, and children<sup>33</sup>.

However, tolerating the jungle was not a political intention intended for a long period, leading to extreme insecurity with the lack of facilities for safe storage of food or water, and infections and diseases became prevalent in the camp (Davies, Isakjee & Dhesi, 2019). In addition, from 2013 onward, hostility toward foreigners in Calais took a more structured form, occupied a greater place in the public debate, and was encouraged by some anti-migrant positions that had been active in protecting the city and traders. These factors, again, would facilitate the government's position to take action to end the migrant situation in Calais<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> United Nations (2017), "In Search of a Dignity. Report on human rights of migrants at Europeans' borders" *United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner*. p.1-45. Con

<sup>34</sup> 'Haydée S. 'Calais: les néonazis dans le viseur', *Libération*, 19 September 2014. Available: <[http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2014/09/19/calais-impunite-pour-les-neonazis\\_1104308](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2014/09/19/calais-impunite-pour-les-neonazis_1104308)> . Accessed 4 December 2016.

### V.1.2. The development of socio-economic space in the Calais refugee camp

As the first informal refugee camp in Calais, the Jungle developed quickly through various events and resources bestowed by different actors who shaped its unique development. First, the government installed essential infrastructures, such as water points, toilets, roadways, and lighting by the region (Koegler, 2017; Ibrahim, 2016). Moreover, French authorities announced they would make the New Jungle a “permanent fixture by providing running water and electricity to the site” (Hall & Sparks 2015). The construction of key institutions, schools, a library, mosques, churches, women and children centres, and a youth club also reconstructed the ephemeral society. The first school in the camp was set up by volunteers and camp residents to provide a space for camp residents to learn French, English, history, and geography<sup>35</sup>. In terms of health, the National NGOs and MSF (Doctors without Borders) and Doctors of the World were the only international humanitarian agencies present, mostly attending to healthcare needs and operating intermittently (Sandri 2017). An important flow of resources arrived through “grassroots humanitarian aid”<sup>36</sup>, which provided material resources such as food and basic necessities, tents, blankets, and other goods, collected through benevolent actions. One of the initiators of grassroots humanitarian aid commented: “Now, 713 tents, 776 pairs of shoes and £50,000 later, they are looking to expand their fundraising efforts by setting up a new just giving page to support refugees<sup>37</sup>”. Moreover, one of our interviewees confirmed how volunteers started to rise crowd funding: “Before 2015, the camp condition was very primitive, low food distribution, there was no medical assistance, it was an absolute mess, then we went back in England, and we start a crowd funding and we raised about 16.000\$ from that sight”(CJinfo-1).

Volunteer actions went beyond material assistance, managing the Jungle with different tasks: cooking hot meals, sorting and distributing donations, building temporary shelters and toilets, organising recreational activities. As one of the first volunteers explained:

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<sup>35</sup> Refugee Rights Europe, Help Refugees , Choos Love, Human Rights Observers & L'Auberge des Migrants (2000), 'Chronologie de la situation dans le Nord de la France', Report. Available: < [https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/RRE\\_Nord-De-La-France-Chronologie-2020.pdf](https://refugee-rights.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/RRE_Nord-De-La-France-Chronologie-2020.pdf) >. Accessed on 15 March 2021.

<sup>36</sup> Grassroots La Belle Étoile, the first organization of support for migrants blocked or rejected at the border, gave them material help and legal aid. Other voluntary organizations, such as Cimade and France Terre d'Asile [France Land of Asylum], or with public services such as the Service Social d'Aide aux Étrangers [Social Service for Assistance to Foreigners] and the Centres d'Hébergement et de Réinsertion Sociale [Shelter and Social Reintegration Centres] British organization, Migrant Helpline

<sup>37</sup> Isaac, A. (2015), '#HelpCalais: how a hashtag grew into a social movement to support refugees', *The Guardian*, 1 October 2015. Available : <<https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2015/oct/01/helpcalais-how-a-hashtag-grew-into-a-social-movement-to-support-refugees>>. Accessed 8 July 2017.

*“When I first came in the Jungle I thought I would give an English lesson because I am an English teacher, then my car was more useful than me. So, I was like a taxi, bringing people to the hospital and, whenever was needed, bringing stuff. So instead of the idea of teaching, I thought to bring some of my books, and they were quickly taken. So, I started a library” (CJinfo-2).*

Intangible resources were received and interchanged with the whole migrants and humanitarian community. The independent volunteer workers’ rich humanitarian nature provided a safe space of solidarity, and without the collective mobilisation of the refugees and volunteers, the camp would be easily destroyed<sup>38</sup>. Migrants started to have hope with the arrival of many volunteer humanitarians in the summer of 2015, coupled with the No Border activists groups that had already gravitated around the Jungle (King, 2016). In this context, one must also consider the strength that the migrant community was able to mobilize through resilience, thus overcoming many difficulties through creativity, courage, and dignity. Many volunteers perceived this resilience as a life lesson, and they were often able to find or redirect their purpose in life. For example, some left their careers after this experience to become social entrepreneurs. Migrant communities generally grow naturally by spontaneous formation of a congregation of the same nationality and ethnic group and divide themselves geographically in the camp. An important aspect in the development of the informal socio-economic space is the involvement of the migrant community in the reconstruction of the living space and informal economic activities. The formation of community leaders from each of the main country groups allows people to work together to ensure peaceful relations between camp residents, local authorities, and volunteers. As explained by one of the interviewees: “My wife and I decided the running of the charity to big job. So we decided to leave in the camp. We form the peacemaker, we organize the community leaders” (CJinfo-1).

The temporary shelters were built with heterogeneous assemblages of recycling logic using donated tents, former bunkers, disused factories, plastic sheeting, pallets, tarpaulin, wood, and many others repurposed materials (see also Sabéran, 2015). With the flow of different resources, migrants also identified different business opportunities according to the community's needs in the emergency state of the camp. The Jungle thrived in genuine and licit commercial activities that emerged as an alternative or complement to the donation economy.

Three types of migrants engaged with these business activities: (i) asylum seekers in France or in other countries who wanted to take a chance in England, (ii) those who had

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<sup>38</sup> See also: Mould, O. (2017), “The Calais Jungle: A slum of London’s making”, *City*, 21(3-4), p. 388-404.

refugee status in France or in other countries, such as Italy, and had limited opportunity for integration so wanted to reach England for a better life. (iii) some businesses, held by migrants/refugees living outside of the camp, in Paris or outside the region of Île-de-France, usually selling cards or engaging in informal banking selling electronic items.

Initially, some migrants attempted to resell food distributed by grassroots NGOs, which created tensions between the migrant community and volunteers who were trying to help. Then, other migrants started creating real commercial activities, including services like barber/hairdresser and bicycle repair and shops selling a range of goods, including food, cigarettes, SIM cards, and clothes. Entertainment facilities also emerged in the form of impromptu bars and a theatre-turned-nightclub (Tomlinson, 2015b). The business market was the most striking aspect of the formation of the Jungle, and at the end of 2016, there were 72 businesses. Business feasibility was influenced by the government's temporary tolerance and the informality of the camp context. Consequently, these low-cost investments allowed accessible business initiatives since refugees do not have to deal with lengthy bureaucratic procedures, taxes, and high standards. One of the interviewees also commented:

*“Now that open a legal business for a migrant who does not have stability and do not have rights in the country, is almost impossible. They are required to go through many bureaucratic steps, it would require them many things, that they do not have now such as license” (CJinfo-1)*

The entrepreneurs gathered supplements from the local shops, markets, and black markets in different parts of the country. The meal price usually had three tariffs: low price for migrants, a slightly higher price for Europeans (volunteers, visitors, journalists), and purchase on credit (especially in the same ethnic group). Entrepreneurs often combined available resources, including those brought by volunteers, with their minimum capital. Migrants built their stalls using recycled products from NGO organizations and from bricolage shops in the city, which was also useful to many migrants for their routine activities. In fact, the camp's closure consequently led to the closure of the bricolage shop in of Calais (CJinfo-3). The majority of migrants who had profitable businesses, such as bars, restaurants, and bakeries, had minimal capital and network to start a business. Most had refugee status in another European country, and they had different work experiences. Businesses were also characterized by community: the Eritrean with a night club, the Sudanese reselling cloth and shoes, the Afghan and Pakistani predominantly engaged in commerce. Notably, the Afghans had a monopoly on those businesses (CJinfo-4).

Parallel to these activities was the resale of recycled goods from donations by migrants who did not have the minimum capital to start a business. Usually, they exchanged goods received from volunteer organizations, in particular new shoes and clothes, and in the community, this market was called the “black market”. The practice was not a profitable business, but it allowed migrants to have a few euros to buy cigarettes or credit their cell phones. However, the opportunistic and unfair behaviour created by various types of illegal activities was rampant. These activities seemed to be incited by a cynicism aimed at taking advantage of the refugees' desperation and needs.

Regarding the dynamics of business creation, after a few months, when the first business activity became established, the mafia started to finance other migrants to start businesses, and these businesses were used as intermediaries in various transactions (money transfers, guarantees for agreements made with traffickers, loans). In sum, beyond the visible negative coping strategy that emerged from the structure of the Jungle's socio-economic space (such as smuggling, money, drug trafficking, prostitution), the social and economic space had significant social value for the residents, a sense of urbanity in the middle of extreme poverty and marginality. Therefore, during the enforcement of the buffer zone, the France court's decided to temporarily leave the churches, mosques, and entrepreneurial activities, as they were providing an atmosphere of normality and a political constituency (Ramadan, 2013).

*“Somehow, we begin to see the other side of the coin. The image given by media of the squalid and dangerous settlement and the wrong perception of migrants was slowly changing thanks to the socio-economic space behind the art of solidarity. The image of Europe with an inconsistent policy appears, the solidarity of European citizens who have massively engaged themselves to the voluntary actions and activists for the refugees” (CJinfo-2).*

The author interviewed some pioneers of these initiatives whose activities had become famous meeting places for volunteers and NGO workers. The following section presents the profiles of the former entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurial process.

### **V.1.3. The business cases in the informal camps of Calais: narrative of profile and the entrepreneurial process**

#### **V.1.3.1. The first women entrepreneur in the “old Jungle” informal camp**

The first businesswoman in the “Tioxid” camp, CJRE-1, is originally from Ethiopia, of the Tigray region, where she left her family in search of a better life in Europe. Well aware of the risky journey, she decided to make her way through Sharah to reach Libya, the gateway to Europe. Once she arrived in Libya, to finance her journey, she worked for a couple of years. When she had saved some money, she decided to continue to Europe, but complications with the traffickers occurred: They tricked her about the terms of payment and travel. She was, therefore, taken hostage to pay a ransom. CJRE-1 was able to pay the first ransom with the help of her family and friends. However, not having the money to pay the second ransom, she underwent torture, only to be finally freed to cross the Mediterranean with about 300 people in the boat. CJRE-1 arrived safely in Italy in the spring of 2013. However, she did not intend to stay there since her goal was to reach England. Thus, she went to Calais to the French border to reach England without success. Afterwards, she applied for asylum in France in 2014.

Despite many difficulties in reaching “the land of salvation”, CJRE-1 did not assume the role of the victim but instead of an active protagonist within her life. She made herself the spokesperson of individual and collective evolution. While waiting for a better solution, CJRE-1 decided to sell traditional Ethiopian food. In early 2015, before the old Jungle (Tioxide) camp was dismantled, she obtained her refugee status from the French government and moved to Grenoble.

In Grenoble, CJRE-1 had her own house and received the monthly social benefit. She tried to be independent by attempting to launch her informal business of traditional Ethiopian food from home. However, because of the irregularity of demand, she could not sustain the activity. CJRE-1 was still motivated to own her own formal business, yet various institutional and economic obstacles seemed to hinder this type of initiative. She repeatedly expressed her frustration about having to first learn French and the institutional barriers she encountered. CJRE-1 still feels in limbo depending on social welfare and being separated from her children living in the UK.

#### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

CJRE-1 decided to take useful action, selling Ethiopian bread, “Injera”, and traditional food with available resources. CJRE-1 is from a farming family background, but she is a business-oriented person. In fact, her first business exposure started in Libya, selling Ethiopian snacks called Dabo kolo.



In the Tioxide camp, CJRE-1 observed that the Horn Africans were not interested in the food offered by small NGOs. They were not familiar with the taste, and usually, she saw the food thrown on the ground. This observation allowed her to identify a good opportunity to earn money. As she stated:

*“At that moment, I was thinking about how to be useful in my life. I was tired of waiting and finding enough money to cross the border and, most of all, asking for money to friends and family abroad. So, I said let me try my chance”.*

Although she had almost nothing, she managed to persuade volunteers to help her develop the business with essential materials. Moreover, some Eritrean, Ethiopian, and Sudanese helped her arrange the tent and organize her space. They used every necessary material, especially wood, that was within their reach. She had the minimum required, a pan, a pot, and a ladle, to start her small restaurant. With the little money she had, she could buy essential ingredients to make the traditional food. Because of the lack of electricity, she first used a primitive fire with firewood as she did back home. In this way, CJRE-1 started making bread and traditional Ethiopian food, which others, especially the Horn Africans, enjoyed eating. As word of mouth spread through the camp, she began to gain a reputation, and every passer-by bought from her.

Starting a business in Tioxide camp of Calais demonstrated CJRE-1 was a risk-taker. In addition to being vulnerable as a woman in an unstable place, at the time, the camp was dangerous, with many conflicts and fighting between the communities. However, as she clearly stated, she had her fellow countrymen to protect and support her:

*“Some of my relatives were very concerned. They could not help me financially, as their situation was not better than mine. But they always suggested to leave the camp, as they did not want to hear my death. I was also afraid when I saw fighting and people getting mad from one moment to another”.*

However, CJRE-1 was courageous, running her business until she received French refugee status and transferred to Grenoble. Moreover, CJRE-1 became a role model; other Eritreans and Ethiopians started businesses following her footsteps. Furthermore, when the Tioxide Camp was dismantled, they continued their business in the new Jungle.

### **V.1.3.2. The first Afghan restaurant in the “new Jungle”**

After several virtual attempts to contact ex-entrepreneurs and volunteers, the author found CJRE-2 serendipitously. The author first contacted a former volunteer (Cjinfo-2) from

England that was committed to helping the migrant community and founded the Jungle-based library called “Jungle Books”. She was available and welcoming to the interview, giving a testimony about her journey of volunteer work. In our communication, we used both messenger and Skype to make video calls. She was an English teacher, and once in Calais, she thought of serving refugees through her skills. Cjinfo-2, at the beginning, attempted to do various activities to help refugees. Then, with the help of migrants and volunteers, she built the “Jungle Books” started as a library to allow migrants, adults, and children to read, do art, play, and chat. As we deepened our conversation regarding entrepreneurship in Calais, she introduced me to her husband, saying, “If you want to know more about the entrepreneurs in the camp, here is my husband. He was one of the pioneers”. Thus, here is the former Afghan entrepreneur of the Jungle (CJRE-2), whom the author has been searching for a long time.

CJRE-2 shared his experience in Jungle Calais with excitement and energy, exactly as the author saw in some documentaries and the news. CJRE-2's story is a hard but meaningful example of strength and courage of personal fulfilment. His life is marked by a long journey of exile, which dragged him to the jungle of Calais. He decided to abandon his homeland in 2003 due to the desperate living conditions and terroristic attacks. After seven years and two failed attempts to seek legal asylum, he had residence papers in Italy and then in Germany. However, CJRE-2 wanted to reach London, as he was profoundly convinced that he would find favourable conditions in the labour market. He desperately attempted to cross the French border illegally, failing and severely injuring his leg. Afterward, he decided to stay in the Jungle, find a way to eke out a living and do what he could to serve his new community. CJRE-2 opened the Kabul Café (see figure 25) with another migrant from Afghanistan, and the business was successful since it was the first restaurant in the New Jungle.



Figure 25: CJRE-2 restaurants<sup>39</sup>

Source: BBC, 2015

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

After two attempts to cross the border, CJRE-2 decided to make himself useful. Therefore, every element around him was valued for its ability to contribute to a helpful activity. CJRE-2 expressed his motivations with a dignified tone:

*“I stayed for four months in the jungle trying to cross to the UK after I have failed two times, I thought that if I stay here, better, I do something than nothing....when I saw the condition of the Camp and how everything works, I thought I could make money with a new idea 5 [...], I cannot stay without doing nothing, I have skill and talent”.*

CJRE-2, when starting his first restaurant, thought that people might need the taste of their country’s food. Moreover, each day, migrants had to wait in long queues to have their meals, and some refugees did not feel comfortable.

*“We could not cook, there was no fire, so people eat ready food, cake and cola, and energy drink, that was the food. Later, volunteers started to bring a lot of food, but we had to do a long line every day, and some of them were shy. Many of the time, the food was not of our test [...] I thought that if we can cook Afghan food, people will feel good and at home”.*

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<sup>39</sup> Image extracted from: Howard, J. (2015), “Calais migrant crisis: Setting up business in The Jungle”, *BBC news* (video), 15 September 2015. Available: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-34138922>>. Accessed October, 2016.

CJRE-2 had never been an entrepreneur, but he worked for a construction company in Afghanistan for many years. His empathy and confidence to meet the community's needs were essential elements that strengthened the entrepreneurial motivation. CJRE-2 could interact easily with everyone, as he could fluently speak English. In fact, he became one of the community's leaders representing the Afghan community. When CJRE-2 began to share his plans for a restaurant, he was not seriously considered. Nevertheless, he continued to believe on his idea and started building the restaurant with what he had at hand. He used chunks around the forest of Calais and what the volunteers were able to donate. He finished building his restaurant's structure within 25 days, but he was still without any utensils to cook.

To realize his idea, he obtained a few kilos of potatoes that were donated but could not be cooked as no one had any utensils. The potatoes, which had been abandoned for days in the corner of the field and ignored by everyone, became his initial resource: "I took the potatoes behind my tent with some friend, and start making Afghani food of bread and potatoes, we call it Bolani. So everything started with this, with what was free and what was at hand".

With a few logs for a fire, a saucepan borrowed from a camp volunteer, a drop of oil, and some flour, CJRE-2 and his partners started frying "Bolani", a traditional potato flatbread. It was a simple Afghan dish and became an instant hit. With the pennies they accumulated, they bought more ingredients and eventually, they had a functional restaurant named "Afghan Flag Restaurant".

After a few months, however, CJRE-2 found he and his business partner were incompatible because their methods to run the restaurant were different. CJRE-2 continued to explore other opportunities and then opened another restaurant with a new Afghan partner who was attempting to open a bar in the Jungle Calais. CJRE-2 agreed to work with this partner on the condition that he would stop selling alcohol and stay focused only on the restaurant. Although competition grew fast in the Jungle, the new restaurant "Cabul Café" was successful. At the same time, the responsibility for collective well-being gave CJRE-2 the impetus to be involved with every community activity, mediating between the humanitarian organization and the migrants in the Jungle. Therefore, CJRE-2 also started to discover his talent for social work and combined his business and prosocial activities:

*"The second thing is, 50% of my time for the business, the other 50% was for a social worker and maybe 50% of my food was going free to all the people who were in need. If I would save all the money I done in the Jungle, maybe now I do not need to work".*

CJRE-2 also had many ideas to improve the resource management of some humanitarian organizations. However, he could not implement these ideas because of the precarity of the context and the lack of trust between many actors. He highlighted with sadness:

*“I proposed that I can make a meal card, and those who want to help refugees they could buy and donate this card. By doing this, they can allow refugees to eat in restaurants at low prices than I normally sell the food. Like that, you can help refugees and those who have a business”.*

When the restaurants and café began to be dismantled, CJRE-2 actively continued with his social work and opened a third restaurant with his new partner (now his wife). These activities were completely free of charge and combined the services of refugees and volunteers to help the most vulnerable people in the camp. Despite this Kids Café remaining for some time after the camp was dismantled, it was destined to perish. Thus, a few weeks after all the settlements in the Jungle were dismantled, some of the main centres, including the Kids Café, were also destroyed.

CJRE-2 and his wife, after the Jungle experience, still tried to make themselves useful to the migrant community. In terms of entrepreneurial opportunities, the reality outside the informal settlement was obviously more complicated. However, they developed a common desire to continue being social entrepreneurs. Once again, the passion and talents CJRE-2 discovered during his time in the chaotic settlement gave him a vision for the future: to become a social entrepreneur who can optimize resources for refugees.

#### **V.1.3.3. The “Three Idiots” restaurant**

The author’s first interviewee from the Calais informal camps was CJRE-3, and he was a prominent figure to give an important understanding of the Jungle’s business dynamics. He gladly took the author’s request, showing enthusiasm in sharing his personal experience. Our interviews were intense and exchanges frequent, sometimes made just for an update through video calls and text messages.

CJRE-3 s story is marked by the desire to search for a better life than that in his country of origin. He is originally from Pakistan, precisely from Fata, a small and poor village where terroristic attacks were common. CJRE-3 left his village in 2012 after he had been granted a student visa for England. However, urged by the need to work and sustain his family, he could not finish his studies and he continued to illegally work and reside in England. Having been found with an expired visa several times by the police, he was afraid of being sent back to Pakistan, so he decided to go to Italy, where he was granted refugee status. However, CJRE-

3's wanted to return to England, where he could integrate easily. The only chance CJRE-3 had was to cross the border illegally through the Calais port to reach the country of his dreams. The first day he tried to cross the border, he ended up in the jungle of Calais. After different failures, CJRE-3 decided to reinvent himself, giving life to a small business. Although in a challenging context, this activity represented a potential source of income.

His desire to be successful was always vivid in our conversation, but outside the camp, it is not simple to be an entrepreneur. However, CJRE-3 is positive that eventually, he will achieve his dreams. Now his perspective is not to become an underdog entrepreneur, but something better. His experience in Calais allowed him to discover himself, and he thinks that he can improve. He did not stop exploiting different opportunities and wrote a book about his experience in the camp.

#### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand:**

There was already some business in the camp when CJRE-3 decided to start his own. He was convinced he could improve on what he was seeing. CJRE-3 commented how his initiatives were by the failure of its primary objective:

*"I stayed for four months in the jungle trying to cross to the UK after I have failed two times. Doing nothing for me, means dying [...] at that time, I was too tired to try for the UK every night, I was tired of the disappointment of returning every day to the Jungle".*

Although opening the restaurant in this camp was a significant risk, he was confident. Moreover, according to CJRE-3, as he is Pakistani, it was even riskier. Since Afghan agents wanted to have the monopoly of the restaurant shop, they would have prevented him. However, CJRE-3 met a man from Afghanistan who was fictitiously owned CJRE-3's restaurant. Then, CJRE-3 recalled some important notions of the economy of business; he started observing the migrant's needs and the dynamics of the camp. He first began interacting with all the shopkeepers. He would sell them small items brought from the neighbouring shops, such as Liddle, and would proudly say: "If I wanted to open a restaurant, I had to see what was there first, what the people needed. It was important for a business to know what was already here inside the Jungle".

On the first of September 2015, CJRE-3 decided to cooperate with two partners to build a real restaurant. CJRE-3 had some saved money, and he also had some friends that sent him money so he could start buying materials. Moreover, he met a few volunteers who had helped him bring some building material, and he used wood to build the restaurant. He started

building the shop and restaurant, but he could only make the general structure, and later step by step, he finished it as he gained income: “The shop was ready and thought that I could make some money from this and then finish the rest later. My goal was to build a place where people could come and sit to eat comfortably”.

CJRE-3 did not have experience building, yet with his partners, he crafted the building using their imaginations and experimenting. Later, CJRE-3 could count on some migrants around the camp to help him build and reinforce the structure, especially a migrant carpenter to build the corners of the kitchen. As CJRE-3 explained, they started building the whole restaurant structure with the short-term vision that their premises would be temporary:

*“Thanks to our hard work, in a few days, we had made enough money that we were able to complete our restaurant interior. We only built a small kitchen because we didn’t plan to stay there forever, and we thought that would make a temporary site and as soon as we have the chance, we would leave”.*

They first started by selling some cigarettes made by hand, as well as drinks, bread, and dried fruit. Until they began the real restaurant, their main income was from selling cigarettes (ten cigarettes for two euros). Using their first small profit of 21 euros, they started to buy more goods, and they would add more items each time they had enough profit. Sometimes, they used a bicycle, and when they had many items, they started using a trolley. Buying and bringing items into the Jungle was not always easy; there was a fear that the police would find them, and they had to be cautious. However, they completed the restaurant's interior and started buying second-hand items from other migrants. For 100 euros, they bought a stove, a gas bottle, rice, oil, and two thermoses for tea. To tackle the lack of electricity, they brought a reliable generator. Moreover, they combined available resources in the camp through volunteers. They named the restaurant the Three Idiots, inspired by a famous Bollywood film. CJRE-3 and his partners struggled with the lack of water, and to find clean water, they had to walk 500 meters to the bridge, to one water point around the formal settlement.

*“So, I hired a boy who brought water for me and helped me in the kitchen. We didn’t have a lot of customers at that time, but it was really important for me to hire a person because of the amount of work there was”*

CJRE-3 was clearly more active person than his partners. Every day was a new day to find an opportunity to improve his restaurant. By the time they finished settling the restaurants, there was not much movement in the camp. However, each day he would interact with

volunteers or migrants, and each person was a way to obtain human and material resources and potential patrons for his restaurant. One of his partners was fluent in English as he had been an interpreter in his country and, with his kind approach, would persuade anyone to eat in the restaurant. Principally, CJRE-3 and his partners started to consolidate this strategy to draw more volunteers and create a welcoming and safe environment. They were attentive to their image and did their best to show they respected all the norms to keep the restaurant hygienic. Through word of mouth, the “Three Idiots” became popular, especially among the volunteers:

*“We became so busy with them that going to England went completely out of our minds. My friend Asam always used to say that now we don’t need to go to England because England has started coming to us”.*

They also received numerous visits from British-Pakistani volunteers, who were willing to donate resources for the restaurants. As the food prices were low, many volunteers would leave tips and, in return, they could give free food to some migrants. Volunteers also helped to develop a more creative image by bringing a lot of plush, balloons, and other fancy items (see figure 26).



Figure 26: The “Three Idiots” restaurant

Source: Plotain, 2016<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Image extracted from: Plotain, M (2016) ‘In the Restaurants of the Calais Jungle’, *Vice*, 13 March 2016. Available: <<https://www.vice.com/en/article/8qe79k/dans-les-restaurants-de-la-jungle>>. Accessed 10 October 2016.



CJRE-3 also created a Facebook profile for the Three Idiots, through which he thought to generate publicity and invite more people.

*“I had my own page in Facebook ‘the Three Idiots’, and I started to socialize and to know people which I invited them to eat in the restaurant [...] one evening I received a group of people who wanted to eat ethnic food, I think they wanted a unique experience. So I served them, they ate as they were in the restaurant and they paid around 5 euro for a person. They were surprised, and they voluntarily gave more”.*

As they began to earn more profit and save money, CJRE-3 started to consider expanding the business. He travelled to Belgium to bring different goods useful for migrants, especially tobacco, cigarettes, shisha in apple and strawberry flavours, spices, and rice.

However, the business competition in the Jungle started to rise, and the Three Idiots’ popularity put the restaurant under the security of some Afghans who tried to burn the restaurant at different times. Even the Afghan friend supporting them was in danger. Although running the business became dangerous, the Three Idiots restaurant lasted until the camp’s dismantlement. CJRE-3 and his partners, knowing that this temporary business could not last tried to maximize their profit until the end.

## **V.2. The formal refugee camp ecosystem: Umkulu Somali camp in Eritrea**

This second case study is a field study in which the author observed and interacted with several entrepreneurs and informants. Comprehensive narratives with most of the entrepreneurs in the field were possible, which allowed me to reconstruct the footprint of the entrepreneurial ecosystem that has lasted for almost two decades. Thus, the description of this case study is presented as an EE rather than a simple socio-economic space. The sections report the emergence the development of the EE. Moreover, the analysis of case narratives is preceded by a brief presentation of the entrepreneurs’ profiles, background, and main characteristics, and the entrepreneurial bricolage process for each individual or category of entrepreneurs. Finally, the case of Umkulu allows us to describe the collapse of the EE. Table 9 presents the categorisation of the entrepreneurs, which further helped us to understand the different entrepreneurs with this specific socio-economic space.

Table 9: Umkulu refugee camp entrepreneurs classification

Cases grouping Umkul refugee camp			
Group	Specification	Single cases	
<b>Pioneers</b>	Business because of the better economic or social position, opportunity seeking, unique business strategy	The first restaurant of the camp (RE-3) owner of the solo game shop (RE-14); the Handyman of the camp (RE-5); the exemplar businesswomen in the camp (RE-2); the biggest shop of the camp (RE-11); The only metal workers (RE-12); the continual shift of strategy (RE-1)	A detailed description of their profile  Single description of their entrepreneurial process
<b>Imitators:</b>	Mimic of business strategy and business model; less proactive behaviour; differentiating as a strategy	(RE-16); (RE-6); (RE-4), (RE-18); (RE-19)	A detailed description of their profile  Similar entrepreneurial process: Group description of their entrepreneurial process.
<b>The Empowered</b>	Totally or partially supported by a third entity	RE-8), (RE-10), Ahmed Assel, (RE-13)	Brief description of their profile  Similar entrepreneurial process: Group description of their entrepreneurial process.
<b>Street vendors</b>	Women entrepreneurs	(RE-27) ; (RE-26)	Brief description of their profile  General description of Street vendors entrepreneurial process

### V.2.1. The emergence of entrepreneurial ecosystem

The first mass arrival to the Somali refugee camp in Eritrea was in 1996-1997. These refugees were assisted at the port of Assab. Then, in 2000, they were all moved to the region of Massawa in the peripheral area of Umkulu. Umkulu Refugee Camp is 7 km away from Massawa, the major port city of the Northern Red Sea Region. The region is arid, a hot desert climate with high humidity and salinity<sup>41</sup>.

