# Entrepreneurs in Poverty through the Lens of Bricolage

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#### Abstract

Many entrepreneurs in the world faced with different forms of poverty. This paper applies the concept of bricolage to better understand of entrepreneurs in poverty. This study will examine entrepreneurs in penurious environments through the conceptual lens of entrepreneurial bricolage by emphasizing social, political, and psychological poverty. This paper seeks to extend the study of Baker and Nelson's (2005), "creating something out of nothing" by highlighting the different concepts of poverty. The research question of this study is how bricolage enables entrepreneurs in poverty to achieve welfare. We answer the research question by developing a framework with four research propositions. The findings of the study examine how different dimensions of poverty are interrelated. Furthermore, it reveals how entrepreneurs can overcome different dimensions of poverty by applying the characteristics of bricolage.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship, Bricolage, Poverty

#### 1 Introduction

Poverty represents one of the most significant issues in today's society and many people in poverty are engaged in entrepreneurial activities. Entrepreneurship is defined as a process that entails action to create or seize an opportunity and to innovate or to spur a new venture (Servantie & Rispal, 2018). In contrast, poverty appears to function as a contradiction to this pursuit. Defining poverty in terms of the international poverty threshold of \$1.90 household income per day, 44% of the total world population lived under the constraints of poverty in 1981. Since then, this percentage has been decreasing (World Bank, 2016). Nevertheless, ca. 10% of the world population live under the constrain of poverty, which encompassed 736 million people (World Bank, 2016). Poverty is defined as a lack of social, legal, political, and economic welfare. (Ellis, 1983). It is difficult to measure how many people are living under the constraints of poverty because these poverty dimensions have no measurable characteristics. People who support from poverty are often engaged in entrepreneurial activities. However, the failure rate of these entrepreneurs is considerably high. One reason for this high number of failures in a venture is that entrepreneurs are faced with varying forms of poverty. According to

Baker and Nelson (2005), entrepreneurship in penurious environments is often characterized by severe resource constraints like a limited budget or limited human resources. Additionally, entrepreneurs are faced with different dimensions of poverty caused by their situation, such as the lack of networks, as well as by the economic area in which they set up their businesses (World Bank, 2019).

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Some entrepreneurs manage to get out of the poverty situation through entrepreneurship. An example of an entrepreneur overcoming poverty is the story of John Paul DeJoria. He was facing personal poverty as he was living in a car and had no entrepreneurial network. Nevertheless, because of his determined work attitude, he set up a successful hair-care company and, nowadays, has become a billionaire. However, due to the high number of entrepreneurial failures, a theoretical approach for entrepreneurs to overcome these constraints is needed. One attempt to find a solution is the approach of using bricolage as suggested by Levi-Strauss (1966).

The existing literature have already discussed entrepreneurship in poverty through the lense of entrepreneurial bricolage. Many papers refer to the research question of how entrepreneurship could encourage the development of countries in poverty while benefitting from bricolage behavior (Hooi et al., 2016). Besides that, several papers are referring to the question of how entrepreneurs in poverty could overcome resource constraints through bricolage (Holt & Littlewood, 2017; Loarne & Maalaoui, 2015). One of the most relevant papers about entrepreneurs in poverty and bricolage is Creating Something from Nothing: Resource Construction through Entrepreneurial Bricolage by (Baker & Nelson, 2005). In existing literatures, the definition of entrepreneurs in poverty is mainly restricted to resource constraints (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Linna, 2013). Based on this prior research, this paper extends the frequently used approach of resource scarcity by selected dimensions of poverty that were defined by Ellis (1983). Therein, the aspect of resource constraints is part of a set of poverty dimensions (Ellis, 1983). In this context, the following work will address the research gap of overcoming entrepreneurial poverty through bricolage with a focus on social, political, and psychological poverty. This research paper aims to expand Baker and Nelson (2005)'s findings by highlighting the different concepts of poverty. Therefore, the research question of this paper is: How can bricolage enable entrepreneurs in poverty to achieve welfare?

