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Entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation : the importance of health and children's education for slum entrepreneurs

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INTRODUCTION

People throughout the world are increasingly living under highly adverse conditions. For example, compared to 2000, when approximately 760 million people lived in slums, it is now estimated that more than 863 million people live in slums—that is, they live in a neighborhood that is so poor that the residents have inadequate access to safe water, sanitation, and other infrastructure as well as experience poorly structured housing, overcrowding, and insecure residential status (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003). According to available reports, India has the largest population of people living in slums, with between 24% and 26.7% of India's urban population living in these impoverished communities (Agarwal, 2011). Indeed, in 2011, 9.84 million people in the city of Delhi lived in slums, which was approximately half the city's population (Agarwal, 2011; Bhan, 2009). In India, people who live in slums typically earn less than USD 16 per month (Chadha et al., 2005), are illiterate or semi-literate (Banerjee et al., 2016), and engage in low-skilled (and often stigmatized) work (Subbaraman et al., 2014; Tsujita, 2014). Generally, poverty is manifest in an individual's (or collective's) income, living standards, and education (Alkire & Santos, 2014; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). These individuals living in poverty, on average, are likely to suffer from cognitive problems, socio-emotional issues, and poor health (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014; Pillay-van Wyk & Bradshaw, 2017), and their children are also likely to experience psychological, social, and physical problems (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010; Hair et al., 2015). Individuals with low incomes also typically live in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which can further lower their well-being (Diez et al., 2010; Pendall, Theodo & Hildner, 2016) including worse health outcomes (e.g., Andersen et al., 2018; Martens, et al., 2014). The self-reinforcing nature of low income embedded in disadvantaged neighborhoods

presents a bleak picture as it appears to provide little opportunity for an individual to escape poverty (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014).

Recent research has focused on the role of entrepreneurial action in alleviating poverty. In an extensive review, Sutter, Bruton, and Chen (2019: 197) identified three underlying perspectives: (1) entrepreneurship as remediation to alleviate poverty, reflecting studies focused on individuals' entrepreneurial actions to overcome "immediate resource concerns" (e.g., Ahlin and Jiang, 2008; Sutter et al., 2014); (2) entrepreneurship as reform to alleviate poverty, reflecting studies focused on "actions leading to substantial and institutional change" that facilitates inclusion (e.g., George et al., 2012; Mair et al., 2012); and (3) entrepreneurship as revolution to alleviate poverty, reflecting studies focused on entrepreneurial actions that challenge a broken system (e.g., Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Singer, 2006) to introduce a new means of organizing for a more equal society (e.g., Rindova et al., 2009; Shakya & Raikin, 2008).

This review of previous entrepreneurship research on poverty alleviation highlights not only what we know about the topic but also the potential gaps in our understanding. Specifically, there is a gap between individuals' short-term outcomes from entrepreneurship as *remediation* and the large-scale impact of institutional change outlined in the *reform* perspective or the system change outlined in the *revolution* perspective. For the individual living in the slum who finds it difficult to achieve remediation for themselves and believes that institutional change is beyond their capabilities, the gap in our knowledge in poverty alleviation represents a potential "sweet spot" for the agentic behaviors of those who live in slums to "lift" the next generation of the family out of poverty. For example, research on status attainment by immigrants seems to suggest that there may be an additional perspective for understanding individuals' approaches to

economic mobility. Based on a status-attainment model, many immigrant parents emphasize to their children the importance of educational ambitions for improving one's socio-economic position in life (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017). That is, while there is heterogeneity among immigrant groups (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998), immigrant parents often believe that their children's economic mobility centers on educational attainment (Kao, 2004), and immigrant parents' expectations appear to increase their children's self-expectations for educational achievement (Kasinitz, 2008; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017; White & Glick, 2009). Although there are differences between the economic mobility of individuals living in a new country (immigrants) and individuals living in extreme poverty—for example, immigrant parents are often highly educated and thus offer a positive role model for their children (Feliciano, 2006) unlike those parents who live and work in slums—perhaps parental expectations about their children's education for socio-economic mobility are similar in some shape or form. Therefore, we are interested in exploring the outcomes of entrepreneurial action by those living in extreme poverty and, in particular, their beliefs about how entrepreneurial action can alleviate poverty and the role of entrepreneurs' expectations for their children's educational attainment (if any).

Given our interest in exploring entrepreneurial action and poverty alleviation, we chose to conduct a qualitative study. Specifically, we began by interviewing the employees of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working to improve living conditions for residents of urban slums in Mumbai and Delhi (10 interviews). This was followed by interviews with informants, that were knowledgeable about running business in slum environment. We then interviewed 25 entrepreneurs of businesses located in these slums (as well as employees [12 interviews]), customers [eight interviews], and adult family members [20 interviews]). Based on what we learned from our initial data collection and analysis regarding the entrepreneurs' expectations for

their children's educational attainment, we expanded our investigation to include students of entrepreneurial parents who live in slums (14 interviews), their teachers (10 interviews), and business people who hired them (10 interviews). In this research, we identified the impact of expectations, role models, and the subjective value of education in attempts to alleviate poverty. By conducting this study, we make three primary contributions to the entrepreneurship literature.

First, entrepreneurship research on poverty alleviation has focused on entrepreneurial action as either individuals' response to *immediate* resource concerns (i.e., remediation perspective [Sutter et al., 2019]; e.g., Ahlin & Jiang, 2008; Sutter et al., 2014) or the enactment of longer-term substantial changes in the surrounding institutions (i.e., reform perspective [Sutter et al., 2019; e.g., Ghani et al., 2014; De Mel et al., 2014]) and/or in the "underlying capitalist-based assumptions of business" (i.e., revolution perspective [Sutter et al., 2019: 197; e.g., Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Ridova et al., 2009]). In this study, we provide evidence of a model of slum entrepreneurs' poverty alleviation that focuses on educating their children. This model has a longer-term horizon for alleviating poverty than the remediation perspective and a scale of change that is less grand than both the reform and revolution perspectives of entrepreneurship. We provide insights into entrepreneurs' belief that their business's success will alleviate extreme poverty for future family generations by facilitating their children's educational attainment as well as insights into the challenges of doing so. For example, the slum context represents a double-edged sword for entrepreneurs' ambitions: on the one side, the slum context provides a strong community that facilitates business success, but on the other side, the slum context provides an increased risk of health problems that obstruct business success.

Second, there is a substantial literature on necessity entrepreneurship describing how individuals are pushed into entrepreneurship because they lack the resources to pursue other

alternatives (employment and/or opportunities) (Hessels et al., 2008; Thurik et al., 2008). Individuals living in poverty typically lack an education (Tilak, 2002), which makes necessity-based entrepreneurship particularly likely (Acs, 2006). As Dencker and colleagues (2019: 6) concluded from their review of this literature, the “vast majority of research in this realm has focused on the antecedents of necessity entrepreneurship,” so there is little “research on outcomes of necessity entrepreneurship in impoverished settings—where individuals are in dire need of employment opportunities and sustainable livelihoods”. The current study complements the limited research on the direct outcomes of necessity entrepreneurship (e.g., entrepreneurs’ quality of life [Tobias, Mair & Barbosa-Leiker, 2013]) by finding that individuals engaged in necessity entrepreneurship seek outcomes not for themselves but for future family generations. It seems that these entrepreneurs believe that moving out of poverty will take extended effort (i.e., across family generations). Therefore, while necessity entrepreneurship is often derided for not generating significant benefits (Welter, Baker, Audretsch, & Gartner, 2017), we find that, at least from entrepreneurs’ perspective, we need to consider a longer time horizon to understand the benefits of their entrepreneurial efforts for other people. That is, researchers can consider the success of entrepreneurial endeavors in the context of adversity (extreme poverty) in metrics that are important to the entrepreneurs embedded in such contexts.

Third, individuals living in poverty have a high risk of experiencing poor health (Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Hanson & Chen, 2007; Pillay-van Wyk & Bradshaw, 2017) as are the children of these individuals (Carver et al., 2008; Morris et al., 2017). We found health a recurring theme in our model of slum entrepreneurs’ poverty alleviation. The individuals we studied became entrepreneurs because of their parent’s poor health such that if the entrepreneur’s health deteriorates substantially before the next generation has been sufficiently educated, the children

will be forced to leave school to earn money to support the family, and thus, terminating the entrepreneur's aspirations. However, we also elaborate upon a paradox for the slum entrepreneur, which is that one of the reasons for wanting their family to leave the slum (including the causes of health problems associated with slums [Ezeh et al., 2017; Lilford et al., 2017]) might be the very thing (poor health) that keeps future generations of the family there. Our research illustrates how health is a significant issue in escaping poverty.

Finally, entrepreneurship research has highlighted the role of parents as role models who increase their children's intention to become entrepreneurs (Matthews & Moser, 1996; Shapero & Sokol, 1982). Our findings highlight the "flipside" of this role-model effect—namely, we find evidence of a counterfactual role model. Specifically, parents living in slums become entrepreneurs so that their children do not need to become entrepreneurs and to fulfill their desire for their children not to live in a slum. Furthermore, the children of slum entrepreneurs reflect the effectiveness of this counterfactual role model through their expressed motivation to obtain a good education so that they do not need to become an entrepreneur (like their parents) and can leave the slum (where their parents live) to enjoy a better life (than their parents' have experienced).

BACKGROUND: ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION

Poverty as Context

Individuals living in poverty are severely limited in their "access to material and social resources and goods" and have a low "rank or prestige in relation to others" (Matthew & Gallo, 2011: 504). For individuals, poverty has been found to be associated with reduced cognitive attainment (Hackman & Farah, 2009), decreased social capital (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997), and a host of health-related problems (Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Hanson & Chen, 2007; Pillay-van

Wyk & Bradshaw, 2017). Further, parents' poverty appears to lead to a number of problems for their children, including low academic attainment (Battin-Pearson et al., 2000), psychological problems (Bolger et al., 1995), and physical problems (for a review see Matthew & Gallo, 2011). The negative implications of poverty arise through a number of mechanisms, such as reduced access to health care (Sood et al., 2014), a lack of cognitively stimulating materials and experiences (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002), ineffective parental role models (Phillips & Shonkoff, 2000), ineffective teaching processes (White, 1982), and role models with unhealthy lifestyles (Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Williams & Collins, 1995).

