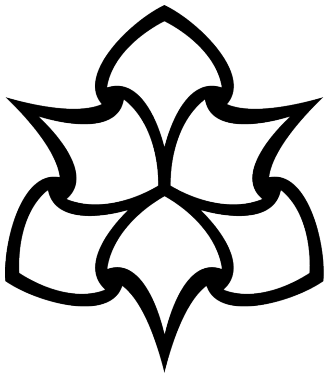

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Title: Young People and Entrepreneurial Cultures in 'Low-Income Communities'

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Abstract
Understanding how to support entrepreneurial cultures is critical for the future of places. Local entrepreneurial cultures are the shared views that determine how people in a place - or location -understand and experience the phenomenon of entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurship literature has often attributed lack of enterprise in certain types of places, particularly 'depleted' or 'low income communities' to an entrepreneurial deficit and distance from enterprise culture. In UK policy, however, enterprise has long been promoted as panacea to deprivation in low-income communities. Little is known about how entrepreneurial cultures develop differently within more and less deprived places. Particularly little is known about how young people's attitudes to enterprise, as one element of those shared views, are affected by place, as they conceptualise it. Yet entrepreneurial responses might still be needed most in the places marginalised from the growth centres. Enterprise initiatives targeting young people as an alternative career route tend to be universal rather than place-based and take-up of enterprise remains low. How far the potential for enterprise within young people's trajectories is influenced by place is unknown. This paper reports the findings of a research project exploring the links between place, enterprise and young people in Bradford and Liverpool, UK. The research combined interpretive, corpus linguistic and discourse analysis to examine how certain place factors affect young adults' attitudes to enterprise in low-income versus more prosperous neighbourhoods. Beyond various age-based commonalities, we found that *where they live* and *deprivation status* each has defined effects on how young adults construct enterprise within their own trajectories and the trajectories of their places. This paper challenges views that attribute simplistic place or person specific factors to an area's propensity for enterprise. We argue for understanding how place-based factors, expressed and shaped by the attitudes of young members of those places, affect the future of entrepreneurial cultures. In this way, the paper bridges thinking on informal, youth and place-based entrepreneurship.

Keywords: entrepreneurial culture, place, young people, corpus linguistics, discourse.

1. Introduction

Place matters to people and communities [1], [2]. Place also matters for entrepreneurship and the relationship has been well researched [3], [4], [5]. Embeddedness theories for example are used to examine the link between entrepreneurial action and local social structures [6], [7], [8] [9]. Cultural embeddedness is used to explain how forces in the local environment define the choices made by actors and entrepreneurs [11]. However, entrepreneurship research has done little to advance atheoretical and *ad hoc* notions of entrepreneurial culture and place [10].

How people articulate attitudes to enterprise is important to understanding place-based entrepreneurial cultures. Entrepreneurial cultures, defined as 'outlooks that shape the actions of actors connected with the entrepreneurial phenomenon' [10: 805], are made up of the shared views that determine how people in a place understand and experience entrepreneurship [10]. It is recognised that the enterprise culture can manifest in places differently and take on meaning for different groups and purposes in society [12]. The mundane practices that sustain different patterns of 'socio-cultural conventions, norms, attitudes, values and beliefs' in different places are less well recognised, even though they could ultimately shape entrepreneurial success [11: 395]. As Spigel notes [10], research needs to examine how culture shapes but is also reciprocally shaped by everyday practices if entrepreneurial actors are not to be seen as cultural dupes.

Little is known about how place affects entrepreneurial cultures differently between more and less prosperous areas. Studies of entrepreneurship in 'low income' or 'depleted' communities establish a lack of fit between certain places and enterprise [4], [13], often depicting entrepreneurial potential as limited because of an entrepreneurial deficit among their residents [9]. While problematizing low income communities in this way has been criticised [14], [15], entrepreneurial responses might still be needed most in the most marginalised places, as the UK concentrates resources on growth cities and city regions [16]. Understanding how shared views develop within more and less deprived places, and affect entrepreneurial cultures differently, is important.

