

Entrepreneurship as a matter of place?

A multiple case study investigation in

East Anglia

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Abstract

Entrepreneurial activities are strongly influenced by the context in which they occur. It is therefore important to understand the differentiated ways in which entrepreneurs engage with context to better understand the mechanisms behind both intended and unintended entrepreneurial outcomes. Whilst there have long been calls to increase research regarding the influence of context in micro-level entrepreneurial processes, to date research has seen few significant advances. This research attempts to address the gap through answering the research question – what is the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place? In doing so, the thesis develops context-sensitive theorising from the findings of a qualitative multiple case study approach comprising of Cambridge, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich and Norwich within East Anglia, England. Analysing entrepreneurial engagement with place in-depth in this manner has revealed that the core contribution of this study is threefold: 1) it has developed and theorised seven novel mechanisms of attachment to place and conceptually advanced three existing others; 2) the development of a temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs demonstrates the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place through entrepreneurs variously immersing themselves within social conditions and relationships to support varying temporal orientations and agentic dimensions; 3) such orientations and dimensions can serve to influence spatial outcomes, reconceptualising place through entrepreneurial agency captured within a tripartite contestation. These core contributions provide unique insights into specifically how the dynamic interplay of enterprise, place and temporality works within the four case studies in the East of England. Such insights subsequently enable a more integrated and nuanced context-mechanism-outcome framework for researching everyday entrepreneurship in different contexts facilitating a newfound appreciation for the relationship between entrepreneurship and place; viewing it as an ongoing trajectory between the temporal and the spatial constituted through a series of iterative feedback loops.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the research

This thesis presents the findings from research undertaken across four case studies in East Anglia, UK (Cambridge, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich, Norwich) comprising of twenty ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ (Welter et al. 2017) from each case. This is in response to the numerous, ongoing calls for research to broaden the understanding of contextualised entrepreneurship (Hodges and Link 2019; Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2019; Welter and Baker 2020; Zahra 2007) and thus provide insights into when, how and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved (Parkinson et al. 2017; Wright and Stigliani 2013). Appreciating the material alongside wider social circumstances and practices of context(s) in this manner helps to understand how the dynamic, local environment is built and perceived, thereby allowing research to see entrepreneurs as being actively involved in its construction rather than being constrained or enabled by its presence (Bika and Frazer 2020; Welter and Baker 2020).

This thesis therefore seeks to provide evidence of the lived experiences and micro-level contextual processes of ‘everyday entrepreneurs’, how these may be situated within and influenced by the wider sociohistorical and cultural fabric of place, paying particular attention to the multiplicity of *when* and *where* contexts. The analysis of such empirical evidence will act as a means of exploring, building and developing new theory that incorporates and validates the views and experiences of the entrepreneurs, their engagement with context and what this may mean for both enterprise and place. The increased focus on the dynamic interplay of enterprise, place and temporality will serve to greatly enrich the theorising of contexts in entrepreneurship (Welter et al. 2019; Zahra and Wright 2011) as it provides a detailed insight

into considering more and different facets of the lived reality of ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ alongside their aspirations and efforts to create change in the world.

1.2 Importance of the research

The entrepreneurial process is strongly influenced by the immediate context(s) in which it takes place (Anderson 2000a; Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011). Hence, the social, institutional, economic, and spatial contexts frame entrepreneurial activities and shape the content and outcomes of such activities (Zahra et al. 2014). Accordingly, since the mid-2000s, context has emerged as an important stream of research within entrepreneurship with the aim of exploring the mechanisms through which the characteristics of different contexts can influence entrepreneurial processes and outcomes. Whilst entrepreneurship literature was initially slow to contextualise research, the field has come a long way in more recent years (Welter et al. 2019). Entrepreneurship scholars have begun to embrace the notion of place and the experiential dimensions of spatial context (Kibler et al. 2015; Müller and Korsgaard 2018). This has seen an increase of research into spatial contexts and the interactions between the social and the institutional (Korsgaard et al. 2015a; Lang et al. 2014; Wang 2013). Such a movement can give light to how entrepreneurs engage with place, how such engagement gives access to local resources and networks, as well as how the spatial dimension can be extended beyond physical locations to communities and neighbourhoods which are supportive of entrepreneurial ventures that bring benefits to the local area (Anderson 2000a; Dahl and Sorenson 2012; Gill and Larson 2014; Jack and Anderson 2002; Johnstone and Lionais 2004; McKeever et al. 2015; Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Peredo and Chrisman 2017). In previous years this type of broader scholarly work may have struggled to gain traction as the academic focus was placed on attitude-intentions-behaviour research (Brännback and Carsrud 2018), yet a more contemporary comprehensive contextualised approach has managed to gain more

importance as a “missing piece of the entrepreneurship jigsaw puzzle” (Welter et al. 2015, 292).

To contextualise entrepreneurship research in this manner is to improve the quality of research itself (Patriotta and Siegel 2019). It is important for understanding when, how and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved, whilst not following the repeated assumption that all entrepreneurs and their ventures are alike (Aldrich 2009; Welter 2011). It can therefore allow research to fully immerse itself within the phenomenon, become engrossed with it and address issues which are relevant, produce findings that are well-grounded, and enable bounded propositions rather than mere associations (Zahra et al. 2014). It can capture the richness of the empirical world, offering researchers the opportunity to develop knowledge by becoming more inclusive as well as expansive about what is considered important within the academic field (Audretsch et al. 2015). An increase in contextual entrepreneurship research from a qualitative perspective allows for rich, diverse and holistic contextual knowledge to be gained (Bamberger 2008), enabling a broader and non-discriminatory insight into entrepreneurs and their actions which will, in turn, lead to better theory and insights relevant to the phenomenon (Welter et al. 2017); thus concurring with Zahra’s (2007, 451-452) well-known call for “understanding the nature, richness and dynamics” between context and entrepreneurship to offer “fresh insights into things we know and those we should know”.

However, despite the field’s recent progress, research is still yet to capture the richness of entrepreneurship as a commonplace social phenomenon (Welter et al. 2019). Arguably, this is because much of the research regarding entrepreneurship and place tends to focus on macro-level outcomes, valorising wealth creation and subsequently treating context as simply an economic resource. Not only does this fail to capture the complexity of context but it also looks beyond the unique characteristics of place thus taking for granted the specific mechanisms of entrepreneurial engagement (McKeever et al. 2015; Müller and Korsgaard 2018) and serving

to produce rigid, binary-like notions of contextual concepts such as attachment and embeddedness which lack detail of how and why embedded social values relate and integrate with enterprise (Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019). Such an oversight leaves the relationship between entrepreneurship and place as seemingly mysterious with most entrepreneurs discovering their location by chance (Berg 2014), raising notable implications for research evoking questions of what it is to fit in or to feel marginalised. Should entrepreneurs stick to their places of birth surrounded by the people and the industries they know? Would this mean that migrating and non-local entrepreneurs with less local social capital will experience more barriers within place than ‘locals’? Such questions remain unanswered, as most contemporary research has avoided the idea of ‘multiple causality’ and context-sensitive theorising (Welch et al. 2011).

To move the field forward studies must recognise the antecedents to entrepreneurship (Patriotta and Siegel 2019) alongside appreciating the multitude of social outcomes within place, the many causal means of achieving them and the far-reaching implications these may have to the entrepreneurial process. Indeed, to progress research towards the conceptual notion of place via spatial context in this manner implies that entrepreneurship occurs and varies significantly as a matter of place (or vice-versa), with the meaning and effects of entrepreneurship alternating contextually, therefore requiring multi-level thinking and analysis (Zahra et al. 2014). In this fashion, contextual entrepreneurship research must focus on the multidirectional importance, influence and impact that environmental conditions (i.e., context[s]) have on entrepreneurial activity. Placing the emphasis on micro-level entrepreneurial processes (and how they are managed) whilst they are embedded within the spatial context in which they occur can therefore help explain the nature of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place. Embracing the need for a larger emphasis on the contextual factors within the entrepreneurship process recognises the importance of localised

opportunities for entrepreneurs and allows entrepreneurship research to address social challenges pertaining to particular places (Baker and Powell 2016; Baker and Welter 2017; Rindova et al. 2009; Welter and Baker 2020). Asking questions about entrepreneurship and place may not only offer insights and clues into inequality, social mobility and the attempted revival of depleted communities, but also how the power dynamic between the ‘many’ and the ‘few’ can vary across and between different entrepreneurs and contexts alongside what the impact of this may be to both the entrepreneurship process and place itself (Welter and Baker 2020).