Furthermore, neighborhoods characterized as poor have influences on its residents over and above the individual's level of poverty (Hanson & Chen, 2007; Pickett & Pearl, 2001). For example, "poor" neighborhoods are characterized by dilapidated, crowded housing (Marmot, 1999), which has been linked to reduced cognitive and emotional well-being (Evans et al., 1999) and poor physical health (Marmot, 1999; Martens, et al., 2014). These neighborhoods also tend to have high levels of violence and environmental hazards (Bradley, et al., 1997) and residents with destructive lifestyle behaviors, such as smoking, drinking, using drugs (Harrell et al., 1998). Moreover, these neighborhoods generally have low social capital, which manifests as reduced trust between community members (Chen & Miller, 2013; Sampson et al., 1997), lower social support at the community level (Gallo & Matthews, 2003; Matthews & Gallo, 2011), and a community with low collective efficacy (Chen & Miller, 2013). As a result, disadvantaged neighborhoods have been found to have weak communities in that there is an unwillingness among community members to help others and give them opportunities (Sampson et al., 1997), a reluctance to contribute to common community goals (Chen & Miller, 2013; Putnam, 2000), and a disinclination to reinforce social order (Sampson et al., 1997). This literature paints a bleak

picture for those with low income who have little opportunity to live anywhere but in a disadvantaged neighborhood.

Entrepreneurship and Poverty Alleviation

A growing stream of entrepreneurship research has focused on poverty alleviation. In a recent review of more than 200 articles on entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation, Sutter, Bruton, and Chen (2019) organized research on this topic into three categories reflective of different perspectives: remediation, reform, and revolutionary perspective. From the *remediation* perspective, poverty arises from a lack of resources (e.g., McMullen, 2011; Sutter et al., 2014; van Eijkel et al., 2011), which is alleviated by accessing key resources (e.g., entrepreneurial skills [Bruhn et al., 2010], training [Campos et al., 2017], and microfinance [Bruton et al., 2011; Khavul, 2010]) that enable markets to flourish (Fajnzylber et al., 2009; Kevane and Wydick, 2001) and thus lift entrepreneurs out of poverty and benefit the larger economy (Hart & Christensen, 2002; Khavul, 2010). From the *reform* perspective, poverty arises from exclusion (Ghani et al., 2014; Mair et al., 2012) and is thus addressed by institutional changes that enable greater inclusion (Ghani et al., 2014; Mair et al., 2012), which often involves power struggles (DeClerq & Honig, 2011; Kent & Dacin, 2013) and potential economic tradeoffs for social gains (Hall et al., 2012). From the *revolutionary* perspective, poverty arises from a broken system (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006; Singer, 2006) such that poverty alleviation relies on changing the capitalist system specifically and society in general (Kroeger and Weber, 2014; Rindova et al., 2009) so that the system is more equal (Shakya & Raikin, 2008; Sutter et al., 2019).

However, between the short-term mindset of the remediation perspective and the radical changes of the reformative and revolutionary perspectives, we wonder whether there is a medium-term entrepreneurship-based approach to poverty alleviation that is less radical. While

not poverty alleviation per se, research on immigrants has developed and tested a status-attainment model focusing on economic mobility (and thus future socio-economic attainment) through educational ambitions (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017; Sewell & Hauser, 1980). That is, while there are considerable differences among immigrant groups based in ethnicity (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998), there seems to be an “immigrant paradox” in which immigrants’ children often outperform non-immigrants’ children in educational outcomes, especially when controlling for socio-economic background (Kasinitz et al., 2008). It appears that immigrants’ children typically have ambitious goals for education stemming from their parents’ high expectations (Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017; Kao, 2004; Scheider & Lee, 1990) and recognition of their parents’ sacrifice in moving to a new country (Dreby, 2010). This status-attainment approach may apply to slum entrepreneurs. However, immigrants and slum entrepreneurs differ in their education level—immigrants are often selected for entry into their desired country based on their educational qualifications (Feliciano, 2006) and parents with high education have higher educational expectations for their children (Davis-Kean, 2005; Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998) whereas slum entrepreneurs typically have low education—and differ in their mobility in which immigrants have moved to another country and those who live in slums find it difficult to move out of their neighborhood. Therefore, we are interested in exploring how entrepreneurs living in poverty think about their children’s education as a possible means of alleviating poverty.

Further, entrepreneurship in the context of poverty is often explored through the lens of necessity entrepreneurship. Necessity entrepreneurship occurs when individuals start a new enterprise because they “lack alternative employment opportunities” (Block, Kohn, Miller, & Ulrich, 2014: 38). Indeed, scholars have argued that these necessity entrepreneurs are pushed

into entrepreneurship—“most entrepreneurs are displaced persons who have been dislodged from some nice familiar niche and tilted off course” (Shapiro, 1975: 252; cited in Brenner, 1987). The opposing category to necessity-based entrepreneurship is opportunity-based entrepreneurship—“an active choice to start a new enterprise based on the perception that an unexpected and under-exploited opportunity exists” (Acs, 2006: 97). Although this research on necessity entrepreneurship has provided considerable insights into a prevalent form of entrepreneurship, especially in developing regions of the world, this stream of research has a number of limitations.

First, although there is a substantial body of research on the antecedents of necessity-based entrepreneurship (e.g., Binder & Coad, 2013; Block & Wagner, 2010), there is little research on the outcomes of necessity-based entrepreneurship (Dencker et al., 2019). Of the few studies that have investigated the outcomes of necessity entrepreneurship, none have focused directly on the outcome of poverty alleviation (because it was not their purpose). For example, Tobias et al. (2013) focused on explaining necessity entrepreneurs’ quality of life. Second, necessity entrepreneurship is often disparaged as having a low impact (Welter et al., 2017) even though it can be a stepping stone toward a high-impact business (DeCastro et al., 2014; Welter et al., 2017; Williams & Horodnic, 2015). Finally, much of the necessity entrepreneurship research has focused on the dichotomy between necessity-based and opportunity-based entrepreneurship (Dencker et al., 2019; Gurtoo & Williams, 2009; Williams, 2008), which has had the effect of focusing scholarly attention on the push factors of necessity-based entrepreneurship and the pull factors of opportunity-based entrepreneurship (e.g., Brunjes & Diez, 2013; van der Zwan, Thurik & Verheul, 2016). However, perhaps some individuals are pulled as well as pushed into entrepreneurial action.

Therefore, we are interested in exploring the outcomes of entrepreneurial action by those living in extreme poverty and, in particular, their beliefs about how entrepreneurial action can alleviate poverty and the role of entrepreneurs' expectations for their children's educational attainment (if any).

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Setting: Urban Slums in India

Our research setting is founders who run their own businesses operating in Indian slums. We chose this setting for several reasons. First, according to presentations by the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India (2011), there are approximately 2,613 slums in India, in which more than 65 million people live. Second, we decided to focus on slums in certain geographical locations—namely, India's most populous cities of Mumbai and Delhi. In the last two decades, both cities have developed large slums. Finally, one of the authors speaks the region's local language (Hindi) and has a strong local network, which facilitated data collection. For example, as a native speaker, this author was able to visit the urban slums and hear locals' stories.

Data Collection

Data collection in slums from resident entrepreneurs was both complex and challenging. First, our informants told us that those living in slums find it difficult to trust "outsiders" (i.e., those living outside of slums) and are thus often reluctant to share their stories with outsiders. Second, it was challenging to identify appropriate respondents for the interviews as there are no business registries documenting the addresses of slum entrepreneurs. Therefore, to support and facilitate data collection, we collaborated with local NGOs and informants who had legitimacy

and local knowledge in supporting and coordinating data collection in disadvantaged neighborhoods (e.g., identifying respondents, coordinating visits, and so on). Although we realize the benefits of immersing oneself in a focal environment with limited supervision, given the complexity and challenges associated with the targeted sample, we decided that working with local actors would improve our data quality and minimize our impact on the people.

Insert Figure 1 then Table 1 about here

Therefore, the formerly local author interviewed individuals from eight NGOs—(1) Navjyoti Development Society, (2) Efrah, (3) Alamb, (4) Aakar Foundation, (5) Mumbai Smile Foundation, (6) Stri Mukti Sangathana, (7) YES, and (8) Accion—and 11 highly knowledgeable informants (e.g., politicians, previous NGO workers, and educators based in financially poor neighborhoods). During these initial interviews, it became evident that even the local organizations faced considerable challenges with data collection, including navigating unfamiliar and initially wary slum environments. Safety and access were issues in certain slum areas due to business owners and local leaders not wanting to allow unknown people to interact with locals about their living conditions. In addition, the NGOs advised us not to take any pictures or videos during our data-collection efforts. Indeed, the research team was not allowed to enter certain areas, which meant we had to rely heavily on locals (i.e., informants and NGOs) to connect us with potential respondents. The NGOs have a positive reputation in the slums as many of them offer slum residents support with skill development, childhood education, medical help, legal advice, the fight against discrimination, and other needs. Having the support of these trusted NGOs provided us with both legitimacy and access to respondents who were willing to share their stories and provide further access to their family members, employees, and customers.

We summarize our data-collection approach in Figure 1 and offer details of the sample in Table 1. We collected data through (1) semi-structured interviews, (2) field notes, and (3) archival reports (largely government and NGO reports but occasionally materials provided by the entrepreneurs and schools). Our primary data sources were entrepreneurs living in slums (i.e., $n = 25$). We used two criteria for sample selection. First, we focused on only entrepreneurs who lived in one of the focal slums. For entrepreneurs, we selected individuals who created the business that they were managing at the time of data collection (see Gartner, 1988). Second, we focused on capturing a range of individuals and enterprises. At the individual entrepreneurial level, we looked for a sample with diversity in age, education, experience, and gender. At the enterprise level, we looked for a sample with diversity in size (i.e., number of employees), age (i.e., years since the business was created), and industry (i.e., eight industries: cloth trading, handicrafts, transportation, laundry services, recycling, sport and recreation, utility services, and education and training). We include descriptives of the sample in Table 1. The interviews occurred in the entrepreneurs' neighborhoods and often at their workplaces, which enabled us to triangulate data collection by interviewing the entrepreneurs' family members (spouses, children), employees, and even customers.

