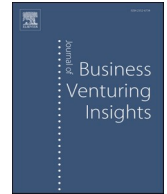




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Why am I so successful? Self-presentation and deliberative attributions of success in entrepreneurship

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the complexities of causes of success mentioned in entrepreneurs' narratives in a broadcasted context. Building on strategic self-presentation and attribution theories, we employed inductive methods to map the configurations of public narratives explaining entrepreneurial success. The data analyzed were gathered from 173 reflective interviews featuring entrepreneurs on the United States' National Public Radio, using machine learning techniques for semantic content analysis. The results show that entrepreneurs can adopt three strategic presentation narratives to explain success in entrepreneurship. Significantly different patterns emerge in the three strategic narrative configurations. First, "lucky charming" narratives reflect an ingratiation strategy, mentioning external and uncontrollable causes of success to increase the entrepreneurs' likability for the audience. Second, "work striving" narratives use self-promotion strategies to push for recognition of accomplishments, efforts, and intellectual abilities. Third, "social connecting" narratives simultaneously make use of ingratiation and exemplification strategies, including capitalizing on the positive signals given by the social support attracted during their entrepreneurial journey. These three discourse patterns have implications for influencing reputation and driving business- and personal-related outcomes. The findings provide a better understanding of deliberate appearances by entrepreneurs in broadcast contexts and tools for nascent entrepreneurs to leverage their role models among those with acclaimed entrepreneurial success.

1. Introduction

Successful entrepreneurs' stories are shared on the media and inspire other people every day. While we know that entrepreneurship lies in complex combinations of variables related to the nexus of individuals and opportunities that influence the financial performance of new businesses (Davidsson, 2015), what and how entrepreneurs resonate about their successes along the entrepreneurial journey is still largely unknown. Prior studies have explored the antecedents of objective and financial performance rates (Murphy et al., 1996) and the diverse individual-, firm-, and regional-level variables used to assess performance of new ventures (Shepherd et al., 2019), but much less is known about entrepreneurs' public discourses explaining their failures or successes. The question of what strategic

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discourses are used to explain entrepreneurial success remains unanswered. In other words, more research is needed to determine how entrepreneurs deliberately answer the most widely asked why question in entrepreneurship (Baron, 2004, p. 222): “Why am I so much more successful than others?”

Building on two broad literature streams, we uncover different patterns of causal thinking entrepreneurs use in strategic presentations of their success in public broadcasting contexts. According to attribution theories (Kelley, 1973; Muschetto & Siegel, 2021), individuals use causal explanations to interpret and understand important, novel, and unexpected life events or phenomena, such as being publicly acclaimed for success in entrepreneurship. When the outcome is unexpected, surprising, or meaningful - all characteristics shared by entrepreneurial success due to high uncertainty, and thus with a higher probability of weaker performance and failure (Cacciotti & Hayton, 2015) - the individual may initiate searching for its explanation. Thus, a causal thinking framework can increase our understanding of entrepreneurial behavior and the reasons behind entrepreneurs’ strategic responses to the question of why they are successful in entrepreneurship.

Cognitive processes facilitate the causal attribution of specific outcomes, but this rationalization’s intensity is affected by the contexts in which individuals express these attributions (Weiner, 1995). In other words, the surrounding environment matters when attributions are elicited. Our study focuses on public broadcasting contexts, where entrepreneurs are being interviewed for the United States’ public radio and communicating to the mass audience. As “attributions are frequently in our thought and conversations” (Kelley & Michela, 1980, p. 468), narratives about the entrepreneurial journey constitute an ideal setting to uncover the configurations of entrepreneurs’ causal thinking about their success. More so when the discourse takes place in a broadcast context, where self-presentation is strategic (Jones & Pittman, 1982) and the causes attributed to success may have a deliberate purpose, regardless of their epistemic accuracy.

Thus, through public-collective conversations, we can capture the narratives that reveal deliberate configurations of attributions to justify success, which clarify a strategic self-presentation and the public self of the entrepreneur (Goffman, 1956; Jones & Pittman, 1982). Broadcasted explanations may constitute intentional persuasive justifications that seek to create and/or reinforce fans and customers’ positive impressions. Our research thus relocates the focus from understanding attributions of success in entrepreneurship to examining explanations for success in public contexts as a deliberative self-presentation strategy.

This study makes two contributions to the literature. First, we contribute to the literature by bringing the approach of causal thinking to understand self-explanations of success in entrepreneurship. More specifically, we demonstrate how attributional dimensions of locus causality and controllability contribute to defining narratives that justify entrepreneurs’ success in broadcasted forums. Machine-learning content analysis revealed that entrepreneurs adopt three narratives in strategic self-presentations of their success, which were labelled “lucky charming,” “work striving,” and “social connecting” narratives. These configurations of what causes success comprise self-presentation strategies that seek to exert persuasive influence through ingratiation, self-promotion, and exemplification (Jones & Pittman, 1982). This is important because if we grasp the strategic purpose of configurations of attributions, we can help nascent entrepreneurs maximize their potential reach in the mass media and leverage the role model of those with acclaimed success. Second, we contribute to recent research that has sought to explore the complexities of entrepreneurship using inductive methods (Van Burg et al., 2022; Douglas et al., 2020), which can clarify these ventures’ singularities and entrepreneurs’ strategic discourses. As it is unrealistic that entrepreneurs identify a primary focal attribution of their success (Martinko et al., 2007), our inductive data processing techniques based on quantitative content analysis and machine-learning algorithms captures the complexities of such idiosyncratic configurations of public narratives explaining entrepreneurial success. This methodology emphasized human individuality given that “the primary human reality is persons in conversation” (Harré, 1983, p. 58) and facilitates access to entrepreneurs’ narratives and cognitive scripts used in deliberate, strategic justifications of entrepreneurial success. In doing so, and as we capture the strategic motivation underneath the attribution of success of the focal individual, we answer Shepherd’s (2015) call for the use of a “cognitively hot” lens in entrepreneurship studies because the process we uncover implies strategic goals mediated through cognitive and affective elements. Learning how successful entrepreneurs encode, process, use, and broadcast information to explain their success and shape their personal reputation can help future entrepreneurs manage their self-presentation to large audiences in public contexts more effectively.

