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**The Construction of the Entrepreneurial Identity by Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in
the Netherlands;**
An Intersectionality Analysis

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Preface

I welcome the reader of this paper to my thesis on Afghan refugees entrepreneurs which has been written as a finalisation of my master Business Administration in the specialisation of Innovation and Entrepreneurship. This will conclude my time at the Radboud University where I have followed my bachelor as well as my first master's. After finishing this master, my time as a student is not finished because I also need to finalize my second master's at the Vrije University of Amsterdam. Following two masters in two cities made writing this thesis more challenging than I had anticipated. However, I was able to complete it by working hard and spending a lot of time at the library.

As mentioned before, this paper investigated entrepreneurs with an Afghan refugee background, which I found very interesting due to my being of Afghan descent. I have always had an affinity and appreciation for the country and its culture. Even though I was born and raised in the Netherlands, I still learned a lot about Afghanistan and its culture by being raised in an Afghan household and my family. This is also why the current situation in Afghanistan hits closer to home and makes it difficult to perceive the horrible things that are happening in that country. This thesis was written in an attempt to help future Afghan refugees with their integration as well as improve the perception that people have of Afghanistan and its culture. This also gave me the motivation and perseverance to dedicate a lot of time to this thesis to ensure that I could achieve my goal.

I also want to acknowledge some of the people who have helped me a lot and supported me through writing this thesis. First of all, I would like to thank Annabel Buiters for her excellent supervision, guidance, and feedback in writing this thesis. Next, I would like to thank all of the Afghan refugee entrepreneurs who have participated in this research and were able to give us some time to interview them on their beautiful life stories. I would also like to thank my friends and family for the help and support that they gave me in writing this thesis through peer assessment or through being there for me. A special thanks to my parents, who have always pushed and supported me and have allowed me to make the most out of myself. I hope you enjoy your reading.

Ramien Damee

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Abstract

Entrepreneurs possess multiple identities that can influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. This research aims to investigate this construction of the entrepreneurial identity by Afghan refugee entrepreneurs at the intersection of their Afghan and refugee identities. Investigating this further expands the literature on entrepreneurial identity and has the possibility of helping the expected growing number of aspiring Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the future. The objective of this research was achieved by analysing the narratives of nineteen Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. The results of this paper show that both the Afghan and refugee identities influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. In addition, an intersection of the three identities was also found. The Afghan identity influences the entrepreneurial identity construction through cultural values that are linked to the Afghan identity. The cultural values that influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity were independence, self-sufficiency, and hospitality. This has not been investigated before, which is why the findings on the Afghan identity have given new insights. The refugee identity influences the entrepreneurial identity through qualities that the entrepreneurs developed through the hardships that they experienced as refugees. The qualities that influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity were perseverance and the ability to take risks. The intersection of the entrepreneurial, Afghan, and refugee identities was found in the willingness of these entrepreneurs to grow and create a future for themselves. This willingness to grow and create a future has helped and motivated the entrepreneurs with the growth of their businesses. Besides the Afghan and refugee identity, a third identity also significantly impacted the construction of the entrepreneurial identity, which was the Dutch identity.

Keywords: Entrepreneurial identity construction, Afghan identity, refugee identity, intersectionality analysis

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction of the topic

Due to the current unstable situation in Afghanistan, the amount of asylum requests of Afghan refugees has risen sharply in the Netherlands (Volkskrant, 2021; CBS, 2022). This increase in Afghan refugees is caused by the hostile takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban following the withdrawal of the U.S. military forces by September 2021. Soon after this withdrawal, the Taliban rapidly seized more and more territory and began capturing multiple capitals, eventually leading to the Afghan government's collapse. Afghanistan has experienced wars and conflicts over the last 40 years, wreaking havoc on the country's economic and humanitarian status (Naghavi et al., 2022; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2022). Due to the living conditions and the economic crisis Afghanistan faces, a warning has been set out that there will be a potential refugee crisis (International Crisis Group, 2021). Afghanistan has one of the most significant refugee populations in the world, currently being 2.6 million registered refugees and further expected to grow (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, n.d.).

When asylum is granted to a refugee, there are some complications that the refugee has to face. Some of these problems are experienced by all immigrants, such as lower entry jobs (Reitz, 2007) and lower employment rates (Brell et al., 2020), but some problems are only experienced by refugees. Studies have shown that, compared to other types of immigrants, refugees face what is called the refugee gap (Bakker et al., 2017; Brell et al., 2020; Connor, 2010). The refugee gap indicates that refugees experience an employment and wage gap in their first years of entering a country which is not the case for any other type of immigrant. Refugees experience this disadvantage for multiple reasons, including their migration motive of flight, mental and physical problems caused by the war and fleeing, and language deficiencies (Bakker et al., 2017; Brell et al., 2020; Connor, 2010). Having lived through a war and fleeing their home country has impacted these people, making it harder for them to integrate. Finding it hard to integrate in the beginning also makes it harder for them to find a job. Part of the refugee gap is also that refugees face discrimination in employment (Borjas & Bronars, 1989; Coate & Tennyson, 1992; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Discrimination causes employers to have an unjust prejudice, making it more difficult for them to get hired and enter the labour market.

That is why, in some cases, refugees are necessity driven to start entrepreneurial

endeavours to ensure they can make a living (Bizri, 2017). However, it is significantly more difficult for refugees to pursue entrepreneurial endeavours compared to natives or even other immigrants. That is because there are barriers that make it harder for refugee entrepreneurs to succeed, such as missing credentials due to leaving behind diplomas and certificates in their home country and lacking the social capital to support their businesses (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Despite these barriers, refugees still pursue entrepreneurship as a way to make a living and to ensure economic certainty (Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Waldinger et al., 1990). In addition to assisting refugees in earning a living, refugee entrepreneurship aids in the integration process (Fong et al., 2007; Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006, 2008). Furthermore, refugee entrepreneurship benefits the host country by generating economic value and creating employment opportunities (European Commission, 2003; Moriano et al., 2010).

Besides the refugee gap and barriers in entrepreneurship, studies also show that refugees face challenges and problems that are identity-related (Ertorer, 2014; Zettl et al., 2021). Due to the sudden change in their surroundings, these refugees are confronted with differences between the norms and values of the host country and their own identity. This situation calls for identity work, which is the process through which subjects develop their sense of self in response to demands and claims made of them (Watson, 2009). Identity work is also needed for these refugees to construct their entrepreneurial identity when they are pursuing entrepreneurship. That is because a person's profession is a common source of identity and the construction of the entrepreneurial identity gives meaning to the purpose of becoming an entrepreneur (Duening, 2017, p.1; Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007). However, because of the amorphous nature of entrepreneurship, there is still significant ambiguity surrounding the construction of the entrepreneurial identity (Duening, 2017). This ambiguity makes constructing an entrepreneurial identity more difficult for aspiring entrepreneurs. Despite this ambiguity, entrepreneurial identity continues to significantly impact the entrepreneurial processes and plays an important role in acquiring resources and gaining legitimacy (Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Vesalainen & Pihkala, 1999). This indicates the crucial role that the construction of the entrepreneurial identity plays in the success of a business. The construction of the entrepreneurial identity is influenced by multiple identities that the entrepreneur possesses (Vignoles et al., 2011) due to them interacting and intersecting with one another (Amiot et al., 2007; Crenshaw, 1991). Due to the importance of the entrepreneurial identity and its ambiguity, it has become a relevant subject to investigate in the literature.

As previously stated, there will be an increase in Afghan refugees in the Netherlands, which will cause an increase in Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. This is because refugees face certain challenges that make it difficult for them to join the labour market, leading a proportion of these refugees to pursue entrepreneurship (Bizri, 2017). As a result of pursuing entrepreneurship, this group will construct an entrepreneurial identity that will serve as their profession identity and give meaning to their purpose as entrepreneurs. Given the ambiguity of this process, it would be beneficial for these aspiring entrepreneurs to learn and understand how established Afghan refugee entrepreneurs have constructed it. As a result, this paper aims to understand how Afghan refugee entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identities. Because various identities influence this construction, it will be explored how these entrepreneurs' other identities influence it. The identities that will be explored are the Afghan and refugee identities, as these are the identities shared by both aspiring and established Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. The influence of these identities will be examined through an intersectionality analysis. Intersectionality was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to address the intersection of race and gender in Black women and how this intersection contributed to a power imbalance. An intersectionality analysis provides the ability to investigate the multiple grounds of identity (Crenshaw, 1991). This type of analysis also indicates the possibility of coexisting multiple aspects of the identity in one individual, which causes them to intersect and interact with one another (Amiot et al., 2007; Crenshaw, 1991). In this study, intersectionality will be used to understand how the multiplicity of the identity of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs influences their construction of the entrepreneurial identity. An intersectionality analysis is used because it allows for a more detailed analysis of the identity construction processes and the power relations underlying them through linking various work identities to wider societal phenomena (Essers & Benschop, 2009, p. 404; Holvino, 2010).

1.2 Problem statement

As previously stated, an increase in Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands is expected, who will face the process of constructing an entrepreneurial identity. Because this process is ambiguous, this group would benefit from understanding how established Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands have constructed it. Sharing this knowledge would aid these aspiring Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in their identity work by understanding the influence of their Afghan and refugee identities. Aside from assisting these aspiring

entrepreneurs, it would also add to the literature in the fields of ethnic minority entrepreneurship and refugee entrepreneurship. The amount of literature on Afghan entrepreneurs is still very limited in both fields. Furthermore, this study would add to the vast body of literature on identity and entrepreneurial identity. Identity is a broad concept that is used in a variety of research fields. This paper would contribute to this field of literature by increasing understanding of Afghan and refugee identities. There is already a considerable amount of literature on entrepreneurial identity, but it mainly focuses on the archetype of a heroic, white male entrepreneur (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). Furthermore, the literature on refugee entrepreneurial identity is scarce (Refai et al., 2018). As a result, the contributions of this paper would improve this field of entrepreneurial identity literature by providing insights into the entrepreneurial identity of entrepreneurs who do not fit the archetype and refugees.

1.3 Research objective

The objective of this study is to investigate the construction of the entrepreneurial identity by Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands at the intersection of their refugee and Afghan identities. These multiple identities will be investigated through an intersectionality analysis. The narratives of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs will be collected as qualitative data, which will be used to answer the research question.

1.4 Research question

The following research question is constructed based on the introduction and will be answered in this thesis:

How do Afghan refugee entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of their refugee and Afghan identity?

1.5 Scientific relevance

The scientific relevance of this paper entails filling research gaps found in the literature by adding new knowledge in these areas.

The field of entrepreneurship literature has become one of the most diverse and dynamic fields of literature, with no unified understanding of entrepreneurship (Audretsch, 2012). A considerable amount of literature has investigated the construction of the entrepreneurial identity, similar to this paper. However, much of this literature is centred on

the Western-dominant ideal of a heroic, white male entrepreneur (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). For that reason, more literature on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity of entrepreneurs who do not fit this typical description is critical. The reason for this is that this description does not represent all possible entrepreneurs and can lead to the misconception that people who do not fit the typical description are not considered entrepreneurs. Especially in countries such as the Netherlands, this would not make sense because most of its entrepreneurs are from a non-Western background (CBS, 2020). More research into the entrepreneurial identities of entrepreneurs who do not fit this typical description expands our understanding of how the construction of the entrepreneurial identity is influenced by various factors such as gender or descent. This increases the representativeness of the literature on entrepreneurial identity and raises awareness that entrepreneurs do not have to conform to the archetype. The investigation of the construction of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs' entrepreneurial identities will contribute to the literature on entrepreneurial identity by revealing findings on entrepreneurs who differ from the archetype.

The literature on refugee entrepreneurship is another critical topic to which this paper will add more knowledge. Refugee entrepreneurship is defined as entrepreneurship carried out by people who have fled their home country and begun entrepreneurial endeavours in a new host country. Although the literature on refugee entrepreneurship is smaller than on immigrant entrepreneurship (Turcotte & Silka, 2007; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008), it is still substantial. However, most studies on refugee entrepreneurship have so far only focused on Syrian refugees, with far too little attention paid to refugees of other nationalities. This is due to the fact that Syria continues to have the most severe refugee situation in the world (United Nations for High Commissioner for Refugees, 2022b). Even though Syrian refugees are a significant group to investigate, they are not representative of refugees from other nationalities due to differences in aspects such as identity or life goals. As a result, the literature on refugee entrepreneurship needs to develop more studies that look at refugees of other nationalities in order to be more representative. Afghanistan refugees are one of the most significant but understudied groups of refugees. Data show that this group is growing (CBS, 2022) due to the current situation in Afghanistan, which is why more research into Afghan refugees is needed. This paper fills a gap in the literature on refugee entrepreneurship by investigating Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. It also expands knowledge on refugees whose nationality is not Syrian.

An intersectionality analysis will be conducted in this paper, where the construction of the entrepreneurial identity will be investigated at the intersection of the refugee and Afghan

identities. Other studies have investigated the identity of entrepreneurs using an intersectionality analysis (Essers & Benschop, 2007; 2009), but the construction of the entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of the refugee and Afghan identities has yet to be investigated. As a result, there is a research gap in the literature that the findings of this paper will fill. This will also help to advance intersectionality research in entrepreneurial settings and strengthen its explanatory power. Furthermore, this research will aid in advancing knowledge regarding entrepreneurs' enactment of multiple identities.

