



From Emotional Rollercoasters to Spock Strategists: A Person-Centric Approach to Unravelling the Coping Profiles of Entrepreneurs for Enhanced Well-being

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Abstract

How entrepreneurs cope with stress is instrumental to their well-being. Past research has focused on individual or groups of coping strategies in isolation from each other. In this study, we adopt a *person-centric approach* and show that most entrepreneurs adopt a blend of coping strategies. Using Latent Profile Analysis (LPA), we first uncover *four* distinct coping profiles: (1) *Emotional Rollercoaster* (27%), characterized by low problem and high emotion-focused coping; (2) *Zen Minimalist* (39%), exhibiting moderate problem and low emotion-focused coping; (3) *Integrated Problem Solver* (16%), with high problem and moderate emotion-focused coping; and (4) *Spock Strategist* (19%), marked by high problem and low emotion-focused coping. Spock Strategists report the highest levels of psychological well-being across numerous measures (eudaimonic well-being, life satisfaction, positive and negative affect, and mental health), whereas *Emotional Rollercoasters* exhibit the lowest. However, only 19% of entrepreneurs adopt the optimal *Spock Strategist* profile. Compared to waged workers, entrepreneurs are twice as likely to be *Spock Strategists* and half as likely to be *Emotional Rollercoasters*. Most entrepreneurs belong to profiles that are not explored in the literature. Personality traits, education, and job characteristics provide initial insights for why some entrepreneurs gravitate towards certain profiles.

Keywords Coping · Entrepreneurship · Self-Employment · Well-being · Latent Profile Analysis

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Introduction

The self-employed¹ face a wide range of challenges and stressors such as financial insecurity, long working hours, future uncertainty, customer and employee demands, intense competition, role ambiguity, and the ever-present possibility of failure (Lerman et al., 2020). Consequently, these challenges and stressors increase the risk for burnout, fatigue, work life conflict, and psychological distress (Cardon & Patel, 2015; Lerman et al., 2021; Mol et al., 2018).

¹ Individuals in our sample self-identified as being “self-employed.” While some may dispute whether reporting oneself as self-employed constitutes “entrepreneurship”, this debate is beyond the scope of the current paper. We refer to the self-employed and entrepreneurs interchangeably within this manuscript.

Theories of occupational stress, however, suggest that it is neither the type of stressor (good or bad) nor the level (a little or a lot) that leads to stress, but how people react or cope with it (Folkman, 2008; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Spector, 2002). Despite greater occupational demands, for example, entrepreneurs consistently report higher levels of psychological well-being—from higher levels of job and life satisfaction to greater meaning and subjective vitality (e.g., Nikolaev et al., 2020; Shir et al., 2019; Stephan, 2018; Stephan et al., 2020; Stephan et al., 2023). Recent studies suggest that this well-being premium is *almost entirely* explained by differences in coping between the self-employed and waged workers (Nikolaev et al., 2022).

Consequently, interest in entrepreneurship as a unique context to study coping is growing, and studies have started documenting how different coping strategies—from self-care activities (e.g., exercise and meditation) to problem-focused strategies (e.g., planning and goal setting)—affect entrepreneurial well-being and various business outcomes.² The existing literature has also highlighted that not all coping strategies are equally effective. For instance, adaptive coping strategies such as active coping and planning can lead to better psychological functioning while other strategies such as denial or disengagement may exacerbate stress in challenging situations (e.g., see Drnovšek et al., 2010; Müller & Gappisch, 2005; Nikolaev et al., 2022; Uy et al., 2013).

The vast majority of studies so far have focused on individual coping strategies or groups of coping strategies using Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) problem-focused and emotion-focused typology (Ahmed et al., 2022, p. 514). However, people typically use different *combinations* of coping strategies when facing adversity (Kavčič et al., 2022; Pété et al., 2022; Skinner et al., 2003). For example, one entrepreneur might address challenging circumstances through problem-solving while simultaneously utilizing emotional regulation (e.g., venting, positive self-talk, etc.). Another entrepreneur might rely more heavily on avoidance and self-distraction. Research on general populations even suggests that some individuals employ minimal coping strategies, if any at all (Aldridge & Roesch, 2008; Doron et al., 2014; Luszczynska et al., 2007; Nielsen & Knardahl, 2014). This implies that the predominant way of studying coping in the entrepreneurship literature by examining the direct effects of individual or groups of coping strategies does not fully capture how self-employed people cope with unique occupational demands.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to explore if the self-employed draw on *combinations* of coping strategies and if so, explore what types of combinations they use, why, and to what effects. In addition, we seek to compare our

exploratory findings on the self-employed to waged workers in order to identify similarities and differences between these occupational groups. This approach can further aid in assessing the generalizability of our preliminary findings on the self-employed to a broader set of occupational workers.

To do so, we use latent profile analysis (LPA), an exploratory data analysis method, to find common profiles of coping strategies among the self-employed and explore differences in coping profile membership between the self-employed and waged workers. We also examine the association of different coping profiles with psychological well-being (i.e., criterion-related validity evidence) and further study their determinants. Adopting a “person-centric” approach (e.g., Pété et al., 2022) allows us to capture the overall coping patterns of self-employed individuals rather than isolating a specific coping strategy. This approach captures the multi-dimensional nature of coping and provides a more realistic, comprehensive, and nuanced understanding on the role of coping in managing the challenges and stressors that the self-employed face (Nicholls et al., 2016).

Our study makes several contributions to entrepreneurship literature. First, previous studies use the so-called *coping-as-alternatives* approach by examining the effect of individual coping strategies (e.g., meditation, exercise, or taking time off work, etc.) or groups of coping strategies (e.g., emotion- and problem-focused coping) independently from each other (see Table 1 for summary of studies). We take a novel approach to the study of coping by finding evidence of four coping profiles that reflect distinct *combinations* of coping and examining the relationship between these profiles and the psychological well-being of self-employed people.

Second, recent studies suggest that the self-employed are more likely to use problem-focused coping and less likely to use emotion-focused coping compared to their waged worker counterparts, which in turn almost entirely explains the well-being premium associated with being self-employed (Nikolaev et al., 2022). Thus, we also compare how membership to each one of the four *coping profiles* we uncover differs between the self-employed and waged workers. While prior research comparing these two groups has proved valuable at identifying broad-stroke differences, our approach of identifying overlaps in coping profiles helps to refine our collective image of the differences (and similarities) between self-employed and waged workers.

Finally, we examine what makes some entrepreneurs more likely to belong to certain coping profiles. Theories of coping suggest that coping can be a part of one's personality, an active process, or a combination of the two (Blum et al., 2012). Therefore, we examine to what extent individual resources (such as one's education, income, etc.), personality (the Big Five), or job characteristics influence entrepreneurs coping profiles.

² We summarize the entrepreneurship and coping literature in Table 1.

Table 1 Literature review—coping and entrepreneurship

Authors	Article type	Coping categorization	Coping treatment	Results
Boyd & Gumpert, 1984	Practitioner	Common prescriptive methods of coping (e.g., networking, taking time off, and delegating)	Coping-as-alternatives	The authors find that there are a number of ways in which entrepreneurs cope. Yet, many struggle to make time to cope and lack introspection
Byrne & Shepherd, 2015	Qualitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-in-combination	The authors found that after business failure, those who were able to recover most effectively were those who used high levels of both coping mechanisms
Comer et al., 2017	Qualitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-as-options	At different time points, the entrepreneurs who face failure engage in different types of emotion-focused and then problem-focused coping to enhance their well-being
Drnovšek et al., 2010	Quantitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-as-alternatives	Problem-focused coping benefits entrepreneurial well-being and new venture success. The authors did not find a relationship between emotion-focused coping and these outcomes
Engel et al., 2021	Quantitative	Loving Kindness Meditation	Coping-as-alternatives	Loving-kindness-meditation decreases fear of failure by increasing self-compassion
Edralin, 2013	Qualitative	Common prescriptive methods of coping (planning, exercise, family time, time management, delegation, etc.)	Coping-in-combination	Filipina entrepreneurs manage their work-life balance through managing their work (problem-focused) and taking care of themselves through other means, such as meditation (emotion-focused)
Haynie & Shepherd, 2011	Qualitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-in-combination	The authors found that marines who were able to transition well into other careers moved from using emotion-focused coping to problem-focused coping
Jennings & McDougald, 2007	Conceptual	WFI Coping Strategies	Coping-as-alternatives	The review points towards specific coping mechanisms at the individual and couple level that may help or hinder business growth
Kibler et al., 2015	Qualitative	Passive negotiation, active negotiation, modification, and avoidance	Coping-as-alternatives	Through interviews, the authors identify four coping mechanisms whereby older entrepreneurs cope with social exclusion
Liu, 2020	Quantitative	RICH Instrument	Coping-as-alternatives	A scale for "resource-induced coping heuristics" is developed and validated. RICH coping predicts venture success and growth
Martins et al., 2015	Coping with novelty Conceptual	Analogical reasoning and conceptual combination	Coping-as-alternatives	The authors suggest two ways in which entrepreneurs cope with novelty to develop strategic business models
Órneqvist et al., 2007	Quantitative	Role behavior and role redefinition	Coping-as-alternatives	Role redefinition improved performance, whereas passive role behavior decreased performance
Patel et al., 2019	Quantitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-as-alternatives	Problem focused coping mitigates the negative relationship between self-employment and allostatic load. No significant interaction is found for emotion focused coping
Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011	Quantitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-as-alternatives	Problem- and emotion-focused coping independently strengthened the negative relationship between self-employment and negative emotions
Schonfeld & Mazzola, 2015	Qualitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping; Humanitarian Coping	Coping-as-alternatives	Self-employed individuals rely more on problem-focused coping than emotion-focused coping. They also cope by using social supports and humanitarian coping mechanisms
Shepherd et al., 2009	Conceptual	Loss-orientation and restoration-orientation	Coping-as-alternatives	The author argues that recovery from the loss of a family business is a function of transitioning between loss- and restoration-orientations which enable sense-making
Singh et al., 2007	Qualitative	Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping	Coping-as-alternatives	The authors propose that problem-focused coping will impact the financial success of the firm, whereas emotion-focused coping will increase self-knowledge
Uy et al., 2013	Quantitative	Active and avoidance coping	Coping-in-combination	Avoidance coping will negatively impact psychological well-being over time unless entrepreneurs also engage in active coping
Wee & Brooks, 2012	Qualitative	Coping through metaphors	Coping-as-alternatives	The authors explore how entrepreneurs use specific metaphor-types to cope with gendered expectations in new ventures

From Coping Strategies to Coping Profiles: A Person-Centric Approach

Coping and Well-being among Entrepreneurs

Coping is critical in managing the demands of self-employment (Stephan, 2018). *Coping*, defined as “thoughts and behaviors that people use to manage the internal and external demands of situations that are appraised as stressful” (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004, p.745), has taken on many forms and categories in the entrepreneurship literature. This includes active vs. avoidance coping (e.g., Uy et al., 2013), humanitarian coping (e.g., Schonfeld & Mazzola, 2015), resource-induced coping (e.g., Lanivich, 2015), restorative coping (e.g., Williams & Shepherd, 2016), future-oriented coping (e.g., Eager et al., 2018), resilience-oriented/building coping (e.g., Pérez-López et al., 2019), and effectual vs. causal coping (e.g., Liu, 2020).