An opportunity thus emerges to explore and address such issues through context-sensitive theorising based upon the individual micro-level contextual processes of entrepreneurs, enabling a better understanding of the differentiated nature of their engagement and subsequently reflecting a much broader notion of contextualised entrepreneurship. This study therefore asks and explores the research question – what is the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place? It should be noted here that ‘place’ is embraced not only as a specific spot in geographical terms that has a material form (resources attached) but also as something flexible that is interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined – holding different meanings to different people, cultures and temporalities (Gieryn 2000). Understanding how entrepreneurs contingently engage with their spatio-temporal contextual environment in this manner can thus delve deeper into the *how* and *why* of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place (Parkinson et al. 2017; Wright and Stigliani 2013). This thesis thereby explicitly considers the richness of contextualising entrepreneurship research, allowing context to become part of the story along with how it may be contingently intertwined on multiple levels within enterprising individuals (Griffin 2007). This aligns with the idea that entrepreneurs ‘do contexts’ (Baker and Welter 2020) – they are active in their enactment and construction rather than being passive and subject to them (Bika and Frazer 2020). This

approach therefore serves to not only enhance the understanding of entrepreneurship and its potential at the local level, but also to emphasise the importance of the phenomenon for contexts, economies and societies, as well as highlighting how often this point is overlooked by scholars (Calás et al. 2009; Welter et al. 2017; Zahra and Wright 2016; Welter et al. 2019).

1.3 Methodological overview of the research

The research makes use of a qualitative, multiple case study approach to accommodate the broadness of the research question and allow for entrepreneurs to be investigated in a ‘real-life’ dynamic and holistic setting. The four cases (Cambridge, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich and Norwich) are spatially proximate, structurally different and culturally interlinked thus allowing for a thorough understanding of the contextualised entrepreneurship phenomenon to be gained within a somewhat isolated, yet distinct and defined geographical context – East Anglia (Polèse and Stren 2000). The multiple case study approach offers the ideal method to examine differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with place as the cases have varying degrees of prosperity meaning “capitalistic relations are less robust, [and] the entrepreneurial process can, and from time to time does, adapt and follow a different approach” (Johnstone 2013, 2). As such, the varying nature of these places provides compelling, yet contrasting economic and social structures to help explore and answer the research question.

To gain access to entrepreneurs, purposive sampling was employed using local authorities’ datasets for local non-domestic (business) rates. Twenty randomly selected independent entrepreneurs from each case underwent in-depth interviews, ensuring that the variety of local voices were heard by using sectoral quota and that the sample was large enough to produce themes.

An inductive approach was used to analyse the participants’ lived realities of the context stemming from their in-depth interviews. This allowed the data to be broken down, conceptualised, and rebuilt in new ways, providing the opportunity for entrepreneurs’

relationships and feelings to be contextualised and context-sensitive theorising to emerge (Charmaz 2014). This primary material was complemented and triangulated with local media and internet sources that discussed critical events purposefully chosen based upon their impact and prevalence within multiple entrepreneurs' stories. This approach explores how individual micro-level processes are closely tied to issues of history, culture and power within a context (Bakhtin 1984; Foucault 1983) otherwise known as the big 'D' discourse (Cooren, 2015; Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). This enabled the research to elongate the time perspective and single out the temporally variable time-bound origins, cultural assumptions, and core ideas of place and what it is comprised of (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019), thus providing a firmer basis for drawing contextualised explanations (Welch et al. 2011). Forming interpretations from the situational and sociohistorical context in this manner allowed the research to dig deeper into the data and provide a much more nuanced understanding of the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place.

1.4 Thesis structure

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 – Literature Review provides a wide-ranging account of the literature beginning with the theoretical background and development of both entrepreneurship and place, paying particular attention to the key debates which have emerged from each field. Next, the chapter reviews the importance of contextualising entrepreneurship and how the literature's preoccupations may have led to considerable oversights and therefore a myopic view of the nature of the phenomenon. The review then considers entrepreneurial attachment to place covering key concepts such as embeddedness, bridging, belonging and communities before reaching its conclusion.

Chapter 3 – Methodology details a comprehensive account of the qualitative approach employed. First, the research design is described giving an overview of the epistemological

and ontological position and how this is situated at the core of the research. The multiple case study approach is then discussed in depth alongside the background of each case, its history, its current form and how it is situated within East Anglia. The sampling process will then be detailed including how enterprising individuals were accessed and how each case's sample of entrepreneurs is comprised. The chapter then continues with information regarding the data collection process, how the in-depth interviews were conducted, ethical considerations and approval as well as how primary material was complemented and triangulated with local media and internet secondary sources. Finally, the chapter clarifies the progress of analysis from the actual words and statements of interviewees (informant-centric) to the (researcher-centric) 2nd order themes and aggregate theoretical dimensions.

Chapter 4 – Findings outlines the findings of the individual voices of the entrepreneurs, their engagement with context, subsequent methods of attachment to place and how these related to three varying temporal orientations: place as it was, place as it is, and place as it could be. Analysing these findings alongside the critical events which emerged out of the entrepreneurs' interviews situates and substantiates them within the wider big 'D' sociohistorical context, providing an insight into how entrepreneurial actions are impacted by and impact upon the temporally variable social manifestations of place.

Chapter 5 – Discussion and Conclusions provides a detailed consideration of the core contribution of this study which is threefold: First, the conceptualisation and contribution of each mechanism of entrepreneurial attachment shall be theorised, together with how these support varying temporal orientations and agentic dimensions and how each of these may individually provide insights for both theory and policy. Second, the development and discussion of the temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs demonstrates there are multiple, differentiated ways in which entrepreneurs engage with place. Third, the chapter then explores how the differing

agentic dimensions can progress a reconceptualisation of place through a tripartite contestation. Overall implications for policy and theory shall then follow before discussing theoretical and methodological contributions. Finally, limitations and directions for future research shall be considered before concluding the thesis.

1.5 Summary of research question and aims

Ultimately, this research seeks to explore the question – what is the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place? Analysing in depth the rich, detailed personal accounts of the lived realities that entrepreneurs assign to place gives the participants a voice to represent their micro-level processes and a means to delve deeper into the research question. Situating and substantiating these within the wider big ‘D’ sociohistorical and cultural fabric of place means that this study aims to produce a nuanced, integrated context-mechanism-outcome framework which can allow academics and policymakers alike to better understand the causes-of-effects explanations and motivations behind everyday entrepreneurs’ activities and engagement with context, thus gaining a broader understanding of the contextualised entrepreneurship phenomenon, what this means for entrepreneurs, their ventures, and for place itself.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

In the previous chapter the scene was set regarding the research problem this thesis attempts to address, the subsequent research question proposed to stimulate the intellectual discovery and an overview of the methodological approach employed. To begin to seek answers to the exploratory research question, this chapter aims to delve into the state of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place by reviewing the respective, relevant and related literatures. The review's narrative focus will help to structure the remainder of this study, ensuring a rational thread runs throughout this chapter and the remainder of the research (Collins 2014). Reviewing the extant literature in this manner means gaps can be revealed and problematised by analysing not only how place may variably affect the entrepreneurial process, but also how the actions and intentions of entrepreneurs can construct, develop and alter the meanings and values of place, offering insights into how the entrepreneurial process itself may also vary within the same spatial context as a result of different methods of entrepreneurial engagement with, and attachment to, place.