2. Strategic self-presentation in broadcast contexts

Self-presentation is omnipresent in social life. Individuals observe others’ behavior and infer dispositions or draw conclusions, and these actors can purposefully take part in controlling the inferences that others may make based on their actions (Jones & Pittman, 1982). Self-presentation is the “goal-directed activity of controlling information to influence the impressions formed by an audience about oneself” (Schlenker & Wowra, 2003, p. 871). In public settings, presentations are strategic and individuals actively develop a public-friendly form of the self (Goffman, 1956). When successful entrepreneurs are in a broadcast context like public radio, while the context disguises to be intimate and personal, the individuals are not in a private affair, but rather, they are embedded within what others (the listeners) are inferring (Goffman, 1956). Thus, in such context, the entrepreneur adopts a strategic self-presentation that refers to “features of the behavior [in this case, the content of the conversational discourse] affected by power augmentation motives designed to elicit or shape others’ attributions of the actor’s dispositions” (Jones & Pittman, 1982, p. 233, text in brackets added). In other words, entrepreneurs care about the impression they make on others and they may adopt different self-presentation strategies.

Jones and Pittman (1982) proposed a taxonomy of five self-presentation strategies—ingratiation, intimidation, self-promotion, exemplification, and supplication—which are often used in high stake situations (Treadway et al., 2007). In broadcast contexts, successful entrepreneurs are more likely to engage in ingratiation, self-promotion, and exemplification strategies given the significant, sizable audience reached (Schlenker & Wowra, 2003). Entrepreneurs want to elicit positive opinions, thoughts, and emotions about

themselves, and tactics of ingratiation, self-promotion and exemplification are more likely to produce positive outcomes in terms of both the targeted audience and interviewee (Higgins et al., 2003). These tactics also help entrepreneurs to develop a reputation for being a strong performer (Turnley & Bolino, 2001). As a self-promoter, the entrepreneur engages in self-descriptive communication that presents attributions of their competence in creating and managing a successful business (Jones & Pittman, 1982). Self-promotion strategies include, among others, highlighting skill, education, effort, competence, and hard work during the entrepreneurial journey. Ingratiation strategies, in contrast, are typical of discourses strategically focused on interviewees' most attractive personal qualities to foster the attribution of likability (Jones & Pittman, 1982). In addition, entrepreneurs may seek to position themselves as having equal power as—and conforming with—the audience (Jones et al., 1963), by sharing personal stories that connect with group norms. Exemplification thus involves making the audience perceive the interviewees' actions as exemplary and worthy of serving as a role model (Jones & Pittman, 1982). Using this strategy, successful entrepreneurs may aim to appear being respected, admired, and charitable.

3. Causal explanations of success in entrepreneurship

Attributions are causal explanations individuals make in response to meaningful, novel, or unexpected events such as failure or success. These cognitive processes focus on ascertaining cause and effect based on internal attributions (e.g., ability and effort) arising from the focal individual or external attributions ascribed to that person's context or other agents (Kelley, 1973). According to Weiner (1985), attributions can be characterized in three causal dimensions: locus of causality, stability, and controllability. Locus of causality "describes the extent to which an event is attributed to causes internal or external to the observer" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 781). Stability assesses whether the event is enduring and permanent or temporary and variable.¹ Controllability defines the cause as subject to "volitional or optional control" or as uncontrollable (Weiner, 1985, p. 551). The combination of the causal dimensions form patterns individuals can use to attribute causes to behaviors or experiences.

In entrepreneurship, individuals acquire systematic knowledge about different aspects of their ventures and themselves, including the explanations for their success in creating and growing a new business (Williams et al., 2020). In line with the tendency in social and organizational sciences, previous studies of entrepreneurs' causal ascriptions have skewed to focus more on understanding attributions of failure than success (e.g., Mandl et al., 2016). This stream of research on failure also in the public regard (Kibler et al., 2021), has shown that attributional explanations are idiosyncratic and that they can contribute to different types of behavior and perceptions by others.

3.1. Locus of causality and controllability

Locus of causality represents whether the primary source of a given outcome is internal and endogenous, or external and exogenous to the entrepreneur (Weiner, 1985, 2019; Kruglanski, 1975). Successful entrepreneurs may ascribe their success to internal factors such as their abilities and skills (e.g., need for achievement, risk propensity, tolerance for ambiguity, ability to recognize opportunities, Shaver & Scott, 1992). External causal ascriptions of success are typically associated with luck and environmental (i.e., contextual) factors, for example the social contexts in which entrepreneurs discuss their ideas (Dimov, 2007). External causes, such as luck, have been widely studied in management scholarship (Liu & De Rond, 2016), but less so in entrepreneurship (Liechti et al., 2014). Overall, individuals are likely to attribute an event to luck if they believe that it happened by chance or randomly (De Rond & Thietart, 2007). More recently, Eberly et al. (2011) asserted that because relationships and groups are important in organizational contexts and individuals are also embedded in social contexts, the attributions of many events are also relational. Entrepreneurs may thus attribute their success to relationships established with key actors, social capital (Baron & Markman, 2000), or founding team members (Lazar et al., 2020). The controllability dimension refers to whether entrepreneurs can regulate the causes of their success (Weiner, 1991). For example, success could be attributed to accidental exposure to external information that was then recognized as an opportunity (Autio et al., 2013) which can be considered uncontrollable, whereas the acquisition of expertise is controllable (Devece et al., 2016).

Building on locus of causality and controllability as dimensions of attributions that help answer the why questions (Weiner, 1991), we uncovered the deliberative strategic configurations of attributions to justify why am I a successful entrepreneur.

4. Method

4.1. Data

We analyzed 173 reflective interviews featuring 207 entrepreneurs from the podcast *How I Built This*, which is produced for

¹ Entrepreneurship involves turbulence, uncertainty, change, instability, and leaps of faith (McMullen & Shepherd, 2006). Our data analysis revealed that most explanations of success are skewed to the unstable side of locus of stability, showing a lack of variability in what refers to the stability dimension. In other words, entrepreneurs' explanations of success in broadcast contexts do not mention enough stability-related factors, which could otherwise have been included as a meaningful dimension in this study's data analysis and theoretical framework. Thus, the stability dimension is not discriminatory to be included in theoretical interpretations of the data. Prior studies have excluded one or more of attribution theory's three dimensions when these were irrelevant from an empirical and theoretical point of view (e.g., Zhang et al., 2021; Ginder et al., 2021). The stability of attributions was conceptualized based on Weiner's (1995) attribution theory for abstract causes that are constant or variable over time and that will probably affect future expectations (Graham, 1991). In entrepreneurship, objective phenomena are essentially unstable, variable, and dynamic (McMullen & Dimov, 2013; Santos et al., 2020), which means they are unlikely to be rooted in stable attributions. Entrepreneurs show that they are well aware of this tendency in their narratives. Even when expressing future expectations, entrepreneurs avoid predicting the future (Saravathy, 2021) and instead work with the available resources and adjust their actions as they go (Garud et al., 2014). Overall, the attributions in our study focus on an object (i.e., success in entrepreneurship) that is more often unstable than not.