We consider this phase a pre-stage before the emergence of an RCEE. Although refugees were not active in doing business in this stage, their intangible capital, such as their resilience (i.e., to bounce back despite the adverse situation and gradual resource accumulation through economic activities outside the camp), was an essential precondition for the later emergence of entrepreneurial activities among refugees. At the inception of the Umkulu refugee camp's development, there were almost no entrepreneurial activities among camp inhabitants. Due to their displacement from Somalia, refugees lost all their assets and had to start their life from scratch: "We just started from scratch when we came to Eritrea in 2002. It was zero ground since we did not have any money" (RE-11).

*"The main necessary resource, limited to the monthly food ration, was provided by the humanitarian organizations. The majority lived in a minimum living condition with only necessary items such as beds, jerrycans, cooking pots, and few spare clothes" (UMInfo-1).*

Consequently, the community started to accumulate resources with different livelihood strategies. First, was income generated from livestock and incentive work, such as interpretation for UNHCR staff. Moreover, at the beginning of the Umkulu camp's history, the Eritrean economy was in a favourable condition, which allowed the surrounding local market to accommodate Somalian refugees as employees, particularly in the construction and mining sectors. Consequently, many male refugees left the camp to work for local firms in surrounding areas, like construction companies in Massawa, and some of them saved their earnings to later start a business. As one of the first entrepreneurs, confirmed, "The local firm paid me 30 NKF a day. I worked there for a year before I could start this shop with the money" (UMInfo-4)

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<sup>41</sup> UNHCR internal report: UNHCR (2017). "Review and Recommendation for Multi-Year Livelihood Strategic Action Plan for Somali Refugees in Umkulu Camp and Development of Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanism for UNHCR Eritrea». *Operational Guidelines. 1-44*

In addition to local firms, the humanitarians had seasonal projects that incentivized refugee self-reliance. As one of the UNHCR confirmed, “In this first project, we had 30 refugees who had tailoring training, 50 who received poultry, and these refugees were the most disadvantaged within the community” (UMinfo-1). Moreover, some interviewees confirmed that some refugees “receive remittances from friends. Then, when some of them start to be resettled, they had more opportunity of receiving remittance” (UMinfo-1). “I have a lot of family in Australia. Some of them they were here in camp, so they sometimes send us money and cloth to sell in the camp” (UMinfo-4).

Businesses in the camp were authorized, but they remained informal since they were not protected by ownership and property rights or trade licenses. Thus, the self-employed business mainly focused on trade and sales of goods in Massawa, and the camp was an essential means to eking out a living. First, a spontaneous and collective action for the refugee community in the camps was to use the relief goods to purchase culturally appropriate products. Another popular means to earn money was by selling rations, such as wheat flour and sugar, provided by humanitarian organizations. The author observed two different ways the refugee community used relief goods to purchase culturally appropriate products: spontaneous and regular. The former action was selling their rations occasionally inside or outside the camp, while the latter was more systematic in that refugees purchased relief products from the camp and re-sold them in other markets. The latter involved entrepreneurial risk due to price volatility and the products' deterioration. The dry and hot climate in Umkulu posed a particular challenge to refugees trying to preserve food products like flour. In a sense, humanitarian organizations intentionally or unexpectedly injected resources into the refugee camp economy, which refugees as entrepreneurial agents multiplied.

Second, small businesses, such as a restaurant in the early 2000s, emerged as opportunities to differentiate household income. One of our interviewees explained:

*“Since Somali, my father used to work with UNHCR. He continued to work with UNHCR staff also when we came in Eritrea. So, as soon as we arrived in this camp, he thought of doing some business to give better living conditions to our family. He starts selling water, soft drink, and other small stuff”.*

In the first years of camp development, there were plenty of business opportunities due to the underdeveloped market. Some of our interviewees stated: “When we arrived in Umkulu in 2000, we had many opportunities. There were only a few businesses run by refugees” (RE-2). “The camp was not like now, streets with a bunch of shops. The houses were just simple tents, and there were not many businesses” (UMinfo-2). “One year after we came to the

Umkulu camp, so it was in 2000, there were only a few shops, maybe seven shops in total” (RE-9).

While humanitarian organizations supplied only essential commodities of life, these were not enough for Somali refugees to rebuild their vibrant life, culture, tradition, and community in the camp. Somali refugees craved various goods and recreation to enrich their life in exile, and some entrepreneurial pioneers identified these needs.

*“When I started selling, I start bringing a lot of think that we need to make Somali foods” (RE-27). “Everyone in the camp appreciated it when we started baking and selling Somali bread. Now, all the people in the camp are our customers” (RE-24). “When I see that here is very hot during summer, I thought if I can send ice, it can be a good business” (RE-14).*

In the early development of the entrepreneurial RC, locals merely acted as suppliers for refugees' businesses. The market was favourable for those who pioneered entrepreneurial activities in the camp not only because there were fewer competitors but also because the population in the camp increased from 2,300 in 1997 to 3,200 in 2004 (see figure 27). Those who started businesses first had a certain amount of financial capital. Some saved the earnings when they were working for local firms. In addition to this resource accumulation process, the author observed diverse types of resourcefulness were drivers for the emergence of entrepreneurial dynamics among Somali refugees in the camp. Facing the severe lack of resources, some entrepreneurs started building products out of waste: “I made this chair by combining different recycled materials. First, I had a chair of a car that an Eritrean friend gave me for free, and I used other metal parts I found around the area Massawa. Then I laminated all the metal, and I made the frame to hold the chair” (RE-5). Interestingly, nearly all the respondents positively described the relationship between Somali refugees and the local Eritrean community:

*“We are grateful for the Eritrean government. All these years, we did not receive anything bad from them. We received only their welcoming attitudes and respect towards us” (RE-15). The representative of UNHCR described this unique relationship between refugees and the host society as “cohesive and co-existence” (UMinfo-2).*

Furthermore, the Umkulu camp was relatively safe: “Here in the camp, no one will come to steal your products from your shop. We close our shops and leave products overnight without any concerns” (RE-1).

Due to the emerging ecosystem dynamics, the camp economy was vibrant. Furthermore, refugee entrepreneurs did not have to pay any tax in the camp. Through refugees' entrepreneurial activities, which facilitated various resource interactions within the camp and between the camp and the local community, products and services available in the market became diverse, which enabled the camp's development. The camp was “like a small village”(RE-6) in which camp inhabitants could follow their Somali traditions. When things went well, the community hoped to restore their life.

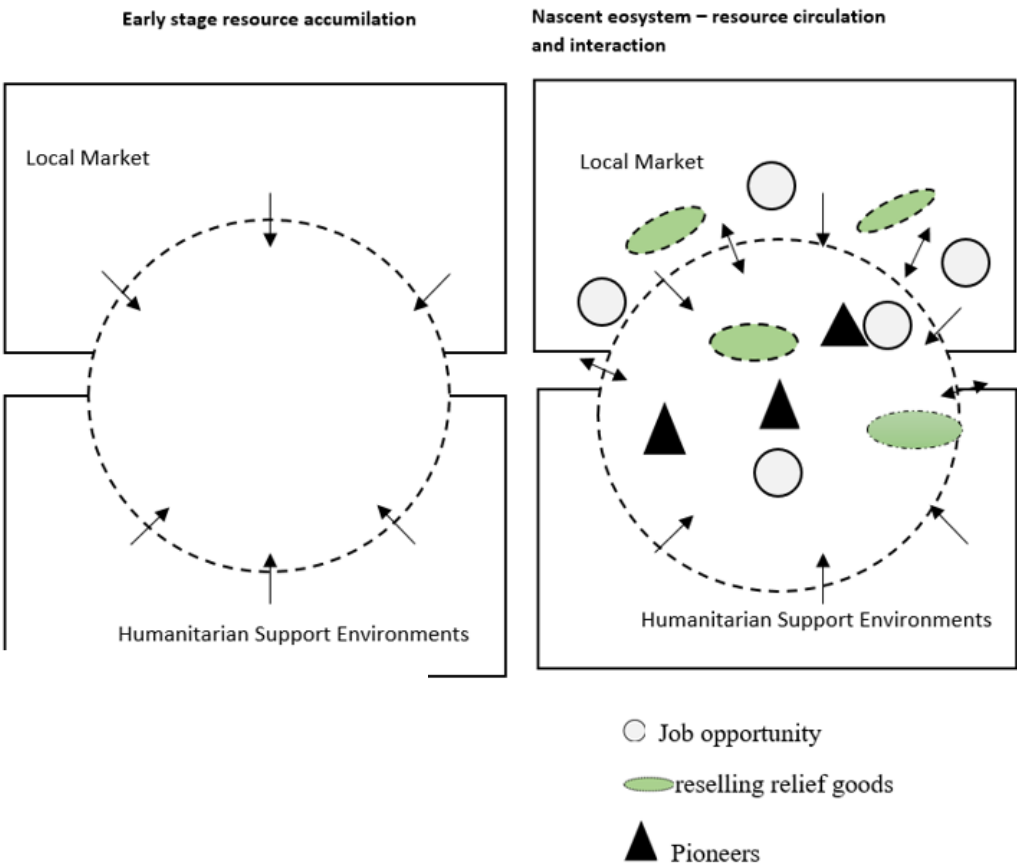


Figure 27: The emergence of the entrepreneurial ecosystem  
Adapted from Spigel and Harrison (2018)

### V.2.2. Development of Umkulu entrepreneurial ecosystem

The entrepreneurial dynamics that emerged in the Umkulu RC continued to grow, and an EE developed a concrete shape. The number of entrepreneurs who were active in the camp increased, which led to the camp market flourishing.

Between 2000 and 2008, the market was dynamic. An important factor that enabled the facilitation of resource interactions between the camp and the local economy was that Somali refugees could move without permission to Asmara, Eritrea's capital. For example, several respondents (RE-1; RE-9; RE-27) even went to Djibouti or Soudan to purchase products to sell in the camp. Somali entrepreneurs acquired the resources they needed to launch their businesses until the situation changed when Eritrea and Djibouti's border was closed in 2013.

The number of refugees deciding to follow an entrepreneurial path after having witnessed the initial success of the pioneer bricoleurs grew. Imitative businesses emerged, so pioneer entrepreneurs could no longer enjoy being the only suppliers of specific products or services in the camp. This situation required entrepreneurs to be unique and creative in value creation: "Everyone was doing the same thing: selling and selling. So, I needed to do something different to make my business profitable" (RE-14).

When only a few entrepreneurs were active in the camp, there was no central marketplace. However, as the number of businesses increased, refugees' entrepreneurial activities started to concentrate in a particular location, leading to a market space formation in the camp:

*"The shop was initially in the upper part of the camp, but then I moved to this area. Because everyone is doing their business in their area, now it changed. This zone 6 has become a central market of the camp" (RE-6).*

Simultaneously, the increase in the number of similar businesses did not cause significant problems in the market as the camp population grew. The Umkulu refugee camp marked the largest population in 2013 with 3,557 inhabitants. While the local market's job opportunities worsened compared to the emergence phase, many male camp inhabitants still engaged in (informal) economic activities, such as gold mining. They brought financial capital into the local market by purchasing goods and services from entrepreneurs in the camp as customers.

On the other side, Eritrean locals (mainly women) started entering the camp to engage in entrepreneurial activities in the market since the camp ecosystem was attractive for them as

business locations. When the camp ecosystem emerged, local people also conducted simple business, selling woods and milk to refugees. Their business activities enhanced the locals' livelihood, yet their entrepreneurial engagement was limited to occasional trading rather than intensive businesses in the camp market. Several informants described how Somalian refugees inspired local Eritreans with their entrepreneurial mindset: "Our people were not good to do street business. I think they learned it from Somalian refugees here in the camp. The inhabitants of nearby Umkulu were inspired by Somali entrepreneurs and started to sell some products in the camp" (UMinf-1); "Local people come to sell firewood, milk, and other stuff. They also come here to buy products from refugees and drink tea and coffee" (RE-8); "Some locals sell woods and cattle" (UMinf-3).

Notably, the products local entrepreneurs offered in the camp were different from those sold by refugees since locals took advantage of access to the local market—the products they offered diversified resources within the entrepreneurial space. While refugee entrepreneurs' primary aim of doing business was to improve their private lives, they were also motivated to do contribute positively to their community through their entrepreneurial activities: "Our business is for the community. It is very important to me that the community is doing good. If the community is not doing well, refugees do not have income, and we lose our work" (RE-6).

As entrepreneurial activities became increasingly vibrant in the Umkulu camp, the Somali community, which grew as a platform for camp inhabitants to practice religious and cultural activities, gave emotional drivers and opportunities to Somali entrepreneurs. Although the Eritrean government and UNHCR facilitated opportunities for refugees to have free formal education, camp inhabitants started organizing private education services to offer better educational opportunities for their children. At this stage, there was a continuous resource inflow into the ecosystem through local entrepreneurs and consumers who visited the camp and refugees who brought back their earnings from their work outside the camp. Both entrepreneurial agents and resources became increasingly diverse, and the resource interaction among actors in the camp and inside and outside the camp intensified (see figure 28). Accordingly, the refugee entrepreneurial ecosystem became increasingly vibrant, creating collective optimism and hope at the community level.

The dry and hot climate in Umkulu was anyway unfavourable for business, and the surrounding cities and towns do not have strong economies like Asmara. Despite these harsh geographic conditions, the community tried to make its own economy to survive in a difficult context.



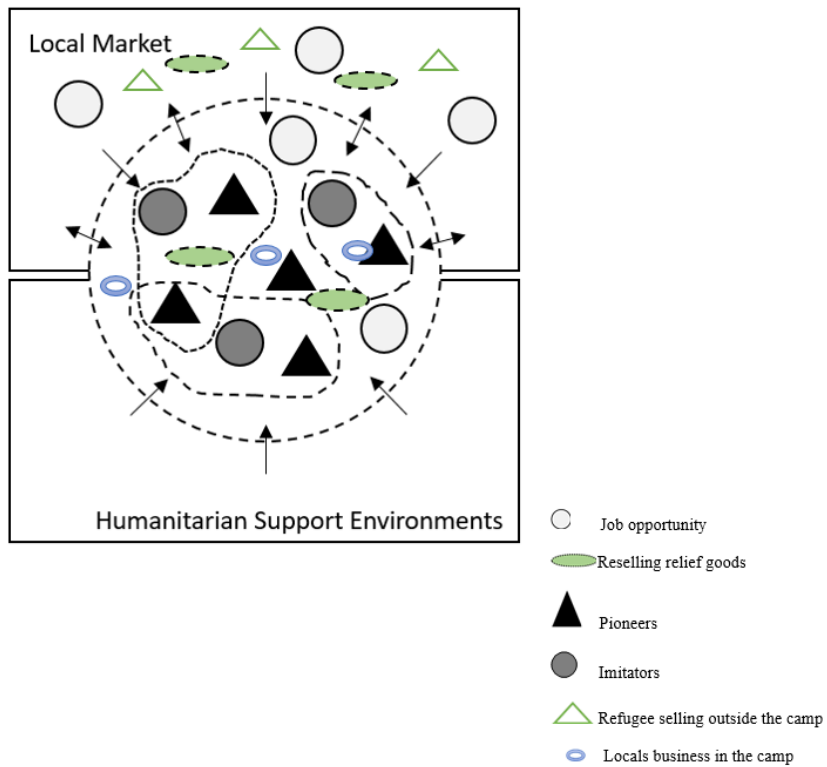


Figure 28: Development of entrepreneurial ecosystem  
Adapted from Spigel and Harrison (2018)

### **V.2.3. Pioneers and innovators bricoleur: profile and narrative of the entrepreneurial process**

#### **V.2.3.1. The first restaurant of the camp**

At the end of the principal road in the RC, just behind the nets surrounding the administrative area, is the most renowned and successful restaurant of the camp. However, during the camp visit, the authors saw only traces of its former success: large empty tent, with few things on the shelves (see figure 29), hard to imagine that it was the most dynamic business of the Umkulu Camp.

RE-3 started and ran the restaurant for almost 14 years. However, in 2014 he and his family had a resettlement opportunity to America. Unfortunately, one of his daughters didn't join her family and was left behind with her husband and children. After a few days at the camp, the author spoke with RE-3's daughter. Due to the high temperature, we conducted our interview in one of the camp administration offices. RE-3's daughter was six years old when she arrived in Eritrea with her family, and she is now the mother of two children. Recently, her husband crossed the Eritrean border illegally since he was tired of waiting for resettlement to the third country. For her, this was a challenging situation, and she could not bear the idea of being alone. Her father's business could no longer be sustained, but she could only keep a small part of the shop selling a few items.

However, speaking about her childhood and her father's success was a great pleasure. She nostalgically described the peaceful childhood she had with her hard worker father (RE-3), who did his best to meet their needs: "I was lucky, we had everything we need in respect of other friends of mine". However, RE-3's daughter could no longer stand being at camp and explained how, after her family left, it was challenging to run the restaurant, and she did not have enough motivation to struggle through such conditions. RE-3's daughter explained that together with her husband, they tried their best to keep the business, but they did not succeed. When she was again left alone, it was even more difficult for her to run the business, but she had to pay for extra classes for her children and the Korean school, so she tried to run the shop with the help of a relative.



Figure 29: The first restaurant of the camp

Own source

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

RE-3 had extensive professional experience in assisting UNHCR in Somalia, which allowed him to work in the camp administration. In the specific context of the camp, this opportunity improved his family's living conditions. Moreover, according to his daughter, RE-3 was an entrepreneur who did not miss the chance to have a better opportunity. Hence, he thought of starting the business to diversify his income and have a better economic position. As his daughter stated with pride: “My father was not the only one having a good work opportunity, but he was wise, he was always thinking fast”.

He initially sold drinks, such as potable water (including cold water), juice, and other soft drink to the UNHCR staff until he slowly developed a grocery store and restaurant. RE-3 saved money from any source of income to meet family needs and ensure business development. He sometimes used money from monthly ration sales, his salary, and the first few profits from his small initial trading activity. The restaurant, offering traditional Somali, meals was famous and always full of customers. The whole family was engaged in running the restaurant and grocery. The family's living space was extended for restaurants and shops that faced the principal road. Like any tent in the camp, they had to build it with straw and wood to avoid the overheating usually created by the tents. Their materials were purchased in the

neighbouring community. Some of our informants describe RE-3, as an energetic and sociable person, and in all conditions, he tried to be diplomatic. After years of success, the business declined due to his departure.

### **V.2.3.2. The solo game shop**

At the age of 13, RE-14 arrived in Eritrea in 1996 with his parents, brothers, and sisters. He was the eldest son, and after the traumatic and challenging journey to escape from his country, he never had the privilege of being a simple teenager. He immediately began carrying the family responsibility. In fact, RE-14 started working early in Assa by quickly adapting to the scorching climate; he did various jobs like fishing, helping traders, and selling flour.

Once in Umkulu, he thought to start his own business and began selling ice in the hot season when the temperature is around 45 °C. Then, RE-14 decided to open a PlayStation business, which aimed to meet the needs of many young people and children in the camp: “I thought people needed entertainment instead of doing nothing or having bad habits. Especially the young people”.

He is now the only refugee who runs this type of business (see figure 30). It was challenging to have a quiet time with RE-14 since he was busy moving between the three activities that he developed over time. At the end, we had a calm moment of discussion one morning in his shop. RE-14 spoke calmly and with much self-confidence, explaining his life philosophy and outlining his innate orientation to entrepreneurship. The author interviewed RE-14 in Tigrigna, as he was one of the few Somalis able to communicate fluently in the local language.



Figure 30: The solo game shop  
Own source

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

RE-14 was eager to be independent and have a dignified life. He did not want to wait for money from UNHCR and do nothing. When his father died, just a few years after they arrived in the Umkulu camp, he felt the burden of his family: “ My father recommended me to care about the family, and I have promised I would do all my best. I always have this in my mind”.

RE-14 used to sell relief goods, like flours, which he would first buy from other refugees and then resell in different marketplaces. Then, he thought to open a unique business in the camp, an ice shop. To make and obtain ice, RE-14 needed a license to contract with a specific industry. Refugees are not allowed to have a license in Eritrea, but this did not hinder RE-14 from trying to obtain a contract using other means. RE-14, in developing his ice business, first

tried to convince the camp administration (ORA) that they should give him authorization that would eventually guarantee the supplier. With ORA's guarantee, he was able to negotiate and start bargaining with the ice powder industry. He now supplies even to some shop within the camp. Thus, RE-14 was not intimidated by certain institutional limitations but crafted alternative solutions with his undeniable talent of persuasion.

He used the money collected from the flour sales to buy ice-making products. In his ice shop, he also sells other primary products, such as sugar, sorghum, and corn. In the same shop, there is a sewing machine his relative uses. He was the first to have an idea for an ice business in the camp, and from then, he did not stop searching for more opportunities to maximize his income. In addition, he had married and his family was becoming numerous. He described himself as a profit-oriented person:

*“Whatever I do is for profit. If there is no profit, I do not engage in anything. I had to continually think about how I could get profit to sustain my family and be independent. I wanted more and started thinking what I could do, something new, something better and something profitable”.*

This goal ignited his imagination. RE-14 went around Massawa and Asmara to observe productive business in the camp, and then he thought about a video game shop. The video game would allow people to entertain themselves, and in the camp, many young people did not know how to spend their time. Thus, a PlayStation could be good entertainment, at least better than doing nothing or being frustrated.

With the profit from the ice business, he bought a PlayStation, and he opened the club using a part of his relative's living space. Slowly, he expanded, buying a PlayStation 2, PlayStation 3, and an Xbox. He purchased second-hand some billiards and games for children, which seems an ingenious idea in a precarious context of the camp. RE-14 innovated through technological means, with the PlayStation, which represents a real moment of leisure for the youth. RE-14 explained that he has limited cost to develop and maintain his business with respect to local entrepreneurs in the city of Massawa since he does not pay rent, electricity, or tax.

In the beginning, to maintain and repair the equipment, he had to lean on those with available technical skills within the community. When he started his business, he was not a professional repair person, but he was confident that he could learn. In fact, over time, through observation and by trial and error, he developed technical skills. Thus, RE-14 also started to be more autonomous and minimize the maintenance cost of the games, television, and PlayStations. Moreover, RE-14 is appreciated among the community and in the camp

administration. His social skills seem to have an essential role in the development and exploitation of his business:” Here everybody likes me. I am like The Jolly card. With diplomacy, I try to keep my peace with everyone”.

At the time of our interview, RE-14 was just starting to manage another club belonging to ORA. He won an auction launched by the administration, according to which the monthly operating cost was used for the youth club. RE-14 won the auction because he was the only person able to offer 1200 NKF of rent. However, the camp economy slowed with the country’s general economy, and the decreased camp population had a negative impact on his businesses. Therefore, he did not work as he expected: “There is no work as before; sometimes, if there is no work, ORA sees, and I pay 600 as rent”. Still, RE-14 remains optimistic, and he has many ideas to improve his business. As he stated: “I am thinking about making a restaurant in the club. I do not want to stop improving my business.”

### **V.2.3.3. The largest shop of the camp**

After escaping Somali in 1992, RE-11 migrated with his family to Djibouti. Despite the cultural proximity, Somali are not generally welcomed by Djibouti's population, and the government usually does not grant refugees refugee status. Therefore, RE-11 and his family were forced to live illegally, fearing harassment from the local police.

RE-11 is a respected man because he is a Muslim sheik, and despite the harsh living conditions and legal status, he succeeded in running a restaurant in Djibouti. The risk that his business could be jeopardized was high. At any moment, the police could destroy everything. Perhaps RE-11 was hoping to a chance or to the fact that being a sheik will not allow people to abuse him easily. The business was successful, attracting many Somalian and Djiboutian clients. A few years later, a sudden tornado destroyed the restaurant and its cattle, making it difficult to continue the business and life in Djibouti. Thus, RE-11 decided to move to Eritrea as he heard some of his countrymen were welcomed.

Once in Eritrea, RE-11 started from scratch to search for success, adapting quickly to the new context and overcoming obstacles. He faced many challenges during his exile, as did all refugees in the camp, but he always distinguished himself by thriving with his family in his back. His success over the years has demonstrated that hard work leads to success in any case. As his son stated: “The secret of the success of my father is hardworking and resilient. This is the great teaching that my father taught me. He does not stop working; he perseveres always”.

RE-11's shop is one of the most formidable: shelves full of varied products and people working inside and outside. There is a large table of vegetables and fruits at the entrance and in front of some local women (Tigre) selling fresh bread. Each time the author visited the grocery, RE-11's son was always behind the L-shaped counter with a smile, a gentle attitude, and fluent English. He was happy to speak about and answer any questions. Although the shop was always busy, we found some calm moments to talk at the back of the shop with RE-11 and his son.

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

RE-11's previous experience running a business oriented him to open a new one in Umkulu RC. Replicating his past success became one more motivation to start a business. He thus began saving money selling flour and working at the construction company. He collected cash in small amounts for almost four years, and in 2006, he finally decided to start a small business. He began with little: outside his house with a small table with candy and children's toys, and from what he was earning, he gradually built a large grocery. At the time, there were already several businesses in the camp. RE-11, however, hoped that, as always, he would be efficient: "That small shop, it was a light for the future, and step by step continues until it reaches this point. And today, as you see, three men are working with us. Three workers are getting paid by us".

Due to RE-11's social status, many helped by buying from him and being loyal customers. Moreover, he had a client from his previous flour selling activities, which allowed him to create a vast network based on mutual trust, a critical element that distinguished his business. The shop was built day by day (step by step), and all the material was recycled or bought second hand. Most of the products are bulk and gathered in portions 250 g, 500 g, or 1 kg. Selling in bulk is cheaper for refugee customers, and the retailers can sell the product and have more profit.

RE-11 also built strong, trusting relationships with refugee customers and the different Eritrean retailers on whom he depends. As capital is not always sufficient, he generally takes items on credit, and once the product is sold out, he pays the supplier.

#### **V.2.3.4. The only metal workers**

RE-12 and his brother arrived in Eritrea in 1997 with their parents; they were 9 and 12 years old, respectively. When they settled in Umkullu, they started working for a construction company. Following this, the brothers opened a grocery store, which allowed them to have enough income to meet their daily needs. Afterwards, their lives had a positive turn when they sold the shop to start a furniture production business.



In front of their tent, located to the north, right at the end of the RC, they had a vast area where they efficiently worked and stored a different type of recycled material for their Job (see figure 31). They settled a working space tent with two machines, and that's where we spent an entire afternoon completing our interview. While RE-12 showed us how they made beds and chairs, he explained how busy they were transferring their knowledge to the young apprentices working with them.

Another morning was spent at RE-12's house, which was built with concrete tiles and artistically decorated inside and out, different from the whole camp. RE-12 and a few refugees had the opportunity to be part of a permanent shelter construction project. Therefore, his house had a sofa, bed, and curtain with luxurious house items not often found in other houses.



Figure 31: The only metal workers  
Own source

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

In 2003, RE-12 decided to start a business inside the camp, a grocery, as the family was growing, and they needed more income. Over the years, the number of groceries in the camp increased, raising the level of competition and reaching market saturation. Consequently, the RE-12, with his brother, took action and sought a more profitable and unique business. They decided to construct furniture, such as beds, tables, doors, windows, and decorations for Jebena (traditional Eritrean café maker). In the camp, there were few carpenters building tables, shelves, and other items. However, no one worked with metal.

Moreover, they saw how few metalworking shops were in the surrounding area, so they thought the idea could eventually be profitable.

They first considered what skills they acquired during their work experience and how they could develop a new business in the camp. The two brothers were not well educated, as they spent their entire youth working hard to sustain their family. However, the few skills they developed during their work in the construction company, such as using a welding machine, made them confident they could do whatever they wanted. They started to move fast, using their network of Eritrean friends who knew how to work with metals. Moreover, they began to observe similar companies, such as the famous “Medeber”, which is an open-air workshop where every available item is ingeniously used and recycled. RE-12 developed and improved their skills on metalworking, and they started their activities in 2011. They improved their skills of the production process until they became masters:

*“We went to the other metal workers, we look, we do our observation, we copy whatever they do, and we take recycled material. So, when I had the idea of what to work, I used my mind, as I told you. I sat and tried to make it by myself, and I started to copy one-two times until I became today what I am”.*

They mainly used recycled material, some collected from the camp, or they bought material directly from refugees. For example, some refugees resell the metal tubes donated by UNHCR to build their tents. The two brothers also used to go to the Asmara, in a second-hand market called “Idaga *hara*”, a famous market for recycling metal, wood, and many other materials. RE-12 explained that strategically he tried to take as much as possible to avoid long trips and additional costs. Usually, he preferred to go when there was an auction, and he always ensured he was the one who took all the material: “Even in the camp, when anyone wants to sell something second hand, we take it, and we renew it; we decorate it and we sell it as new”.

The two brothers’ creativity and practical intelligence allowed them to learn the required skills and remained the critical elements of their business success. They used their creativity in every aspect of their business: business idea, the management of their network, market, clients, and competitors. They sold in different markets, like “Sheeb”, “For a”, “Ghindai”, and “Massawa”, and they also supplied to several hotels in the region. RE-12 explained how they tried to supply different ethnic groups according to their tradition and need as well as propose new styles of furniture. RE-12 stated proudly, “We go in every region to know the population, what they need, and we built furniture according to their test”.

Improvisation is a crucial element in each of their entrepreneurial processes. First, once they knew the type of activity required, they almost improvised everything else, starting with the way they used their network to learn and mimic skills. Often, in production, they succeeded following their intuition to represent creative decoration and style. First, during product manufacturing, they start to build different furniture, such as beds, materials for Eritrean traditional cafés, chairs, and tables. They customized their products. For example, they began to construct a double bed with a couple's first names. As RE-12 stated proudly, showing us all his art in a smartphone picture: "We are the only one in the whole region that is doing this type of bed".