1.6 Societal relevance

As previously stated, the increasing number of Afghan refugees in the Netherlands as a result of the turmoil situation in Afghanistan (CBS, 2022) will result in more Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. However, one of the challenges that these aspiring Afghan refugee entrepreneurs will face is the construction of their entrepreneurial identity. This is due to the amorphous and varied nature of the entrepreneur profession, making it difficult to identify with it (Duening, 2017). This research will shed light on how existing and experienced Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands developed their entrepreneurial identities and how this identity intersected with their refugee and Afghan identities. These insights can assist aspiring Afghan refugee entrepreneurs by providing them with more information on how other Afghan refugee entrepreneurs developed their entrepreneurial identities. This will help them understand how their Afghan and refugee identities influence certain aspects of their entrepreneurial identity. Certain advantages provided by their Afghan or refugee identity can then be utilized to their fullest potential, or it can assist them in determining what other qualities to further develop as an entrepreneur. The distribution of this information also has the potential to boost entrepreneurship among Afghan refugees. This is because specific characteristics of the Afghan or refugee identity may be associated with successful entrepreneurs. Understanding that they possess these characteristics may encourage them to pursue entrepreneurship which would result in increased economic growth (Gibson et al., 2011; Uder, 2019) and societal benefits (Fong et al., 2007; Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006, 2008).

Seeing how other Afghan refugee entrepreneurs have constructed their entrepreneurial identities can benefit both aspiring and established Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. As previously stated, constructing an entrepreneurial identity can be challenging because it is an ambiguous process (Duening, 2017), and it may be unclear where certain aspects of this

identity are derived. Providing new insights on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity can benefit entrepreneurs and their businesses. The findings of this study will allow existing Afghan refugee entrepreneurs to reflect on their entrepreneurial identities and learn how other Afghan refugees constructed their entrepreneurial identities. These insights will help Afghan refugee entrepreneurs understand how certain aspects of their entrepreneurial identity are influenced by their Afghan or refugee identity. This can help these entrepreneurs better understand themselves, how they operate their businesses, and how they may be influenced by their descent or what they experienced as refugees. This allows them to use specific strengths that come from being an Afghan or refugee as an entrepreneur and understand what type of weaknesses they may have due to their Afghan or refugee identity. A better understanding of the entrepreneurial identity is crucial because it influences entrepreneurial processes (Vesalainen & Pihkala, 1999) and is essential in acquiring resources and gaining legitimacy (Clercq & Voronov, 2009). As a result, it is critical that aspiring and existing Afghan refugee entrepreneurs are assisted in (further) developing their entrepreneurial identities. The insights provided by this paper will help with this development which will benefit both groups.

1.7 Research structure

As for the structure, the paper consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 will provide the theoretical framework, which will discuss the essential concepts of this paper, such as entrepreneurship, refugee entrepreneurship, and the intersectionality of identity. Chapter 3 consists of the research methodology which will discuss the type of research, how the data is collected and analysed, and the research ethics. In chapter 4, the results of the paper will be discussed. Chapter 5 will provide a conclusion and discussion, summarising the paper's main findings.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Entrepreneurship

A lot of literature is available that discusses the different definitions of entrepreneurship, each having its take on what it entails (Gartner, 1990; Davidsson, 2004). Because there are so many definitions of entrepreneurship, each with its own take on what it entails, determining what it is has become challenging. However, there is one definition that includes most of the aspects of entrepreneurship which is the definition of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The OECD (2017, p. 16) defines entrepreneurship as an ‘enterprising human action in pursuit of the generation of value, through the creation or expansion of economic activity, by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets. This definition will be accepted in this thesis because it includes the essential components of entrepreneurship. It includes how entrepreneurship can generate value by creating something new through identifying and exploiting opportunities.

2.2 Refugee entrepreneurship

In this paper, refugee entrepreneurship will be investigated. Even though refugees might be part of the immigrant population, the literature on immigrant entrepreneurship cannot be used to understand refugee entrepreneurship. This is because there is a clear distinction between the two groups, which becomes apparent from their definition. An immigrant is generally defined as a person living in a country different from the country they were born in. This broad group can have several reasons for migrating to another country, such as pursuing better economic opportunities (Edwards, 2015). However, refugees are a specific group within this immigrant group that have fled their home country and are “unable to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 1951, p. 14). Due to the significant differences between refugees and immigrants, both groups require separate analyses (Cortes, 2004; Fong et al., 2007; Lyon et al., 2007; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006). As a result, the extensive literature on immigrant entrepreneurship (Dabić et al., 2020) does not adequately represent refugee entrepreneurship. There is literature on refugee entrepreneurship; however, the amount is limited compared to immigrant entrepreneurship (Bizri, 2017; Desai et al., 2020; Shneikat & Alrawadieh, 2019; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

Refugees might suffer from many different complications that are less apparent with any of the other types of immigrants (Richmond, 1988). Examples of such complications are being unable to prepare because most refugees do not know where they will end up (Gold, 1992) or having experienced traumatic events that can cause mental health problems (Bernard, 1977; Hauff & Vaglum, 1993). Complications refugees suffer from also cause problems with their participation in the labour market. This is called the refugee gap, which shows that, compared to other immigrant groups, refugees find it harder to take part in the labour market at the start of their legal residency (Bakker et al., 2017; Brell et al., 2020; Connor, 2010). Multiple factors cause this refugee gap, such as language deficiency, physical and mental health problems, and less educational experience. The previously mentioned factors, discrimination in the labour market, and lack of the right experience and skills (Pécoud, 2003) make it hard for refugees to participate in the labour market. That is why these refugees are necessity-driven to think of alternative ways to generate an income, such as through entrepreneurship (Dana & Morris, 2007; Lazaridis & Koumandraki, 2003; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Pursuing entrepreneurship provides refugees with the opportunity to free themselves from their economic uncertainty (Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Waldinger et al., 1990). It also helps with the progress of their integration process (Fong et al., 2007; Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006, 2008). Entrepreneurial endeavours by refugees have been shown to be economically beneficial for the refugee entrepreneurs and the host country they reside in (Gibson et al., 2011; Uder, 2019). Additionally, refugee entrepreneurship decreases unemployment through employing themselves (Gibson et al., 2011) and creating employment opportunities for others (Van der Leun & Rusinovic, 2001). If these employment opportunities were given to other refugees, then that would also decrease the unemployment rates amongst refugees and help with the integration of other refugees (Kloosterman & Van der Leun, 1999; Marchand & Siegel, 2015).

While refugee entrepreneurship may seem like the best solution to the issues that refugees face, studies show the existence of various barriers that impede refugees' entrepreneurial efforts. These barriers make it much harder for the refugees and the host countries to enjoy the benefits of refugee entrepreneurship (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

First, besides encountering employment discrimination, refugees also face discrimination as entrepreneurs in the capital and consumer markets (Wu et al., 2019). This makes it hard for refugee entrepreneurs to excel when others limit them because of their descent.

Another barrier that refugee entrepreneurs face is that it is much harder for them to receive formal financial support without additional guidance (De Lange et al., 2021, p. 84). Additional guidance is needed that helps the refugee entrepreneur navigate the administrative procedures and understand which material requirements need to be met to apply for financial support. Getting finance for their business can be especially hard for refugees because most of them had to leave their belongings behind to flee their country (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008, p. 905). Instead of formal financial support, these entrepreneurs usually rely on friends or family for funds.

A third barrier that refugee entrepreneurs face is that they might not have the proper credentials to show their skill level (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008, p. 904). Leaving in a hurry and not having the opportunity to take the proper documents with them, such as diplomas or certificates, limits these refugees from showing what they are capable of.

A fourth barrier concerns how refugee entrepreneurs usually have a limited social network (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008; Wu et al., 2019). A social network is a rather important tool for entrepreneurs because it can provide them with resources such as relevant information, new customers and suppliers, or even business opportunities. However, refugees' social network is usually limited due to limiting factors that refugees experience, like a language deficiency and entering a new country where the number of people one knows is minimal. For refugees, the social network is typically comprised of people in the same circumstances who share similar identities, including their ethnic and refugee identities (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Because these people share similar cultural beliefs and have faced similar challenges, they are more likely to bond. The identities that these people share, which consist of ethnic and refugee identities, will be further studied in this thesis.

2.3 Intersectionality of identity

A person possesses multiple identities that intersect; for an entrepreneur, these identities influence how they act and behave as an entrepreneur (Vignoles et al., 2011). Identity is, therefore, a powerful construct that, through its complexity, makes it an interesting subject to investigate (Vignoles et al., 2011). The understanding of identity used in this study sees identity as flexible, dependent on the situation, and dynamic (Haraway, 1991) and not constantly in a stable state (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). This type of understanding of identity will be used because the identities that are investigated are susceptible to change. For example, the refugee identity is an identity that was only realized after becoming a refugee

and not before.

In this study, the construction of the entrepreneurial identity by Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands will be explored at the intersection of their refugee and Afghan identity. The concept of *intersectionality* will be used to achieve this. The notion of intersectionality is that the interconnecting and mutually reinforcing vectors of race, gender, class, and sexuality form the identity (Nash, 2003, p. 3). This theory states that the previously mentioned vectors or categories should not be seen as separate or essentialist (Alfieri, 1997; Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado, 1995; Adib & Guerrier, 2004). The first person to address intersectionality was Kimberlé Crenshaw, who sparked an academic movement in the legal school aimed at problematizing law's purported colour-blindness, neutrality, and objectivity (Crenshaw, 1989; Nash, 2008). Crenshaw used intersectionality to address "the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's (...) experiences" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244). Later on, Crenshaw further elaborated that intersectionality should not only be used at the intersection of race and gender but can also be used to investigate the multiple grounds of identity (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1245). This indicates that there are several other vectors or categories that influence the construction of one's identity than just race and gender. Furthermore, it also indicates the possibility of coexisting multiple aspects of identity in one individual, which causes them to intersect and interact with one another (Amiot et al., 2007; Crenshaw, 1991). The notion of intersectionality is applied to understand that the construction of the entrepreneurial identity does not happen independently but at the crossroad of multiple identities. The particular crossroad that will be investigated in this paper is the construction of the entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of the Afghan and refugee identity. Even though other identities can influence this construction, this paper will focus solely on Afghan and refugee identities. Using intersectionality as a tool for analysing entrepreneurship is relatively new (Vorobeva, 2022). Multiple studies have used it to examine different categories in minority entrepreneurship, such as religion (Essers & Benschop, 2009), ethnicity (Andrejuk, 2018), immigrant background (Chiang et al., 2013), and race (Wingfield & Taylor, 2016). However, a gap in the literature is discovered when looking through works of literature on minority entrepreneurship that use intersectionality. This is because no study investigated the construction of the entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of the Afghan and refugee identities. The findings of this paper will fill this gap in the literature and generate new knowledge.

In the following sub-paragraphs, the literature on the entrepreneurial identity, the refugee identity, the Afghan identity, and the intersectionality of the three will be explored.

Exploring these identities and their intersectionality will show what can be found in the literature and improve their understanding. This will also help with understanding and discussing the findings of this paper.

2.3.1 Entrepreneurial Identity

As mentioned before, a person's identity consists of multiple identities that intersect in a person and determine their behaviour and the way they act (Vignoles et al., 2011). For an entrepreneur, these multiple identities also influence how they act and behave as an entrepreneur and influences the construction of their entrepreneurial identity. The entrepreneurial identity can be seen as a profession identity, a common source of identification for most people (Duening, 2017). However, the entrepreneurial identity is especially useful for entrepreneurs because their profession requires a strong sense of self-identity. Besides being used as a profession identity, the entrepreneurial identity also gives significance to the purpose of becoming an entrepreneur (Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007). This significance to their purpose encourages and pushes entrepreneurs to work hard and remain motivated even when facing difficulties. Developing an entrepreneurial identity is also critical because it significantly impacts the entrepreneurial processes within the organization, such as the decision-making processes (Vesalainen & Pikhala, 1999). Furthermore, the entrepreneurial identity plays a significant role in resource acquisition and legitimacy, which are both necessary for the organisation's survival (Clercq & Voronov, 2009). The literature on entrepreneurial identity attests to its significance; however, the construction of an entrepreneurial identity can be challenging for aspiring entrepreneurs due to the amorphous and diverse nature of the profession (Duening, 2017). The amorphous nature of entrepreneurship stems from the fact that most people understand what an entrepreneur does but do not understand what it is like to be an entrepreneur, making the construction of the entrepreneurial identity more complex. Four virtues were found to reduce this complexity and help aspiring entrepreneurs understand what it is like to be an entrepreneur and help them construct their entrepreneurial identity. These four virtues are creating value, respecting markets, honouring contracts, and being resilient when facing failure (Duening, 2017, p. 11). These four virtues represent the essence of the entrepreneurial profession and provide a better understanding of the entrepreneurial identity.

The construction of the entrepreneurial identity by entrepreneurs takes place through identity work in which the identity of an entrepreneur is shaped through a series of intersecting discourses (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Gill, 2017; Kuhn, 2006). Identity work

refers to the process by which subjects develop their sense of self in response to the demands and claims placed on them (Watson, 2009). This sense of self is formed through cultural values, memories, and the desire to understand oneself and one's identity (Alvesson et al., 2008). Additionally, Gill and Larson (2014) state that the construction of the entrepreneurial identity is in line with the current identity of the entrepreneurs as well as discourses about their ideal selves.

The literature on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity indicates that the construction of the entrepreneurial identity is context-specific. This means that the construction of the entrepreneurial identity is influenced by specific factors that can differ per person, such as cultural values and their current identity. This indicates that to understand the entrepreneurial identity and its construction, it is also important to understand the context in which it was formed. As mentioned before, the concept of self plays a vital role in constructing the individualised entrepreneurial identity. However, it can also be shared when being part of a similar social group, such as through sharing a religion, ethnicity, or workplace (Jones et al., 2019). The specific context that will be investigated in this paper is that of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs and see how these entrepreneurs have constructed their entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of their Afghan and refugee identities. The specific context shared amongst these entrepreneurs is that they are of Afghan descent, have fled their home country as refugees, and have come to the Netherlands. This specific context has not yet been investigated in the literature on entrepreneurial identity. Most of the literature is centred on a Western-dominant ideal of a heroic, white male entrepreneur (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). That is why focusing on a group that does not fit this specific archetype would further advance the literature on entrepreneurial identity.