National Public Radio (NPR) (Table 1). This podcast interviews well-known individuals who have created a venture. Our sample integrated all the episodes released between September 11, 2016 (i.e., the date of the first episode analyzed) and May 2, 2022 (i.e., the date when the data analysis started) in which the host asked the question of interest to this study. The audio files were obtained from the NPR website (<https://www.npr.org/podcasts/510313/how-i-built-this>) and each interview was transcribed verbatim. We chose this dataset because it provides unique access to otherwise inaccessible highly successful entrepreneurs, and the interviews are introspective, revealing substantial personal and family stories. In addition, and important to our research question, the podcast is broadcasted through mass media and on national radio. In line with the purpose of our study, we analyzed the interviewees' response to the question (with minor variations in wording): "How much of your success do you think is because of your intelligence and skill and hard work, and how much of it is because of luck?"² Typically, this was the interviewer's last question.

4.2. Data analysis approach

We analyzed the transcripts of responses to the targeted question using semantic content analysis tool with Leximancer. The dataset included 16,914 words and 70,350 characters without spaces. Leximancer's analysis is based on Bayesian theory, and its algorithms use nonlinear dynamics and machine learning (Mohsin et al., 2022). Leximancer's main advantages are (1) an inductive identification of key terms with minimal intervention needed by the researcher and (2) data visualization tools that provide insights into the key ideas present in the raw data (Wilk et al., 2019). This software provides both descriptive analysis (i.e., frequency of key concepts designated as themes) and relational analysis (i.e., the strength of relationships between concepts expressed as connectivity rates). The results facilitate both conceptual and relational analyses (Smith & Humphreys, 2006).

The semantic pattern extraction process includes three important units: words, concepts, and themes. The analysis starts by identifying the most frequent words (i.e., concept seeds). Next, Leximancer's algorithms uncover clusters of words that travel together throughout the text, which are translated into a list of concepts using a machine learning process. These words are weighted based on their frequency of occurrence in sentences that include the listed concepts versus their occurrence elsewhere.

A colored heat map or concept map is generated that visualizes the entire text corpus by highlighting the most important concepts and their relationships (Fig. 1, Panel A). The map provides information via the size, brightness and relative distance of concepts for relational (i.e., semantic) analysis (Indulska et al., 2012). Concepts that often appear together are placed near one another on the map. The concepts are then grouped into themes (i.e., concept clusters) enclosed by colored circles on the heat map.

Concepts in the same theme share commonalities or connections. The themes are ranked by importance based on the number of hits (i.e., the number of text blocks in the transcripts associated with each theme) and connectivity rate (i.e., the degree to which each theme is connected to other themes). Each theme is labelled by the researchers to reflect the concept with the highest connectivity rate. The themes are described below using interview extracts that contain one or more concepts from the relevant theme.

For reliability and robustness check purposes, the research team and an external coder independently manually coded the text corpus (i.e., each substantive sentence) using attribution theory dimensions (Mandl et al., 2016). This coding procedure resulted in a high level of agreement and satisfactory inter-rater reliability. Minor discrepancies between the coders' choices were resolved by examining the data together and coming to a consensus. The reliability of the results generated with the raw data was assessed by inputting the manually coded text corpus into Leximancer and representing each coding group with a tag. The output (i.e., connectivity rate and themes' relative importance) and concept map generated were the same as those based on the raw data, which confirmed the concept map's robustness and reliability (Smith & Humphreys, 2006). This finding is in line with prior research demonstrating a high level of agreement between manual content analysis and Leximancer's output (Engstrom et al., 2022). As recommended by Smith and Humphreys (2006), we report the results and concept map based on the raw data which were kept free of any researcher's intervention or bias.

5. Findings

The analysis revealed 13 themes (theme parameter size = 33%). The corresponding number of hits and connectivity percentage rate are provided in parentheses. The themes by order of greater connectivity are 'luck' (338, 100%), 'work' (198, 62%), 'people' (133, 48%), [right] 'time' (124, 46%), [what] 'happened' (65, 26%), 'business' (37, 22%), 'love' (31, 19%), [being] 'born' (29, 19%), 'person' (28, 18%), [being] 'fortunate' (25, 17%), 'drive' (15, 14%), 'relationship' (6, 8%) and 'genetics' (2, 2%) (Fig. 1, Panel A).

The most important theme is luck, which includes the concepts of 'luck,' 'opportunity' (42, 23%), 'look' (42, 23%), 'need' (27, 17%), and 'guess' (15, 14%). A typical excerpt reflecting this theme says, "I think that anybody that's successful in business has benefited from luck. ... Luck plays a role in everything... sometimes luck is just luck" (Michael Dubin, Dollar Shave Club). The theme luck can merge with the themes of right time, being fortunate, and what happened. A typical narrative reflecting this group of themes includes the following: "No doubt there was good fortune and luck that comes your way at the right time. ... There's luck involved in this, and we were just fortunate at the right time. We made some good decisions and rebounded well from some bad decisions" (Dan Bastian, Angie's BOOMCHICKAPOP). The theme of [right] 'time' encompasses the concepts of 'time' (124, 37%), 'place' (29, 19%), and 'question' (22, 16%). One entrepreneur reported a "lot had to do with being in the right place at the right time. So, there's

² The entrepreneurs can allude to causes of success in other parts of their interview, but only the responses to this question were analyzed for two reasons. First, this question sets the stage for strategic self-presentations of success, that is, what the entrepreneurs explicitly want the audience to perceive about themselves and their businesses. When the host asks this question, the interviewees are exposed to the same prompt, which targets strategic self-presentations of entrepreneurial success and is aligned with the research question. Second, this question provides, from a methodological point of view, the necessary consistency between the data, facilitating comparisons of responses and the identification of response patterns among interviewees, which is critical to ensure validity.

Table 1
Interviews analyzed.