Moreover, RE-12 had to improvise to exploit the new opportunity and navigate market competition. They had minimal cost in respect to their competitors. Thus, they sold their product at a low cost. However, this practice created pressure between them and the local entrepreneurs, who began to push them forcibly from the market. RE-12 asked for authorization (replacing the license) to trade from each area administration to claim their rights in the market. With this permission, no one attempts to put pressure on them. Moreover, they proposed their competitors buy their products, so they might sell it at the price they want.

In improvising to explore new opportunities, whenever the two brothers move from one region to another, they often sleep one night in the marketplace. Due to the hot temperatures, people sleep outdoors, and they think that the beds for sale could be rented to people who want to spend their night in the market. The clients paid 20 NKF per bed in this "open hotel".

The business was profitable. One bed generally would sell for 2000 NKF. However, at the time of my visit, the brothers had a drastic drop in sales because of the general market crisis. They were concerned about when the region and the camp market would again start to be dynamic. Still, they were optimistic, and they always wanted to improve their performance.

#### **V.2.3.5. The handyman of the camp**

After a massive terrorist attack in his village, RE-5 was first internally displaced in Somalia without his family. Then, after a few months, he was able to reach Djibouti and settle illegally. For many years, he had no contact with his family, but one day, he learned that his mother was in Umkulu camp, and he decided to join her in 2007. Once in Umkulu with his mother, RE-5 felt at home and safe.

RE-5 did not have the opportunity to study; however, his life experience allowed him to explore his talent and creativity. He spent his time between war and exile and despite his illegal status in Djibouti, he actively worked different jobs. As soon as he arrived in the camp, Warsawa did not delay in employing his talent, and there were many businesses he pioneered,

including the first barbershop in the camp (see figure 32). At the same time, he became an autonomous professional handyman of the camp.



Figure 32: RE-5's barbershop

Own source

RE-5 optimistic vision in every circumstance he described has animated our conversation. He is a simple, talkative person, always ready with a smile, and as our informant described him, “he is the barber, the technician, the wedding decorator or better handyman of the camp” (UMinfo-5).

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

As soon as RE-5 arrived in Umkulu, he began to be active and use his talent to generate different sources of income. RE-5 learned to trust on the skills developed in his previous work as a mechanic, metalworker, and bricklayer. From an early age, he learned to laminate material for cars, windows, and other items. RE-5 begins to provide services to the community, particularly in satellite televisions programming, repairs, and wedding decorations. Afterward, he opened a barbershop. He had never been a barber, but he was good at cutting friends' hair. In addition to being talented, RE-5 thought he could encourage other young people to work

while busy with his other activities. Every time I visited the barbershop, there was a young boy who, according to RE-5, was one of his relatives.

First, he constructed the barbershop with the help of his mother. The materials were recycled or purchased from the shop in the camp. Following the construction, he tried to borrow or obtain equipment for free from his network of friends. The few materials in the shop reflected his craftsmanship. For example, RE-5 endeavoured to build a classic barber chair with a hydraulic base. Thus, they recycled a car chair donated by an Eritrean friend and found a metal cylinder in the camp for support. To build the hydraulic base, he relied on the camp metal workers to laminate and weld the pieces in the reconstruction of the seat. Furthermore, a large mirror in the shop was borrowed from a friend, which RE-5 later bought through partial payments.

RE-5 did not have any educational opportunities in his entire life. He could not read or write. However, RE-5 became a professional satellite programmer through his learning ability and practical intelligence. According to RE-5, he imitates an action only through observation, and by continuous testing, he can recreate the exact path. Thus, some idiosyncratic predispositions allow individuals to overcome individual or contextual obstacles to develop an entrepreneurial activity. Accordingly, RE-5 commented:

*"I am a very ignorant person. I can't write and read. I could not get the opportunity, and as I told you, I am a satellite programmer, even myself I am wondering how I am doing. I find anything in you, I follow the steps, just keep observing".*

#### **V.2.3.6. The exemplar businesswomen in the camp**

RE-2 arrived in Assab in 1997, with her husband and children, with the first mass inflow of refugees. Like all refugees, their journey was traumatic, worsened by RE-2's critical health conditions. In fact, at her arrival, she was immediately admitted to the Asmara Orotta hospital. RE-2 healed quickly and joined her family in Assab. Despite being weakened by her health condition and the extremely high temperatures, RE-2 started a small business reselling relief goods. When the refugees were transferred to Umkulu camp, she resumed her activities. However, her husband had to go back to Somalia due to a health problem that hindered his ability to withstand Massawa's high temperatures. Despite this setback, RE-2 raised nine children and simultaneously managed her business: "I raised nine kids alone. I can't explain how harsh it is, to raise all these kids alone, to be in a refugee camp, is beyond your understanding".

RE-2 also has the pleasure of exercising her primary profession as a midwife by freely assisting the women of the Somali community, although she is not allowed to deliver pregnant women herself, she helps women in their labour.

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

RE-2 's husband had a grocery in Somalia, which they left behind. Thus, they started to make business as a spontaneous action and continuation of life before exile. First, RE-2 started her business with a recycled wheelbarrow, selling relief products across the camp.

Then, when they moved to Umkulu, she continued the business using a portion of their living space. She began with selling relief products, and then she slowly started to supply products from Eritrean retailers.

Often having a large family was a privilege in the camp as they received more relief products and were thus able to set some products aside to be sold at the market. According to RE-2, she changed her capital management strategy based on the type of distribution, the camp's economy, and the regional economy. People's and communities' needs change over time, especially compared to the years of adjustment, where old customs are consolidated and new habits emerge. Further, the distribution of cash changed, as did how they accumulated and managed capital. While before, she depended on the sale of relief products to have money, with the distribution of cash, she had to be efficient in managing money to keep her family and business.

To maintain her business RE-2 established a strong relationship with retailers. She took the necessary products on credit and she paid her debts once she was paid by the refugee customers. In addition, RE-2 accumulated money through the women's savings group: "We are five people, each person had to share 2000 and they give you 10,000 for one person".

This money is used to pay suppliers and to fill other family or business necessities. Recently, her shop was torched, but no one of the family was hurt. In addition, RE-2 was able to restart with the help of ORA and UNHCR. She hoped to recover quickly since she wanted her children to benefit from the business: “I have been through many things in life, but I learned to rise and continue and doing my best” (see figure 33).



**Figure 33 : RE-2's shop**  
**Own source**

#### **V.2.3.7. The continual shift in strategy**

RE-1 was a teenager when he arrived in Eritrea. Despite a long and traumatic trip, Deik vividly remembers the temperature in Assab that made them, for a moment, want to return to Somalia. However, the welcoming environment and the perceived sense of peace in their arrival allow them to forget the extreme heat. RE-1 had no intention of remaining closed in the camp; he wanted to improve his living conditions and move to another country. After working for almost three years and accumulating some money, in 2003, he tried to cross the border to reach Saudi Arabia. However, this plan was interrupted as his mother pushed him to marry and stay close to his family: “I do not know how my mother discovered this information. I did not tell it to anybody, but a few days from my departure, my mother knew my project, and she was able to make me change my idea”.

RE-1 is married and now has eight children, and he set his mind on improving his living conditions and those of his family. He has been involved in numerous businesses while working in a construction company. RE-1's current shop opened in 2015, a formidable and well-organized grocery (see figure 34). During our interview in his shop, the author observed a continuous flow of patrons. RE-1 paid attention to details, and with his eloquent and

authoritative speech, he was the only one able to detail the camp economy and its evolution over time.



Figure 34 : RE-1's grocery

Own source

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

When RE-1 decided to stay in the camp and create a family, he had to give his family sustainable living conditions. RE-1 appeared to be a business-oriented person and had to improvise different business activities to leave. In the beginning, RE-1 ventured into various businesses to diversify his income. When work opportunities and the camp's economy slowed, the grocery became the only means to integrate with the relief income.

RE-1 started working with the construction company, but he was also involved with flour businesses in different regions of the country. The sale of the flour provided by the relief program was regular. On the first days of distribution, RE-1 was always at the bus stop to buy flour from other refugees. He then kept the flour for almost 15 days, until the price increased. Then, he sold it in different country markets. Additionally, through a collaboration with his wife, he sold cloth, shoes, and cosmetics. Since he was busy working, he had to send his wife to Djibouti to buy different items, and they both sold the items in a separate area. She used to sell them at home to her network of friends and family, usually through word of mouth in the camp. RE-1 would sell items in Massawa or a network created through his colleague.



When the work from the construction company began to slow, RE-1 started to do butcher work and raise goats, camels, and sheep. However, according to RE-1, the profit at that time was not worth enough to kill an animal every day. Moreover, the close border to Djibouti decreased his opportunity. Thus, he had to search for another supplier within the country. For example, he started going to “Teseney”, near the border of Soudan. At the same time, the relief distribution system changed from total in-kind to cash, decreasing the distribution of white flour to the camp. Therefore, Deik started to shift his strategy, quickly opening a grocery:

*“I had to always be flexible, and I never stopped working. Every time there is a new shift in the camp’s economy, I had also to change my strategy with that change. So, I can say that my work was changing like the climate. I follow how the climate change, so I also work according to that change”.*

RE-1’s shop was in the main market of the camp and, like most shops, was built with available materials, such as wood and straw. The shop counter heads directly to the street and has a loading line where customers can pay and charge their phones. The shelves surrounding the shop have various goods, furniture, accessories, straw, and metal wires to build and maintain refugees’ tents, and everything was well organized. As in every grocery, most items are bulk and distributed in small portions. As we were talking in his shop, he opened the powder milk Nido, and he said, “This Nido costs 500 NKF. No one can afford this cost, so what we do is, we open it and sell it in the small portion that contains 400 g and the smaller portion I sell it minim 5 NKF”.

According to RE-1, in the RC context, one should always remain at the forefront and be ready for sudden changes. He also explained the need for proper financial management because it is typical behaviour to overspend. The culture of savings and budgeting is not common, even more so in the camp. His ability to manage money allows RE-1 to move flexibly from one activity to another. He explained, “I do a budget for everything, so I do not spend everything in a specific thing, for a business or our life. I also set priorities. I do all my best to save for an emergency. However, now, in this moment of crisis, it is tough to save”.

#### **V.2.3.8. Business of a camp-born young man**

RE-21 was born in the Assab camp in 1997, a year after the arrival of his relatives. With his father, a carpenter who also worked for the camp administrator, they managed to lead a discreet life. As RE-21 recalls, he had a peaceful childhood; his life was better than many other local and Somali friends.

There was a clear difference between the first generation and the second generation. The latter knew nothing of what it meant to escape from a war, to adapt to another equally difficult context, and experience many deferred hopes. Those factors were history, and the only thing they knew was the life of the refugees in the camp and the non-belongingness in such a temporary context. Often, they saw peers leave for a better destination. Therefore, a hope for a better future unfolded in a third country's possible resettlement. RE-21 was timid and expressed himself with short sentences and smiles.

### **Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

RE-21 was not academic; instead, he liked to do various activities at home, such as helping his father with work and cutting his brothers' hair. Therefore, he dropped out of middle school and opened a barbershop in summer 2017. RE-21 points out that he had no intention of spending his days doing nothing, as many people do. RE-21 had learned how to cut hair by experimenting with different hairstyles on his brothers and friends. Then, he began to have many requests from other young people, often RE-21's friends who saw his talent and potential. Furthermore, there was only one barber in the camp, and RE-21 quickly had many customers.

RE-21 took these insights and was quick to start the business with a few hair-making materials: two scissors and razor blades. His father helped him build the tent, the tables, and the chairs with free or cheap material available in the surrounding area, such as wood, stone, and straw. There was also a radio in the corner of the shop with an amplifier made by RE-21. He used a recycled radio speaker and attempted to amplify the sound using several household items until he succeeded with a 5-liter plastic container (see figure 35). As he commented:

*“It came to my mind. I tried it and finally, it works. I thought about how to make the sound bigger, and because we don't have our own speakers and we cannot afford one, I tried. Now, if you turn it on it's like a big speaker”.*

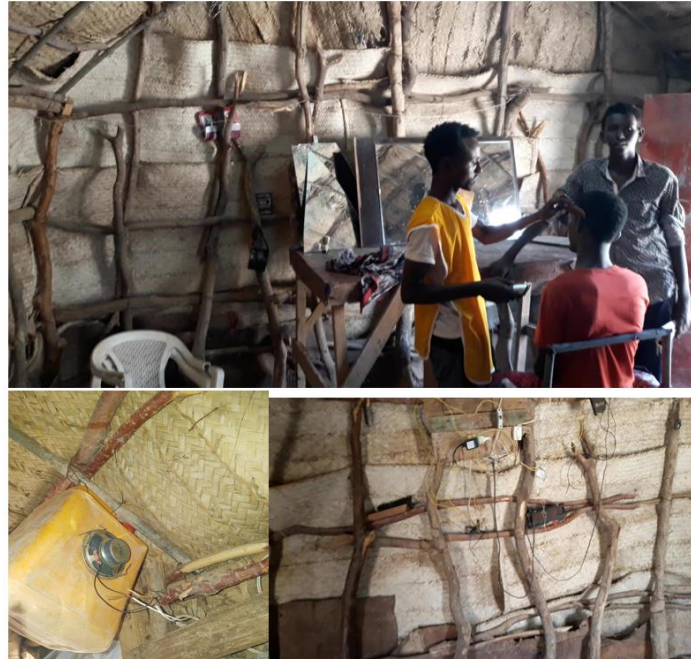


Figure 35 : RE-21's barbershop

Own source

As RE-21 started to earn, he saved money and bought electric shavers to improve his performance. According to RE-21, this business is one path to independence from his parents; after many sacrifices, he believed they did not deserve a son who dropped out of school and did nothing. RE-21 wants to grow his business, have more electronic shavers, and add several services, such as Henna (natural colour for hair).

#### **V.2.4. The followers: narrative of profile and entrepreneurial process**

The proliferation of the businesses in the camp is enhanced, mimicking the few pioneers' business models or strategies. Specifically, the few cases presented below represent the dominant method of entrepreneurship in the camp. The author identified that some previous businesses are role models enhancing self-efficacy and entrepreneurial intention. Moreover, other entrepreneurs started a business in the camp after the lack of job opportunities, and they had to follow the pattern of existing business types and strategies.

In any case, these entrepreneurs just aimed to share the market as long as possible. They did not redefine or revolutionise their businesses unless their activities are significantly better or cheaper or adopted a differentiating strategy. As these groups engage in similar activities, The author first introduces each entrepreneur and then summarizes the bricolage

process. The description of the bricolage process is not limited to the described profile but also applies to other observed businesses.

#### V.2.4.1. Profiles

##### Case RE-16

RE-16 and his family were displaced in Somalia for several years, moving from place to place to protect themselves. Afterward, when their conditions became increasingly difficult, they fled to Eritrea because it was the closest and safest country. After a seemingly insurmountable journey, they finally arrived in Umkulu in 2002.

RE-16 and his family settled in the camp, hoping for resettlement in a third country. In the meantime, they did not depend on donations; they were used to fending for themselves. Thus, RE-16 started working as a shopkeeper with a wholesaler in the camp, and after many years, he decided to start his own business. RE-16 had experience with the market and local retailers, and in 2012, he thought it was time to be independent and open his shop (see, figure 36). Because he had experience with local vendors, he had a network of suppliers, which facilitated the business process as he was able to establish his shop with minimal capital. He could take products from retailers by simply giving a little money and gradually repaying suppliers:

*”When I was working for another Somali trader inside the camp, he used to send me to Asmara Foro and Ginda to bring the stuff to the shop and also to sell the stuff in the shop. This way, I became familiar with the Eritrean Traders. I got some customers and collected some amount of money from that work as a shopkeeper”.*



Figure 36 : RE-16's shop

Own source

## Case RE-6

At the time of this study, RE-6 was about 65 years old, with six children, two of whom were born in Eritrea. In January 1997, he arrived in Assab with his family. Like most Somali men, when he was transferred to Umkulu, he had job opportunities in the construction company. Therefore, he started working in construction. As RE-6 recalls, after 2010, he had many difficulties finding work, and staying even a few days without working was difficult for him. Therefore, he concluded that doing business in the camp was his last alternative. Although there were many groceries, RE-6 decided to start selling fruit and vegetables. Additionally, as a differentiation strategy, he began making fresh fruit juice (see figure 37). This fruit and vegetable shop started in 2012, and the business went well the first five years. As sales began to decline in 2017, he had to move to the camp market at the entrance to the camp. The shop was medium-sized with a fridge, two large containers, and two benches with a table.

Moreover, there was a large trunk used to place the glasses and plates in the middle of the shop. The shop was built with wood and straw, extended with semi-open sides along the main road of the market; on one side, vegetables are sold, and on the other, there is a bench for customers. After a hot day, we drank Fanta every day on this shady bench while waiting for the bus. RE-6 was a wise man and loved telling us many funny stories of his life. He remembered every date of every event of the camp's development.

As the market was not as active as before, RE-6 had minimal profits to meet his family's needs. He was forced to lean on the debt cycle in which many retailers found themselves trapped.



Figure 37 : RE-6's vegetable and fresh fruit juice shop

Own source

#### Case-RE-4

In 2006, RE-4 and his family arrived at Umkulu camp. In Somalia, they were harshly persecuted as they belonged to the Darot Meriha tribe. Upon their arrival, the camp had many activities that motivated RE-4 to occasionally sell relief products. He then opened a grocery in 2012, followed by another butcher business. During the time of the interview, he was actively engaged in these two activities with his wife (see figure 38).

The butchers are located right in front of the entrance to the camp. Every day in the early morning, the author met with his wife and talked. She was a very active and energetic woman.



Figure 38: RE-4's Shop

Own source

### Case RE-18

RE-18 and his family had no idea where to go under the pressure and danger of their country's civil war. After several attempts to cross several of Somalia's borders, they found themselves heading toward Djibouti and Eritrea. Since they knew that Djibouti was not welcoming to Somalis, they finally arrived in Umkulu in 2001.

RE-18 did not want to sit still, seeing that many of his fellow villagers were improving their lives through small businesses. He then started a small grocery in 2005. According to RE-18, in the beginning, the shop was doing well, but in these last years, the crises have drastically affected the business. The shelves were almost empty at the time of our visit, and the items being sold could be counted on a single hand (see figure 39). RE-18 explained: "Now, as you can see, there is not much stuff in my shop because I don't have the capital to fill it".

Despite the drastic decline of his business, RE-18 preferred to invest and help his young son (21 years) develop other businesses. RE-18 son's shop is located right next to him,

he sells soft drinks. The shop opened in February 2018 and has few items, such as a refrigerator, service items, and three benches. His son commented with proudness

“For me now, I get some rest, I have this place I work all the day, even though there are not that many people to buy things from me, still it makes me feel better. Before, I was just walking around, and I don't do anything. I walk all day, and I came home”.



Figure 39: RE-18's shop

Own source

#### Case RE-19

RE-19 fled Somalia in 2008 for medical reasons. He joined his sister again in Umkulu, hoping for quick resettlement for health problems. Therefore, the UNHCR applied for urgent resettlement for medical treatment, and he was accepted. He was ready to move, but the resettlement process was interrupted for unknown reasons. RE-19 and those who were called in for resettlement had a huge disappointment, and many of them suffered from depression.

RE-19's sister had opened a grocery and restaurant in 2010, and she left everything to her brother when she went for resettlement. RE-19 was not married, which is rare in the camp and makes his situation more difficult. The cash relief distribution was not enough for a single person. Therefore, he had to run his sister's business even with his limited health:

*“ I do not have any family members in the Camp. I am alone, and also no one is aware of me. Just I help myself. Even if it's difficult to operate because of the things that*



*are growing in my neck. I cannot climb. I cannot go up because I got suffocated. I cannot breathe well, I am the person who needs help. Why I work is just to feed myself”.*

However, the shop is well organized and well-stocked. On one side of the shop, there is a tea corner with one bench, two chairs and a table (see figure 40). Ali makes tea every morning and stores it in a thermos. The shop became RE-19’s hope and dignity: “I wish someone could maintain my view of my health problem. But at the same time, I think that working is the best option for me. I better die while working than being fed through someone else”.



Figure 40: RE-19’s grocery

Own source

#### **V.2.4.2. Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

The selected cases are only a few examples that demonstrate how mimetic behaviour is a collective response to increasing uncertainty or ambiguity during the camp’s economic hardship. Before running businesses on their own, many had different job opportunities in the region. As a refugee entrepreneur commented: “I was working in a different construction company, but then everything had stopped, and I could not sit on my hand. I had to do

something” (RE-18). When employment options were not available, they considered a business in the camp a fallback option. As one of our interviewees commented:

*“I first tried to find a job and had found some work as a bricklayer and dishwasher in several restaurants. Then, as you see now, there is no movement in the country, so I had to do something in the camp” (RE-22)*

Some refugees did not want to remain constrained by any contextual limitation or the fear that they would not have a place in the market. However, they want to try to eventually share the market portion. However, because of the poor market and extreme resource scarcity, these entrepreneurs did not have many options and strategies to innovate the market. Therefore, these individuals penetrate the market by imitating previous businesses. The range of these entrepreneurs' businesses do not vary; they are generally based on selling basic needs. Some of our interviewees stated: “I was very good at keeping shop when I was working for another person, I knew well the market, and at some time, I did not want to work under someone. But fortunately, I learned a lot” (RE-16). Generally, the overall strategy in the development of their businesses is roughly similar and mimetic to preceding businesses. Some entrepreneurs adopted a diversification strategy, but these were still rare:

*“Everybody was doing the same business, and I also opened a similar business to others. There was no other thing we could do. But then, I thought I could sell something that others were not selling in the camp. So, I start selling fresh juice, fruit, and vegetable in this shop” (RE-6)*

The most common path to all camp retailers is, first, to start trading with a few products. Capital is often gathered from different sources: their previous work, from monthly relief, or through selling flour. This strategy is feasible, especially when family numbers are significant, as the accumulated rations or cash distribution is more than sufficient to economize.

Following the pioneer's strategy, they built trust with the local traders to obtain supplies on credit to maintain the business and overcome financial limitations. However, this takes commitment from refugee entrepreneurs to demonstrate their seriousness:

*“When they find that I work, I had trust from the local traders, then made the business bigger. Now, they give me in the amount of material that I need. I sell it, and I give them the money when I sell it” (RE-10).*

## V.2.5. The empowered: narrative of profile and entrepreneurial process

These entrepreneurs started their businesses after the UNHCR or ORA initiative of livelihood empowerment incentives. Not all refugees reacted the same way to every form of incentive. To a certain number of incentivized people, few were able to successfully engage in business.

Thus, on the one hand, self-reliance projects can incentivize and push certain people to realize their potential, which otherwise would have been difficult to uncover; on the other hand, these projects can be a way of self-selecting people who can succeed in certain activities.

### V.2.5.1. Profiles

#### **Case RE-8**

RE-8 left Somalia in 2006 when she was almost 20 years old to take refuge in Djibouti, where she later was married. In 2008, she moved with her husband to Umkulu, hoping for better protection. However, after five children, RE-8 and her husband divorced. At first, her situation was challenging, but RE-8 started receiving further help from ORA. As a result, the administrative director helped her with a certain amount of money to start a small business and support her family. RE-8 started running the tea shop with that money, and the business was a success. RE-8 was able to overcome her difficult status and meet her children's daily needs. RE-8 started her business with the minimum resources. With some help from her relatives, she separated one part of her dwelling place to use for the tea shop. She bought one pack of tea, 3 kg sugar, two thermoses, and a dozen glasses and had one bench from the camp administration. Afterwards, little by little, she added items to the shop. The shop is medium-sized with three tables with benches and chairs (see figure 41). At the corner of her shop, she prepares coffee and tea, and its interfaces with her living space. She thought that there was no particular recipe for her tea and coffee, but she created a welcoming environment that attracted many customers:

*“It is not easy to be a business mom, to have all these kids; one wants to go to school, one wants to be clean. Still, you have to go to the restaurant. It is very difficult. It is something you need to manage, but thanks to God, we succeed and today am able to feed my kids to get their milk easy”.*



Figure 41: RE-8's tea shop  
Own source

### Case RE-10

RE-10 fled Somalia because of the civil war in which his father was killed and his mother lost one of her breasts. They reached Djibouti, but unable to obtain legal status, they headed toward Eritrea, and in 2002, they arrived in Umkulu.

As job opportunities were open at the time, RE-10 started working in gold mining. These activities were performed illegally until the government wholly restricted them in 2015.

After years of being active, RE-10 was left without a job. Nevertheless, later, he was part of a pilot project launched by UNHCR in 2015 in which he received goats and sheep. However, RE-10 preferred to sell the livestock, and with the money from his previous work, he opened a grocery. According to RE-10, he was not cut out for breeding, especially in such dry land, needing considerable effort. RE-10 opened the shop at a critical moment in autumn. 2017. The small shop had new bright wood shelves containing few products (see figure 42). In this period, the market had stagnated, but he wanted his chance, and he hoped circumstances would soon change.



Figure 42: RE-10's grocery  
Own source

### Case RE-13

RE-13 arrived in Eritrea with the first wave of refugees in 1996. Aden and his family interviewed for resettlement in early 1998, hoping they would leave the temporary life of the camp as soon as possible. However, their resettlement process took time, and RE-13 started working in the construction company.

After a long wait, RE-13 opened a grocery in 2012, he had wanted to open the shop long before, but his family was were always in a position to leave the camp. Even when he opened the shop, he was not active as his mind was on the resettlement process: "If your idea is that this is your place, you have to improve your business. But if you think that you will go today or tomorrow, you are not very busy with business".

In 2016, they had final confirmation for resettlement, and RE-13 sold everything for departure. However, the departure was suddenly interrupted, and RE-13 and his family saw all their dreams collapse again. Despite the disappointments, they had enough strength to start from scratch.

In 2017, RE-13 and his family benefited from 20,000 NKF (equivalent to 1000£) from the latest UNHCR livelihood program. This money allowed Aden to slowly recover and develop a new business. This time, he opted for breeding and stock trading. He was sure that re-opening the grocery would be a loss (see figure 43).



Figure 43 : RE-13's goat and sheep trading

Own source

#### **V.2.5.2. Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

Being totally or partially supported by a third, entity allows refugees to develop new skills, improve their perceived competence in managing the firm, generate business ideas, and change or restart a new business after a sudden interruption.

Some entrepreneurs did not instinctively have the idea or confidence to craft and start their own shop. After moral and economic help, they discovered their potential, and some were encouraged with a new idea that enhanced their hope to overcome business obstacles. As some refugee entrepreneurs commented: "I never thought I could do business, but when Mr. Abdulahi suggested that I do business, I thought I could do a teashop. I discover that I am patient, and I know how to behave with clients"(RE-8); "I came from a village, and I know how to be a farmer, but as I had tailor training in the camp, I become good at doing this activity, so I started a tailoring business (RE-17)"; "When the English woman gave me the idea of opening the restaurant and when she told me that I can have the finance gave me courage. I thought it could be a good opportunity" (RE-22).

The entrepreneurial path is thus initiated through new competencies and resources (endowed by the structure of support) combined with previous resources at hand. For example, as they received money from ORA to start a business, they started to mobilize her social network for additional help and resources (RE-8; RE-17, RE-13)

Among those who have been supported through sheep/goat stock or backyard poultry distribution, some individuals shifted this opportunity to create another favourable circumstances at their convenience. For example, Hassan used the donation of stock to acquire capital to start a grocery.

However, not all refugees who received incentives to be self-reliant through empowerment projects succeed in starting businesses. For example, in the latest livelihood project, many refugees were aided by 20,000 NKF to start a business. Nevertheless, few were able to succeed. Some faced money management problems, and others did not have enough motivation and confidence to invest, and they tried to pay their debt or buy some domestic items.

According to the voice of the entrepreneurs in the camp, doing business is not for everybody (RE-1; RE-9; RE-11). In this regard, one of our informants commented, “ Not everyone has the courage to invest and risk a small amount of money. Most do not have confidence because the market is poor. Even when they get some funding, they prefer to use it for their own needs rather than invest it.” (UMInfo-3).

## **V.2.6. Street vendors’ entrepreneurial process**

### **V.2.6.1. Profiles**

RE-26 is a young woman in her early 30. She was only 20 years old when she was married in the camp, and her husband was working in gold mining. RE-26 became part of the saving group, which allowed her to buy a few items to sell in the market. She began to go to Teseney (a city close to the Soudan border), bringing items such as shampoo, cloth, henna, and women’s accessories. She easily interacts with people with a smile and patience.

RE-27 sells cloth around the camp and in the local markets. I found her juxtaposed on one of the camp's streets, selling different items. When she settled in Umkulu with her family, she started selling relief products while her husband had several jobs and was busy all the time. At the beginning, she could travel to Djibouti or Soudan to buy items such as cloth, shoes, perfume, and accessories. She explained that for her and the women in general, a street vendor is the best way to run the business: “we cannot depend on the camp market. We have to go outside. Even this requires hard work”.

### **V.2.6.2. Bricolage process: mobilizing motivation, ideas, and resources at hand**

“Street vendor” covers marketplace vendors, pavement sellers, and home-based vendors. The women generally engage in street selling because it is flexible and has a low cost of entry in the market (see figure 44). Somali women play a significant role in the economic and social structure of the camp. Although most of the visited shops were managed by men, women were equally active in other forms of business. This section provides examples of street vendors, which are predominantly women. The author interviewed two women who were street

vendors. These women gave me important points of view of how women are predominantly involved in this business and all the difficulties they encounter.



Figure 44: Various women street vendors

Own source

Women street vendors started early in 2000 since they wanted to sell their relief products to have liquidity and buy necessary items and food ingredients according to their cultural needs. Gradually, women start to sell a myriad of goods, such as clothes, shoes, underwear, toiletries, and household and grocery items. These women crafted different strategies to accumulate and manage money and hold different responsibilities.