To suit the narrative flow of the chapter, grounded definitions and key proponents from the separate bodies of literature will first be reviewed followed by the importance of contextualising entrepreneurship and how it can link with place. The review shall then cover temporality and how alternative notions of time may be relevant to analysing the relationship between entrepreneurship and place. Entrepreneurial attachment to place shall then be examined alongside what this can mean for a place's reputation (competitive identity) before the concept of embeddedness and methods of attachment to place are reviewed. The concept of belonging is then considered together with how it can invoke feelings of 'home' as well as links to communities. The chapter will then conclude with the gaps and limitations of the

literature before proposing a rational thread and direction for the how the research will progress.

2.1 Theoretical background: gaining a solid grounding

2.1.1 Entrepreneurship: a brief history

The word 'entrepreneur' has been derived by researchers as originating from the French *entreprendre* and the German *unternehmen*, both of which mean literally "to undertake" a challenging task (Peredo and McLean 2006). The historical and ground-breaking roots of the concept of entrepreneurship can be traced back to the 18th century with Cantillon's (1931) seminal publication of his theorising of enterprise as a function of the wider economy. He stressed the function, not the personality of the entrepreneur so that it embraced many different occupations and cut across production, distribution, and exchange, revealing the entrepreneur as a central economic actor. Cantillon's conception of the entrepreneur cemented his place as one of the "founding fathers" (Ahl 2006, 599) of entrepreneurship, forming an important starting point of the concept. Nevertheless, Cantillon's notion of entrepreneurship was not complete in itself; whilst his view did not prevail, it opened the floodgates of theory development required to accommodate the broad, multifaceted concept of today (Rocha 2012; Van Praag 1999).

Schumpeter (1934) further advanced the development of entrepreneurship in the 20th century, describing entrepreneurs as the innovators who drive the creative-destruction process which is considered a defining element of capitalism. Schumpeter (1975) claimed that the function of entrepreneurship is to reform or revolutionise patterns of production through exploiting inventions or through technological advancements in producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way. According to Schumpeter, "the carrying out of new combinations we call 'enterprise'; the individual whose function it is to carry them out we call

'entrepreneurs'" (1934, 74). Ultimately, the simplicity of Schumpeter's theorising enabled a powerful influence on the theoretical development of entrepreneurship helping to legitimise the field within academic research (Hébert and Link 1989).

Theorising of entrepreneurship now looks beyond the concept as a purely economic function as it left little room for individual differences (Van Praag 1996). Whilst the different historical views of economists offer a broad perspective on the concept of entrepreneurship as well as its connections with economic growth, ultimately, entrepreneurship has to do with individuals, both with their traits and their actions (Wennekers and Thurik 1999). Van Praag (1996) argues the main oversight of economics-based theories are that they underplay social phenomena. Economics-based entrepreneurial theorising "is essentially an instrument of optimality analysis of well-defined problems which need no entrepreneur for their solution" (Van Praag 1996, 17). Nevertheless, some of the key theories of entrepreneurship have emerged from early economics-based entrepreneurial thinking which include the entrepreneur to: be an essential aspect of capitalism (Marshall 1961), be creative and innovative (Schumpeter 1934; Sweezy 1943) and to cope with risks and uncertainty (Knight 1921). However, whilst the economics-based theories continue to retain their position as 'foundational texts' which help shape the research field (Ahl 2006), they tend to neglect the context specificity of entrepreneurship, thus overlooking the concept's unpredictability within everyday 'real-life' situations (Foss et al. 2019; Steyaert and Katz 2004; Welter et al. 2017).

A subsequent move towards considering more psychological, sociological and behavioural issues has meant that the subject's theoretical foundations have immensely advanced throughout the late 20th century (Gartner 2001). Whilst this advancement allowed the complex nature of entrepreneurship to be exposed and theorised as a process, demonstrating its complicated, multidimensional nature (Cope 2011), many entrepreneurship definitions followed creating dissension amongst the ranks of academics. A lack of consensus regarding

the definition of entrepreneurship gave rise to many opinions in line with the concept's multifaceted nature as scholars' roots often originated in distinctly different disciplinary areas (Brush et al. 2008). The absence of clarity and rise of academic attention showed a greater appreciation towards the behavioural perspective of entrepreneurs, leading contemporary entrepreneurship theorising to produce the two key opposing schools of thought: whether individuals 'discover' or 'create' their opportunities (Ramoglou and Tsang 2016).

The foundation of the 'discovery approach' views entrepreneurship as "the discovery and exploitation of profitable opportunities" (Shane and Venkatamaran 2000, 217), requiring the possibility of entrepreneurial profit to be dependent on the pre-existence of opportunities waiting to be discovered (Casson 1982). Whilst Shane and Venkatamaran's (2000) seminal work deemed this the sturdiest foundation to legitimise entrepreneurship and drive the field forward, there is increasing disillusionment with this approach. There is a distinct dissatisfaction with the idea that opportunities exist 'out there' in ways visible to potential entrepreneurs "like dollar bills blowing around on the sidewalk" (Alvarez et al. 2014; Casson and Wadeson 2007, 285). There are a number of factors which have led to a growing contingent dismissing the idea that entrepreneurs discover opportunities which pre-exist independently of them as empirically undiscovered entities (Ramoglou and Tsang 2016). Firstly, this portrays entrepreneurs as having "superior cognitive abilities" yet offers no real explanation as to why only these individuals are able to see and/or respond to opportunities (Arin et al. 2015; Roscoe et al. 2013; Shane 2003, 45). Treating entrepreneurs in this manner refuels the contentious 'born versus made' debate which gives rise to research concerning the genetic makeup of enterprising individuals attempting to discern how they are different and determine the 'entrepreneurial personality' (Gartner 1985; Shane and Nicolaou 2013). Nowadays academic attention has moved beyond this line of thinking with many researchers believing that this debate is unimportant (Gartner and Carter 2003) or even a dead end (Aldrich and Wiedenmeyer

1993). Secondly, this approach assumes that opportunities simply exist without offering any clarity as to what this means epistemologically or ontologically, putting forth the supposition that entrepreneurs are of the select few allowed to foresee opportunities in an otherwise uncertain world (Görling and Rehn 2008; McMullen and Shepherd 2006). Thirdly, this school of thought completely neglects the importance of the entrepreneurial agent and their actions, instead choosing to embrace opportunity as static, treating it as “a deterministic and overly structural concept” (McMullen 2015, 663)

These limitations of treating opportunities as awaiting discovery can have distinct conceptual implications for research. Assuming that opportunities exist ‘out there’ does not allow a meaningful conceptualisation of the entrepreneurial process and how it can be impacted upon by temporal, spatial and other uncertain aspects (McMullen and Dimov 2013). An oversight of the importance of the temporal is commonplace within the field (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013; Wadhvani 2016) and essential for aligning with the discovery approach. The concept of time-in-the-future is one that is not merely uncertain, it is one which does not yet exist (Buchanan and Vanberg 1991). Therefore, the philosophical stance of the discovery approach of opportunities objectively existing ‘out there’ in “future markets [which] do not yet exist” (Korsgaard et al. 2016, 871) in a future that has “yet to be created” (Buchanan and Vanberg 1991, 178) is not only illogical but rather nonsensical.

Instead, this study approaches entrepreneurship through the ‘creation’ school of thought. This breaks away from the idea of opportunities as waiting to be seized and focuses on the role of entrepreneurial agency constructing, making, fabricating and ultimately creating opportunities through subjective micro-level processes (Korsgaard 2011; Wood and McKinley 2010). Aligning with the Schumpeterian (1934) school of thought, this confirms the effectual premise that many opportunities can be created, rather than discovered and new markets can often be explored via creative and transformative tactics which disturb the market equilibrium

(Aldrich and Ruef 2018). Subsequently, entrepreneurship is nowadays viewed as a more dynamic “learning process” (Cope 2005, 376) with the combination of the entrepreneur’s personality and actions strongly conditioning the creation and pursuit of new opportunities (Mathias and Williams 2017), thereby influencing entrepreneurs, shaping their entrepreneurial efforts and motivating them to become who they want to be (Alsos et al. 2016; Powell and Baker 2014).