The structure of this paper is as follows: first, the theoretical background will be presented, highlighting the concepts of poverty and bricolage. Second, based on the research question and the theoretical and conceptual background, research assumptions will be developed and explained using a framework. The development of the framework is based on the existing frameworks by (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Ellis, 1983). Finally, the expected contributions and future perspectives will be presented.

# 2 Conceptual Backgrounds – Reviewing Literature on Bricolage and Poverty

#### 2.1 Literature Selection

The following chapter describes the theoretical background for the development of this paper. It deals in particular with the theory of bricolage behavior and the definition of poverty. The main article that explains the theory of Bricolage has been written by Baker and Nelson (2005), as they initially associated the original theory of Levi-

Strauss on Bricolage with entrepreneurs. Many other authors who have subsequently dealt with this also refer to the work of Baker and Nelson (2005). To establish a link between bricolage, poverty, and creating something new in literature, it is first necessary to describe poverty in the context of this work. After reviewing current and past literature on poverty, the choice of the main article is *The Dimensions of Poverty* by Ellis (1983) as he describes in detail the different characteristics of poverty and how these relate to personal welfare.

#### 2.2 Defining Bricolage

Bricolage is a concept developed by French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss (1967) in his work *The Savage Mind*. According to Levi-Strauss (1966), bricolage describes the skill of using given resources, making do, and recombining these resources to create something new. Creativity, originality, and co-opting of resources are very prevalent features in bricolage. The process of bricolage is divided into three steps: First, the bricoleur must step back and consider his repertoire of available materials and tools. This repertoire can be extensive but also characterized by limitations. As a second step, the bricoleur will consider these resources to choose between the possible solutions each set of resources may offer for his problem or task. The final step then is the actual outcome, which is characterized by uncertainty but also by creativity as it can differ widely from the originally imagined outcome. Levi-Strauss (1966) uses the comparison of a bricoleur and an engineer to further point out the differences between bricoleur behavior and modern scientific thinking: While the work of an engineer depends on the existence of a specific repertoire, the work of a bricoleur is more like a compromise between the given setting and the project (Levi-Strauss, 1966).

This concept of bricolage was adopted into various disciplines. Baker and Nelson (2005) use the concept of bricolage in their often-cited work *Creating Something from Nothing: Resource Construction through Entrepreneurial Bricolage*. Using bricolage, they explain how entrepreneurs can act successfully, although their resources in their environment are minimal. Bricolage is defined roughly as making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities (Levi-Strauss, 1966). This adaptation is based on an in-depth field study

of 29 new ventures that were affected by an economically depressed environment. Baker and Nelson (2005) point out that bricolage can happen in several different domains: physical inputs, labor, skills, customer/market, as well as institutional and regulatory environment. The study shows how organizations created something from nothing by using physical inputs, while other organizations did not consider involving customers, suppliers, workers and/or by making use of self-taught skills. Customers and markets as a domain are defined by serving niches or making products available to everyone. The third domain is focused on the institutional and regulatory environment. As an example, organizations created something from nothing by refusing to accept limitations and standards. As a result, the recombination of given resources can lead to growth (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

The use of bricolage is clustered in two patterns: Parallel and selective bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005). Firms referring to selective bricolage may be empowered to grow, whereas parallel bricolage firms often fail to take advantage of growth potential (Rönkkö, Peltonen, & Arenius, 2013). According to Baker and Nelson (2005) there are specific characteristics for parallel and selective predefined bricolage within the Compared to selective bricolage, firms who are engaged in parallel bricolage focus on acquiring and extracting resources at hand, which might end in inputs they do not know how to use correctly. Furthermore, entrepreneurs who are engaged in parallel bricolage are likely to be characterized by a lack of proper education on how to use resources and by networks that show strong social ties. The main factor that is restraining entrepreneurs when pursuing parallel bricolage is the consistent and repeated use of bricolage in every dimension mentioned above. In contrast to that, entrepreneurs engaged in selective bricolage take advantage of this behavior in a selective way regarding the use of it for each dimension. This prospering use of bricolage is often mainly observed during the founding process of businesses. In this case, entrepreneurs use bricolage in a specific part of their business when first beginning to form a business idea, for example, using second-hand materials and self-taught skills. The important distinction from parallel bricolage lies within the sensible application of bricolage in a profitable and reflected way (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

There are further approaches to characterize bricolage behavior. The concept of bricolage is directly linked to resource constraints and can therein influence the entrepreneurial process in two ways - internal and external. This leads to categories of internal and external bricolage (Louridas, 1999). Another differentiation is focused on material and ideational bricolage especially used by social entrepreneurs (Molecke & Pinkse, 2017). To stay within the scope of this work, lastly named characterizations will not be of further consideration.