Many women create a group saving to accumulate capital. Moreover, in the camp, they are limited in their decision-making because of the overbearing influence of a male-dominated society, which limits their mobility, business participation, and market interactions. A particular problem in the Umkulu camp was that many men used the monthly aid in cash to buy “Khat” (a typical east Africa plant used as a drug). Consequently, the camp administration started giving money only to women; however, this did not prevent women’s domestic abuse. Therefore, they must be cautious. Indeed, as RE-2 7and other key informants explained, most of the women hide their real income from their husbands, and they engage in a different savings group with different amounts:

*“When I sell something, I try to save a small amount without saying anything to my husband. When I have to buy the family’s needs, I do the same. For example, let’s*



*say, I give to my husband 500, and I have for me 1000. I do my best to save small money”.*

Moreover, time management is also crucial for women to avoid pressure in their families. The women entrepreneurs struggle with time constraints since they are concerned with family responsibilities. Some have their husbands at home, taking care of their children, as in the case of RE-26. Nevertheless, Adila explains that her husband is not able or willing to do everything: “if he takes care of the children, it is already a big job. Sometimes, the eldest daughter, who is eight years old, helps at home with many things, including cooking”. Relying on their female children and other family members is common among businesswomen. Moreover, as RE-2 explained, some neighbours and friends are essential resources for enabling their businesses as they help them keep small children, and they usually exchange favours.

An important aspect of their business is their ability to create a network of loyal customers. They try to have as many clients as possible within and outside the camp, and as Adila explains, being kind, serious, and a “real go-getter” is important. Sometimes, they make many sacrifices to maintain a client. For example, as RE-26 explained, they give the product on credit. However, it is difficult that the person will quickly pay back the debt. One disadvantage is that, in their type of business, they cannot easily obtain supplies on credit, and waiting for the client to pay their credit requires sacrifices.

They predominantly work in the markets outside the camp, such as Massawa, Ghinday, and Foro. It was rare to find these women in the camp, they were always moving, and some local women (Tigre) were selling in the camp. The Tigre women from Umkulu explicitly explained that they learn to trade from Somali refugees, recognizing them as business-oriented people.

### **V.2.7. The decline and collapse of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem**

The EE’s vibrancy in the Umkulu refugee camp started declining around 2014. However, after 2016, the camp market started to become stagnant, and several factors triggered the decline of the refugee camp's entrepreneurial ecosystem.

First, the region’s overall economic crisis decreased the local labour market's downturn which, had two primary consequences to the camp ecosystem. The job market in the surrounding areas became considerably worse, leading many male refugees to lose their jobs, especially in the mining industry. Work opportunities started to decrease, especially after 2014; jobs were no longer available. Gold mining was a significant (informal) economic activity,

providing a substantial income for Somali refugees. From 2014, however, the Eritrean authorities forbade gold mining and started controlling it:

*“My husband used to work in gold mining, but then the police started to put pressure. The place where he used to do mining was now under the Eritrean military's control. He was even in prison because of illegal gold mining for a while. Therefore, he stopped working there, and I decided to start this business” (RE-26).*

In addition to these factors, the change in the local currency of Eritrea in 2015 significantly damaged the camp economy. As some refugee entrepreneurs commented: “Before the change of the currency, the condition of the market was better than now”(RE-12); “I used to sell a goat for 900 NKF and a sheep for 1,100 NKF. After the change in the currency, I can only sell a goat for 600 and a sheep for 800” (RE-15). The change in the rate of local currency meant Somali refugees suffered a sudden loss of their assets. Due to the loss of additional income, the in-flow of money, which was brought by refugees working outside the camp, significantly decreased, and the overall consumption in the camp market shrank accordingly: “You can see that there is not much stuff in my truck because I do not have the capital to fill it. There is a lack of money flow in the camp and the whole country” (RE-19).

Second, the number of camp inhabitants, which marked the highest number in 2013, started decreasing in 2014 when 528 refugees left the camp for resettlement, where until 2015, there were resettlement opportunities for camp inhabitants. Later, when resettlement opportunity was suspended, many people left the camp legally through the resettlement program, and some illegally crossed the border by themselves because the resettlement of displaced Somalis has been suspended since 2015.

Third, as seen in followers' cases described on the previous section, those who lost their jobs outside the camp started engaging in entrepreneurial activities, mostly by imitating existing businesses, to create additional income. The competition among refugee entrepreneurs became inefficient: “For us, the situation was not good; as the shop increased, we started to see our clients decreasing” (RE-1). Simultaneously, humanitarian organizations changed their livelihood strategies from merely offering material and financial support to improving refugees' livelihood through self-reliance programs, business support, and starting capital supplements. Primarily since 2013, UNHCR Eritrea, in close collaboration with its implementing partner, the Office of the Refugee Affairs (ORA), implemented various pilot projects in the livelihood sector: sheep/goat distribution, backyard poultry, horticulture. While this strategic re-orientation helped some refugees turn into entrepreneurs by providing them with initial resources, many of these entrepreneurs suffered from a lack of customers.

Therefore, due to the decrease in resources at the ecosystem level, the camp's entrepreneurial ecosystem became unsustainable and vulnerable. The lack of resource inflows increased the dependency of the camp market on input by humanitarian organizations. The resource flow in this market depends on the supply from the ORA and UNHCR:

“At the beginning of each month, I could sell 2 to 3 kg of sugar per day. But after the middle of the month, you cannot sell products because there is no market. No products and no customers who can pay money. The flow of the market is only good at the beginning of the month due to the distribution” (RE-8).

One survival mechanism in the hostile business environment is the vast dependence of business on credit among the Somali refugee population (figure 45). They take goods on loan from their suppliers and repay the cost only after they sell them at the market. Accordingly, the camp market also functions in this way: refugee clients who do not have enough cash buy goods from shops on credit and repay whenever they obtain money. When entrepreneurs run out of the products by the mid-month, they start to rely on loans to keep operating their business: “This week, we do not have a market. But we still have to supply our customers. So, we sell them on debt” (RE-2). In this evolutionary stage of the ecosystem, most of the camp entrepreneurs were in a debt cycle: “These businesses survive on the credit cycle between client and supplier” (UmkInf-1).

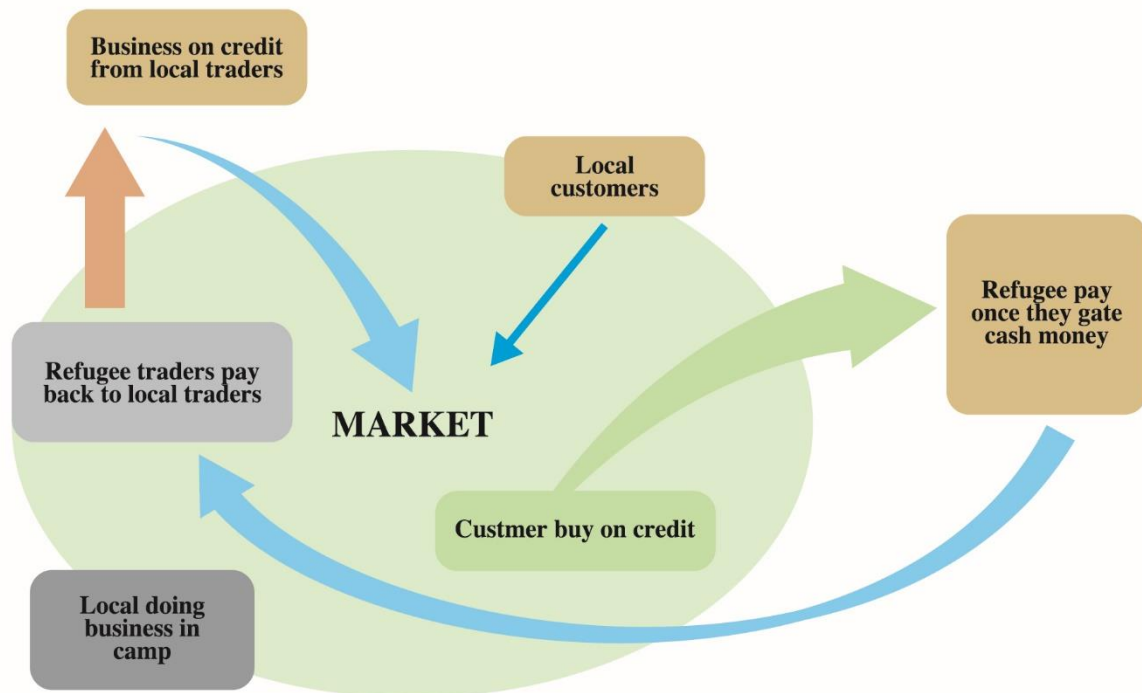


Figure 45 : Entrepreneurial ecosystem survival mechanism  
Own source

In this regard, some of our interviewees commented:

*“Every month, we start from zero, or better say even under zero, because we buy stuff in the camp on debt. So, when we have small money, we pay that, and I buy materials to make cloth. We are doing better than many people from the camp, at least we can buy extra things” (RE-13); “You cannot pay all the debt because you have many other things to pay. So, we try to collect whatever money our customers can pay and pay this money back to the local community. The profit is barely sufficient for us to scratch out a living” (RE-2).*

The overall attractiveness of the ecosystem declined in this stage. As one of the refugee entrepreneurs highlighted, doing business in the Umkulu camp no longer meant profit:

*“I was earning enough money before. Now, we survive only. The market is not as active as before. There is no job now. In the last four to five years, my sales started to decrease. Also, the number of refugees is not so high as before. Traders now need to count on their relatives as customers” (RE-9).*

Due to refugees' decreased purchasing power and growing competition, entrepreneurs could make only small profits. Accordingly, some refugee entrepreneurs stated: “Our main customers are refugees who cannot pay much. So, what we do is we put one NKF as a profit for us. If you buy one kilogram of sugar for 25 NKF, you cannot sell it more than 26 NKF” (RE-2); “Since refugees cannot pay much, they always go to the cheapest shop. Even your relatives will not accept you if you sell products at one NKF higher price than others” (RE-1). At this stage, the ecosystem fell into a vicious cycle, losing its attractiveness, which led to further resource leakage (see figure 46). Camp inhabitants were frustrated with their situation without knowing how to improve it: “People do not know what to do. Even family members hate each other” (RE-15).

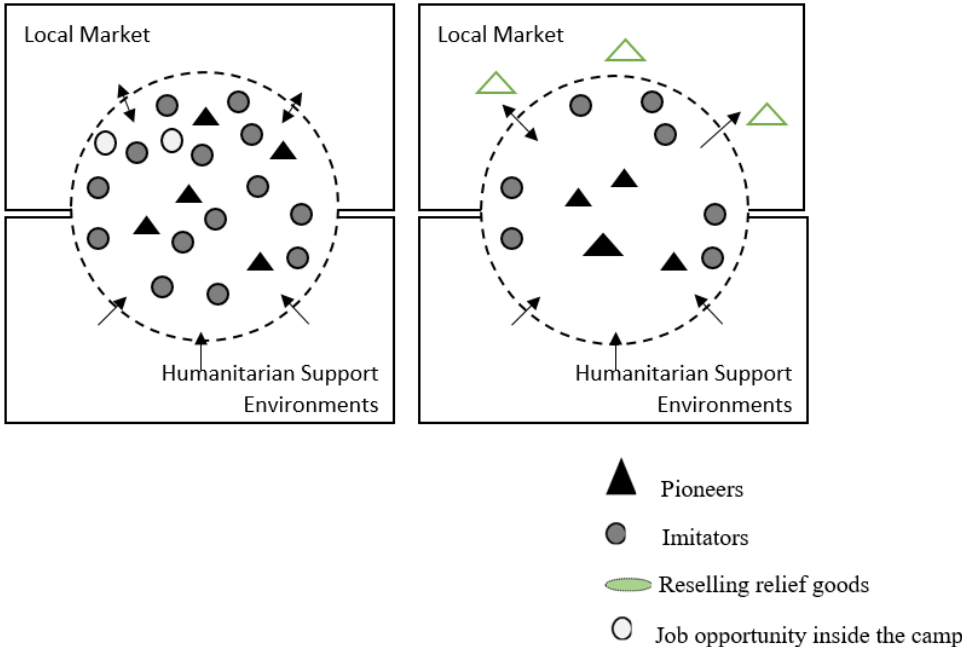


Figure 46: The decline of the entrepreneurial ecosystem  
Adapted from Spigel and Harrison (2018)

Societal tension within the community increased, and people were jealous of other people whose businesses were slightly better than theirs. When the border to Ethiopia was opened, refugees started to leave the country. Until 2019, the camp population continued to decrease. When nearly 1,300 people left the camp, the Eritrean government asked the remaining refugees to leave Umkulu for closure. In March 2019, the project partnership agreement between UNHCR, the ORA, and the Ministry of National Development was

suspended, which drastically reduced the refugee population in Umkulu to 80. In June 2019, the camp was closed by the Eritrean government.

### **V.3. Conclusion**

In this chapter, we detailed the content and analysis of several kinds of data that recount the process of an entrepreneurial ecosystem's emergence and development. We first recount the emergence of a socio-economic space in the informal refugee camp referred to as Calais Jungle (France). Due to the illegality of the camp and its short existence, we could not capture the entire entrepreneurial dynamics. However, a study of three cases, interviews and secondary data allowed us to illustrate the emergence and decline of a potential entrepreneurial ecosystem.

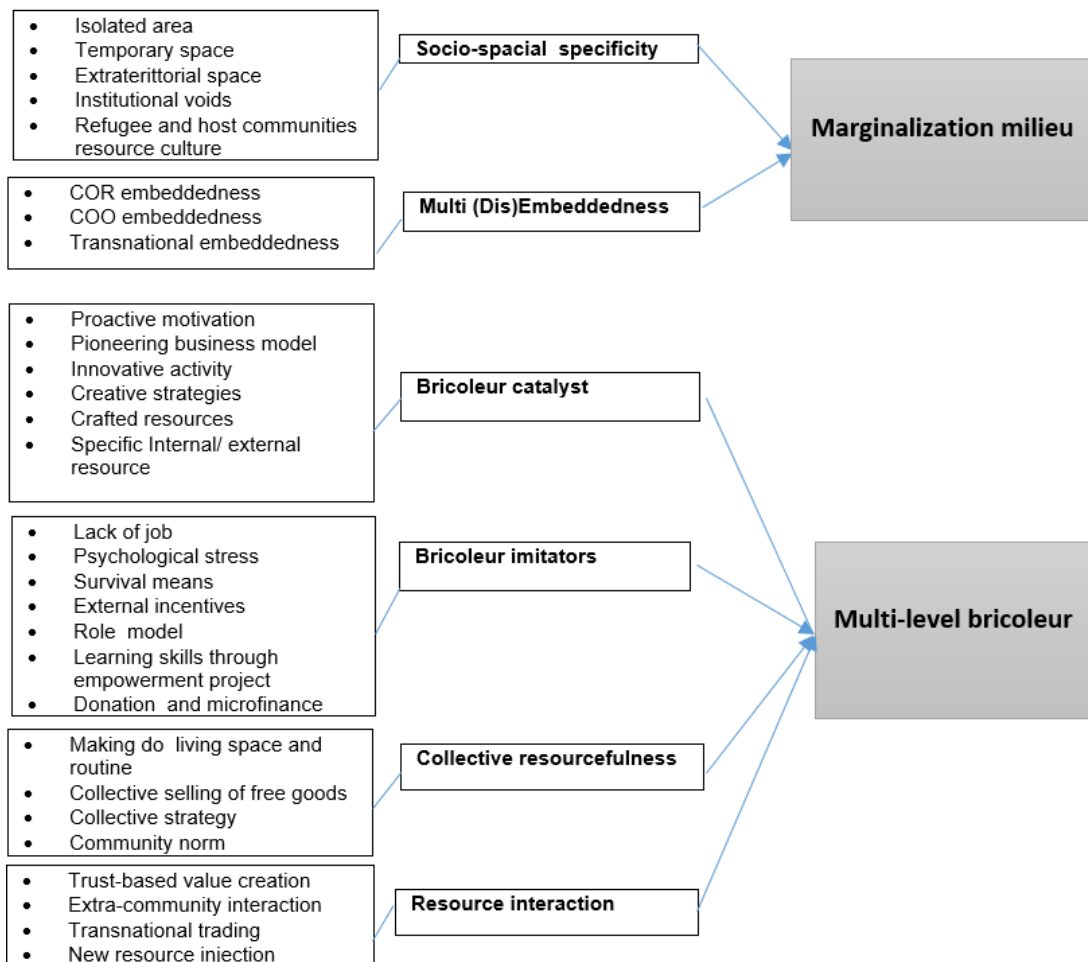
Through the Umkulu refugee camp cases, we were able to illustrate the entrepreneurial dynamism of the RC as a true ecosystem. Through the narratives of various entrepreneurs, we were able to reconstruct the emergence, development and collapse of this ecosystem in the Umkulu refugee camp near Massawa in Eritrea. In the beginning, the ecosystem presented favourable entrepreneurial conditions in terms of job opportunities and a local economy that allowed for the accumulation and recycling of resources, as well as entrepreneurial opportunities. This case illustrates that different types of entrepreneurial processes came about in the emergence and development of the ecosystem. According to our analysis, these processes and types of entrepreneurs can be classified into four different macro groups. Introducing the first group, referred to as the “pioneers”, we illustrated the background of each entrepreneur and the peculiarity of their unique entrepreneurial process. When they started the business, these entrepreneurs were proactively motivated. They had a business background, minimal capital, or a creative idea that propelled them towards a venturing experience. These enterprises varied in their motivation, business type, strategy and development process. Thus, we presented each case with a description of its entrepreneurial process. The second group is referred to as the “followers”. We present the background of each case but, due to the similarity of the business type and development path of these cases, and we simply describe the typical path of their entrepreneurial process. These entrepreneurs did not have particular strategies, tending rather to mimic existing business models. The third group is referred to as the “empowered” entrepreneurs. After presenting their profile, we describe the general entrepreneurial process they followed. These entrepreneurs differ because their entrepreneurial process started with incentives or professional training that enabled them to embark on such an adventure. The fourth group represents the “street

vendors”, in particular, more women are engaged in this type of activity. The section describing them illustrates how these women engage in this business, their strategy and their difficulties in managing their activities.

The next chapter presents the emerging analytical themes of the cases presented in this chapter. We will discuss the overall dynamism of this precarious entrepreneurial ecosystem with more analytic detail by comparing our empirical data with our background literature.

# Chapter VI. Co-crafting community-based temporary entrepreneurial ecosystems

This chapter discusses the emerging themes reporting the empirical evidence and comparing it with the broad literature that frames this study. The chapter is structured in four sections that correspond to the emerging entrepreneur groups, reflecting on (i) marginalisation milieu (Section 6.1); (ii) Multi-level bricoleurs (6.2); 3) (iii) bricolage invisible engine (Section 6.4) and (iv) destructive survival (6.5). Each of these sections is subdivided into second-order categories of the data structure (see figure 46).





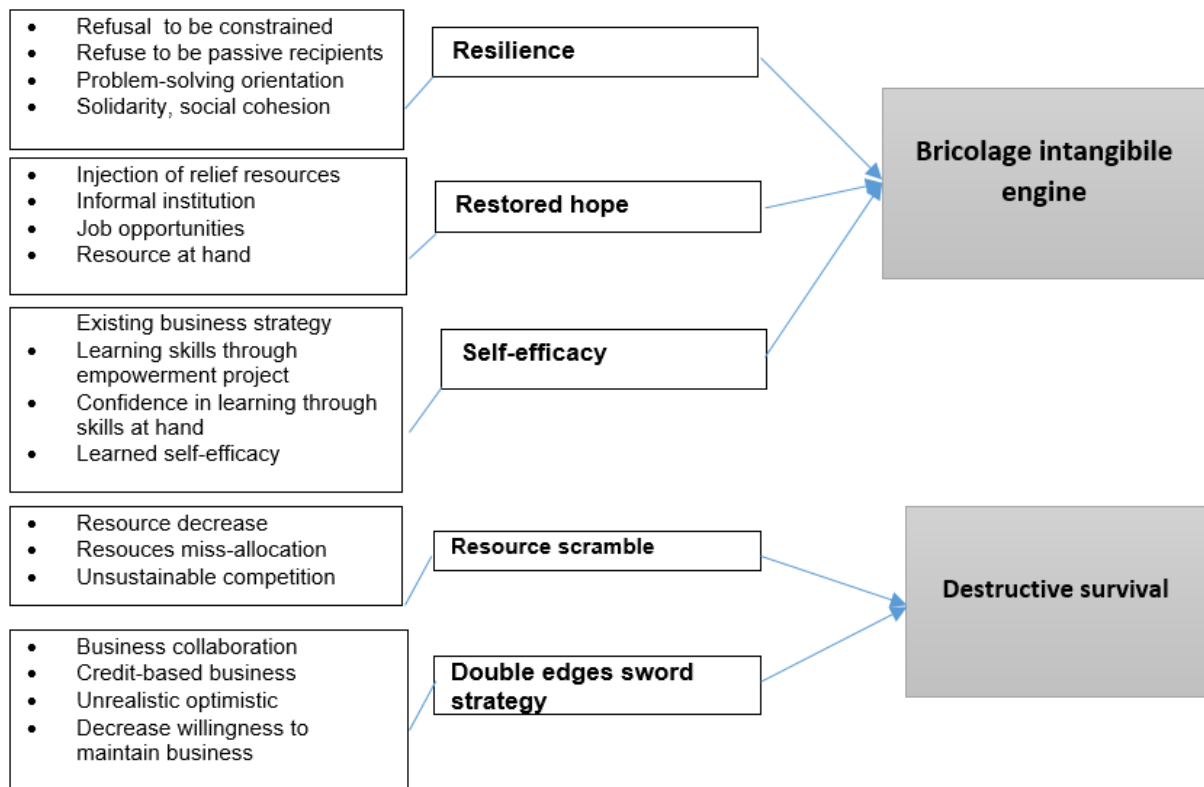


Figure 47 : Data structure of thematic analysis of co-crafting community-based temporary entrepreneurial ecosystems

## VI.1. Marginalisation milieu

Research proposal (RP)	
RP A	Marginalisation milieu creates opportunities or constraints to the emergence and development of the temporary refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem.

### VI.1.1. Socio-special specificity

The marginalisation milieu is characterized by socio-economic specificity and level of embeddedness that can positively or negatively influence entrepreneurship and its legitimacy. As previously explained, the investigated RCs context is characterized by deprived and isolated local space with limited social interaction and resources. Marginality and the entrepreneurial process form mutual influences, and the geographic, cultural, cognitive, and social distance gives the entrepreneurial model a unique facet of constraints and opportunity (Anderson, 2000; Korsgaard, Müller & Tanvi 2015). Therefore, the geographic position of the camp is one of the aspects that shape the socio-economic nature of the camp (Werker, 2007).

The spatially available resource that entrepreneurs use and combine to create new value, therefore, are key elements of initial formation of EEs (Autio et al., 2018; Feldman & Zoller, 2012; Spigel & Harrison, 2018).

One characteristic of the RC socio-spatial specificity is highly shaped formal and informal suspension of the current law that creates norms of “exceptions” (Agier, 2018 p. 71), which hinders or enables the community's advantageous economic interactions. The RC is highly dependent on implicitly and explicitly detected or negotiated exceptional norms by the institutions that create a unique context and mechanism of RC creation. This spatial, temporal, and regulatory exceptionalism allows resource allocation, and accumulation, enabling one to evade isolation through economic exchange and spatial transformation. For example, Calais RC's socio-economic space was created in the momentum of governmental “tolerance” (Agier, 2018). This exceptional suspension, which allowed the emergence of a “legal grey zone” (Turner, 2020), was critical to the camp's stability.

Moreover, socio-spatial specificity is shaped by the temporariness of the RC. Although camps can become quasi-permanent, camp inhabitants' continual perception of precariousness makes it difficult to develop long-term perspectives (Alloush et al., 2017). For example, even the new generation born and raised in the RC has a deep consciousness of the temporariness of their living conditions. Their only dream is to escape from the state of limbo. Thus, even when they start to undertake business, it is consciously s a momentary activity: “I was born in the camp, and the only place I know is this refugee camp. My only dream is to go to a good country like my old friends. So, I only do this business is for the moment” (RE-13).

The literature reports that resource scarcity, institutional voids, and market distortion trigger entrepreneurial activities in RCs (Beets et al., 2016; Mara & Marti, 2009). For example, in some cases, rural areas become an advantage since the socio-spatial context of the periphery provides unique conditions for entrepreneurial activities (Anderson, 2000; Müller & Korsgaard, 2014). Accordingly, several participants explained that the need to recover life within this marginalisation triggered their entrepreneurial initiative, highlighting that their business with an existing city might have been complicated due to the institutional barriers (RE-6; RE-12; RE-14).

<b>RP 1</b>	The socio-spatial specificity is determined by the camp's geographic position, temporariness, norms of exception in the institutional framework, spatial resources shape the marginalisation milieu for entrepreneurship.
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### VI.1.2. (Dis)Embeddedness

The second element of marginalisation milieu is determined by the (dis)embeddedness of refugees living in the RC. The literature suggests that refugees are naturally embedded or disembedded in more than one socio-economic context (home country, host country, transnational sphere), which causes resource acquisition, costs or opportunity, and constraints (Jack & Anderson 2002; Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020). Refugees are usually (dis)embedded from their host country, unable to return and have an essential resource from their country (Wauters & Lambrecht 2008). However, some exceptions depended on the host country's proximity to the country of residence. For example, as Eritrea is a neighbouring country to Somalia, some Somali were connected with their country and crossed the border to reach Somalia to acquire resources. A similar event was also reported by refugees in Uganda and Kenya, who were able to illegally return to their countries to obtain material for trading (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015; Omata, 2016).

A particular aspect of RCs is the embeddedness of the community and space created through social-spatial proximity. The connections to place and community become a situated condition from which new structures of opportunity and constraints rise (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The community's embeddedness offers entrepreneurs a specific opportunity to respond to the community needs and shape the community resources, opportunities, and constraints (Marti et al., 2013). First, the refugees' communities had traumatic migration backgrounds and had temporarily lost their homeland resources. However, they were still endowed with intangible resources, such as resilience (Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020); human resources; cultural capital, such as cultural knowledge (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020; Atasü-Topcuoğlu, 2019) and tacit knowledge (Williams & Shepherd 2016); and social capital (Bizri, 2017). Several interviewees repeated how their backgrounds were an important human resource that traumatic events cannot destroy. Some of our interviewees stated: "We are people with choice, creativity and we learn a lot in our life. There are teachers, religious leaders; talented people among us" (RE-1); "we have our own culture, knowledge and intelligence, and we cannot be treated like a flock" (RE-9). Consequently, the coming together of the RC community in a specific space allows for the use of the available tangible and intangible resources, such as cultural capital; forms like tastes, skills, and dispositions or national intelligence are distinctive characteristics that create ethnic entrepreneurship (Atasü-Topcuoğlu, 2019). For instance, in Umkulu RC, the Somalis were identified as the business-minded community (Uminfo-1, Uminfo-2). This identification is in line with the previous literature, where Somalis have a rich history of trading practices that date to ancient times (Basardien et al., 2014). In the past, the government created a culture of working together and

sharing, and this historical legacy has permeated into countrywide trading activities by individual Somalis (ibid). Other important resources are the community's shared values, collective identity, solidarity, mutual help, and collaboration among participants, enabling the community's structuration in different levels of a safe environment and resilience (McMillan & Chavis, 1986), essential resources used during the entrepreneurial process, as confirmed by several participants: "I know this is a terrible situation, but they built churches, mosques, community centres, schools, and we built a sense of community"(CJ-info-3). Community religious and cultural practices gave emotional drivers to identify new business opportunities for entrepreneurs, as some confirmed, "Religious feasts enable me to do my business"(RE-13); "when there is marriage in the camp, they call for decoration and they pay me"(RE-5); "When it is a feast, I sell more goat and sheep"(RE-15). These statements strongly indicate the importance of existing cultures, traditions, and religious practices for resource circulation and income generation (Anderson, 2000; Brown, 2000; McKeever, Jack & Anderson, 2015; Welter, 2013).

Moreover, the host community's resources and culture are essential elements that shape the milieu of marginalization. Furthermore, the refugee can be less or more embedded in the host country. For instance, Somali and Eritrean, which had long historical embeddedness that allowed affinity between the two communities, are positive examples of this idea. The two community cohesion allowed Somali refugee entrepreneurs to create their network of trust and cope with resource scarcity. In contrast, the refugees/migrants in Calais Jungle seem more disembedded because of their cultural distance from the host country. However, refugees can be embedded with refugee/migrant communities settled in the hosting country. For example, there were more Afghan refugees in many camps of Paris than the Eritrean or Syrian camps (CJinfo-3). Perhaps this is the reason that the informal camp of Calais had more Afghan entrepreneurs than other cultures. As one of our informants commented:

*"The majority of the business is held by Afghan here. There are a lot of Afghans here, even outside the camp. The Syrian have more opportunities to have refugee status. They do not stay here for long, So, they do not have business here" (CJinfo-4).*

Moreover, in the Calais Jungle, some cultural and history bounding between migrants from different countries was important. As a result, some Eritrean entrepreneurs used the Sudanese as protection from the camp's dangerous attacks and fighting (CJinfo-4; CJRE-2).

Additionally, the presence of a supportive environment, such as NGOs and activists advocating on behalf of refugees, is one way to facilitate refugee embeddedness (Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020). For example, the creation of the Calais socio-economic space was mainly due to the support contributed by the grassroots organizations.