More specifically, we complemented and validated our interviews with the slum entrepreneurs by conducting an additional 20 interviews with their spouses, siblings, and business partners; 14 interviews with the entrepreneurs' children (age ranging from 10 to 25 years); 10 interviews with teachers at three local public schools with student bodies consisting mostly of children who live in slums and whose parents are self-employed in one form or another; and 10 interviews with business owners who employ the children of slum entrepreneurs. Thus, we attempted to triangulate the data collection of the initial sample of 25 slum

entrepreneurs. This data-collection process snowballed from information that we obtained from each previous source. That is, our initial interviews with the NGOs and informants provided information about which entrepreneurs living in poverty we should contact and how to do so. The interviews with the entrepreneurs and their families revealed the importance of the next generation and, especially, their education. Given the importance of education attached to the children of entrepreneurs living in poverty, we collected data on schoolchildren and their teachers. Finally, because of entrepreneurs' belief in the link between obtaining an education and finding a "good" job, we contacted employers of graduating students. All interviews were conducted in the local language (Hindi) except for some NGO interviews, which we conducted in English. We obtained parental permission for all interviews with children.

Consistent with most qualitative studies, our primary data source was one-on-one interviews using a semi-structured approach. We initially created, reviewed, and refined the semi-structured approach for the interviews in English. The Indian co-author then translated the interview guide into Hindi. In designing the interview guide, we used open questions related to the entrepreneurs' (1) background, (2) living conditions, (3) motives for creating and running a business, (4) challenges and benefits of running a business in a slum, and (5) perceptions of what business success meant to them. During the interviews, we gave respondents considerable freedom to build and extend the discussion. We also used the initial interviews to adjust the format for subsequent interviews.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed in Hindi and then translated into English. For the initial stage of data collection, we conducted a total of 63 interviews. The average interview was 55 minutes with entrepreneurs, 20 minutes with family members, 21 minutes with employees, and 20 minutes with customers. In addition, we supplemented interview data with

observation-based field notes and archival sources. The field notes included impressions of the interviewees, the surrounding conditions, and other contextual information. These one- to two-page notes were recorded within 24 hours of the interviews. We also collected and analyzed newspapers articles, blogs, government and non-governmental reports, and publications from the NGOs. These additional data sources enabled us to develop a rich base for data analysis.

Data Analysis

We inductively analyzed the data as data collection proceeded, using the analysis to modify our data-collection approach (working with the local organizations), update subsequent analysis, and start to detect themes and aggregate dimensions (Corley & Gioia, 2004). Even though we began identifying themes and aggregate dimensions, we still kept our minds open during initial data coding to avoid overlooking important details or imposing our beliefs on the data. We started with open coding to identify initial concepts and then began grouping these concepts into categories. In a second step, we conducted axial coding, focusing on the categories and relationships between them to develop higher-order themes. For example, we coded the following concepts into the second-order theme of “strong connections”: “closeness to neighbors facilitates communication,” “high-density living requires cooperation and tolerance,” and “the development of knowledge of neighbors as reliable and trustworthy.” Third, we began creating an overall framework for the data by analyzing the themes and then grouping like themes together. For example, we grouped the second-order themes of “shared facilities,” “strong connections,” and “collective caring orientation” into the overarching dimension of “strong community.” Finally, we coded and re-coded the data using the established coding scheme until

the data structure was stable—namely, until further revisions in the data and/or coding did not alter the overall data structure.

In addition, we took several steps to ensure the data remained trustworthy (following Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To maintain data integrity, we tightly controlled the data-collection process. We conducted and digitally recorded all interviews in Hindi, the informants’ mother tongue (except for the four interviews with members of NGOs that were conducted in English), and we held all interviews for a specific case within a few days of each other. Further, we recorded all field notes within 24 hours of the focal observation, and we assembled all field notes for each case into a single file. For each of the interviews he did not conduct, the Indian co-author listened to a recording of the interview, read associated field notes, and had a telephone discussion with the interviewer, all usually within one week of the interview.

We instituted a detailed process for transcribing the interviews for analysis: (1) After the interviews were transcribed (in Hindi), the Indian co-author reviewed the transcriptions to ensure accuracy between the original audio and the written documents. (2) We hired professionals to translate the transcripts from Hindi to English, and (3) the Indian co-author (who is fluent in both languages) reviewed the translations. (4) We kept all forms of these various data and used N-Vivo to store and maintain our data. (5) The second researcher, who was not engaged in data collection, was initially responsible for open coding and then re-engaged the “local” member of the research team with deep knowledge of the data to comment. We next involved the third researcher, who was unfamiliar with our data or coding scheme, to provide an outsider’s perspective of our evolving theorizing. In Figure 2, we illustrate the overall data structure, including our first-order concepts, second-order themes, and overarching dimensions.

Insert Figure 2 & 3 about here

FINDINGS

A Slum Entrepreneurship Approach to Alleviating Poverty

To foreshadow and organize our findings, we first present our grounded model (i.e., even though the grounded model was constructed as the findings emerged and took its final shape after the findings had been documented, we present it first as a road map for the remaining subsections). Figure 3 outlines our slum entrepreneurship approach. Our model of slum entrepreneurs proposes that these individuals are highly motivated to achieve business success as an anticipated means of alleviating poverty—not alleviating poverty for themselves but alleviating poverty for future family generations by facilitating their children’s educational attainment. Slum entrepreneurs define business success as their children’s success in the classroom, highlighting their strong belief that their children’s ability to gain a good education is the key step toward moving out of the slum (into a better neighborhood). Specifically, by gaining a good education, these entrepreneurs’ children will be able to secure a good job (i.e., unlike their parents’ entrepreneurship) and perhaps marry into a higher-status family, which will ultimately enable the children (and thus future family generations) to improve their living conditions (i.e., move out of the slum in which they and their parents live and experience good lives by avoiding the same hardships as their parents). Although adverse slum conditions could obstruct business success by negatively affecting entrepreneurs’ health, these adverse conditions facilitate business success by forging a strong slum community. We now develop each aspect of the model.

The Purpose of Slum Entrepreneurship: Sacrificing the Self for One’s Children

When the slum entrepreneurs in our study created their businesses, their particular conditions and circumstances were difficult. For example, Vadekar told us, “Many were farmers but came here [the slum] because they were not obtaining sufficient food, and they were not able to earn money in their villages. They come to the city in search of earning a living.” Many created businesses because they had difficulties finding employment after settling in the slum, relying instead on skills they learned from family members. Our findings suggest that the slum entrepreneurs invested little thought into the future of their businesses aside from the immediate need to keep business operations going. For example, when asked about his plans for the future, Punja responded, “Right now, I am involved in this business, and I have not planned anything apart from this.” When asked where he saw himself in five years, he responded, “I have not thought about it yet.” To the extent that the entrepreneurs living in poverty thought about the future, it was more about how to address specific immediate business problems (e.g., how to open the shop earlier [Goyal]) or general wishful thinking about one day living in a building (e.g., an apartment outside the slum [Sarkar, Gopal]). The entrepreneurs only tangentially mentioned one benefit from running a successful business—a positive relationship within their slum community.

Insert Table 2 then Table 3 about here

However, it became clear to us that the personal benefits of a successful business were secondary to providing a foundation for their children’s future success (see Table 2). Indicative of the slum entrepreneurs’ responses to our questions about the future of their businesses is Aditya’s reply: “I want my kids to have a good education, and after providing them that, I want to marry them [off]. That’s it. Then retirement.” In our field notes from the visit and interview

with Bajpai, we documented that “he wants to give his children a good education. He thinks that everything will fall into place when they [his children] grow.” Further, Panda told his children, “Whatever you want, I can give you. Just study.” Our field notes on Vadekar indicated “he wants to give a good education to his children. . . . He [states with pride and some envy] that his brother’s kids are software engineers.” Similarly, Vadekar was thankful and hopeful about his children: “I was illiterate. But now we have come to this society, and from God’s grace, we have started educating our children . . . and move forward toward a better life. . . . I have given them a better way of life, so they are in love with books.” In addition, Kumar emphasized that he wanted “a reputable job for him [his son] because in this work [in Kumar’s business], there are lots of risk factors and tensions.”

Therefore, the slum entrepreneurs universally defined business success in terms of providing an education for their children so their children could obtain employment and live outside a slum. This motivation for their children’s education appeared to have four primary sources—namely, slum entrepreneurs’ motivational mechanisms for entrepreneurial action.

First, *slum entrepreneurs typically do not have a good education—largely due to parental death, injury, and/or lack of parental emphasis on education*. For example, Vadekar reflected on his own education and how he wanted a different path for his children: “I completed my 10th grade at a municipality school. But the main reason for attending school was that they gave us free food.” In our field notes from our visit with Vadekar, we noted that “he left school because they [his parents] were unaware of the importance of education, and they were not educated.”

Second, *due to their poor education, individuals living in slums have little choice but to become entrepreneurs (or find low-paying employment)*. For example, informant Kumar explained the following:

[My] financial condition was not that good. We lived in a small slum, and we didn't have much money. I completed my studies from a government school, and at that time, government school children were not good enough [for many employers]. And after the completion of my study, I didn't get any good employment opportunities. So, I started my own business because, from my point of view, it's better than being unemployed.

While they did not complain about their lives, the slum entrepreneurs told us that they had faced many hardships, which motivated them to ensure that their children would not also have to face such hardships (e.g., Sarkar, Vadekar, Bajpai, Gopal). Indeed, they expressed their desire for their children to be educated. For example, when asked about the chances of his son joining him in his business, Venkata adamantly responded:

No! I do not want him to join this work with me. I have never even imagined getting him into this line of work. I always wanted him to study well and become a better person than me. He should also work on computers as well because nothing can be done without education and computers.

Third, despite some personal and business benefits from living and working in a slum, slum entrepreneurs aspire for their children, as adults, to live outside such neighborhoods.

Sarkar believed that education provided a good pathway to a good marriage, one that would transition her children out of the slum: “[I do not give much thought] about getting them [her daughters] married. Making them well educated means that this [a good marriage] will not be a problem. It is better to spend on their education [than a dowry]; their future will be better.”

Finally, to slum entrepreneurs, their children's education is the key to breaking the cycle of family poverty. Harish told us how her son had been studying at an international school and living in a hostel nearby. According to Harish, the school was helping her son

get [access and exposure] to the best society. He gets high status and interacts with high-class people. There is no future for him in this slum; people are not well educated or well behaved here. If he lives here, then he will only interact with such kinds of people. This is why I decided to send him to the hostel so now he can interact with high-class people, and he will get good health. . . . [The problem is that] his school fees are 5.5 Lak Rs [USD 8,525] per annum, so I can't send all my three children there.