Following the creation approach’s argument that “opportunities do not exist until entrepreneurs create them through a process of enactment” (Alvarez et al. 2013, 307) shifts the focus towards entrepreneurial agency, thus avoiding the conceptual limitations prevalent within the discovery approach (Ramoglou and Tsang 2016). This agrees with the ideas of Rerup (2005) who contends that entrepreneurial experience positively affects opportunity creation and exploitation, and to be successful, entrepreneurs must develop and capitalise on any insights or information they have to further their ventures (Suddaby et al. 2015). Relocating the emphasis of research towards entrepreneurial agency in this manner can strengthen context-sensitive theorising by paying attention to all aspects and impacts of the entrepreneurial process including the spatial and temporal (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013; Ramoglou and Tsang 2016). In this fashion, this study approaches entrepreneurship as being in the right place at the right time. What makes both the time and place ‘right’ is a specific context in which there is the presence of willing consumers as without demand, no opportunity can exist let alone be created (McMullen 2011; McMullen and Dimov 2013).

Employing this approach towards entrepreneurship allows research to move beyond the entrepreneur versus non-entrepreneur divide which has consistently distinguished a difference between seemingly homogeneous population groups as displaying the individual-level qualities of being less risk averse, open to ambiguity and more overconfident whilst being unable to resolve the puzzle of why such a difference occurs (Baron 2006). Here, this approach

does not dismiss non-enterprising individuals as helpless “essentially blind” non-entrepreneurs (Gartner et al. 2003, 107) but rather focuses on how individuals can react to, engage with and make the most out of their context(s). Consequently, the focus is less on the ‘entrepreneurial difference’ (Gartner 1985) and more on the role of environmental conditions which precede and surround entrepreneurial activity.

In moving decisively beyond the entrepreneur versus non-entrepreneur divide this study is not confined to static explanations of entrepreneurial potential and risk propensity (Gartner 1989; McMullen and Shepherd 2006). This approach embeds the opportunity creation process in a realistic social psychology of humans as entrepreneurs and takes into account the contexts in which entrepreneurs operate (Aldrich 2010). As such, it places a modern emphasis on the entrepreneurial process (as well as how it is managed) to help explain entrepreneurial actions and intentions, allowing for a more revolutionary and sociological perspective on entrepreneurship rather than reductively querying individual differences (Aldrich and Ruef 2018; Cope 2005; Thornton and Flynn 2003). This therefore implicates the supply of entrepreneurship as depending on both individual level factors and environmental factors, reinforcing the idea that a perception-driven enactive process can help to empower potential entrepreneurs.

Ultimately, the subject matter of entrepreneurial discourse lies at the heart of some of the most intellectually challenging matters within academia such as the philosophy behind potentiality and the nature of human intentionality (Ramoglou and Tsang 2016). Clarifying the logical dimensions of entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial opportunities and the individuals involved is imperative for the conceptual development of context-sensitive theorising (Suddaby 2010). Utilising such a broad, creative approach to entrepreneurship can facilitate dynamic and developing linkages to place and the individuals behind enterprise, appealing to

a far-reaching spectrum of entrepreneurs and thus working towards this research's aim of better understanding what is the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place.

2.1.2 The philosophical progression of place

To exist is to be within the world, and to be within the world is to be in some kind of place. Everything that occurs, occurs in place – people are surrounded by them, live in them, walk over and through them, relate to others in them and die in them; every living action is ‘placed’ (Casey 1997). Place has long been an area of academic interest from the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle to the modern day, a period of well over 2,000 years, yet the history of this concern has often been overlooked because place is so ingrained within humanity that it has been taken for granted, unnoticed or deemed not worthy of in-depth attention (Heidegger 1965). Nevertheless, the idea of place as philosophically significant first comes into view with an appreciation of the thinker from Greece – Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), alongside a number of other key figures who will be reviewed chronologically here: Kant (1724-1804), Heidegger (1889-1976) and Massey (1944-2016).

Aristotle described place as being one of the indispensable categories of every substance, engendering a philosophical debate which continues to the present. For him, ‘where’ something is constitutes a basic metaphysical category with every substance being place-bound and having its own ‘proper place’. This indispensable role of place “takes precedence of all other things ... in particular it assumes priority over the infinite, void, and time” (Hussey 1983, 208). Under Aristotle’s view, an appreciation of place is therefore requisite for grasping change itself. He argues that one cannot understand the physical world without taking place into account as “the most general and basic kind [of] change is change in respect of place” (Hussey 1983, 208). For Aristotle, the conceptual presence of place is pervasive with its primacy being key to understanding the world. Whilst he argues that place is *something*, it is less than

straightforward to say exactly *what* it is – a complete consideration of place has to take both how place is ‘in itself’ as well as how it is relative to other things (Hussey 1983).

Consequently, Aristotle’s philosophical approach to place posits the concept as central to what the phenomenon of ‘being-in-the-world’ fundamentally is. To aid his thinking Aristotle relates ‘being in’ place to the analogy of being in a vessel. This allowed him to disregard certain physical features such as form and matter as the key to understanding the nature of place. Since a vessel is a separate entity to that which is inside of it, “places will not be either the matter or the form” but what is within them (Hussey 1983, 210). Aristotle therefore believes that the nature of place involves the containing, the surrounding, the capacity, and their power to hold things in (Hussey 1983).

With the analogy of the vessel in mind, Aristotle sets forth the definition of place in two stages. First, concentrating on containment (‘being in’), place in its ‘primary’ sense is surrounding – as a vessel holds its contents (e.g., air or water), a place holds a body/bodies within it. Second, place must be ‘self-same’ – the same place must be the same for different people (i.e., selves) and the things located in it, so place itself cannot be changing or moving. Therefore, he suggests that place is: “the first unchangeable limit which surrounds” (Hussey 1983, 212). He thus argues place contains and surrounds those within it by creating an environment that if not always stable (some places are only momentary), is nevertheless a defining locatory presence (Winter and Freska 2012). This surrounding presence situates place as constant rather than merely receptive. For Aristotle, the power of place is within its limits which is an integral part of place itself; it provides a capacity to contain and to surround as well as to contain by surrounding (Hussey 1983).

Aristotle emphasised the importance of place in *Physics* prioritising the concept as a way of ‘being in’. Following his contribution, unfortunately, the primacy of place has often been overlooked in philosophy, due to being ‘partially hidden’ and remaining so resistant to

the forms of a more ‘technical’ analysis which philosophers often prefer (Casey 1997). Nevertheless, Aristotle set the standard of acknowledging the power of place as a unique and nonreducible feature of the physical world, a concept with its own inherent potential and above all something that reflects the situation of being-in, and moving between, places (Malpas 2012).

Moving forward, Immanuel Kant’s works reviewed the importance of place on different grounds by appreciating looking back to historical views of the concept as well as towards more humanistic phenomenological approaches. In doing this, he moves away from Aristotle’s view of simply ‘being in’ place to an inclusion of the human nature alongside a conceptual reduction from place to that of a point “the place of every body is a point” (Kant 1786, 21). Kant proposes that when it comes to considering place as something which is dynamic and flexible, the ‘body’ within place is movable. Whilst Aristotle deemed place to be ‘self-same’ and unchangeable, Kant (1786) argues that only through the relocation of a movable, physical point can one appreciate change in respect of place.