Refugees can be embedded in a transnational context, for example, countries neighbouring the refugees' country of origin or their hosting country. For instance, a Somali refugee in Eritrea could economically interact with a neighbouring country, such as Djibouti, because of proximity and cultural embeddedness: “Even though we have a legal issue in Djibouti, and we are not welcomed, we have the same culture, and we know the country very well”(RE-6). Similarly, many refugees/migrants in the Calais jungle camp already had refugee status or were asylum seekers in other countries, such as Italy, Germany, and Greece. This multiple embeddedness is a dynamic process that changes over time, contingent on the “social process” (Kloosterman et al., 1999, p. 263). Consequently, multi-embeddedness allowed refugee entrepreneurs to accumulate tangible and intangible resources (Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020). As one of our interviewees confirmed, before starting his business in the Calais refugee camp, he had the opportunity to work and accumulate resources in another country. These resources were crucial to start an activity in the camp (CJRE-3).

<b>RP 2:</b>	RC entrepreneurs can be (Dis)embedded in multiple contexts, such as the host country, home country, refugee community, and transnational sphere. Their level of embeddedness shapes the marginalisation milieu for entrepreneurship.
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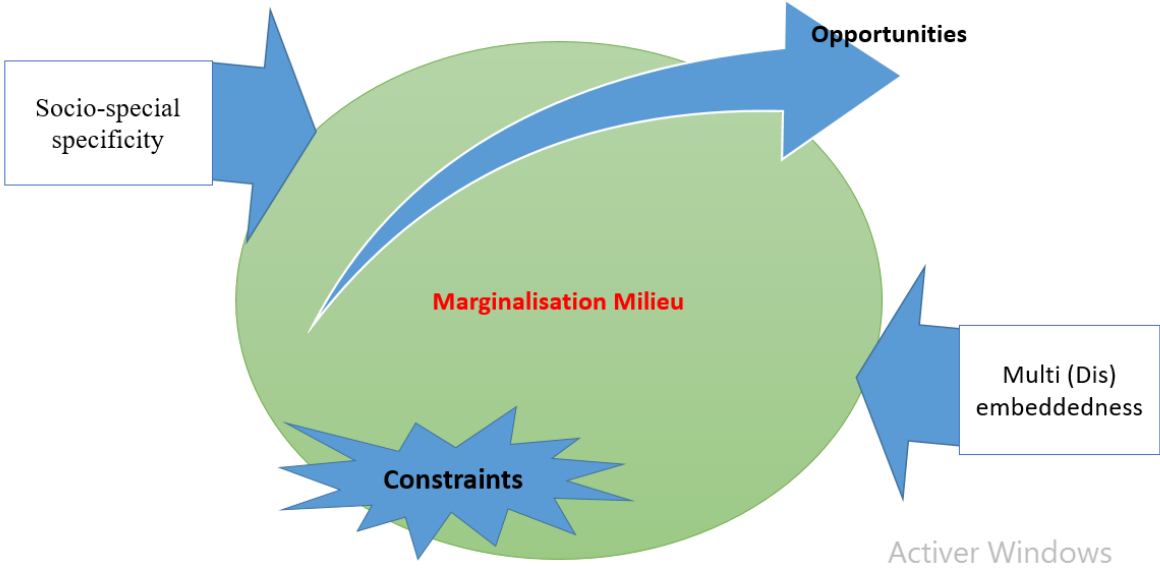


Figure 48 : Marginalisation milieu

Own source

## VI.2. Multiple-level bricoleurs

<b>RP B</b>	When identifying and developing entrepreneurial opportunities, bricolage behaviour manifests itself at different levels, contributing to the co-creation and co-evolution of the temporary RCEE.
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### VI.2.1. Bricoleur catalyst

The previous sections illustrated how individuals with similar resources and emergency conditions pursue different economic strategies and thus create a more stratified community. Therefore, different people responded differently to the conditions and opportunities that a given context creates (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Shane, 2000). This study identifies bricolage entrepreneurial processes that differ in their motivations, types of activity, and methods of resource mobilization and entrepreneurial strategies.

Regarding the motivational aspect, while the main driver that links all entrepreneurs in this precarious context is economical, two motivational groups were also identified: proactive and reactive. First, proactive individuals are pioneers due to their alertness and ability to quickly exploit potentially fleeting opportunities using available resources. The literature explains how often market timing allows entrepreneurs to succeed (An et al., 2017; Spigel & Harrison, 2018). They benefit from the first-mover advantages as the first and only provider of particular goods and services in the camp<sup>42</sup> (Lieberman & Montgomery, 1998). As described in each case narration, pioneer bricoleurs move first in starting a specific business model, and innovators craft an innovative business or strategy, combining resources in a creative way. In general, these entrepreneurs have minimum living conditions, minimum resources, or/and creativity to acquire resources. Moreover, refusal to be a passive recipient is another motivation that allows proactive people to initiate business. This refusal also extends in the process of business development as these entrepreneurs refuse to be constrained by their resource limitations (Baker et al., 2003; Weick, 1993). The entrepreneurs' willingness to improve and change their living conditions brought them to identify and adapt to opportunity. For example, previous business experience allowed them to perceive opportunities and exploit them quickly (Venkataraman, 1997; Shane, 2000).

These entrepreneurs are catalysts of change, creating invaluable resources in a worthless environment (Winkel et al., 2013). The emergence of RC entrepreneurs produces

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<sup>42</sup> Lieberman, Marvin B., and David B. Montgomery. (1998): "First- mover (dis) advantages: retrospective and link with the resource- based view." *Strategic management journal* 19, no. 12 1111-1125.

service for the community and becomes a key factor that allows the urbanization of the peripheral place. Scholars highlight that the firm's emergence, in cases of thin or non-existent market organization and pioneering firms, can help create and co-create a market (Bosma et al., 2014; Eckhardt et al., 2021; Stam, 2013). An example of how pioneer entrepreneurs filled a market gap was illustrated in the presented cases (RE-3; RE-24; RE-2; R-14). In RE-24, the only bakery in the camp, her husband built a traditional clay oven, an essential facility for baking bread, with her father and brother by mixing clay with straw and water. As pioneering bricoleurs, these entrepreneurs created unique value out of waste or materials that did not have any value to others.

However, bricoleur innovators (RE-20; RE14; R21) have specific technical and self-learned skills in addition to creativity and confidence; they use flexibility and adaptability to meet challenges and execute their entrepreneurial performance allowing them to generate a unique business model (Klärner & Raisch, 2013; Winkel et al., 2013). These individuals operate through proactive value-creating strategies to cope with extreme resource-constrained environments. These entrepreneurs make do with all internal and external resources, and the entrepreneurial process is a journey of experimental learning, an evolutionary process where they improvise solutions to solve daily problems (Linna, 2013).

The lack of similar human resources may allow these individuals to operate in the ecosystem without competitors, thus capturing high value (Cantner et al., 2021). RE-20, the only metal worker in the camp, was one of the most innovative business models undertaken using a unique self-learning ability. RE-21 developed radio speakers by experimenting with different materials by himself: "I made this radio speaker by connecting a five-litter jerrican with an old broken radio that I repaired. It makes the sound louder. I tried to make this product many times, and finally, it worked". The literature also identifies the importance of knowledge-generating and experiential learning (Duymedjian & Reuling, 2010) to recognize new entrepreneurial opportunities.

Usually, problem-solving starts with a personal need to cope with the challenges of daily life. The analysis reveals that entrepreneurs often re-use existing and new tangible/intangible resources, combining and transforming them to suit a new purpose (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Johannisson & Olaison, 2007). Moreover, this study includes in the prior knowledge the culture of bricolage behaviour. This is explicit, especially in some cases (CJRE-1; RE-24), in which the experience of using what is at hand in their home country creates confidence to choose a similar approach:

*“When I decided to start this business, I did not have anything, not even a gas stove to cook. So, I used to make fire by using wood and stone around the camp [...]. This method is not new for me. I used to do it in my village” (CJRE-1).*

Other studies argue that refugees have a great sense of community problem-solving, such as electric or water-related needs, which become a pathway for entrepreneurial venturing (Betts, Bloom & Weaver, 2015; Dick, 2002). The community, therefore, is the foundational enterprise opportunity; the process of the association through which ideas emerge occurs through interpersonal interactions, as ideas are triggered through the contributions of other members (Paulus, 2000; Welter & Smallbone, 2004).

The participants made idiosyncratic use of tangible and intangible resources in play and adopted bricolage beyond the five domains identified by Baker and Nelson (2005): physical inputs, skills, labour, customers, and regulatory and institutional resources. The wider domain includes both the tangible (community, space, family, relationships, local community) and the intangible (community embeddedness and culture, tradition, psychological resources (Namatovu, 2018). One of our refugee entrepreneurs commented: “You know that this person is stressed, and I thought young people should pass their time playing and enjoying than eating Khat (drug). So, if they come to PlayStation is better than thinking and sleeping” (RE-14)

The study emphasizes the role of bricolage pioneers and innovators as catalysts and major sources of entrepreneurial ecosystem creation (Shafer et al., 2005). Bricoleur pioneers and innovators who, in their words, perceive opportunities to address local social needs are proactively motivated. The essence of this type of the entrepreneur is their insertion in and deep knowledge of the community needs and their capacity to mobilize resources embedded in their community's culture and social process (Zahra et al., 2009). Spigel and Harrison (2018) and Roundy et al. (2018) see entrepreneurs as central actors in entrepreneurial ecosystems, while the community and network function as facilitators of resource flow and the injection of resources as the fuel for ecosystem growth.

<b>RP 3</b>	In the absence of the market, bricoleur pioneers and innovators using proactively specific internal and external resources become catalysts for change by identifying and timely executing fluctuating opportunities.
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### **VI.2.2. Bricoleur imitators**

The numerous entrants in the RC market can increase exponentially by recycling existing business models or acquiring specific knowledge or skill to enter with existing or new



service products (Enkel & Mezger, 2013). The existing RC businesses prove the potential profit, thus are reliable sources for copying (Cantner et al., 2020).

In RC Calais Jungles, in the beginning, pioneers' business ideas were not supported by many as they were perceived as an unrealistic way to make a profit. However, when the first businesses' outcome in the camp was positive, many started their own businesses. As several of our interviewees explained:

“When I proposed to some of my companions to make a restaurant, no one wanted to believe that you could do a profitable business here. Then, when they saw it was profitable, everybody started something, even some ethnic restaurants from outside start to sell some”(CJRE-2); “After us, everybody started to do grocery, so we wanted to change and we sold this activity”(RE-12).

The literature reveals how successful stories within the community increase the willingness of entrepreneurs and other actors to engage in the risks associated with high competitiveness (Aoyama, 2009). In such a volatile environment, bricolage, in this case, allows one to endeavour entrepreneurial activities through imitative behaviours and learned self-efficacy (Bikhchandani et al., 1992). Refugee camp entrepreneurs wildly recycle existing business ideas, and entrepreneurs compete to share the market, focusing on a specific strategy. Mainly, a limited segmentation strategy occurs in the first moment of business proliferation.

For example, in Calais Jungle RC, different businesses emerged to serve products and services to a sub-group (or sub-ethnic group). In this regard, one of the former entrepreneurs commented:

*“Each ethnic group starts to have their own restaurant and shops, and each one starts to be specialized in a specific business. The Eritreans mainly were doing nightclubs. The Afghans had the majority of restaurants and shops. And some Sudanese were selling cloth by going around in the camp, and we were calling their business ‘black market’ as if it was a marginal business from ours” (RECJ-3).*

The level of imitative behaviour and strategy differ on the tangible and intangible resource endowment and resource constraints that limit the scope of firms' behaviour (Lieberman & Asaba, 2004). For example, CJRE-2 started a restaurant in the Calais Jungle RC, imitating the existing business model. However, the business became one of the leading restaurants due to the segmentation strategy they adopted. These entrepreneurs who had strong social and communication skills started to target volunteers as their main clients. Therefore, the restaurant became a point of reference for many volunteers and journalists

visiting the camp: “Many people have told us that there are many other restaurants that cook as well as we do, some even better, but they are not as nice and friendly as we are”.

The shop location is also a strategy refugees used to be more competitive. Some located their business at the camp entrance, and others located it in front of an impressive lakeside (CJinfo-3). Strategically positioning the shops in a specific area may also change with RC development. For example, in Umkulu RC, at the beginning, entrepreneurs located their businesses in different zones as part of the strategy to serve their neighbourhoods. However, later, when the population decreased and the competition started to rise, locating a business in a specific zone to reach the neighbourhood was no longer profitable. In fact, some participants stated they moved their shops to the market area to maintain or increase their income (RE-6; RE-1)

Various examples manifest in a homogeneous ethnic group of the RC community in Umkulu; new entry tempted some to share the market by serving their household. This aspect was critical when the competition raised and the household became a key resource for entrepreneurs to compete in the market. Some of these refugee entrepreneurs highlighted, “I serve 100 families in the camp. Competition is very high, so the survival of each shop depends on the household” (RE-1); “Some see they can depend on their household, so they have more incentive to open a shop” (UMinfo-5).

In the context of rapid change, acting at the right time to capture and exploit opportunities before they become obsolete is essential even for bricoleur imitators (Short et al., 2010). Therefore, time of entry was a determinant. Some started their businesses a few months after the camp closure, and they were not lucky enough to pay back their small investment:

*“I waited until now, hoping I might go for resettlement, but I have many delays and sudden interruption. So, I decided not to open the shop, even though the market is declining. I hope I can survive and earn to feed my family” (RE-10).*

<b>RP 4</b>	RC entrepreneurial dynamism rises through the individual having reactive motivation and imitating existing business model. However, their differentiating strategy is highly limited and poor, creating a homogeneous business typology.
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### VI.2.3. Collective resourcefulness

Collective bricolage emphasizes that bricolage is widely practised as a lifestyle throughout the community and includes entrepreneurs and other actors related to the

ecosystem. Additionally, this work illustrates how community embeddedness triggers collective bricolage behaviour. In Umkulu, both refugees and the host community practised bricolage in daily life by using free, cheap, and worthless materials, transforming them into new input for a different purpose than the original. Therefore, bricolage behaviour is embedded within the lifestyle. Communities reset and adapt using the resource at hand and their cultural consumption patterns, religion, social space, rules and practices, customs, habits, and beliefs to recover from emergencies. First, the community reshapes space through mechanisms by which a group of individuals affected by wars and persecution co-leave in a new institutional setting and recreate a new space according to their cultural background. “At the beginning, the camp was not like this. We all had UNHCR tents. Then, everyone used to combine and recycle different resources at hand and start to transform his space. We use straws because here it is very hot, and tents increase the heat in the living space” (RE-6). The organization of the camp also evolved with the development of business activities. The market became concentrated in a certain advantageous areas, creating thus camp-based market: “Over the time, every business started to be concentrated at the main entrance of the camp. We call it now Shuk market” (RE-2).

The study also demonstrates how collective action rises to seek solutions through re-selling free resources in and outside the camp. Significantly, the relief food being unsuitable to refugees (i.e., the tastelessness of the food, which provided nothing more to live than a basic level of nutrition) increased their feelings of being dependent on external actors and of helplessness (Oka, 2014). The imperfect humanitarian distribution mechanism become a way to build an exchange and sales platform. In other words, when refugees have free goods that do not fully satisfy all their needs and cultural preferences, they exchange or sell them, thus allowing for diversification or accumulation of resources. This phenomenon is a natural process of collective action that characterizes the distribution economy. As some of our interviewees confirm, “Most of the refugees sell their ration, especially those who have a big household. They also used to sell several items to sell in the capital” (UMinf-4); “Everybody sells the relief food, so they can eat the traditional plate. We all need to feel at home and the way we express our identity” (RE-4).

As a collective strategy, business activities are enacted using part of the living space and resources destined for family use. For example, many women in Umkulu RC did business at home by selling animal by-products, such as milk and eggs: “many women sometimes sell milk and eggs and renounce for themselves. For example, if they have twelve eggs, maybe they make their children eat half and sell the other half” (UMinfo-5). Another collective strategy to accumulate capital is informal financial agreements through saving. For example, Somali were organized into cooperatives, creating an informal microfinance system helping to engage

their community members in businesses (Betts et al., 2016; Omata, 2016). Additionally, entrepreneurs frequently use the entire community as a resource in their venture, with a culture of self-help, relying on and helping oneself and others (Emery & Flora, 2006; Hjorth & Johannisson, 2003; Mair & Marti, 2009). Moreover, RC entrepreneurs negotiate actions to convey the challenges of institutional norms. Again, these are actions widely practised by the community. For example, in Umkulu RC, entrepreneurs widely practice persuading a counterparty for a credit-based payment or/and to legitimate their entrepreneurial action in place of authorization, license, or guarantee (RE-14; RE-17; RE-20).

In this process, RC entrepreneurs start their business without any proper plan, and in the process, they set goals to earn and accumulate disseminated knowledge. They do not have enough resources to start their business; thus, resources are accumulated and explored step by step. The element that characterizes the entrepreneurial process in these two camps is the gradual development of the activities. So, all interviewees testified that their business started with a minimum and then developed step by step. In this sense, improvising resources and strategies were the fulcra to a successful entrepreneurial process. Some of these entrepreneurs comments: “My father, he started to first sell water, juice, cold water. And slowly he started bringing more product, and he also accumulates money to make a restaurant”(RE-3); “I ask volunteers to bring some wood, then we started little by little [...] So everything starts with this, with what was free and what was in our hand. [...] Everyday, we had to search for resources that could be useful to our restaurant” (CJRE-2).

This study's critical element is that entrepreneurial action is consolidated through community norms. Refugee camps are highly extreme contexts, characterized by a lack of market regulatory systems and contracts to enforce mechanisms (Doern & Goss, 2013). The empirical data revealed that entrepreneurial community norm of sharing expectations, norms, and obligations, and solidarity creates a specific configuration of the role of entrepreneurs within the community (Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998). Thus, informal and mutual support act more favourably as guiding principles and shape entrepreneurial activities within the community (Puffer et al., 2009). In extreme resource-scarce contexts, this support allows resource flow between entrepreneurs and the different actors involved in the ecosystem (Spiegel, 2018; Stam, 2015).

Therefore, the community co-creates the entrepreneurial ecosystem through the positive and negative values of norms, obligations, and other cultural values (Mecague & Olivier, 2016; Puffer et al., 2009). This is embedded in the cognitive and relational social capital that reflects a common understanding of collective goals, shared social norms, language, narratives and circumstances, and obligations of trust and commitment (Nahapiet & Ghoshal

1998). With a lack of formal institutions, trust becomes an important instrument of value co-creation through the mechanism by which entrepreneurs create a network of supply and customer loyalty (Viswanathan et al., 2012). According to the literature, trust is a complementary governance mechanism that reduces the risk of partners' opportunistic behaviour (Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998; Mecague & Olivier, 2016),

As businesses are highly dependent on the camp community, entrepreneurs seek to balance their interests with a particular community's needs or social and religious obligations (Hindle, 2010; Lyons et al., 2007). To this end, some entrepreneurs become mediators to solve community needs as they are expected to show reciprocity to the community: "I do my business, but with what I earn, I also help the community. I do not only think for my income. Sometimes, when people come at night, I give them food, and they do not have to pay" (CJRE-2).

*"When refugees buy on credit, they sometimes do not have enough money to pay all the previous month's debt. I collect whatever I can to pay the Eritreans. Even if I do not have it, they have to understand it, too. We are on the same page. This month, we didn't collect, so we don't have anything. The difficult part is our part. We are in the middle. We keep calm the refugees and Eritrean traders" (RE-16).*

Participants also revealed that bad behaviour can be punished by a "collective sanction" (Rooks, Klyver, & Sserwanga, 2016): "Here, people do not want to be ashamed. They know that gossip easily go throughout the camp, then no one will lend to that person" (RE-6);

*"Here in the camp, we know each other very well, so if someone is abusing this credit and does not pay their debt for long, we can spread the voice that is not trustable. Sometimes, we can speak with the elder and ask them to speak with the camp administration and sequester their cash distribution or ration" (RE-1).*

This is not always the case; for example, in the Jungle Calais camp, the community norm was not strong as this camp was an informal context. Jungle Calais refugee entrepreneurs had more short-term opportunistic behaviour and reciprocity, and trust was less practised than in Umkulu RC. The stability of the social structure ensures the effectiveness of the community's norm (Rooks, Klyver, & Sserwanga, 2016).

<b>RP 5</b>	Due to the severe resource scarcity, bricolage became culturally embedded in the RC community's daily routine and collective business strategies, where the market mechanism is regulated through cultural norms.
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#### **VI.2.4. Resource interaction**

Ecosystem resources are strengthened through the resource interaction of different actors within the RC (Edelman & Yli-Renko, 2010). Through their business activities, refugees not only reinforced the resource base in the emerging entrepreneurial space but also circulated resources within the ecosystem and between the camp and local economy. As the camp is structured to create formal and informal borders between refugee camps and local communities, interactions between these two spaces intensively occur in trading and employment, and refugees and locals cross these borders daily (Omata, 2017; Turner, 2016). Therefore, entrepreneurs who establish different interactions outside the community are vital to the creation and development of the ecosystem.

The RC entrepreneurs feel the gap of extreme resource scarcity by establishing a network of trust with traders outside the camp for resources from the camp. For example, in Umkulu RC, several entrepreneurs created their business on credit from the local entrepreneurs (RE-15;-RE-17; RE-20). This network of suppliers was a key factor in creating the Umkulu RC EE. Xu et al. (2018) emphasize ecosystem actors must cooperate to survive. Debt-based business is current in many RCs (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Betts et al., 2016). Usually, the credit relationships between retailers and consumers and wholesale suppliers are how some refugee traders overcome the obstacle of under-capitalization (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000; Jacobsen, 2005). Such debt arrangements are a distinctive aspect of trade and consumer behaviour in rural areas and other low-income neighbourhoods (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). Such informal networks through social relationships create a higher level of trust and reduce the risk of opportunistic behaviour (Bürcher et al., 2015). While in Calais Jungle RC, creating a network of suppliers was not common due to different institutional contexts, different interactions with the migrant population outside the camp played an important role in the business process.

As the literature confirms, the EE represents an economic community that includes a number of actors, such as government agencies, companies, distributors, consumers, suppliers, incubators, and institutions that are interconnected and thus affect local entrepreneurship, which results in competitive advantage (Hyeyoung et al., 2010). However, the context of the RC does not offer access to all these actors; therefore, this study's data illustrates how, in the absence of these actors, RC entrepreneurs use and combine resources at hand. The few actors valuable to the socio-economic space of the camp can play multiple roles and be used for purposes different from their original roles. In particular, humanitarian actors are used for different purposes. These interactions can be more or less accentuated from one camp to another. The migrants and refugees present in Calais also connected with another migrant/refugee communities that facilitated their resource accumulation. Both camps experienced the intrusion of entrepreneurs outside the community camp; however, in Calais's case, this intrusion was always related to the community of migrants living in France rather than the host community. This circumstance was due to the cultural, social, and economic distance of the two communities: "Some illegal migrants or refugees are living in the country that they come in the Jungle to business. They sell the card, help to transfer money, or some other illegal business" (CJinfo-1).

Conversely, the outside-inside interaction was the most common in Calais. In particular, RC entrepreneurs used volunteers to acquire the material and human resources needed to develop their business. One of our interviewees commented:

*"Refugee entrepreneurs were asking to volunteer material to build their living space, but they would not tell them that they would use it for business purpose. For example, when the Eritreans built the camp, they told us that they wanted to build a centre for their community, so we mobilised all resources to help them, and in the end, it became a nightclub"(CJinfo-2).*

In different entrepreneurial processes of Umkulu, the local governmental organization and the UNHCR network and resources were also used as a guarantee to contract and trade freely outside the camp. Moreover, establishing a network with various institutional actors and obtaining exceptional authorization was a way to informally legalize their businesses. Although the refugees were not allowed to do business outside the RC, they were always ready to negotiate with local authorities to have exceptional tolerance for them. In this regard, one of the refugee entrepreneurs stated:

*"We know we can't do business outside the camp, but when we have some problems with compatriots who don't allow us to sell at the market at a low price, we try*

*to get permission from the municipality. We beg them that we need to trade outside the camp, that our situation is very bad as refugees, and the only hope we have here in this disparate. So, sometimes, we have exceptional authorization to trade freely, but it is always informal; it is not given by definitive norm from the government” (RE-12).*

Therefore, RCEs overcome challenging limitations imposed by conventional institutional norms through negotiating actions and communicating the meaning of their business in ways that could arouse sympathy and solidarity from local authorities, thus inducing them to provide exceptional consent (De Domenico, Haugh & Tracy, 2010; Baker & Nelson, 2005).

Learning and solving community needs fosters a strategy to create and maintain a business in such a precarious context and facilitate informal knowledge sharing within the community. Participants revealed how knowledge is transferred, especially in the form of peer feedback: “I discover something, and the other one also discovers other things, and we learn together how to do with the market and solve many problems of our business” (CJRE-2). This mechanism is strengthened in interaction with key actors to build trust and collaboration: “When I started the business, I started selling a few items for children, and the community started to help me and buy from me. They were very supportive. Slowly then, the shop starts to grow” (RE-11). Furthermore, interactions with role models allowed them to transfer entrepreneurial knowledge and create a new business: “I used to work with the trader in this camp, and I learned how to trade, and I was familiar with the local traders. For years, I have been working for others, but now I wanted to be independent and not just make others rich” (RE-15). The literature acknowledges that the organization's role and interrelated actors strongly influence knowledge distribution and the synergetic process of collective learning within the ecosystem (Colombelli et al., 2019). Entrepreneurial learning “occurs during the new venture creation process” (Pittaway & Cope, 2007, p. 212), an action that includes “learning by copying, learning by experiment; learning by problem-solving and opportunity taking; and learning from mistakes” (Gibb, 1997, p.19).

Finally, a mechanism consolidating the entrepreneurial culture that develops RCEE is the injection of new resources. In the absence of supportive institutional and organizational support, RCEE stands in crafted institutional support, an alternative organization such as humanitarian support, donators, and other humanistic actors that attempt to bridge institutional constraints and become directly or indirectly involved in the creation of an EE.

This study's case also demonstrates that the injection of resources is useful to the development of early EE and consolidates entrepreneurial culture (Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020). This study also extends this notion when the RCEE is the advanced state, and



continuous resource injection from international organizations was essential for the ecosystem's survival. The re-injection of financial resources in the RCEE occurs through humanitarian actors. The multiple roles of humanitarian agencies have also covered the role of incubators and resource providers to enhance self-reliance (Shwetter et al., 2019). The various projects directed toward the camp's inhabitants allow increased camp community resources and enhanced entrepreneurial activities. These resources may be material, such as donations; micro capital benefits; or immaterial, such as knowledge transfer through vocational training. For example, in Umkulu RC, the UNHCR and ORA developed a multi-year livelihood strategy to increase income opportunities and strengthen various assets of Somali refugee households.

Moreover, as a governor actor of the ecosystem, this organization promoted self-employment training and empowered the business community to become self-governing entities and deliver economic assistance. In an attempt to develop a bottom-up approach, the RC governor took several community-level strategies to reorganize and monitor the beneficiary of the self-reliance project, such as re-strengthening safety nets and solidarity through the existing saving group strategy. The beneficiaries of micro capital had to participate monthly in group saving to allow resource accumulation for eventual emergency needs for any member of the group, as well as helping disadvantaged people of the community. This practice has stimulated good relationships and interaction of resources between RC households.

In Calais Jungle RC's specific case, while there was continual re-injection of resources from volunteers and grassroots NGOs for entrepreneurial purposes, they remained implicit and not distinguishable as a subsystem. However, given the specificity of the RC, injections to promote entrepreneurial activity emerged from the mafia. The trigger for this illegal business sponsorship to achieve different interests than the genuine legitimate initial businesses. The governing humanitarian power in Calais Jungle RC was weak. Thus, the improper mechanism of crime groups took over to manoeuvre the informal market:

*“When the jungle becomes overcrowded, they change the way of doing business. They started to emerge shops and restaurants financed by the mafia. They were not doing business just to earn from it, but to have other business from it. They were a sort of intermediate for smugglers and people who wanted to cross the border. So, people who cross the border can leave the money there in the shop, and following they will charge some fee to the smuggler because they were a kind of agency” (CJRE-3).*

<b>RP 6</b>	RC entrepreneurs building different forms of interaction outside the camp and new entrepreneurial resource re-injection allow the self-reinforcing cycle of resource flow and address the lack of proper institutions and resources.
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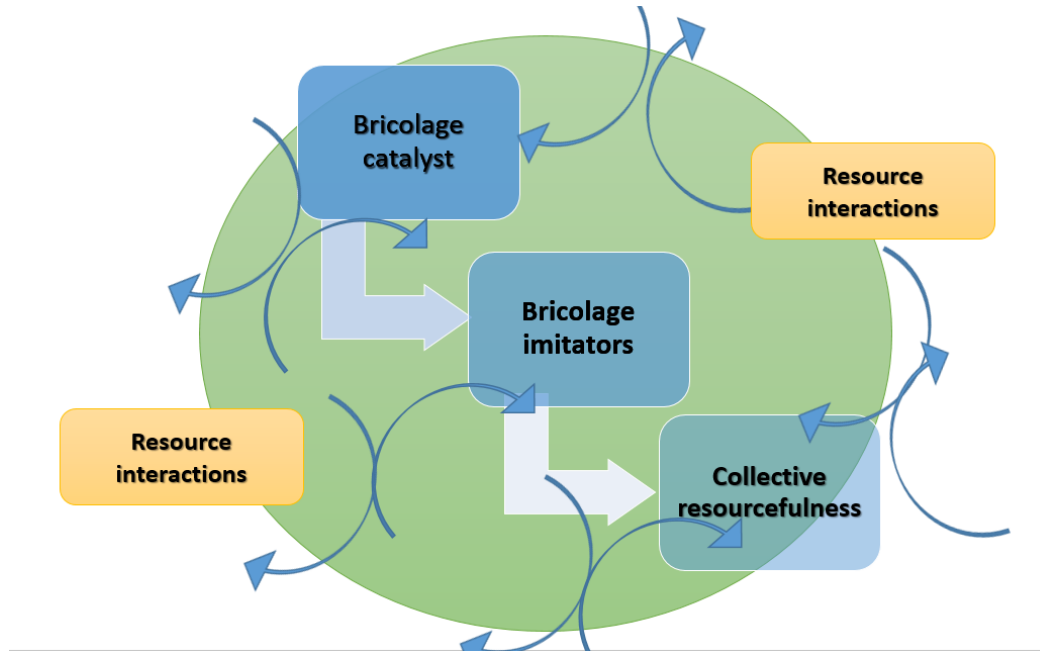


Figure 49: Multiple-level bricoleurs  
Own sources

### VI.3. Bricolage intangible engine

<b>RP C</b>	PsyCap resources are antecedent and the outcome of the entrepreneurial venture where can also strengthens and weakens through the entrepreneurial process, affecting both entrepreneurs and ecosystem actors.
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The previous sections (and the previous chapter) have illustrated how physical and social resources are mobilized through bricolage behaviour. The literature has also extensively discussed their importance (Baker & Nelson 2005; Di Domenico et al., 2010). Another critical resource for bricolage, in the context of extreme scarcity, is the refugee state of mind that the literature places within the term PsyCap. This study conceptualizes this state as an intangible engine and building block of the bricolage entrepreneurial process. This study emphasized that psychological resources are reinforced within the interaction between different ecosystem actors. These resources are not static but increase and decrease depending on a favourable or unfavourable specific time (Luthans, 2012).