Less still is known about the relationship between enterprise and place as it moulds and is moulded by young people. This link between place, youth and enterprise matters partly because young people are the workforce of the future. Enterprise is understood here broadly as the 'attitudes and skills which when possessed by individuals, lead them to exhibit innovative behaviour including entrepreneurship' [54: 38] through a range of formats including self-employment. Defined thus, enterprise could be a potential fourth option within young people's trajectories, alongside education, employment and training. However young people today are entering their working lives at a precarious point when unemployment, poverty, living standards and work security are worst affecting the young [17]. Engagement in enterprise and self-employment remain low.

The literature offers a number of explanations for entrepreneurial propensity among young people [18], [19], [20], [21]. These provide a partial picture of how age and background affect young people's entrepreneurship but do not tell the whole story. Do young people in low income places reproduce the marginal versions of business that are typical of the places they come from, as some suggest [18]? Or are young people who are growing up in the new economy with its changing opportunities for enterprise [22] better able to transcend the

territorial problems of place? Parkinson [23] found that young interviewees, who were widely known to be resourceful and well networked in the business community, were driven to discursively reject the possibilities of enterprise in their place. Understanding how entrepreneurial attitudes develop in a place, and the inherent barriers that some places erect, is of concern for policy, research and practice.

The exploratory question we ask in this paper is: *How does place affect attitudes to enterprise among young adults in areas labelled as deprived and non-deprived?* Attitudes are one element of entrepreneurial cultures along with other aspects such as norms, values and beliefs [11], [10]. We draw on a UK study conducted in 2014 that examined attitudes to enterprise by comparing the spoken text of young adults aged 18-25 living in both extreme deprived and more prosperous areas within two UK cities, Liverpool and Bradford. The findings suggest a complex interplay between place factors, age factors and attitudes to enterprise.

In the sections that follow, we first review the literature informing our study. We then set out our approach to the research and the methodology in Section 3. Section 4 presents the three stages of analysis undertaken, followed by a discussion of the findings. The conclusion section challenges arguments that attribute an area's propensity for enterprise to narrow place or person specific factors and argues for bridging thinking on place and youth.

2. Place, Entrepreneurship and Young People: A Review of the Literature

Entrepreneurial activity is generally considered important in shaping the success (or failure) of places. Enterprise was seen for a long time as an indicator and driver of economic growth, based on spatial understandings of the enterprise gap between lagging regions [24], [25], [26], [27]. In the UK particularly, enterprise was presented as a panacea to deprivation and inequality, under the 'enterprise for all' agenda [15]. Private enterprise as an escape route out of deprivation, often caused by decline, was a central premise of urban regeneration policy [28] and with it came a perpetual duplication of enterprise policy [29]. As UK policy has moved to a growth centred strategy, cities and city regions have become the drivers of economic growth [16]. Resources and power over enterprise support have become centred increasingly on certain growth places and areas under the Local Enterprise Partnerships. Rhetorically, these 'additions to the enterprise landscape' [22] are expected to reconnect businesses and place.

Place can be simply understood as a 'particular position, point, or area in space; a location'[i]. However places are more than physical spaces. Place is seen as the social location on which community is centred [2], [4]. Place is thus a product of social relations, the site where social life, culture and identity are created and create and therefore malleable and fluid, not fixed or bounded. According to Massey [55] and Hudson [2], places have different mixes of social relationships that make them unique, defined by history, other places and the people. Places can also be understood as reproduced by different groups for different agendas; 'the image of the place as such can be mobilized rhetorically' and 'places as apparently coherent entities can be (re)produced discursively' [2: 268]. In the community literature, too, locality is seen as a 'phenomenological aspect of social life, categorical rather than either scalar or spatial' as opposed to *neighbourhood*, 'situated communities

characterised by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual, and their potential for social reproduction' [56, cited in 57: 3).

Theories of place attachment [1], [2] offer a way of understanding the importance of place for people. Seen as a condition of capitalist production, place attachment increases in areas that are left behind and where people become firmly anchored in situ [2]. From a more social perspective, place attachment refers to the social cultural patterns that are essential to establishing a sense of community [1]. People find security in, and fight threats to, the community or place within which they live. In 'monoindustrial' places such as steel towns or coalmining villages, for example, people can develop placed identities as a means of dealing with economic and social uncertainty [2].