Therefore, slum entrepreneurs relied on their businesses to satisfy their primary goal of educating their children so the children could later secure employment or marry, which would enable the children to move out of the slum and live better lives (compared to if they had stayed in the slum). These entrepreneurs believed that education is the key first step toward alleviating poverty for the next family generation (and hopefully beyond). Based on the above, we offer the following baseline proposition:

Proposition 1: Slum entrepreneurs pursue business success to educate their children.

These entrepreneurs believe that their children's educational attainment is the critical first step toward moving future generations out of the slum by enabling their children to obtain high-income employment and live in a higher-status neighborhood.

Slum Conditions Creating Strong (Not Weak) Communities

To help their businesses and enhance their children's likelihood of successfully gaining a good education, the slum entrepreneurs relied heavily on developing efficacy through the local community (see Table 3). That is, despite the challenges of living in a slum, such as noise (e.g., Kumar) and perhaps crime and anti-social behavior,¹ operating in a slum seemed to help the entrepreneurs' businesses. Our findings suggest that a common theme for enabling slum entrepreneurship was the strength of the community. The strength of the community appeared to be developed, fostered, and maintained by the nature of the slum's harsh living conditions. We found three mechanisms that help explain how slum conditions contribute to the development of a strong community.

First, *poor-quality housing in slums promotes interaction and cooperation for developing strong communities*. For example, the slum entrepreneurs noted limitations with water supply (e.g., one tap for every five dwellings [Malik] or water delivery to a specific location at a specific time each day [Bajpai]) and problems with access to toilets in their slum. Efraim, an NGO worker,

¹ A point made by our informants from NGOs (e.g., Narayan and Srivastav) but largely denied, discounted, or ignored by the slum entrepreneurs (e.g., Bajpai).

noted that individuals living in slums “have difficulties, like they don’t have washrooms for taking a bath, and there are no toilets; there is a pit. And at the same place, men are taking a bath, women are getting water from a tap, and [other women] are taking a bath, all at the same place.” While some slums have toilets, they are shared by many and are poorly maintained (e.g., Punja, Adhya). Being forced to share water and toilets (or a pit as a substitute for a toilet) encouraged daily interaction and cooperation among slum residents that helped build and maintain a strong sense of community.

Second, *the small size and high density of slum housing forces interaction, information transfer, and cooperation among residents that helps build strong communities*. Efraim, an NGO worker, described information transfer in a graphic way:

There was a newly married woman at home, and a 14-year-old girl [who also lives in the home] is watching the newlywed couple spend their first night together. Even the people living in the surrounding homes know [about the married couple’s first night] as a lot of people are in a small place.

However, the entrepreneurs in our study appeared to find comfort in this living arrangement vis-à-vis living in a wealthier neighborhood. As one entrepreneur (Ayyar) noted, “In a slum, if anyone has an accident, then everyone will get to know about it. People in buildings [outside the slum] mind their own business. It is very joyful to live in a slum. If you want to live joyfully, then you should live in a slum.”

Finally, *given the above, slum entrepreneurs believe that fellow residents have a caring orientation toward others*. Limbu, who was considering moving to a building (outside the slum), seemed to be having second thoughts about the possible move:

The environment of my slum is very friendly. If you open the door of your house, you will see that the doors of all the other houses are open all the time. In a flat [an apartment outside the slum], everybody prefers to close the door, and children play inside, and wives work inside. But in the slum, we have the toilet and everything outside the house. In our neighborhood, there are South Indian and Gujarati families. If we need to go somewhere in

the middle of the night, we leave our children in the house alone, and I ask my neighbors to take care of my children. Then I don't have tension, and they will come and sit in my house or their children will come and play with my children. Their door will be open until we come back home. When we say we are back, then they will go to sleep.

Consistent with the comments of others, Kumar explained how “the atmosphere in the slum is a friendly atmosphere.” People within the slum appeared to largely live in harmony and help each other. When asked “If you had a problem, would the community help,” Sirasikar responded, “Yes, they will come and help you.” Indeed, the slum entrepreneurs often contrasted their community with the lack of community in wealthier neighborhoods (e.g., in apartment buildings). These contrasts between living in a slum and living in a wealthier neighborhood often highlighted the connection and caring among the communities within slums. For example, Harish described how “if you were living in a building, other people around you will not bother you, but here [in the slum], if other people don't see you for some time, they enquire about you. You get to know about the surrounding area, which is not possible in a building [outside the slum].” In addition, Raj reflected fondly on the fact that in his neighborhood, “everyone meets to share their happiness and sadness . . . [and] neighbors cooperate a lot.” Based on the above findings, we offer the following proposition:

Proposition 2: Slum entrepreneurs are embedded in strong slum communities. Strong slum communities are created by **(a)** poor-quality housing that promotes interaction and cooperation among community members and **(b)** the small, high-density housing that forces interaction, information transfer, and cooperation among community members, both of which promote **(c)** a caring orientation of the community toward members.

Therefore, for those living and/or working in slums, the adversity creates conditions that foster a strong sense of community, communities with strong and far-reaching connections (at least in terms of people within the neighborhood), and communities with a caring orientation. Although the slum entrepreneurs believed that operating in slums constrained the growth of their

businesses in some ways, they also believed that the strong sense of community and other characteristics of their slums largely had a positive impact on their businesses, to which we now turn.

Slum Communities Facilitating Entrepreneurial Success

Our findings provide new insights into how the harsh conditions of slums can help entrepreneurs establish a successful business. First, *operating in a slum facilitates business success by reducing business costs*. Many of the slum entrepreneurs highlighted how their businesses were intertwined with both their communities and their housing situations (see Table 3). Indeed, despite their small size (e.g., 10 x 10 [Vaknis], 10 x 12 [Kumar], 10 x 15 [Kayal]), the entrepreneurs' dwellings provided a place both to live and to work. For example, our field notes indicated that Chetti "had a slum with two floors, so those girls [workers] used to sit on the ground floor and work." Indeed, during a tour of Vaknis's house, we asked, "So you have divided the place—half of it is for ironing the clothes, and half of it is for living there," to which Vaknis responded, "Yes." This dual use of housing was highly convenient given the entrepreneurs' long work hours (most work more than 14 hours per day). Living in a slum also helped lower other business costs. For example, Narayan noted,

It is very easy to start businesses in a slum because the electric cost is at a minimum there. If you set up a business somewhere else, you have to get a commercial meter first. In the slums, you can also get cheap laborers. So, there are lots of differences [between running a business inside and outside a slum].

Second, *the strong, rich social networks of slum communities facilitate business success by enabling word-of-mouth recommendations and the rapid dissemination of information*. This transfer of information appeared to negate the need for otherwise potentially expensive communication strategies. That is, if a business is good, people will know about it; people will want to buy from and/or work for such a business. The slum entrepreneurs seemed to highly

value this community respect. For example, Raj emphasized the importance of reputation within the slum: “Everyone was very supportive. When we are good and honest, everyone is good and honest. When we are bad, the whole world seems to be bad to us. If I give respect when I am talking to you, you will also give me respect, but if I don’t, you will also not respect me.”

Therefore, this rapid word of mouth means that businesses need to do little to market their products/services, and the support provided within the community reduces the costs of running a business in a slum. Based on the above, we offer the following proposition:

Proposition 3: Slum communities facilitate business success by offering entrepreneurs **(a)** low operating costs and **(b)** strong, rich social networks for word-of-mouth recommendations and rapid information dissemination.

Slums and Entrepreneurs’ Health

Although operating in a slum seems to facilitate entrepreneurs’ businesses through a strong community, reduced operating costs, and rapid word-of-mouth communication, slums can also negatively affect entrepreneurs’ health, thereby obstructing these individuals from achieving business success and the underlying goal of that business success—facilitating their children’s educational attainment (see Table 3). Indeed, poor health constrained the education of the slum entrepreneurs. That is, many of these slum entrepreneurs had to leave school early because their fathers’ health failed, and they needed to provide for their families. The high-density housing of slums that helped develop a strong community also contributed to the risk of health problems arising from unsanitary living conditions (e.g., limited access to both toilets and clean water); exposure to unhealthy behaviors, such as smoking and drinking; dangerous working conditions (e.g., cleaning hospital waste, like needles [Vadekar]); violence (Sirasikar); and so on.

While the slum entrepreneurs acknowledged how their fathers’ poor health contributed to their limited education and the necessity of living in a slum, they did not acknowledge that their

own health problems may obstruct their ability to provide their children a pathway out of extreme poverty. However, recent changes to slums in India in terms of greater access to electrical power, toilets, and clean water may have reduced the likelihood of health problems for those living in poverty, including the entrepreneurs in our study. However, if health problems do occur, the consequences are often severe. As one informant told us, “If you are from a slum and need medical support, governmental support is not present. Some NGOs visit us and give vaccinations, but it’s common that people get sick and need to be in the hospital.” Indeed, many families’ problems start with health issues. As one NGO worker, Accion, noted, “Medicine costs a lot, and getting treatment for diseases can be very expensive. Many families have suffered because the earning person gets sick and then the family can’t pay the bills.” When health problems do arise, slum entrepreneurs need to use their limited savings, which makes it more difficult for them to afford educating their children. Based on the above findings, we offer the following proposition:

Proposition 4: For slum entrepreneurs, living in a slum is like a double-edged sword for the likelihood of business success: the source of the advantages for a business located in a slum (i.e., the conditions that create a strong slum community) are the source of the disadvantages for a business located in a slum (e.g., the conditions that are hazardous to the entrepreneur’s health).

Slum Entrepreneurs and Their Children’s Educational Attainment

A consistent mantra of the slum entrepreneurs was that success for them is for their children to become educated as a gateway to securing a good job, moving out of their slum, and having a good life. All the teachers that we spoke to said that the most important criteria in explaining success in education is the student’s motivation and parental support at home. For example, teacher Vijan noted that to be successful, students need to have discipline, and they need to understand the value of education in life because then they will be regular, punctual, and

educated. They need to have competitive spirit because, nowadays, in any field, there is an entrance exam.” In terms of parental support, a teacher named Masand told us about the importance of the “home atmosphere—how the child feels at home and what he sees at home because he is here [school] only for few hours. Most of the time he is at home, so it is the total atmosphere of the house.” We found three mechanisms that explain how slum entrepreneurs’ desire influences their children’s ambitions to perform well at school (see Table 4).²

Insert Table 4 about here

First, *the children of slum entrepreneurs observe their parents’ working and living conditions and realize that they do not want these conditions for themselves*. The children believed that education is their opportunity for a life better than that of their parents. For example, student Karishma told us she did not want a job like her father’s, and when we asked why, she responded in the following way: “No, I don’t want to do [a] job. I want to do something where I get money and I am also relaxed, and life should pass easily [unlike for her father].” Similarly, when we asked Jitesh whether he wanted to follow in his father’s footsteps, he told us emphatically, “No. They [parents] want me to become someone huge, who could be above them all, who should not suffer like them.”