Kant realised that the more one reflects on place, the more it is recognised to be something that is not easily characterised, but something which is actually experienced, acknowledging that between body and place there is a special bond (Kant 1992). He claims that the body is placed in the ultimate sense – they *are* and they are *somewhere*; to have a place is to necessarily exist as a body and to exist as a body is to have a place (Kant 1992). The addition of this human role allows for orientation, so that material entities can be perceived as places. It is these regions and the places they situate which depend on bodies for their orientation. This means that bodies do not only occupy places, they establish the distinguishing configuration, ordering and features that are found in all known and/or knowable places (Kant 1786). The addition of human experience means that through the body one can gain the most in-depth and substantial forays into place, thus enabling an appreciation of the bigger picture as well as the smaller details (Kant 1786).

Nevertheless, this view of place reduced to locations between which movements of physical bodies occur, gathered limited academic attention in the era of temporo-centrism (a belief in the dominance of time) that was prevalent over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries (Casey 1997). Place was regarded as subject to time, regarding it as chronometric, linear and universal “the formal *a priori* condition of all appearances whatsoever” (Kant 1781, 77). These conceptions of place are no longer true, or even adequate, to the human experience of places. Contemporary embroilment with technology combined with the age of exploration sparked a renewed interest in place (Casey 1997), ensuring that no element whatsoever could be characterised as a simple location (Whitehead 1948).

Martin Heidegger can be counted as one of the principal founders of philosophical place-oriented thinking in the 20th century (Malpas 2012). Heidegger chooses a ‘middle of the road’ approach for place. For him, place is interesting and worthy of attention, oftentimes becoming indispensable, yet not something which should be worshipped. Unlike Aristotle and Kant, he feels it does not take on the consistently highlighted status of ‘being-in-the-world’, it retains its own features and holds its own local being (Heidegger 1962). Heidegger views place itself as more like a boundary than a limit. Not only is place two-sided like that of a boundary (as it is simultaneously exclusive and inclusive) but within the close embrace of a place’s boundaries, things get located and begin to happen (Heidegger 1971a). To lack a boundary is therefore to lack place and, equally, to not be *in* place is to be unbound which can lead scholars and readers alike into “a regress of self-examination that makes it difficult to assert anything with much confidence” (Welter et al. 2019, 327).

Consequently, for Heidegger, a place can provide shelter. Its inherent ‘nearness’ within its boundaries (which are not limits) creates room to enable, characterise and flourish all that exists within it (Heidegger 1971a). To be *in* a place is to be near to whatever else is in that place, “gathering things in their belonging together”, enhancing the closeness and the intimacy

of the things as they are gathered (Heidegger 1971b, 207). Heidegger subsequently views orientation as a conjoint production, which makes use of this level of familiarity with a place. As such, it creates a balance between the contribution of the human body and the understanding of its surroundings; place is not something individuals come across as being ‘simply in,’ neither is it something individuals simply ‘experience’ – it is created through the actions of humanity’s direct interventions, without these there would be no ‘place’ (Heidegger 1962).

Heidegger’s focus on the idea of place as arising in a number of ways and in relation to a range of issues provides a distinctive mode of philosophical thinking. It enables academic research to delve into the structure of place, a structure that comprises the composition of individual places, of individual human lives, their actions, and of even more beyond that. It is also a structure that resists any reductive analysis as it is built through essential mutual relations at every level (Malpas 2012). Heidegger’s philosophising of place in this way unshackles his thinking from the narrowness of the past and that of ‘being in’ (which for the most part, is considered a rather rough way to confront the concept) (Casey 1997). Despite its evident importance, Heidegger himself insists on place as being partially hidden and concealed, “still veiled” specifically of space (Heidegger 1965, 23). Likewise, in similar literature place is rarely named as such and even more rarely discussed seriously, perhaps explaining its somewhat concealed history and discontinuous acknowledgement despite its ability to possess considerable academic significance (Heidegger 1962).

Into more contemporary times, Doreen Massey’s work has been central in transforming place into a domain dedicated to the exploration of social theory whilst also encouraging others within the social sciences to appreciate the complexities of place. Her work carries within it an insistence of conceptualising place as being fundamental – content and methodology subsequently take a back seat with, instead, the importance of *how* one formulates the concept

of space and/or place radically shaping one's understanding of the social world and how to effect transformation in and of it (Massey 1994).

Massey has produced rich bodies of work which move beyond the easy association of place with nostalgia and inertia. Her work takes the idea of 'creating place' one step further and moves towards the importance of the social with Massey's most fundamental contribution being that the social and spatial must be conceptualised together (Massey 1995). It is important to note that in doing so place does not become a motivating or explanatory factor, its significance is within "the spatial form of particular and specified social processes and social relationships" (Massey and Allen 1984, 5). Massey goes on to contend that place might be understood as "porous networks of social relations" with a differing 'power geometry', emphasising how groups and individuals are differently positioned within the realms of these porous networks (Massey 1994, 121). Massey (1991, 28) argues that such thinking not only allows an understanding of what place means to individuals, but also a place's specificity as "constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving at a particular locus". Appreciating the prominence of the social and treating place in the manner of constantly moving and evolving, rather than merely reacting offers "a global sense of the local, a global sense of place" (Massey 1991, 29).

Modern-day thinkers tend to align alongside Massey, rediscovering the importance of place as having no fixed characteristics or essence. Whilst Heidegger and past thinkers attempted to uncover something resembling essential traits of place (e.g., gathering, nearing, regioning, thinking) scholars nowadays no longer aim to undertake a definitive view of the concept, instead they try to find place 'at work' as a dynamic ongoing ingredient of something else (e.g., religion (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004), sociology (Gieryn 2000), architecture (Von Meiss 2013), and business (Johnstone and Lionais 2004), etc.). This way of thinking suggests there is no singular version of place as it can be viewed and perceived behind so many

different (or at least differential) lenses. To this extent, the history (as well as future) of place may remain all the more hidden as there is no specific past to be told and no explicit future to be predicted, only a personally deemed series of significant occurrences to be recounted.

Treating place as philosophically significant in this way positions it as an interesting research lens not only for this study, but also for philosophy itself; what supports the thought of the philosophical centrality of place is something which holds both a philosophical idea as well as a matter of personal, human experience (Casey 1997). One of the key features of place is the way in which it establishes relations, networks and feelings of inside and outside, all aspects that are directly tied to the essential connection between place and its boundaries (Tuan 1977). To be located in place is to be within, to be enclosed, but at the same time in a way that opens up, that makes things possible, that enables feelings of opening and closing, of concealing and revealing, and of limit and possibility (Malpas 2012). Place is undoubtedly multi-layered. It is not an illogical concept that cannot be analysed under scrutiny, nor is it simply reducible to some other term, or purely trivial in its effects (Hubbard et al. 2004). Place most definitely has some power (Hussey 1983). It has such a power that it can make things be somewhere and hold them and guard them once they are there (Casey 1997). Without place, things would not only fail to be located, they would essentially have no place to be the things that they inherently are.

Within this research, the meaning of place is considered neither objective nor commonly shared, but often the result of a process of contestation (Martin 2003; Gieryn 2000; Pierce et al. 2011). In this fashion, place is treated as something which moves beyond an abstract understanding of regions as a specific point in geographical terms that has a material form and aligns with Heideggerian thinking that it is not merely 'being in' or an 'experience' but something which is "interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined ... [thus] the meaning ... of the same place is labile – flexible in the hands of different people or

cultures, malleable over time, and inevitably contested” (Gieryn 2000, 465). Appreciating the works of Massey allows this study to not only understand the importance and relationship that entrepreneurs put on place but also how this can impact upon their entrepreneurial actions, intentions and society as a whole. In order to provide consistency throughout the research Gieryn’s (2000, 464-465) definition of place as possessing three crucial characteristics shall be utilised: “geographic location ... material form ... [and] investment with meaning and value”. It is important to briefly note here that place is therefore considered distinct from space in that “place is space filled up by people, practices, objects and representations” (Gieryn 2000, 465).