We refer to place as it is defined here rather than community, despite the title of this paper. Community is not only more than locale, the place where culture, identity, place, social relations come together; it is also the product of a collective cultural consciousness and symbolic; '*some*thing is shared among a group of people at a time when we no longer assume *anything* is necessarily shared' [58: 169]. Community can be place-less therefore [57]. Like contributors to Southern [15], we have a particular concern with the structurally based treatment of depleted or deprived communities, as the 'manifestations of uneven development', characterised by stagnation and decline [59: 80]. Depleted communities are often portrayed as failing economic spaces but persistent successful social places [2], [4] and sites of alternative or even new forms of enterprise activity [9]. How places are socially and discursively constructed is important for this research, rather than notions of community or other social categorisations.

By place then we refer to a sense of location as a social entity rather than a simple geographical unit. Place factors of particular interest in this paper are two-fold: place as in *where they live*, however research subjects define it (in this case related geographically to the urban and semi-rural areas around Liverpool and Bradford); and deprivation status, defined by multiple deprivation indices. The two place factors are of interest because they might tell us about how young people's attitudes are influenced by and influence in turn entrepreneurial cultures in those places.

Conditions for and experiences of entrepreneurship of course vary between places [30], [31]. We take a broad, social understanding of entrepreneurship as being about opportunity and value creation but situated in social context [32] and socially constructed [60]. The literature has tried to understand spatial differences in entrepreneurial culture. Mason [25] suggests that entrepreneurial take up is 'historically conditioned and always spatially uneven'. The links between cultural differences and uneven spatial supply of entrepreneurship at local, regional or national levels is well researched. There has been less work on the micro cultures below the regional level, the effect of sub-cultures on enterprise [61] or other variables that could aid understanding of the culture-entrepreneurship link.

Work on entrepreneurial cultures has recently taken steps to link questions of culture and place much more concretely [10]. Attitudes are part of the shared views constituting cultural embeddedness [11], as noted, along with other aspects such as norms, values and beliefs. There has been some empirical work on attitudes to enterprise [34], which suggests that propensity to engage in entrepreneurship is linked to certain attitudes over others, such as a positive attitude to risk and independence over income. Walstad and Kourilsky [35] look at

entrepreneurial attitudes among Black youth. Others examine the role of geography and age on attitudes to entrepreneurship [36]. So far, research has tended to conflate attitudes to enterprise with entrepreneurial intent and overlooked the link between place and entrepreneurial culture.

That link is particularly underexplored in relation to young people. In the literature on young entrepreneurship there is a consensus that entrepreneurship among the young is not reaching full potential [37], even though unemployment has risen and organisational careers have declined [38]. Engagement by young people in entrepreneurship is examined from a number of perspectives. Firstly, young people's lack of time and experience in the labour market is an enduring narrative in the literature. As expected, there are barriers facing young people, including: access to finance and a lack of management experience [39], time pressures and availability of qualified help [40]; and age discrimination by financiers, suppliers and customers [41], [37]. Experience is found to determine propensity to succeed in business [42], [43], [19] and likelihood of having a business idea [44]. For such reasons, the optimum age for start-up is considered to be over 30 [45] and the barriers for less experienced younger adults are prohibitive.

A second longstanding perspective focusses on the influence of background on young entrepreneurs. There is some evidence that people with self-employed parents are more likely to become self-employed themselves [44], [46], [39]. Some suggest that socio-economic status influences young people's potential for entrepreneurial success. Jayawarna et al. [21] find that children from higher socio-economic status families but with lower human capital have more opportunities and are better supported to pursue entrepreneurial outcomes [21]. The implication is that young people from more and less deprived backgrounds, and potentially linked to place, start out with different levels of entrepreneurial propensity.

Attitudes to self-employment in relation to career choices [47] shift the focus from barriers based on experience and background, towards identity. 'Pull' factors of economic opportunity, authority, autonomy, challenge and self-realisation and freedom to be their own boss [48] are identified as driving young people's choices for self-employment over organizational careers. Work on young entrepreneurial identity [49], [37] however establishes some distance from the career influences on attitudes. Lewis [37] finds young people's entrepreneurial identity is less about career and more about personal ethics and authenticity. This identity perspective offers some insights into young people as having agency within a less deterministic perspective.