Second, *the expectations of slum entrepreneurs for their children to be well educated are reflected in what the children believe is a supportive educational environment at home* (as best

² “Although slum entrepreneurs and their employees would agree on the importance of educating their children, realistically only successful slum entrepreneurs can pursue this dream as they are the only ones who could afford to send their children to private schools, give them access to coaching, and provide the financial backing to pursue higher education and a better life away from slum environment” (Accion, NGO).

as can be offered given the conditions). Student Pranshu told us about the importance of his education for his father: “It is really very important because he had a dream, and his goals were not accomplished due to financial problems. He thinks that I will accomplish my dreams. He wants me to study hard.” Similarly, student Shaikh told us what his father told him: “Papa said it [studying and working] is not a problem in commerce. You can do many things and become something. Papa said that I will be able to do it, and I will make you do it.”

Finally, *the children of slum entrepreneurs believe that gaining a good education is payback for the sacrifices of their parents*. For example, student Amit told us the following: “Because my father has not studied so much. So that is why he is doing that. I am getting educated. I am getting an education, I am studying, and I wish to score well in life and want to glorify my father and mother’s name.” Similarly, student Harjyot noted, “Helping my family firstly means not disobeying them but completing my work. I want a good job and to earn good money so that they understand I that I know what they have been through in past years, and I know what they have suffered from.” Based on the above findings, we offer the following proposition:

Proposition 5: Slum entrepreneurs’ expectation for their children’s educational attainment leads to the children’s belief that **(a)** they have a supportive educational environment at home and that **(b)** they need to pay back their parents’ sacrifices by doing well in school.

A Model of Slum Entrepreneurs’ Poverty Alleviation

As a baseline, we propose that slum parents believe that their children’s educational attainment is the first critical step toward moving future family generations out of poverty (i.e., a step toward the children obtaining high [in a relative sense] employment income and moving into a higher-status neighborhood). These entrepreneurs believe that the success of their business is

the key to their children's educational attainment. The findings reported above provide a number of unique insights into the relationship between entrepreneurship and education in the hope of alleviating poverty.

First, the unique attributes of working in a slum are like a double-edged sword in advancing business success for the purposes of facilitating children's educational attainment. On the one hand, working in a slum can indirectly obstruct business success through entrepreneurs' diminished health. On the other hand, working in a slum indirectly enhances business success through the development of a strong slum community.

Second, slum entrepreneurs represent a "counter-factual" role model for their children in two ways. Namely, the entrepreneurs' low income and minimal savings indicate to their children the importance of high employment income (via educational attainment), and the entrepreneurs' poor living conditions indicate to their children the importance of living in a better neighborhood (via educational attainment and high-income employment).

Finally, the findings lead to a number of somewhat paradoxical relationships: (1) The source of the disadvantages for a business located in a slum (e.g., the conditions hazardous to the entrepreneurs' health) are also the source of the advantages for a business located in a slum (i.e., the conditions that create a strong slum community). (2) Slum entrepreneurs recognize the disadvantages of living in a slum such that they want their children to live outside a slum, but they are unwilling to leave themselves. (3) Slum entrepreneurs recognize that it was their parents' poor health that obstructed their own educational attainment but do not recognize that their own health might deteriorate and obstruct their children's educational attainment.

DISCUSSION

This study offers a model of slum entrepreneurs' poverty alleviation that explains how slum entrepreneurs believe that by engaging in entrepreneurial action, they can enable their children to move out of extreme poverty through educational attainment. This study's findings and the resultant model offer a number of implications for the entrepreneurship literature. First, the entrepreneurship research on poverty alleviation has focused on short-term gains in resources for individual actors or more substantial changes to institutions or society (Sutter et al., 2019). Our findings provide evidence of a perspective of entrepreneurship for poverty alleviation that is different from the current categorized perspectives. Rather than address the immediate resource loss of a remediation perspective of entrepreneurship (e.g., Ahlin & Jiang, 2008; Bradley et al., 2012; Sutter et al., 2014), we found that slum entrepreneurs, who have needs for the most basic of necessities, took a longer-term perspective to poverty alleviation. That is, rather than obtaining immediate financial gratification from entrepreneurial action (Bradley et al., 2011), the slum entrepreneurs in the current study sacrificed immediate gratification for investments in their children's education under the strong belief that poverty alleviation would come for subsequent family generations (and not for themselves). Further, we did not find evidence that these slum entrepreneurs were engaged in entrepreneurial action to change institutions or the capitalist system (as would be expected for a reform [e.g., Ghani et al., 2014; Mair et al., 2012] or a revolution [e.g., Kroger & Weber, 2014; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006] perspective, respectively). Rather, the entrepreneurs believed that by using their entrepreneurial action to facilitate their children's education, they could alleviate their family's poverty eventually within the rules of the current institutions and system. Perhaps, once educated, the slum entrepreneurs' children might be the ones who make the large changes required for reform or revolution.

Second, although poor education and low income can push people into entrepreneurship (Block et al., 2014; Thurik et al., 2008), they can also push individuals into living in poor neighborhoods. The environment of financially poor neighborhoods is generally considered to lead to a lack of community or to the formation of dysfunctional communities (Baum et al., 1999) with low trust between community members (Chen & Miller, 2013; Sampson et al., 1997), low community-level support (Gallo & Matthews, 2003; Matthews & Gallo, 2011), and an unwillingness to help others (Chen & Miller, 2013; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). As a result, researchers have characterized these financially poor neighborhoods as weak communities (Sampson et al., 1997) that constrain the performance of local businesses. We found evidence that there were strong communities in the extremely financially poor neighborhoods of slums and that entrepreneurs' businesses benefited from being located in a slum. Perhaps there is a difference between community development and business success in the slums of the developing world (as in this study) and the low socio-economic status of neighborhoods in developed countries (where many of the studies of communities with low socio-economic status have been conducted). Slums capture a deeper problem of informal settlements that goes beyond low income to inadequate infrastructure and conditions that are unfit for people to live in, which is evident in the lack of basic services, such as sanitation and waste management (Ferguson & Navarrete, 2003). Although the overcrowding and the necessity of sharing bathrooms cause infections and poor health, such closeness can facilitate social capital (Ellis & Roberts, 2016). It has been discussed in prior research that the strong social capital of slums is linked to the short-term survival of slum dwellers and their resilience to crises, such as flooding (Aßheuer et al., 2013). However, it has also been argued in the literature that this social capital has a downside because it obstructs the long-term development of slum dwellers and hinders future generations

from moving out of slums (Abheuer et al., 2013). In contrast, we show that in facilitating business success, the strong social capital of a slum provides a basis for the expectation (of the entrepreneurs and their children) that future generations will move out of the slum based on the children's educational attainment. Future research has the opportunity to explore in a more nuanced fashion the pros and cons of these poor neighborhoods for entrepreneurial action.

Third, although it has been acknowledged that necessity entrepreneurship is prevalent in the developing regions of the world (Acs, 2006), research has focused on the antecedents of necessity-based entrepreneurship and has largely (but not completely) ignored its processes and outcomes (Dencker et al., 2019). In this study, we complement previous research on the antecedents of necessity entrepreneurship by highlighting the desired outcomes of this form of entrepreneurial action. Although we did not conduct a longitudinal study across generations to determine whether the slum entrepreneurs' beliefs about their children's education (i.e., that it would alleviate their family's poverty) actually came true, we did find evidence consistent with their beliefs. Specifically, consistent with the notion of role expectations, we found that the parents' expectations of their children's educational attainment were reflected in the children's self-expectations and ambitions. We also found that teachers reported that those students with parents with high expectations for their children's educational attainment did better at school. These findings provide preliminary evidence that the status-attainment model developed and tested with immigrant communities (Kasinitz, 2008; Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017; White & Glick, 2009) has some relevance to the children of slum entrepreneurs. Therefore, our model elaborates upon the contextual settings behind the formation of entrepreneurs' expectations from business success, which has often been neglected in the general literature (Welter et al., 2017). We hope that future research builds on the current model of slum entrepreneurship to conduct longitudinal

studies on the relationship between entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation for future generations mediated by the educational attainment of entrepreneurs' children.

Fourth, research on necessity entrepreneurship's antecedents has focused on the factors that push an individual into entrepreneurship (Block et al., 2014; Thurik et al., 2008) and has largely been dismissive of the impacts of these efforts (Welter et al., 2017; Williams & Nadin, 2010). We challenge these assumptions by finding that slum entrepreneurs were pulled into entrepreneurship (at least in part) by the attractive possibility of future family generations moving out of poverty. The opportunity for the slum entrepreneurs was not one for personal gain but one that generates potential benefits for their descendants. Consistent with the call to consider heterogeneity in necessity entrepreneurship to gain a deeper understanding of these entrepreneurs' motivations and actions (Welter et al., 2017), we found that slum entrepreneurs are not only pushed into entrepreneurship but are also pulled into entrepreneurship by a potential opportunity to break their family's cycle of poverty. Future research can begin to explore necessity entrepreneurship in other contexts to understand different pull factors and their relationship with push factors.

Fifth, entrepreneurship research has highlighted the role of parents as role models who facilitate entry into self-employment. For example, self-employed parents' increase their children's perceptions of the desirability and/or feasibility of this career choice—that is, parents' entrepreneurial experience increases their children's intention to become self-employed (Matthews & Moser, 1996; Shapero & Sokol, 1982). Our findings provide two insights into a counterfactual role model: (1) Parents living in slums become entrepreneurs to prevent their children from becoming entrepreneurs, to provide their children educational support that was not provided to them from their parents, and to fulfill their desire for their children to live outside of

a slum despite not wanting to do so themselves. (2) The children of slum entrepreneurs reflect this counterfactual role model via their motivation to succeed in school so that they do not need to enter entrepreneurship (like their parents) and can leave the slum (where their parents live) to enjoy a better life.