Outside of such specific and unique conceptualizations, the most frequently cited categories of coping studied in entrepreneurship are problem-focused and emotion-focused coping, as evidenced in Table 1 (e.g., Byrne & Shepherd, 2015; Corner et al., 2017; Drnovšek et al., 2010; Haynie & Shepherd, 2011; Patel et al., 2019; Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011; Schonfeld & Mazzola, 2015; Singh et al., 2007). In general, this research stream finds that entrepreneurs are (1) more likely to use problem-focused coping (e.g., Schonfeld & Mazzola, 2015), and (2) entrepreneurs who leverage problem-focused coping achieve better well-being and performance outcomes than those who leverage emotion-focused coping (e.g., Nikolaev et al., 2022).

Coping-in-Combination

Yet, the coping strategies described above are frequently studied as alternatives (e.g., Drnovšek et al., 2010; Patel et al., 2019; Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011; Singh et al., 2007) rather than tools to be combined. As a result, most of our understanding is based on relations between specific (or single) coping responses and well-being outcomes. However, this is a less nuanced and realistic reflection of reality. Well-being is influenced not by a single/specific response to stress but by all responses together. Similarly, coping with work demands is a *process* that entails fluctuations in coping over time. In that sense, it makes sense to study coping responses in combination with each other rather than as alternatives or separately.

Indeed, psychological research suggests that individuals utilize multiple coping strategies to overcome demands in most stressful encounters (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Scholars have also demonstrated that entrepreneurs may switch between types of coping at different points in time (Corner et al., 2017;

Shepherd, 2003; Shepherd et al., 2009), and qualitative evidence suggests that entrepreneurs use both problem- and emotion-focused coping strategies simultaneously (Edrulin, 2013; Schonfeld & Mazzola, 2015). Still, few studies examine this interaction of coping strategies and their association with psychological well-being. Uy et al. (2013) find that avoidance coping harms psychological well-being except when supplemented by active coping. Byrne and Shepherd (2015) find that recovering from negative feelings following business failure requires high levels of both problem- and emotion-focused coping.

More recently, researchers have started examining coping strategies using Latent Profile Analysis (LPA), an exploratory data analysis method that takes a “person-centric approach” rather than examining coping strategies in isolation from each other. LPA is a statistical method that identifies latent (unobserved) subgroups within a population based on patterns of responses across multiple variables (Collins & Lanza, 2009). In the context of coping research, LPA is used to identify distinct subgroups of individuals who exhibit similar patterns of coping strategies, thereby uncovering coping profiles that emerge from the data.

The key advantage of LPA is that it allows researchers to examine the complex, multidimensional nature of coping by considering the interplay among various coping strategies. Rather than focusing on the effects of individual coping strategies, LPA provides a more holistic understanding of how people cope with stress by identifying distinct configurations of coping strategies that commonly occur together.

This person-centric approach has been leveraged to understand the well-being profiles of entrepreneurs (Bujacz et al., 2020; Gish et al., 2022), coping profiles of French athletes (Pété et al., 2022), and the general population of Slovenia (Kavčič et al., 2022). Despite examining diverse populations, these studies consistently find evidence of distinct coping profiles that emerge from the data, demonstrating the utility of LPA in uncovering meaningful patterns of coping. Moreover, these studies reveal that the identified coping profiles are differentially related to well-being outcomes and other relevant factors, such as stress appraisal, highlighting the predictive validity of the profiles.

Put together, there is broad evidence across disciplines and context of study that the self-employed are likely to use a combination of coping approaches. Entrepreneurs face various types of stressors in their work environment, such as financial difficulties, market competition, team conflicts, work-family balance issues, venture failure, and personal crises (Lerman et al., 2020; Ucbasaran et al., 2013). To cope with these stressors, entrepreneurs may use different coping strategies that aim to either change or eliminate the source of stress (problem-focused coping) or regulate or reduce the negative emotions caused by stress (emotion-focused

coping) (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). However, rather than relying on a single dominant strategy, entrepreneurs may use a combination of both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategies depending on the situation and their personal preferences (Ahmed et al., 2022).

Furthermore, while the problem-focused versus emotion-focused coping typology has been widely accepted, it has also been critiqued for not distinguishing between cognitive and behavioral coping strategies (Latack & Havlovic, 1992). As Latack and Havlovic (1992, p. 492) point out, “the global distinction of problem/emotion-focused coping is insufficiently specific to capture the various subdimensions that have emerged in coping research.” The coping profiles we seek to uncover in our study allow for both cognitive strategies, such as mentally reframing the situation, and behavioral strategies, such as seeking support or engaging in problem-solving actions. Latack and Havlovic (1992, p. 498) argue that this cognitive-behavioral distinction is important, as “whether or not these strategies or orthogonal or oblique remains an empirical question... [e]vidence indicates that cognitive and behavioral items may cluster together in some samples while in other cases, factors that are only behavioral or cognitive appear.” Using LPA to identify coping profiles that encompass both cognitive and behavioral strategies addresses this critique and provides a more nuanced understanding of the complex ways in which entrepreneurs cope with stress.

Therefore, LPA is an appropriate strategy for analyzing entrepreneurs’ coping strategies because past theory and empirical findings suggest that people use different combinations of coping strategies that form different configurational profiles (Aldridge & Roesch, 2008; Doron et al., 2014; Kavčič et al., 2022; Luszczynska et al., 2007; Nielsen & Knardahl, 2014; Pété et al., 2022; Skinner et al., 2003). At the same time the number and configuration of these profiles in the entrepreneurial context remain to be empirically determined.

Hypothesis 1: *The self-employed will exhibit distinct coping profiles, each characterized by a unique combination of coping strategies.*

Differences in Coping Between the Self-Employed and Waged Workers

The self-employed are likely to choose more adaptive combinations of coping strategies than waged workers who tend to work in more stable and structured organizations and face different resources and constraints. Self-employment is often characterized by higher levels of autonomy, creativity, risk-taking, and innovation compared to waged work (Rauch et al., 2018; Shir et al., 2019; Stephan, 2018). These characteristics may influence the coping preferences and outcomes of the self-employed. For example, entrepreneurs may be more likely to use problem-focused coping strategies such

as active coping and planning to overcome obstacles and achieve goals due to higher level of job control (Nikolaev et al., 2022). On the other hand, waged workers may be more likely to use emotion-focused coping strategies such as denial and disengagement to cope with situations that are beyond their control or responsibility (Nikolaev et al., 2022).

In addition, seminal work on entrepreneur stress described entrepreneurs as type-A individuals who sometimes struggled to step away from the business (Boyd & Gumpert, 1984; Gumpert & Boyd, 1984). Baron et al. (2016) argued that people high in psychological capital (self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience) tend to be attracted to, enter, and remain in entrepreneurial work (Cf. Schneider, 1987; Schneider et al., 1995). This perspective also fits recent conceptualizations of entrepreneurs as *hustlers* engaging in urgent and unorthodox action to overcome entrepreneurial challenges (Fisher et al., 2020). Finally, qualitative evidence suggests that entrepreneurs tend to “stick with [issues] until [they] solve it and that tends to be the middle of the night” (Thompson et al., 2020: p. 9). For these reasons, entrepreneurs counter-intuitively struggle to disengage from their work environments relative to waged workers (Blanchflower, 2004; Buttner, 1992; Cardon & Patel, 2015; Mol et al., 2018), despite having more latitude in their work schedules. Put together, it may be that those who pursue self-employment are likely to leverage greater combinations of problem-focused coping than waged workers.

Several studies leverage job demands control theory (Karasek, 1979; Theorell & Karasek, 1996) to argue that entrepreneurs have high demand, but also high control work environments (Stephan, 2018). Others have leveraged Lazarus and Folkman’s (1984) theory on appraisal to suggest entrepreneurship is an innately “self-determined activity...[that is] likely to lead to appraisals of stressful situation as growth-promoting challenges” (Lerman et al., 2021; Nikolaev et al., 2022: p. 3). Both arguments lead to the same conclusion. Because perceived control and challenge appraisal are likely to facilitate problem-focused coping (Lazarus, 1966, 1991, 1993; Spector, 2002), it is reasonable to expect that such tendencies will be more dominant in the population of the self-employed relative to waged workers (Nikolaev et al., 2022).

H2: *Self-employed people are more likely to have coping profiles characterized by higher levels positive reinterpretation, active coping, and planning, and lower levels of venting, denial and disengagement relative to waged workers.*

Coping Profiles and Psychological Well-being

To validate the profile solution, we decided to use several theoretically relevant well-being outcomes across the identified profiles (i.e., criterion-related validity evidence).