Entrepreneur's Name	Venture Name	Number of co-founders	Year of venture founded	Venture location	Date of the podcast	Duration of the interview (h: min: sec)
Janice Bryant Howroyd	ActOne Group	1	1978	Torrance, CA	December 3, 2018	0:52:41
Tim Brown and Joey Zwillinger	Allbirds	2	2015	San Francisco, CA	June 10, 2019	1:11:07
Ava DuVernay	ARRAY	1	2010	Los Angeles, CA	June 21, 2021	1:30:53
Mike Cannon-Brookes and Scott Farquhar	Atlassian	2	2002	Sydney, Australia	February 8, 2021	1:15:51
Tim Ferriss	Author and Podcaster	1	2007		December 21, 2020	1:29:25
Jen Rubio	Away	1	2015	New York City, NY	March 18, 2019	1:08:22
Nikhil Arora and Alejandro Velez	Back to the Roots	2	2009	Oakland, CA	November 8, 2021	1:21:02
Sadie Lincoln	barre3	1	2008	Portland, OR	September 11, 2017	0:48:18
Chet Pipkin	Belkin International	1	1983	Playa Vista, CA	May 13, 2020	0:55:04
Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield	Ben & Jerry's	2	1978	South Burlington, VT	November 20, 2017	0:58:14
Jon Stein	Betterment	1	2008	New York City, NY	October 29, 2018	0:54:41
Katia Beauchamp	Birchbox	1	2010	New York City, NY	March 16, 2020	1:08:12
Robert Johnson*	Black Entertainment Television	1	1980	New York City, NY	December 14, 2017	0:42:17
Marcia Kilgore	Bliss	1	1996	New York City, NY	January 22, 2018	0:54:44
Bobbi Brown	Bobbi Brown Cosmetics	1	1991	New York City, NY	September 17, 2018	0:52:43
Bob Moore	Bob's Red Mill	1	1978	Milwaukie, OR	May 21, 2018	0:47:02
Andy Dunn	Bonobos	1	2007	New York City, NY	January 21, 2019	1:11:31
Angie Bastian and Dan Bastian*	BOOMCHIKAPOP	2	2001	Chicago, IL	July 29, 2019	1:05:42
Chieh Huang	Boxed	1	2013	New York City, NY	February 22, 2021	1:29:35
Nancy Twine	Briogeo	1	2013	New York City, NY	August 10, 2020	1:12:15
Vicki Fulop and Rich Fulop	Brooklinen	2	2014	Brooklyn, NY	April 20, 2020	1:10:46
Whitney Wolfe	Bumble	1	2014	Austin, TX	October 16, 2017	0:43:06
Roxanne Quimby	Burt's Bees	1	1984	Durham, NC	February 18, 2019	0:59:58
Jonah Peretti*	BuzzFeed	1	2006	New York City, NY	July 27, 2017	0:49:43
Tope Awotona	Calendly	1	2013	Atlanta, GA	September 14, 2020	1:15:26
Melanie Perkins	Canva	1	2012	Sydney, Australia	January 28, 2019	0:48:18
Phillip Krim	Casper	1	2014	New York City, NY	June 28, 2021	1:22:53
Alice Waters	Chez Panisse	1	1971	Berkeley, CA	April 8, 2019	1:02:07
Stacy Brown	Chicken Salad Chick	1	2008	Auburn, AL	July 2, 2018	0:57:34
Sandy Chilewich	Chilewich	1	1997	New York City, NY	August 31, 2020	0:48:16
Steve Ells	Chipotle	1	1993	Newport Beach, CA	October 30, 2017	0:52:13
Sandy Lerner	Cisco Systems and Urban Decay	1	1984 (Cisco Systems) 1996 (Urban Decay)	Cisco- San Jose, CA Urban Decay- Newport Beach, CA	October 1, 2018	1:01:40
Payal Kadakia	ClassPass	1	2013	New York City, NY	June 29, 2020	1:18:41
Paul Davison and Rohan Seth*	Clubhouse	2	2020	San Francisco, CA	May 6, 2021	57:21:00
Brian Armstrong	Coinbase	1	2012		November 15, 2021	1:25:02
Rod Canion	Compaq Computers	1	1982	Palo Alto, CA	May 22, 2017	0:39:53
Robert Reffkin	Compass	1	2012	New York City, NY	July 26, 2021	1:19:44
Davis Smith	Cotopaxi	1	2013	Salt Lake City, UT	May 4, 2020	1:07:01
Gordon Segal	Crate & Barrel	1	1962	Northbrook, IL	February 20, 2017	0:31:16

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Table 1 (continued)