2.3.2 Refugee Identity

As mentioned in the sub-chapter on refugee entrepreneurship, there is a significant difference between refugees and other types of immigrants because they fled their home country. Refugees experience a sudden change or reformulation of identity because they suddenly become refugees in a foreign country and have to adapt to a whole new situation (Griffiths, 2001). This sudden change can feel like a crisis or breakdown, and in those times, the need for identity work becomes the most apparent (Watson, 2009). This identity work has consequences for refugees' adjustment and psychological health (Ertorer, 2014). This change in identity is also in line with the understanding that identity is not constantly in a stable state (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004) but changes depending on the individual's situation (Haraway,

1991).

The refugee identity indicates and demonstrates how refugees perceive themselves as refugees and how their experience as refugees has impacted their lives. The formation of this new refugee identity is influenced by internal factors such as their beliefs, feelings, ethnicity, and cultural traditions but also by external factors such as integration practices, migrant policies, culture, and the social, economic, and political situation of the host country (Capo et al., 2007; Hein, 1993; Holt, 2007). Meaning the formation of the refugee identity is influenced by their current identity and external forces beyond their control. According to Mosselson (2006), refugee identity construction is also influenced by coping mechanisms that were used to deal with becoming a refugee. For example, if a refugee eventually coped well with their situation, then in the future, when facing an uncertain situation, they would have more of a belief that the situation is manageable and be happy in the end. This indicates that being a refugee and having endured difficult times has given some refugees the resilience to handle uncertain situations more easily. Refugees also have to deal with the new label of 'refugee' they did not have before leaving their home country, which also impacts their self-image (Burnett, 2013; O'Neill & Spybey, 2003). Because it impacts how they perceive themselves, this also influences the construction of the refugee identity.

As for the literature on the construction of entrepreneurial identity by refugees, Refai et al. (2018) found that they were constructed in an unstable manner and consisted of internal conflicts. The refugees found themselves in a new and foreign place where they focused on where they came from instead of where they were, creating an internal conflict of beliefs. This made it hard for these refugees to develop an effective entrepreneurial identity. However, Astamirov (2020) found contrasting results showing that the refugee entrepreneurs he investigated benefited from having a refugee identity. The entrepreneurial identity of female refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands was investigated, and his results showed that the refugee identity did influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. Due to these female refugees having experienced tough times while fleeing and taking a risk to flee, they perceived themselves as strong, having perseverance, and risk-takers. This new construction of their identity helps develop their entrepreneurial identity because having strong perseverance and being a risk-taker are linked to successful entrepreneurs (Astamirov, 2020; Santandreu-Mascarell, 2013). Therefore, this paper will investigate whether the refugee identity intersects with the entrepreneurial identity in a similar way and how the Afghan identity may exert influence.

2.3.3 Afghan Identity

The entrepreneurs that will be investigated are of Afghan descent and therefore possess an ethnic identity. Ethnic identity refers to an identity whose characteristics are connected to, or thought to be connected to, descent (Chandra, 2006). Individuals construct this identity by integrating specific elements that are linked to their descent, such as cultural values or religion, into their sense of self (Friday et al., 2004). Due to being linked to descent, the investigated entrepreneurs' ethnic identity, which will be utilized in this paper, is the Afghan identity.

One issue that is faced with investigating Afghan identity is a lack of literature describing what it entails. In general, very little literature on Afghan culture is available, making it more difficult to understand the Afghan identity. By describing Afghanistan and discussing the limited research on Afghan culture, an attempt will be made to deepen the understanding of Afghan identity.

Afghanistan is located in the South-Central of Asia and shares borders with Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and China. Because of its central location, the country has a diverse population that contributes to the overall culture. Due to its diversity, more than thirty languages are spoken in Afghanistan; however, the two official languages are Dari and Pashto. The religious affiliation in Afghanistan is predominantly Islam and plays an incredible role in their society. The Muslim population of Afghanistan is divided into two denominations of Islam, the Sunni and the Shi'a. This division has caused some conflict in Afghanistan called the Shia-Sunni strife. In Afghanistan, the Islam religion has become an all-encompassing way of life, and every aspect of daily social interactions is affected, and nothing is exempt from it (Barfield, 2010). To better understand the Afghan culture, Dupree (2002) looked into certain cultural qualities shared amongst Afghans. The cultural qualities that she found consisted of individual honour, a positive pride in independence that comes from self-reliance, fulfilment of family obligations, respect for the elderly, respect for women, loyalty to colleagues and friends, tolerance for others, forthrightness, an abhorrence of fanaticism, and a dislike for ostentation (Dupree, 2002, p. 978). Even though the information on Afghanistan is limited, it has given a better idea of what Afghan identity might entail.

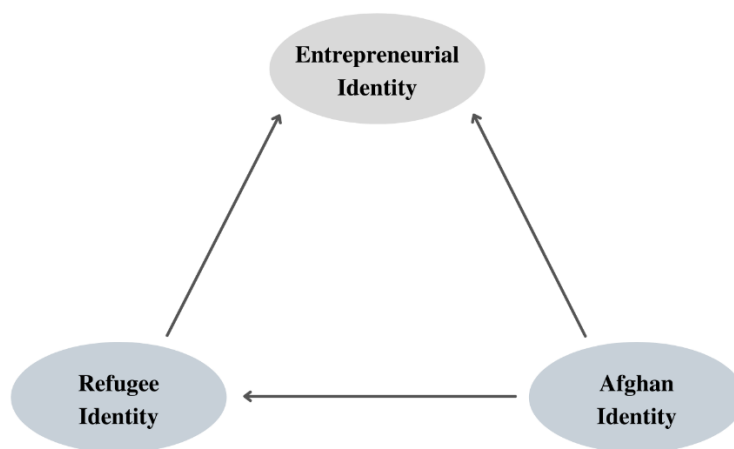
Currently, no literature discusses the construction of the entrepreneurial identity by Afghan entrepreneurs; however, there is literature that describes this construction in relation to ethnic identity. These studies have shown that cultural and social values experienced by entrepreneurs are used as resources in the construction of their own identity (Bredvold &

Skålén, 2016). Based on this information, it is possible to see how certain cultural qualities linked to the Afghan culture could help construct the entrepreneurial identity. Qualities such as a positive pride in independence that comes from self-reliance and forthrightness are both qualities that promote entrepreneurial success. That is because wanting to be independent could motivate them with their entrepreneurial endeavours, and as an entrepreneur, being able to explain and express ideas is essential. Furthermore, ethnic identity can also help with recognising niche markets through understanding the needs of their ethnic group. This is one of the advantages that immigrant entrepreneurs have through their mixed embeddedness (Bizri, 2017; Kloosterman, van der Leun & Rath, 1999; Price & Chako, 2009). In addition to discovering new opportunities, immigrant entrepreneurs can use resources from their host and home countries, such as knowledge, skills, or networks. Mixed embeddedness shows that having an ethnic identity as an entrepreneur can be beneficial. However, Barrett and Vershinina (2017) have shown that not all ethnic entrepreneurs use their ethnic identity in their businesses. This implies that some Afghan entrepreneurs may not have used their Afghan identity in their businesses.

Besides giving these entrepreneurs an advantage or not being used at all, having an ethnic identity can also cause struggles for the entrepreneurs. One of the struggles these entrepreneurs might face caused by being an ethnic minority is discrimination. As mentioned before, many refugees pursue entrepreneurship due to the discrimination they face in the labour market. However, these same entrepreneurs will again face discrimination when entering the entrepreneurial world. That is because these entrepreneurs are disassociated from the archetype of entrepreneurs, which sees entrepreneurs as heroic, white, male entrepreneurs (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). This ideal is not in line with most ethnic refugee entrepreneurs, making it harder for them to establish legitimacy in their role as entrepreneurs (Dana & Vorobeva, 2021; Vorobeva & Dana, 2021). Being part of an ethnic minority group can also cause some difficulties for entrepreneurs in constructing their entrepreneurial identity. This was demonstrated in a study by Essers and Benschop (2007). This study explored the professional identity construction of female entrepreneurs of Moroccan or Turkish origin in the Netherlands. Besides the discrimination and prejudices these entrepreneurs faced from the Dutch society, they also had to face low expectations from their ethnic minority communities. That is because the entrepreneurs were not seen as capable or self-reliant by these communities due to being women, making them feel unsupported as entrepreneurs. This type of restraint indicated that the intersection of gender, ethnic, and entrepreneurial identities could make it difficult for entrepreneurs to pursue entrepreneurship.

This intersection required the female entrepreneurs of Moroccan or Turkish origin to do intricate identity work and carefully construct their entrepreneurial identity. This shows that besides the advantages of ethnic identity, it can also cause barriers or struggles in pursuing entrepreneurship. It is possible that the Afghan identity can cause similar conflicts for the entrepreneurs and make the construction of their entrepreneurial identity more intricate.

2.4 Conceptual framework



This conceptual framework was created based on this paper's theoretical framework and research objective. This paper aims to investigate the intersectionality of the identity of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. The specific intersection which will be investigated in this thesis is the intersection of the entrepreneurial, Afghan, and refugee identities.

Literature showed that individuals have multiple identities and that these identities intersect and interact with one another (Amiot et al., 2007; Crenshaw, 1991). This indicates that existing identities also influence the construction or development of new or other identities. This implies that the refugee and ethnic identity of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs can influence the construction and development of the entrepreneurial identity.

As stated in the theoretical framework, refugees face difficulties in the labour market and are forced to seek alternative sources of income, such as entrepreneurship (Dana & Morris, 2007; Lazaridis & Koumandraki, 2003; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). Pursuing entrepreneurship requires a strong sense of self-identity, which is why constructing an entrepreneurial identity is useful. The construction of an entrepreneurial identity aligns with the entrepreneur's current identity and ideal self (Gill & Larson, 2014). This thesis will

investigate the current identities of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs to see how they influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. Even though these entrepreneurs have multiple identities, the identities that will be examined are the Afghan and refugee identities. The literature showed that entrepreneurs use cultural values to construct their own identity and, therefore, influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity (Bredvold & Skålen, 2016; Gill & Larson, 2014). Studies showed that an ethnic identity could positively and negatively influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. However, in some cases, the entrepreneur does not even use their ethnic identity in their business (Barrett & Vershinina, 2017). As for the refugee identity, due to having faced difficulties caused by being in a new and unfamiliar country, it might be hard for the entrepreneurs to develop an adequate entrepreneurial identity (Refai et al., 2018). However, contradicting findings have shown that the refugee identity of these entrepreneurs can be beneficial in constructing their entrepreneurial identity (Astamirov, 2020). That is because the refugee identity can help with the development of qualities that are linked to successful entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the formation of the refugee identity is influenced by internal factors such as ethnicity (Capo et al., 2007; Hein, 1993; Holt, 2007), which is why the Afghan identity influences the refugee identity as well.

Based on this conceptual framework, the intersectionality of the identity of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs takes place through the influence of the Afghan and refugee identity on the entrepreneurial identity. And in addition, the influence of the Afghan identity on the formation of the refugee identity.

Chapter 3. Methodology

The goal of this paper was to investigate the construction of the entrepreneurial identity by Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands at the intersect of their refugee and Afghan identity. This chapter will discuss different topics to better understand how this paper conducted its research.

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research methods were used to investigate Afghan refugee entrepreneurs' construction of entrepreneurial identity. This type of research method was used because it allowed a more in-depth approach to the study (Myers, 2013) and investigated an event or experience from the participant's perspective (Kaplan & Maxwell, 1994). Considering that the amount of literature on this specific topic was limited, an inductive method of reasoning was used to come to conclusive findings through pattern finding in the collected data (Myers, 2013).

As for the collection and analysis of the data, a narrative approach was used in combination with semi-structured interviews. According to Riessman (1993, p. 2), a narrative analysis “examines the informant’s story and analyzes how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of authenticity”. The narratives provided by the interviewees do more than describe key events in their lives; they also give the experience a structure and give meaning to situations that they deem significant (Gilbert, 2002). When conducting a narrative analysis, it is essential to understand that the narratives provided are descriptive and should not be regarded as the exact events that occurred (Gilbert, 2002; Sandelowski, 1991). However, the use of the narrative approach does allow researchers to obtain more in-depth data through the narratives of the lives and experiences of the interviewees (Lieberch et al., 1998). The focus of narrative research on the interviewees and its open-ended character allows them to address their main concerns and important themes from their own experiences (Lathrop, 2010, p. 101).

The construction of the entrepreneurial identity was understood through self-narratives of past events and actions by the entrepreneurs (Czarniawska, 1997; Riessman, 1993). Narrative analysis was used because narratives play a critical role in the construction of the entrepreneurial identity (Giddens, 1991; Down & Warren, 2008; Somers, 1994). A narrative allows a person to construct various interconnected identities, some of which may be

fragmentary or even contradictory to one another (Somers, 1994, p. 614). The narratives of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs were gathered to understand the construction of the entrepreneurial identity and how it intersects with the refugee and Afghan identities. These narratives detailed their experiences as an entrepreneur with refugee and Afghan backgrounds.

This research paper was part of an extensive research project investigating Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. This project was carried out by four Radboud University students who collaborated and investigated several themes surrounding Afghan refugee entrepreneurs under the supervision of a thesis supervisor. The intersectionality of the entrepreneurial identity was the focus of this article, whilst the other papers focused on different subjects, such as the motivation to pursue entrepreneurship. Working as part of a team enabled us to collect more data and assist one another in our research.

3.2 Data collection

As mentioned before, interviews were used to collect the data for this paper. The interviews were semi-structured and used pre-formulated questions to structure the interview; however, there was also the freedom to improvise, such as by asking new questions (Myers, 2013). Even though the questions were pre-formulated, the interviewees still had the freedom to respond however they saw fit (Leech, 2002).

To ensure that all themes and questions were discussed concerning the different topics of the different papers, a script was crafted that was used during all of the interviews. This script can be found in Appendix 7.3. The language of the interviews was Dutch because the interviewees felt more comfortable with the Dutch language. However, they were given the possibility to do the interview in English if they felt more comfortable with the English language. The interviews were recorded with the interviewees' consent, and these recordings were transcribed. The interviews were in Dutch, so the transcripts of the interviews were translated to English. This was accomplished with the assistance of the translating software DeepL (DeepL, 2022).