Finally, there is a growing stream of research on the education of necessity entrepreneurs. This stream of research has indicated that entrepreneurial training has a positive impact on business creation (Gielnick et al., 2015; Gielnick et al., 2017) and business progress (Friedrich, et al., 2006), including firm profits (Campos et al., 2017). Although we focused on traditional education (for children) as a proximal outcome of business success rather than training as an antecedent to business success, both the current study and the stream of research on entrepreneurship training can help us better understand the variety of paths to poverty alleviation. Perhaps greater training for entrepreneurs living in slums will have a flow-through effect on the educational attainment (i.e., traditional education) of these slum entrepreneurs' children. We hope future research explores the inter-relationship between entrepreneurship training for slum entrepreneurs and the traditional educational attainment of their children as a step toward poverty alleviation.

Practical Implications

For those interested in improving the lives of slum entrepreneurs, efforts to move entrepreneurs out of the slums may not be particularly helpful—at least from the entrepreneurs' perspective. Although they wanted their children to move out of the slums, the entrepreneurs were reluctant to move out themselves. Indeed, the entrepreneurs perceived a number of benefits from being located in a slum for their business. The slum entrepreneurs' objective for business success was to use their business to educate their children so that they could move out of the

slum. Therefore, slum entrepreneurs are likely to appreciate efforts that help them find high-quality education for their children, improvements in health outcomes for those living in slums (i.e., for the entrepreneurs to sustain business success and for their children to sustain educational success), and employers' (outside of slums) willingness to hire the educated children of slum entrepreneurs. Another practical implication is for NGOs and government agencies to recognize that slums do have strong communities—including a caring orientation—that may facilitate the recognition and implementation of compassionate actions to alleviate the suffering of members of their slum community. Due to entrepreneurs' and their children's strong desire for educational attainment, the practical implication is to provide sufficient education and (subsequent) employment opportunities for these motivated individuals.

Limitations and Future Research

The findings from this study should be interpreted in light of certain limitations. First, the study focuses on only those entrepreneurs who reside in slums. These entrepreneurs are highly skilled in using the slum environment to their advantage, and we wanted to study them. However, we recognize that the present study excludes and has limited contributions for slum entrepreneurs who managed to leave a slum due to entrepreneurial success and those who are not entrepreneurs yet live in slums. Future research can explore differences in the entrepreneurs who were able to “graduate” out of slums vis-à-vis those who were not. Second, our findings, which are offered in the form of propositions, help build and extend theory. These propositions imply causal relationships that require empirical testing. We believe that carefully designed structural equation models with control variables could help to test explained variance about the causal explanations about the initial propositions that the beliefs that educational attainment can move future generations out of the slum, effects from the extent slum entrepreneurs are embedded in

strong slum communities, and how slum communities facilitate business success. Specifically, we expect controlling for age, company tenure, family situation may have a role in the explanation about proposition 4 and how living in a slum is like a double-edged sword for business success and the paradox about education and health we have outlined in the paper. However, such a study may also require controls of slum conditions to partial out variance from the source of the advantages for a business located in a slum as well as the source of the disadvantages for a business located in a slum (e.g., the conditions that are hazardous to the entrepreneur's health). As such, we believe that our research calls for testing our model using multiple slum settings, where individual contributions and theory building efforts could seek to test alternative and complementary theoretical mechanisms in this emergent theory outlined in the paper. Moreover, proposition 5 suggested slum entrepreneurs' expectation for educational attainment leads to children's belief that they have a supportive educational environment and that they need to pay back their parents' sacrifices by doing well in school and to what extent this will assist breaking poverty can also be tested in such studies. To understand whether or not this will ultimately lead to success will likely require a longitudinal design that tracks a large sample of slum entrepreneurs' business performance and their children's educational attainment, careers, and living conditions over time. Indeed, such research can theorize and empirically investigate differences in the sample of slum entrepreneurs (or slum entrepreneurs vis-à-vis slum employees) and their impact in explaining their children's movement (or not) out of poverty. Third, education scholars also have an opportunity to explore the relationships proposed here, such as what attributes of slum entrepreneurs, slum entrepreneurs' children, and schools explain variance in children's educational attainment and movement out of a slum. Finally, we hope that future research will explore some of the nuances of the proposed relationships related to social

networks, such as exploring the nature of slum entrepreneurs' networks, variance in the nature of these networks, and their impact on business success and—ultimately—their children's educational attainment.

Conclusion

Our baseline finding is that slum entrepreneurs are motivated to achieve business success to educate their children as a means for their children (but not themselves) to move out of poverty. Although it seems obvious that slum entrepreneurs would focus on their children's education (as do other parents, such as immigrant parents), this study offers a number of counter-intuitive insights embedded in the slum context. For example, our research shed light on how the challenging strong slum communities are important and how they are created to facilitate business success. Poor-quality and high-density housing can be powerful to promote interaction and cooperation among community members and the slum entrepreneurs use this to their advantage. Further, we highlight a double-edged sword: on the one side, the nature of living and working in a slum facilitates business success through low operating costs and a strong, rich social network, but on the other side, living in a slum can risk business success via the increased health hazards faced by slum residents. Finally, in the slum context, the entrepreneurs represent a counter-factual role model, a role model that inspires the next generation not to become entrepreneurs and not to live and work in the slums. Although the slum context is extreme—which is good for theory building—it represents reality for tens of millions of people. We hope that future research continues to explore entrepreneurship in this important context.

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Table 1: Sample Descriptives

Name	Respondent information	Enterprise information	Slum information	Industry
Anu Sarkar	City: Mumbai Education: Graduate Age: 51. Sex: Female Family: Husband, Mother-in-law, and one child (25 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Sayali Enterprise category: HEG Prod description: Embroidery Enterprise age: 15 yrs. Employees: 8 Experience: 15 yrs. in embroidery	Years in slum: 15 Slum name: Harinagar Slum area: Jogeshwari East Slum category: Semi pucca	Cloth trader
Parvati Harish	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 35. Sex: Female Family: Husband, sister-in-law, and three children (5, 8, & 10 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Dedhia Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Garment Business Enterprise age: 8 yrs. Employees: 15 Experience: 12 yrs. in garments	Years in slum: 13 Slum name: Prabhat Colony Slum area: Santacruz East Slum category: Semi pucca	Cloth trader
Amitodana Padhi	City: Delhi Education: Primary school Age: 49. Sex: Male Family: Wife and two children (19 & 24 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Jeans factory Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Garment Business Enterprise age: 5 yrs. Employees: 10 Experience: 22 yrs. in garments	Years in slum: Undisclosed Slum name: Brahmपुरi Slum area: Silampur Slum category: Semi pucca	Cloth trader
Ranjan Bajpai	City: Delhi Education: Uneducated Age: 35. Sex: Male Family: Wife, parents, cousin, and two children (6 & 10 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Janvi Cotto Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Female leggings Enterprise age: 6 yrs. Employees: 10 Experience: 20 yrs. in garments	Years in slum: 31 Slum name: Sanjay Colony Slum area: Okhla Slum category: Kuccha	Cloth trader
Ananda Dhavale	City: Delhi Education: Primary school Age: 30 yrs. Sex: Male Family: Wife, brother, cousins and two children (3 & 7 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Gopal Paniwale Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Water purifier & supplier Enterprise age: 12 yrs. Employees: 22 Experience: 15 yrs. water products	Years in slum: 30 Slum name: Subhash Moholla Slum area: Purana Silampur Slum category: Pucca	Basic utility service
Venkata Goyal	City: Mumbai Education: uneducated Age: 45. Sex: Male Family: Wife, sister, mother and one children (23 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Yadav Kadiya Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Building repair Enterprise age: 16 yrs. Employees: 5 Experience: 22 yrs. building repair	Years in slum: 45 Slum name: Prabhat Colony Slum area: Santacruz East Slum category: Semi Pucca	Basic utility service
Bhima Raj	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 54. Sex: Male Family: Wife, and four children (16, 21, 24 & 26 yrs.)	Enterprise name: P.L.I Enterprise category: HEG Prod description: LED Light Manufacturing & Trading Enterprise age: 20 yrs. Employees: 6 Experience: 25 yrs. in light industry	Years in slum: 20 Slum name: Gani Compoun Slum area: Malad East Slum category: Pucca	Basic utility service
Santosh Devdhar	City: Mumbai Education: Graduate Age: 57. Sex: Male Family: Two children (24 yrs., & 29 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Satish Classes Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Teaching (Coaching) Enterprise age: 30 yrs. Employees: 10 Experience: 1.5 yrs. sweeper and 25 yrs teaching	Years in slum: 30 Slum name: Devipada Slum area: Borivali East Slum category: Semi-pucca	Education
Veer Srivastav	City: Delhi Education: Master of education, LLB Age: 31. Sex: Male Family: Wife, one child (8 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Non disclosed Enterprise category: HEG Prod description: Teaching Enterprise age: 5 yrs. Employees: 2 Experience: 8 yrs. coaching and odd jobs	Years in slum: 20 Slum name: Nav-jeevan Camp Slum area: Navjeevan Camp Slum category: Semi-pucca	Education

