Resource mobilisation for social action through bricolage, for the displaced, by the displaced

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Introduction

Internally displaced persons are those that have a well-founded fear of persecution due to their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, and have moved from one part of the country to a new host location, as 'they cannot return home or are afraid to do so' (UNHCR, 2017, p.1). With social enterprises being praised for their ability to develop bottom-up, demand-driven approaches in reaching their target groups in a financially sustainable manner (Di Domenico, et al., 2010), they can potentially be an alternative to the top-down relief approach for solving complex economic and social

problems of internally displaced populations in war and conflict zones (Paresashvili & Erkomaishvili, 2016; Džunić et al., 2018; Milovanović and Maksimović, 2018). Recent developments in social entrepreneurship (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Desa, 2012; Desa and Basu, 2013; Kwong et al., 2017) literature suggest that, despite operating in a resource poor environment, social entrepreneurs can still develop entrepreneurial zeal by adopting a social bricolage resource utilisation strategy (henceforth, 'social bricolage'). The term 'bricolage' was first coined by Levi-Strauss (1967, p. 17) as "making do with whatever is at hand", to contrast with the strategy of optimisation involving the acquisition of high quality resources that have proven capabilities for the specific application for which the resources are intended (Desa and Basu, 2013). It involves the deployment and 'redeployment of discarded, disused, or unwanted resources-at-hand, including physical artefacts, skills, and knowledge, in ways different from those for which they were originally intended' (Jayawarna et al., 2014). The term 'at hand' has been expanded in previous studies to include resources that are readily available, internally or externally (Baker and Nelson, 2005). This could mean that bricolage is also the utilization of hidden or untapped local resources that other parties fail to recognize, value, or adequately use, and allows an organisation to thereby acquire them cheaply (Domenico et al., 2010), and the utilization of the resources obtained from collaborations and partnerships (Duymedjian and Ruling, 2010; Baker and Nelson, 2005; Kwong et al., 2017). Previous studies in the context of social entrepreneurship have highlighted the importance of social bricolage in the resource mobilization process of social enterprises (Di Domenico et al., 2010).

However, most of the existing studies on social bricolage focus on a stable, developed countries context, and our understanding is still limited as to how they influence social entrepreneurship in a penurious environment caused by war, conflict and displacement. Mobilizing resources for the development of social enterprises is likely to be more

challenging in the IDP context for a number of reasons. First, resource constraints can be much more severe than those highlighted in the previous studies. The insecurity, physical danger and survivalist nature of the context often pushes individuals to prioritise personal rather than social goals. This is consistent with the immigrant entrepreneurship literature which suggests that structural forces drive immigrants towards self-employment (Brzozowski, 2017). Therefore, these social enterprises are likely to experience an even more penurious environment, as resource holders often prioritise profit-seeking projects over those with less prospect of making a profit. Nevertheless, studies have repeatedly found that desperate situations often push people into social action (Lewis, 2015). Moreover, although conventional resource channels may become more limited, the social emphasis of these ventures may open new doors. Furthermore, although the main objective of social enterprises is social, many of them can also be financially sustainable. It is the question of where and how they can mobilize resources in such adverse conditions, and how they can be deployed, which is the core interest of this study.

Second, unlike social entrepreneurs in an affluent or penuriously stable environment in the host location, the connection between the internally displaced social entrepreneurs running the social enterprise, and the host location, is likely to be weak. Yet, previous studies on social bricolage have clearly indicated the importance of network and connection in the development process of collective social bricolage (Kwong et al., 2017; Tasavori et al., 2018). These studies have placed a high emphasis on the notion of co-creation, and the importance of complementary resources of different partners and well-wishers being effectively utilized. Many of these collaborations came from historical co-presence in the same location between the partners and the social enterprise (or the social entrepreneur), which gave them common focus, consensus and most importantly, trust between them (Kwong et al., 2017). However, there is likely to be a lack of trust and shared vision between

the displaced and the host population, which means that the latter, despite being more likely to have the resources required to start up, is less willing to collaborate. This means that the resources have to come from elsewhere. Previous studies have suggested that entrepreneurs would go further to search for these resources, although the high risk associated with the war and conflict contexts could make such searches prohibitively costly and ineffective (Lee and Venkataraman, 2006). Nevertheless, deprivation could push enterprising individuals to search deeper from within (Shane, 2000). However, it remains unclear the types of external resources that social enterprises can draw from, and how they are being deployed, for the purpose of collective bricolage. Therefore, we believe that there is a clear gap in the literature in relation to the use of social bricolage in the context of displacement.

In this study, we focus on social enterprises created by displaced social entrepreneurs in war and conflict zones and explore how they mobilise resources in the face of displacement challenges, for the creation and development of socially entrepreneurial ventures and social values. The research will answer the following research questions:

- *What are the types of internal resources that the displaced social entrepreneurs can utilise for their social bricolage endeavours?*
- *Where can displaced social entrepreneurs mobilise external resources from for their social bricolage endeavours?*
- *What is the role of social bricolage in the longitudinal resource mobilisation strategies of the social enterprises?*

In the sections that follow, we first examine the theoretical framework of bricolage and within it, the different resource mobilisation strategies. We then turn our focus to the particular context of conflict and our specific cases, as well as the methodology adopted. After revealing the findings, we discuss the role of bricolage in the development of social

enterprises in the war and conflict zone. We finally conclude our study, where managerial and policy implications are also discussed.

Literature Review

In the context of resource constraints, bricolage emerges as one of the most viable resource mobilisation strategies (Fisher 2012). The term 'bricolage' was first coined by Levi-Strauss (1967, 17) as "making do with whatever is at hand". In the context of entrepreneurship, bricolage is generally defined as the making-do with resources-at-hand to create new entrepreneurial challenges for which the resources were not originally intended (Baker and Nelson, 2005). The utilisation of the "resources at hand" is the centre of the bricolage strategy. This could involve the utilization of hidden or untapped local resources that other parties fail to recognize, value, or adequately use, and allow the organization to thereby acquire them cheaply (Domenico et al., 2010). Bricolage thus involves the 'redeployment of discarded, disused, or unwanted resources-at-hand, be it physical artefacts, skills or knowledge, in ways different from those for which they were originally intended' (Jayawarna et al., 2014). Similar to effectuation, the process of bricolage places great emphasis on the cognitive framework of the bricoleurs in the opportunity recognition and pursuance process (Fisher, 2012; Desa and Basu, 2013; Tracey and Philips, 2007; Desa 2012). In effectuation, under conditions of uncertainty, entrepreneurs adopt a decision logic that involves firstly an assessment of the environmental contingencies that they could bring under their control, before exploring, through experimentation, the entrepreneurial opportunities out there that they could best capture (Saravathy et al., 2003). Perry, Chandler and Markova (2011) summarise it as: "given who I am, what I know, and whom I know, what kind of entrepreneurial activities could I pursue and what kind of enterprise could I create?" (p842). The contingencies include not only the financial, physical and human resources that the

entrepreneurs possessed, or could get hold of, but also personal skills, experience, and networks (Fisher, 2013). In bricolage, the process is similar, but the emphasis is on ways in which entrepreneurs challenge limitations set out by existing resource constraints and industry standards, practices, and regulations (Desa, 2012; Weick, 1998), and 'creatively reinvent' (Rice and Roger, 1980), through the repackaging, transposing and recombining of undervalued, slack or discarded resources, be it materials, labour, skills, practices, assets or networks that are either at-hand or can be cheaply acquired (Baker and Nelson, 2005) from collaborations with others (Kwong et al., 2017). A summary of the different types of bricolage can be found in Table 1. According to Baker and Nelson (2005), these resources-at-hand can be categorised into different domains, including the inputs of physical capital such as material and infrastructure, human capital including skills, knowledge, competencies, as well as the customers and regulatory and institutional domains. These different domains will be the focus of the analysis. As with effectuation (Sarasvarthy et al., 2008), bricoleurs starts with the means to establish the end, as opposed to the more traditional logic of causation, where the path of an entrepreneur is derived through meticulous planning to identify the most relevant product(s) and customer clientele (s).

Social bricolage refers to the deployment of bricolage resource mobilisation strategy for social purposes (Di Domenico et al. 2010). Di Domenico et al. (2010) highlight some of the key differences between bricolage and social bricolage, including the more extensive reliance on persuasion and stakeholder participation, but also, their emphasis in creating social outcomes over economic gains. Such emphasis on stakeholder participation aligns with the recent developments in the literature on bricolage, which further clarify the concept of the "resources at hand" by extending it to include both internal and external resources (Duymedjian and Ruling 2010; Baker and Nelson 2005; Kwong et al., 2017). Collaborations of organisation or individuals (bricoleurs) for the co-creation of values can now be

considered as a bricolage strategy (Duymedjian and Ruling 2010) known as 'collective bricolage' (Kwong et al., 2017). Internal bricolage involves a great deal of scavenging of internal resources (Hewerdine et al., 2014), while collective bricolage involves collaboration and resource sharing for the co-creation of values (Kwong et al., 2017). However, collective bricolage in the generic bricolage literature tends to emphasize the for-profit business partners, including venture capitalists, formal financial institutions and shareholders, who all tend to be galvanized towards profit maximization. In the context of social bricolage, the nature of stakeholders tends to be much more diverse. Kwong et al. (2017) highlight the involvements of multiple collaborators in social bricolage, including donors, volunteers, philanthropists, government officials, international relief organizations, other social organizations, etc. These stakeholders are highly diverse in nature, resulting in more complex relationships with their multiple objectives that cannot always be easily aligned.