Finally, an interesting development in the literature on young people focuses on the nature of entrepreneurial activity among young people. There is growing evidence that young people engage in enterprise activity on an informal basis. Contrary to the socio-economic status argument, Hickie [19] discovered that young people engaged in informal enterprise prior to establishing their business benefitted from the human capital developed through their informal ventures. Fletcher et al. [20] find informal entrepreneurial behavior in UK secondary schools as an expression of counter-school resistance to regulation. Chavdarova [50] looks at young informally self-employed people in Bulgaria, to examine how informal self-employment is socially legitimate, often supported through friends networks. The suggestion is that social capital is more influential on young people's engagement with enterprise than

economic factors. This body of work offers a fresh perspective on young attitudes to enterprise as less structured.

These explanations generally treat young people as homogeneous and none considers place explicitly. Yet, as inequalities widen [51], structural changes affecting labour market, housing markets and financial markets may anchor young people in situ longer. It is well known that the young are currently bearing the brunt of the economic and social inequalities in the UK [17], with a large rise in the proportion of adults under 25 in poverty, manifested in the largest drop in earnings among younger workers and largest fall in living standards. Young people are also particularly susceptible to changes in the labour market, experiencing a huge rise in non-secure work. This contests the idea that employment is an exit from poverty [17] and presents a very precarious picture for young people entering their working lives.

The rhetorical response is on helping young people into economic activity and creating their own job [22]. The new economy, when it is 'easier than it ever has been to start a business, quicker than it has ever been to grow' [22], is expected to offer changing opportunities for enterprise to young people in particular. Furthermore, a continued educational shift is on the policy agenda with the 'Enterprise for all ages and stages' agenda set to encourage more integrated youth enterprise in schools and colleges. Generally, however, the policy environment for young people places greater emphasis on jobs and work opportunities, with little reference to entrepreneurship or self-employment beyond the rhetoric.

Our review therefore reveals a critical gap in the literature and policy discourses. The youth enterprise drive is essentially 'place-less' and economic development mainly 'youth-less'. These discussions led us to formulate our precise research question for this study: How d*oes place affect attitudes to enterprise among young adults in areas labelled as deprived and non-deprived?* By capturing the attitudes of young people at a given point in time and place, we can better understand how the future of place-based entrepreneurial cultures can be supported.

3. Approach to the Research and Methodology

By capturing the voice of young adults at different ends of the deprivation spectrum, the study considered the influence of different factors on attitudes to enterprise in different settings. The research was designed to capture the voices of a range of individuals aged 18-25 years from more and less deprived areas in two broadly comparable cities in the north of England, Liverpool and Bradford. The aim was to identify any variance in attitudes to enterprise between places and deprivation status, using individual interviews and a corpus database. We adopted a mixed methodology combining interpretive, corpus linguistic and discourse analysis, using a comparison tool called Wmatrix [52]. We purposefully used an open interview structure and avoided imposing any definition of enterprise, entrepreneurship, business or self-employment so that this could emerge from the young people's own understanding. Letting definitions or associations emerge was critical as we wanted to see which possibilities the young interviewees drew on in relation to enterprise, as well as associations with place or places.

Setting out the context for the study should be more than a simple characterisation of the places as often assumed [9]. However, as a background to the selection of the places from which our interviewees were drawn, we describe the places broadly. Bradford is a large metropolitan district covering the City of Bradford, a small number of semi-rural towns and many villages. It is equidistant from the east and west coasts of northern England. Bradford is a city full of rich contrasts, with a strong industrial heritage but its current image is blighted by multiple deprivation. Bradford has one of the youngest populations of all major cities in Britain. Youth unemployment is higher than the national average and growing. Bradford is thus an interesting site for examining how young people might influence the future of entrepreneurial cultures as it relates to deprived areas.

Liverpool also suffers from multiple deprivation but its external image is more positive than Bradford's, represented by its image as a 'pulsating arts, music and cultural capital'. It is a slightly larger city but with a smaller rural hinterland. During the past decade or so the City of Liverpool has undergone regeneration attracting prestigious initiatives, such as the European Capital of Culture. The Liverpool city-region continues to exhibit characteristics of deprivation that are amongst the most problematic in the UK and districts within the city-region have the lowest levels of new business start-ups in England. Liverpool includes prosperous, deprived, enterprising and non-enterprising areas that provide rich contrasts for examining how images of place influence the future of entrepreneurial cultures.