To ensure the validity of the research, specific requirements needed to be met before a person could participate in this research as an interviewee. These requirements were set to ensure that the interviewees fit the description of 'Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands'. There were multiple ways these respondents were found and gathered for the interviews. One of these ways was through social networks such as Facebook and LinkedIn to get in contact with people that fit the

criteria and ask them to participate in the research. Two of the four researchers, including the one from this paper, were of Afghan descent, which also created the possibility of finding people that fit the criteria to be a respondent within their network. A third way was by approaching organisations with certain Afghan characteristics and asking whether the organisation's owners fit the criteria and if they were interested in helping the research. Another method was asking interviewees who met the criteria whether they knew other individuals who also met the criteria and would be interested in being interviewed. This method is called the 'snowballing' method and uses the interviewee's network to acquire access to other interviewees (McGee et al., 2009; Myers, 2013). The number of interviews that were conducted was 19, and Table 1 shows an overview of the socio-demographics of the respondents. More extensive information on the respondents can be found in Appendix 7.1. Information on how the interviews were conducted and how the respondents were gathered can be found in Appendix 7.2.

Interview	Name respondent	Age	Gender	Arrival in NL	Business description	Business opening
1	Haji	31	Male	3/4 years old	Web shop for Medical Practice Equipment	2002
2	Tawfiq	53	Male	31 years old	Care institution	2003
3	Ibrahim	30	Male	8 years old	Afghan Restaurant	2013
4	Zafar	52	Male	25 years old	Construction Company	2014
5	Fazal	35	Male	6/7 years old	Grocery Store	2021
6	Alireza	48	Male	20 to 23 years old	Telecom Shop	2002
7	Amir	40	Male	15 years old	Afghan Restaurant and Small Supermarket	2004/2005
8	Javed	42	Male	12 years old	Telecom Shop	2009
9	Ahmed	50	Male	26 years old	Telecom Entrepreneur	2004
10	Amira	38	Female	21 years old	Driving School	2015
11	Amina	34	Female	6 years old	Beauty salon	2017
12	Omid	25	Male	4 years old	Telecom Shop	2014
13	Farah	23	Female	4 years old	Bag Shop	2020
14	Emir	33	Male	12 years old	Electronic Device Shop	2016
15	Fawad	22	Male	15 years old	Telecom Shop	2019
16	Reza	30	Male	6 years old	Audio Visual Content Producer	2018
17	Nilab	39	Female	9 years old	Dental Hygienist	2004
18	Hamid	37	Male	14/15 years old	Dental Clinic	2019
19	Ali	60	Male	35 years old	Taxi company	2012

Table 1. Data of the interviewees

3.3 Data analysis

After the interviews were conducted, all of them were transcribed with the help of the recordings that were made during the interviews. A program called Trint was used to assist with transcribing the interviews (Trint, 2022). This program transcribed the interviews and allowed the researchers to make the needed adjustments where necessary. The data that was now generated by the interviews needed to be analysed and transformed into meaningful insights (Myers, 2013). The transcripts of the interviews were coded, which assisted in organizing and analyzing the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The transcripts were analysed using a thematic analysis, which adds meaning to data by exploring and identifying common themes (Bold, 2012). These common themes are then used to produce some conclusive findings.

The transcripts were coded based on the three identities studied in this paper: the entrepreneurial, Afghan, and refugee identities and the intersection of these three. Each identity and intersection of identities received a colour coding, which was then used to highlight the transcripts of the interviews. The interview coding scheme and their colour coding can be found in Appendix 7.6. During the colour coding, notes were made documenting what was said for each identity or intersection of identities. The highlighted transcripts made it easier to locate where the various identities were discussed, whilst the document with the notes was utilized to find the common themes between the narratives.

The common themes for each identity and intersection of identities were then interpreted to determine how they related to the entrepreneurial identity and its construction. The interpretation consisted of looking up the narratives that were part of the common themes to see what each of the entrepreneurs stated. These narratives were then compared and interpreted based on the common themes found between them. They were then used to derive conclusive insights based on the influence on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity.

3.4 Research Quality

Four corresponding design tests can be used to see whether the quality of research is valid. These four design tests consist of confirmability, credibility, transferability, and dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1989; Riege, 2003; Symon & Cassell, 2012). Confirmability tests whether the data interpretation is made in a rational and unprejudiced manner. This will be ensured by providing the transcripts of the interviews, using quotes, and giving a further explanation as to why the data was interpreted in a particular way. The credibility of the findings will be

ensured through good communication with the interviewees before, during, and after the interview. This will ensure that what was said by the interviewees is interpreted the way they wanted it to. Furthermore, the data will also be coded and reviewed by the other researchers of the thesis circle to see whether they came to the same central themes or contradictions when looking at the data. The transferability of the paper might be more difficult because it focuses on a particular target group. However, this will be ensured by providing relevant information on how the research was conducted. Finally, the dependability of the research might be more complicated due to having different researchers conducting the interviews. However, an interview script was created to ensure stability and consistency across all the interviews. All researchers followed this script during the interviews. This script can be found in Appendix 7.3. Multiple practice interviews were conducted to ensure the quality of the script and the interviews.

3.5 Research Ethics

Research ethics is concerned with certain moral principles that can be applied to conducting research with activities such as planning, conducting, and reporting the research results (McNabb, 2002, p. 36). To ensure that the research was conducted ethically, this research complied with the Netherlands Code of Conduct on Scientific Practice and the guidelines that the Nijmegen School of Management gave. The following principles were applied to ensure the ethical conduct of this research.

The first principle concerned informed consent, an agreement between the researcher and the participants. The informed consent ensured that the participants were informed of their rights during the research, such as being able to withdraw whenever they wanted and understanding what the research entailed. The informed consent also ensured that the participants freely agreed to be part of the research through an explicit agreement in the form of a signed document. The research integrity form that was used in this paper can be found in Appendix 7.5.

The second principle was concerned with the anonymity of all of the participants. Anonymity allows participants to express themselves more freely due to not being able to be tracked back by others based on what they said. The participant's anonymity was ensured through the use of pseudonyms for their names; their actual names were only known by the researcher and could only be found in a password-protected document. The participants were also informed about the actions taken to ensure their anonymity.

The third principle concerned the appropriate referencing of the different theories used across the research. Throughout this research, all literature was referenced in the APA style to ensure that no plagiarism had occurred and that the literature used can be traced back to ensure its representation.

The fourth principle concerned processing and representation of the obtained data, which was done authentically and adequately to avoid distortion. Due to the researcher of this paper being of Afghan descent, it can be argued that this helped with understanding and interpreting the narratives and experiences the Afghan refugee entrepreneurs gave. Having a similar cultural background has helped with the interpretation of the data by understanding specific cultural references, values, and experiences distinct from the Afghan culture.

Chapter 4. Results

Nineteen interviews were conducted with Afghan refugee entrepreneurs to answer the following research question:

How do Afghan refugee entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of their refugee and Afghan identity?

The results of this paper will be discussed in three sub-chapters linked to the identities investigated at the intersection of entrepreneurial identity construction. The first two chapters are dedicated to the Afghan and refugee identity. The third sub-chapter consists of the intersection of the three identities.

4.1 Afghan Identity

In this sub-chapter, different qualities will be discussed that are linked to the Afghan identity and how these qualities influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity of these entrepreneurs.

4.1.1 Independence and Self-sufficient

A common theme discovered in the different stories of the entrepreneurs that can be linked to the Afghan identity is the need to be self-sufficient and independent. This is in line with what Dupree stated about a cultural quality shared amongst Afghans: the “positive pride in independence that comes from self-reliance” (Dupree, 2002, p. 978). Haji stated:

“I did get to see the entrepreneurship [at a young age] and then you find out that a lot of Afghans are independent. (...) Afghans are very entrepreneurial and independent.”
(Haji)

This quote illustrates that Haji thinks that the independent character that Afghan entrepreneurs show comes from their Afghan identity. In addition to this, Haji also stated the following:

“I notice that too that I do not like to work for anyone else. (...) Does that fit the Afghan character? Can you trace it back to where that comes from? I do think that it has played an important role for many Afghans, me included.” (Haji)

This independent character of the Afghan identity also makes it harder for Afghans to work for someone else. As a result, it is possible that this independent character leads Afghans to pursue entrepreneurship. Emir said the following about Afghans pursuing entrepreneurship:

“It is mainly the entrepreneurial side of most Afghans (...) It is just that freedom that an enterprise gives that is interesting for us. Or for me.” (Emir)

This shows that both Haji and Emir agree that the independent character of Afghans results in them pursuing entrepreneurship. This is because entrepreneurship allows people to take care of themselves through their businesses in which they are in control and are not dependent on others. In their stories, more than half of the entrepreneurs have at least stated something about wanting to be self-sufficient, independent or both. For that reason, these entrepreneurs engaged in entrepreneurship because it allowed them to be independent and self-sufficient.

Independence

The independence of these entrepreneurs was discussed through topics such as freedom, being in control, and not wanting to work in employment. These were also clear reasons these entrepreneurs chose to pursue entrepreneurship because it gave them independence and freedom to make their own choices. The freedom that these entrepreneurs wanted to achieve through entrepreneurship differed per person. Freedom for Amira and Nilab meant being able to organise their life how they wished freely, and, in their case, their goal was to have a work-life balance that allowed them to spend time with their families. This was a common theme found among female entrepreneurs. The goal they tried to achieve through entrepreneurship was to get more freedom so that they could plan their work time how they liked. Doing so allowed them to create a work-life balance where they could work while also spending time with and taking care of their families. However, this interpretation of freedom achieved through entrepreneurship differed per person. An example of this is Reza, who stated the following:

“I really like as an entrepreneur being able to buy things that I want or to decide to, for example, completely change my website. I do not have to consult with anyone, that is what I like about it. (...) The freedom to be on my own and being able to decide things without consulting anyone.” (Reza)

This illustrates how the perception of freedom that is achieved through entrepreneurship can differ per person. Even though this perception of freedom might be different, all entrepreneurs strive to achieve their form of freedom through entrepreneurship. This strive for freedom can be linked to the Afghan identity due to Afghans' fondness for liberty (Elphinstone, 1998). The form of freedom that Reza enjoys as an entrepreneur is the ability to be in control and be able to make decisions on his own without having to discuss them with others. Aside from different entrepreneurs expressing how they enjoy the freedom given to them through entrepreneurship, they also expressed that working in employment limits freedom:

“It is probably nothing for me to be working in employment. (...) I am too independent to realise someone else’s vision and keep working at a job.” (Tawfiq)

Tawfiq stated that he was too independent to be employed, which indicates that to be able to work in employment, a degree of dependency needs to be accepted. This degree of dependency means giving up some freedom. As mentioned before, Afghans have an affinity for independence and freedom, which is why most entrepreneurs expressed their dislike for working in employment. These results show that these entrepreneurs possess a certain strive for freedom and independence. This strive can be linked to the Afghan identity due to the fondness for liberty which is realized through entrepreneurship.

Self-sufficiency

Self-sufficiency refers to the ability to take care of oneself without the assistance of others. For the Afghan refugee entrepreneurs, it meant not being dependent on the state and being able to take care of themselves without receiving benefits from the government. There were two main problems that these entrepreneurs experienced with receiving benefits. The first problem was that the amount of money they received was inadequate. Omid had this to say:

“At some point, you want to be independent of the state. You do not want to be dependent on benefits all the time, that is just not nice. It is a small amount you receive in a month that you have to live off. We cannot live like that.”(Omid)

The second problem with receiving benefits was that the entrepreneurs had to account for anything large they wanted to spend their money on. As previously discussed, Afghans prefer to be independent. Ibrahim told the following about his experience of receiving benefits:

“When we received benefits, when we went on holiday we had to fill in a green paper, hand it in a month in advance with all the information like where we were going and why we were going. Look, being a free person that just hurts. To have to justify yourself where and why you are going somewhere. (...) When you get in that situation you want freedom and we could only achieve that with entrepreneurship.” (Ibrahim)

This quote from Ibrahim clearly illustrates the limits experienced by people when they receive benefits from the government. That is why these entrepreneurs would rather care for themselves than depend on the state. Entrepreneurship allows these people to free themselves of the state and take care of themselves and make their own choices without being held accountable.

Based on the interviews, it can be deduced that independence and self-sufficiency are important values that can be found in the entrepreneurs, which are linked to the Afghan identity. Because Afghans have this cultural quality, it inclines them to pursue entrepreneurship. That is because entrepreneurship allows these entrepreneurs to take care of themselves by earning an income through their businesses whilst also being in complete control. Due to these Afghans pursuing entrepreneurship, it will result in the construction of an entrepreneurial identity where they will focus on being independent as well as self-reliant. This translates to them as entrepreneurs preferring to do tasks on their own so that they are not dependent on others and have complete freedom to do the tasks how they see fit.