Social bricolage is particularly relevant to our study's context. Both displacement and the non-commercial nature of social enterprises have created a double whammy of resource paucity and cause more resource mobilisation challenges than in a more conventional context. Organisations adopt different strategies in different types of penurious environments (Anderson, Markides and Kupp, 2010). Therefore, although previous studies have explored the use of social bricolage in various penurious environment contexts, and have found a number of factors to be both facilitative and yet a hindrance to the adoption of bricolage (Kwong et al., 2017), these factors may be different from those found in the specific context of displacement. The challenges of implementing social bricolage in our specific context are yet to be fully understood. First, the resource context of displacement is different from other forms of penurious environment, and second, the motives of the displaced social entrepreneurs may be very different from commercially orientated enterprises seeking to maximise profits. Whetten (1989) emphasises the importance of both comprehensiveness and

parsimony in the development of theory in business and management research, and it is important to understand, in the context of displacement caused by war and conflict, the factors that stand out as crucial for displaced entrepreneurs to start up and then develop a socially entrepreneurial venture. With the call for greater emphasis on the utility of practice (Corley and Gioia, 2011), integrating empirical displacement research into the existing bricolage framework is important in advancing the scope of knowledge, and could offer a different perspective in the wider debate of displacement supports (Strang and Ager, 2010). To do so, we need to understand, first, the specificities of the penurious environment of displacement; second, the specific resources that displaced social entrepreneurs deployed in the context that they faced and whether these were internally prepossessed or acquired externally through different means; and, finally, how these resources are utilised and reconfigured for the purpose of bricolage.

Opportunities and challenges in deploying social bricolage as a resource mobilisation strategy in the displacement context

From the literature of displacement, it is apparent that displaced entrepreneurs face some significant resources challenges (Hobfoll, 2001), which could affect the extent to which the strategy of bricolage can be deployed. Unlike in other penurious environments, the entrepreneurs often face a rapid deterioration in their personal circumstances in the contexts of war and conflict (Cheung and Kwong, 2017). Many displaced people have suffered from personal possessions being stolen, confiscated or destroyed, premises illegally occupied, or resources simply left behind due to the immobile nature of property and other physical resources (Assaf and El-Fil, 2000), leaving them with very little physical capital at their disposal. This is in contrast with the context faced by social bricoleurs in the previous studies, where social entrepreneurs possess essential physical resources to start up a social enterprise,

or which are accessible through formal finance (Tasavori et al., 2018; Kwong et al., 2017). The restricted availability of physical resources in the context of displacement is likely to particularly affect their ability to pursue a social bricolage strategy. Kwong et al. (2019), for instance, highlight the struggle and the prioritisation of physical resources for personal rather than social or business uses. In one case, as the interviewee spent most of their capital on a new house, they were left with very little money to find a suitable and affordable place for the business.

To overcome this, the existing literature (Kwong et al., 2017) has suggested that bricoleurs can apply broad sets of human capital, ranging from manpower to rudimentary skills and craft knowledge that they pre-possessed, to defy and stretch the defined limitations of their limited array of resources to create new products and services (Ronkko et al., 2014). However, there may be a mismatch between the skills and competencies possessed, and the skills and competencies that are in demand in the host location (Sinclair, 2001). A narrative presented by Kwong et al. (2019) highlights this particular problem:

> *(In my hometown) women made beautiful 'shakors' (baskets) that are used to keep 'roti' (i.e. staple bread) in… There the market was very far away (remote) so usually they make those things at home and the people living in the same village used to buy it from there. But here (the host location) people prefer to buy things made up of plastic. The women spend around 2 to 3 days to make one shakor and charged for 150 or 100rs. But people would rather buy those made up of plastic for only Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. Because of the decreased demand, I think therefore they stopped making it.*

This suggests that the ability to effectively utilise one's own skills, knowledge and competencies is far from guaranteed. There are also other skills and types of knowledge that are hard to possess for the displaced individuals. Studies such as Cheung and Kwong (2017) have looked at how Chinese entrepreneurs in World War II survived and developed their

business ventures under warfare and foreign occupation, and found localised bricolage to be crucial to such endeavours, relying heavily on the local market knowledge, norms and sectoral knowledge, as well as local networks, that the affected entrepreneurs possessed. However, while equally affected by war and conflict, the local resources and know-how that those who remained at home possessed are precisely what the displaced social entrepreneurs lacked in the host environments. Different market demands, preferences, industry standards, norms, and operational processes could mean that their prior competencies may not be fully transferable (Duvander, 2001; Krahn et al., 2000). Furthermore, their lack of familiarity with the institutional context and regulatory environment could be the stumbling block (Cheung and Kwong, 2017; Krahn et al., 2000). Thus, if the displaced people are to develop social enterprises through bricolage, they may need to deploy different sets of resources and skills. Nevertheless, the displaced population could still regain new resources in the host environment. Since it is unclear from the existing literature the type of resources that would be crucial for bricolage in the context of displacement, we argue that such a context creates a very specific situation in which a theoretical extension from the existing bricolage theory is required. The above discussions lead us to our first research question:

- *What are the types of internal resources that the displaced social entrepreneurs can utilise for their social bricolage endeavours?*

With resource limitations in the context of displacement, collaboration is likely to become crucial. The notion of collective bricolage refers to the use of a hybrid approach supplementing internal bricolage by acquiring additional resources strategically from elsewhere. Such bricolage is mostly likely to involve the utilisations of resources residing within their pre-existing personal and professional networks, through different forms of business networks and partnership arrangements. Recent studies have found that collective

bricolage is the most crucial resource mobilisation strategy for social enterprises, charities and non-profit organisations because of the non-competitive, mutually beneficial co-creation discourse that is prevalent within the sector (Kwong et al., 2017; Tasavori et al., 2018; Lewis, 2013; Huybrechts et al., 2017; de Bruin et al., 2017). They have also examined how social entrepreneurship operates in the context of resources paucity and found that collective bricolage involves very different stakeholders compared to commercially orientated organisations (Kwong et al., 2017). Collective bricolage often involves donors, volunteers, policy makers, and other social organisations, who would not become particularly interested or involved in commercially orientated ventures (Kwong et al., 2017). Many of these parties respond at the time of emergency or disaster (Wenger, 1991), particularly when they feel physically, culturally or cognitively close to those being affected (Lowe and Fothergill, 2003). Social enterprises are often only made possible by mobilising these resources (Miller et al., 2012). Because of this, the nature of their relationship tends to be different from commercially orientated organisations. Due to resource constraints, collaboration tends to be much more cost conscious, with some (Kao *et al.*, 2016) highlighting the use of low-cost operational platforms such as social media as being more crucial in the co-creation of values. Trust in the relationships between the stakeholders is also a crucial element to encourage them to engage in the values co-creation process (Ferguson, Schattke and Paulin, 2016).

Studies have suggested the crucial role of pre-existing networks for immigrants in their entrepreneurial endeavours, and their economic adaptation process (Brzozowski, 2017; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Kalnins and Chung, 2006). Nevertheless, while conventional social enterprises based in home locations may have already established networks, relationships, trusts, and presence in social media, this may not be the case in the context of displacement where the social entrepreneurs may need to develop new networks, relationships, trustworthiness, and other resources (Bizri, 2017; Cheung and Kwong, 2017) as they have

usually left behind the previously developed and accumulated resources in the home locations (Assaf and El-Fil, 2000). The networks developed in home locations could be obsolete in the host locations. All these factors suggest that collective bricolage is likely to be even more crucial, but different, and a better understanding could enhance our understanding in terms of how resources utilisation can be applied by social enterprises in the displacement context. However, as mentioned, the multiple stakeholders often have different agendas and want to get different things out of the collaboration. Therefore, it is unclear how consensus can be obtained, and how the negotiation process is likely to affect the scope of the collective bricolage outcome in addressing social concerns (Kwong et al., 2017). In the context of conflict, the number of stakeholders who provide financial donations and are content to remain dormant in the relationship are likely to be reduced. Instead, collaboration is likely to involve manpower and human capital support by volunteers, or reciprocal partners such as other social organisations. While the social entrepreneurs work with stakeholders to provide them with additional resources, many of the stakeholders are equally affected by the conflict and are, therefore, looking for supportive partners for exactly the same reason. The above discussions lead us to the second research question:

- *Where can displaced social entrepreneurs mobilise external resources from for their social bricolage endeavours?*