Specifically, we expect that coping profiles will affect the psychological well-being of self-employed people (e.g., Nikolaev et al., 2023). We draw on the definition of entrepreneurial well-being proposed by Wiklund et al. (2019), which integrates both hedonic and eudaimonic perspectives. They define entrepreneurial well-being as “*the experience of satisfaction, positive affect, infrequent negative affect, and psychological functioning*” (Wiklund et al., 2019, p. 579).

Based on this definition, we selected four indicators of psychological well-being that capture different facets of well-being: (1) eudaimonic well-being, (2) life satisfaction, (3) positive and negative affect, and (4) physical health. Eudaimonic well-being assesses psychological functioning and includes dimensions such as autonomy, purpose, and personal growth (Ryff, 1989), which are particularly relevant to the entrepreneurial context. Life satisfaction provides an overall evaluation of one’s life (Diener et al., 2009), while positive and negative affect capture the frequency and intensity of pleasant and unpleasant emotions (Diener et al., 2009). Finally, physical health is included as an objective indicator of well-being (Patel et al., 2019), given the potential impact of entrepreneurial stress on physical well-being.

By examining these distinct yet related indicators of psychological well-being, we aim to provide a comprehensive assessment of how coping profiles relate to different aspects of entrepreneurial well-being. While some research has found that problem-focused coping is superior to emotion-focused coping in promoting well-being (Patel et al., 2019), others have found that both forms of coping can work together (Corner et al., 2017; Patzelt & Shepherd, 2011), reinforcing the positive effect of each other (Byrne & Shepherd, 2015; Uy et al., 2013).

We expect that coping profiles characterized by a balanced use of problem-focused strategies (e.g., positive reinterpretation, active coping, planning) and adaptive emotion-focused strategies (e.g., low levels of denial and disengagement) will be associated with better psychological well-being across all four indicators (Ahmed et al., 2022). This profile reflects a high level of resilience that allows entrepreneurs to adapt to changing situations while maintaining positive emotions and functioning. On the other hand, a low use of problem-focused strategies and a high reliance on maladaptive emotion-focused strategies (e.g., denial and disengagement) may be detrimental to self-employed well-being (Ahmed et al., 2022; Nikolaev et al., 2022), as this profile reflects a low level of resilience that makes them vulnerable to stress and negative emotions.

H3: *Entrepreneurs who belong to coping profiles characterized by higher levels of positive reinterpretation, active coping, and planning, and lower levels of denial and disengagement will report better psychological well-being, as indicated by measures such as eudaimonic well-being,*

life satisfaction, positive and negative affect, and mental and physical health.

Determinants of Coping Profiles

Given the limited research on the determinants of coping profiles among the self-employed, we adopt an exploratory approach to examine the potential relationships between personal resources, personality traits, job characteristics, and coping profiles. Several theoretical frameworks suggest specific antecedents to coping profiles for the self-employed. First, the conservation of resources theory posits that individuals with more resources can manage stress more effectively, influencing the coping strategies they employ (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Hobfoll, 1989). From this perspective, personal resources such as education, income, or experience may be correlated with more effective coping profiles, such as those that incorporate higher degrees of problem-focused coping.

Second, personality traits can influence coping profiles (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010). According to Bolger and Zuckerman (1995), individual differences in personality traits are associated with the ways people respond to emotions and stress. For instance, individuals high in neuroticism may be more likely to use emotion-focused coping strategies, while those with higher levels of conscientiousness or emotional stability might be more prone to problem-focused coping.

Third, job characteristics theory suggests that individuals with higher levels of job autonomy, skill variety, and task significance are more motivated and engaged in their work (Hackman & Oldham, 1976). Consequently, self-employed individuals who maintain healthier work characteristics may be more likely to adopt problem-focused coping strategies, and their coping profiles will reflect this. However, not all self-employed individuals can maintain healthy work characteristics, as some may become overwhelmed by their businesses or face significant hardships, such as those experienced during the COVID-19 pandemic. In these situations, self-employed individuals may feel more like waged workers than entrepreneurs and may have coping profiles oriented towards emotion-focused coping due to the lower autonomy work environment typically associated with waged workers (Spector, 2002).

Given the exploratory nature of this investigation, we aim to provide initial insights into the potential determinants of coping profiles among the self-employed, which can inform future theory development and targeted research in this area. We fully acknowledge that the relationships between personal resources, personality traits, job characteristics, and coping profiles are likely to be complex and may vary depending on the specific context of self-employment.

H4: *Personal resources (e.g., education, income, etc.), personality traits (the Big Five), and job characteristics are key determinants of the coping profiles of the self-employed.*

Measures and Sample

Sample

Data were taken from wave 2 and wave 3 of the Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) dataset (Ryff et al., 2019; 2021a, b). The MIDUS dataset is a longitudinal collection effort representing decades of multi-disciplinary work that captures variables related to health, psychology, social well-being, and demographics for individuals ages 25 to 74 (Brim, 2000; Brim et al., 2019). The MIDUS core national sample (M1) was based on a nationally representative RDD sample of non-institutionalized, English-speaking adults, aged 25 to 74. The sample was drawn from working telephone banks in the coterminous United States. City-specific oversamples were also included to increase racial and geographic representativeness. Siblings of cooperating RDD respondents were also invited to participate, and a national sample of twin pairs was obtained from a national household screening project (Radler, 2014).

While the MIDUS dataset is not a perfect representation of the U.S. population, it provides a diverse sample across age, gender, and occupation. The oversampling of older adults and men was done to ensure a sufficient sample size for these groups, which are often underrepresented in survey research. The MIDUS dataset has been widely used in social science research to examine various aspects of health, well-being, and human development across the lifespan (Radler, 2014).

Wave 2 collection took place from 2004 to 2006, and wave 3 between 2013 and 2014. Occupation data is collected for each individual in the core survey, with respondents indicating whether they are self-employed or not. 13.47% of the sample in wave 2 are self-employed, with 13.95% in wave 3. Participants provided data through a brief phone interview followed by written questionnaires for nominal compensation (Radler & Ryff, 2010).

We used data from wave 2 and wave 3 because our coping variables were only available in these two waves. After deleting missing observations, we have a total of 5352 observations, with 645 self-employed and 4707 waged workers across the two waves. Importantly, however, because the LPA analysis relies on cross-sectional data, we only used data on self-employed people from wave 2, a total of 490 self-employed people. In turn, we predicted class membership for our full sample (5352 self-employed and waged workers) in order to make comparisons between the self-employed and waged workers, and subsequently used both waves of self-employed people ($N=645$) to examine the effect of coping profiles on psychological well-being, and the determinants of coping profiles.

Measures

Below, we describe the main measures used for our analysis. Table 2 presents summary statistics and Table 3 shows pairwise correlations.

Coping Strategies

Following previous research in the entrepreneurship literature (Nikolaev et al., 2022), coping is measured using six scales to assess both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping (Carver et al., 1989; Kling et al., 1997). Problem-focused coping is comprised of three subscales that include positive reinterpretation (4 items), active coping (4 items), and planning (4 items). Example items include (1) positive reinterpretation: “I look for something good in what is happening,” (2) active coping: “I do what has to be done, one step at a time,” and (3) planning: “I make a plan of action.” Emotion-focused coping is comprised of a focus on venting emotions (4 items), denial (4 items), and behavioral disengagement (4 items). Example items include (1) venting: “I let my feelings out,” (2) denial: “I pretend that it hasn’t really happened,” and (3) behavioral disengagement: “I admit to myself that I can’t deal with it, and quit trying.”

Participants rate each coping mechanism on a scale of 1–4, with 1 being “a lot,” and 4 being “not at all.” Items are reverse coded, and mean values are imputed for missing items by MIDUS researchers. Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping measures were constructed by summing the total items from the three subscales respectively. Cronbach’s alpha was calculated separately for each subscale, and all subscales showed adequate reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha \geq 0.73$). We furthermore standardized each coping scale to facilitate our LPA methodology and for ease of interpretation of the results.

Eudaimonic Well-being

Our first well-being construct of interest, eudaimonic well-being (also known as “psychological functioning”) consists of six subcomponents: autonomy, self-acceptance, environmental mastery, personal growth, purpose in life, and quality relations with others (Ryff, 1989). Eudaimonic well-being, which emphasizes self-actualization, has been rigorously tested to validate its factor structure and construct validity (Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Each subcomponent is measured on a scale of 7-items, rated from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

Example items for the scales include (1) autonomy: “I am not afraid to voice my opinions even when they are in opposition to the opinions of most people,” (2) self-acceptance: “When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how

things have turned out,” (3) environmental mastery: “I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life,” (4) personal growth “I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world,” (5) purpose in life: “I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality,” and (6) positive relations with others: “I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members and friends.” Each individual scale is summed, and individual scales are summed to reach an overall index of eudaimonic well-being. Items were reverse coded as needed, and subscales with at least four valid items had the remaining answers input through mean imputation by MIDUS researchers. Scale reliability was acceptable with individual Cronbach’s alphas maintaining 0.68 and above for each subscale.

Life Satisfaction

Hedonic well-being, a construct distinct from eudaimonic well-being (Keyes et al., 2002), is assessed in part through the participants’ life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is captured through self-reported ratings across six domains, including work, health, financial situation, relationship with spouse/partner, relationship with children, and life overall (Prenda & Lachman, 2001). Each component is coded on a scale of 0 (worst possible) to 10 (best possible). Individual items are averaged, and an overall average is taken to assess total life satisfaction. MIDUS researchers calculated scores for cases that included at least one valid response out of the six. The scale showed adequate reliability with a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.65 in wave 2, and 0.71 in wave 3.

Positive and Negative Affect

In addition to satisfaction, hedonic well-being consists of the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect (Huta & Waterman, 2014; Keyes et al., 2002). Positive affect was captured by asking participants how frequently in the last 30 days they felt “cheerful,” “in good spirits,” “extremely happy,” “calm and peaceful,” “satisfied,” and “full of life.” Negative affect similarly asked participants how frequently in the last 30 days they felt “so sad nothing could cheer you up,” “nervous,” “restless or fidgety,” “hopeless,” “that everything was an effort,” and “worthless.” Each item was rated on a scale of 1 (all of the time) to 5 (none of the time). Items were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected higher positive or negative affect. Total scores on each scale were calculated by taking the mean of the 6 items.