Entrepreneur's Name	Venture Name	Number of co-founders	Year of venture founded	Venture location	Date of the podcast	Duration of the interview (h: min: sec)
Dave Dahl	Dave's Killer Bread	1	2005	Milwaukie, OR	July 1, 2019	1:09:12
Michael Dell	Dell Computers	1	1985	Round Rock, TX	January 29, 2018	0:50:22
Marc Lore	Diapers.com & Jet.com	1	2014	Hoboken, NJ	May 17, 2021	1:16:17
Curt Jones	Dippin' Dots	1	1988	Paducah, KY	September 9, 2019	1:08:43
Jason Citron	Discord	1	2015	San Francisco, CA	March 7, 2022	1:25:00
John Hendricks	Discovery Channel and Curiosity Stream	1	1985	New York City, NY	January 13, 2022	1:14:46
Michael Dubin*	Dollar Shave Club	1	2011	Los Angeles, CA	December 17, 2018	0:51:29
Tony Xu	Doordash	1	2013	San Francisco, CA	November 12, 2018	0:51:18
Drew Houston	Dropbox	1	2007	San Francisco, CA	November 9, 2020	0:51:04
Cory Cotton and Tyler Toney	Dude Perfect	2	2009	Frisco, Texas	September 20, 2021	1:30:26
James Dyson	Dyson	1	1991	Singapore	February 12, 2018	0:44:03
Daniel Humm	Eleven Madison Park	1	1998	New York City, NY	May 3, 2021	1:14:06
Susan Griffin-Black and Brad Black	EO Products	2	1995	San Rafael, CA,	July 15, 2019	1:01:11
Julia Hartz	Eventbrite	1	2006	San Francisco, CA	February 17, 2020	1:06:00
Selina Tobaccowala	Evite	1	1998	Los Angeles, CA	November 11, 2019	1:04:48
Rich Barton	Expedia and Zillow	1	2004 (Expedia) and 1996 (Zillow)	Expedia- Seattle, WA Zillioiw- Redmond, WA	June 14, 2021	1:04:49
Dave Anderson	Famous Dave's	1	1994	Minnetonka, MN	November 2, 2020	1:17:28
James Park	Fitbit	1	2007	San Francisco, CA	April 27, 2020	1:05:30
Jerry Murrell	Five Guys	1	1986	Arlington County, VA	June 5, 2017	0:37:05
Ken Burns	Florentine Films	1	1976	Walpole, NH	April 11, 2022	1:24:16
Amanda Hesser	Food52	1	2009	New York City, NY	April 5, 2021	1:33:34
Susan Tynan	Framebridge	1	2014	Washington D.C.	November 27, 2017	0:59:25
Daymond John	FUBU	1	1992	New York City, NY	April 9, 2018	0:53:26
Alex Blumberg and Matt Lieber	Gimlet Media	2	2014	New York City, NY	October 21, 2019	1:21:30
Emily Weiss*	Glossier	1	2010	New York City, NY	November 26, 2018	0:52:22
Otis Chandler and Elizabeth Chandler	Goodreads	2	2007	San Francisco, CA	February 7, 2022	1:25:02
Shazi Visram	Happy Family Organics	1	2003	New York City, NY	January 20, 2020	1:15:15
Andy Puddicombe and Rick Pierson	Headspace	2	2010	Santa Monica, CA	September 23, 2019	1:14:17
Daina Trout	Health-Ade Kombucha	1	2012	Torrance, CA	September 28, 2020	0:59:38
Justin McLeod	Hinge	1	2011	New York City, NY	March 22, 2021	1:34:03
Arthur Blank*	Home Depot	1	1978	Cobb County, GA	December 28, 2017	0:33:22
Seth Goldman	Honest Tea	1	1998	Atlanta, GA	January 16, 2017	0:32:12
Pat Brown	Impossible Foods Inc.	1	2011	Redwood City, CA	May 11, 2020	1:04:12
Wayne Edy	inov-8	1	2001	Staveley, England	September 13, 2021	1:00:47
Apoorva Mehta	Instacart	1	2012	San Francisco, CA	April 10, 2017	0:40:45
Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger	Instagram	2	2010	Menlo Park, CA	September 19, 2016	0:29:29
Judi Sheppard Missett	Jazzercise	1	1969	Evanston, IL	January 18, 2021	1:19:50
Davide Neeleman	JetBlue Airways	1	1998	Long Island City, NY	February 4, 2019	1:09:58
Jo Malone	Jo Loves	1	2009	London, UK	May 18, 2020	1:23:47
Carla Bartolucci	Jovial Foods	1	2010	North Stonington, CA,	June 7, 2021	1:19:17

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Table 1 (continued)

Entrepreneur's Name	Venture Name	Number of co-founders	Year of venture founded	Venture location	Date of the podcast	Duration of the interview (h: min: sec)
Paul English	KAYAK	1	2004	Stamford, CT	September 27, 2021	1:13:27
Kendra Scott	Kendra Scott	1	2002	Austin, TX	March 20, 2017	0:44:16
Kenneth Cole	Kenneth Cole	1	1982	New York City, NY	November 16, 2020	1:17:44
Sal Khan	Khan Academy	1	2009	Mountain View, CA	September 21, 2020	1:24:44
Joel Clark	Kodiak Cakes	1	1995	Park City, Utah	December 7, 2020	1:19:21
Todd Carmichael and J.P. Iberti	La Colombe Coffee Roasters	2	1994	Philadelphia, PA	July 20, 2020	1:06:31
L.A. Reid (Antonio Marquis)	LaFace Records	1	1989	Atlanta, GA	November 7, 2016	0:33:28
Lara Merriken	LARABAR	1	2000	Denver, CO	March 19, 2018	0:54:37
Lindsey Boyd	Laundress	1	2002	New York City, NY	July 27, 2020	1:07:19
Alexa von Tobel	LearnVest	1	2009	New York City, NY	December 18, 2017	0:42:09
Tim Leatherman	Leatherman Tool Group	1	1983	Portland, OR	January 31, 2022	1:06:00
Bert Jacobs and John Jacobs	Life is Good	2	1994	Boston, MA	September 2, 2019	1:03:56
Reid Hoffman	LinkedIn	1	2002	Sunnyvale, CA	January 15, 2018	0:42:25
Sir Robert Bryson Hall II and Chris Zarou	Logic	2	2010		March 11, 2019	1:13:22
Maureen Wheeler and Tony Wheeler	Lonely Planet	2	1972	Melbourne, Australia	May 8, 2017	0:41:39
Luke Holden and Ben Conniff	Luke's Lobster	2	2009	Brooklyn, NY	November 7, 2019	0:52:28
Chip Wilson	Lululemon Athletica	1	1998	Vancouver, Canada	June 18, 2018	0:54:00
Mark Constantine	Lush	1	1995	Poole, UK	October 5, 2020	1:27:56
Lynda Weinman and Bruce Heavin	Lynda.com	2	1995	Carpinteria, CA	September 6, 2021	1:15:53
Sarah LaFleur	M.M. LaFleur	1	2011	New York City, NY	February 3, 2020	1:16:22
Ben Chesnut	Mailchimp	1	2001	Atlanta, GA	July 12, 2021	1:24:54
Robin McBride and Andrea McBride John	McBride Sisters Wine	2	2005	Oakland, CA	October 26, 2020	1:12:58
George Zimmer	Men's Warehouse	1	1973	Fremont, CA	April 15, 2020	1:04:45
Laura Ballance and Mac McCaughan	Merge Records	2	1989	Durham, NC	December 6, 2021	1:19:26
Adam Lowry and Eric Ryan	Method	2	2000	San Francisco, CA	October 8, 2018	0:57:13
Christina Tosi*	Milk Bar	1	2008	New York City, NY	October 14, 2019	1:07:09
Mariam Naficy	Minted	1	2007	San Francisco, CA	June 4, 2018	0:51:10
Mitchell Gold and Bob Williams	Mitchell Gold and Bob Williams Home Furnishings	2	1989	Taylorsville, NC	March 28, 2022	0:43:33
Kat Nouri	Modern Twist and Stasher	1	2006	San Francisco, CA	November 22, 2021	1:09:00
Noubar Afeyan	Moderna	1	2010	Cambridge, MA	October 11, 2021	1:07:52
Kim Jordan*	New Belgium Brewing Company	1	1991	Fort Collins, CO	September 10, 2018	0:46:26
Norma Kamali	Norma Kamali	1	1967	New York, NY	February 1, 2021	1:33:19
Reem Hassani and Ahmed Rahim	Numi Organic Tea	2	1999	Oakland, CA	July 5, 2021	1:11:07
Curt Richardson*	OtterBox	1	1998	Fort Collins, CO	December 2, 2019	1:05:00
Tyler Haney	Outdoor Voices	1	2012	Austin, TX	November 25, 2019	1:07:10
Jack Conte and Sam Yam	Patreon	2	2013	San Francisco, CA	January 11, 2021	1:27:32
John Foley*	Peloton	1	2012	New York City, NY	April 29, 2019	0:56:05
Jennifer and Jeff Martin	Pipcorn	2	2012	New York City, NY	April 26, 2021	1:40:51