Bricolage and resource mobilisation strategy in the long run

So far, very few studies from within the existing literature on bricolage discuss how the resource mobilisation strategies of social enterprises affected by the issue of displacement may change over time. Some studies have suggested that social entrepreneurs do indeed augment their strategies constantly to develop a good fit with the demands of those in need of

support. Tasavori et al (2018) noted considerable changes over time in bricolage activities developed by social enterprises. This involved changes in market, products and services, although the authors argue that such changes are more likely incremental rather than radical. Kwong et al., (2017) found that social enterprises are often involved in different types of collaboration activities with different resource partners over time. Literature on conflict and displacement also highlights a possible change in reliance on bricolage over time. For instance, Cheung and Kwong (2017) found that while all three of their cases engaged in local bricolage during World War II, only two out of three continued with such a strategy when peace resumed. Lang (2010), in a biography of a Chinese entrepreneur who started his first business during the war through collective bricolage, found that he gave up collective bricolage and opted for an optimisation resource mobilisation strategy predominantly utilising formal finance for expansion. However, these were not displaced individuals and they were able to draw from crucial local resources when the conflict was over; displaced social entrepreneurs do not have the same luxury as conflict is ongoing. Therefore, how displaced social entrepreneurs continued to develop their social enterprises remains unknown. The above discussions lead us to the third and final research question:

- *What is the role of social bricolage in the longitudinal resource mobilisation strategies of the social enterprises?*

Methodology

The research questions highlighted in the literature review are practice-orientated in nature, intending to give voice to the practitioner regarding their issues and challenges that many suggested were often neglected in academic research (Garman, 2011). Bartunek and Rynes (2014) suggest that it would be important for academics to understand the point of view of

the practitioners, because of the prevailing logic, communication and inquiry time gaps between the two. Therefore, it is necessary for us to understand not only how a concept such as bricolage operates as a theoretical framework, but also their pragmatic implementations in order for people in the context of displacement to thrive or even to simply survive. Therefore, our role is to examine, from the implementation point of view, how practitioners utilise different resources in starting a business, and, in turn, how their patterns can be fed into the existing academic discussions of bricolage as a theoretical construct. While there has been a question in terms of rigour of practitioner or practice orientated research, Tranfield and Starkey (1998) suggest that research problems framed in the context of application can remain relevant and yet be rigorous, although according to Garman (2011), it requires academics to widen their self-identification, by embracing practitioners as people who can help to define and frame the dilemma and decisions in ways that lend themselves to scholarly inquiry. Through such an approach, we found that there are similarities, but also, notable differences, between entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs operating in a generally resource constrained environment, and those that operated under the conditions of displacement. This allows us to propose changes to the existing theories of bricolage, thus making a theoretical contribution.

In the penurious context of displacement where few current studies exist, we pursued a qualitative multiple case study design to extend theory into this context (Graebner, Martin & Roundy, 2012) and to generate new theoretical and managerial insights (Yin, 2012). Multiple cases permit replication logic (Yin, 2012) and lead to more robust, generalizable theory than a single case (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The extensive effort required to extract longitudinal details that is essential in the study of bricolage and the difficulties in finding suitable informants for the restricted context of conflict (Goodhand, 2000) means that we had to restrict the number of social entrepreneurs to three. The number is consistent with previous

research using an in-depth qualitative approach such as Jack et al. (2008), but also, more specifically, studies of the conflict situation such as Cheung and Kwong (2017), where the authors collected three historical cases from three main informants using interviews gathered by three different teams. In our case, there were considerable difficulties in obtaining data from informants as many were scared and hence, were reluctant to give interviews to an 'outsider' who was not part of their community. Furthermore, in the situation of displacement, and in the developing country context where the social safety net is inadequate, few displaced individuals were able to establish a social initiative for other displaced people, as they would first need to look after themselves and their family. Therefore, the difficulty in finding adequate information in a single country means that the data are gathered from war and conflict situations that took place in three countries. The multiple case, multiple context approach is particularly appropriate in a young field characterised by its emergent nature, consistent with previous studies such as Terjesen and Elem (2009). The interviews were collected by different authors, and consequently, there are differences in terms of content and forms displayed (Table 2). In one case, the work relied on oral history materials given that the social entrepreneurial activities took place over half a century ago. In the other two cases, the biographical data emerged in the interviews. This is consistent with McCracken (1998) who suggests that a longitudinal interview can be viewed as a form of biography. Thus, "a reflective, biographical interview of an owner/manager can uncover how the firm has evolved since its inception, as well as gaining insight into owner/manager attitudes and behaviours. This longitudinal perspective can give greater confidence to the research findings, especially if a number of biographical cases are compared and contrasted" (Fillis, 2015). Previous studies have suggested that the re-using of archival materials is not uncommon in biographical research as long as they are being carefully deconstructed and recontextualised (Tureby, 2013). Such an approach can also be considered appropriate because our focus is on

the referential function of the narrative (i.e. the sequence and responses) rather than feelings and emotions.

Our study follows the biographical research method (Bornat, 2008; Merrill and West, 2009; Grele, 1996; Thompson, 2000) focusing largely on the establishment of facts surrounding the entrepreneurial decisions taken by the three social entrepreneurs during the period of displacement (Portelli, 2006; Thompson, 2000). These social entrepreneurs engaged in two types of social enterprise as defined by Defourny and Nyssens (2016): entrepreneurial non-profit organisations and social businesses. Both forms of social enterprises apply the notion of entrepreneurship in the process of solving social problems, but the difference lies in that while the former emphasizes financial sustainability (Mair and Marti, 2006), the latter operates in a commercially orientated fashion which enables them to sometimes even become profitable (Defourny and Nyssens, 2016). The use of the biographical research approach is becoming increasingly common in the context of social entrepreneurship (Chandra, 2018; Froggett and Chamberlayne, 2004; Chandra and Shang, 2017). It is useful because it enables us to reflect on how their personal characters, previous experiences, connections and key events in their life as a social entrepreneur could impact upon the resources that they can draw from, the people potentially involved in the venture process, and the eventual action that shapes the nature and size of their social enterprises specifically in the context of displacement (Chandra and Shang, 2017). Our intention is to explore not only the entrepreneurial actions taken by the social entrepreneurs but also the competencies that they acquired throughout their lives and their attitudes towards various issues that may have affected business decisions. Our chosen approach is particularly suitable for this research because, firstly, of the longitudinal nature of biographical histories that are highly suitable to a change-orientated topic such as bricolage (Merlin, 1992); secondly, a biographical approach

offers us a depth of information containing thoughts, ideas, emotions and attitudes that is not limited to those officially recorded (Duchek, 2016; Ruebottom and Toubiana, 2017); thirdly, biographical methods offer greater opportunity for contextualisation (Fillis, 2006). The research participants can offer reflections about what had happened, which enables us to understand the different possibilities other than the one that was eventually acted upon (Frogett and Chamberlaynes, 2017). It helps in understanding the ways in which different relational ties and social connections could affect the shaping of the ventures (Ruebottom and Toubiana, 2017). It also sheds light on how the entrepreneurs dealt with critical situations and failure and which factors had an influence on the venture development processes (Duchek, 2016). Finally, our emphasis on individual testimonies that detail the local, native and marginalised points of view most often ignored by mainstream historical sources is particularly important in the context of displacement where records were completely destroyed or only very few were kept (Thompson, 2000; Portelli, 2006).

Finally, secondary data were also used to explore the context behind the war, conflict and displacement. These include news and magazine articles, academic journal articles, book chapters, and narratives from interviews of other respondents in related projects that helped to further make sense of the biographical data collected through interviews (see Table 2). Secondary resources in Arabic, Chinese and Pashto were translated by the authors into English, to conduct further analysis. It is not unusual for biographical researchers to work with a range of data including diaries, notebooks, interactive websites, videos, weblogs and written personal narratives. The interventionist approach where face to face interviews are conducted, to a more detached approach to collect accounts similar to an archive, helps to make sense of the biographical accounts (Alasuutari, Bickman, and Brannen, 2008).

Data Analysis

The analysis was conducted first within each case and then a cross-case comparison was carried out. The heterogeneity of the entrepreneurial process experienced by different individuals (Shane 1999; 2000; Baron, 2006; Baron and Ensley, 2006) implies bricolage can only be understood if we have a clear view of the antecedents, in terms of the skills, knowledge, competencies, resources and network developed, personally and as part of the business, behind each of the events (Kwong et al., 2017). It is important to note that, consistent with Berends et al (2014), the above recorded do not represent the full range of activities in which the social entrepreneurs have taken part but, rather, those that the interviewees have personal experience of, and first-hand information about.

Second, following the approaches of Strauss and Corbin (1998) and Saldana (2015), we applied multiple coding schemes to identify five relevant issues based on our conceptual framework. In the first round, we deployed a priori, categorical coding to highlight the following issues (the data structure is reported in Table 3):

- *Nature of bricolage*: this involves the consideration of whether and how the event fulfils the criteria of bricolage outlined in Baker and Nelson (2005). These criteria were the actions of making do, refusal to be constrained by limitations, and improvisation.
- *Pre-existing resources and capabilities utilised:* this considers the repertoire of internal resources that was utilised in the event. For this part, we first draw on the resource domains highlighted in Baker and Nelson (2005) as the basis of our

categorisation, but later also include those emerging from the findings, for instance, resources acquired from pre-existing networks.