### 2.3 Understanding the Concept of Poverty

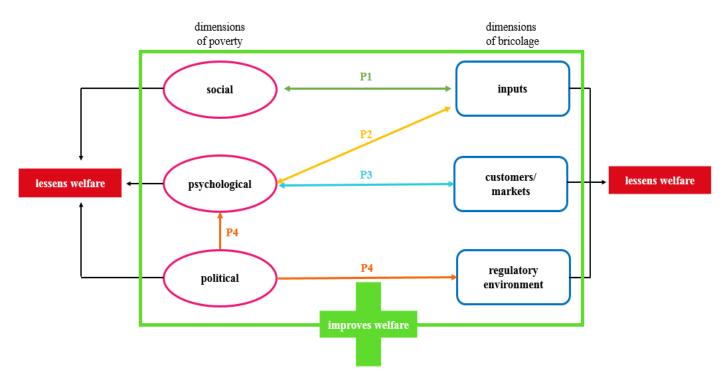
To establish research propositions that create a link between poverty and bricolage behavior, it is important to first explain poverty in this context. Baker and Nelson (2005) defined poverty as a form of resource scarcity within their concept of research. In a more comprehensive approach towards poverty, Ellis (1983) analyzes how it is not only a deficit of resources but rather the lack of welfare (Ellis, 1983). Welfare therein can be described as the state of an individual concerning their attempts to deal with their environment (Broom, 2019). Ellis (1983) states that four different levels influence the current state of welfare. The level of living (Level 1) is about physical welfare and safety, such as future security, and can be understood as the social system. Level 2, the level of available resources (stock), can be regarded as the economic system which contains all-natural. economical, technological, enabling resources. The third level, access to power, can be considered as the political system. Furthermore, Ellis describes a -1 level, the *level of* pressure. This level is mainly about the subjective perspective of every individual and can be understood as the degree of happiness. Each of the levels described above can give rise to a different pattern of poverty. Overall, the dimensions of poverty are chiefly economic, social, political, and legal dimensions of poverty. Additionally, there are also psychological, ideological, and perceptual dimensions of poverty (Ellis, 1983).

We selected the following dimensions for further considerations, which are important to the development of a conceptual framework. The focus of this work is set on social, psychological, and political poverty. Social poverty refers to the network of social connections that serve to

facilitate individual and collective actions in a particular social structure or society (Lewandowski, 2008). Also, it is divided into internal and external factors. An example of external factors is legal constraints preventing an individual from using their opportunities. Internal factors can explain as a case in which the group concerned is internally precluded from doing what would actually be beneficial (Ellis, 1983). Psychological poverty vaguely describes the attitude towards oneself and the environment. It is characterized by a lack of self-reflection. Consequently, others are held responsible for mistakes without questioning ones' actions and

# 3.1 Creating a Framework for Poverty and Bricolage Interdependencies

Figure 1 shows the interdependencies that arise when combining the above-discussed dimensions of poverty and bricolage. The suggested interconnections originating within the dimensions of poverty are shown in pink, those of bricolage in blue. The right part of the framework proposes a loss of welfare when applying bricolage in all dimensions homogeneously (parallel bricolage, see chapter 2.2). On the left side, it shows how the chosen dimensions of poverty combined lead to a loss of welfare as well (see chapter 2.3). In contrast,



**Figure 1:** A Framework for Poverty and Bricolage **Source:** Own Figure

impact (Ellis, 1983). In an attempt to understand the political dimension, political equality can be described as a fundamental prerequisite on which any legitimate policy is based. If this is not the case, political poverty will arise. Political poverty also refers to the degree of access to power that the group has compared to the other groups in society. Access can vary, for example, through formal political systems but also informal contacts within a power structure. The question that arises is to what extent the group can gain access to its equitable share of all resources available to society as a whole or, more generally, to participate in the making of their destiny (Ellis, 1983).