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Table 1 (continued)

Entrepreneur's Name	Venture Name	Number of co-founders	Year of venture founded	Venture location	Date of the podcast	Duration of the interview (h: min: sec)
Robbie Schingler and Will Marshall	Planet	2	2010	San Francisco, CA	December 13, 2021	1:02:04
Jennifer Fitzgerald	Policygenius	1	2014	New York City, NY	May 24, 2021	1:20:32
Mike Radenbaugh	Rad Power Bikes	1	2015	Seattle, WA	September 7, 2020	1:14:17
Todd Graves	Raising Cane's	1	1996	Baton Rouge, LA	April 18, 2022	1:29:04
Luis von Ahn	reCAPTCHA and Duolingo	1	2007 (reCAPTCHA) and 2011 (Duolingo)	reCAPTCHA-Duolingo-Pittsburgh, PA	May 25, 2020	1:05:51
Alexis Ohanian and Steve Huffman*	Reddit	2	2005	San Francisco, CA	August 31, 2017	0:54:15
Rick Steves	Rick Steves' Europe	1	1976	Edmonds, WA	March 8, 2021	1:27:47
Jamie Siminoff	Ring	1	2012	Santa Monica, CA	June 22, 2020	1:32:09
Brandon Beck and Marc Merrill	Riot Games	2	2006	Los Angeles, CA	December 14, 2020	1:35:55
Vlad Tenev	Robinhood	1	2013	Palo Alto, CA,	April 12, 2021	1:25:51
Peter Rahal*	RXBAR	1	2012	Chicago, IL	August 13, 2018	0:49:15
Jim Koch	Samuel Adams	1	1984	Boston, MA	October 31, 2016	0:34:56
Alan Newman and Jeffrey Hollender Alan	Seventh Generation	2	1988	Burlington, VT	January 25, 2021	1:36:30
Danny Meyer	Shake Shack	1	2004	New York City, NY	June 15, 2020	0:57:08
Tobias Lutke	Shopify	1	2006	Ottawa, Canada	August 5, 2019	1:06:55
Ken Grossman	Sierra Nevada Brewing Co.	1	1980	Chico, CA	March 30, 2020	1:07:26
Miguel Garza and Veronica Garza	Siete Family Foods	2	2014	Austin, TX	March 15, 2021	1:23:31
Katlin Smith	Simple Mills	1	2012	Chicago, IL	February 15, 2021	1:02:00
Julie Rice and Elizabeth Cutler	SoulCycle	2	2006	Manhattan, NY	January 7, 2019	0:57:25
Ronnen Harary	Spin Master/PAW Patrol	1	1994	Canada	December 20, 2021	1:08:17
Bill Creelman	Spindrift	1	2010	Newton, MA	January 13, 2020	1:06:51
Keith Alexander and Steve Holmes	Springfree Trampoline	2	2003	Australia	April 1, 2019	1:02:39
Anthony Casalena	Squarespace	1	2004	New York City, NY	March 4, 2019	0:55:21
Stacy Madison	Stacy's Pita Chips	1	1998	Randolph, MA	May 27, 2019	1:05:05
Steve Madden	Steve Madden	1	1990	Long Island City, NY	July 16, 2018	0:52:27
Katrina Lake*	Stitch Fix	1	2011	San Francisco, CA	December 13, 2018	0:15:46
Gary Hirshberg	Stonyfield Farm	1	1983	Londonderry, NH	October 2, 2017	1:00:31
Mark Gainey and Michael Horvath	Strava	2	2009	San Francisco, CA	May 2, 2022	1:19:00
John Collison	Stripe	1	2010	San Francisco, CA	May 7, 2018	0:43:13
Bruce Pavitt and Jonathan Poneman	Sub Pop Records	2	1986	Seattle, WA,	June 1, 2020	1:28:48
Sukhi Singh and Dalbir Signh	Sukhi's Gourmet Indian Foods	2	1992	Hayward, CA	March 14, 2022	1:08:02
Holly Thaggard	Supergoop!	1	2007	San Antonio, TX	June 8, 2020	1:13:16
Nicolas Jammet and Jonathan Neman	Sweetgreen	2	2007	Culver City, CA	April 13, 2020	1:10:40
Sarah Kauss	S'well	1	2010	New York City, NY	April 6, 2020	1:07:46
Vicky Tsai	Tatcha	1	2009	San Francisco, CA,	July 13, 2020	1:19:52
Telfar Clemens and Babak Radboy	Telfar	2	2005	New York City, NY	February 14, 2022	1:19:12

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Table 1 (continued)