2.1.2.1 Place versus space

The philosophical debate of place, space and time has been central to philosophy since its inception. Similar to the conceptual progression of place, the earliest thinking of the debate dates back to the Ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle with Leibniz, Newton and Kant, the great system builders of the 17th and 18th centuries, being central to the conceptual development of space (Messina 2017). This section of the review will briefly cover the 17th and 18th century philosophical thinking behind space, what is meant by space herein, how it relates to place and how the overarching place versus space debate sits within entrepreneurship literature, thus conceptually shaping this research as a whole.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) is a key proponent of the relationist movement concerning space. He believed that the fundamental structure of reality consists of constricted, simple substances called ‘monads.’ Each of these monads is responsible for its own state and subsequent changes; whilst these monads do not have a relational influence on one another, Leibniz believed that when grouped together, they can establish spatial relations among bodies; relations which in turn create an ‘ideal community’ which constitutes space (Leibniz 1989). For Leibniz, space therefore consists of these spatial relations amongst bodies that are

themselves ultimately determined by the relations of the mutual interactions and influences of the corresponding 'monads'.

On the other hand, Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was a staunch absolutist, deeming space to be an object itself as opposed to a concept which constructs and formulates actual objects. For Newton, space is a necessary condition on being and therefore any substance that exists must necessarily be in space (Guyer 1987). Consequently, Newton opposes Leibniz and contends that space is a boundless, vast entity made up of infinitely many parts, called 'absolute places'. These absolute places are entities that prevail regardless of time, existing without a reliance on whether or not there are bodies in space and having specific positions relative to one another (Newton 1999). Since these places cannot interact between themselves, it follows that not only must all places be within space, but that space itself is a necessary condition for all mutual interactions to occur amongst all existing life and matter (Newton 2004).

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) approaches space as a realist, situating himself between the thinking of Leibniz and Newton. Kant concurs with Newton that being in space explains the necessity of mutual relations amongst existing life and matter (Kant 1781). Kant then moves philosophically beyond Leibniz and Newton, denying that either space or time are substance, entities in themselves, or learned by experience to determine human relations; he instead contends that both are elements of a complex systematic framework used to structure human experience, meaning that space and place (and indeed time) are subjective rather than objective aspects of existence and may therefore be individually or collectively appropriated (Messina 2017). As such, places are thought of as constituents which can be composed out of space, giving way to Kant's position on the debate: that places themselves are consequently located *in* space as parts of it (Kant 1781).

Space has evidently been the subject of an abstruse philosophical inquiry for a complex set of ideas. This research aligns with the philosophical thinking of Kant, considering the

debate of place and space to be abstractions – neither concept holds a physical set of properties or characteristics. They are instead constructed by those within it and their social structural differences (Taylor 2012). Thus, they cannot be characterised to explain the world, instead they help to understand how people of different cultures, backgrounds and regions differ in how they divide up their world, assign values to its parts and measure them (Low 2016). Space is experienced by people directly, changes in the physical environment, how it is interpreted, and how it is represented to individuals can greatly influence the construction of space and consequently offer not only a sense of inclusion but also the ability to appropriate space for one's needs (Low 2016; Tuan 1977). "Space can therefore be variously experienced as the relative location of objects or places, as the distances and expanses that separate or link places and, more abstractly, as the area defined by a network of places" (Tuan 1977, 12). Approaching space in this manner allows the study to appreciate how individual entrepreneurs shape, construct, appropriate and link places for their different needs, how this can impact upon their relationship with spatial contexts and how it can influence entrepreneurial actions and intentions.

All too often the meaning of space merges with that of place. Space is more abstract than place – what one may first encounter as indistinguishable space becomes place as one gets to know it better and begins to perceive it with value (Low 2016). Perceptual experience and the ability to form conceptual arrangements out of space are necessary for space to feel thoroughly familiar for the required transformation to place (Tuan 1977). The ideology behind the debate of space and place require each other for definition – the concepts' nature and interdependence allow one to comprehend both the familiarity and stability of place and, consequently, to be aware of the openness and expanse that comes with space, and vice versa (Sack 1997). Tuan (1977) further adds that to think of space, its grand scale and open nature which allows movement, it then follows that place must be pause; each pause in movement

makes it possible for location to be transformed into place through the addition of material form and meaningful values (Gieryn 2000).

Place and space are the basic components of the lived world (Tuan 1977). They are so very ingrained, all-encompassing in every way, yet despite their philosophical interest they are often taken for granted (Heidegger 1965). Seeing as humans are ‘placed’ beings from the moment of birth, just because there may not be a choice in the matter, has all too often resulted in not thinking about place, space and its impacts very much, if at all (Malpas 2012). As such, relatively few works attempt to understand how people actually feel about space and place, to acknowledge the multitude of different experiential perspectives, and to discern space and place as images of complex (and often conflicting) feelings (Tuan 1977; Low 2016).

This study will attempt to overcome this. To begin to understand the world in which entrepreneurs live it is imperative to reflect on how their environment is comprised of space and place. Hudson (2001) approaches the concepts from an organisational viewpoint, contrasting space as being an economic and often capitalistic view of location based on its resources and capacity for profit, whereas with place, he argues that the focus is more on a social evaluation of an area which is based on meaning. This distinction, whilst not clear-cut, is useful in the discussion and categorisation of the socioeconomic processes of entrepreneurship; the economic value (e.g., job creation, wealth and local economic growth) occur mainly in space while the social ties and benefits towards the community exist as an entity focused on a particular place. Space can thus be seen as a socially defined concept based on the dominant social relations of capitalistic development yet assessing these locations on the basis of their financial returns often, and arguably wrongfully, implies that capital evaluates and constructs space (Korsgaard et al. 2015b; Lal 1999). Valuing space predominantly through the lens of capital production based on a mixture of the area’s factor endowments, its available production and its access to markets, subsequently presents it as a rather one-dimensional

construct, based heavily around the motive for profit. Contrarily, place is seen as a multifaceted construct of the relations of social life. Places therefore differ from space in that they do not merely care for profit and production, they are areas of meaningful social life for people to live and learn; they are locations which bestow both socialisation and cultural acquirement (Fouberg et al. 2015). Places are made up of a complex system of social relations, meanings, values, cultures and material objects; they create a distinct ethos and hold their own identity, whilst simultaneously constructing the identities of those within them (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016; Hudson 2001). This means that place is flexible and can be moulded to suit the wants and needs of all people, inevitably being contested over time (Gieryn 2000). It is this process which creates attachments and enables place and communities to become the heart of socialisation and central to identity shaping (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Whilst the two concepts oppose each other, the relationship between space and place does not need to be a dichotomous one; there are locations which thrive as spaces for profitable enterprises whilst still managing to retain strong social values (Gill and Larson 2014). As such, the scope for research greatly expands, yet this study will focus on exploring the literature surrounding the spatial connections of the entrepreneurial process towards place. What does place mean to enterprising individuals? How they can become (and remain) attached? How can this influence their entrepreneurial actions? All are key parts to unlocking the puzzle and delving deeper into the relationship between entrepreneurship and place.

2.2 Contextualising entrepreneurship

To begin to answer these questions it is imperative to move beyond the once traditional view of considering economic rationality to be central to entrepreneurship, reducing it as universal, uniform and somewhat rigid (Hébert and Link 1989) and instead embrace the importance of contextualising the concept. A contextualised perspective allows research to uncover and analyse the richness of entrepreneurship that all too often remains overlooked (Welter et al.

2019). In this fashion, contextualising entrepreneurship is about acknowledging and accounting for variations and differences *within* entrepreneurship rather than reductively querying the difference between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs (Gartner 2008). It can open up possibilities for research to explore and find differences across geographies or industries, uncovering hidden variation or shedding new light onto presumed well-known entrepreneurship theorising (Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Welter et al. 2019). Contextualising entrepreneurship is therefore integral to identifying and developing theory which can help research to understand and appreciate differences between and amongst enterprising individuals where preoccupations have come to expect sameness.