- *Co-creation through external resources utilisation*: this is similar to the above, but considers the resources acquired from external sources. The category is consistent with the notion of network bricolage of Baker et al (2003), and the later notions of external and collective bricolage of Tasavori et al. (2018) and Kwong et al. (2017).

- *Bricolage outcomes*: this considers the economic and social outcomes of the event in terms of size, incomes and growth. In addition to that, we also recorded the subjective feeling of the entrepreneurs, and in particular, how satisfied they had been with the event. In some cases, an event may even be considered as successful in terms of the economic outcomes achieved, despite the entrepreneurs not being happy because the outcome has not met his/her expectations.

Once we have completed the first round of coding, we then look for new coding categories based on the emerging themes.

As suggested by Yin (2014), secondary data can serve to corroborate and augment the data obtained from key informants. For instance, when analysing the data, whenever we found that some pieces of information were missing, we consulted with information that we obtained through secondary data, including archives of newspapers, and war records stored in the National Archive, but also, biographies and narratives of those who had similar war and displacement experiences. The different sources of information enabled us to obtain information that was not discussed or reported in the interviews and allowed us to further investigate discrepancies found between the different sources.

Results

Internal resources utilisation in the development of social bricolage by the displaced social entrepreneurs

The contexts of the three social entrepreneurs and the social enterprises that they were involved in are highlighted in Table 4, while the different business and social entrepreneurship activities that each of the social entrepreneurs was involved in can be found in Table 5. The intial case that is the focus of this section is highlighted as S2 (Syrian worker), P3 (Pakistani teacher) and C1 (Chinese nunnery student) in the table. The cross-case analysis reveals three key themes in relation to internal resource utilisation amongst the displaced social entrepreneurs: the heavy reliance on internal skills and competencies, dependence on social networks, and the absence of internal physical resources. These will be discussed as follows:

*i) Recombination of internal skills, knowledge and competenci*es *for new purposes*

With physical capital being in short supply, skills, knowledge and *competencies* instead became the main internal resources that the social entrepreneurs utilised. Two of the displaced social entrepreneurs developed an education initiative in their own location and for them, prior skills, knowledge and competencies were crucial. In the case of the Pakistani teacher, both his prior education and previous teaching experiences as private tutor and locum teacher enabled him to take over the ownership of a failing school. In the case of the Chinese nunnery student, she established a school within the Buddhist nunnery where she was based, utilising her literacy skills. These were clear made-do attempts, as neither of them were fully qualified teachers. The Chinese nunnery student only had a Buddhist education background and no qualification in teaching. Because of that, she was only teaching basic literacy and numeracy. From the viewpoint of her target group, her literacy skills were deemed adequate to meet the expectations of her students, many of whom were previously illiterate and simply wanted to learn to read and write, or were schoolchildren with few or no alternative options available. In order to utilise the skills, knowledge and competencies, there was also a need to reconfigure them towards the needs of their social enterprises. For instance, the Pakistani

teacher also spoke of the shift of workload from a predominantly teaching role towards much more involvement in administration.

ii) Utilisation of pre-existing social capital

Pre-existing social capital was also utilised. In the case of the Syrian worker, the crucial social capital was her ability to mobilise like-minded individuals through pre-existing social media connections. Finding like-minded people from the social networks enabled them to form the original start-up team involving three students, two of whom were from the conflict zone and one from the capital, the government stronghold and one of the most popular host locations. They discussed extensively, through Facebook, different ways to help those in need. The communication enabled them to develop clarity in terms of the types of social actions that they could pursue:

> "*When the conflict started, people fled the provincial cities and were going into cities that were safer, such as the capital. One issue that occurred to us was that these people needed shelter. Many of them were homeless, without anything. Some people in these cities began to lend out their spare houses. Some rich people may have three houses in the capital and they don't use them, or only for rental…We realised that we could gather information on the people who own these houses and the people who need these houses. We could keep a registry of it and do the matching, with no payment.*"

Furthermore, their social networks were also crucial in reaching out to others who wanted to become involved in their social cause. Although using connections from social arenas does have problems in terms of the breadth of outreach to the most qualified people, it was an effective made-do strategy. Careful reconfiguration of the connections was important because not everyone agreed with their political and social viewpoints. The reconfiguration of these internal connections to the new social enterprise required careful checking of the background

of each of those connected to their existing social media network, to minimise the risk of being infiltrated by the Syrian government that was highly suspicious of these bottom-up social endeavours. The social connection was also crucial in terms of collective bricolage, which will be discussed in the next section. Social network was also crucial to the Chinese nunnery student, as she "*joined up with other nunnery students to implement the idea of turning the part of the nunnery into a school*", thus reconfiguring her peer network into a collegiate one. While none of them were qualified teachers, this was nevertheless an effective made-do strategy considering the context of the time where qualified teachers and other professionals were fleeing the area due to the fear of conflict. Similarly, upon hearing that the school that he worked for as a locum teacher was about to fold, the Pakistani teacher "*approached the headteacher to discuss ways to resurrect the school by targeting exclusively displaced students who fled conflicts.*" Here, the displaced social entrepreneur was the driving force of this educational initiative for those affected by displacement, as the venture would not have been possible without his involvement, because the headteacher did not have enough knowledge of the displaced population to come up with this venture idea, and was largely passive and resigned to the school's closure.

iii) *The absence of internal physical resources*

What is also of note is the lack of utilisation of internal physical resources, in contrast with previous studies in the context of war and conflict such as Cheung and Kwong (2017). We found that, in the displacement condition, the social entrepreneurs in our study had very limited physical resources at their disposal, and subsequently, their initial ventures did not rely on internal physical resources. In the case of the Pakistani teacher, his family lost a considerable amount during the process of displacement. Due to lack of local knowledge, his father was deceived by a local dealer, lost money and was eventually declared bankrupt. In

the case of the Syrian worker, she was only a student and had no viable physical resources at her disposal. For the Chinese nunnery student, she was unable to return home and had very limited physical possessions with her at the nunnery. Therefore, this particular finding is in contrast with previous studies on social bricolage, such as Di Domenico et al (2010); Desa and Basu (2012); Basu (2013), Kwong et al (2017) and Tasavori et al. (2018), where internal physical resources were seen as fundamental to the beginning of social bricolage endeavours.

External resource mobilisation and the co-creation of the initial social enterprises through collective social bricolage

The lack of internal physical resources meant that external acquisition was crucial. However, we found the acquisition strategy did not rely on a formal financial-based approach for new purchases, as some of the previous studies suggested (Tasavori et al., 2017), but instead, had a heavy emphasis on collective bricolage through making-do with the pre-existing resources of the partner. The key resources utilised are highlighted below:

i) Physical resources

Collaboration enables social entrepreneurs to get hold of the physical resources possessed by their partners. The Chinese nunnery student, together with her fellow students, applied to the Chief Venerable at the nunnery for the usage of their premises for the purpose of teaching. The Chief Venerable agreed, and throughout the process, remained as the dormant partner in the relationship. The central authority of the nunnery was in disarray as many ordained nuns left or were forcibly removed. The Chief Venerable was also very busy in running the nunnery, working as a translator for the Japanese, as well as starting a social project to provide free medicines for poor people (Tung Lin Court Yuen, 1966). Nevertheless, it was

felt that the school project was mutually beneficial. The students agreed that all the revenues from school fees would be "*passed on to the nunnery*", and that they would not be "*drawing salary for themselves*" in return for free lodging and food. In the context of lawlessness during the time, the existence of the school would enable the buildings to remain occupied, protecting it from falling into the hands of bandits, smugglers, squatters and others illegal lodgers. Considerable reconfigurations were made to turn the nunnery into a school. For instance, they had to turn "*storage rooms, and even the balcony*", into teaching space. The living quarter had been turned into boarding facilities for the students, and derelict fields into a vegetable garden. The land was granted to them by the government for the expansion of the Buddhist school in the nunnery, but due to the start of war, construction did not take place (Hong Kong Government, 1939). This pitch was seen as particularly vital for survival (Zheng and Wong, 2016) as elsewhere, warfare between Japan and the allies meant that the supply for food had been cut. Moritaka Ikushima's (1971) book on churches in Hong Kong recalled his personal witness:

> *Increasingly, food, water, fuel, electricity and other necessity goods were becoming unavailable. Because of this, people in Hong Kong looked to be in hunger, and many died in hunger in the wild. Dead bodies were a common site on the backstreets* (p98-99).

The school also admitted boys as students (Zheng and Wong, 2016). Males were not permitted to enter the nunnery prior to that, which meant that the nunnery had to make physical rearrangements to ensure that the strict gender separation rules would not be breached. The new students fulfilled a variety of roles within the community, including "*cleaning, tending the fields, as well as supporting more important maintenance work*", which ensured the monastic lifestyle was sustained. Moreover, the social initiative aligned well with the social values and objectives of the nunnery. To save costs, the collection of

Buddhist literature within the nunnery was re-used as teaching materials for literacy, which indirectly supported the dissemination of the religion. Finally, the small inflow of income from teachers to a small extent compensated for the decreased amount of donations and alternative revenue sources from visitors and pilgrims. According to an official release of the nunnery:

> *During the war when Hong Kong was occupied by China, all activities within the nunnery ceased. The revenues could not match the outgoings, there was not enough food, the situation was dire* (Tung Lin Court Yuen, 1966).