Entrepreneur's Name	Venture Name	Number of co-founders	Year of venture founded	Venture location	Date of the podcast	Duration of the interview (h: min: sec)
Bobby Trussell	Tempur-Pedic	1	1992	Lexington, KY	October 22, 2018	1:03:36
Barbara Corcoran	The Corcoran Group	1	1973	USA	April 24, 2017	0:52:25
Melissa Butler	The Lip Bar	1	2011	Detroit, Michigan	November 23, 2020	1:23:20
Missy Park	Title Nine	1	1989	Emeryville, CA	October 18, 2021	1:24:48
Seth Tibbott*	Tofurky	1	1980	Hood River, OR	June 3, 2019	0:48:01
Tom Chappell	Tom's of Maine	1	1970	Kennebunk, ME	December 11, 2017	0:38:49
Bob Monahan and Lauren Monahan	UPPAbaby	2	2006	Rockland, MA	March 29, 2021	0:57:23
Gary Vaynerchuk	VaynerMedia	1	2009	New York City, NY	August 2, 2021	1:12:49
Michael Kirban	Vita Coco	1	2004	New York City, NY	August 3, 2020	1:12:18
Tristan Walker*	Walker & Company	1	2013	New York City, NY	September 30, 2019	1:03:15
Dave Gilboa and Neil Blumenthal	Warby Parker	2	2010	New York City, NY	December 26, 2016	0:32:13
Niraj Shah and Steve Conine	Wayfair	2	2002	Boston, MA	April 16, 2018	0:47:52
Jay Shetty*	Wellness Coach and Podcaster	1	2016	Los Angeles, CA	April 29, 2021	1:08:25
Jimmy Wales	Wikipedia	1	2001	San Francisco, CA	February 26, 2018	0:43:58
Matt Mullenweg	WordPress & Automattic	1	2005	San Francisco, CA	March 21, 2022	1:24:23
Jeremy Stoppelman	Yelp	1	2004	San Francisco, CA	June 24, 2019	1:01:02
Casey Neistat	Youtube personality, filmmaker, vlogger	1	2010	New York City, NY	March 2, 2020	1:34:36
Oliver Kharraz	Zocdoc	1	2007	New York City, NY	August 17, 2020	1:09:24
Shan-Lyn Ma	Zola	1	2013	New York City, NY	April 18, 2022	1:17:19

Note: * Live episodes.

support. For instance, an interviewee felt her success came from “meeting the love of my life and co-founder and co-parent back on that fateful day in May of 2003, at a wedding. ... There’s a lot of fortune that comes to people and it’s about what they do with it” (Julia Hartz, Eventbrite). The theme of ‘partner’ includes the concepts of ‘partner’ (37, 22%), ‘business’ (37, 22%), ‘talking’ (22, 16%), [what we] ‘learned’ (21, 16%), and ‘today’ (19, 16%). A typical excerpt falling within this theme is “I did get very, very, very blessed with amazing people who believed in us when there was nothing to believe in and who stayed with us. ... They are our best partners today” (Tatcha, Vicky Tsai). The theme of ‘relationship’ includes the concept of ‘relationship’ (13, 13%), ‘answer’ (11, 10%) and [who I] ‘knew’ (10, 10%). This theme emphasizes the importance of building good relationships with stakeholders. An entrepreneur shared, “he [Ben] did all the sales with the retailers and managed all those relationships. Ben was constantly going out meeting with the inventors, going to their offices, and doing inventor trips” (Ronnen Harary, Spin Master/PAW Patrol).

5.1. Configurations of strategic self-presentation of attributions of success in entrepreneurship

Framing the concept map through the lenses of the attribution theory, we uncovered that the themes are positioned along two axes: locus of causality (internal ↔ relational ↔ external) and controllability (controllable ↔ uncontrollable) (Fig. 1, Panel B). A Leximancer theme is a cluster of concepts that share some common feature or connection, which is shown by their close proximity on the map. The themes’ close proximity on the map displays three narratives, which are each associated with a different strategic self-presentation of success: Narrative 1: “Lucky Charming”; Narrative 2: “Work Striving”; and Narrative 3: “Social Connecting”. Each narrative is defined by a central theme identified by its highest connectivity rate in the concept map (i.e., three highest connectivity rates: ‘luck’, ‘work’, and ‘people’) and other associated themes with high co-occurrence frequency and relationship strength.

Narrative 1: “Lucky Charming”. This narrative’s central theme is ‘luck’, which is the most important theme in the concept map and which is associated with the themes of [right] ‘time’, [being] ‘fortunate’, [what] ‘happened’ and [being] ‘born’, hence the label “lucky charming.” This configuration’s themes are ascribed to external, uncontrollable causes, so the entrepreneurs who present this narrative mostly attribute their success to different types of luck related to the conditions in which they were born, including their family, parents, and place of birth. The “lucky charming” narrative gives credit for any success to the luck bestowed on the entrepreneurs by the universe and to the random, arbitrary luck of being born with social capital due to a particular place of origin (Bourdieu, 1985). Luck is also expressed as business opportunities’ emergence at the right time, making the entrepreneurs feel that they were fortunate—as if what happened was by pure chance. The “lucky charming” narrative presents business opportunities as a matter of luck and a byproduct of different types of luck embedded in the entrepreneurs’ life.

Narrative 2: “Work Striving”. This narrative’s central theme is ‘work’ (i.e., the second most important theme in the text corpus), which is associated with the additional themes of ‘genetics’, ‘drive’ and ‘love’. The narrative was labelled “work striving” because attributions of success are strongly positioned at the individual level and are expressed as the three pillars of genetics, work-related skills, and motivation. The genetic causal ascription refers to the entrepreneurs’ potential capacities and the energy and strength to endure. Work-related notions are the effort, skill, willingness to learn, and capacity dedicated to the relevant venture. Drive and love are motivational, as well as being related to the entrepreneurs’ ability to learn from failure, trying harder, and pursuing a passion. The “work striving” narrative predominantly focuses on internal, controllable causes, with the exception of genetics. Genetics is a pre-determined, uncontrollable ascription, but, in the entrepreneurs’ discourse, genetics is linked to work as the interviewees connect their genetic resources to skill, aptitude, hard work, and educational opportunities.

Narrative 3: “Social Connecting”. This narrative’s main theme is ‘people’ which is the third most important in the concept map. The ‘people’ theme is related to the themes of ‘relationship’ and ‘partner’, so this discourse was labelled “social connecting.” In this narrative, the entrepreneurs attribute their success to the people they know, partners found along the way, relationships built with external stakeholders, and individuals who contributed to increasing the entrepreneurs’ social capital. The “social connecting” narrative attributes entrepreneurial success to relational causal ascriptions, which are controllable because of the entrepreneurs’ drive to create and maintain their relationships.

6. Discussion

Objective measures of entrepreneurial success have received much attention in prior research (Shepherd et al., 2019). In this paper, we highlight that narratives explaining success to public broadcast audiences are a deliberative self-presentation strategy. Our study drew on strategic self-presentation and attribution theories to ensure a deeper analysis of public deliberative discourses that entrepreneurs use to explain their ventures’ success to the public (Grégoire et al., 2011). Our analyses revealed that entrepreneurs can adopt one, two or three strategic self-presentation narratives to build their public reputation. The reasons given for their success are woven around attributions of entrepreneurial success, including external, relational, and internal causal ascriptions and controllable-uncontrollable factors. In addition, because radio broadcasts also serve as a stage on which individuals seek to gain “control over what is perceived” (Goffman, 1956, p. 67), these types of narratives portray diverse self-presentation strategies. We expand on this below.