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 40 respondents (see Table 1). Interviews were with individuals or small groups, determined simply by the interviewees' preference and comfort. As the data were not going to be analysed in a corpus rather than individually attributed, this would not affect the analysis or findings. Interviews usually lasted from 45 and 60 minutes, were recorded and transcribed. The interviews were largely unstructured but drew on six broad interview prompts used at the discretion of the researchers. Interviewees were all aged 18-25 (20 in Bradford District and 20 in Liverpool and outlying areas). They were recruited through a combination of local organisations and personal networks and using snowballing techniques. Local organisations we have ongoing links with, including city councils, social enterprises working with young people and enterprise support organisations, helped identify some participants. Potential participants were filtered by postcode using the Open Data Communities mapper to select individuals living in the 20% most deprived and 40% least deprived Lower Super Output Areas, according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2010. Reflecting our earlier distinction between a focus on *place* and *community*, the interviewees are in no way representative of any specific community, other than living in the more or less 'low income communities' of Bradford or Liverpool areas. Filtering by individual postcodes rather than selecting deprived wards means that individuals could come from quite separate neighbourhoods; whether they consider themselves members any community might fall out of the data but our interest is in place-based factors of where they live and deprivation status by postcode. Theoretical sampling was employed so the interviewees provided variation in gender, age and those with a known interest in enterprise and no known interest. Ethnicity was not considered important for the purposes of this research; participants are broadly reflective of the demographics of the areas studied.

Table 1: list of research participants

Bradford Interviewees: *Liverpool interviewees:*

Name	Gender	Age	Main occupation/enterprise	Name	Gender	Age	Main occupation/enterprise
Deprived				**Deprived**			
Flo	F	24	beauty treatments	Mia	F	26	Beautician
Anil	M	19	Paper crafts	Declan	M	24	Computers
James	M	20	window cleaning	Dan	M	20	Promotions
Kiran	M	20	Student	Anne-Marie	F	21	Health
Rahul	M	20	employed	Freya	F	20	Apprentice
Ajay	M	21	student	Sophy	F	25	make-up artist
Robert	M	20	drama workshops	Josh	M	22	window cleaner
Kira	F	21	student	Milly	F	20	Photography
Sara	F	21	student	Will	M	22	Tyres
Aneeta	F	21	student	Alfie	M	18	Student
Non-deprived				**Non-deprived**			
Safiya	F	24	trainee solicitor	Mike	M	24	student
Maya	F	24	freelance tutor	Lauren	F	22	student
Charlotte	F	23	trainee	Max	M	20	magician
Jayne	F	23	employed	Adam	M	22	student
Rashid	M	21	employed	Sue	F	21	student
Ben	M	21	employed	Sarah	F	21	full time mum
Liam	M	18	student	George	M	18	student
Beth	F	24	riding school	Claire	F	18	student
Jayden	M	24	employed	James	M	23	student
Anna	F	22	self-employed hair & beauty	Tom	M	23	musician

Analysis of the 40 transcripts involved a three stage approach: interpretive analysis capturing inter-rater reliability; corpus linguistics analysis using Wmatrix [52] and discourse analysis on excerpts of the data. The Wmatrix software 'allows the macroscopic analysis (the study of the characteristics of whole texts or varieties of language) to inform the microscopic level (focusing on the use of a particular linguistic feature) as to which linguistic features should be investigated further' [52] and is based on corpus linguistics. Words and concepts are analysed in terms of degree of difference (log likelihood) to test whether frequently occurring words or concepts appear significantly more (or less) frequently in the young adults' texts. Log-likelihood value (LL) appears next to the domain name in a list and has a plus or minus symbol before to indicate overuse or underuse between two corpora. Similar methods have been used in entrepreneurship research [53].

4. Analysis

The interpretive analysis suggested that overall there are more commonalities between the young adults' accounts than expected. Themes common across the transcripts were: young people have strong connections to place; existing engagement with enterprise and informal activity is prevalent; financial and employment stability are dominant concerns; enterprise is perceived to have a transient role; personal, familial or other life-changing stories are formative; and there is an overall sense of open-mindedness. Early indications were then that age may exert more influence on these young adults' attitudes to their own future, and any potential role for enterprise, than where they live or their background.