The positive and negative affect scales were constructed by Mroczek and Kolarz (1998) from an array of well-validated instruments related to affect, well-being, and mental health (e.g., Bradburn, 1969; Fazio, 1977; Kessler et al., 1994; Radloff, 1977; Taylor, 1953). Their initial study

Table 2 Descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
<i>Coping</i>				
Reinterpretation	12.59	2.32	4	16
Active Coping	13.08	2.06	7	16
Planning	13.48	2.21	6	16
Venting	8.94	2.76	4	16
Denial	5.58	2.07	4	16
Disengagement	6.4	2.18	4	16
<i>Well-being</i>				
Eudaimonic Well-being	39.79	5.47	22.17	48.83
EWB: Autonomy	38.85	6.37	16	49
EWB: Mastery	39.14	7.37	10	49
EWB: Growth	39.96	6.44	19	49
EWB: Pos Relations	41.28	6.69	18.2	49
EWB: Purpose	40.09	6.41	19	49
EWB: Self-Acceptance	39.46	7.61	7	49
Life Satisfaction	7.98	1.12	3.33	10
Positive Affect	3.69	.7	1	5
Negative Affect	1.48	.45	1	3.6
Physical Health	2.21	.92	1	5
Mental Health	2.01	.9	1	5
<i>Demographic</i>				
Age	56.71	10.61	30	87
Age Squared	3328.95	1222.12	900	7569
Gender	.49	.49	0	1
Married	.8	.4	0	1
Education	7.91	2.5	1	12
Children	2.46	1.56	0	9
Log Income	10.3	2.11	0	12.61

demonstrated high reliability for each affect scale. Positive affect and negative affect have a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.90 and 0.85 respectively in wave 2, and 0.91 and 0.85 in wave 3.

Physical Health

As a final indicator of well-being, we include a self-report measure of physical health (c.f., Patel et al., 2019). Participants were asked “in general, would you say your physical health is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?” Items were rated on a scale of 1 (excellent) to 5 (very poor), and all cases were reverse coded.

Controls

A number of controls were included in the analysis based on their salience to entrepreneurial well-being. These included age, sex, marital status, personal income, education, number of children, personality, and job characteristics. We include age as biological processes create natural declines in physical

Table 3 Pairwise correlations

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1) Reinterpretation	1.00											
(2) Active Coping	0.54*	1.00										
(3) Planning	0.50*	0.82*	1.00									
(4) Venting	0.00	-0.03	-0.03	1.00								
(5) Denial	-0.05	-0.16*	-0.20*	0.30*	1.00							
(6) Disengagement	-0.12*	-0.33*	-0.35*	0.37*	0.49*	1.00						
(7) EWB	0.42*	0.49*	0.46*	-0.30*	-0.32*	-0.46*	1.00					
(8) Autonomy	0.28*	0.39*	0.35*	-0.28*	-0.26*	-0.31*	0.66*	1.00				
(9) Mastery	0.29*	0.38*	0.36*	-0.37*	-0.26*	-0.40*	0.85*	0.51*	1.00			
(10) Growth	0.49*	0.47*	0.45*	-0.15*	-0.27*	-0.41*	0.78*	0.41*	0.53*	1.00		
(11) Pos Relations	0.32*	0.30*	0.27*	-0.14*	-0.19*	-0.25*	0.79*	0.36*	0.60*	0.56*	1.00	
(12) Purpose	0.34*	0.43*	0.42*	-0.20*	-0.32*	-0.45*	0.83*	0.39*	0.63*	0.66*	0.61*	1.00
(13) Self-Acceptance	0.32*	0.41*	0.37*	-0.30*	-0.26*	-0.38*	0.89*	0.51*	0.78*	0.60*	0.65*	0.69*
(14) Life Satisfaction	0.21*	0.28*	0.24*	-0.18*	-0.11*	-0.23*	0.59*	0.27*	0.58*	0.40*	0.49*	0.48*
(15) Positive Affect	0.33*	0.34*	0.31*	-0.16*	-0.06	-0.18*	0.59*	0.36*	0.55*	0.41*	0.45*	0.48*
(16) Negative Affect	-0.16*	-0.18*	-0.17*	0.38*	0.17*	0.25*	-0.41*	-0.27*	-0.47*	-0.21*	-0.29*	-0.28*
(17) Physical Health	-0.08	-0.19*	-0.18*	0.02	0.11*	0.08	-0.22*	-0.11*	-0.22*	-0.19*	-0.15*	-0.15*
(18) Mental Health	-0.10*	-0.24*	-0.23*	0.25*	0.21*	0.24*	-0.41*	-0.25*	-0.45*	-0.26*	-0.29*	-0.32*
(19) Age	0.03	0.02	0.01	-0.21*	-0.04	-0.00	0.13*	0.16*	0.21*	-0.02	0.10*	0.04
(20) Age Squared	0.03	0.01	0.01	-0.20*	-0.03	0.01	0.13*	0.16*	0.20*	-0.02	0.11*	0.04
(21) Gender	0.17*	0.02	0.02	0.31*	0.06	0.12*	-0.01	-0.14*	-0.12*	0.14*	0.13*	-0.01
(22) Married	-0.04	0.02	0.01	-0.04	-0.05	-0.13*	0.10*	-0.06	0.09	0.02	0.16*	0.12*
(23) Education	-0.03	0.17*	0.18*	-0.20*	-0.22*	-0.22*	0.18*	0.06	0.19*	0.20*	0.05	0.18*
(24) Children	0.05	0.02	0.01	-0.05	-0.00	-0.06	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.04	0.02	0.01
(25) Log Income	-0.04	0.05	0.08	-0.15*	-0.09	-0.12*	0.11*	0.06	0.16*	0.08	-0.01	0.14*
Variables	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
(1) Reinterpretation												
(2) Active Coping												
(3) Planning												
(4) Venting												
(5) Denial												
(6) Disengagement												
(7) EWB												
(8) Autonomy												
(9) Mastery												
(10) Growth												
(11) Pos Relations												
(12) Purpose												
(13) Self-Acceptance	1.00											
(14) Life Satisfaction	0.58*	1.00										
(15) Positive Affect	0.55*	0.45*	1.00									
(16) Negative Affect	-0.40*	-0.35*	-0.33*	1.00								
(17) Physical Health	-0.21*	-0.38*	-0.20*	0.17*	1.00							
(18) Mental Health	-0.39*	-0.43*	-0.32*	0.34*	0.56*	1.00						
(19) Age	0.13*	0.12*	0.14*	-0.19*	0.05	-0.03	1.00					
(20) Age Squared	0.13*	0.13*	0.14*	-0.18*	0.04	-0.03	0.99*	1.00				
(21) Gender	-0.04	0.01	-0.06	0.19*	0.02	0.12*	-0.22*	-0.22*	1.00			
(22) Married	0.13*	0.19*	0.03	-0.07	-0.06	-0.13*	-0.06	-0.07	-0.08	1.00		
(23) Education	0.16*	0.10*	0.06	-0.11*	-0.19*	-0.21*	0.06	0.05	-0.16*	0.02	1.00	

Table 3 (continued)

Variables	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
(24) Children	0.01	0.06	0.01	-0.05	0.07	-0.02	0.16*	0.16*	-0.00	0.25*	-0.11*	1.00
(25) Log Income	0.11*	0.10*	0.06	-0.08	-0.13*	-0.13*	0.12*	0.11*	-0.27*	0.08	0.27*	0.01

*shows significance at the .01 level

health and eudaimonic well-being (Blanchflower & Oswald, 2008; Rose, 1991; Ryff, 1989; Springer et al., 2011). Prior studies also suggest higher levels of education and income can affect physical health, eudaimonia, and other salient well-being outcomes. (Adler et al., 1999; Marmot, 2005; Ryff, 2017; Ryff et al., 2004, 2015). Sex and marital status are included as studies have shown they can affect outcomes related to affect, satisfaction, psychological functioning, and health (Cleary et al., 2004; Gabriel & Gardner, 1999; Wood et al., 1989). Research on race and ethnicity suggest that being in a racial minority has a positive relationship with psychological well-being (Ryff et al., 2004). Furthermore, meta-analytic evidence suggests that coping behaviors are dispositional in nature and affected by personalities (Carver & Connor-Smith, 2010; Connor-Smith & Flachsbart, 2007). Big Five personality factors also predict hedonic and eudaimonic well-being (Anglim et al., 2020). Finally, mental and physical health are greatly affected by job characteristics (Fletcher et al., 2011; Mark & Smith, 2012).

Empirical Analysis

Latent Profile Analysis

To determine the coping profiles of the self-employed, we used Latent Profile Analysis (LPA). LPA has emerged as a powerful statistical tool for uncovering hidden sub-populations within a larger population based on their response patterns (Collins & Lanza, 2009). In the context of coping and self-employment, LPA allows for the identification of distinct coping profiles, capturing the heterogeneity in coping strategies among entrepreneurs (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). By classifying individuals into groups based on their coping strategies, LPA helps us understand how different combinations of strategies are associated with various outcomes, such as well-being, mental health, and business performance (Shepherd et al., 2009; Wiklund et al., 2019). This person-centered approach provides a more nuanced understanding of the coping process as it takes into account the complex interplay between different coping strategies rather than focusing solely on the effects of individual strategies as it is common in the entrepreneurship literature.

In this study, we used Stata's generalized structural equation modeling (GSEM) command to estimate the latent profiles. The GSEM command is a flexible approach that allows for the estimation of various types of structural equation models, including latent profile analysis (LPA). In our analysis, we specified a model with six coping variables as indicators, focusing on self-employed individuals in the second wave of data collection ($N=490$). We assumed a Gaussian distribution for the coping variables, as well as a linear relationship between the predictors and the outcome variables, indicated by the identity link function.