Amar Singh	City: Delhi Education: Graduate Age: 49. Sex: Male Family: Wife, and two children (24 & 26 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Shivam School Prod description: Teaching (private school in slums) Enterprise age: 17 yrs. Employees: 13 Experience: 35 yrs. in teaching	Years in slum: 29 Slum name: Tughalkabad Slum area: Tughalkabad Slum category: Kuccha	Education
Chander Kumar	City: Mumbai Education: Undisclosed Age: 30. Sex: Male Family: Wife, and one child (4 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Tree Ganesha Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Making Ganesh Idols. Enterprise age: 2 yrs. Employees: 5 Experience: 10 yrs. in idol making	Years in slum: 30 Slum name: BDD Chawl Slum area: Lower Parel Slum category: Pucca	Handicraft
Sharad Limbu	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 39. Sex: Male Family: Wife, parents and two children (8 & 15 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Trisha Art Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Semi-precious jewelry; Enterprise age: 10 yrs. Employees: 10 Experience: 15 yrs. in jewelry	Years in slum: 30 Slum name: Dhanjiwadi Slum area: Borivali East Slum category: Semi-pucca	Handicraft
Narayana Chetti	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 38. Sex: Male Family: Wife, brother, mother and three children (11, 12, & 15 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name Enterprise category: HEG Prod description: Imitation jewelry. Enterprise age: 10 yrs. Employees: 6 Experience: 10 yrs. in jewelry	Years in slum: 10 Slum name: Rani Sati Road Slum area: Malad Slum category: Pucca	Handicraft
Vaibhav Kashyap	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 30. Sex: Male Family: Wife, father, sister, and two children (4 & 7 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Washing and ironing. Enterprise age: 13 yrs. Employees: 0 Experience: 13 yrs. washing & ironing	Years in slum: 20 Slum name: Nityanand Nagar Slum area: Ghatkoper Slum category: Kuccha	Laundry
Amara Vaknis	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 51. Sex: Male Family: Wife, father, and two children (24 & 27 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Clothes washing Enterprise age: 25 yrs. Employees: 0 Experience: 20 yrs. in clothes washing and 10 in other jobs	Years in slum: 46 Slum name: Dhobi Ghat Slum area: Mumbai Central Slum category: Semi-pucca	Laundry
Cyavana Sanyal	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 25. Sex: Female Family: Husband, two children (1 & 3 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Dry Cleaning Enterprise age: 5 yrs. Employees: 3 Experience: 5 yrs. in dry cleaning	Years in slum: 25 Slum name: Vasri Hills Slum area: Goregaon Slum category: Pucca	Laundry
Govinda Pavagi	City: Delhi Education: Basic school Age: 27. Sex: Male Family: Wife, two children (2 & 6 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name. Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Scrap collection, sorting and sale. Enterprise age: 3 yrs. Employees: 2 Experience: 5 yrs. in scrap business	Years in slum: 10 Slum name: Majdoor Camp Slum area: Okhla Slum category: Kuccha	Recycle
Amitabh Vadekar	City: Delhi Education: Primary school Age: 45. Sex: Male Family: Wife, parents, three children (10, 17 & 20 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Plastic Recycling Enterprise age: 21 yrs. Employees: 22 Experience: 25 yrs in scrap	Years in slum: 45 Slum name: Dharavi Slum area: Dharavi Slum category: Pucca	Recycle
Dhani Panda	City: Delhi Education: Basic school Age: 32. Sex: Male	Enterprise name: No name Enterprise category: LE	Years in slum: 15 Slum name: RK Puram Sector 6 slums	Recycle

	Family: Wife, brother, sister, mother, and child (8 yrs.)	Prod description: Scrap collection and distribution. Enterprise age: 11 yrs. Employees: 2 Experience: 15 yrs. in scrap business	Slum area: RK Puram Slum category: Semi-pucca	
Cyavana Ayyar	City: Delhi Education: Basic school Age: 35. Sex: Male Family: Wife, parents and two children (7 & 11 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No specific name Enterprise category: HEG Prod description: Cricket coach Enterprise age: 5 yrs. Employees: 4 Experience: 10 yrs in coaching	Years in slum: 14 Slum name: DDA Flats Slum area: Rohini Slum category: Pucca	Sport and recreation
Vinay Kayal	City: Mumbai Education: Graduate Age: 30. Sex: Male Family: Wife, sister, and two children (5 & 9 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Shivneri Gym. Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Gym facility Enterprise age: 4 yrs. Employees: 2 Experience: 3 yrs. as mechanical engineer	Years in slum: 30 Slum name: New Agripada Slums Slum area: Santacruz Slum category: Semi-pucca	Sport and recreation
Aditya Sirasikar	City: Delhi Education: Primary school Age: 36. Sex: Male Family: Wife, and two children (12 & 15 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Manu Gym Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Gym facility Enterprise age: 5 yrs. Employees: 3 Experience: 15 yrs	Years in slum: 36 Slum name: Near RK Puram Slum area: RK Puram Slum category: Semi-pucca	Sport and recreation
Rura Punja	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 26. Sex: Male Family: Wife, brother, and two children (2 & 4 yrs.)	Enterprise name: No name Enterprise category: LE Prod description: Car hiring Enterprise age: 2 yrs. Employees: 1 Experience: 3 yr in car hiring	Years in slum: 26 Slum name: Appapada Slum area: Malad East Slum category: Semi-pucca	Transportation service
Vrikodara Nambiyar	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 53. Sex: Male Family: Wife, and two children (22 & 28 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Capital Tourist Enterprise category: HLG Prod description: Car hire/Taxi Enterprise age: 20 yrs. Employees: 8 Experience: 14 yrs. as a taxi driver	Years in slum: 25 Slum name: Near RK Puram Slum area: RK Puram Slum category: Semi-pucca	Transportation service
Sahadeva Adhya	City: Mumbai Education: Primary school Age: 31. Sex: Male Family: Wife, and three children (3, 7 & 10 yrs.)	Enterprise name: Sai Shraddha Tours & Travels / Om Sai Mobile Enterprise category: HE Prod description: Car hiring Enterprise age: 10 yrs; Employees: 0 Experience: 2 yrs. as a taxi driver	Years in slum: 12 Slum name: Bhagat Singh Nagar Slum area: Goregaon Slum category: Kuccha	Transportation service

Note: Enterprise category: High entrepreneurial success and graduation (HEG); High entrepreneurial success (HE); Low entrepreneurial success. Slum category: Kuccha (non-permanent), semi-pucca (semi-permanent) and pucca (permanent) housing. We changed all names to ensure anonymity.

Table 2: Entrepreneur’s Expectancies about Business Success, Education, and Moving out of Poverty

<p>Children’s education</p>	<p>“Children often drop out of school before they reach developmental level. The failure of children is bleak if they grow up to be ignorant and uneducated and would never be able to break the cycle of poverty” (News report)</p> <p>“... he’ll [his son will] manage it his way. That’s why he’s into his studies. He’ll do things according to him, like online business is popular nowadays. I have my mind set on that too” (Padhi, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“Do have a dream for your son? R: Yes the dream is that he should be well educated. ... At present he is only 3 years old” (Dhavale, Slum Entrepreneur)</p> <p>“My children have not seen the hardship ... , My children love books. ... I have given them better way of life so they are in love with books. ... They are inclined towards studies” (Vadekar, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“I work this hard and do two to three jobs each day so that my children can go to school. This is the only way for them to escape this hard life. Otherwise they will become like us and would need to work every day to have food on the table” (Slum Entrepreneur)</p> <p>“they want their children to do well just like any other parents. The only different is that if their kids don’t do well, they will be stuck in slum..so the stakes are high for the parents and their children” (Teacher of slum entrepreneurs’ children)</p>
<p>Children’s Potential Income</p>	<p>“My life has changed after joining Chrystal House (a high quality school). I have gained a lot of confidence and improved in my academics as well. Angel – who graduated from Chrystal House India Bangalore in 2013 was never thinking of college, pursuing a double major in journalism and psychology managing to secure employment with top multinational corporations” (News report)</p> <p>“I like building apps. Knowing how to use a computer, to write code is important for getting a good job.” Ansuja. (News report)</p> <p>“A considerable proportion of the adult workforce is acutely underdeveloped to be eligible for skilled and semi-skilled jobs”. (Accion, NGO)</p> <p>“I often employ children coming from slums because they are driven and want to achieve success. They have seen their parents working hard for them so that they can get the education and better life. Many of them want to payback to their parents by doing well in work life” (Employer of slum entrepreneurs’ children)</p>
<p>Children’s Potential Living Conditions</p>	<p>“I am happy with my life in the slum. But, if someday I am able to earn enough to buy a home in a better place, away from this area, then, I will obviously, go and live there. It will be a good step towards a better future of my children” (Bajpai, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“She also wants to buy a house better than this and wanted her daughter to have a good education” (Sarkar, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“If you manage to secure a higher skilled job you can afford to move to a better area outside the slum.” (Ajay, informant)</p> <p>“If I don’t study, we will never be able to leave slum. My mother works many jobs and my father run his business. They are working hard so I can go to school.” (Vrikodara, Slum entrepreneur’s child)</p>

Table 3: Financially Poor Neighborhood and Community, Business Success, and Entrepreneurs’ Health

Mechanisms	Representative Quotations
Strong Community	
Housing-related deficiencies	<p>“... the water supply is such that the people of our block, that is the C-Block, have got the water connection, while the outer lane from which you pass through to come here gets the tankers for the supply of water. It [water tanker] comes on the road and then the people fill water in their buckets from the pipe that passes through the tanker” (Bajpai, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“... in the village, we could go to the fields for the toilet. Here we need to use the public toilet. It is not very clear and you have to que for a long time in the morning with everyone else” (Slum entrepreneur’s father)</p> <p>“Even the people who are living in surrounding dwellings, they even know as all people are living in small places ... and toilet also would be nearby. Ladies, gents, girls and children use same washroom” (Efrah, NGO).</p>
High-density living	<p>“Yes and my neighbors would cooperate a lot” (Raj, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“As you can see we have a very small room. We are five of us that sleep in this room and I also run the business from here” (Parvati, Slum Entrepreneur)</p> <p>“ Now people recognize me. People recognize me in the colony. If I had remained in the building [outside the slum], I wouldn’t have got that name and fame” (Harish, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“I have been living in this area since childhood and I know everyone” (Kayal, Slum Entrepreneur).</p>
Collective Caring Orientation	<p>“There are Balmiki people living, there are Devdhar also who are living here. There are people from UP, Bihar and other places; all of them live with harmony over there. Suppose I have [a] ... party, then all would come to participate in that. That sort of system is there in the village and not in Delhi [outside the slum]” (Aditya, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“No, the people around us are very nice. They take care of one another. Whenever they have a festival, like Diwali, they make things like Chakli, Shankar paare. They call us and they share all this with us. Whenever we have a festival, we call them also and they like whatever non-vegetarian dish or any other thing that we make” (Kashyap, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“Slum is only bad, there are good things here also. People care of each other, in good and bad times. But I don’t want to live my life here. I want to move into a better society” (Amitabh, Slum entrepreneur’s child)</p>
Community Conducive to Business Success	
Low Costs of Operations	<p>“[In the past] we did not pay anything as there were no bills for illegal electricity. Now, everything has been legalized and the officers from the government have fitted two meters to our house. The one on the top floor where we live is a domestic meter while on the ground floor where we work is a commercial meter” (Bajpai, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>[Outside the slum] there are many restrictions in building like you cannot do this or you cannot do that whereas there are no restrictions in the slum (Kayal, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“We are paid hourly and this is easy work for me and other ladies. We don’t need to travel too far for earning money. If Didi (Hindi work for elder sister- i.e. slum entrepreneur) did not give me work, life can be difficult” (Parvati, Slum entrepreneur’s employee)</p>
Rapid Word-of-Mouth	<p>“There is mostly labor class living here in the slums. So whenever something happens, they all gather with each other in the morning and also at the night to enquire about what happened and where it happened” (Sahadeva Adhya, Slum Entrepreneur)</p>