Despite the common assumption that all people face dysfunction in response to adversity (e.g., a disaster, death of a loved one, or another form of major loss), research has found that refugees maintain positive function and can experience personal growth from a tragic event (Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020). Creating a business requires a significant number of psychological resources to strengthen mental and emotional capabilities and mental hardiness. My analysis reveals how challenges associated with the entrepreneurial processes in the RC's social, political, and institutional hardiness are likely to be addressed through the endowment or the development of PsyCap. This intangible resource provides a necessary state of mind in the middle of traumatic events and an internal force to move beyond the challenges (Luthans et al. 2004; Luthans & Youssef-Morgan, 2017). According to the literature, PsyCap has four components, self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience, which act synergistically (Luthans & Youssef, 2004). For this study's entrepreneurs, PsyCap was deduced from the narrative story of each participant's background, level of individual proactiveness, confidence in their ability, the way they cope with challenges, strategies to adapt to each challenge, feelings of satisfaction with their performance, and ability to mobilize resources and network (Masten, 2001).

The psychological resource does not operate in a vacuum, but is embedded in its social context (Montgomery, 2010). Therefore, through the development or deterioration of psychological capital within the EE, this study remains focused on the economic agent and its relationship with different actors. Thus, the study posits that the source of entrepreneurs' psychological resources may be embedded in three components: RC community, individual predisposition, and the humanitarian and host community.

First, the RC community has demonstrated its ability to recover from external stresses and disturbances due to social, political, and environmental changes (Agier, 2000). The community's hardship and traumatic events catalyse solidarity, social cohesion, and collective problem-solving initiatives, including the economic share and interactive exchanges that allow collective and individual PsyCap to be strengthened (Williams & Drury, 2011). Second, humanitarian and host community support is important to reinforce individual and community psychological resources. The humanitarian is a critical actor of individual empowerment through training and financial grants, thus developing a psychological resource to endeavour an entrepreneurial venture. This is because humanitarian actors represent the camp's main channel of economic creation, especially in the emergency phase. Many have started a business and then been part of the empowerment program (RE-8; RE-13). Finally, some individuals exhibited successful proactive behaviours without considering the severity of the challenge. These individuals tend to have strong psychological capital, thus having successful

performance and creativity. They also become role models and exert confidence in peers' abilities, such as self-efficacy and hope to start a venture (Liñán et al., 2011).

### **VI.3.1. Resilience**

In the resilience construct, I identified three key elements to bounce back from the negative circumstances: refusing to be passive, seeking dignity, and problem-solving behaviour. When refugees arrive in the camp, they are filled with profound optimism, striving to find a new way to achieve a dignified life. However, when they remain trapped in an endless waiting period, they require emotional strength to continue to wait day after day, month after month, for their futures to start in that time of space. When their dream has continually differed, the first obstacle that RC entrepreneurs must overcome is frustration and obsession with reaching their desired country because this may paralyze people into depression. These entrepreneurs seek dignity by accepting and finding meaning to harsh realities.

The refugees marginalised in a RC face a series of painful emotional experiences, such as an indefinite life of long waiting, harsh living conditions, and the obsession with reaching their desired country (George, 2010). The intangible resources available to entrepreneurs help them cope with the multi-level challenges, consequently raising their potential to persist in entrepreneurial activities (Hmieleski & Carr, 2008). Facing delays crossing the border or complicated bureaucratic asylum systems or resettlement programs was a damaging aspect that RC entrepreneurs refused to become trapped in. Consequently, the quicker individuals accept the harsh realities and find meaning in the given context, the faster they recover (Cunha, 2015). In this regard, some of the refugee entrepreneurs stated: "I was tired of waiting, so then I decide to give sense to my life"( RECJ-2); " I could not start a business because we had a resettlement case that was about to be finalized, but then, we waited for many years. Finally, when the case was finished, and we were about to leave, the trip was suddenly interrupted at the last minute. So, later I didn't want to be depressed like other people who had a similar case, so I started a business" (RE-13).

Therefore, this resilience is a motivational driver (Bullough, Renko & Myatt, 2014) that allows refugee entrepreneurs to accept realities and seek positivity and survival solutions through a business venture. Refugee entrepreneurs were highly motivated to forge ahead in the face of daunting obstacles to lead a more meaningful life, instead of a life of charity, and desired to rebuild their identity. Reflecting here some comments: "I have my dignity. I can't just wait for volunteers to feed me. I had to be independent. Just waiting without doing anything is frustrating" (RECJ-2); "Since I am here, I always think about today. I do not know my tomorrow. I can be in another country for resettlement or still remain here. But what I know is, I want to improve my today, so I work for today" (RE-15); "I stayed four months in the Jungle

attempting to cross to the UK. After I had failed two times, I thought to do something useful [...] better do something than nothing. I cannot be dependent on others. I have dignity, and I used to work hard in Afghanistan. Doing nothing, for me, it means dying” (CJRE-2).

In particular, as psychological literature in the migration field points out (Cobb et al., 2019), resilience was the most prominent resource that RC entrepreneurs used to seek dignity and improvise solutions. These entrepreneurs’ narratives demonstrate how their resilience is a cumulative process of various negative events, and they survived by improvising solutions. We identified resilience behaviour throughout the entrepreneurial process where RC entrepreneurs bounced back from limitations and exogenous shocks, thus perceiving adverse situations as opportunities (Powell & Baker, 2014). Therefore, resilience action is both the antecedent to and the consequence of each small positive path taken during the entrepreneurial process (McMullen & Shepherd, 2006),

<b>RP 7</b>	Resilience is a motivational driver throughout the entrepreneurial process and allows one to overcome negative events and limitations by refusing to be passive, seeking dignity, and engaging in problem-solving behaviour.
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### VI.3.2. Hope

Hope is the combination of the will to succeed in a given task (willpower) and a viable means to accomplish that task (waypower) (Snyder et al., 1996). This study’s empirical evidence demonstrates that RC entrepreneurs’ hope is manifested by identifying and valorising the resources at hand and persevering to reach a certain goal. As resilience is a motivational driver, hope reinforces resilience by resetting their goals and identifying new ways to give meaning to their lives. The previous section explained that RC entrepreneurs valorise and identify a way to accomplish their goals using every resource at hand. In particular, entrepreneur pioneers and innovators more timely and accurately valorise their internal and external resources. Some of our interviewees confirmed: “When I started to share my idea, people were telling me, what are you doing? You cannot do business here. You will never make it, But I kept telling myself I am going to make it. Still, I was hearing people judging me, but I continued” (CJRE-3); “Everybody ignored the sack of potatoes, but for me, they become the essential ingredient to start my business” (CJRE-2). Moreover, the context of informality was perceived as an easier way to enhance business activities with such scarce resources; therefore, many refugees were encouraged by the availability of free and cheap resources: “ here, we do not pay tax, so business is easier and less expensive than if we would had open shop in the city”(RE-9).

These entrepreneurs did not set long-term goals, as sudden changes could interrupt the plan. In the context of emergency and scarcity, short-term needs are pronounced, and long-term goals are implausible (Thompson, 2013):

*“I know that the reality of the camp can finish tomorrow. I do not worry. What I think is how I can earn today. Then, here things change easily, so I proper myself to have another plan. I do not even the nature of the change. I act when can really know what type of change comes next” (CJRE-3)*

<b>RP 8</b>	In the extreme resource-scarce context, RC entrepreneurs with a high level of hope, identify and valorise resources at hand and persevere toward short-term goals by improvising different pathways to achieve their objectives.
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### VI.3.3. Self-efficacy

The important role of self-efficacy is linked to the intention to act (Boyd & Vozikis, 1994; Gielnik et al., 2015) and allows RC entrepreneurs to identify their skills and re-combine them with existing resources for entrepreneurial initiatives. Self-efficacy is a person’s belief and expectation in their ability to successfully accomplish a set of tasks and activities (Bandura, 1997).

In this case, entrepreneurs’ confidence was related to their ability to manage their business with limited skills and resources, as well as confidence in their learning skills. Particularly, self-efficacy is needed to overcome daily obstacles and manoeuvre through the difficulties of establishing a business (Tumasjan & Braun, 2012). This study found self-efficacy reinforces entrepreneurs’ self-learning behaviour as they push themselves to experimentation (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Consequently, high self-efficacy has a proactive, self-starting, and self-learning orientation that attempts to reduce behavioural rigidity when faced with threats and adversity (Bandura, 1997). Reflecting here some comments:

*“I never had my own business [...] I was a student, I never worked as a chef, but I learned to cook just like that. I like to do it, and I discover that I was talented” (CJRE-2); “I have a dream in my mind. I have many ideas, so I said to myself, ‘trust on yourself, if you see something is good, do it and trust yourself”(CJRE-3); “I was not a technician, but I learned by watching and trying. I had to depend on my ability; otherwise, I had to call everyday someone to maintain the equipment” (RE-16).*

<b>RP 9</b>	Self-confidence allows entrepreneurs to use their limited skills with confidence in their learning behaviour, which can allow them to overcome daily obstacles and manoeuvre through difficulties within the extreme case.
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Figure 50 depicts how PsyCap interacts within the entrepreneurial process. Resilience act as a motivation strengthened by the refusal to be passive from the initial state of RC entrepreneurs. Once entrepreneurs decide to develop an opportunity, they are encouraged by the perception of the feasibility to use and combine and valorise every available resource. Therefore, they seek free, cheap resources, including internal and social capital, to develop their business.

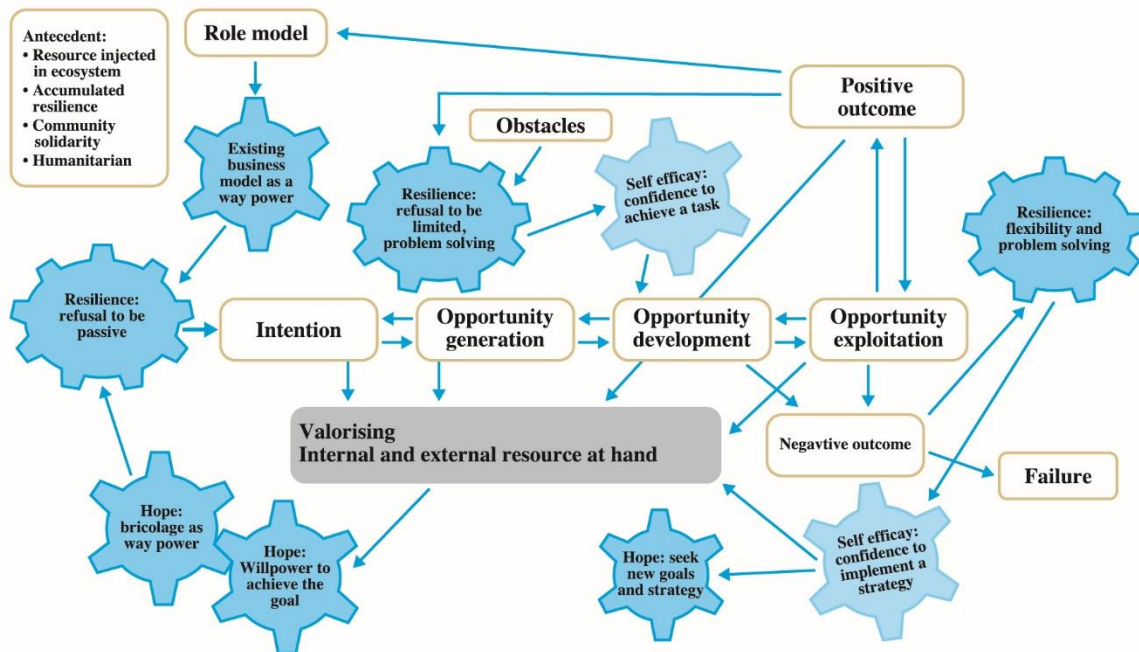


Figure 50 : PsyCap in the process of entrepreneurial bricolage

Own source

Due to high environmental uncertainty, RC entrepreneurs encounter numerous obstacles. These obstacles can result in the following outcomes:

- Resilient entrepreneurs refuse to be limited by obstacles they encounter in their journey. They remain flexible, improvising their strategy; self-efficacy interacts with

resilience. An individual with high self-efficacy develops creative solutions, which can have two outcomes.

- When RC entrepreneurs achieve their objective through this strategy, they become optimistic and reinforce their PsyCap. Moreover, their achievements become hope to others as they become role models. The previous chapter explained that, many entrepreneurs imitate previous business models and strategies. Consequently, this raises the learned optimism, which disseminates a positive state of mind while persisting through difficulties (Baron, 2008).
- The applied strategies can easily have a negative outcome. Once again, resilient entrepreneurs persist with their experimental process of trial and error. They are ready to gain hope again, re-establish their goal, and find alternative paths (see cases in section 5.2.3)
- One or more strategies' failure can lead to a cycle of PsyCap impoverishment and business failure.

Some studies found that optimism and hope tend to enhance self-efficacy and resilience (Feldman & Kubota, 2015; Storey, 2011). Therefore, hope and self-efficacy reinforce one another to affect behavioural decisions, increasing belief in one's ability to exercise some measure of control over the entrepreneurial process in the face of challenges and stressors (Bandura, 1997). This study identified the cyclical of reinforcing patterns, revealing different sequences in which resilience triggers motivation to enhance dignified life, thus enhancing hope and self-efficacy by allowing RC entrepreneurs to seek internal and external resources, set goals, and act with confidence.

The findings indicate that those reporting higher PsyCap had more proactive and unique businesses. Furthermore, they were more likely to be satisfied and have high relational capital with their clients and local suppliers, which creates the mutual trust (Blonska et al., 2013). Therefore, PsyCap allows building unique social networks, mobilizing resources, recognizing and adequately value opportunities, and allowing the business activities to survive in a challenging context (e.g., Spence et al., 1999): "I had good communication with the community, and with a volunteer, many times I mediate conflicts, and I was the representative of my community, so I had a lot of clients" (RECJ-2).

The businesses created economic value for refugees to survive in this context, as well as respond to the community's basic psychological well-being. First, at the individual level, refugee entrepreneurs highlighted that their businesses' benefit was beyond the economic income. They were able to strengthen their confidence, and dignity was restored from a negative image of dependence. "Before I came to the Jungle, I never had any business that I



own too. I always worked for someone else. I always spent my energy for someone else. The business in the Jungle gave me some confidence. Right now, I do not work. If I do something, I want to have my own business, I want to be the boss, not someone else worker” (CJRE-3). In a similar vein, Johnstone and Lionais (2004) discuss how entrepreneurs can enhance their quality of life in depleted communities, both rural and urban.

Second, at the community level, businesses allow community well-being through resource availability, a place of inclusion and belongingness, resilience, and identity. In particular, the business activities are a space for the community to find resources akin to their cultural needs. This was a process to make the RC community feel at home and create a sense of belongingness and identity:

*“Some people, when they find two euro, come and they buy food from me, so I was asking them why do you eat here? Go and eat free and do not spend your money. They were answering that the food was not as their taste. They say the food is not ok. At the time we want to eat, there is not open” (CJRE-2).*

Therefore, identity, dignity, and hope were restored when people started to normalize their life by being independent. Reporting here some exemplar comments: “The RC community can be a free consumer with dignity and deciding what they really needfully. Instead, other people feed you with the spoon and decide for you what and when to eat” (CJinfo-4); “The community, the social world of the country stigmatizes them. They cannot afford to go in a country restaurant and buy what they want. So, people could eat at a low price, entertain, and buy things according to their preference” (CJinfo-3). This result aligns with Oka's (2014) study in which the refugee consumption pattern was a way to normalize their lives.

The question that arises is, how far do RC entrepreneurs maintain their positive state of mind for business survival. However, in this study, a long-term perspective emerged in which worsening resources and institutional context trigger PsyCap deterioration, which is discussed in the next section.

## VI.4. Destructive survival

<b>RP D</b>	When the system is pushed too far and experiences long-term socio-economic stress, interactions of resources and strategies tend to be inefficient or temporarily negative
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The context of extreme difficulties renders the RC highly vulnerable to any endogenous and exogenous factors. Adversities in this context are substantial and heterogeneous, as Williams et al. (2017) noted: “adversity is heterogeneous; some challenges are triggered quickly, evolve rapidly, and are short in duration, whereas other challenges emerge slowly, evolve more gradually, and are extended over time” (p. 753)

The study illustrates the effect of institutional and economic increasing hardship within the camp-based EE. The previous sections illustrated the positive outcome of RCE under conditions of extreme difficulties. Other studies have also demonstrated how refugees act entrepreneurially and resiliently under substantial and persistent adversity (Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020; Williams & Shepherd, 2016a). However, studies do not clearly explain how the entrepreneurial outcome evolves over the years, especially when adversity increases. We do not have a clear understanding of the contextualized role of entrepreneurial action in increasing the adversity of depleted communities (Jack & Anderson, 2002; Korsgaard et al., 2016; Welter, 2011). Comparing EE to species found within a biological ecosystem, each individual or entity directly contributes to the strength or weakness of the entire system (Fuerlinger et al., 2015). The evolutionary approach of the RCEE shows the destructive cycle of entrepreneurial action and strategy when the initial condition of the camp is drastically worsened by internal and external shocks (Palekienea et al., 2015). Therefore, business creation is not only characterized by the initial momentum of excitement and endurance to exploit opportunities despite the hardship of the camp's legal grey zones, but the increased and persistent challenges compromise the overall RCEE equilibrium that brings the RCEE to a destructive survival pattern without obvious solutions to the problem. This evolutionary mechanism was vastly apparent in Umkulu, while in the Calais Jungle RC, the constant insecurity, danger, and informality had from the beginning created a dysfunctional socio-economic system (Cooke, 2016). Moreover, the camp's short existence demonstrated that there were not strong enough conditions for its existence. However, different examples demonstrated how some factors and events triggered the increase in the RC's socio-economic disequilibrium.

### VI.4.1. Resource scramble

When refugees decide to live in the camp, they also expect a durable solution from local and international law. Indeed, international and local laws have created a legal grey zone, paradoxically enabling an informal entrepreneurial space (Betts et al., 2017). In the context of RC, entrepreneurs in the marginalised space face unique institutional settings with many challenges and uncertainty. For instance, the previous chapter addresses the sudden suspension of resettlement opportunities and the drastic decrease of the initial favourable economic condition of the region (including the lack of job opportunities), which created a series of factors that brought the EE into dysfunction. The refugee can accept the reality of being in limbo in their initial years of life in the RC, and they can overcome difficulties by different means, such as entrepreneurial activities. However, as the years' pass, refugees want positive change, especially a durable solution for their living condition and their future. Some of the interviewees repeatedly highlighted this:

*“In the last twenty years, we faced a lot [...]. Life was up and down. I did my business. I got married in 2005. In 2008, the interview came for resettlement assessment, and I hoped a lot for a life-changing event, but this project was suddenly interrupted. We were waiting all this year for resettlement. [...] The harsh thing that makes us sad is that that 20 years in the same condition is really difficult” (RE-9).*

Moreover, when this limbo is coupled with a decrease in the initial local economy condition, a refugee may not have enough reason to stay in the camp:

“The only reason that refugees accept this harsh situation it is because they can strategize different income activities beyond the relief system. When the economic reason and the opportunity for the durable solution are no longer existing, it is normal that they see the camp less attractive and before” (UMInfo-3). Therefore, the most prominent factors underlying the increasing adversity characterizing the RC contexts are the increase in institutional, economic and decrease and the lack of applicability of fundamental refugee's rights.

The overall increase in hardship can induce a cycle of resource loss. As the uncertainty increase and the RC EE becomes dysfunctional, the overall resources are scrambled within the EE. The cyclical decline of many resources leads to a significant weakening of the EE's resiliency (Spigel & Harrison, 2018). For example, in Umkulu RC, the decrease of local economic opportunities (such as the lack of job opportunities and market restrictions) increased business activities in the camp. This shift was also coupled with the decrease of the population, which led to unsustainable competition. For Jungle Calais RC, with the emergence of hybrid shops financed by the mafia (traffickers, money launderers, drug dealers, robbers,

and sexual traffickers), these gangs tried to establish monopolies on sought after donated goods and services, such as fuel, giving rise to unhealthy competition. Informal institutional voids also exist when a society's beliefs allow elites (e.g., chiefs, neighbourhood bosses, clan leaders) to leverage their recognized power and misallocate resources that satisfy their utilities rather than supporting efforts that further local development (Platteau & Gaspart, 2003)

Moreover, the problematic context can also lead to resource misallocation. The humanitarian organization identified as the principal actor on the EE co-creation can also be involved in the value loss due to the contextual difficulties. Their primary objective was to create social value of formal and informal humanitarian organizations through relief activities and self-reliance projects that facilitate the emergence and proliferation of businesses. However, depending on how formal and informal their relationship with the RC community is, it can be susceptible to resource miss-allocation and miss-integration. For Calais Jungle RC, many participants claimed volunteers were so restricted to their own rules and ethics of donation that they missed the real need of the community:

*“The mistrust is because not everything in the Jungle was positive, the fact that there were a lot of bars, they are business, but there was quite a dramatic experience when people get drunk”; “ The organization they try to do their best but, in the wrong way. I said, ‘look, make the food that the refugees like it and eat it. Why you are making this food which very good to you but not to a refugee? This is your test, this is good for English people, not for these people” (CJRE-2); “We had the same problem with the Kids café. People would come with the huge amount of food, sweets, chocolate, which the kids did not even touch it, and we said, please come with your money and buy things here. We can also come to the supermarket with you and show you what the kids really like, but there was a mistrust” (CJ-info-2).*

According to many refugees, while acknowledging the critical resources that arrive through the charitable organization, being a simple receiver of relief pushes refugees to mental and physical paralysis (Kibreab, 1993). Instead, they want to be part of the decision-making organism and contribute to meeting their community needs, and they want to be active agents to catalyse change. This is a way to create informal voids in this type of EE due to the relationship barrier caused by the lack of trust, which can occur for different reasons and hinder efficiency in resource allocation (De Soto, 2006).

Another example is related to the self-reliance project and programs of Umkulu RC. The micro capital incentives intended for the entrepreneurial initiative were criticized by participants because of resource misuse. The ecosystem was not dynamic enough to support

further entrepreneurial activities, so business initiatives were perceived as unfeasible. This incentive triggered controversial behaviour in some beneficiaries and applicants. First, many who received benefits were not willing to start a business. This lack of willingness could have been caused by the lack of skills and by the scarcity of the market. Thus, they were not incentivized to use the resources to begin a business. Second, they would rather use the micro capital to supplement the family needs because of chronic poverty. Third, some beneficiaries would passively start a business without continuous effort to manage it, instead of contracting it to clients (especially their households). Fourth, some of the RC community members were prompted to start a business in order to receive some benefit. In this regard, some of the interviewees commented: “Not all are entrepreneurs. Some are not willing to do business, and they eat all the money that they receive. So, why do they not give to people they already know how to invest, and we can make many things with it”(RE-11); “Some they open business hoping to receive a benefit, but they do not have entrepreneurial skills; otherwise, they would have opened time ago” (RE-14).

The RCEE started to stagnate, and the increased institutional constraints impoverished positive psychological resources. When the shape of the ecosystem became distorted, people gradually became hopeless and demoralized:

*“We do not see a solution to this context. We just wait for some occasion to go away from here. There is no job, no market, and people do not have enough money to buy from our shop. And everybody is doing business. There is a lot of competition. We do not seek for any seek profit, just we survive for the sake of the good time” (RE-9).*

Certain studies have shown the limit of resilience in one community: if a system is pushed too far, it cannot “bounce back”<sup>43</sup>. While nearly everyone felt severe pressure to earn money to feed their family, the market capacity was simply not large enough to make most refugees' businesses sustainable. Reporting some refugee entrepreneurs comments:

*“If this situation continues, we are going to stop and shut down our business” (RE11); “Staying the whole day and doing nothing is very stressful. We have fewer clients than before. Now, most of us need money” (RE-6); “Some people who were ready to leave the camp are now depressed because they cannot repatriate now. Others flew by crossing the border illegally” (RE-10); “For me especially, when the business starts*

*getting famous, I could see people jealousy and anger over me. And I was in danger” (CJRE-3).*

This study aligns with the argument that the process of resource allocation, mobilization and circulation is key for sustainable RCEE (Acs et al., 2012). This research first reveals the favourable conditions under which RC entrepreneurs operated in an extremely resource-scarce context in the co-crafted local entrepreneurial ecosystem. Such resource dynamics and production structures are driven by both individual entrepreneurial agents’ resource accessing behaviours and collective resource mobilisations in the ecosystem (Caiazza et al., 2020). Resource dynamics are critical to formal and informal institutional arrangements, local economic conditions, and national/international refugee stability.

<b>RP 10</b>	The increase in negative subsistence shocks in the RC created a cycle of resource loss, misallocation and miss integration, resulting in unsustainable competition and conflict between actors.
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#### **VI.4.2. Double-edged sword survival strategies**

When the level of environmental uncertainty increases constantly, the various strategies, are co-created in the ecosystem actors. Usually, these strategies are created by the informal institution to fill the gap created by the instructional voids (Platteau & Gaspart, 2003). However, in the context of an unhealthy ecosystem, informal institutions struggle to operate as functionally equivalent substitutes for formal institutions and fall short of providing the support needed to pursue growth objectives and overcome increasing institutional voids (Webb, Khoury & Hitt, 2020). One of these strategies, perhaps the most important one in RCEE, is credit-based payment, a phenomenon described in the extant literature. This strategy characterized the Umkulu RC, where the entrepreneurs and related actors create a safety net by deferring payments. This type of strategy involves two levels of relationship: supplier-entrepreneur and entrepreneur-customer. The strategy is beneficial when the flow of resources is diversified and dynamic (or constant). Otherwise, when resource inflow declines, the strategy can create a vicious circle of impoverishment (Mack & Mayer, 2016). The empirical case especially reveals the adverse effects on capital management and budget due to unsustainable amounts of accumulated credit produced by diluted payment times. One of the entrepreneurs stated: “Our credit with the local traders is huge. If this situation continues, we are going to stop and shut down our business” (RE-11).

In the case of Calais RC, businesses were created in collaboration with two or three partners. This collaboration was operationally convenient and allowed to minimize insecurity risk. However, they were weak ties, and thus, it was difficult to maintain durable relationships

over time (Liu, 2013). On this subject, one of the entrepreneurs commented: “For me, especially when the business started getting famous, I could see people's jealousy and anger over me. You know, even my two partners wanted to kick me out. But, I was the one who was cooking very well, so they kept calm until the end” (RECJ-3).

Another type of collective strategy is the opportunistic strategy, in which many entrepreneurs have multiple identities to attempt to maximize their profit. This strategy was typical in Calais Jungle RC. Some people who already had refugee status and houses in Europe, operated and consistently resorted to donor resources. However, the organizations noticed these parasitic approaches, which created scepticism toward the whole community, especially toward the entrepreneurs:

*“Some people who already had refugee status, houses somewhere in Europe, operated and consistently resorted to donor resources. However, these parasitic approaches were perceived by the organizations and created scepticism in the whole community, especially of the entrepreneurs” (CJRE-2).*

Furthermore, RC entrepreneurs were resistant to external pressure, tending to have unrealistic optimism. These entrepreneurs often adopted a conventional behaviour of resistance, in which they resist the institutional pressure without adopting proactive strategies but persevering with the strategies at hand. The main goal is to wait for a positive event to explore new opportunities. However, this action may be detrimental in the face of growing uncertainty as entrepreneurs remain paralyzed and experience losses:

*“I start doing business since long, so it is difficult to leave everything. But it was very difficult for to keep the business. I am waiting for good time to come us before. You know, now I do not sell as before, and I have lost my time and money” (RE-27)*

<b>RP 11</b>	Increasing and consistent environmental uncertainties render existing survival strategies contexts ineffective or even detrimental.
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## VI.5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the critical interactions that co-create the market within the RC community through their collaboration and mutual learning about their environment and the opportunities it offers. In practice, the value co-creation process starts once the ecosystem actors come together in terms of mutually shared interests. The actors' co-location and

embeddedness in clusters help create an EE. Despite resource scarcity and the lack of adequate infrastructure, the coming together of a community gives value to the diminished space, allowing people to forge social and cultural structures out of nothing. The RC community has been shown to re-shape the space, build a unique culture, and to provide many opportunities for spontaneous dynamic interaction, which stimulates economic exchange.