In the case of the Pakistani teacher, the collaboration with the previous headteacher enabled them to re-use the existing school premises as well as the other school infrastructures, including the school licence, that was crucial to the reconfiguration. Although the school was not deemed to be the most appropriate by the social entrepreneur both in terms of the location and set-up, nevertheless the physical structure was available. From the headteacher's point of view, such collaboration is mutually beneficial, as she saw it as a worthwhile project, but also, it enabled her to maintain a relative status quo. In the case of the Syrian workers, the social project relied on the empty properties of wealthy well-wishers who were concerned about the welfare of their fellow Syrian citizens, but at the same time, offered a modest rental income, particularly when the displaced found suitable employment.

Donated physical resources formed an important part of their physical resource acquisition strategy. The Pakistani teachers received book donations, while the Syrian workers' project received considerable funding and donations from within their clandestine network, most notably those from overseas. The Chinese nunnery students received donations from pilgrims, disciples and well-wishers who had been supporting them in the past. However, these resourced supports were not limited to materials that were considered useful. For instance, even the horse manure donated by a nearby stable provided the social enterprise

with good fertiliser for their vegetable garden, enabling them to feed themselves and those who came to be educated.

ii) Reconfiguring external skills, knowledge and competencies for new purposes

External skills, knowledge and competencies from collaborators was crucial to the idea formation process, with all three social enterprises beginning when like-minded individuals got together as co-creators. The Chinese nunnery student involved fellow Buddhism students who were in similar positions with similar backgrounds. Their collaboration was driven by common needs and common vision, where everyone could see themselves as an integral part. The collaboration between the Pakistani teacher and the headmaster, by contrast, was driven by complementary competencies. The young displaced tutor who had little administrative and educational experience but with bags of enthusiasm, ideas and vision of the next big market, was complementary to an experienced headmaster who was running out of steam in terms of how to resurrect a declining school. While the first two cases were pragmatic improvisations that began with the means before focussing on the ideas, the third case was started with an idea before considering the means of carrying it out. In the third case, the collaboration came about when three friends shared the same social aspirations through social media discussion, which enabled them to discuss and come up with social actions against what they considered as injustices in the process of displacement. They realised the importance of collaboration in the process of co-creation. One of them said: "*Although on our own we have very little and can achieve very little, together we can share workload and expertise. We are strong*"

Beyond idea formulation, collaboration enabled the social entrepreneurs to acquire specific skills that their partners possessed, which was a crucial enabler given the skill shortage. In the case of the Pakistani teacher, joining up with the previous headmaster enabled him to tap into his knowhow. He recalls:

I was a home tutor and my partner was a principal in a school. I had no experience of running a school. He had the administration skills and I had the teaching skills… We both brought our experiences into action and now it is running very smoothly.

The second role of the skills, knowledge and competencies of collaborators was their local knowledge. The social entrepreneurs obtained voluntary support from many well-wishers. In the case of the Syrian worker and her collaborators, once the idea was formed, they mobilised their friends through Facebook to help with the project. Some of their friends who lived in the safe zone helped to register information about the landlord and potential tenants. The friends from the conflict zone verified the identities and the stories told by the existing tenants. Their personal knowledge on both sides of the conflict was crucial as they worried about criminals who tried to obtain others' properties illegally, or about government infiltration.

iii) Utilising of the social capital of collaborators

The social networks of the collaborators were crucial to their social bricolage. They offered a number of advantages, including helping them to identify donors, volunteers, recipients, a supply chain, and as the source of local knowledge. The network was an important source of resource supports. For example, the social networks of the Syrian workers played crucial parts in offering their vacated flats for the incoming displaced persons. Similarly, when the social enterprise moved onto medical supplies and books, different people from within the network stood up and offered supplies. In the case of the Chinese nunnery students, they were able to draw from the connections of the Chief Venerable's network, who was born and received her early education in Japan. According to the internal document from the nunnery:

Through patience and calling, Chief Venerable Lam led everyone through the difficult time… Through her Japanese language skill and good understanding of the culture, (she was able to mobilise) others who were as kind as the Chief Venerable, especially

the faithful Japanese Buddhists…, to provide them food to overcome the challenges

faced by everyone (Tung Lin Court Yuen, 1958, p4).

According to the Chinese nunnery student, through the Chief Venerable, they were put in touch with a Japanese monk following his bodhisattva vow and who was staying in the nunnery occasionally, to help the school to obtain "*unofficial permission*" from the Japanese authorities. Before that, the students had to "*hide when the Japanese arrived (for inspection) and put the children away*". For the Japanese monk, he was not interested in becoming involved in the school. In return, he set up a Buddhist association for Chinese and Japanese Buddhists to meet within the nunnery, with the Chief Venerable's approval. According to some local historian, the Japanese authority used this association to control and monitor all Buddhism activities in the territory (Chan, 2009; Zheng and Wong, 2016), which explained why they agreed to the setting up of the school. Similarly, the Pakistani teacher was able to utilise the network of the headmaster, including their previous suppliers of many different goods and services, and this enabled them to obtain them at a low cost. Clandestine social networks that were established prior to the displacement of the second social entrepreneur appear crucial in providing vital links within the customers - the out of school displaced children who were desperate for a normal education.

iv) Lack of emphasis on financial resources

One aspect that stood out as the main contrast from the existing literature is the lack of reliance on financial resources. In the cases of most previous studies, entrepreneurs who started up obtained resources through a formal financial acquisition strategy. In contrast, our cases illustrate resources which are largely obtained through collective bricolage. Beyond that, it is also through a frugal approach to their operation. All three social enterprises made a minimal attempt in acquiring physical resources at the beginning. Instead, they were reusing

existing resources and competencies. For instance, the Chinese nunnery students made almost no external acquisition. The Pakistani teacher bought second-hand equipment, such as computers and printers. They also bought stationery, such as note-pads, that were rejected by another school, which enabled them to get a good bargain. Frugality was also applied to the operational process. In the case of the Syrian workers, they also deployed a low-cost operational platform in coordinating and managing workers and volunteers from different parts of the world. For instance, the use of Facebook provided them with a free online platform to coordinate different tasks with others who worked for one of them. Not only did this enable the social operation to save the considerable costs of setting up physical meetings, or purchasing expensive online video conferencing equipment, it also enabled more workers to participate given the physical immobility and the dispersed nature of the workers. The benefit of Facebook is also that it can offer the social enterprise some level of exclusivity, which helped prevent the potential government infiltration that they worried about. The second aspect of frugality is that the social enterprise adopted a middleman approach, focusing on matching those who were in need with those who could offer housing support. By reducing their involvements, it helped to reduce administrative burden and keep their operational costs low.

The longitudinal development of the social enterprises

From the findings above, the crucial roles of internal and collective bricolage in the idea formulation and initial start-up stages were apparent in all three social enterprises.

While we highlighted the crucial role of social bricolage in the idea development and business formulation processes, once the social enterprises moved beyond the gestation period, the three displaced social entrepreneurs have used very different strategies, with a

different level of reliance on social bricolage and collaboration. There follows a summary of the different strategies deployed:

i)   Maintaining status quo / reinforcing existing social bricolage

In the case of the Chinese nunnery students, they pursued a strategy aiming to maintain the outcomes from the social bricolage. In the case of continued conflict, students continued to demand education as the schools remained shut. Once the student number had reached a stable equilibrium to sustain the nunnery, they considered the social transformation to be complete. They continued the same social endeavour until the end of the war. Afterwards, the nunnery returned to its original purpose, with the students returning home for formal schooling, or leaving for employment. Some of the nunnery students became ordained nuns, while others returned home but continued to be involved in Buddhism related endeavours. The Chinese nunnery student herself continued in the education sector, and later became a headteacher of a Buddhism-affiliated primary school.

ii)   Upscaling through optimisation

Facing increasing demand from the displaced population, the Pakistani teacher continued to upscale their social enterprise. In terms of resource mobilisation, they embarked on a strategy of optimisation for expansion, and reduced their reliance on social bricolage. The fees that the social entrepreneur received from the students enabled him to increase his outreach. He obtained a loan to acquire a new school site that was bigger and considered to be more appropriate location-wise (P4 in Table 5). The school continued to grow, from around 100 students at the beginning, to over 300 students and 13 teachers. Due to the success, the school attracted four new partners, displaced individuals themselves, to set up four new franchised schools in nearby displaced settlements in the same region (P5 in Table 5). The social business was highly commercialised. It was financially sound and profitable, ensuring its

upscaling and sustainability in the long run. Beyond the social outreach, the social entrepreneur also benefitted from the venture personally:

"The venture has been a huge success for me. I have made money so my family can live a prosperous life. My young siblings can now continue their education."

iii)   Upscaling through continued social bricolage

While the Chinese nunnery students and the Pakistani teacher continued the same social enterprise without alteration, the case of the Syrian workers illustrates how some social enterprises continued to evolve due to the changes in circumstances of their targeted group. They noticed a change in the circumstances of the displaced:

"*After about a year into the conflict, other NGOs and other organisations started helping (sending relief work) too. But our services also started changing by that point…People are… no longer living in the middle of a war, they live in a stable environment with a home,*"

The business continued to evolve and offer different social services. For instance, they moved on to the area of books for children by pairing up books from donors and then distributing them to the households with children on their list (S3 in Table 5). Then they moved onto medicine supplies, by pairing up professionals with pharmacists, hospitals and pharmaceutical companies that were willing to help (S4 in Table 5). They also began to provide employment support by connecting those who needed a job with those in need of labour (S5 in Table 5). Recently, they also started a microfinance scheme, by linking financiers with those in need of start-up funds (S6 in Table 5).