Brännback and Carsrud (2018, 18) suggest that first and foremost, a comprehension of “how we understand context” must be put into place. They emphasise that research is not capable of understanding context without paying attention to its underlying processes. The Latin origins behind the word *context* (con = together; texere = to weave) highlight the importance of understanding context as a dynamic interplay which weaves together circumstances and practices. Context is therefore understood here as the circumstances, conditions, situations, relations, meanings or environments within a place, which are constitutive of the entrepreneurship phenomenon and rather define than uncover it (Bika and Frazer 2020) – paying particular attention to its spatial characteristics (e.g., localities, communities and neighbourhoods) and how they are interwoven over time. An appreciation of the social and institutional circumstances, interactions and material practices that help to construct the space and place in which entrepreneurship is expected to occur is of importance to better understand the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place and “reach beyond the economic characterization of entrepreneurship as impersonated by the *homo entrepreneurus*” (Patriotta and Siegel 2019, 1195). In this way, context becomes “a means of providing explanation” (Welch et al. 2011, 751).

In order to understand the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with context, one must first take into account the contemporary view of entrepreneurship as a dynamic “learning process” which places the importance on entrepreneurs’ self-reflections and actions, emphasising that cognitive functions (i.e., entrepreneurship) can be changed and continually enhanced through experience (Cope 2005, 376). As experience is subject, but not confined, to the immediate environment, it can be deemed that entrepreneurship is a complex phenomenon which is continuously developing due to the entrepreneur’s milieu (Berglund et al. 2016). Consequently, many argue entrepreneurship arises in places (Steyaert and Katz 2004), with different regions varying in their ability to produce and retain entrepreneurs (Dahl and Sorenson 2009) meaning entrepreneurship is often socially situated (Cope 2005; Gartner et al. 2016) and extends beyond the mere economic domain (McKeever et al. 2015; Watson 2013). It is therefore clear that place and spatial contexts can give meaning and identity to individuals (Anderson 2000a) whilst simultaneously helping to construct the relations of social life (Johnstone and Lionais 2004). To entrepreneurs, places are much more than being geographical – they are also self-defining and organising contexts (Johannisson and Nilsson 1989) which offer the ability to create entrepreneurial opportunities, whilst simultaneously shaping what is possible as an entrepreneurial environment and network (Suddaby et al. 2015).

Gartner (1995, 70) argued that entrepreneurship research should endeavour to recognise the context in which entrepreneurial action occurs, as observers “have a tendency to underestimate the influence of external factors and overestimate the influence of internal or personal factors when making judgements about the behaviour of other individuals”. Despite the evident criticality and relevance of spatial context in entrepreneurship, it has received relatively little academic attention, leaving a number of scholars feeling that the field remains understudied in terms of how and why different forms of context can influence entrepreneurship processes (Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra 2007).

The role of spatial context thereby remains underrepresented in entrepreneurship research (Trettin and Welter 2011; Welter and Baker 2020; Zahra et al. 2014) and less advanced than the research on social and institutional contexts (Hindle 2010; Müller and Korsgaard 2018) with much of the literature assuming a “one-way relationship” between entrepreneurship and context, where it seems entrepreneurs have to take context as given (Welter 2011, 175). In real life, however, context can act as an asset, liability, or both, depending on the individual’s experience (Welter and Smallbone 2010) and is not simply a collective event for the local environment.

Existing literature which has focused on the relationship between entrepreneurship and spatial context has often focused on the larger, agglomerated macro spatial level such as the nation or the region (Müller 2016; Trettin and Welter 2011). Whilst this macro-level analysis may offer interesting insights into nations and regions, the research offers little information and explanations about the underlying processes and the strategies of micro-level entrepreneurial efforts. Most research has therefore stayed away from understanding multiple causality; little has been done to empirically explore the *how* and *why* of the relationship between enterprising individuals and place, how this can vary between contexts, and how it can enable or inhibit the development of different attitudes to entrepreneurship at the local level (Parkinson et al. 2017; 2020; Wright and Stigliani 2013). It is too deterministic for entrepreneurship research to assume context is fixed, controlling and limiting the opportunities and development of entrepreneurs. Instead, research should consider the social circumstances and practices that help to construct the contexts in which entrepreneurship is expected to occur (Parkinson et al. 2017). This research consequently aligns with the argument of Welter et al. (2017, 311-312) and fully embraces heterogeneity and differences, allowing for a “panorama of ideas, context(s), methods, outcomes, and paradoxes that would see entrepreneurship more broadly”.

Indeed, one reason why contextualised phenomena may be overlooked is due to their complex, yet often hidden nature, which cannot afford to be oversimplified (Ahsan 2017). Context has been seen as a considerable resource for emotional support to entrepreneurs (Dodd 2002), yet it also presents a number of challenges. Entrepreneurs have to be highly adaptive to change (especially change deemed locally important) meaning that not only do their motives vary, but they vary alongside a continually shifting context which has knock-on effects for entrepreneurial opportunity creation and exploitation (Ahsan 2017). Reducing the importance and significance of context overlooks the richness of the circumstances of the places in which entrepreneurship occurs. Nevertheless, much research on the relationship between entrepreneurship and place has often focused on economic development and has subsequently treated context as simply an economic resource (Audretsch et al. 2015; Malecki 2018). Such an approach not only fails to capture the complexity of context but also looks beyond it as the features of a place which enable (and/or constrain) entrepreneurial actions (McKeever et al. 2015; Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Williams and Vorley 2015). A gap clearly emerges as the field heeds numerous calls and develops more contextualised entrepreneurship research (Hodges and Link 2019; Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra et al. 2014): scholars should attempt to better understand the nature of context, its characteristics and how they relate to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial actions at the individual, localised level (Lounsbury et al. 2019; Zhao et al., 2017).

Indeed, research into the spatial characteristics of context have been shown to act either as a beneficial social network or as a source of over-embeddedness creating a closed, over-reliant network, ostracising contexts and, in some cases, even presenting a stumbling block for communities wishing to promote social change (Johannisson and Wigren 2006). Additionally, the history and norms of a context have also been found to work against new ways in which

entrepreneurs perceive and engage with a place and its inhabitants (Berglund and Johansson 2007).

Evidently, context is not a variable that should be controlled for. Whilst context ‘as environment’ was frequently operationalised by inserting one or more control variables, as research has begun to take contextualisation more seriously the shortages this previous approach brought have become ever more apparent (Welter et al. 2019). Instead, context becomes part of the story, it can act as a theoretical and methodological lens giving a fuller picture and meaning that research need not excessively limit itself before it even begins. Contextualising research in this manner is required to further the understanding of when, how and why entrepreneurship occurs, as well as who becomes involved (Welter 2011; Welter and Baker 2020; Zahra and Wright 2011). Extending knowledge in this way can offer insights into how the meanings and values of place can constitute an important ingredient within the entrepreneurial process, consequently enabling a greater appreciation of entrepreneurs, their actions and their localised processes, thus seeing them as less “mysterious” beings (Cardon et al. 2005, 24).

Entrepreneurship and context therefore emerges as an important research lens to not only understand the contextual effects on entrepreneurship, but to also discern whether entrepreneurial engagement with context is a matter of ‘place’ itself. What has been largely left unaccounted for in extant research is that entrepreneurial practices may differ depending on their spatial context (Müller and Korsgaard 2018) and the very mechanisms which influence the spatial context have received little academic attention (Hindle 2010; Müller and Korsgaard 2018). While most of the earlier contextual research in entrepreneurship focused on concept redundancy, newer research has begun to analyse its subjective elements, paying more attention to the active involvement of entrepreneurs in the construction of contexts (Bika and Frazer 2020; Welter et al. 2019). This study thus moves towards the explicit consideration of the

richness of contextualising entrepreneurship research, exploring how it is inherently intertwined on multiple levels within enterprising individuals (Griffin 2007), thus aligning with the idea that entrepreneurs ‘do contexts’ (Baker and Welter 2020) – they are active in their enactment and construction rather than being passive and subject to them.