### 3 Development of Research Propositions

the connection between the dimensions of poverty and those of bricolage can lead to an improvement of welfare (green plus-sign).

As a first proposition, the above-presented framework shows that social poverty can overcome by using bricolage behavior regarding the input dimension (RP-1). Along with this reasoning, it suggests that psychological poverty can be solved by using resources at hand (RP-2). The third proposal presented by the framework is that psychological poverty can be overcome by using available resources and therein generate new customers and markets (RP-3). Last but not least, it advances an Interconnection between political and psychological poverty, which can be overcome by

bricolage behavior within the regulatory dimension (RP-4).

In the subsequently developed propositions, the interdependencies are focused upon the improved welfare created by selective bricolage.

# 3.2 Analysis of Bricolage and Poverty as a Concept of Welfare

## 3.2.1 Interdependency of Social Poverty and Bricolage Inputs

Social poverty describes the lack of social network and inhibiting factors (Ellis, 1983). Concerning the inhibiting factors, Ellis (1983) names external and internal factors, as discussed in chapter 2.3. One consequence of external inhibiting factors is that individuals are confronted with non-fulfilled social needs (South African History Online, 2017). This condition can be transferred into the context of entrepreneurship. Networks, especially informal contacts like family and friends, play an essential role in the entrepreneurial process as they form a support system. Therefore, the socio environment is an explicit resource for an entrepreneur in terms of entrepreneurial success. Furthermore, the importance of social networks emphasized by the fact that the ability to build contacts and develop networks is fundamental for a firm's success (Baum, Calabrese, & Silverman, 2000; Zhao & Aram, 1995). Since relationships are important resources for a firm's success, the loss of existing networks leads to challenging circumstances. A lack of social networks might arise through deportation, an example people can lose their networks all of the sudden through forcible displacement (Nash, 1980; Mare, 1980; Walt, 1982). This can also be extended to social exclusion in general (Luzzi, Flückiger, & Weber, 2008). Therefore, social exclusion establishes social poverty, which leads to psychological consequences. Thereof resulting traumas can arise as individuals have to reintegrate themselves into the (new) country and culture as well as into the society (Hagan, Castro, & Rodriguez, 2010). Herein, social networks serve as aid with regard to appropriate behaviors required in certain situations (Lewandowski, 2008).

In terms of entrepreneurship, lack of employees is considered to be a severe constraint (Ruef, Aldrich, & Carter, 2003). Entrepreneurs focus on existing

networks, like family members. (Baker & Nelson, 2005) consider the usage from resources at hand as one of the key elements of bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005), whereas resources at hand in this context can be defined as existing social networks (Baker, Miner, & Eesley, 2003). Regarding the domain of labor input (Baker & Nelson, 2005) also propose the involvement of customers and suppliers in the working processes. Additionally, entrepreneurs can make use of the inputs that these new networks have available. Labor inputs include self-taught skills as well as the effect of learning by doing. Customers and suppliers can therein create positive contributions in the form of labor or expertise (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

As shown above, networks are a foundation for entrepreneurial success. Especially entrepreneurs in poverty only have limited access to resources. Therefore, they use resources at hand, which in this case, encompass existing networks, such as family and friends (Baker & Nelson, 2005). The loss of social networks, e.g., though forcible displacement, leads to social poverty (Nash, Mare, & Walt, 1982; Ellis, 1984). Thus, entrepreneurs have to come up with new networks due to deportation or exclusion within another country and/or culture. This leads to the question, how entrepreneurs who lack social network can overcome these circumstances by building up new networks. The approach by Baker and Nelson (2005) can be extended and used as a solution in this context. Bricolage behavior is defined as "exploiting physical, social, or institutional inputs that other firms rejected or ignored." (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 329), it can create welfare by involving customers and suppliers in the working processes. Thereby, an entrepreneur that lost his/her existing network can build up new networks in another country through bricolage behavior as he/she uses social structures at hand. This leads to the first research proposition:

RP-1: Social poverty through forcible displacement or social exclusion leads to a loss of existing networks. Bricolage helps to build up new networks by involving customers and suppliers to benefit from the existing social environment. Therein, social welfare can be improved.