In these different episodes, the social entrepreneurs continued to apply social bricolage for the subsequent social activities. They also continued to re-use the same "middleman" operational model for the different projects. This was made possible by a displaced person

database that they had created. The re-use of the database for their subsequent projects enabled the social enterprise to quickly identify those who were in need of support. Another advantage of the middleman approach is that it does not require extensive monitoring and physical presence in the field. Thus, the database became an internal asset which they could continue to re-utilise in their social bricolage attempts. They also continued to utilise collective bricolage by deploying external physical resources provided by the well-wishers that were often idle resources that were not utilised in full by the external donors.

Key summary of findings

- Consistent with studies of bricolage in resource constrained environments (Baker and Nelson, 2005; Di Domenico et al., 2010), the strategy of bricolage is effective in the context of displacement in supporting displaced social entrepreneurs to overcome significant resource constraints in the start-up of their social ventures.

- Internal bricolage strategy involves the heavy utilisation of pre-existing social capital, internal skills, knowledge and competencies, but, unlike as suggested in the literature (e.g. Kwong et al., 2017 and Tasavori et al., 2018), the absence of internal physical capital does not have a prohibitive effect on the development of social bricolage activities.

- External bricolage strategy involves the uses of physical resources and skills, knowledge and competencies possessed by the collaborators, as expected, but also, as an additional contribution to the literature, involves the exploration of the social network of the collaborators.

- As a contextually specific contribution, we also found that, while bricolage appeared influential at the start-up stages of these social ventures, once the displaced social entrepreneurs had gained a foothold in the host location, some chose not to embark on

such a strategy in order for their social ventures to grow. In other words, bricolage became a choice rather than necessity.

Concluding comments

Theoretical implications

Our findings are summarised in the conceptual framework in Figure 1. Our study advances the theoretical knowledge of the field by providing a more specific understanding of how bricolage can be deployed in social enterprises in the context of displacement. Consistent with other studies examining entrepreneurship in penurious environments (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Rego et al., 2014; Linna, 2013; Cheung and Kwong, 2017), our findings suggest that bricolage plays a crucial role in enabling displaced individuals facing severe resource constraints to start up and develop a socially entrepreneurial venture in the host location. While marginalisation and poor access to physical resources within the enterprise ecosystem in the context of displacement did become the key hindrances in the venture start-up and development efforts of the displaced population in the host location (Turner, 2010), consistent with Baker and Nelson's (2005) notion of 'refusal to enact limitations', the findings of this study suggest that entrepreneurs, by engaging in various forms of bricolage activities, are not impeded by the shortcomings of resources and capabilities. The key part of the bricolage strategy was to 'make-do' with the restricted sets of resources endowments, through utilising a repertoire of internal skills, knowledge and competencies that they developed through their life's course to compensate for their lack of physical resource availability. Consistent with Di Domenico, Haugh and Tracey (2010), this study suggests that through the processes of 'making-do', 'reconfiguration of pre-existing resources and competencies', and 'frugality in resources acquisitions', social enterprises overcome their resource shortcomings through developing social ideas and implementing

them in ways that are novel and largely unexpected, despite possessing very few physical and financial resources. In terms of the nature and sources of these resources, we found evidence that is consistent with prior studies such as Hockerts (2015) and Rego et al. (2014), that a frugal approach towards resource deployments had been adopted. Second-hand, inferior resources, donations, and those that can be 'borrowed' were adopted. This is consistent with prior studies (Teasdale, 2012) about how social enterprises serve homeless people. We also found that social media has been used both as a low-cost resource for marketing, as well as to organise internal affairs. Furthermore, we found that socially entrepreneurial ventures utilise the same resources for multiple functions in order to maximise their utility, which is consistent with other existing studies such as Wauters and Lambrecht (2006, 2008).

Furthermore, consistent with previous studies on social bricolage such as Tasavori et al. (2018), and Kwong et al. (2017), we found that social entrepreneurs utilise both internal and external resources to develop their social entrepreneurial ventures in a penurious environment. Although the social entrepreneurs had lost most of their possessions, i.e. internal resources, as a result of displacement, they could still carry their knowledge resources, which they could utilise in the host location. We found that human capital, including skills, knowledge and competencies, was crucial in the start-up as well as the development stages of the social enterprises. In addition to that, we found that those deploying a collective bricolage strategy were able to mobilise resources that would otherwise be impossible to obtain in the displacement context.

While many elements of displaced social entrepreneurship are similar to the more generic context, by examining the intersectionality of bricolage, social entrepreneurship and displacement, we found three notable differences from the previous literature. First, in

contrast to the existing literature on social bricolage (e.g. Kwong et al., 2018), we found a lack of emphasis on internal physical resources of the displaced social entrepreneurs at the starting-up of the social enterprise. The low reliance on physical capital is unsurprising, given that all three of them had lost significant physical resources as a result of the displacement.

Second, we found that at the beginning of the social enterprise there is a lack of reliance on loans and formal finance in the acquisition of physical resources by the displaced social entrepreneurs. This is because of the displacement situation, while those within their network also suffered from a similar fate and therefore had very limited financial resource available to lend as they themselves were not quite established enough to tap into the host financial system. Instead, there is a strong reliance on collective bricolage in gaining crucial physical resources which they then re-use and reconfigure at low cost to them.

Third, our study offers a longitudinal dimension which is novel from the displacement perspective. There is very little knowledge about how displaced entrepreneurs continue to develop their business over time, and the types of resources and resource mobilisation strategies that they utilise. Our study indicates that displaced social entrepreneurs deploy a number of different resource mobilisation strategies which are not necessarily limited to social bricolage. The diverse experience displayed by the displaced social entrepreneurs over time suggests that once they have initially gained a foothold in the host location, they can indeed move away from social bricolage, and instead opt for optimisation. We believe these are specific findings that were not available within the existing literature, and only emerge by collectively considering bricolage, social entrepreneurship and displacement.

Policy and managerial implications

Traditionally, government and international support organisations focus on relief work in the context of displacement (Duffield, 1997). However, in our contexts where the government has limited capacity to support the entrepreneurs due to institutional void (Mair and Marti, 2009), it is important for governments and international support organisations to recognise the power of self-organised social actions, both in terms of sustainability but also for empowerment, and bringing social entrepreneurship supports to the forefront of displacement work (Helmsing, 2015).

The key issue identified within the findings is the lack of internal physical capital, yet its role remains crucial to social start-ups. Therefore, host government and international development agencies could support those affected by displacement by helping to establish bottom-up, local self-help forms of social action, with the aim of facilitating the flow of physical capital in aid of social business start-ups. Our study indicates that such supports do not need to be financial, or about the acquisitions of new state-of-the-art physical resources. Instead, our finding indicates that displaced social entrepreneurs can draw from physical resources from their collaborative partners. The problem with displaced social entrepreneurs, however, has often been the lack of network with the people who resided in the host location. As the displaced people had no way to connect with those in the host location, well-wishers and philanthropists in the host population had no idea what the displaced people required or desired. Facilitating dialogue between the two sides through networking events and awareness campaigns could speed up the process of social enterprise co-creation even in resource-poor environments. Government and international relief organisations could offer networking events that would allow displaced social entrepreneurs to meet with those in the host location who possess physical resources. They could put local social entrepreneurs, investors, and suppliers in touch with the displaced social entrepreneurs, through apprenticeship, mentoring and business lunches, to bridge the knowledge and competencies

gap. Some of these programmes have been implemented in the western world and have targeted commercially orientated entrepreneurs (Harima and Freiling, 2016). In our contexts where the government has limited capacity to support the entrepreneurs due to institutional void (Mair and Marti, 2009), such networking initiatives offer a bottom-up and relatively low cost option for the government to consider.

Once the displaced social entrepreneurs became more settled, our study shows that they can continue to adapt to the changes in conditions affecting the displaced population. In some cases, they became more efficient in drawing from the resources, knowledge and competencies residing within the host ecosystem. Government and international relief organisations could help in speeding up the process by providing elementary training on the host ecosystem, covering political, financial, and legal aspects, for the displaced social entrepreneurs. They could offer field trips and other market support to improve local knowledge. As these endeavours do not require high costs, they could be extended to displaced social entrepreneurs and especially those operating in war and conflict zones. The United Nations Development Programme, for instance, has developed enterprise training within their transition and recovery programme in Pakistan for the displaced population, focusing on financial literacy, business planning and other technical elements (UNDP, 2017). Nevertheless, few of the studies focused on the 'softer' skills, most notably network, local knowledge and competencies as well as others mentioned above, which are just as crucial.