4.1.2 Hospitality

Self-sufficiency and independence were qualities found in the Afghan identity that influenced the entrepreneurial identity in the previous section. Aside from these two characteristics, another trait shared by Afghan entrepreneurs was hospitality. Hospitality is the friendly and generous behaviour that is shown when people have guests over. Most Afghans and experts on Afghan culture acknowledge that hospitality is a key component of the Afghan culture (Rasuly-Paleczek, 2021, p. 92). This results in Afghans being hospitable regardless of their opinion or feelings towards a person (TRADOC, 2011, p. 75). In the stories of the entrepreneurs, it also becomes clear that the trait of hospitality that these entrepreneurs possess comes from their Afghan identity:

“The hospitality you have as an Afghan, that is just part of you. And I often hear from my clients that they feel and experience it too.” (Amina)

This quote demonstrates how the hospitality trait of the entrepreneurs is linked to the Afghan culture. That is because it illustrates how hospitality is a part of being an Afghan. In addition, Amina stated how her hospitality trait was also being experienced and felt by her customers. This indicates that her hospitality is being used in her business and, as a result, has influenced how she runs her business. Adding to this, Emir stated the following on whether the hospitality from his Afghan identity has resulted in him providing a better service:

“Yes it could [come from his Afghan descent]. It could be that because we are from the north of Afghanistan where they are more hospitable and have a certain way of treating people (...) that I can give a better service, and that I can listen better to what people actually want.” (Emir)

In this quote, Emir shows how having the trait of hospitality from his Afghan identity may have resulted in him providing better service to his customers. Similar to Amina’s statement, this also suggests that hospitality influences how these entrepreneurs run their businesses. Besides Emir, Omid also expressed the importance of providing a good service to his customers and treating them with respect:

“In my opinion, service is the most important. It is not about the product; anyone can buy the product. It is about how you sell the product, what you offer with it, and the service you offer along with it. Everything needs to fit together and it has to be a complete package” (Omid)

This statement illustrated a significant focus on providing a good service to the customers. Omid expressed how he focused on perfecting his services rather than the products he was selling. According to him, it is the service that attracts customers. In addition, Emir also stated that focussing on perfecting his service was more important to him than focussing on what the competition was doing, which is in line with what Omid stated. As discussed, this focus on customer service can be deduced from the hospitality trait these entrepreneurs possess from their Afghan identity. Providing the customers with their good services will most likely result in them returning and using their services again due to the pleasant experience. Besides providing good services to the customers, special attention is also paid to the treatment of the customers, as stated by Ali:

“I always try to work in a decent and honest manner, that is important. (...) Due to dealing with customers in a decent and well manner, they often stay [as regular

customers]. (...) Most Afghans are very polite and they look at every person as human beings, no more or less, and so the contact with others is always decent.” (Ali)

Aside from providing good services to their customers, the treatment of the customers was also very important to the entrepreneurs. Ali expressed that this kind of treatment of people is common among Afghans, making contact with them polite and decent, regardless of who this contact is with. This is in line with hospitality, in which people are treated with kindness regardless of who they are. Similar to providing good services, treating customers with decency and respect has also resulted in customers returning or becoming regular customers, as can be deduced from Ali’s statement. This shows that the hospitality trait these entrepreneurs possess from their Afghan identity also positively affects the business and inclines their customers to return and become regular customers.

This all suggests that the Afghan cultural value of hospitality has shaped the identity and behaviour of these entrepreneurs. Because it is part of their Afghan identity and has shaped their behaviour, it also influences the construction of their entrepreneurial identity (Gill & Larson, 2014; Swidler, 2003). This particular influence of the Afghan identity has caused these entrepreneurs to place a higher value on customer service and treatment. The engagement of entrepreneurs in traditional activities such as commercializing reveals their entrepreneurial identity (Wagenschwanz, 2020). Given that customer service and customer treatment are commercializing activities, it is reasonable to conclude that the hospitality trait of the Afghan identity has influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. This influence has resulted in these entrepreneurs’ entrepreneurial identities focusing on providing good customer service and treating their customers with respect and decency.

4.1.3 Afghan and Dutch Identity

The previous sections discussed how the Afghan identity had influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. The qualities that influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity from the Afghan identity were independence, self-sufficiency, and hospitality. Based on the stories of these entrepreneurs, there are multiple ways that the Afghan identity can influence the businesses of these entrepreneurs. Ibrahim and Amir used their Afghan identity to create Afghan restaurants. Amira’s Afghan identity allowed her to identify a gap in the market and create a driving school that specialized in giving lessons to Muslim women. Tawfiq used the cultural value of respecting the elderly from his Afghan identity to create a unique type of care institution. However, there have also been a significant

amount of claims by the entrepreneurs that state that they did not use their Afghan identity in their business. For example, Ibrahim stated the following when asked about the use of his Afghan descent in his business:

“No, I don’t [make use of my Afghan descent in running my business]. At least not in my case. (...) Yeah, you could say I am fully integrated.” (Ibrahim)

Ibrahim expressed that his Afghan descent, which relates to the Afghan identity, is not being used in his business. In addition to Ibrahim, Omid also stated that he did not make use of his Afghan descent and that his shop was “Dutchified” completely. What is interesting is that both Ibrahim and Omid reference being Dutch, where Ibrahim states that he is fully integrated, and Omid states that his shop has become entirely Dutch. According to Barrett and Vershinina (2017), it is not uncommon for ethnic or immigrant entrepreneurs to not use their ethnic identities in their businesses. This implies the host country's influence on these entrepreneurs' businesses. Omid took it a step further and stated the following:

“I am an Afghan, I have Afghan roots, and I speak Afghan. But in the end, I am also just Dutch in the sense that I have integrated myself. (...) I just feel completely Dutch. (...) The Afghan culture is very beautiful and I want to preserve it and not lose that. (...) There are a lot of values [of the Afghan culture] that you take with you and the bad aspects you leave behind and replace with Dutch values.” (Omid)

This quote of Omid illustrates how he has integrated and made the Netherlands part of his identity through adopting its culture, norms, and values. By adopting norms and values of both the Dutch and Afghan cultures, these entrepreneurs can take the best out of both worlds and use that to their advantage which is called mixed embeddedness (Bizri, 2017; Kloosterman, van der Leun & Rath, 1999; Price & Chako, 2009). The use of Dutch norms and values shows that these entrepreneurs have developed a Dutch identity that is part of their identity besides their Afghan or refugee identities. As a result, this identity also influences their entrepreneurial identity due to the construction of the entrepreneurial identity corresponding with the current identity of the entrepreneur (Gill & Larson, 2014).

The results of this section suggest that besides using the Afghan identity that comes from their Afghan descent, these entrepreneurs also use the identity developed in the host country. Due to integration and living in a country for some time, that particular country's culture, norms, and values are adopted. This, in turn, results in these people developing an identity linked to the host country, as seen from the statements of Omid. The entrepreneur

clearly states that he identifies as a person from that country which shows that he does possess the Dutch identity, which in turn influences the construction of his entrepreneurial identity.

4.2 Refugee Identity

In the previous sub-chapter, the influence of the Afghan identity was discussed on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. In contrast, in this sub-chapter, the focus will be on the refugee identity. The entrepreneurs interviewed have faced difficulties that originate from their experience as refugees, which has resulted in the development of certain qualities. This sub-chapter will discuss the qualities that influenced the construction of their entrepreneurial identity.

4.2.1 Perseverance

Almost all of the entrepreneurs talk about their ability to persevere, being harder than the average person, and that they are survivors. These qualities of the entrepreneurs were shaped by their experiences as refugees and are now part of their refugee identity. Tawfiq stated the following about refugees and the qualities that they possess:

“I think we all have something in common [refugees], we are survivors. You fight for your future and you do not take it for granted as people do here [in the Netherlands]. (...) Not only that bit of fleeing makes you harder but also the life there. So my life started at the age of thirteen and so during the war I experienced a lot of situations where you are constantly busy with surviving. And I think that is a skill that you can use in your life. (...) I can handle disappointments much better and just keep going. I think that has to do with my past.” (Tawfiq)

This statement shows how Tawfiq believed that refugees are survivors and are willing to fight for their future. This is because refugees know what it is like to live in a country at war, and it is tough to imagine a bright future in such a country. Instead, these people live day by day, hoping they will make it till tomorrow. Due to having experienced these difficult times, they understand the opportunity that is given to them in their new country, where they do not have to worry about surviving anymore. This gives them the drive to make something out of their lives and not waste the opportunity that was given to them that people still living in the country they fled could only dream of. According to Tawfiq, fleeing and having lived in a country at war has made refugees hard and given them perseverance. The process of fleeing and living in a war-struck country is hard because, in both cases, safety is not guaranteed, and

the main concern is surviving. Having experienced these hard times has given Tawfiq the ability to handle setbacks better and his perseverance. Hamid stated the following about his experience of having lived in a country at war, which was in line with what Tawfiq mentioned:

“We grew up differently, we have seen a lot and we have been through a lot. We are much tougher on the outside world than someone who has seen almost nothing. We have been through years of war and an extremely strict regime. That kind of stuff makes you hard. You can take certain punches that others cannot.” (Hamid)

Like Tawfiq, Hamid also described how the hardships he and other refugees experienced made them harder than the average person who has not experienced such hardships. Experiencing such hard times and seeing what they saw can have a long-lasting impact on a person and, in some cases, can even cause the person to experience traumas. Hamid also mentioned that besides living through the war, he lived through an extremely strict regime. This regime restricted the freedom of its citizens by imposing tight restrictions that, if broken, could lead to fatal penalties. As previously discussed, freedom is an important value for Afghans and is part of their Afghan identity, so this restriction of freedom may have been especially difficult for them. Living through war and in a country with an extremely strict regime has decreased the sensitivity of these people and has made them harder. Besides having lived in a country at war, fleeing that particular country has also impacted these refugees and influenced them. Fazal narrated the following about his experience of fleeing and how it affected him:

“While fleeing I learned never to give up because we were living in a state of survival. We had to keep moving in order to escape. To be able to reach our destination even though you do not know where that is. That drive of constantly looking to survive, I learned that in that phase of my life.” (Fazal)

These refugees have faced hardships not only due to living in a war-torn country, but also because of the journey they took to abandon their homeland. The predicament of fleeing is similar to that of being in a war in that it also puts people in a constant state of survival. Furthermore, Fazal emphasized an intriguing feature of fleeing: its uncertainty. Besides the uncertainty of the survival of the trip, most refugees have no idea where they will end up. Their sole purpose for fleeing is to escape the war and seek refuge, wherever that may be. This is also part of the perseverance displayed by these refugees, who do not care where they

end up as long as it is safe. And when they arrive, they do their best to create something of their life to ensure their ordeal is not in vain. Having endured the hardships of fleeing Afghanistan and living in a constant state of survival gave Fazal his ability to persevere.

These entrepreneurs have experienced challenging times due to having lived in a country at war and fleeing that particular country. Having experienced such hard times has allowed these entrepreneurs to become harder than the average person. It has also given them the ability to persevere and survive through hardship. Tawfiq, Hamid, and Fazal stated that these abilities that they learned as a refugee are still being used by them even though they now have a much more stable life. These entrepreneurs can use the abilities they developed as refugees in their businesses and have made it part of their entrepreneurial identity. Due to being harder than the average person and having more perseverance, these entrepreneurs can handle more setbacks and disappointments. These are beneficial skills for an entrepreneur because starting and running a business involves many obstacles. Being harder and having perseverance will help these entrepreneurs conquer these types of obstacles and help with their business's survival. Similar findings were also found by Astamirov (2020), who found that female refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands perceived themselves as strong and having perseverance. This perception was also developed by the tough times they experienced while fleeing and taking on the risk of fleeing. Having perseverance helps with the construction of entrepreneurial identity because it is a quality linked to successful entrepreneurs (Astamirov, 2020; Santandreu-Mascarell, 2013).

4.2.2 Risk-takers

A large number of entrepreneurs admitted that they saw themselves as risk-takers and that it was part of them. Alireza, Tawfiq, Omid, Emir, and Fawad have all stated that taking risks is necessary when pursuing entrepreneurship. Becoming an entrepreneur entails accepting a certain amount of risk because running a business is riskier than being employed. That is because the actions and decisions of entrepreneurs have a more considerable impact and determine the success and survival of their businesses. However, with Afghan refugee entrepreneurs, another factor influences how they interpret the risk of certain actions or decisions caused by what they have been through as refugees. Ibrahim narrated the following when asked about his experience as a refugee setting up a business:

“You could think about that in two ways. So on the one hand you are very weak because you do not speak the language and you do not understand the structure. You

have no network and no budget. On the other hand, you have nothing to lose. (...) At that moment, I saw the opportunity and I carried it out immediately whereas now I think three times about it because now I have something to lose. (...) When you reach a point where you have very little resources, you can really only grow from that point.” (Ibrahim)

This illustrates that the perspective of a refugee on the risk of starting their own business is different compared to a person that is not a refugee. That is because, as a refugee, the starting point is much lower, which is why they have way less to lose, whereas most people have already built up something or have a job. This makes it harder for people to drop everything and start their businesses because they have much more to lose that they cannot get back. However, as a refugee, the risks are lower because they cannot lose much more, but they can make a lot more gains, making it worth the risk. In addition, Fazal stated the following when asked about the risks of starting his business:

“Do you know what I am grateful for? When I get up in the morning and I turn on the tap and water comes out. Look, we didn't have that before so in my mind I reason everything with, it cannot get worse. (...) I look at it [risks] but the translation in my mind is different. I have lived all my life with risks of dying (...) I have been given a chance and I am willing to take that risk. (...) We live in a country where there are so many chances, so many possibilities (...) We expect that we will get up tomorrow and live again but that is not always the case and that is also how we deal with opportunities in this country. There are so many unbelievable opportunities and we do not see the value in them.” (Fazal)

Both Ibrahim and Fazal expressed that due to what they have experienced as refugees, their lives could only have improved when taking on the risk of starting their own business. Due to what Fazal experienced as a refugee, he stated that he interprets risks differently from the average person. This interpretation has been altered by having lived at a lower standard than most people and because he faced risks that could end his life. Other risks seem way less adequate when a person has faced these types of risks. Fazal also showed that he did not just look at the risks of starting his own business but rather the chance or opportunity that was given to him. The opportunity to make something of his life and create a future for himself. These chances or opportunities are less likely to be identified by people who have lived all their lives in the Netherlands because these opportunities have become so normalized that they do not see their value. Instead, most people only see the risks and what will be lost if

they fail.