Determining the Optimal Number of Coping Profiles

To determine the optimal number of coping profiles, we used an iterative process where models with varying numbers of coping profiles (between 1 and 7) were estimated and compared using fit indices such as the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) (Nylund et al., 2007; Weller et al., 2020). Lower values of AIC and BIC indicate a better model fit.

Table 4 shows the latent profile fit statistics. We found that the gains in AIC and BIC became marginally small when increasing the number of profiles from four to five and subsequently six, eventually leading to worse fit statistics when we introduced 7 profiles. However, choosing a model with five or six profiles resulted in groups with less than 50 observations. Following best LPA practices that recommend eliminating groups with less than 50 observations due to concerns about the stability and interpretability of the profiles (Weller et al., 2020), we decided to retain a four-profile solution. The elbow plot displaying the AIC and BIC values for different profile solutions is presented in Fig. 1.

Latent Coping Profiles

Based on the LPA results, we identified four distinct coping profiles among entrepreneurs, which are visually presented in Fig. 2. For ease of interpretation, our coping variables are standardized. For example, Fig. 2a indicates that *Spock Specialists* (coping profile 4) have active coping scores that are, on average, 1.3 standard deviations higher compared to the reference group (the mean of the entire sample of entrepreneurs). At the same time, their disengagement score is 1.2

standard deviations lower than the reference group. Below, we summarize each profile that emerges from the analysis.

Emotional Rollercoasters

Entrepreneurs in this group are characterized by negative problem-focused coping (reinterpretation, active coping, and planning) and positive emotion-focused coping (venting, denial, and disengagement). They tend to rely more on emotion-focused strategies while struggling with problem-focused coping. We chose the name “*Emotional Rollercoaster*” to represent the heightened emotional responses of their coping strategies, as well as their inconsistent or suboptimal problem-solving and more negative reinterpretation of the different stressful situations. About 27% of entrepreneurs in our sample belonged to this group.³

Zen Minimalists

Entrepreneurs in this group demonstrate relatively neutral problem-focused coping but negative emotion-focused coping (particularly denial and disengagement). Individuals in this group exhibit a calm and composed approach to dealing with challenges, focusing on minimizing emotional reactions while maintaining a level-headed problem-solving attitude. The name “*Zen Minimalist*” was chosen to emphasize the balance and simplicity of their coping strategies, reminiscent of the calm and composed nature of Zen practices. One aspect of the Zen practice is to perceive reality as is, without clinging to illusions or wishful thinking, which can be related to the lack of denial which characterizes this coping profile. About 39% of entrepreneurs in our sample belonged to this group.

Integrated Problem Solver

Entrepreneurs in this group demonstrated high levels of positive reinterpretation, active coping, and planning, along with moderately high levels of venting and denial. This profile suggests a combination of both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategies, with an emphasis on proactive problem-solving. This name highlights the individual’s ability to integrate problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategies, enabling them to effectively tackle challenges while managing their emotions. Their integrated approach allows them to address both the practical and

emotional aspects of a situation. This was the rarest combination of coping strategies, with only 16% of entrepreneurs in our sample classified in this group.

Spock Strategist

Entrepreneurs in this group exhibit high problem-focused coping (reinterpretation, active coping, and planning) and low emotion-focused coping (venting, denial, and disengagement). They tend to approach challenges with a highly analytical and problem-solving mindset while minimizing their emotional reactions. The name “*Spock Strategist*” was chosen as it is inspired by the rational, unemotional, and problem-solving nature of the character Spock from Star Trek, which resonates with the coping strategies exhibited by individuals in this profile. This was the second most rare combination of coping strategies, with only 19% of entrepreneurs in our sample classified in this group.

Differences between the Self-Employed and Waged Workers

Table 5 presents differences in coping profile membership between self-employed and waged workers. To investigate these differences, we utilized our latent profile model to predict the membership of each individual in the two groups (self-employed and waged workers) to one of the four identified coping profiles. Table 5 displays the number and percentage of individuals in each profile for both self-employed and waged worker groups, as well as the total number of individuals in each profile across the two groups.

The results show that there are statistically significant differences (Chi-square = 95.748, p -value = 0.00) in the distribution of coping profile membership between self-employed and waged workers. A closer examination of Table 5 reveals some noteworthy differences between the self-employed

Table 4 Latent profile fit statistics

Number of profiles	Log-likelihood	df	AIC	BIC
1	-4047.23	12	8118.46	8168.79
2	-3753.02	19	7544.04	7623.73
3	-3634.26	26	7320.51	7429.57
4	-3566.50	33	7199.00	7337.42
5	-3523.47	40	7126.95	7294.72
6	-3482.05	47	7058.09	7255.23
7	-3470.11	54	7048.22	7274.71

³ We estimated the posterior probability of each individual belonging to each one of the estimated profiles given the individual’s responses to the coping indicators. Following best practices, we then used a cut-off value of .8 or higher to assign each individual to a profile.

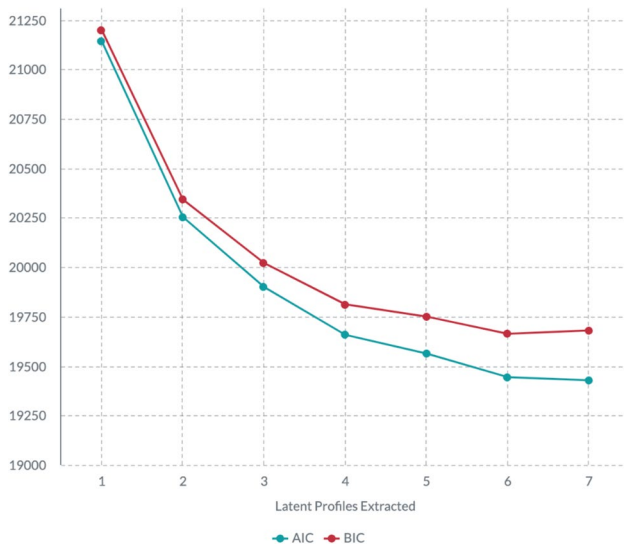


Fig. 1 Elbow plot for BIC and AIC

and waged workers in terms of coping profile membership. For instance, self-employed individuals are more likely to be classified as Zen Minimalists (39% vs. 33%) and twice as likely to be classified as Spock Strategists (19% vs. 9%) compared to their waged worker counterparts. On the other hand, a larger proportion of waged workers belong to the Emotional Rollercoaster profile (43% vs. 27%). The Integrated Problem-Solver profile exhibits similar membership percentages for both groups (15% for waged workers and 16% for self-employed).

These findings suggest that self-employed individuals may be more inclined to adopt coping strategies that are associated with higher levels of psychological well-being compared to waged workers, which accords with previous findings in the literature (e.g., Nikolaev et al., 2022). At the same time, our results suggest that only a minority of entrepreneurs (19%) use the optimal combination of coping strategies to enhance their well-being. Our results in this section provide support for H2.

One limitation to this approach is the assumption that both groups have similar profiles, which may not be true. Therefore, we replicated our model using only the subsample of waged workers. These results are presented in Fig. 2b. We find that waged workers have remarkably similar coping profiles to those of self-employed people. One notable difference was the Zen Minimalist profile, where waged workers showed slightly lower problem-focused coping (0.2 standard deviations below the sample mean) relative to self-employed people while at the same time exhibiting neutral emotional-focused coping. This is the reason why we renamed this profile “Passive Minimalist” specifically for the waged worker group, while retaining the original “Zen Minimalist” label for the self-employed

group. The other three profiles showed almost identical patterns of coping.

Another limitation of our study is the reliance on a single dataset. To address this concern, we conducted additional analyses to assess the replicability of the identified coping profiles across different waves and subsamples within the MIDUS dataset. Specifically, we estimated our model separately for the self-employed and waged worker subsamples in both Wave 2 (2004–2006) and Wave 3 (2013–2014) of the MIDUS study. We also estimated the model on the full samples available in each wave, which also include individuals who are not waged workers or self-employed.

The results of these analyses, presented in Fig. 3a–f, demonstrate that the coping profiles are largely consistent across the different waves and subsamples. The consistency of the coping profiles across different waves and subsamples within the MIDUS dataset provides strong evidence for the replicability and robustness of our findings. More importantly, these results support the validity of the *coping-in-combination* approach and the identified coping profiles, demonstrating that the observed patterns are not merely artifacts of a specific sample or time point.

Coping Profiles and Well-being

Next, we examined the relationship between coping profiles and well-being. To do so, we used wave 2 and 3 from the MIDUS survey. This allowed us to tap into the longitudinal nature of the data. Specifically, we used a random effects model in Stata 16 while further controlling for wave fixed-effects and clustering our observations at the individual level to account for the multi-level structure of the data.

This approach has been widely adopted in the well-being literature (e.g., Clark et al., 2008; Ferrer-i-Carbonell & Frijters, 2004) and offers several advantages over alternative approaches such as fixed-effects models. First, the random effects estimator allows us to account for unobserved individual heterogeneity while still maintaining the ability to estimate the effects of time-invariant variables (Baltagi, 2008). This is particularly important in our study, as we seek to understand the impact of various coping profiles, some of which may be relatively stable over time. By utilizing a random effects model, we can capture the influence of these time-invariant coping profiles and gain a more accurate understanding of their relationship with well-being.