Finally, for these programmes to succeed, it would also be crucial for the government and international support agencies to mobilise public support. There is often a stigma attached to the displaced population, as a drain on local resources (Strang and Ager, 2010). Awareness programmes could help the locals understand the benefits of a well-integrated displaced population, one that would strive to support themselves through mobilising their own social actions amongst their own population.

Limitations

Finally, we would like to discuss the limitations of the study and recommendations for further research. One of the significant limitations of the study is our use of just three qualitative case studies that took place in three different countries, using the social entrepreneur as the key informant. We believe there is certainly room for improvement for future research. Firstly, a quantitative study involving an enriched sample size would enable a confirmatory approach in examining the relationship between bricolage, resource utilisation strategies, and the start-up and development of socially entrepreneurial ventures. Secondly, the roles of economic, cultural, and linguistic differences should be considered in future studies as these could affect the ability of displaced individuals to integrate into the host location and thereby to start up and then develop a venture. This is particularly true in the case of the Chinese nunnery student, as their social effort took place a long time ago and in economic and social contexts that were very different from those of modern day society. Thirdly, our study could be extended to examine other forms of displacement, including refugees, asylum seekers and stateless persons. Fourthly, future studies could examine displaced entrepreneurs who lived within camps rather than in the population at large, whose ventures are likely to have very different characteristics. Finally, studies could examine the path development of these entrepreneurial ventures. Nevertheless, whilst resource constraints for displaced individuals often confine entrepreneurial individuals to embark upon bricolage in order to repair, once they have gained a foothold in the market they are no longer being confined to bricolage. As they begin to accumulate physical resources and local know-how, an approach focusing on optimisation rather than bricolage (Basu and Desa, 2012) may be more relevant. However, further analysis of their longitudinal path development is beyond the remit of this paper and therefore further study towards this would be welcomed.

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*The name is pseudonym in order to protect his/her identity.

Table 1. Bricolage highlighted within the existing literature

	Description	Perceived advantages	Perceived disadvantages
Internal/ Parallel (Baker and Nelson, 2005)	The employment of at-hand resources that reside within an organisation. It often relies on the utilisation of a diverse repertoire of resources that were previously hoarded but which had no immediate intention of being used.	Cost minimalization: Entrepreneurs engaged in internal bricolage often exhibit an impressive ability to get by, or do without resources that other ventures considered essential (Baker and Nelson, 2005).	Not the desired outcome by choice, but pragmatic compromise based on resource availability. Mutually reinforcing, interlocking behaviours and expectations that are difficult to break out from. May lose sight of the goals and objectives.
Collective (Kwong et al., 2017), aka Selective (Baker and Nelson, 2005), Network (Baker et al., 2003)	A hybrid approach supplementing internal bricolage by acquiring additional resources strategically from elsewhere. Utilising resources residing within their pre-existing personal and professional networks. Utilising various forms of business networks that are often bound by more formal partnership arrangements	Entrepreneurs preserve the ability to choose to embark upon the products and services they perceive will generate growth. Networks enable entrepreneurs to access a much broader variety of resources-at-hand, and is especially relevant to entrepreneurs operating within resource-poor, but particularly high-context culture and communities (Dacin, Dacin, and Matear 2010).	Requires additional resources which can be difficult to obtain in a penurious context. The type of bricolage created is dependent on the particular form of partnership, or the dynamics between the different departments within the intrapreneurship partnership case, and the more dominant the partner is, the less autonomy these entrepreneurs enjoy in their bricolage efforts.
Localised (Cheung and Kwong, 2017)	Refers to the utilisation of informal local network, such as those from friends, family and acquaintances	Particularly useful in a confined and resource poor environment.	Often supresses the scale of venture, resulting in low growth potential
Social bricolage (Di Domenico et al., 2010)	The use of bricolage for a social purpose. Alongside the key constructs of bricolage, social bricolage also involves stakeholder participation, persuasion and improvisation	Enables social enterprises to obtain resources that would otherwise be impossible to obtain. Collaboration enables them to join up with different types of stakeholders, resulting in creative social endeavours (Tasavori et al., 2018)	Collaboration requires consensus from multiple stakeholders, which can be more difficult than commercial organisations galvanised by the goal of profit maximisation. Some organisations may try to dominate the process, resulting in mission drift (Kwong et al., 2017)

Table 2. Comparison of the Interviews taken in the three cases of displaced social entrepreneurs

	Syrian worker	Pakistani teacher	Chinese nunnery student
Main source	Interviews conducted by a researcher in the UK when the social entrepreneurs received refugee status and were studying at a university. Both original (unedited) audio tapes and transcripts were generated.	Interviews conducted by a local researcher as part of a research project on Internal Displaced Entrepreneurs in Pakistan. Both original (unedited) audio tapes and transcripts were generated.	Interviews conducted by a local researcher over a number of meetings as part of the Hong Kong Oral History Archive (2004) Project, with both the original (unedited) audio tapes and transcripts being published as 048 in the archive.
Structure	Open-ended, unstructured	Open-ended, unstructured	Open-ended, unstructured
Length of narratives	Around 2 hours in total	Around 1 hour	Around 2 hours
Interview Style	Non-interventionist, unhurried, free-flowing to establish rapport (Bourdieu, 1993), evidence of thematic approaches being taken. In subsequent follow ups, questions were asked to consolidate the timeline of the different projects involved.	Non-interventionist, unhurried, free-flowing to establish rapport (Bourdieu, 1993), topic hopping (Thompson, 2000), chronological then by themes.	Non-interventionist, unhurried, free-flowing to establish rapport (Bourdieu, 1993), topic hopping (Thompson, 2000), chronological then by themes. In subsequent interviews, questions were asked to consolidate the timeline.
Major themes Covered	Social business experience, educational background, war, family and friends, political Involvements, personal context embedded in a larger temporal, social context. Some elaboration on second-hand information, such as rumour or hearsay.	Business experience prior to conflict, business failure after displacement, teaching and tutoring experiences, family and friends, educational background, war, displacement, discrimination in host location, personal context embedded in a larger temporal, social context. Some elaboration on second-hand information, such as rumour or hearsay, but the interviewers would ask the interviewees to clarify how these events were connected to their lives.	Social business experience, life in nunnery, educational background, war, displacement, personal context embedded in a larger temporal, social context. Some elaboration on second-hand information, such as rumour or hearsay, but the interviewers would ask the interviewees to clarify how these events were connected to their lives.
Supporting sources	Narratives from the context through primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources include a number of transcripts collected by the author teams on related projects.	Narratives from the context through primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources include a number of transcripts collected by the author teams on related projects.	Narratives from the period context through primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources include narratives collected by the authorship team on related projects, other narratives in the Hong Kong oral history archive, and books recording lives in Hong Kong during the time.

Data storage	Stored in the work computer of the corresponding author	Stored in the work computer of the corresponding author	In public domain as 048 at the Oral History Archive.
Field issue	Convenience sampling. The interviewer came to know of the interviewee through a social entrepreneurship event organised at a university	Convenience sampling. The interviewer knew of a local gatekeeper from work context, who then recommended the interviewee to the interviewer	Convenience sampling. The project aimed to record the life stories of people in Hong Kong from all walks of life.
Supported secondary literature (SE sector specific)	Red Orche, 2018; Rowley, 2018; Freudenberg, 2019; Pupic, 2017; Balakrishnan, 2018; Muhra, 2018; Hodge, 2017; Obaid, 2018	Manzoor 2017a; Durrani et al., 2017; Mehsud and Mehsud, 2017, Hameed, 2015, Rennich and Donais, 2016; Velev, 2010;	Tung Lin Court Yuen, 1958; 1961; 1966; 2002; 2011; Hong Kong Government 1939; Zheng and Wong, 2016; Hotung, 1934; Cheung, 1976; Gittens, 1969, 1981, 1982, 1987. De Berg, 1977; Cheng, 2006;
Supported secondary literature (Location specific)	Harima et al., 2019, Hartmann and Schilling, 2019; Alkhaled, 2019; Collier and Betts, 2017; Kugler 2018; Nguyem, 2018; Miliband, 2017.	Manzoor 2017b; 2017c; Rashid 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d; Redman, 2017a, 2017b; 2017c; Al-Jazeera, 2014; IDMC, 2018; Manzoor et al., 2019; Din, 2017; Johnson et al., 2017; UNHCR, 2013; 2016; IDMC, 2015; Durrani et al., 2017; Mehsud and Mehsud, 2017, Hameed, 2015	Cheung and Kwong, 2017; Cheung 2016; Leng, 2010; Li, 2012; Endacott, 1958; Cheng, 2006; Lau and Chau, 2009; Lethbridge, 1978; Snow 2003; Hong Kong Government, 1939; Gittens, 1969, 1981, 1982, 1987. De Berg, 1977; Zheng and Wong, 2016