Comparing all young people's spoken text to the British National Corpus (Spoken) (BNCS) using the Wmatrix corpus tool confirmed the topics the interviewees draw on relative to the spoken norm. As expected given our interview topic, semantic concepts relating to geographical names (+1063), business (+2029) work/employment (+1085), family (+787) and education (+1495) all appear in the top ten most frequent concepts and have a high log likelihood value (+786 to +2029).The concepts are shown below in the semantic tag cloud in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Key Semantic Tag Cloud

Taken in aggregate, the semantic priorities of the young adults in their spoken text therefore reflected the findings of the interpretive stage. When we separated out the Liverpool and Bradford data at the interpretive stage, however, some differences emerged around: young adults' geographies and mobility; relevance of place for enterprise; influence of enterprise background; and enterprise as relevant to their own trajectories. These differences suggest that strong connection with specific localities is a factor in defining attitudes to enterprise differently after all.

Returning to the Wmatrix to compare sub-sets of the corpus allowed these differences to be examined in more detail. This stage of the corpus linguistic analysis entailed moving from age as the 'variable' to focus instead on *engagement with enterprise*, *where they live* or *deprivation status*.

4.1 Where They Live. Table 2 shows the overused concepts in Bradford as being, *Geographical_names, Helping* and *Strong_obligation_or_necessity*. Conversely, in the Liverpool data temporal domains are overused compared to the rest of the corpus. *Time:_Past, Time:_Old;_grown-up* and to an extent *Time:_Old,_new _and_young:_age*, combined might indicate a stronger historical attachment to place, with concordances around 'old', 'grew up', 'used to', 'history', 'background', 'last year', 'ages'.

Table 2: Key semantic domain frequencies (Where they live)

Bradford		Liverpool	
74.87	Geographical names	76.37	Personal names
52.62	Helping	68.03	Knowledgeable
43.08	Strong obligation or necessity	61.31	Pronouns
42.38	Open; Finding;Showing	25.28	Evaluation: Good

4.2 Deprivation Status. The data from the more deprived areas show an overuse of business concepts (*Business:_Selling* and *Business:- Generally*), also *Knowledgeable*, *Helping* ('supportive', 'encouraging', and welfare 'benefits'), *People generally* (as opposed to the *Kin* concept) and *People:_Female*, including, 'she', 'she's' , 'woman', 'women', and family members, 'sister', 'nan'. Meanwhile, the non-deprived data reveal few significant differences to the whole database, as seen in table 3.

Table 3: Key semantic domain frequencies (Deprivation)

Deprived		**Non-Deprived**	
40.71	Business: Selling	10.59	Generally kinds,groups,examples
27.71	Knowledgeable	8.62	Interested/excited/energetic
25.21	Business: Generally	8.06	Politics
24.91	People		

4.3 Engagement in Enterprise. Young people with reported *low engagement in enterprise* appear to have a different relationship to place than those with a *high engagement*. *Geographical names* and *Places* are significantly overused among the low engagement group. This is strengthened by a significant overuse of terms in the *Belonging to a group, Residence, Kin* and *Personal_relationship:_General* domains. This could indicate a stronger degree of attachment (to place and contacts) than those with a higher interest in enterprise.

Table 4: Key semantic domain frequencies (Engagement in enterprise)

High engagement		Low engagement	
38.78	General actions/making	115.94	Geographical names
28.68	Pronouns	32.30	Belonging to a group
27.47	Knowledgeable	28.81	Places
18.40	Business: Selling	27.85	Interested/excited/energetic

So far these findings support the interpretive assessment, that different attachments to location and place-based deprivation status might influence attitudes to some extent. Finally,

we analysed discursive constructions in the interviews, using a basic approach to text based discourse analysis.

This stage entailed another analytical shift, from the three variables above, to foreground *place*. Analysis was undertaken on the data based on four place-based categories: deprived Liverpool, non-deprived Liverpool, deprived Bradford and non-deprived Bradford.

Points of discursive difference were identified, as shown in Table 5, around four attitudinal elements, categorised as: attitudes to enterprise generally; attitudes to enterprise as being relevant to their place; attitudes to enterprise as relevant to them in terms of their own past, present or future trajectories; and attitudes legitimising certain types of enterprise activity. On two of these attitudinal elements, *deprivation* is more likely to shape the discursive difference; *where they live* appears to influence the construction of the other two elements of attitudes.

A summary of how the discursive differences manifest in the text of the young interviewees is given in table 5. Examples of the data analysis are provided in the following sub-section, to illustrate the range of voices occupying these discursive patterns. Quotations are not individually attributed but, appropriately to the corpus methodology, are attributed to each of the four place-based categories above.