Second, the random effects model is more efficient in terms of estimation when the assumption of uncorrelated individual-specific effects and explanatory variables holds (Greene, 2003). In other words, the random effects model provides more precise estimates and standard errors compared to fixed-effects models when this assumption is valid. This increased efficiency allows for more robust conclusions to be drawn from our analyses and strengthens the validity of

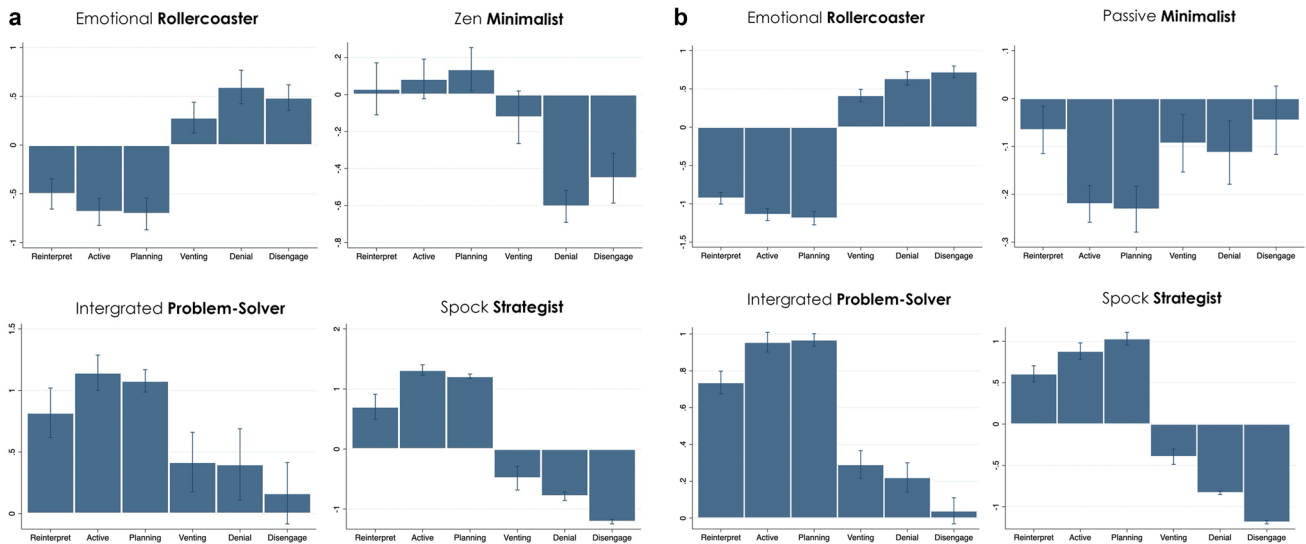


Fig. 2 a Latent Coping Profiles (Self-Employed), b Latent Coping Profiles (Waged Workers)

our findings. Despite these positives, we emphasize that our results should be interpreted as correlational and not causal due to the observational nature of our analysis.

Tables 6 and 7 present the results from our analysis. Table 6 focused on eudaimonic well-being (Ryff, 1989) and its sub-components. We find that Zen Minimalists, Integrated Problem-Solvers, and Spock Strategists all show higher well-being scores across all seven well-being measures compared to the Emotional Rollercoasters (the base group). Among the three profiles, Spock Strategists consistently demonstrate the highest well-being scores, followed by Integrated Problem-Solvers and Zen Minimalists. The differences in well-being scores between profiles are especially pronounced for measures such as the EWB Index, Acceptance, Purpose, Growth, and Mastery. For instance, Spock Strategists score 7.5 points higher on the EWB Index,

8.9 points higher on Acceptance, and 8.4 points higher on Mastery compared to the Emotional Rollercoasters. These differences are statistically significant and extremely large in terms of magnitude (over 1 standard deviation in the EWB measure in each case).

Table 7 presents the results between coping profiles and five additional subjective well-being outcomes, including life satisfaction, positive affect, negative affect, mental health, and physical health. Again, we find that Zen Minimalists, Integrated Problem-Solvers, and Spock Strategists all show higher well-being scores across most well-being measures compared to the Emotional Rollercoasters (the base group). Among the three profiles, Spock Strategists consistently demonstrate the highest well-being scores. The differences in well-being scores between profiles are particularly pronounced for measures such as life satisfaction, positive affect, negative affect, and mental health. For example, Spock Strategists score 0.8 points higher on life satisfaction (over 0.7 standard deviations in life satisfaction) and have a 0.3 points lower negative affect (0.66 standard deviations in negative affect) compared to the Emotional Rollercoasters.

Overall, our findings provide support for H3 and further underscore the importance of examining how different combinations of coping profiles affect well-being.

Determinants of Coping

Finally, we examine what factors determine coping profile membership using a multinomial logit model. Based on H4, we examine the effect of three sets of variables on individuals' coping strategies: (1) demographic factors (e.g., age, income, education), personality traits (e.g., neuroticism, conscientiousness), and job characteristics (e.g., job demand, job authority,

Table 5 Differences in coping profile membership between the self-employed and waged workers

Coping profile	Waged workers	Self-employed	Total
Emotional Rollercoaster	2,007	171	2,178
	43%	27%	41%
Zen Minimalist	1,539	249	1,788
	33%	39%	33%
Integrated Problem-Solver	729	102	831
	15%	16%	16%
Spock Strategist	432	123	555
	9%	19%	10%
Total	4,707	645	5,352
	100%	100%	100%

Chi2 = 95.748 Pr = 0.00

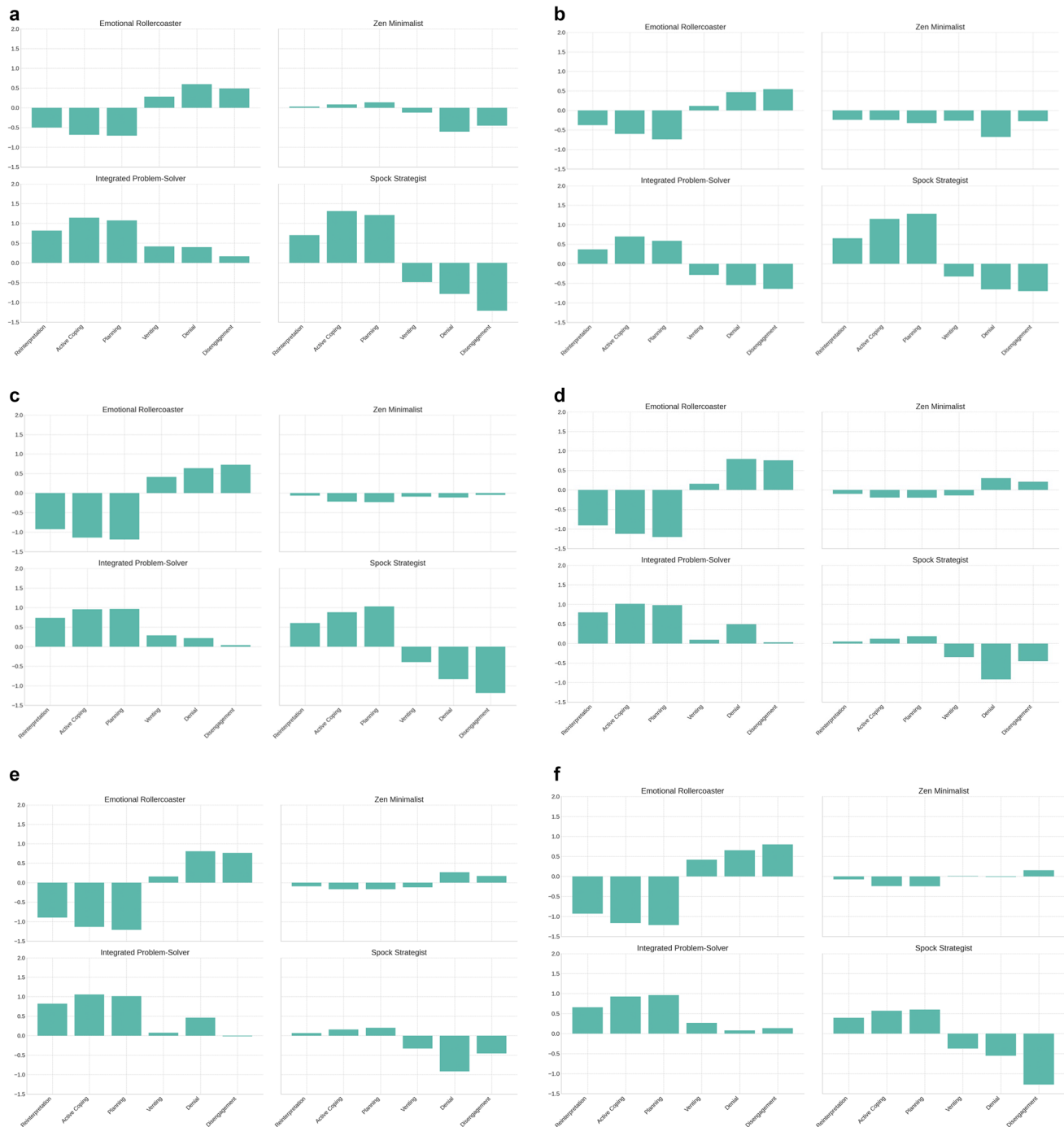


Fig. 3 Replication of LPA: Different Sub-samples and Waves **a** Wave 2 – Self-Employed, **b** Wave 3 – Self-Employed, **c** Wave 2 – Waged Workers, **d** Wave 3 – Waged Workers, **e** Wave 2 – Full Sample, **f** Wave 3 – Full Sample

etc.; Folkman & Lazarus, 1988). By understanding these factors, we can tailor interventions and support programs to the specific needs of different individuals (Compas et al., 2001).

To do this analysis, we use multinomial logistic regression, which is well-suited to investigate the relationships between multiple categorical outcome variables (in our case

the four distinct coping profiles) and a set of predictor variables (such as demographic and personality factors; Long, 1997). This approach enables us to model the probability of individuals belonging to each coping profile group based on the three sets of factors, while accounting for the non-ordinal nature of the coping profile groups.