	<p>“The good thing about slums is that when you do some good work then there are many people who support you. They see you with respectful eyes. They always get ready to support you and they do not make you to face any difficulties” (Efrac NGO).</p>
<p>Financial-Poor Neighborhood and Entrepreneur’s Health</p>	
<p>Health of Entrepreneur</p>	<p>“Like, right now, I don’t have much resources, so I have to go everywhere myself. I go on cycle. Although, I don’t go by it [cycle] now as I have problems with my legs. Otherwise, I used go by cycle from maha laxmi to 4 or 5 bungalows” (Vaknis, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“in my many years of working in the school I have seen this happen few time. Good students have to leave their studies due to bad heath of their parents. This is very sad story, as many of these kids could have had much better life” (Teacher of slum entrepreneurs’ children)</p> <p>“What cooperation are we getting from the government? We should have got medicine free, life subsidy and we should have got the facility of paper work in slums also” (Vadekar, Slum Entrepreneur).</p> <p>“Poor heath and healthcare is the primary reason for children going back into poverty. It takes a lifetime to save money and once you have a bad health your savings going into paying expensive bills in medical care.” (Rustom, NGO)</p>

Table 4: Motivational Expectancies of Slum Entrepreneurs for their Children’s Educational Progress

Mechanism	Representative Quotations
Role Model to Avoid	<p>“The kind of struggle he has undergone in his life, he does not want me to go through the same. Whatever is possible for him to do, he is doing. So that what he went through, I should not face. They are trying to make everything possible for me so that I can get a better education” (Amitabh, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>Interviewer: “So you do not want to do that [your father’s] business? Why?” Response: “I want to become someone when I grow up. My father is wishing the same” (Anu, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“There are only disadvantages (living in a slum). We have stayed here for many years and we have formed a habit. But we cannot stay here forever. ... mummy and papa say to study and do not live like us” (Cyavana, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p>
Supportive Educational Environment at Home	<p>“It is quiet in the house because they [the family] know it is Board exam time. They have lot of hope in me because I am in 10th [grade]. So they wish [me well] and remain silent” (Amitabh, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“My parents didn’t study much. My father studied till 10th [grade] ... my mother does work at people’s houses and sees children studying. So she tells us only to do one thing—study—and become a good person. That is why I am working so much. For them it is important to make us study. They could not study because they had such [bad] conditions. So they said that we can do work but you study” (Vrikodar, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“My mom and dad tell me that it is your job to study and our job to earn the money” (Sahadeva, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“Sometimes I find these children [from slums] take more interest [in learning at school] because their parents value the education more compared to parents of non-slum students. ... some parents are good, they realize that they don’t want their children to grow up like they have grown up so they take an interest [in the children’s education]” (Aruna, Teacher of slum entrepreneurs’ children).</p> <p>“My husband works very hard but he is most proud of our children’s education. They all are doing well, especially my daughter, we want he to be a doctor. This would make our dreams come true” (Rani, Wife of slum entrepreneur)</p>
Payback for Parental Sacrifices	<p>“Financial [problems]. There is no money. After studying well, I will work and do business. Whatever problems that he [my father] had faced regarding money he should not have to face it again” (Amitabh, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“Yes because education is very important in today's world. It is very important for the future. It’s like if they [my parents] are expecting something from me then it is my duty to give it to them and make them feel proud” (Amara, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“College also is necessary, because our parents do so much for us. We should also do something for them. We have to fulfill their dreams ... Yes definitively. Firstly, I get my parents picture in front of me. I have to do it [education] for them. ... Our life has to be made better. We have faced too much, now it is time to do things properly” (Narayana, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“It is very important. Like for my education, my father has forgone his desires a lot. ... In fulfilling our needs, his dreams are over. So it is like I have to study further and do something for my father” (Vrikodar, Slum Entrepreneur’s Child).</p> <p>“It [educational performance] really depends upon the child. There are few children who appreciate their parent’s effort for sending them to school because they have seen the many obstacles in their parent’s life so they realize the value for money. When they know the value of money than they [the students] work hard” (Dimple, Teacher of slum entrepreneurs’ children).</p>

Figure 1: Data Collection

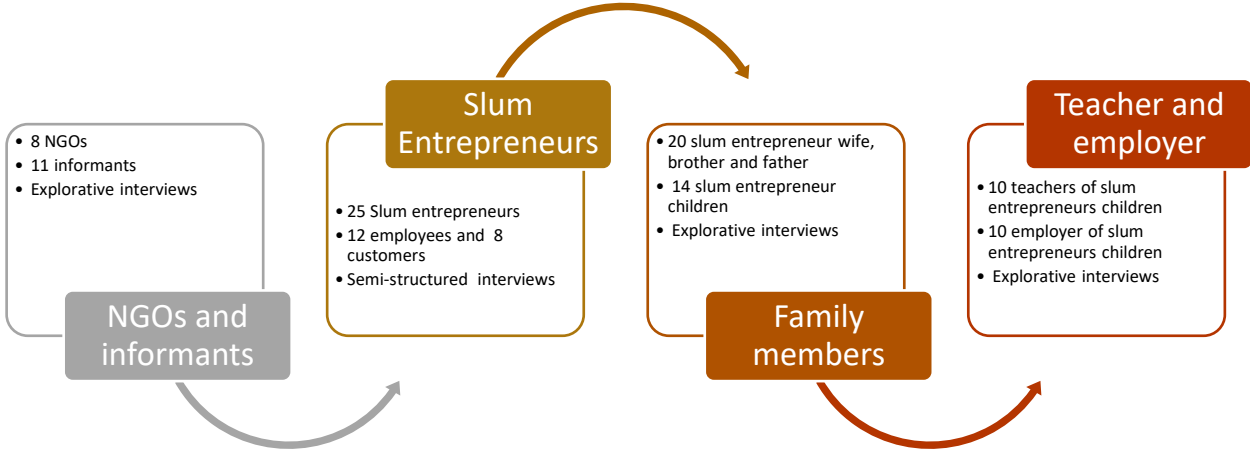


Figure 2: Data Structure

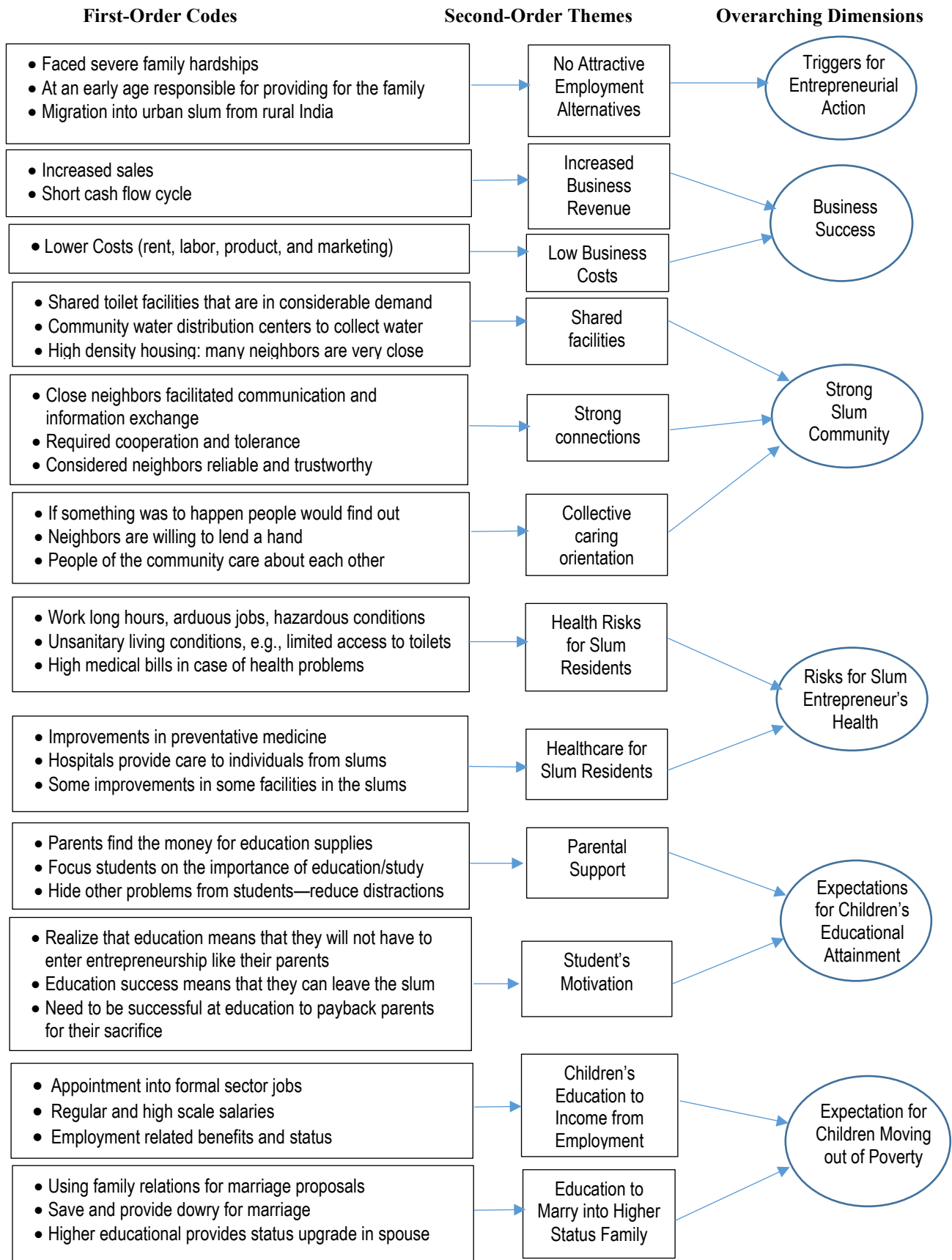


Figure 3: A Model of Slum Entrepreneurs' Alleviation of Poverty