In the absence of a market, adequate infrastructure, and institutional constraint, a refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem is co-crafted and co-evolved by individuals who valorise the resources at hand by creating a unique and exploiting collective bricolage-type entrepreneurial process. The study shows the role of the different actors in co-creating this camp-based EE. The analyses disclose that the absence of value becomes an opportunity to create value bricoleurs, i.e., entrepreneurs that create value using unrelated or underdeveloped resources. We have also identified the different human, social and psychological resources that are key in creating and evolving the RCEE. Finally, in this process, we could also disclose the kinds of conditions in which resources, and consequently the dynamism of the EE, can deteriorate until the entrepreneurial ecosystem disintegrates.



# Conclusion and contribution

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This chapter elaborates on the research contributions of the study by summarizing them in three sections. The first section presents a research synopsis which highlights and summarizes the approach this study has taken, showing how it went about answering the research questions. Next, in order to connect the theoretical approach and the empirical results, addresses the main research questions of this thesis. In particular, this section focuses on the entrepreneurial process explained by means of bricolage, and explicates how we contribute by conceptualizing the theory at the individual and ecosystem levels. Additionally, we identify the specific key internal resource that allows or hinders the entrepreneurial process within a highly constrained context. Finally, we discuss our contribution to the entrepreneurial ecosystem literature by illustrating the evolutionary mechanism of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem.

## 1. Research synopsis

Various scholars have called for more contextualized entrepreneurship research and theory building (Zahra, 2007; Welter, 2011). This thesis has addressed these calls by illuminating some of the context-specific aspects that generate entrepreneurial opportunities.

The study investigates an entrepreneurial ecosystem created by marginalised populations, like refugees living in the refugee camp. Thus, the study investigates entrepreneurship outside of the standard and well-studied attractive entrepreneurial contexts, and sheds light on how an entrepreneurial ecosystem can be created within an unconventional socio-economic space. So far, little attention has been given to how entrepreneurial ecosystems can be created within deprived communities and how informal entrepreneurship is legitimized in marginalised populations. Understanding this type of entrepreneurship leads to a better understanding of the diversity of entrepreneurship (Williams, 2016). Several societal and economic features today lead to the marginalisation of particular groups of people, such as ethnic minorities (Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990), ex-prisoners (Cooney, 2012), and disabled people (Dimic & Orlov, 2014).

In our particular case, we focus on marginalised communities in the multi-deprived context of the refugee camp. The two camps analysed in this study were heterogeneous in terms of the institutional setting of the host country, camp typology resources, and the community. Therefore, the highly volatile context under scrutiny is characterized by persistent socio-economic constraints. However, despite the institutional differences, both camps produced a rudimentary form of entrepreneurial outcome. Moreover, we could show that these

entrepreneurs produced various kinds of value that contributed to the refugee communities' well-being and recovery, starting from the emergency state.

In defining the scope of our investigation, this study discloses two peculiarities related to contextualisation: Firstly, the population under investigation is a specific group of people identified as refugees. Scholars have recently started to identify refugee entrepreneurship separately from entrepreneurship among other economic immigrants (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). The fundamental difference between these types of immigrants is closely related to the motivation for their “mobility”, which refers also to the kinds of resources available to them and to consistent traumatic events they experience. While economic immigrants enter a new country voluntarily driven by the desire for better living conditions, refugees are involuntary immigrants driven by the need for physical survival and personal safety concerning their own lives and their families lives (Bizri, 2017). These refugee immigrants are likely to have experienced greater trauma than others prior to their arrival to the host country (Shneikat & Ryan, 2018), and are highly susceptible to traumatic experiences after their arrival. This, eventually, makes their integration more challenging (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). However, refugees might be eligible for special treatment (e.g. welfare rights) in the host countries, while economic migrants mostly are not (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). In general, compared to immigrant entrepreneurs, refugee entrepreneurs have limited opportunities to start their businesses in the host countries (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

However, the investigation of refugee entrepreneurship is still in an embryonic phase and, due to the heterogeneity of refugees, needs more context-specific investigation (Heilbrunn & Iannone, 2020). Also, the term “refugee” is highly sensitive to the political character of classifying, governing and representing migrants according to historically contingent categories (Scheel & Squire, 2014, p. 189). In evaluating the situation of individuals, the element of voluntariness often becomes problematic and ambiguous (Scheel & Squire, 2014). Despite the discrepancy in the definition, we contextualise refugees acknowledging the heterogeneity of this group in terms of different levels of disadvantage (Martinez Dy, 2020). Relying on the literature, we identify the potential key elements through which we can contextualize the specific group of refugee entrepreneurs in this study (see chapter 2). In doing so, we chose the specific context of refugees in the camp as a distinctive socio-economic space, which represents a refugee entrepreneurship typology. Thus, we could highlight what is persistent and what changes to mark the differences between groups and communities (Johns, 2018).

Secondly, this specific group is identified within a specific space of a refugee camp. Refugee camps are considered as multiply deprived spaces. This emphasizes that the group is disadvantaged on multiple levels and that the individual and group disadvantage are interrelated, also on the space level (Miller & Breton-Miller, 2017). In such a context, the community suffers from a combination of connected problems such as unemployment, identity crises, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime rates, poor health, and family structure breakdown (ibid).

The refugee camp is taken as a social context that presents an extraterritorial nature with closed boundaries determined by it being a temporary space. Refugee camps are thus unique spatial and temporal entities where individuals and institutions develop particular relationships and build a society that cultivates their understanding of the world around them (Turner, 2016; Werker, 2007). The complex individual/community interaction, which includes sharing resources at the space level creates an ecosystem that comprises formal and informal socio-economic environments (Betts, 2016). We acknowledge the importance of place while considering the complex social and cultural embeddedness that shapes entrepreneurship, and vice-versa (Welter, 2011). Recent research has started to emphasize the more subjective elements of contexts and has attended more closely to entrepreneurs' active involvement in the construction and enactment of contexts (Parkinson et al., 2017; Berglund et al., 2016).

In general, the thesis asks questions about the specificities of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem:

- (i) How do refugee camp entrepreneurs mobilize motivation and resources to start and maintain entrepreneurial activities in refugee camps?
- (ii) How do refugee camp ecosystems emerge, develop and decline?
- (iii) How do contextual factors influence the sustainability of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem?

Specifically, this thesis investigates two camps situated in two contrasting institutional contexts, but with a common denominator: the refugee communities are segregated into highly deprived spaces. This study uses entrepreneurial ecosystem perspectives and bricolage theory to understand the entrepreneurial dynamics within the RC. We emphasize a holistic approach in which we could consider a wide set of contextual factors, and we systematically study how these influence the whole entrepreneurial process.

In line with our social constructivist standpoint, we present a qualitative study that followed an abductive approach. We collected primary data from interviews with entrepreneurs and secondary data from multiple other sources.

The results show how refugee entrepreneurship influences the transformation of a socio-economic space, while simultaneously, the spatial context influences entrepreneurship in RCs. Moreover, varied entrepreneurial outcomes are enacted through entrepreneurial bricolage. Finally, the study illustrates the different individual and contextual factors that allow the temporary entrepreneurial ecosystem to emerge. Importantly, the particular EEs studied in this thesis are co-crafted and co-evolved through the interaction between entrepreneurs, community and other involved actors (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel & Harrison, 2018). The emerging development and eventual demise of the EEs are conceptualized through the accumulation, reinforcement and degradation of resources in the socio-economic space.

## 2. Theoretical contribution

This study's findings extend the understanding of economic activities in refugee camps through the ecosystem approach and bricolage entrepreneurial process. Previous studies offer a limited understanding of the interplay between entrepreneurial agents (refugees) and the spatio-temporal characteristics of the camp. On the one hand, the literature on refugee camps formerly focused primarily on humanitarian perspectives to view refugees' entrepreneurial activities in the camp (Alloush et al. 2015; Betts et al., 2017; Jacobsen, 2005; Oka, 2014; Werker, 2007). On the other hand, the emerging literature on refugee entrepreneurship pays more attention to entrepreneurs than to the camp contexts in which they are embedded so that it has not sufficiently captured spatial elements in its analysis (Kachkar, 2018b; Shepherd, Saade & Wincent, 2020).

### ***The role of bricolage***

How do RCEs mobilize motivation and resources to start and maintain entrepreneurial activities in refugee camps?
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This qualitative case study has shed light on how the entire ecosystem is formed through different levels of bricolage mechanisms in resource-constrained contexts. Our analysis suggests the important differences in the intent of bricolage use within the development of the RCEE. Specifically, work on a bricolage approach has highlighted the practices of “making do” with the resources “at hand” to address new problems and exploit opportunities (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Levi-Strauss, 1966). However, only a few studies have

made explicit the spatialized aspects identified as bricolage (Zahra et al., 2009). Therefore, this study shows how the spatial context influences resource mobilization in an EE, reinforcing the idea that contexts enable and constrain entrepreneurial activities (Müller, 2016; Welter, 2011). In the past, scholars have viewed the bricolage effect as a one-off event characteristic of the earliest stages of business development (Baker et al., 2003; Senyard et al., 2014; Senyard, Baker, & Davidsson, 2009). In this study, it is evident that bricolage is a process that evolves by using resources “at hand”, thus bricolage is taken as a broad metaphorical notion that becomes manifest in spatial, social and institutional dimensions, thus in the entire ecosystem.

Firstly, the configuration of bricolage appears at a space level, where the entire community adapts the new yet impoverished living space with spatially available resources. In such a poor context, bricolage is extended into everyday routines. Therefore, while entrepreneurial bricolage was enacted as exceptional creative behaviour in many earlier studies (Davidsson, Baker, & Senyard, 2017), our empirical study shows how bricolage is deeply embedded in the community lifestyle. It highlights previously acknowledged resourcefulness behaviour and emphasizes its wider impact on a temporary micro-entrepreneurial ecosystem (Baker & Nelson, 2005). At the ecosystem level, we see a diverse range of ventures and varied types of bricoleur working at different levels of the creative process, which involves spatial resource mobilization, thereby helping to build, create and reinforce cycles of the bricolage entrepreneurial culture (Müller & Korsgaard, 2014). On the one hand, the persistence of adversity inhibits survival, and some strategies can have a double-edged-sword effect. In other words, the bricolage strategy can be helpful in the short term, yet with the prolonged persistence of adversity, the same strategy can have a negative effect on both an individual and an ecosystem level (Baker et al., 2005).

Secondly, the study identifies that various entrepreneurs' ability to mobilize and combine resources at hand for entrepreneurial purposes has different entrepreneurial outcomes. In particular, the results show the importance of refugee agents in their role as autonomous entrepreneurial agents and central actors in the emergence of the RCEE. We recognized a great variety of roles among the interviewed entrepreneurs, related to their personal traits, competencies, psychological attributes, background and motivation. Previous studies did not incorporate the specific resources needed to start a business in such a highly constrained environment. This empirical study specifies the types of internal and external resources mobilized in the multi-deprived context. It demonstrates how RCEs' distinctive, idiosyncratic nature allows them to use bricolage beyond common purpose, thus forging value from every available resource (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Baker, 2007; Dyumedjian & Rüling, 2010). Moreover, the study confirms the importance of spatially afforded means and how these

are combined to create opportunities in the context of the multiply-deprived society (Korsgaard, Muller & Welter, 2020). Further, the study demonstrates the considerable significance of immaterial resources, which includes individual and community resources, such as traditions, community cultural resources, beliefs, competition, cultural amenities, and history as major RCEE characteristics that predominantly emerged (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel & Harrison, 2018).

Thirdly, regarding the motivational aspect, the main driver that links all entrepreneurs in this precarious context is economic motivation. In the context of socio-economic hardship, the entrepreneurial initiative can be perceived as the only instrument to achieving autonomy, dignity and psychological well-being. Further, various sources of positive or negative community emotion create an entrepreneurial motivation and disseminate business model replication. However, taking the overall ecosystem dynamics into consideration the entrepreneur's motivation has been shown to vary amongst entrepreneurs and can change over time. For example, the proactive individuals were grouped as pioneers/innovators due to their alertness in discovering a particular opportunity, using the available resources, and quickly exploiting potentially fleeting opportunities (Shane & Venkataraman 2000; Cunha, 2005). Also, there are pioneers/innovators who move first in starting or innovating a business model. Usually, their action is opportunity-driven in terms of income diversification. In comparison to the entire community, those who started a business had better initial economic conditions; in contrast, the poorest and most destitute refugees had fewer resources to start a business. The pioneer operates relying on specific skills such as technical skills, self-learning skills and creativity, which allow them to leverage and combine their internal and external resources to generate a unique business model (Vanevenhoven et al., 2011). Moreover, when livelihood opportunities decreased, business was conducted as a matter of survival, not as one of the multiple livelihood strategies. Therefore, this study shows how the necessity and opportunity-oriented motivations vary within the context and how over time, it changes, even for the same individual. By analysing the role of bricolage in a multi-deprived context, this study clarifies what can count as necessary entrepreneurship and what as opportunity entrepreneurship considering the overall entrepreneurial ecosystem. Given this, we disclosed the more contextualized motivational factors in the interplay.

Fourthly, the study extends bricolage theory by identifying the specific key resources functioning as an engine for the bricolage entrepreneurial process in an extremely difficult context. Scholars suggest that bricolage behaviour shapes entrepreneurship in a challenging institutional environment, thus they investigate the traits and characteristics that allow entrepreneurs to cope with extreme difficulties. However, it is still not clear how bricolage is enacted while individuals or communities undergo traumatic events. Refugees face many

traumatic experiences during their life and inside the camp. Creating business activities in a socially and institutionally constrained environment could require a significant amount of strength and resilience to overcome multifaceted social, political, economic and institutional hurdles. Especially, our empirical study emphasizes the role of PsyCap in the process of entrepreneurial bricolage. PsyCap that enables or hinders the entrepreneurial bricolage includes resources such as resilience, hope, self-efficacy and optimism (Brockorny & Youssef-Morgan, 2019). The study found especially how psychological capital can be counted as an element that differentiates the performance and business success and survival of entrepreneurs within the highly constrained context of RCEE. Psychological resources, both individual internal and external resources, have been identified as the engine mobilizing motivation. Importantly, this study found that, essentially, individuals' and communities' socio-economic position, along with institutional factors that change over time, can influence the reinforcement or impoverishment of their psychological capital (Williams & Shepherds, 2021). The study also found how PsyCap decreases in the face of unfavourable conditions that can trigger a mechanism of deteriorating tangible and intangible resources at individual and community levels.

Finally, the study addressed some of the institutional impediments and elements of political power within two specific RCs that hinder people in developing a long sustainable policy for refugees, which consequently will hinder their participation in a market-based system. Previous studies have not examined bricolage in situations of extreme resource constraints and institutional voids (Khan et al., 2007; Marti & Mair, 2009). Thus, this study has extended bricolage to its functioning in a precarious institutional framework, thereby strongly emphasizing the importance of considering contextual aspects. In addition, it elaborates further on the nature of bricolage as a process to stimulate change. Few studies have investigated how bricolage enables mechanisms through which disadvantaged entrepreneurs engage in informal activities and make innovative adjustments to cope with the institutional problems they face (Heilbrunn, 2019; Mair & Marti, 2009). Our study extends these studies for some outcomes of informal economic activities that previous studies have yet to fully uncover (Heilbrunn, 2019; Mair & Marti, 2009; Williams et al., 2015; Williams, Shahid, & Martínez, 2016). We highlight the positive outcomes of informal enterprises of the marginalised group, as well as for the development of the local economy of disadvantaged areas. Furthermore, this study offers a different view from previous studies by illustrating how using the evolutionary perspective of the local ecosystem, we identify what level of contextual constraints brings ineffectiveness of bricolage behaviour.

## ***Evolutionary mechanisms of refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystems***

How do refugee camp ecosystems emerge, develop and decline?

How do contextual factors influence the sustainability of the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem?

The findings of this study reveal how the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem's evolution is shaped by agents (refugees) and spatial factors. Therefore, it shows how relevant interactions could exist at the individual and ecosystem level, and which are pertinent factors. We understand the ecosystem evolution particularly as a process of resource accumulation and diversification in the given space (Brown & Mason, 2017; Spigel & Harrison, 2018). We found that various contextual factors influence the emergence, development and decline of the RCEE. Specifically, this study identified two antithetical mechanisms, namely resource reinforcement and resource decline, that occur in the EE evolution. Entrepreneurs and ecosystems can co-evolve to enhance entrepreneurial action.

We can confirm that injecting resources (national and international) into the community enables individuals to valorise the resources at hand by creating a unique entrepreneurial ecosystem (Harima, Harima & Freiling, 2020). RCs are constructed through formal or informal international relief resources, combined with internal and local resources. Chapter five gives an exhaustive description of different entrepreneurs and types of business characteristics of RCs and emphasizes entrepreneurs' ability to access resources available within the space through bricolage behaviour (Spigel & Harrison, 2018). In practice, the value co-creation process starts once the ecosystem actors come together in terms of mutually shared interests, co-location, history, institutional setting, cultural and economic needs, and (dis)embeddedness in the regional economy (Kloostermann et al., 1999; Harima, Harima, & Freiling, 2020). Therefore, ecosystem resources are reinforced by the multiplication of resources facilitated by the resourceful refugee entrepreneurs who create value as bricoleurs. Moreover, resources are diversified through resource interactions within the camp and between the camp and the local economy.

In this line, the study illustrates the overall value transferred to the wider ecosystem's actors (Hlady-Rispal & Servantie, 2018). Especially, it shows the distribution of non-economic value in terms of restoring the collective community's dignity, identity and resilience. As a result, the ecosystem value increases to attract more refugees and local entrepreneurs through business activities. Refugees reinforce the resource base in the emerging entrepreneurial space and circulate the resources within the ecosystem and between the camp and local economy.



Further, the study highlights the different roles of the EE actors who are part of co-creating and co-evolving the informal institutional arrangement that facilitates social space for the RC community. Different actors are involved in refugee camp economies, such as humanitarian organizations, camp management, local traders, refugees and local customers, and host-country policymakers. The RCEE lacks important components, such as an adequate market, suitable infrastructure, supportive institutional and organizational support (Mair & Marti, 2009). Therefore, the RCEE is established by means of crafted institutional support, with additional support from alternative organizations such as humanitarian institutions, donors and other humanistic actors, local entrepreneurs and communities who bridge institutional constraints and play multiple roles in providing entrepreneurial resources. In the ecosystem debate, scholars have demonstrated how entrepreneurial ecosystems are embedded in broader time-spatial contexts. For instance, spatial entrepreneurial dynamics are significantly influenced by the historical background of the surrounding geographical location (Adams, 2020; Baron & Freiling, 2019), culture (Saxenian, 1994), and national economies (Biru, Gilbert, & Arenius, 2021; Guerrero et al., 2021).

Resource reinforcement is a mechanism that drives the refugee camp ecosystem's evolution. However, this mechanism only functions when the ecosystem continues to accumulate resources and diversify resource interactions (see figure 51). In other words, it is vulnerable to camp-external factors, such as the local economic conditions and the host country's political conditions, which can cause ecosystem-level resources to decrease. The two refugee camp cases demonstrated the significant dependency of resource interactions within the camp on the local context in which the camp economy is embedded (Jack & Anderson, 2002; McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014).

Moreover, when an EE disequilibrium occurs due to consistent institutional constraints, resource scarcity, or abuse of resources, the overall ecosystem value could decrease or be destroyed. Many variables ultimately leave the business the choice between several possible models and growth limits (Mathé & Rivet, 2010). For instance, the rise of competition within the RCE can, on the one hand, allow the camp community to benefit by keeping prices low. However, if the number of communities is constant or decreases, an increase in entrepreneurial activity can give rise to coping strategies that are unsustainable. Consequently, the ecosystem can experience a scramble for resources among actors. Further, the RCEE can experience a decreased resource inflow, which can lead to the decline of ecosystem resources.

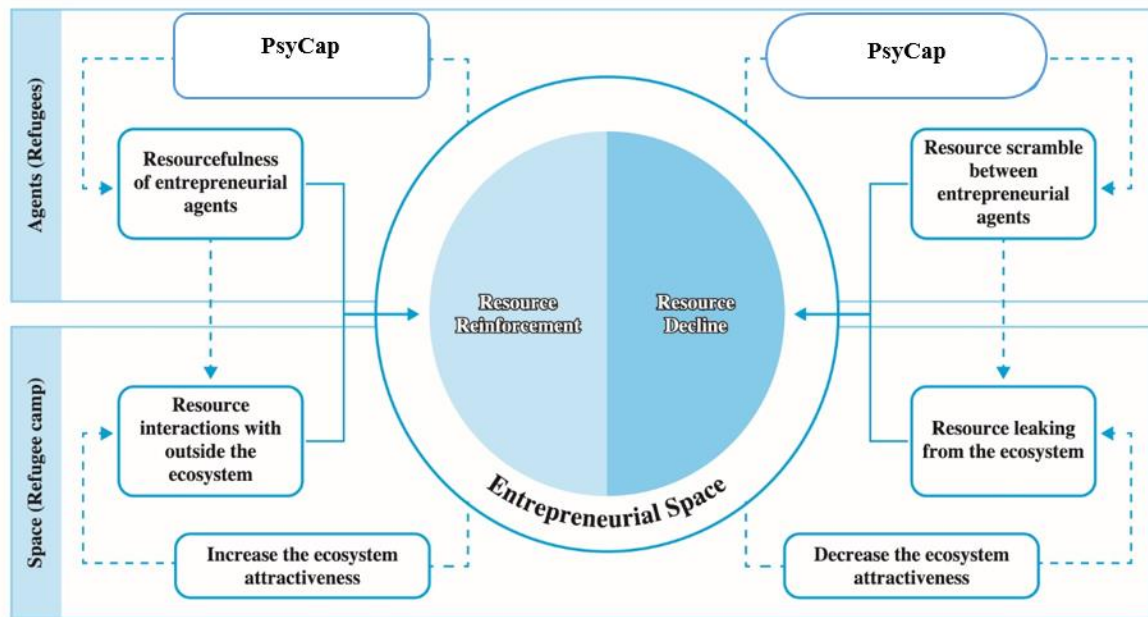


Figure 51: The mechanism of resources reinforcements and declines

### 3. Practical implications

This doctoral research offers an avenue for reflection that could help refugee entrepreneurs to address the obstacles and potential of their situation. The rich empirical evidence has been given in thick descriptions, which portray an understanding of the refugee background, entrepreneurial experience, and the strategies actors implement at the individual and community level to cope with persistent difficulties, including the difficulties of implementing and growing a business. The spontaneous creation of an EE with limited resources in unfavourable environmental conditions contributes to the discussion on the importance of entrepreneurship in deprived areas where some entrepreneurs clearly function as catalysts of economic transformation (Naudé, 2012; Naudé, Santos-Paulino, & McGillivray, 2009). This study is distinguished by not investigating model entrepreneurial actors; rather, it takes varieties of entrepreneurship into consideration, specifically those within a refugee camp ecosystem.

On a practical level, policymakers can use findings from this study to make more informed decisions on how best to support entrepreneurs among disadvantaged groups in general and refugees in particular. We recognize the key role of political willingness in developing both refugee integration policy and entrepreneurship policy (Megumi, 2017). By understanding the entrepreneurial potential and limits of refugees, governmental and non-governmental organizations should develop policies or programs that aim to improve the lives

of the refugee community. This becomes possible when awareness of the potential and obstacles to implementing businesses under harsh circumstances is established.

Firstly, for some refugees entrepreneurship can offer an alternative route to work. Even in a highly constrained environment, refugees' motivation to start a business can be unfolded in different layers. The poor level of the entrepreneurial activities operated by refugees operate is often stigmatized and underrepresented, with a focus on the low economic value entrepreneurs add rather than emphasizing the heterogeneity and diversity of created value. In addition, instead of building resilience, stigmatization can generate feelings of abandonment, where the individual ends in a state of continual dependency (Kibreab, 1993). Therefore, we suggest that the social value these activities create in terms of restoring dignity, nurturing emotional and psychological well-being, and affording both individuals and the community a sense of identity, should not be underestimated.

Secondly, using bricolage, we collected evidence on how, in poor settings, refugees use every resource at hand to start and develop their businesses. The intensity of bricolage varies along the entrepreneurship process, and behaviour types change at different phases of the socio-economic development of the refugee camp. In particular, we noted the role of pioneers/innovators in disseminating an entrepreneurial culture. Even so, in general, refugee entrepreneurs face a number of challenges to business creation, which are specific to their unique situation. Such challenges can stem from their individual context (e.g., language and cultural barriers, skills gaps, limited access to finances and suitable premises), as well as from factors in their host environment (e.g., legal uncertainty, and discrimination). These challenges restrict aspiring entrepreneurs' ability to realize their potential. The findings suggest that some refugee skills should be encouraged and developed so that they can grow their business and hire employees.

Thirdly, the findings indicate that any top-down approach must be sufficiently flexible to adapt to changing circumstances depending on different evolutionary stages of the entrepreneurial ecosystem. While everyone should have an equal opportunity for self-reliance in the humanitarian project, not all refugees can and are willing to run a business. Therefore, when empowering refugees towards self-reliance, multiple types of support should be considered and personalized assistance should be offered. Too many entrepreneurs in specific local areas can create an unhealthy ecosystem at the system level (Spigel, 2017). Thus, entrepreneurship should be promoted in proper proportion to the ecosystem's needs and capabilities.

Fourthly, our empirical evidence demonstrates the importance of injecting resources into a specific socio-economic space that will enable entrepreneurial ventures (Harima,

Harima, & Freiling, 2020;). However, there is a risk that these resources could be badly allocated, misused, or in a worst case scenario, be detrimental to a refugee. Therefore, variation of the resources should be considered. The strategies and methods of empowering schemes, strengthening the micro-finance (donation) criteria should also be improved. Therefore, it is important to consider the unique needs of refugee entrepreneurs to stimulate a dynamic pattern of responsive behaviour.

Our empirical data suggest that an entrepreneurial culture is disseminated through different mechanisms, such as the presence of pioneers/innovators as role models, refugees' creative skills, humanitarian aid strategies, community culture, country of origin, the institutional and regulatory environment in the host country, and the refugee's length of stay in the host country. For example, both formal (Umkulu) and informal (Calais) refugee camps emerged, not by a top-down approach such as in livelihood programs, but rather by bottom-up initiatives coming from the resourcefulness of refugees who see hope in entrepreneurial activities. For example, governmental and non-governmental organisations can encourage survival strategies such as community-based informal banking, but this can be reinforced by micro-credits being made available. Especially, the strategy should be more oriented to reinforcing tangible and intangible resources that individuals and the community possess (Emery & Flora, 2014).

#### **4. Limitations and future direction**

Our work aims to enrich the knowledge we have of refugee entrepreneurs' potential and constraints. However, the study does present some limitations.

The first regards our field study in Eritrea, where the camp (Umkulu) was small and inhabited only by Somali refugees. This makes our findings specific to a single context and culture. Furthermore, the Umkulu refugee camp setting was unique, since Somali refugees have been historically embedded in the host community and the camp was more secure than many other camps. All the informants confirmed that camp inhabitants lived in peace with a low crime level. These conditions are not common in refugee camps in other countries. Therefore, we recommend that future researchers consider entrepreneurial dynamics in other refugee camps to contrast findings, e.g., to understand how societal tensions between the refugee community and local communities affect camp ecosystems' evolution.

Our pilot study in Calais had the potential to be a field investigation of informal camps based in Europe; however, this doctoral project started at the moment when the Calais refugee camp was dismantled. Moreover, the creation of a real camp ecosystem was almost unfeasible

due to their fast dismantlement and difficult access. Some other camps in Greece that may have delivered relevant data, were virtually impossible to access. While we hope, due to the dire situation at the time, that this type of camp will not be created again and if so, that there would be more sustainable refugee management, we suggest that future studies can extend our research in investigating other deprived settlements such as ghettos that currently characterize many European cities.

The second limitation is that we have focused on the entrepreneurial processes of refugees only. Although we highlighted in our conceptualization of a refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem that there could be non-refugee business activities, such as host community businesses, even businesses created by wealthy companies, this was not the case in the Umkulu camp. Future studies could try to understand the perspective of non-refugee entrepreneurs in the camp. Especially, an interesting investigation could attend to the value created by social entrepreneurs, including NGOs with a special mission in the RC.

Lastly, this study used qualitative methods in a pragmatic and holistic approach capturing the refugees' entrepreneurial experiences and we point out that many of the important questions can only be addressed through qualitative approaches. Capturing the refugees' entrepreneurial experiences, showing their well-being or distress. This is indeed a good first perspective to give guidelines as to what categories would be important in a quantitative rendering. Therefore, we also recommend that future research can use mixed methods which allow answering qualitative questions (such as "what", "why", or "how") and quantitative ("how many", "how often"). Using both methodologies can provide a better understanding of research problems and complex phenomena (Green et al., 2007).