Table 6 Coping profiles and eudaimonic well-being

	(1) EWB	(2) Acceptance	(3) Purpose	(4) Growth	(5) Relations	(6) Mastery	(7) Autonomy
Base = Emotional Roller							
Zen Minimalist	4.141*** (0.564)	5.028*** (0.780)	4.261*** (0.628)	4.097*** (0.690)	3.053*** (0.721)	4.653*** (0.740)	4.135*** (0.657)
Integrated Problem-Solver	4.934*** (0.694)	6.111*** (0.967)	4.310*** (0.867)	4.952*** (0.797)	4.139*** (0.786)	5.151*** (0.867)	5.292*** (0.793)
Spock Strategist	7.538*** (0.585)	8.990*** (0.831)	8.019*** (0.678)	7.774*** (0.785)	5.868*** (0.778)	8.373*** (0.787)	6.843*** (0.703)
Age	0.164 (0.156)	0.054 (0.217)	0.246 (0.208)	0.059 (0.200)	0.096 (0.191)	0.531** (0.218)	0.060 (0.185)
Age Squared	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)
Gender	0.744* (0.438)	0.687 (0.613)	0.827 (0.548)	2.427*** (0.532)	2.497*** (0.587)	-0.355 (0.593)	-1.579*** (0.552)
Married	0.934* (0.536)	2.066*** (0.767)	1.230* (0.664)	-0.158 (0.644)	2.586*** (0.750)	1.050 (0.728)	-1.130* (0.603)
Education	0.175** (0.085)	0.253** (0.117)	0.223** (0.103)	0.328*** (0.112)	0.031 (0.112)	0.235** (0.113)	-0.062 (0.108)
Children	-0.136 (0.153)	-0.189 (0.202)	-0.048 (0.188)	-0.180 (0.168)	-0.314 (0.199)	-0.200 (0.208)	0.118 (0.169)
Log Income	0.121 (0.101)	0.202 (0.129)	0.174 (0.116)	0.164 (0.125)	0.001 (0.113)	0.253* (0.135)	-0.045 (0.133)
Constant	25.371*** (4.796)	24.525*** (6.495)	22.931*** (6.468)	27.126*** (6.090)	27.542*** (5.841)	12.092* (6.425)	35.844*** (5.619)
N	602	602	602	602	602	602	602
Wave Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R2 (within)	0.048	0.031	0.018	0.029	0.042	0.035	0.030
R2 (between)	0.335	0.269	0.254	0.298	0.179	0.284	0.213
R2 (overall)	0.335	0.261	0.253	0.292	0.180	0.286	0.214

Random-effects regressions of eudaimonic well-being and coping profiles of self-employed people based on wave 2 and 3 of the MIDUS survey. Robust errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parenthesis

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Table 8 presents our results from our multinomial logit models. The base coping category in this analysis is the Emotional Rollercoaster profile, which serves as a reference group to compare the effects of the predictors on the other coping profile groups. Our analysis reveals several significant relationships between demographic and personality characteristics and coping profile membership. For example, we find that higher levels of education are associated with a greater likelihood of belonging to the Zen Minimalist and Spock Strategist groups compared to the Emotional Roller group. At the same time, income, age, gender, and marital status do not show consistent or significant effects on coping profile membership. Interestingly, the number of children positively affects the likelihood of belonging to the Spock Strategist group.

We also observe that higher neuroticism scores are negatively associated with membership in all groups compared to the Emotional Rollercoaster group. In contrast, extraversion

and agreeableness do not exhibit significant effects on coping profile membership. Higher openness scores are positively associated with membership in the Zen Minimalist and Spock Strategist groups compared to the Emotional Roller group. Furthermore, higher conscientiousness scores are positively associated with membership in the Zen Minimalist, Integrated Problem-Solver, and Spock Strategist groups compared to the Emotional Roller group. Lastly, job characteristics such as job skills and job authority show no significant effects on coping profile membership, except for job demands, which are negatively associated with Spock Strategist membership compared to the Emotional Roller group.

Overall, our findings highlight the importance of considering demographic and personality factors in understanding the coping profiles of entrepreneurs and provide support for H4. Specifically, our analysis suggests that education, the number of children, neuroticism, openness, and conscientiousness play significant roles in shaping coping profile

Table 7 Coping profiles and subjective well-being

	(1) EWB	(2) Life Satisfaction	(3) Positive Affect	(4) Negative Affect	(5) Mental Health	(6) Physical Health
Base = Emotional Roller						
Zen Minimalist	4.141*** (0.564)	0.310*** (0.110)	0.320*** (0.075)	-0.242*** (0.046)	0.322*** (0.097)	0.109 (0.102)
Integrated Problem-Solver	4.934*** (0.694)	0.621*** (0.145)	0.532*** (0.091)	-0.225*** (0.058)	0.316*** (0.122)	0.358*** (0.118)
Spock Strategist	7.538*** (0.585)	0.831*** (0.125)	0.630*** (0.086)	-0.279*** (0.054)	0.546*** (0.107)	0.192 (0.118)
Age	0.164 (0.156)	-0.017 (0.040)	0.011 (0.023)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.020 (0.030)	0.042 (0.027)
Age Squared	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Gender	0.744* (0.438)	0.254** (0.100)	-0.045 (0.060)	0.123*** (0.041)	0.115 (0.084)	-0.010 (0.088)
Married	0.934* (0.536)	0.467*** (0.127)	0.022 (0.073)	-0.065 (0.052)	-0.213** (0.107)	-0.086 (0.110)
Education	0.175** (0.085)	0.031* (0.019)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.043*** (0.016)	-0.056*** (0.017)
Children	-0.136 (0.153)	-0.009 (0.034)	-0.013 (0.019)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.027)	0.042 (0.029)
Log Income	0.121 (0.101)	0.044* (0.026)	0.012 (0.015)	0.001 (0.011)	-0.040** (0.018)	-0.062*** (0.021)
Constant	25.371*** (4.796)	6.234*** (1.170)	2.842*** (0.705)	2.461*** (0.465)	3.623*** (0.897)	2.076** (0.829)
N	602	602	600	600	602	602
Wave Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R2 (within)	0.048	0.053	0.013	0.063	0.052	0.107
R2 (between)	0.335	0.148	0.155	0.143	0.119	0.084
R2 (overall)	0.335	0.156	0.148	0.140	0.124	0.086

Random-effects regressions of subjective well-being and coping profiles of self-employed people based on wave 2 and 3 of the MIDUS survey. Robust errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parenthesis

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

membership. These results emphasize the need to take a comprehensive approach when studying the coping strategies of entrepreneurs and their impact on well-being.

Discussion

Using Latent Profile Analysis, this study identifies four distinct coping profiles among the self-employed: Emotional Rollercoasters (27%), Zen Minimalists (39%), Integrated Problem Solvers (16%), and Spock Strategists (19%). Our findings also suggest that the self-employed are also more likely to belong to more adaptive coping profiles compared to waged workers, even as both groups contain individuals that fit into the distinct coping profiles. Spock Strategists report the highest levels of psychological well-being, while Emotional Rollercoasters exhibit the lowest. Personality traits, education, and job demands help explain why some entrepreneurs belong to certain coping profiles over others.

Implications for Theory

Our study offers several important theoretical implications that contribute to the entrepreneurship literature on coping and well-being. First, our study expands on our existing understanding of coping strategies used by the

self-employed. Prior research has demonstrated that entrepreneurs manage stress by acknowledging its existence, adopting individual coping strategies, and reflecting on their stress experiences and needs (Akanke, 1994; Boyd & Gumpert, 1984). A recent review of the literature (Ahmed et al., 2022) shows that majority of previous studies assume that entrepreneurs solely rely on either emotion-focused or problem-focused coping strategies as they have focused on individual coping strategies in isolation from each other. We provide evidence that the self-employed often adopt a blend of coping strategies, as opposed to a single dominant strategy, to address stress in their work environment (Ahmed et al., 2022). For example, Integrated Problem-Solvers rely on high levels of problem-focused coping and moderately high levels of emotion-focused coping strategies.

Second, the majority of studies in the literature suggest that entrepreneurs use problem-focused strategies more frequently than emotion-focused strategies (e.g., Nikolaev et al., 2022; Schonfeld & Mazzola's, 2015). Our person-centered approach to coping (Collins & Lanza, 2009), however, suggests four distinct coping profiles among the self-employed, which suggest that the majority of self-employed (66%) do not rely predominantly on problem-focused coping strategies (e.g., Emotional Rollercoasters and Zen Minimalist, which composed 66% of our sample, were either neutral or below average on problem-focused coping relative to the

reference group entrepreneurs in our sample). This highlights the importance of recognizing the diversity of individuals who pursue entrepreneurship, and therefore, the unique ways in which they experience, interpret, and respond to entrepreneurial challenges (Gartner, 1988).

Relatedly, we find that self-employed and waged workers in our sample share remarkably similar patterns of coping, and yet our results also show meaningful differences in the distribution of the self-employed coping profiles relative to waged workers. Further, three of the four coping profiles exhibited by waged workers are nearly identical to those exhibited by the self-employed. Based on these findings, we urge scholars to consider avoiding dualistic descriptions of these groups, as they each contain a meaningful number of individuals within each coping profile, and their coping profiles are very similar. In other words, even as the self-employed are different from waged workers on average, these groups are more similar than they are different. Theoretically, this suggests that research comparing the self-employed with waged workers should place greater emphasis on factors that enhance or diminish the differences we can expect to find between these groups.

Third, our study also contributes to the well-being literature in entrepreneurship by exploring the effects of different coping profiles on various measures of psychological well-being among the self-employed (Ahmed et al., 2022; Stephan, 2018; Wiklund et al., 2019). The empirical evidence supports the notion that a balanced use of positive reinterpretation, active coping, planning, venting, denial, and disengagement is optimal for promoting well-being (Eager et al., 2018). As a result, future theoretical inquiry into entrepreneur coping may benefit from considering interactions of coping strategies as opposed to considering them as distinct and unrelated.

Moreover, “despite being a seminal typology, there are alternative theories and typologies to Lazarus and Folkman’s (1984) problem-focused and emotion-focused coping typology that can reveal further mechanisms for dealing with different types of stressors” (Ahmed et al., 2022, p. 514). Our research offers insights into alternative theories and typologies of coping that go beyond the seminal problem-focused and emotion-focused coping typology of Lazarus and Folkman (1984). Specifically, by adopting a person-centric approach and using Latent Profile Analysis (LPA), our study offers a more comprehensive examination of coping patterns among the self-employed, further advancing the current understanding of coping in the entrepreneurship context.