## 3.2.2 Psychological Poverty and Bricolage Behavior with Regards to Inputs

Psychological poverty, as described by Ellis (1983), represents how an individual's welfare negatively impacted by a lack of self-reflection (cf. Ellis 1984). This aspect applies to entrepreneurship as an entrepreneur's self-perception has an influence on his business processes and how mistakes are handled.

Baker and Nelson (2005) explain that bricolage behavior helps entrepreneurs to overcome poverty by recombining resources at hand, namely inputs. These can be resources that other entrepreneurs decline or ignore. Entrepreneurs face a limited repertoire for handling challenging situations (Hatton, 1989). Therefore, the recombination of resources at hand is highly relevant to benefit most from challenging situations. Entrepreneurs in poverty can benefit from the concept of *trial and error*.

The concept of psychological poverty and bricolage behavior therein can be linked. On the one hand, psychological poverty is caused by the incapability to deal with challenging situations that require the ability of self-reflection. On the other hand, bricolage behavior is about using available resources and creating valuable products. Herein, bricolage behavior can be seen as a solution to solve psychological poverty in challenging situations. In this context, bricolage behavior is about an entrepreneur's attitude that he/she can something from nothing create (available resources) that improves the current situation, and therein helps to overcome psychological poverty and improve welfare. The solution in this lies within the attitude that is transferred in using unconventional inputs. Making do can resolve the mindset that is associated with psychological poverty, namely, how mistakes and challenging situations are perceived. Therefore, the following proposition can be derived:

RP-2: Entrepreneurs can overcome the incapability to deal with challenging situations by bricolage behavior. By applying resources at hand to handle the situation the optimal way, psychological poverty can be overcome.

### 3.2.3 Psychological Poverty and Interactions with Customers and Markets

Psychological poverty can also be interpreted as a form of low goal setting. Therein, goal setting is based on a group's or an individual's ideology (Ellis, 1983) because the current welfare perception leads to the ideology that goals are also based on this welfare situation, which in turn is caused by the ability to self-reflect. As a consequence, goals which are set too high or too low causes a circulatory manner and decrease in welfare. Therefore, an accurate goal setting is mandatory to ensure welfare.

Baker and Nelson (2005) claim that applying resources for another purpose creates new markets and addresses new customers. This can be connected to the aspect of psychological poverty due to inadequate goal settings (Ellis, 1983). The circulatory process described above states that bricolage behavior can improve welfare by creating new markets and therein new opportunities. This then leads to a positive influence on the entrepreneur's ideology, which is the foundation for goal setting. As an entrepreneur's ideology is improved, his/her ability to set goals undergoes strengthening. Therein, psychological poverty can be reduced by improved welfare via a bricolage approach towards new markets. This leads to the following proposition:

**RP-3:** Generating new markets through bricolage behavior can counteract psychological poverty. It favorably influences and therein strengthens psychological welfare.

### 3.2.4 Poverty and Psychological Poverty in Terms of Regulatory Environments

Political poverty arises when legal prerequisites differ within a population. Ellis (1983) further describes political poverty as the degree of access to power, comprehending access to resources, and the ability to influence society. Sida (2017) also acknowledges that the ability to advance one's needs and rights and to have an impact on decision making as part of political power and otherwise of political poverty. Therein, a dependency between the conflict of rights and resources and the mindset of an individual can be recognized. Due to that, it can be concluded that a reduction (determination) rights leads to psycho-logical effects or, more precisely, to psychological poverty (Campbell & Murray, 2004). These aspects are transferable to the context of entrepreneurs because they often have to face legal constraints that affect their entrepreneurial mindset.