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## A

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# Appendix

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## Appendix 1. Analysis of literature review

Authors and year publication	TITLE	Review/ Journal	SUBJECT/ Questions	CONTRIBUTIONS		
				Context	Notes	Theoretical insight
Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2015	Refugee Innovation: Humanitarian Innovation that Starts with Communities	Published by the Humanitarian Innovation Project, University of Oxford.	Refugee innovation	Examples and case studies of 'bottom-up innovation' among different refugee populations. Five countries: Uganda, Jordan, Kenya.	"Understanding the processes of refugee innovation and the constraints and opportunities experienced in 'bottom-up' problem-solving offers an opportunity to rethink humanitarian practice"	Innovative entrepreneurship; Bricolage and frugal business activities; informal economy
Omata, 2016	Refugee economies in Kenya Preliminary study in Nairobi and Kakuma camp	Published by the Humanitarian Innovation Project, University of Oxford.	Refugee economy	Economic life of refugee in Nairobi and in Kakuma refugee camp, and explores their economic activities differ from local host population and amongst the group.	Access to social network plays an important role in characterising and differentiating the economic strategies of different groups of refugees.	Informal economy, formal economy
Betts, Bloom & Omata, 2014	Refugee Economies Rethinking Popular Assumptions	Published by the Humanitarian Innovation Project, University of Oxford.	Refugee economy	Qualitative and quantitative data on the economic life of refugees. Carried out in Uganda in two refugee settlements and the capital city, Kampala.	"Refugee communities are often integrated within vibrant and complex economic systems. "	Innovative entrepreneurship; Bricolage and frugal business activities. Peripheral entrepreneurship; emergency entrepreneurship
De la Chaux, 2015	ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND INNOVATION: HOW INSTITUTIONAL VOIDS SHAPE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES IN REFUGEE CAMPS		Entrepreneurship in refugee camp	Analyse the institutional voids to refugee entrepreneurship in camps.	Engagement in entrepreneurial activity by refugees in camps seems however, to help improve both the socioeconomic prospects of refugees and the climate of the camp	Peripheral entrepreneurship, informal economy
Dick, 2002	Liberians in Ghana: living without humanitarian assistance	Journal of International Development	Refugee livelihood	Understanding the survival strategies of Liberian refugees in Ghana.	"refugees are capable, enterprising and industrious, adapting survival strategies and adjusting to changing circumstances in order to maximise opportunities available to them in exile."	Peripheral entrepreneurship, emergency entrepreneurship
Agier, 2002	Between war and city Towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps	SAGE Journal	Analyse camps as an urban ethnographic case	Field carried out in the camps of Dadaab	"War and exodus, of new social, 'urban' and identity-bestowing devices among displaced persons and refugees (Agier, 2002)". The camp, then, is comparable to the city, and yet it cannot 'reach it'	peripheral entrepreneurship; informal economy

Alloush et al. 2015	Economic Life in a Refugee Camp	Migration research cluster	livelihood strategy of refugee	analyse the economic life of three Congolese refugee camps in Rwanda and the impacts of on the host-country economies.		peripheral entrepreneurship
De Montclos et aln2000	Refugee Camps or Cities? The Socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma Camps in Northern Kenya	Journal of Refugee Studies	Camp urbanization	Field study of dabaab refugee camp: process of urbanization, trading activities and capital generation.	The infrastructure established in camps is an obvious factor of urbanization since it attracts nationals and gives the site an urban aspect. effects will not be durable unless accompanied by endogenous economic dynamics and an urban cultural integration.	Peripheral entrepreneurship, Informal economy
Jansen, 2011	The Accidental City	Wageningen University. Promotor	Rural development sociology: refugee camp in Kakuma, Kenya	Field studies on social life and organization in the refugee camps Kenya	The camp has become something of paradox: a temporary place that slowly shakes its features of temporality through process of place-making that are similar to forms of urbanization, with no end sight as of yet.	Peripheral development
De Bruijn, 2009	The Living Conditions and Well-being of Refugees	Human Development Research Paper	Refugee legal protection, gender-related issues, food security and nutritional status, health, education, and refugee livelihoods and coping strategies.	living conditions and wellbeing of camp-based refugees – in six countries with protracted refugee conditions: Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in Africa, and Nepal, Bangladesh and Thailand in Asia.	Living conditions of refugees vary across thematic areas and are strongly contextualised, depending on a complex of social, economic, political and attitudinal factors.	Informal economy
Doraï,	From Camp Dwellers to Urban Refugees? Urbanization and Marginalization of Refugee Camps in Lebanon.	Institute for Palestine Studies & Ifpo	Mar Elias camp in Beirut		numerous businesses that have been established along the main road on the northern and eastern sides of the camp, developed both by Palestinians and by Lebanese, serve to integrate the outer fringe of the camp into the townscape.	
De Bruijn 2009	The Living Conditions and Well-being of Refugees	Human Development Research Paper	Refugee legal protection, gender-related issues, food security and nutritional status, health, education, and refugee livelihoods and coping strategies.	living conditions and wellbeing of camp-based refugees – in six countries with protracted refugee conditions: Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in Africa, and Nepal, Bangladesh and Thailand in Asia.	Living conditions of refugees vary across thematic areas and are strongly contextualised, depending on a complex of social, economic, political and attitudinal factors.	Informal economy
Danish Refugee Council (DRC) Erbil, KRI – December 2015	SYRIAN REFUGEE CAMP LIVELIHOODS ASSESSMENT ERBIL GOVERNORATE, KURDISTAN REGION OF IRAQ	DRC	Market assessment of refugee camp Erbil	Camp Business Market Mapping: qualitative and quantitative primary data	Support the further development of existing businesses by building financial capacity and business management practices, linkages to credit and financial markets, and formalizing supplier and wholesale market relationships.	Informal economy, formal economy
Report UNHCR & REACH; 2014	Market assessment in Al Za'atari Refugee Camp	UNHCR	Market assessment of refugee camp Al za'atari	Camp Business Market Mapping: qualitative and quantitative primary data	Many camp residents have developed income-generating activities which have led to a thriving informal economy.	informal economy, bricolage

## Appendix 2. Interview guide

<b>Background</b>
Motivation for choosing the specific country <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- obstacles to leave the country of origin</li><li>- obstacles to arrive at the desired destination,</li><li>- attractiveness of the host country</li></ul> Country of transit <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- status; living conditions</li><li>- work experience</li><li>- networks</li><li>- access to capital</li></ul> Choice of host country <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- departure conditions</li><li>- job opportunities</li><li>- family situation</li><li>- economic condition</li><li>- environmental conditions</li><li>- availability of local, regional and national resources</li><li>- refugee opportunities</li><li>- networks</li></ul>
<b>Business data and history of setting up the business</b>
Type of company, age and size The starting point of their business

Idea for the business model  
 Available resources and missing resources  
 Type of resources available  
 Information on how entrepreneurs use alternative means when faced with a severe resource constraint.  
 Strategy they implement to start and develop the business  
 Information on how they supply their shop;  
 Information about their customers and suppliers  
 Understanding how the business has developed over time:  
 The state of the business at beginning  
 How the business is doing at that moment.  
 Possible future project  
 Strategy on how to maintain the business in the face of different environmental dynamics

**Individual enablers and constraints**

Personal drive and motivation.  
 Existing skills  
 Individual capital.  
 Opportunities to be trained in specific skills  
 How entrepreneurs cope with the psychological stress  
 How entrepreneurs cope with resource scarcity  
 How entrepreneurs deal with competitions

**Community enablers and constraints**

Communal support from others.  
 Community-led initiatives.

The effects of culture on the business process  
The effect of traditions, norms and customs on the business process  
Local or national insecurity.  
Discrimination/ integration  
Other community specific important information.

**Institutional enablers and constraints**

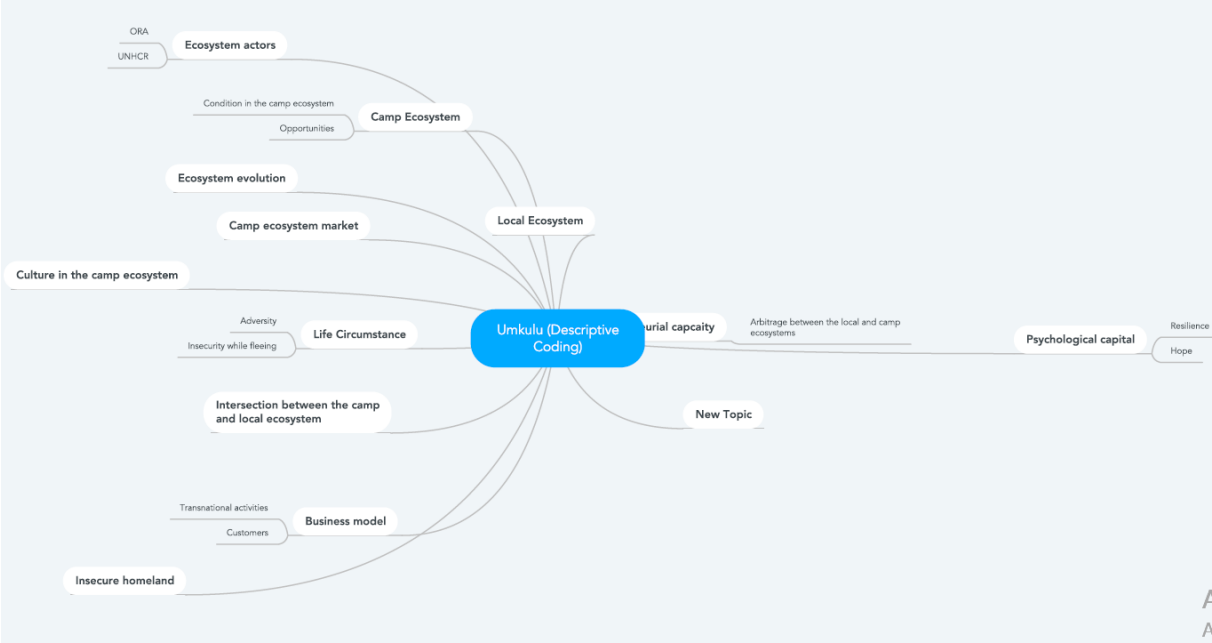
Market access.  
Market size  
Job opportunities  
Local infrastructures  
Right to work out of the camp/ right to establish business activity  
International and local agencies facilities and resources  
Physical security provided by the state/ camp security  
Access to public and private services.  
Access to finance  
Legal status.  
Discrimination from authorities.  
Resettlement and repatriation  
In the lack of ideal conditions and facilities, how entrepreneurs use alternatives means



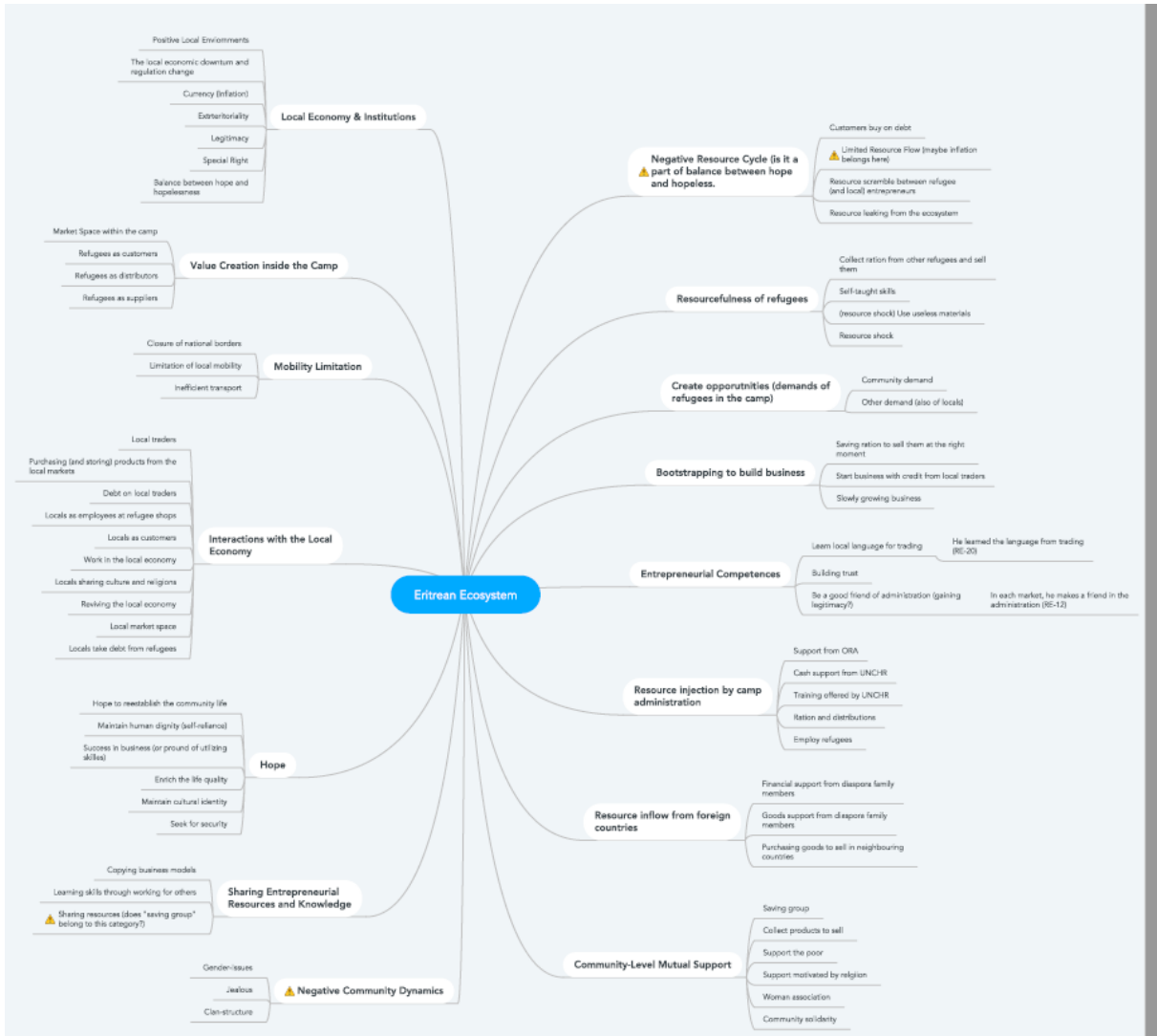
### Appendix 3. Sample of detailed information of the entrepreneurs

Ref	Name 1	Name 2	Sex	Age	Interview Duration (min.)	Business Establishment (year)	Entrepreneurial motivation	Business idea	Cross-Boarder Activities	Suppliers	Customers	Support received by Humanitarian Organization	Crista's Observation (How do you perceive the informant's personality and business?)	Distinctive characteristic
RE-1	Deik	Deik Abderrahman	Male	30	3h (2days)	2015	1st period: income diversification & improve quality life; 2nd Period: lack of job business in the camp the only way to maintain the family	Previous Business: White flour business; Satcher; selling cloth and other stuff from Djibouti. Current business: Grocery	Yes: Djibouti	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support	Very strong personality: very eloquent, intelligent with great communication skills, leadership attitude. He knows in detail the needs and the problem of the community, it was one of the richest interactions. Each question was discussed with great confidence and precise to the smallest detail ( field note). The	Creativity, strategy, risk orientation, good understanding of the market
RE-2	Kadja	Kadja Osman	Female	30-65	3h (2days)	2000	1st: income diversification to meet family need 2nd: business background (business continuation)	Grocery	no	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support; extra help to backup from business accident	Strong Women: she seems to be a very wise and strong woman. Even for the most difficult situations, she could describe them very simply and lightly. Her inner strength and resilience is evident from her story and life experience. Another aspect that emerges is her satisfaction with how she was able to manage her business, family and community commitments. As much as this makes her one of the exemplary women of the camp, the sadness in her eyes and some of her answers tell how resigned she is in facing continuous difficulties (field note).	Resilience, management skills; entrepreneurial background
RE-3	Hussein-Meriam	Meriam Hussein	Female	26	1h (1 day)	2000	1st period: Hussein desire to diversify his income) 2nd period: to survive, business continuation	Restaurant, shop	no	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	basic support	Fragile: it was very difficult to interact with Meriam, very fragile and sensitive to her current state. The fact that she grows up with comfort cannot bear the problems and abandonment of her family, she seemed unwilling to run her father's business. His father's success is well known in the field, so many details were provided by the informant.	Past: Hassan ( proactive; business minded) Present: Meriam (lack of entrepreneurial skills and motivation)
RE-4	Ahmed Hassan	Ahmed Hassan	Male	35-45	1:30 (1 day)	2012 2017	income diversification Lack of job, need to sustain the family	Grocery	yes (Sudan)	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support, micro capital benefit	Willingness and trustworthiness: before the formal interview we had the opportunity to interact with Hassan while visiting Odawa's Shop. We perceive his great will, the will to go beyond the limits, the will to try, <del>and see his shop as a point of reference.</del>	trustworthiness, patient
RE-5	Warsawa	Warsawa Youssef	Male	30-40	3h (2days)	2008	income diversification	Barber shop, repairer, tv programmer	no	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support	The Handyman of the camp: Warsawa, is a very easy person, always with a smile and is very talkative. our conversation was full of laughter, lots of anecdotes about all the activities he does in the camp. When you say Warsawa you are saying the barber, the technician, the wedding decorator or better the handyman of the camp	brisk, multitask, stewardship, learnig skills
RE-6	Mohamed Ismael	Muhammad Ismael	Male	30-65	2h ( 4 days)	2011	Lack of job, need to sustain the family	juice drink, soft drink, vegetable shop	no	Eritrean wholesalers	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support	Ismael is a very calm and wise man. His shop was a point of references. Ismael has a good memory. He knew all the details of the camp, the dates and events. He had fast mental calculation. One of the few elders who knew the local language very well	Trustworthiness, management skill, intelligence
RE-7	Aduareb	Aduareb Mohamed	Male	40-50	1h (1 day)	2008	income diversification ; need to sustain the family, business background	Grocery	Yes, Sudan	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support	Shrewd: despite arriving late, it seems to be integrated quickly, knows the local language and especially the local market seems to have a good sense of humor	Shrewd; strategic
RE-8	Alan	Alan Mohamed Youssef	female	30-40	2h (2 days)	2016	Divorce, sustain the family	Tee shop	no	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support, extra support for business development	Persuasion: her persuasive abilities it is well perceived. Although her business is in good status, Alan seems very distressed about her single mom situation in this particular context. It seemed to us that much of her suffering is compounded by the cultural context that she emphasizes between the lines (field note)	Persuasive, endurance, strength
RE-9	Abdullah Odowa	Abdullah Odowa	Male	35-45	2h (2days)	2001	Income diversification; business background	Grocery	yes	Eritrean wholesalers and relief distribution	Somali refugee and Locals	Basic support, received 20.000 Nkf benefit	A man of substance: the conversation with Odowa was very deep and at the same time very sad. His business status was in a good state, Odowa, it doesn't talk about his skills, unlike many entrepreneurs, and he wasn't keen on talking about the business. He tended to point out negative situations, and it was difficult for him to smile. all the deferred hopes seem to have sadly marked his life. Whenever we passed by his shop he was in his state of reflection with his koran in hand.	Serious, endurance, business background

# Appendix 4. Procedure of data analysis



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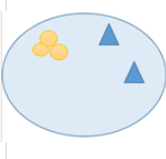
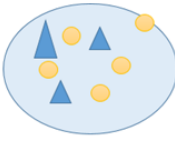
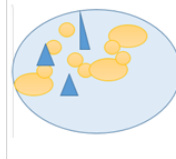









## Appendix 6. Refugee camp development and key components

Refugee camp development					
RC Entrepreneurial ecosystem components	Emergence of refugee camp		Development of unique socio-economic space	Camp interaction with extended regional area	Camp development maturity
	Camp/hold institution	Government organization to manage the camp	Emotional support for recovery Material support (water supply, electricity supply)	Support refugee in their daily life ( medication; security; emotional support) Building school in the camp use refugee members to understand and interact with refugees	support refugee in their daily life ( medication; security; emotional support) Building school in the camp use refugee members to understand and interact with refugees
International organization for refugee right		Material and Financial support	Negotiation for pro-refugee policy	Negotiation for refugee livelihood improvement and for self-reliance	Growth of livelihood incentives for self-reliance Difficulties to negotiate for durable solution temporary suspension of resettlement and repatriation
policy	HC Migration policy	Small refugee protection allowance limited right for refugee	Allowing refugee to trade with in the camp and make supply outside the camp with in 20km Allow refugee to exercise business activities Resettlement opportunity	temporary suspension of resettlement and repatriation	temporary suspension of resettlement and repatriation
	HC market policy	More open trading opportunity with neighbourhood county	More open trading opportunity with neighbourhood county	limitation on trading opportunity with neighbourhood county	growth of restriction at the country borders
national and regional local market institution	Regional infrastructure	Poor infrastructure	Poor	Poor	Poor
	Market structure	Dynamic market	Dynamic market	Good market	Decreasing
	HC resource availability	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor
	HC labour availability	Good informal job opportunities	Good job informal opportunities	Limitation on job opportunities	lack of job opportunities
local community	Refugee and local communities affinity	Good affinity between refugee and local community	Good affinity between refugee and local community	Good affinity between refugee and local community	Good affinity between refugee and local community
	security system community economy	High security system Very poor community	low security system due to war in the country new opportunity with refugee	high security new opportunity in RC market	High security system risk to loose jobs and business in the camp
Refugees community	Refugees tangible resources	Family number ( the family number will determine the amount of relief product)	resource appropriation through different livelihood strategy ( donation; work, businesses; social network); family number	resource appropriation through different livelihood strategy ( donation, businesses; social network)	resource appropriation through different livelihood strategy ( donation, businesses; social network)
	Refugee Intangible resources	psychological capital; cultural capital; social capital; societal system of values	Increase psychological capital; cultural capital; social capital	psychological capital; cultural capital; social capital	Decrease of psychological capital; cultural capital; social capital
	Community led humanitarian resource trading Few entrepreneurial activities by pioneers	Community led humanitarian resource trading Few entrepreneurial activities by pioneers	Successful entrepreneurs as role model for new business creation: mimic entrepreneurs or new business model	Entrepreneurial culture and creation of structured ecosystem	Unsustainable: Refugee entrepreneurs survival strategy community based survival strategy
	Refugee as agency				
special and geographical specificity	Agglomeration of a community	Growing number of camp population density Community under heavy trauma	Constant number of population	Decrease Number of population	Decrease Number of population
	Community	Community cultural oriented needs Community new contextual oriented needs New social appraisals as economic opportunity Bricolage culture	Community social interaction community life stratification new cost for the community (schools and religious schools; afterschool program for children; social obligations) Reciprocity overspent and lack of money management	Community social interaction community life stratification new cost for the community (schools and religious schools; afterschool program for children; social obligations) Reciprocity overspent and lack of money management	impident Community social interaction community life stratification new cost for the community Destructive cultural behaviour opportunistic behaviour Growth of inactive life that strengthens destructive cultural behaviour
	market structure	inexistent local market structure	building market structure	Co-creation of local entrepreneurial resources	Stagnation: constraints to maintain or improve the entrepreneurial ecosystem
	Infrastructure and services Security system of the camp	Scarce infrastructure and opportunity entrepreneurial opportunity for refugee and local retailers High security system	Scarce infrastructure and opportunity entrepreneurial opportunity for refugee and local retailers Good security system	Scarce infrastructure and opportunity entrepreneurial opportunity for refugee and local retailers Good security system	Constraints to develop and exploit opportunity to maintain or improve the ecosystem Good security system
<b>Entrepreneurial outcomes</b>		Community led trading of humanitarian resource Emerging of new business activity by Pioneers Social bricolage Development of community hope	Few unique businesses model by pioneers Emergence of mimic refugee entrepreneurs Emergence of local community entrepreneurs in a camp Bricolage culture to entrepreneuring Developing entrepreneurial bricolage culture Strengthening refugee and local community social and psychological capital	Growing number mimic refugee entrepreneurs with low differentiating strategy low variety of business	Growing number of business Ineffective competition Decrease of camp population density Weaken entrepreneurial ecosystem resilience Weaken community intangible resource ( Social and psychological capitals) Business for community survival
					
Deprived isolated ara/ desert/ unused		<b>Emergence of RC</b>	<b>Growing of entrepreneurial initiative</b>	<b>Growth of local entrepreneurial dynamism</b>	<b>Market saturation</b>

## Appendix 7. Observed businesses in Umkulu refugee camp

Observed Businesses			Type of businesses	
type of business	Sex	Interviewed/ interacted		
Grocery 1	Male	yes	Grocery	13
cosmetics	Female	yes	Cosmetic shop	3
Grocery 2	Female	yes (his husband)	taylor	6
Grocery 3	Male	yes	Fresh fruit juice and vegetable	1
Tailor 1	Male	yes	Animal trading	2
Grocery 4	Male	yes	tea shop	4
Grocery (the biggest shop)	Male	yes	Restaurant	3
street shop -cosmetic	Female	Yes	Ice shop	1
street shop-cloth	Female	Yes	game shop	1
taylor, cosmetic shop	Male	yes	club sport	1
Tailor	Male	No	Hair dresser	2
Grocery	Male	Yes	Metal worker	1
Grocery	Male	Yes	Meet seller	4
street shop	Male	no	cold soft drink shop	2
fruit juice, fruit and vegetable shop	Male	Yes	bakery	1
Sheep	Male	yes	<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>
Tea shop	Female	yes		
Tea shop, bar	Male	no		
Grocery	male	Yes		
Street shop	Male	Yes		
Restaurant	Male	yes		
Tea shop	Male	Yes		
Hair dresser	Male	yes		
Grocery	Male	yes		
Grocery	Female	yes		
Animal trader	Male	yes		
Ice shop				
Game shop				
Club sport				
Grocery	Male	yes		
Tea shop	Female	yes		
Metal worker	Male	yes		
Meet seller	male	no		
Meet seller	male	no		
Hair dresser, repairer	mele	yes		
Tailor		no		
Tailor, selling close, cold water.	Male	yes		
Cosmetics				
Tailor		NO		
Street shop, selling cloth	Female	NO		
Restaurant		no		
Soft drink shop	male	no		
Soft drink shop		yes		
Grocery				
Grocery	male			
Meet seller	Female			
Meet seller	Male			



## Appendix 8. Analysed news and videos for Calais Jungle refugee camp

1 URBAN JUNGLE Restaurants, boxing clubs and booming businesses... we go inside Calais' sprawling migrant city < <a href="https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1685095/restaurants-boxing-clubs-and-booming-businesses-we-go-inside-calais-sprawling-migrant-city">https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1685095/restaurants-boxing-clubs-and-booming-businesses-we-go-inside-calais-sprawling-migrant-city</a> > Accessed February 2017	Press
2 Open for business! Judge says SEVENTY TWO filthy Calais Jungle shops and restaurants serving 9,000 migrants < <a href="https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3736130/Open-business-Judge-says-SEVENTY-TWO-filthy-Calais-Jungle-shops-restaurants-serving-9-000-migrants-not-closed-calm-place-meet.html">https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3736130/Open-business-Judge-says-SEVENTY-TWO-filthy-Calais-Jungle-shops-restaurants-serving-9-000-migrants-not-closed-calm-place-meet.html</a> > Accessed February 2017	Press
3. Here's how the Calais 'Jungle' has developed into a small town -- complete with a club and a library  < <a href="https://www.businessinsider.com.au/calais-jungle-france-migrants-refugees-2016-1">https://www.businessinsider.com.au/calais-jungle-france-migrants-refugees-2016-1</a> >Accessed February 2017	Press
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## **L'espace entrepreneurial dans la communauté marginalisée : le cas de l'écosystème entrepreneurial des camps de réfugiés**

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La contextualisation gagne de l'importance dans le domaine de l'entrepreneuriat en tant qu'instrument permettant d'étudier les variations des modèles de l'entrepreneuriat à travers les contextes. Cette étude vise à comprendre comment un écosystème entrepreneurial peut être créé dans un espace socio-économique non conventionnel comme celui des réfugiés marginalisés résidant dans un camp. Par ailleurs, les études récentes sur l'entrepreneuriat illustrent que les réfugiés commencent à être étudiés séparément des autres immigrants économiques. Toutefois, l'étude de l'entrepreneuriat des réfugiés est encore dans un stade embryonnaire et nécessite une enquête plus approfondie reliée au contexte en raison surtout de l'hétérogénéité des réfugiés. Cette recherche doctorale utilise une approche qualitative et constructiviste qui permet de saisir la complexité et la diversité des processus entrepreneuriaux des réfugiés. Elle est basée sur deux études exploratoires: une étude pilote et une enquête sur le terrain. Ce travail utilise des approches écosystémiques et de théorie de bricolage qui permettent de considérer un large ensemble de facteurs contextuels. Les résultats révèlent que l'absence de valeur devient une opportunité de créer de la valeur avec les ressources disponibles et identifient les ressources essentielles qui sont la clé de la création et de l'évolution de l'écosystème entrepreneurial du camp de réfugiés. Ainsi que rôle des différents acteurs dans la co-création de cet écosystème entrepreneurial local basé sur un camp.

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Mots-clés : Entrepreneuriat ; Camp de Réfugiés ; Écosystème Entrepreneurial; Bricolage

## **The entrepreneurial space in the marginalised community: the case of refugee camps entrepreneurial ecosystem**

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Contextualisation is gaining importance in the entrepreneurship domain as an instrument to study variations in the nature and patterns of entrepreneurship cross-context. This thesis contextualise entrepreneurship in the most neglected socio-economic space. Mainly, the study aims to understand how an entrepreneurial ecosystem can be created within an unconventional socio-economic space like the marginalised refugees in a camp. In entrepreneurship studies, refugees started to be studied separately from other economic immigrants. However, the investigation of refugee entrepreneurship is still in an embryonic phase and, due to the heterogeneity of refugees, needs more context-specific investigation. Therefore, this doctoral research uses a qualitative, constructivist approach that allows capturing the complexity and diversity of refugees' entrepreneurial processes. Based on two exploratory studies: a pilot study and one field-based investigation, the study uses ecosystem and bricolage approaches, which allow considering a wide set of contextual factors. The findings disclose that the absence of value becomes an opportunity to create value with resources at hand and identifies essential resources that are key in creating and evolving the refugee camp entrepreneurial ecosystem—emphasising the role of the different actors in co-creating this camp-based local entrepreneurial ecosystem.

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Keywords : Entrepreneurship; Refugee Camp; Entrepreneurial Ecosystem; Bricolage