In summary, our study advances the theoretical understanding of coping and well-being in entrepreneurship by introducing a person-centered approach and examining the effects of different coping profiles on well-being outcomes (Ahmed et al., 2022). These contributions pave the way for

future research in this area, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the coping mechanisms used by the self-employed and the implications of these mechanisms on their psychological well-being.

Implications for Practice

Our study has several implications for practice. First, our study can help entrepreneurs and practitioners identify and reflect on their coping profiles and understand how their choice of coping strategies can affect their well-being. By knowing their strengths and weaknesses in coping with stress, entrepreneurs can seek to improve their coping skills and adopt more adaptive combination of coping strategies.

Our study highlights the importance of a balanced coping approach, where entrepreneurs utilize a combination of problem-focused and emotion-focused strategies. For example, our findings suggest that profiles characterized by high levels of active coping, planning, and positive reinterpretation, alongside moderate levels of emotion-focused strategies, are associated with better well-being outcomes. Entrepreneurs can be encouraged to develop a diverse repertoire of coping strategies that incorporates strategies shown to be more strongly associated with the various indicators of well-being.

Thus, our study can also inform the design and delivery of interventions and programs that aim to enhance entrepreneurs’ resilience and well-being. For example, interventions can target specific coping profiles or provide tailored feedback and guidance based on entrepreneurs’ coping preferences and needs. For instance, relying on emotion-focused coping is not necessarily bad if it is also accompanied by active coping, planning and positive reinterpretation.

Finally, our study can also contribute to the development of a more comprehensive and nuanced theory of entrepreneurial stress and coping that account for the diversity and complexity of entrepreneurs’ experiences. By using a person-centric approach, our study can capture the heterogeneity and dynamics of coping processes among entrepreneurs.

Limitations and Future Research

Our study has several limitations. First, our LPA methodology relies on cross-sectional data that identifies profiles at a single point in time. Thus, our study does not capture dynamic changes or transitions in coping profiles over time. However, coping strategies can vary depending on the situation and context, and it is likely that entrepreneurs switch between different coping profiles over time (Ahmed et al., 2022; Singh et al., 2015). For example, it is possible that entrepreneurs’ coping strategies evolve as they gain experience, face different challenges, encounter varying levels of stress, or simply evolve across the lifespan (Heckhausen &

Table 8 Multinomial logistic regressions

Coping Profile	Coef	St. Error	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf Interval]		Sig
Base = Emotional Roller							
Zen Minimalist							
Age	0.056	0.113	0.50	0.619	-0.165	0.277	
Age Squared	-0.001	0.001	-0.74	0.459	-0.003	0.001	
Log Income	-0.081	0.069	-1.17	0.244	-0.217	0.055	
Female	-0.157	0.313	-0.50	0.617	-0.770	0.457	
Married	0.406	0.355	1.14	0.253	-0.291	1.103	
Education	0.128	0.061	2.12	0.034	0.010	0.247	**
Children	0.094	0.097	0.97	0.330	-0.095	0.283	
Neuroticism	-1.063	0.214	-4.98	0.000	-1.481	-0.644	***
Extraversion	0.054	0.275	0.20	0.845	-0.485	0.593	
Openness	0.783	0.341	2.29	0.022	0.114	1.452	**
Conscientious	1.016	0.332	3.06	0.002	0.365	1.668	***
Agreeable	0.236	0.286	0.82	0.410	-0.325	0.797	
Job Skills	0.002	0.085	0.03	0.979	-0.165	0.170	
Job Authority	0.037	0.039	0.95	0.340	-0.039	0.114	
Job Demands	-0.036	0.049	-0.73	0.463	-0.132	0.060	
Wave 3	0.995	0.286	3.48	0.000	0.435	1.556	***
Constant	-6.049	3.376	-1.79	0.073	-12.667	0.568	*
Integrated Problem-Solver							
Age	-0.217	0.144	-1.51	0.131	-0.499	0.065	
Age Squared	0.002	0.001	1.54	0.125	-0.001	0.004	
Log Income	0.066	0.140	0.47	0.636	-0.209	0.342	
Female	-0.048	0.406	-0.12	0.906	-0.843	0.747	
Married	0.242	0.452	0.54	0.593	-0.644	1.127	
Education	0.044	0.072	0.60	0.545	-0.098	0.186	
Children	0.086	0.114	0.76	0.448	-0.137	0.310	
Neuroticism	-0.549	0.288	-1.91	0.057	-1.112	0.015	*
Extraversion	0.533	0.388	1.38	0.169	-0.227	1.293	
Openness	2.285	0.446	5.12	0.000	1.411	3.159	***
Conscientious	1.220	0.438	2.79	0.005	0.362	2.078	***
Agreeable	0.471	0.386	1.22	0.223	-0.286	1.227	
Job Skills	-0.050	0.104	-0.47	0.635	-0.254	0.155	
Job Authority	0.062	0.049	1.26	0.208	-0.034	0.158	
Job Demands	-0.007	0.064	-0.10	0.919	-0.132	0.119	
Wave 3	0.634	0.373	1.70	0.089	-0.096	1.364	*
Constant	-10.147	4.984	-2.04	0.042	-19.914	-0.379	**
Spock Strategist							
Age	-0.171	0.142	-1.21	0.227	-0.449	0.107	
Age Squared	0.001	0.001	0.92	0.359	-0.001	0.004	
Log Income	0.025	0.095	0.26	0.793	-0.162	0.212	
Female	-0.606	0.392	-1.55	0.122	-1.374	0.162	
Married	0.516	0.486	1.06	0.289	-0.438	1.469	
Education	0.178	0.079	2.24	0.025	0.022	0.334	**
Children	0.265	0.113	2.34	0.019	0.043	0.488	**
Neuroticism	-1.232	0.317	-3.88	0.000	-1.854	-0.610	***
Extraversion	0.284	0.376	0.76	0.450	-0.453	1.020	
Openness	2.070	0.434	4.77	0.000	1.219	2.920	***
Conscientious	3.062	0.511	5.99	0.000	2.061	4.064	***
Agreeable	0.309	0.371	0.83	0.405	-0.419	1.037	

Table 8 (continued)

Coping Profile	Coef	St. Error	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf Inter- val]		Sig
Job Skills	0.150	0.115	1.31	0.192	-0.075	0.375	
Job Authority	0.074	0.054	1.36	0.173	-0.032	0.181	
Job Demands	-0.126	0.061	-2.06	0.040	-0.247	-0.006	**
Wave 3	0.567	0.385	1.47	0.141	-0.188	1.322	
Constant	-15.372	4.402	-3.49	0.000	-23.999	-6.745	***
Mean Dependent Var		2.281		SD dependent var	1.050		
Pseudo R-squared		0.218		N	537.000		
Chi-square		186.247		Prob > chi2	0.000		
AIC		1212.179		BIC	1430.765		

Multinomial logistic regression of coping profiles of self-employed people based on wave 2 and 3 of the MIDUS survey. Robust errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parenthesis

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Schulz, 1995; Wrosch et al., 2000). While we provide some preliminary evidence on the factors that contribute to different coping profiles (personality, education, etc.), future studies can also explore the development of coping profiles in different contexts, further assessing how they evolve over time, across the different stages of the venture creation process, and across the lifespan.

Second, our study focused on a specific sample of self-employed from a particular cultural and institutional context. However, self-employed from different cultures or contexts may have different coping preferences, resources, constraints, and outcomes. In that sense, our study does not fully capture the diversity of entrepreneurs or the various contexts in which they operate. For instance, cultural differences, types of entrepreneurship (e.g., social vs for-profit), or differences in business sectors may influence the prevalence and effectiveness of certain coping strategies (Livingston et al., 2022; Luong et al., 2020). Thus, future research can investigate the coping profiles of the self-employed across different cultures, industries, and stages of business development, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence the adoption and effectiveness of various coping strategies. Relatedly, while we use the term self-employed and entrepreneurship interchangeably, some argue that not all self-employed constitute entrepreneurship. Although there is no clearly agreed upon point at which someone transitions from self-employed to entrepreneurship, future research may consider delineating these groups further in respects to coping profiles, their antecedents, and outcomes.

In this respect, another limitation of our study is the reliance on a single dataset, which may raise concerns about the generalizability of our findings. While we have taken steps to address this issue by utilizing two waves of data from the MIDUS study and examining two subsamples (self-employed and waged workers), we acknowledge that our

results may not fully capture the diversity of coping profiles across different populations and contexts. To mitigate this concern, we have estimated our model on the full samples available in both waves, providing evidence for the robustness of our findings within the MIDUS dataset. However, we recognize that future research should aim to replicate our findings using different datasets from various cultural and institutional contexts to further establish the generalizability of the identified coping profiles. Despite this limitation, our study demonstrates the value of the coping-in-combination approach, highlighting the importance of considering the multidimensional nature of coping strategies in the context of entrepreneurship.

Third, our study does not explore the potential mediators or moderators of the relationship between coping profiles and psychological well-being. It is possible that other factors, such as social support, access to resources, or the nature of the challenges faced by entrepreneurs, may influence the effectiveness of coping strategies and their impact on well-being (Ahmed et al., 2022). Future research can examine potential mediators and moderators to better understand the conditions under which specific coping profiles are most beneficial for entrepreneurs' psychological well-being and success.

Finally, our study relies on self-reported measures of coping strategies and psychological well-being, which may be subject to method bias. The use of self-reported measures can introduce social desirability bias, recall bias, or response style bias, potentially influencing the observed relationships between variables and the profiles identified through our LPA. Moreover, self-reported measures may not capture the actual behaviors or experiences of entrepreneurs in stressful situations. Therefore, future research could use more objective or behavioral measures of coping and well-being, including physiological indicators, observational methods, and daily experiencing sampling studies.

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Data Availability This study utilized publicly available data from the Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) study. Specifically, we used data from MIDUS 2 (2004–2006) and MIDUS 3 (2013–2014). The MIDUS datasets are available through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) at the University of Michigan. Researchers can access these data after completing a data use agreement. The datasets can be found at: MIDUS 2: <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR04652.v8> MIDUS 3: <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR36346.v7>.

Declarations

Conflict of interest The authors declare no competing interests.

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