Integrating the self-presentation and attribution approaches reveal that entrepreneurs adopt “lucky charming”, “work striving” and “social connecting” strategic narratives to explain their businesses’ success during broadcasts, with each discourse pattern constituting specific self-presentation strategies. Lucky charming narratives use ingratiation because mentions of external, uncontrollable causes of success increase interviewees’ likability in audience members’ eyes (Jones & Pittman, 1982). This ingratiation strategy allows the entrepreneurs to connect with their listeners through personal, emotional stories focused on the surrounding environment (i.e., external variables) so that contextual success factors obviate any perceived flaunting of their success. Lucky opportunities can be seen as unfair by those to whom they have not happened, so being humble and modest could increase the likelihood of entrepreneurs being

perceived by the public as an ordinary person. This strategy can improve the interviewees' social reputation because modest people are better liked than those who are boastful (Tice et al., 1995). Work striving narratives emphasize self-promotion and push for the audience's recognition of the entrepreneurs' exceptional accomplishments, efforts, and intellectual abilities. This strategy focuses on self-enhancement through the promotion of personal (i.e., endogenous) competence and intelligence, thereby stressing that entrepreneurs have the necessary ability and motivation to increase their chances of success. The social utility of this self-presentation tactic is related to a desire to be perceived as having greater intellectual abilities (Rosenberg et al., 1968) and achievement (McClelland, 1987), allowing entrepreneurs to position themselves as worthy of serving as role models. In broadcasts, this narrative, however, runs the risk of the interviewees being perceived as actively self-promoting (Scopelliti et al., 2015) and thus facing the self-promoter (Pfeffer et al., 2006) or braggart's dilemma (Berman et al., 2015). Social connecting narratives simultaneously include ingratiation and exemplification strategies. Here, success is projected as due to others, namely, the valuable social connections that have helped support the ventures combined with the entrepreneurs' commitment to hard work. In this narrative, the focus is on relational causes, portraying entrepreneurs as social actors who benefited from the support of this network. Entrepreneurs who use this narrative seek to invoke admiration and likability, capitalizing on the positive signals given by agents and stakeholders' willingness to provide significant support.

The Leximancer concept map shows that the three narratives of self-presentation strategies overlap, so these public-self dialogues are not mutually exclusive and are often used simultaneously (Jones & Pittman, 1982). Entrepreneurs may include one, two, or three self-strategic presentation narratives to build their public reputation as successful entrepreneurs. Cognitive psychology and social cognition research have found that individuals store multiple thematic narratives in memory to ascribe meaning and resonance to social life through descriptions and stories (Rubin, 1995; Brewer, 1995) that provide sensemaking of information to audiences to generate support and understanding (Schank & Abelson, 1995). The above findings are similar to those of research on how consumers' process information about product features (Adaval & Wyer, 1998). Our study asserts that entrepreneurs use the three strategic self-presentation narratives (i.e., lucky charming, work striving, or social connecting narratives separately or in combination) as a versatile repertoire to shape how public audiences perceive the interviewees, as they draw on the narratives' elements to assess the entrepreneurs' successful endeavors.

One way to ensure successful public presentations is to use a diversified repertoire of narratives considered compatible with audiences' expected diverse values and implicit theories about entrepreneurial success. Populace and Gallup's success index (Reinhart & Ritter, 2019) and the Pew Research Center's (2020) reports show that individuals' definition of success and justifications of wealth cover various domains. Thus, entrepreneurs strategically use a diversified repertoire of lucky charming, work striving, and social connecting narratives to increase the likelihood of their explanations aligning with audiences' expectations of reasons for being successful. These narratives thus have a more generalized impact on audience members' perception of entrepreneurs' personal and business reputation (Jones et al., 1981)—similar to strategies to influence investors' funding decisions (Sanchez-Ruiz et al., 2021). Public explanations of business failures also make use of multiple impression management strategies (Kibler et al., 2021), and policy discourses of entrepreneurship for sustainable development also adopt a mixed-rhetoric tactic (Salmivaara & Kibler, 2020).

Our results further show that strategic self-presentation narratives of success in entrepreneurship refer mainly to unstable attributions. These strategic self-presentations indicate that these public discourses intend to exhibit the public self's greatness; that is, entrepreneurs' ability to succeed despite the unstable, variable, and iterative nature of entrepreneurship (McMullen & Dimov, 2013). Our results suggests that entrepreneurs deliberately focus on temporary, unstable reasons for entrepreneurial success, which reveals an emphasis on individuation in their broadcasted narratives. This pattern of results and the skewing to attribute causes of success to temporary reasons, contrasts with the permanent and controllable events that partially explain business failure and subsequent engagement in entrepreneurial activity by novice and serial entrepreneurs (Mandl et al., 2016).

7. Limitations, future research and practical implications

This study has several limitations. First, we focused exclusively on United States-based entrepreneurs interviewed for and broadcasted on NPR, and the data thus did not capture how the audiences perceive these different strategic narratives. Future research could adopt experimental designs using vignettes representing the three strategic narratives to uncover how the general public responds to these narratives (Kibler et al., 2017, 2021 for similar designs). Second, the current work's scope excluded justifications for success in other more private contexts, such as conversations with family and close acquaintances. Prior studies of attributions of business failure have showed that the reasons given for failure in confidential research (Mantere et al., 2013) significantly differ from those presented in public contexts (Kibler et al., 2021). Further investigations are needed to compare explanations of success in private settings and public broadcasts.

Our findings also have practical implications. First, successful entrepreneurs' narratives are likely to inspire others to accomplish their goals, as well as motivating nascent entrepreneurs to look for the underlying causes of success so pursue similar events in the future. Explanations of success of acclaimed entrepreneurs who are role models can help nascent entrepreneurs make sense of their personal implicit theories of success and strengthen their role identification. Second, entrepreneurship is a highly mediatized activity, so any illusions must be removed to understand what is behind entrepreneurs' public appearances. Broadcasted entrepreneurship narratives are anything but naive. In reality, this discourse comprises strategic, intentional justifications for building or reinforcing a personal and business reputation.

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Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

Data publicly available

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