Due to what these entrepreneurs have experienced as refugees, their perception of risk is very different from people that have never been refugees. Having faced risks that could have ended their lives makes other risks seem less dangerous. This includes the risk of starting their own business, making these people more inclined to pursue entrepreneurship. The starting point of refugees is also lower, which is why they have less to lose compared to someone who was raised in that particular country. As a result, refugees cannot lose much more but can make significant gains from pursuing entrepreneurship. It also becomes clear that refugees perceive these entrepreneurial chances and are more inclined to look at the opportunities and not the risks. Being a risk-taker is an advantageous quality as an entrepreneur because it inclines a person to start their own business and pursue certain opportunities. Like the perseverance quality, Astamirov (2020) also found that the female refugee entrepreneurs in the Netherlands that he investigated showed the perception of seeing themselves as risk-takers. This shows that this quality is shared among refugees and is linked to their refugee identity. Similar to perseverance, being a risk-taker also helps with the construction of entrepreneurial identity because it has also been linked to successful entrepreneurs (Astamirov, 2020; Santandreu-Mascarell, 2013).

4.3 Intersection of the three identities

An essential aspect of intersectionality is the ability to investigate identities simultaneously. When looking into the intersection of the three identities, an interesting characteristic found in the Afghan refugee entrepreneurs was their willingness to grow and create a future for themselves.

In the Afghan identity, this was expressed through academic pressure that they experienced from their families. Many entrepreneurs expressed how they experienced a certain pressure from their family to perform well at school and achieve the highest form of education. An example of this is the following statement from Amina:

“In our family, studying has always been very important, making use of the facilities that are made available to us. So that was the main thing we always got like ‘come on, make something of your life’. (Amina)

This quote from Amina illustrated the focus of her family on studying. There is such an importance placed on education by Afghan families because a high educational level almost always ensures a bright future. Children are being pressured by their Afghan parents to

study to get a job that ensures a good and stable life.

This statement from Amina can also be linked to the refugee identity. That is because these families are putting pressure on their children to make use of the facilities that have been made available to them, which they did not have as refugees or in their country at war. This opportunity that was given to these children allows them to get an education which is a privilege that not many children have. Due to having experienced what it is like not to have this privilege, refugees value this opportunity more, which is why they want their children to make the most out of it. In light of this, Fazal expressed the following:

“I also did not want the choice that my father made to leave Afghanistan and give me a chance here to go to waste. So that drive, it was so intense and passionate, so dedicated.” (Fazal)

Fazal understood that he was given an opportunity to make something out of his life by his father. That was because his father chose to leave Afghanistan, hoping his family would have a better future. This gave Fazal the drive to grow and make something out of his life to ensure that the opportunity that was given to him was not wasted but used to its full potential. Other entrepreneurs have also expressed how they wanted to make full use of the opportunity given to them. However, to be able to do so, they needed to find a way to keep on growing. For most, the only way to grow and use the opportunity given to them to the fullest was through entrepreneurship. Emir stated the following about why he and other Afghan refugees pursued entrepreneurship:

“It is perhaps that we want to get most out of it. For example, if you are employed, at least that's how I think, you limit yourself in the number of hours you can work and the number of hours you can earn maximally (...) And [your wage] may go up every so often, but that is just one, two, or three euros per hour extra, and that is it. And if you have experienced poverty once or whatever. Then you just want to achieve the most.” (Emir)

This quote from Emir indicated that refugees having experienced what it is like to have nothing creates a drive for them to grow and make the most out of their lives. Due to the limiting growth that can be achieved through working in employment, these Afghan refugees pursued entrepreneurship instead. This drive to grow and achieve the most is also being expressed through their entrepreneurial identity:

“I just like working for myself because as an entrepreneur I can do what I want. You can also improve yourself. (...) Now look, I only have one shop at the moment but as an entrepreneur I can choose to open another shop. So [entrepreneurship] allows me to grow which is why it is better to work for yourself. (...) It gives you the opportunity to improve yourself.” (Fawad)

This quote illustrates how, for Fawad and other entrepreneurs, an essential entrepreneurial quality enjoyed is the ability to grow. This growing attribute is part of their entrepreneurial identity due to giving meaning to their purpose of becoming an entrepreneur (Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007). The purpose that these entrepreneurs have as an entrepreneur is that they want to grow and achieve the maximum that is capable for them. To do so, these entrepreneurs must ensure that their businesses are doing well to grow and expand. This motivates these entrepreneurs to work hard and develop specific capabilities as entrepreneurs that could help further improve their business.

These entrepreneurs' Afghan, refugee, and entrepreneurial identities intersect with their need to grow and create a bright future for themselves. In the Afghan identity, this is expressed through the academic pressure exerted by family members to ensure that the entrepreneurs achieve a bright future. As for the refugee identity, these entrepreneurs realize that they were given an opportunity to create a future for themselves. Having experienced what it is like to live in poverty and have no clear prospect of their future, it creates a drive for them to grow and make full use of the opportunity given to them. This need for growth was also found in the entrepreneurial identity by giving meaning to their purpose as entrepreneurs. This purpose motivates them as entrepreneurs to work hard to make their businesses grow and develop specific capabilities as entrepreneurs that aid with the success of their businesses.

Chapter 5. Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

This study explored the construction of the entrepreneurial identity of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs at the intersection of their Afghan and refugee identities. The use of an intersectionality approach made it possible to investigate and understand the multiple identities of the entrepreneurs and reveal their influence on the entrepreneurial identity. The data from nineteen narrative interviews with Afghan refugee entrepreneurs was used to arrive at the study's conclusive findings.

The empirical evidence shows that the ethnic identity of the entrepreneurs, the Afghan identity, influences the entrepreneurial identity through cultural values. The cultural values influencing the entrepreneurial identity were independence, self-sufficiency, and hospitality. This is in line with studies that show that entrepreneurs use cultural values to construct their own identity, which also influences the construction of the entrepreneurial identity (Bredvold & Skålén, 2016; Gill & Larson, 2014). These theories and the empirical findings of this paper justify the claim that ethnic identity influences the construction of entrepreneurial identity. The drive for independence and self-sufficiency found in the entrepreneurs were values that were expected to influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. That is because these cultural values were shared amongst Afghans and could be linked to entrepreneurship (Dupree, 2002). These two values motivate entrepreneurs to pursue entrepreneurship and create a focus on staying independent and self-reliant. However, this can also negatively influence the growth of the business. That is because these values make it harder for entrepreneurs to share their responsibilities with others and let them do certain tasks in their businesses. Instead, they would rather do everything alone, which can impede the growth of the business due to having only one or a few people running the business. The influence of the cultural value of hospitality on the entrepreneurial identity was not found in any other academic literature. This indicates that this paper has provided novel insights into cultural values that can influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. Hospitality positively impacts entrepreneurs' businesses because it improves customer service and treatment. This gives these businesses a competitive advantage which helps with attracting, serving, and retaining customers (Groth et al., 2019).

The majority of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs indicate that they possess the ability to persevere and perceive themselves as risk-takers. The entrepreneurs developed these qualities

as a result of their experiences as refugees, which is why these qualities are associated with the refugee identity. Because the entrepreneurs use these qualities in their businesses, it indicates that the refugee identity influences the entrepreneurial identity. These findings on the refugee identity align with Astamirov's (2020) findings, which strengthens the claim that the refugee identity influences the entrepreneurial identity. These qualities have positive implications on the businesses of these entrepreneurs due to being associated with successful entrepreneurs (Astamirov, 2020; Santandreu-Mascarell, 2013). Entrepreneurs with perseverance can persist in the face of adversity, making it easier for them to overcome barriers or setbacks (Markman et al., 2005). The ability to take risks makes it possible for entrepreneurs to pursue rewarding but risky opportunities that can stimulate business growth and create a competitive advantage (Vantilborgh et al., 2015). The empirical findings of this paper reject the claim made by Refai et al. (2018), stating that it is hard for refugees to develop an effective entrepreneurial identity. Instead, the empirical findings show that the refugee identity has helped the construction of the entrepreneurial identity through the development of useful qualities.

The empirical findings of this paper indicate that the Afghan, refugee, and entrepreneurial identities intersect with the need for the entrepreneurs to grow and achieve the highest possible. The Afghan identity is expressed through the academic pressure the entrepreneurs experienced from their Afghan families. The families exerted this pressure to motivate the children to achieve the highest form of education which, according to them, would ensure a good and stable future. As refugees, these entrepreneurs overcame numerous challenges when coming to the Netherlands, which deepened their awareness of the opportunity presented to them. This awareness, combined with having lived in poverty, encourages these entrepreneurs to fulfil their full potential and not let this opportunity go to waste. This need to grow and achieve the highest possible has given meaning to their purpose as entrepreneurs, which is why it is part of their entrepreneurial identity (Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007). The implications this intersection has on the entrepreneurs is that it motivates them and makes them willing to learn and improve themselves to grow their businesses. This indicates that the entrepreneurs have established a growth mindset where they are willing to develop themselves to promote the growth of their businesses (Burnette et al., 2020). All in all, this intersection that these entrepreneurs show has a positive influence that encourages and helps them grow their businesses. In the literature, no study can be found that has investigated this specific intersection which is why the findings of this thesis can be considered novel insights.

Besides the Afghan and refugee identities these entrepreneurs possessed, a third identity was discovered that also significantly influenced the entrepreneurial identity construction. This was the Dutch identity, an identity that these entrepreneurs developed in the host country through living there and integrating. This has resulted in the entrepreneurs adopting certain cultural norms and values from the host country. It is not uncommon for immigrants to identify with their ethnicity and host country (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). A significant number of entrepreneurs expressed that the Afghan identity was not being used in their business but instead that they used their Dutch identity. Because it is part of their current identity, it influences the construction of the entrepreneurial identity (Gill & Larson, 2013). These findings are in line with Barrett and Vershinina's (2017) study, which found that not all ethnic entrepreneurs use their ethnic identity in their businesses. Doing business in a Dutch manner makes the most sense for these entrepreneurs due to operating in a Dutch market. However, some entrepreneurs also expressed using both the Dutch and the Afghan identities. This mixed embeddedness allows these entrepreneurs to use aspects of the host country and country of origin (Bizri, 2017; Kloosterman, van der Leun & Rath, 1999; Price & Price & Chako, 2009). Mixed embeddedness gives these entrepreneurs an advantage over entrepreneurs that do not have a mixed ethnicity because they can use the best of both worlds. This has positive implications for the entrepreneurs, such as recognising certain opportunities to exploit or having access to resources through their ethnic networks. These findings indicate a divide among Afghan refugee entrepreneurs regarding the use of the Afghan identity in their businesses. Some entrepreneurs actively focus on only using the Dutch identity in their businesses, whereas others use a combination of the Afghan and Dutch identities.

5.2 Conclusion

The objective of this research was to understand how Afghan refugee entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of their Afghan and refugee identities. Based on this objective, the following research question was formulated:

How do Afghan refugee entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of their refugee and Afghan identity?

To be able to answer this research question, an intersectionality analysis was executed to be able to look at the different identities and see how these intersect with one another. The data used to answer the research question consisted of the narratives of Afghan refugee

entrepreneurs collected through semi-structured interviews. This was because narratives allowed for more in-depth data, and narratives play a critical role in constructing the entrepreneurial identity (Giddens, 1991; Down & Warren, 2008; Lieblech et al., 1998; Somers, 1994). In the end, nineteen narratives were collected and coded to answer the research question by finding common themes or contradictions between the narratives of the entrepreneurs. The narratives of these entrepreneurs showed how the values and qualities of their Afghan and refugee identities influenced their entrepreneurial identity construction and how these three identities intersected.

The Afghan identity influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity through cultural values. The entrepreneurs showed a drive to be independent and self-sufficient, and according to Dupree (2002), these values were shared among Afghans. The influence of these two values on the entrepreneurial identity construction made the entrepreneurs focus on being independent and self-reliant. As a result, the entrepreneurs preferred to do activities on their own to ensure that they were not dependent on others and had complete freedom to perform the task how they saw fit. Another cultural value that was also found to influence the entrepreneurial identity construction was the hospitality trait that most of these entrepreneurs showed. The entrepreneurs expressed that this trait came from their Afghan identity, which was in line with the literature stating that it was a key component of the Afghan culture (Rasuly-Palczek, 2021, p. 92). Due to this trait influencing the commercializing activities of customer service and treatment, it was reasonable to deduce that it influenced the entrepreneurial identity (Wagenschwanz, 2020).

The results showed that similar to the Afghan identity, the refugee identity also influenced the construction of the entrepreneurial identity. This influence was exerted through the qualities of perseverance and the ability to take risks these entrepreneurs possessed, which originated from their refugee identity. That is because these qualities were developed from the hardships that the entrepreneurs experienced from living in a country at war, the strict regimes, and the process of fleeing. These findings were in line with Astamirov (2020), and having such qualities was found to be beneficial for the entrepreneurs due to being associated with successful entrepreneurs (Astamirov, 2020; Santandreu-Mascarell, 2013).

Besides the Afghan and refugee identities these entrepreneurs possessed, a third identity was discovered, which also significantly influenced the entrepreneurial identity construction. This was the Dutch identity, an identity that these entrepreneurs developed in the host country. A number of entrepreneurs expressed that they did not use their Afghan identity in their businesses and instead only used their Dutch identity. This was in line with

Barrett and Vershinina (2017), who stated that not all ethnic entrepreneurs use their ethnic identity in their businesses. However, other entrepreneurs stated that they used a combination of their Afghan and Dutch identities, where the best qualities of both identities were used in their businesses. This is an advantage of ethnic entrepreneurs called mixed embeddedness, which allows immigrant entrepreneurs to use aspects from their host country and country of origin (Bizri, 2017; Kloosterman, van der Leun & Rath, 1999; Price & Price & Chako, 2009).

The results also showed that the Afghan, refugee, and entrepreneurial identities intersected with the need for the entrepreneurs to grow and achieve the highest possible. For the Afghan identity, this was expressed through academic pressure from family members to motivate the entrepreneurs to achieve a good and stable life. As refugees, these entrepreneurs overcame numerous obstacles to obtain the opportunity of a bright future, which they were determined not to waste. This aim of continuously growing and achieving the highest possible gave meaning to their purpose as entrepreneurs, which is why it was part of their entrepreneurial identity (Murnieks & Mosakowski, 2007). This purpose of growth motivated these entrepreneurs to work hard and grow their businesses.