Baker and Nelson (2005) also referred to the aspect of the institutional and regulatory environment within their framework. Due to bricolage behavior, entrepreneurs often operate in new and unknown markets compared to their original backgrounds. Therefore, entrepreneurs faced with challenging circumstances. This aspect can lead to a lack of knowledge about market-specific regulations and restrictions. Nevertheless, entrepreneurs may not perceive these regulations and rules as restrictions. Then, it may lead to a different approach towards situations and restrictions in this (new) market (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

Considering how psychological poverty is influenced by the political empowerment of an individual, a bricolage mindset can have a positive influence on the perception of an entrepreneur's situation within a community or a market. This leads to the following proposition arises:

**RP-4:** Lack of political empowerment causes psychological poverty. Therein, bricolage behavior acts as a source of support to overcome these circumstances. This is because by acting in a bricolage manner, restrictions might not be perceived as such, and therefore, entrepreneurs are enabled to improve welfare.

# 4 Expected Contributions and Future Perspective

### 4.1 Findings

This paper addresses the research gap in overcoming entrepreneurial poverty through bricolage with a focus on the different dimensions of poverty. This approach extends the study conducted by Campbell and Murray (2004), research where poverty is defined as a resource constraint. The definition used in this paper is based on the different dimensions of poverty by Ellis (1983), especially the social, psychological, and political aspects.

The results of the paper show how the different dimensions of poverty are interrelated and lead to a lack of welfare. By referring to the approach of bricolage by Baker and Nelson (2005), this paper answers the question of how entrepreneurs can overcome different dimensions of poverty by applying the characteristics of bricolage:

Political poverty, which mainly includes a lack of empowerment, can lead to psychological poverty among entrepreneurs. This situation can overcome by behavioral bricolage. Using the example of social exclusion, which leads to the loss of existing networks, a focus is set on the social poverty of entrepreneurs. Bricolage helps entrepreneurs to overcome this situation by involving customers and suppliers as workers. Poverty also includes a psychological dimension where entrepreneurs faced with challenging situations that require selfreflection. By using existing resources through bricolage, entrepreneurs can learn to deal with these situations and find solutions that help them understand how to deal with misperceptions. Bricolage behavior can also lead to modified and new products as well as to new markets and, therefore, strengthens an individual's welfare through which their ideology can positively affect their psychological poverty situation.

All research assumptions lead to the result that through applying different dimensions of bricolage, entrepreneurs can overcome different dimensions of poverty to achieve welfare.

#### 4.2 Relevance and Further Research

As this paper focuses on the research gap of the different aspects of poverty, it pursues a more realistic and detailed research approach in the context of entrepreneurs in poverty.

Entrepreneurs are not only confronted with poverty in the form of resource constraints such as low profits or lack of human resources. They are influenced by their social environment as well as their economic and political systems. All this influences their psychological behavior and effects their business in general. This paper not only combines the various dimensions of poverty but also gives examples of possible circumstances of entrepreneurs in poverty alongside resource constraints and how they can overcome these situations through bricolage. With the extension of the various aspects of poverty, it is possible to get a more detailed and more realistic research approach in the context of entrepreneurs in poverty.

However, there are many other dimensions of poverty that needs to be researched in the context of entrepreneurship. The approach by Baker and Nelson (2005) can be further explained in context

with other forms of poverty, such as conceptual or legal poverty. It is relevant to explore further aspects to ensure comprehensive research. Another point that requires further research is the sustainability of bricolage in the context of entrepreneurship. The sustainable effect of applying bricolage is a relevant topic to classify if bricolage is a short-time solution for temporal problems in entrepreneurial activities or if it can lead to long-term success for the entrepreneur. Also, possible conflicts that may arise in the social, political, or economic environment in context with bricolage are issues that require further research. As a topic of current relevance, the impact of climate change on the availability of resources presents many opportunities to expand the approach of Baker and Nelson (2005).

In general, further research can contribute to a more realistic and applicable approach towards the ways bricolage behavior can enable entrepreneurs in poverty to achieve welfare in different circumstances, whether financial, social, or political.

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