Table 3. Data structure

Aggregate Headline categories	1st order analysis	2nd order analysis
Event categorical information	Name of social entrepreneur	
	Number of economic activity by sequence	
Nature of the event	Description of the event	
	Social bricolage	Made do/ refusal to be constrained by limitations
		Reconfiguration of resources at hand
		Improvisation
		Stakeholder participation/ collective bricolage
		Social value creation
	Other resource mobilisation strategies (Emerging code- when the 2nd order categories of social bricolage were not met)	(Emerging 2nd order categories regarding the nature of the strategy
Resource utilised in the event	Internal (pre-existing resources)	Physical capital/infrastructure
		Human capital/ labour
		Social capital/ network
		Others
	External (collective bricolage, co-creation, collaboration)	Physical capital/infrastructure
		Human capital/ labour
		Social capital/ network
		Others
Bricolage outcomes	Economic	Self-subsistence
		Financially sustainable
		Profitable
		Expansion (growth)
		Failure/ closure
	Social	Depth of social outreach
		Breadth of social outreach

Table 4. Family Profile and Pre-entrepreneurship Experiences of our Three Displaced Social Entrepreneurs

	Syrian worker	Pakistani teacher	Chinese nunnery student
Country context	Syria	Khyber Agency (Northwest Frontier) of Pakistan	Hong Kong
Conflict context	During the Arab Spring, thousands of civilians went onto the street to oppose to Assad's autocratic regime. This led to a series of mass anti-government protest that quickly escalated into armed rebel groups, eventually leading to a full-scale civil war resulting in a significant period of bloodshed. The conflict has resulted in considerable instability within Syria, with the country becoming segmented and falling into the control of different militia groups.	During the early 2000s, there was Taliban uprising in the tribal autonomous areas which was followed by conflict with the Pakistani Army. In the late 2000s, many civilians escaped from both the Taliban regime and the resulting conflict	During the World War II, Hong Kong was occupied by Japan. The economic situation was tough under Japanese occupation, as Hong Kong was seen as an important battlefield. Therefore, it remained under the direct control of the Imperial Army, rather than being returned to the civilian rule as in other parts of the occupied zone. Blockade and continuing warfare meant that supply of goods including essential food stocks was significantly disrupted.
Personal context prior to displacement	Just completed undergraduate education in her hometown. She also volunteered for the Red Crescent during her study.	Father and uncle were involved in an import-export business prior to displacement. He was involved in the family business, but also intended to further his education. His brothers were in full time education.	A boarding student studying Buddhism in the nunnery. At the time, Buddhists students and scholars typically came from different villages in Hong Kong and the nearby Kwangtung province in China, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and Japan. They lived a relatively peaceful/ simple life prior to the war, sharing responsibilities in the nunnery based on their expertise, including maintenance, food preparation, cooking, and teaching others.
Educational context	Educated to degree level in a science, technology, engineering and mathematics related discipline	Completed secondary education and was about to enter higher education	No formal education. Learnt through traditional Chinese education, then through Buddhist education in nunnery while teaching juniors at the same time.
Personal context after displacement	Her hometown was badly affected by the conflict. She eventually left for the UK. She obtained refugee status in the UK and also embarked upon full time study.	His father split his business with his uncle. His father started a new business in the host location, but due to lack of local knowledge, he was repeatedly being deceived and eventually declared bankrupted.	When the war broke out with the Japanese Army invading Hong Kong, most people left the nunnery and returned home (Tung Lin Court Yuen, 1961). Teachers fled, students fled whilst some were 'forcibly' hired by the Japanese as workers or translators. Those whose home was affected become displaced, and continued to stay in the nunnery.
Surviving the conflict	After graduation, she became a project worker for a school, then a school outreach manager for an electrical	Initially became a private tutor for displaced students. She then also worked as a locum teacher in a local	Initially the Buddhist students and monks within the nunnery relied on donations from well-wishers to

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	company, in the rebel held area that was later besieged by the government's force. She eventually left for the UK.	school.	survive, which rapidly declined due to conflict. They also grew their own food, but was not enough to feed all.
Social Action opportunities	Noticed a high level of homelessness amongst those who left the conflict regions to the capital.	One of the consequences was that many schools were destroyed, and children in the region had no school to attend. Many displaced persons made a relatively short journey crossing the conflict zone and into the nearby towns and cities, including Peshawar, the provincial capital, where this case is based.	Noticed that children were without school since all schools in the territories had been closed down.

Table 5. Episodes of employment, entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship attempts by the three displaced social entrepreneurs

	Resource mobilisation strategy and rationales behind the opportunity and demand	Utilisations of pre-existing resources	Utilisations of newly acquired resources	Made-do	Reconfiguration	Improvisation	Perceived Outcomes
Syrian worker							
S1	Worked as a project worker, then manager, for different companies. The role with the latter involved outreach to schools. (employment not bricolage)	Human capital: University education as prerequisite to the graduate level jobs	None				Income generation
S2	Tackled homelessness by mobilising friends through Facebook to register information about the landlord and potential tenants. They then used the information to distribute empty houses/flats to displaced individuals (Social bricolage)	Human capital: her knowledge of the displaced area which enabled the social enterprise to verify the identity of the displaced applicants. Social network: reconfigure her own personal friendship network for the purpose of idea formulation and team forming	Social network: Collaborators' connection with the landlords, as well as with potential tenants. Human capital: local knowledge both of the displaced location and of the host locations to identify the relevant landlords and tenants	X	X		Created social impact with sustainability
S3	Supported children's education by pairing up books from donors and then distributing them to the households with children on their list. (Social bricolage)	Physical capital: re-used the database of displaced individuals created for S2. Human capital: pool of volunteers developed in S2. Her own knowledge of school networks from S1 to develop network of schools, potential book donors and children in need of books.	Social network: Collaborators' connections with those with spare, idle and unwanted textbooks, bookstore managers, and philanthropists.	X	X	X	Created social impact with sustainability
S4	Supported the distribute of medicine	Physical capital: re-used the database of	Social network: Collaborators' connections	X	X	X	Created

	by pairing up professionals with pharmacists, hospitals and pharmaceutical companies that were willing to help. (Social bricolage)	displaced individuals created for S2. Also, re-used the database of philanthropists created in S3 Human capital: pool of volunteers developed in S2	with hospital, medical and pharmaceutical companies, and philanthropists.				social impact with sustainability
S5	Supported employment of displaced individuals by connecting those who needed a job with those in need of labour (Social bricolage)	Physical capital: re-used the database of displaced individuals created for S2. Human capital: pool of volunteers developed in S2	Social network: Collaborators' connections with potential employers and in a wide range of industry sectors.	X	X	X	Created social impact with sustainability
S6	Developed a microfinance scheme for displaced entrepreneurs by linking financiers with those in need of start-up funds (Social bricolage)	Physical capital: re-used the database of displaced individuals created for S2. Also, re-used the database of philanthropists created in S3 Human capital: pool of volunteers developed in S2	Social network: Collaborators' connections with philanthropists and venture capitalists.	X	X	X	Created social impact with sustainability
Pakistani Teacher							
P1	Worked in the shoe store that his father set up in the hope to return to status quo. (Optimisation through acquisition not bricolage)	Human capital: His family's previous experience in owning and running an import-export business at home	Physical capital: Obtained property through the splitting of previous business		X		Bankrupted due to lack of local info and was deceived
P2	Self-employed personal tutor/locum teacher from home as noted a demand for education for displaced children (Self-employment not Bricolage)	Human capital: Knowledge of the curriculum from his personal education Social capital: Clandestine customers, home network as agent to find school children	None	X			Subsistence income

P3	Bought a failed school that he was involved in as an ad-hoc teacher. (Social Bricolage)	Human capital: his knowledge of the school through ad-hoc teaching; knowledge of the demand from the displaced population	Physical capital: acquired the site of the school, infrastructure and licence through the previous headmaster Human capital: Acquired the admin skills, school licence, finance from previous headteacher Social capital: through network of the headteacher, cheap stationery from different sources. Plot of land	X	X	X	Profitable and also served a social purpose
P4	Expanded the existing school (Optimisation thru Expansion Not bricolage)	Physical capital: taught existing materials developed in P3 Human capital: existing set up developed in P3	Physical capital: acquired new premises through formal loan				Increased both profitability and outreach
P5 (in plan)	New franchise schools in the district, as A.3 being highly profitable (Optimisation through franchising Not bricolage)	Physical capital: taught existing materials developed in P3 Human capital: existing set up developed in P3	Financial capital: input from franchisees			X	Increased both profitability and outreach
Chinese Nunnery Student							
C1	Turned the nunnery where she was based into a co-ed school for children and the illiterate. (social bricolage)	Human capital: The literacy skills obtained through informal Chinese education to teach illiterate students.	Physical capital: obtained approval from the leaders of the nunnery to turn part of the nunnery into a school. Also, opened up part of the accommodation quarter for students' boarding, and used Buddhist literature as literacy training materials. They also obtained permission to grow	X	X	X	Created social impact and became sustainable

| | | | vegetables in the fields to feed them all. They obtained horse manure as fertiliser from a nearby stable. They also obtained small donations from pilgrims and well-wishers.

Human capital: they used the literacy skills of other nunnery students to teach illiterate students.

Social network: through a Japanese contact, they obtained approval from the Japanese authority to run the school. | | | | |

Figure 1. Summary of the findings for this study