5.3 Theoretical Implications

By researching Afghan refugee entrepreneurs, this study contributes to theories of refugee entrepreneurship and ethnic minority entrepreneurship. This is done by investigating the construction of the entrepreneurial identity by Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. In the existing literature on ethnic minority entrepreneurship and refugee entrepreneurship, the Afghan refugee community is still underrepresented even though they are a significant group in both works of literature. This research will provide information for both theories that currently lack knowledge of this underrepresented group.

This study aimed to develop theories on the entrepreneurial identity construction of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. Therefore, insights contribute to the existing literature on entrepreneurial identity construction. Currently, most of this literature is focused on the Western-dominant ideal of a heroic, white, male entrepreneur (Essers & Benschop, 2009; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014). Focusing on entrepreneurs that do not fit this archetype expands this existing body of literature by generating insights on the entrepreneurial identity construction of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs.

This paper has also generated new insights on the influence of the Afghan identity on

the entrepreneurial identity. The cultural values of the Afghan identity were known in the literature; however, their influence on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity was not. Therefore, this paper has contributed to new insights in the literature, which show how ethnic identity influences the construction of entrepreneurial identity.

To be able to investigate the construction of the entrepreneurial identity at the intersection of the Afghan and refugee identity, an intersectionality analysis was conducted. The use of intersectionality analysis in an entrepreneurial setting helps intersectionality research advance by strengthening its explanatory power and providing new insights. That is because the specific intersection of the Afghan, refugee, and entrepreneurial identities was not investigated before. Therefore, this paper has provided new insights into the literature on the intersection of these three identities. Besides generating new insights, this research has also reinforced existing findings. Afghan cultural theories have been backed due to the discovery of similar values in this paper's Afghan entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, Astamirov's (2020) findings on refugee identities were supported. That is because similar findings were found, which showed that the entrepreneurs' perseverance and ability to take risks stemmed from their refugee identity and influenced the construction of their entrepreneurial identity.

5.4 Practical Implications

The insights of this research have provided knowledge that can be applied in the real world. In general, this study can assist all entrepreneurs in showing how their many identities can influence the construction of their entrepreneurial identity. However, the findings of this paper can mainly assist Afghan refugee entrepreneurs by providing information on their own entrepreneurial identity. Shedding light on how the Afghan and refugee identity influence the construction of the entrepreneurial identity can help these entrepreneurs understand how these identities influence how they run their businesses. The paper's findings can also assist them in presenting the qualities or values they possess as an entrepreneur from their identities as something positive rather than having people look down on them for possessing such identities. Especially the refugee identity might cause people to feel sentiment toward these entrepreneurs, but the insights of this paper have demonstrated the usefulness of this identity. Possessing the refugee identity has given the entrepreneurs qualities that are linked to successful entrepreneurs. These qualities give them an advantage compared to entrepreneurs that do not possess these qualities. Generating these insights helps create an awareness of how

different identities can influence the entrepreneurial identity of these entrepreneurs and how, in some cases, a diverse identity can induce an advantage.

In addition to assisting established Afghan refugee entrepreneurs, the insights of this paper also assist aspiring Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in constructing their entrepreneurial identities. As a result of the current circumstances in Afghanistan, there will be an increase in Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. The findings of this research can assist this group in understanding how their Afghan and refugee identities influence their entrepreneurial identity and which values or qualities they possess that come from these identities. This understanding will enable these entrepreneurs to fully utilize the values and qualities that come from their identities and aid in the identity work they will do. Making this process of identity work more comprehensive has the potential to increase entrepreneurship among Afghan refugees by offering knowledge on an essential entrepreneurial process.

Aside from helping Afghans that pursue or want to pursue entrepreneurship, the information generated from this thesis can also help Afghans in general. As was experienced by the researcher of this paper, the information of this paper can help Afghans better understand the cultural values that are part of the Afghan culture that form the Afghan identity. Understanding this significant part of themselves enables a person to understand themselves better as well as the qualities that they possess.

5.5 Further Research

There are several recommendations for interesting directions for further research following this paper.

The first recommendation is to investigate further one of the findings of this research that fell outside the scope of this research, which is the influence of the Dutch identity. It was discovered in this paper that the Dutch identity of the Afghan refugee entrepreneurs played a significant role in how these entrepreneurs ran their businesses. It would be interesting to investigate how the host country's identity influences these entrepreneurs and their businesses and could even, similar to this paper, further investigate the influence on the construction of the entrepreneurial identity.

The second recommendation is to investigate second-generation Afghan entrepreneurs, whereas this paper investigated first-generation Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. Investigating this group would reveal whether the values discovered in the first-generation entrepreneurs are also embraced by the second-generation entrepreneurs and employed in their businesses.

If these values and qualities are not employed, then it shows that these entrepreneurs have embraced the values and qualities of the country they were raised in. It would also be interesting to see whether the qualities these Afghan refugee entrepreneurs developed from their refugee identity can also be found in second-generation Afghan entrepreneurs.

The third recommendation is investigating the disparities between male and female Afghan refugee entrepreneurs. Some entrepreneurs commented on the differences between the two groups and how specific qualities found in one group were not found in the other. The difference between these two groups may stem from the traditional Afghan viewpoint, which makes a clear distinction between the two. This specific viewpoint can make it harder for Afghan women to pursue entrepreneurship and might give them additional barriers, as discussed by Essers and Benschop (2007). It is also possible that they developed new qualities to handle these barriers due to having faced these difficulties caused by the difference in viewpoints. Due to the small number of female respondents, it was not possible to have a more precise grasp of the differences between the two, although it would have been highly intriguing.

The fourth and final recommendation is to investigate the entrepreneurial identity construction of Afghan refugee entrepreneurs in other countries. Investigating this would reveal whether similar values and qualities of the identities are utilised or whether this varies depending on the host country.

5.6 Limitations

This paper faced certain research limitations that limited the representativeness of the findings. However, actions were taken to mitigate the influence of such limitations.

The first type of limitation is that the findings of this paper are not generalizable, which is a common limitation of qualitative research methods due to the use of smaller sample size (Myers, 2013, p. 6). In this paper, the focus was only on the Afghan refugee group and investigating another group would result in different findings. However, due to the available time frame, it was not possible to investigate other refugee groups.

The second type of limitation concerns the collection of data by researchers that are investigating different topics than the one from this paper. This can limit the richness of the data due to the interviewer not steering the interview in the right direction to get the most relevant and rich data. To try and limit the effect of this limitation as much as possible, the different researchers understood each other's research objectives. That way, when, for

example, an interviewer was asking questions about a research topic that was not theirs, they better understood what follow-up questions would be relevant to ask. Having other researchers that collect the data also resulted in a lack of emotion in the data. An important aspect of gathering data on identity through narratives is emotion, which was missed because other researchers were doing the interviews. To overcome this limitation as much as possible, the researcher used verbatim transcripts of the interviews to capture the emotions in the interviews.

The third type of limitation concerns recording the interviews, which could limit the free expression of the interviewee. However, the interviewees were ensured that they would stay anonymous in this research. This allowed the interviewees to freely express themselves because others could not confront them on what they stated in the interviews. Another problem encountered with the ability of the interviewees to express themselves was the language of the interview. The native language of most of the interviewees was Dari or Pashto; however, the skill of the researchers in those languages was not adequate to interview in those languages. This partially limited the ability of the interviewees to express themselves because the importance of the narratives lies in the interviewees' ability to express themselves and talk about their experiences. To ensure that the interviewees could still express themselves proficiently, the researchers conducted the interviews in Dutch, the preferred language for some and the second preferred language for others after Dari or Pashto. This necessitated the translation of the transcripts from Dutch to English, which was accomplished with the assistance of the translating software DeepL (DeepL, 2022). To ensure the transcripts' quality, the researchers read through them to ensure they were clear, well-understood, and well-translated.

The fourth type of limitation concerns the method of analysis used, which was the thematic analysis. This method of analysis reduced the narratives to codes which decreased the richness of the data. However, this method was only used to find the common themes between the different narratives. After finding these common themes, the narratives were looked at again in full to see what was being discussed and how that related to the narratives of the other entrepreneurs.

As for limitations concerning the data analysis and the credibility of the findings, this paper used peer-reviewing to see whether the other researchers came to the same or different conclusive findings.

5.7 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the recognition of the role and position of the researcher on the outcome of the study (Neergaard & Ulhøi, 2007). Due to this subject of research being close to the researcher, it could have some interesting insights.

This investigated topic stands very close to me as a researcher because I have an Afghan background and am interested in the field of entrepreneurship. I am a second-generation immigrant whose parents fled the war in Afghanistan. Even though I was born and raised in the Netherlands, I have always felt a close bond to my Afghan descent. That is because I was raised with the Afghan culture and learned a lot about Afghanistan and its culture from my family. Due to the population's generally negative view of Afghanistan, I thought it would be interesting to research the Afghan culture. The goal was to create a new view that is more positive and create awareness that there is more to Afghanistan and its culture than just the war.

I perceive the Afghan descent I have as something positive for the research due to being able to recognize certain themes and understanding how deep these themes go. Especially with cultural values, only reading about them is very different from having experienced them. For example, Afghan hospitality is part of the culture that can be read about but experiencing this hospitality gives a whole new meaning to it. Investigating the cultural values has also made me more aware of myself as an Afghan and has helped me understand that certain qualities that I possess come from the Afghan identity. Even though my Afghan identity is limited compared to someone who comes from Afghanistan and has lived there their whole life, I still possess this identity due to being raised in an Afghan household. This also made it easier for me to link the qualities discussed to the Afghan identity.

I might possess the Afghan identity, but I did not possess the refugee identity that these entrepreneurs had. However, many of my family members do, and reading through the hardships they might have experienced gave me a lot more appreciation for them. That is because my family members have not told me about the hardships they had to endure to flee Afghanistan; however, investigating the refugee identity has allowed me to hear about this experience. This increased admiration for refugees made it easier for me to read through all the stories in detail and identify the important qualities these entrepreneurs developed from their refugee identities.

To conclude, investigating this subject has given me a better understanding of myself

and the Afghan culture. It has also given me a new appreciation for my family members for having endured hardships as a refugee. Especially my parents, because they endured these hardships to give my siblings and me the opportunity to create a bright future for ourselves.

Chapter 6. Reference List

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Chapter 7. Appendix

7.1 Respondents Information

The names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the respondents.

Interview	Name respondent	Age	Gender	Arrival in NL	Business description	Business opening	Education	Full time entrepreneur
1	Haji	31	Male	3/4 years old	Web shop for Medical Practice Equipment	2002	Medicine (University)	No
2	Tawfiq	53	Male	31 years old	Care institution	2003	Medicine (Sovjet University) and Nurse (NL)	Yes
3	Ibrahim	30	Male	8 years old	Afghan Restaurant	2013	Business innovation (HBO)	yes
4	Zafar	52	Male	25 years old	Construction Company	2014	Electrical technic (Bulgaria) and Electrical Engineering (MBO, NL)	Yes
5	Fazal	35	Male	6/7 years old	Grocery Store	2021	Small Business and Retail Management (HBO)	Yes
6	Alireza	48	Male	17 to Turkey, 20-23 the Netherlands	Telecom Shop	2002	Electrical Engineer (Afghanistan)	Yes
7	Amir	40	Male	15 years old	Afghan Restaurant and Small Supermarket	2004/2005	Pharmacy Assistant (MBO)	Yes
8	Javed	42	Male	12 years old	Telecom Shop	2009	Law School (Currently)	Yes
9	Ahmed	50	Male	26 years old	Telecom Entrepreneur	2004	Law School (uni in Sovjet University) and HBO High IT (NL)	Yes
10	Amira	38	Female	21 years old	Driving School	2015	ICT (MBO) and Driving School Licence Holder	Yes
11	Amina	34	Female	6 years old	Beauty salon	2017	Hairdresser Training (MBO) and Skintherapy (HBO)	yes

12	Omid	25	Male	4 years old	Telecom Shop	2014	Law (University)	No
13	Farah	23	Female	4 years old	Bag Shop	2020	Business Administration (University)	Yes
14	Emir	33	Male	12 years old	Electronic Device Shop	2016	Biomedical sciences and Oral Care Sciences (University)	No
15	Fawad	22	Male	15 years old	Telecom Shop	2019	Retail (MBO) and ICT (MBO, Currently)	No
16	Reza	30	Male	6 years old	Audio Visual Content Producer	2018	Ergo Therapy (not finished) and Media and Culture (University)	Yes
17	Nilab	39	Female	9 years old	Dental Hygienist	2004	Oral Medicine (HBO)	Yes
18	Hamid	37	Male	14/15 years old	Dental Clinic	2019	Dentistry (University)	Yes
19	Ali	60	Male	35 years old	Taxi company	2012	Master Metallurgy of Steel (Afghanistan)	Yes

7.2 Interview Information

Interview	Name respondent	Interviewer	Second Interviewer	On/offline interview	How did we get this respondent
1	Haji	Jasper	Puk	Online	Afghan Refugee Foundation
2	Tawfiq	Jasper	Nik	Online	Google
3	Ibrahim	Puk		Online	Google
4	Zafar	Jasper		Online	Snowballing
5	Fazal	Puk		Online	Google and contacted on LinkedIn
6	Alireza	Nik		Offline	Own network
7	Amir	Puk		Online	Google
8	Javed	Jasper		Offline	Snowballing
9	Ahmed	Jasper		Offline	Snowballing
10	Amira	Puk		Online	Facebook Group of Afghan Entrepreneurs
11	Amina	Puk	Jasper	Online	FaceBook Group of Afghan Entrepreneurs

12	Omid	Nik		Offline	Real live recruitment
13	Farah	Nik		Online	Own network
14	Emir	Nik		Online	Snowballing
15	Fawad	Nik		Offline	Real live recruitment
16	Reza	Ramien		Online	Own network
17	Nilab	Ramien		Online	Snowballing
18	Hamid	Ramien		Online	Own network
19	Ali	Ramien		Offline	Own network

7.3 Interview Script

Vooraf: Toestemming formulier- toestemming van recording en deelname

TOESTEMMINGSFORMULIER

Voordat we beginnen, wil ik u om toestemming vragen om dit interview op te nemen. Deze opname is alleen toegankelijk voor mij, vier andere studenten van dit onderzoek en onze begeleiders. Dit interview zal achteraf worden getranscribeerd, maar u krijgt een fictieve naam en u blijft dus 100% anoniem.

[TEKEN TOESTEMMINGSFORMULIER]

Introductie

Hallo, mijn naam is.... Ik ben een onderzoeker/student op de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen en deel van een team dat onderzoek doet naar ondernemerschap van Afghaanse vluchtelingen. De data van dit onderzoek zal gebruikt worden voor deze onderzoeken. Vandaag zou ik graag uw verhaal willen horen over de weg die u hebt afgelegd om ondernemer te worden. Voordat we beginnen heeft u nog vragen?

Vanaf nu ga ik het gesprek opnemen.

Sociodemographic information- Part I

Voordat we beginnen met het interview, zou ik graag wat informatie van u vragen.

- Wat is uw Leeftijd?

- Met welk Gender definieert u zich?
- Welke opleiding heeft u gevolgd?

Narrative

Introductie van de narratieve analyse

Dan gaan we nu starten met het interview. Ik wil u vragen om na te denken over uw leven als een boek. Dit boek bestaat uit verschillende hoofdstukken. Deze hoofdstukken gaan over u en uw verleden, en worden soms gekoppeld aan werk dan weer aan familie of aan het land waarin u leeft. Hoofdstukken kunnen aan elkaar verbonden zijn en kunnen veranderen door de tijd heen.

PART 1 - PREPARATION

1. Om u te helpen laat ik u deze tijdlijn zien. *Laat hier de tijdlijn zien* Deze tijdlijn kan u helpen uw leven op te delen in hoofdstukken en het boek vorm te geven. Zoals u ziet is deze erg leeg. Ik heb het opzetten van uw bedrijf ingevoegd. Zou u me meer kunnen vertellen over uw bedrijf en uw ervaring met het opzetten uw eigen bedrijf? Tijdens dit proces zijn er wellicht ook emoties, personen en activiteiten die onderdeel zijn van het boek. Ik heb hier voorbeelden waardoor u zich kunt laten inspireren of die u kunt gebruiken om uw verhaal te vertellen.*Hier laten we verschillende voorbeelden zien die bij dit moment kunnen horen*
- a. Als hier niet op wordt gereflecteerd in het verhaal: **Waarom koos u ervoor om uw eigen bedrijf op te zetten?**
 - i. Welke situaties leidde er toe dat u een eigen bedrijf opzette? x
 - ii. Welke afwegingen heeft u gemaakt om uw eigen bedrijf op te starten. x
 - iii. Hoe kwam u aan uw financiële middelen voor het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf? x
 - iv. Hoe verbaast u de Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt?
 - v. Waarop heeft u de keuze gebaseerd om een bedrijf op te starten in deze sector? x
 - vi. In welke mate ervaart u concurrentie in de sector waarin u opereert? x
 - vii. In hoeverre richt uw onderneming zich op diverse etnische groepen zoals bijvoorbeeld Nederlandse of Westerse groepen?
 - b. Als hier niet op wordt gereflecteerd in het verhaal: **Kunt u meer vertellen over het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf?**
 - i. Wat waren fijne dingen aan deze ervaringen of juist negatieve ervaringen? Welke emoties hoorde hierbij? x
 - ii. Hoe ging u om met het bijbehorende risico van het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf (tegenover in loondienst bijvoorbeeld)? x
 - iii. Hoe verbaast u de kans van slagen van het opzetten en succesvol maken van je eigen bedrijf? x

2. Ik wil graag dat u kijkt naar de kaartjes die hier zijn bijgevoegd (kaartjes over sociaal netwerk instanties etc). Welke personen, andere bedrijven, instanties hebben invloed gehad op het verhaal van uw bedrijf? x
3. Kunt u mij meer vertellen over uw ervaring om een ondernemer te zijn?
 - a. Hoe ziet u uzelf als ondernemer? En waar ziet u als ondernemer nog ruimte voor verbetering?
 - i. kwaliteiten ondernemer x
 - b. Wat vinden andere mensen in uw omgeving ervan dat u een ondernemer bent?
 - c. Was u altijd al van plan om een ondernemer te worden? (Ook voordat u naar Nederland kwam?) x
 - d. Hoe kijkt u terug op de keuze om ondernemer te worden? x

PART 2 Wanneer wel ervaring/herinnering met arriveren in Nederland - Oude ervaringen en motivatie

A. Kunt u me meenemen hoe u van het arriveren in Nederland tot bij het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf bent gekomen?

- a. Welke kennis en skills hielpen bij het opzetten van uw bedrijf?x
- b. Waren er specifieke kennis & skills die u geleerd/meegemaakt heeft door uw beleving als vluchteling? x
- c. Hebben oude ervaringen in het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf meegespeeld? Bijv. op de arbeidsmarkt in Afghanistan. x
- d. Kunt u mij vertellen over hoe het was om als Afghaan op te groeien in Nederland?.
- e. In hoeverre heeft u gebruik gemaakt van uw afkomst bij het opzetten van een eigen bedrijf?
 - i. in hoeverre heeft uw afkomst invloed gehad op het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf? x
 - ii. Zijn er bepaalde kwaliteiten binnen de Afghaanse cultuur die u terugziet in uw eigen bedrijf? x
- f. Heeft uw afkomst ook invloed gehad op de strategie van het bedrijf? (Locatie van vestiging, soort klanten, bedrijfscultuur, sector, netwerk) terug met het verhaal van familie.
- g. Kunt u mij wat meer vertellen over hoe het was om als vluchteling een bedrijf op te starten?
 - i. moeilijkheden/uitdagingen & voordelen als Afghaanse vluchteling

B. Kunt u mij vertellen over hoe was het was om als vluchteling aan te komen in Nederland? Moeilijkheden/makkelijkheden.

- a. Hoe ervaarde u het zijn van een vluchteling? Welke emoties ervaarde u hierbij? x
- b. Kwam u veel in aanraking met andere Afghaanse en of andere vluchtelingen? Zoja/nee heeft u van deze contacten gebruik gemaakt bij het opzetten van uw bedrijf.
- c. Zijn er bepaalde vaardigheden of capaciteiten die u heeft geleerd toen u net naar Nederland kwam waar u nog steeds gebruik van maakt?

PART 2 (Wanneer geen ervaring/herinnering met arriveren Nederland) - Zoals u aangeeft heeft het arriveren in Nederland niet meegespeeld in het verhaal van het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf.

A: Kan u mij aangeven hoe de ervaringen voordat u uw eigen bedrijf had mee hebben gespeeld?

- a. Welke kennis en skills hielpen bij het opzetten van uw bedrijf?
- b. Kunt u mij vertellen welke personen hebben meegespeeld tijdens het opzetten van uw bedrijf?
 - i. Waren er ook contacten met andere Afghaanse of vluchtelingen → andere ondernemers, leveranciers, klanten, banken, etc.?
- c. In hoeverre heeft u gebruik gemaakt van uw afkomst bij het opzetten van een eigen bedrijf?
 - i. in hoeverre heeft u afkomst invloed gehad op het opzetten van uw eigen bedrijf?
 - ii. Zijn er bepaalde kwaliteiten binnen de Afghaanse cultuur die u terugziet in uw eigen bedrijf?
- d. Heeft uw afkomst ook invloed gehad op de strategie van het bedrijf? (Locatie van vestiging, soort klanten, bedrijfscultuur, sector)
- e. Kunt u mij wat meer vertellen over hoe het was om als Afghaanse vluchteling een bedrijf op te starten?
 - i. moeilijkheden/uitdagingen & voordelen als Afghaanse vluchteling

Part 2.2:

- a. Kunt u mij vertellen hoe u dan het leven in Nederland heeft ervaren als iemand met een Afghaanse afkomst?
- b. Kunt u mij meer vertellen over de momenten waarbij u merkte dat u als vluchteling werd gezien?
- c. Welke belangrijke ervaringen van het vluchteling gezien worden zijn hiervan bijgebleven en spelen een rol in uw verhaal.
 - i. moeilijkheden hiervan & Emoties die hierbij hoorden
- a. Kwam u nog wel in aanraking met andere Afghaanse vluchtelingen? Of vooral met vluchtelingen uit andere landen of met Nederlanders?
- b. Zijn er bepaalde vaardigheden of capaciteiten die u heeft geleerd door het zijn van/gezien te worden als een vluchteling?

Er zijn nog een aantal dingen die ik graag zou willen weten om ons gesprek af te kunnen ronden.

Sociodemographic information - Part II

Als de volgende informatie niet is langsgekomen in het verhaal:

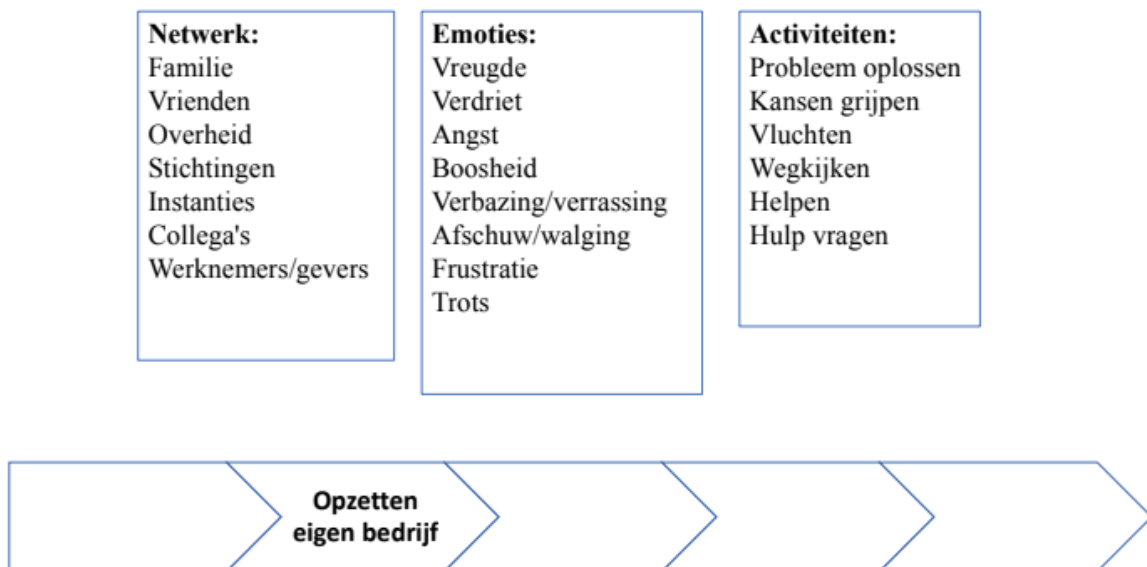
- Op welke leeftijd bent u naar Nederland gekomen
- Wat voor bedrijf heeft u?
- Wanneer heeft u uw bedrijf opgericht (jaar etc.)?
- Hoe makkelijk of moeilijk kunt u rondkomen met uw salaris?
- Heel moeilijk

- Moeilijk
- Beetje moeilijk
- Niet moeilijk/makkelijk
- Beetje makkelijk
- Makkelijk
- Heel makkelijk
- Zou u dit werk nog doen tot aan uw pensioen?

Einde

We zijn aan het einde gekomen van ons gesprek. Bedankt voor uw participatie in dit onderzoek. Ik zal zo de opname stoppen. Als u nog iets wil toevoegen, heeft u daar nu de gelegenheid voor. Als u graag het interview wil teruglezen zal ik u deze toesturen. Daarnaast wil ik u vragen of u misschien nog andere personen kent die ik zou kunnen interviewen.

7.4 Recall and Timeline Cards



7.5 Research Integrity Form

TOESTEMMINGSFORMULIER

Voor deelname aan het wetenschappelijk onderzoek: Ondernemerschap door Afghaanse vluchtelingen

Verklaring van de deelnemer

Het doel van het onderzoek is mij uitgelegd. Ik heb de mogelijkheid gekregen om vragen te stellen over het onderzoek. Ik neem vrijwillig deel aan het onderzoek. Ik begrijp dat ik op elk moment tijdens het onderzoek kan stoppen, mocht ik dat willen. Ik begrijp hoe de gegevens van de onderzoeksstudie zullen worden bewaard en hoe ze zullen worden gebruikt. Ik begrijp de mogelijke voordelen, ongemakken en risico's van het onderzoek. Ik geef toestemming om deel te nemen aan de onderzoeksstudie zoals beschreven in het informatiedocument.

Daarnaast geef ik toestemming om (gelieve alles aan te kruisen wat van toepassing is):

- de volgende persoonlijke gegevens te verwerken: geslacht, etniciteit, nationaliteit, opleiding, leeftijd
- geluidsopnames van mij te laten maken
- deze anonieme opnames te gebruiken voor wetenschappelijke doeleinden (bijvoorbeeld in een conferentie)
- deze anonieme opnames te gebruiken voor onderwijsdoeleinden (bijvoorbeeld in een lezing)
- de geluidsopnames laten transcriberen
- de geanonimiseerde transcripties gebruiken voor wetenschappelijk onderzoek

Naam:

Handtekening: Datum:

Verklaring van de uitvoerende onderzoeker

Ik verklaar dat ik bovengenoemde persoon correct heb geïnformeerd over de onderzoeksstudie en dat ik mij houd aan de richtlijnen voor onderzoek.

Naam:

Handtekening: Datum:.....

7.6 Interview Coding Scheme

Entrepreneurial Identity
Afghan Identity
Refugee Identity
Entrepreneurial x Afghan x Refugee Identity
Afghan x Refugee Identity
Afghan x Entrepreneurial Identity
Entrepreneurial x Refugee Identity