2.2.2 Everyday entrepreneurship

One way that this can be done is with an exploration into the ‘everyday’ (Welter et al. 2017), ‘ordinary’ (Sarasvathy et al. 2015), ‘real’ (Aldrich and Ruef 2018), ‘mainstreet’ (Audretsch and Lehmann 2016) nature of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial actions. The above are examples of scholars that feel the majority of the field has lacked academic attention over the years simply due to its ‘mundane’ nature (Rehn and Taalas 2004). The high-growth, innovative, technology-based businesses that do large scale initial public offerings, gain substantial amounts of venture capital, create vast amounts of economic wealth, provide many jobs and establish household name products and services are considered (and rightly so) exciting and important. This has led to highly ranked, major journals favouring entrepreneurship research concerned with such high capitalisation events. Whilst this trend in academia may seem sensible if it is a reflection of reality, that is not the case.

These high capitalisation entrepreneurial events are likened to ‘unicorns’ – considered extraordinarily rare, they have captured the attention of entrepreneurship scholars, thus it is this unique type of entrepreneurship which has shaped (and arguably limited) the current field of research (Welter et al. 2017). The majority of entrepreneurial research effort is devoted to understanding the handful of these businesses which experience high growth or public offerings, and too little effort is devoted to understanding the abundance of start-ups that struggle alongside them. Pursuing knowledge surrounding this small group of entrepreneurial outliers not only skews the understanding of entrepreneurship as a whole, but it creates a myopia; it ignores the richness and diversity of the majority of ‘everyday’ entrepreneurship,

implicitly deeming it neither important nor interesting enough for researchers to begin to understand the valuable variety of entrepreneurship and the context(s) in which it occurs (Audretsch et al. 2015; Welter et al. 2017). Aldrich and Ruef (2018, 460) contend that entrepreneurship research “needs to devote more attention to the rest of the iceberg and not just the tip”. Whilst the high growth and highly capitalised firms of the world may be interesting to examine, to limit studies of entrepreneurship to these types of companies is to introduce a strong selection bias into research (McKelvie and Wicklund 2010).

Accordingly, researchers, and society as a whole, tend to have a rather narrow and distorted view on what actually constitutes entrepreneurship due to a few highly visible phenomena. In focusing research efforts on the ‘unicorns’ of the entrepreneurial world, it is argued that research is systematically limited from appreciating entrepreneurship through a multitude of lenses, ultimately hampering the ability to study the phenomenon in its full glory (Lehmann et al. 2019; Welter et al. 2019). Ironically, in order to understand what makes entrepreneurs grow and succeed within varying contexts requires that researchers must draw from as large a pool as possible, beginning with the most ‘mundane’ ‘everyday entrepreneurs’.

Rather than embrace and understand the diversity of ‘everyday’ individuals within entrepreneurship, research has marginalised them, casting them aside as ‘other’ entrepreneurs, external to the esteemed ‘unicorns’. Welter et al. (2017) call for scholars to cease hallowing economic wealth and development as the primacy of entrepreneurship and its research as this systematically devalues the whole field by failing to see the benefits of the phenomenon unless they can be accounted for in numerical terms. Such an approach can only limit understanding of the heterogeneous nature of entrepreneurs, the underlying processes and strategies of micro-level entrepreneurial efforts and how this may differ from context to context (Alsos et al. 2016; Zahra and Wright 2016).

This study sets out to deepen extant theorising by broadening the understanding of what is usefully included in the domain of entrepreneurship research through paying attention to the ‘everyday entrepreneur’ whose existence and value is both little known and under-researched (Lehmann et al. 2019). It will heed Welter et al.’s (2017) call for ‘everyday’ entrepreneurship to take centre stage of modern research as this constitutes the vast bulk of the real-life phenomenon and would therefore produce more theoretically interesting, practically important and contextually relevant knowledge than that which the field has focused its attention on to date. This study’s attempts to correct the misperception and address the gaps which are prevalent within extant research through selection biases will give scholars and policymakers a more accurate and contextually relevant picture of entrepreneurship in the 21st century.

2.2.3 Towards place

Contextualising entrepreneurship research has been shown to cut across levels. Zahra’s (2007) seminal research into context and theory building identified different levels in richness depending on the research phenomenon and the relevant applied theory. Welter’s (2011) paper highlights the ‘where’ and ‘when’ in contexts in relation to the individual level of entrepreneurs. She identified four dimensions of the place and spaces of ‘where’ entrepreneurship occurs – business, social, spatial, and institutional, and identified two dimensions of ‘when’ – temporal and historical. Similarly, Zahra and Wright’s (2011) typology presents four contexts of entrepreneurship – spatial, time, social, and institutional. Collectively, these frameworks, typologies and advancements have served as important stimuli within the field, shaping the direction of entrepreneurship research and moving further towards the concept of place by encouraging scholars to ask questions about who, what, when, where, and why.

Importantly, research has begun to acknowledge the influence of such contextual factors on entrepreneurship and has gone some way in disproving the assumed “one-way

relationship” (Welter 2011, 175). Berglund et al. (2016), Huggins and Thompson (2014) and McKeever et al. (2015) are manifestations of scholarly work that has discovered an interdependent relationship between entrepreneurship and context at the local level. The observance of social rules, social cohesion and embracing work and education were examples of contextual variables positively associated with stronger, more enterprising business cultures, suggesting that a cohesive community increases the entrepreneurial confidence of individuals. Therefore, different contexts and communities highlight the power implications faced by entrepreneurs as “the geographical distribution of society in space creates an unevenness of power” (Anderson 2000b, 93). The key players and institutions are often located at the core of contexts and communities which control, shape and distribute resources, thus aligning with Baumol’s (1990, 898) theorising that the rules and practices of entrepreneurship “change dramatically from one *time* and *place* to another”. This study accordingly sets out to heed Welter and Baker’s (2020) call to enrich the understanding of entrepreneurship by broadening the domain to include a much greater variety of *when* and *where* entrepreneurship occurs. Despite the field’s recent progress, research is still yet to capture the richness of entrepreneurship as a commonplace social phenomenon (Welter et al. 2019). The diversity included in this study attempts to address this, appreciating Hodges and Link’s (2019) emphasis on the contextual elements of research can enable a more contextualised understanding of entrepreneurship theory development. In doing so, it will pay particular attention not to overlook the complex relations between entrepreneurs and social, structural, temporal, and historical contexts as these have largely been left unaccounted for within extant literature (Baker and Powell 2016; Lippmann and Aldrich 2016; Wadhvani 2016; Welter and Baker 2020; Zahra et al. 2014).

2.2.4 About time

The growing interest in contextual approaches to entrepreneurship research is evidently important for understanding when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved (Welter 2011; Zahra and Wright 2011). The ‘when’ perspective recognises temporal and historical contexts, the importance of historical influences on the nature of present entrepreneurship, and how changes in contexts can collectively evolve over time. Whilst this points towards history and time being important in the understanding of contextual entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial opportunities, to date, research has failed to implement a coherent and theoretically grounded framework that studies time and its consequences. The knowledge of the temporal dynamics of entrepreneurship and context therefore remains considerably fragmented (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; McMullen and Dimov 2013).

Entrepreneurship is much more complex than that of a simple action or transaction; it is a continuous series of feedback loops between the entrepreneur and their customers as well as between the entrepreneurs and their various contextual stakeholder groups (McMullen and Dimov 2013). Appreciating the socio-spatial and temporal contexts of this process not only highlights the benefits of a wider contextual perspective, but sees “entrepreneurship as taking place in intertwined social, societal, and geographical contexts, which can change over time and all of which can be perceived as an asset or a liability by entrepreneurs” (Welter 2011, 176). This approach enables this study to facilitate process-orientated research by delving into the nature of the entrepreneurial process, when/if it has begun and ended, and whether it can impact or be impacted upon by place (McMullen and Dimov 2013).

Clearly time matters for entrepreneurship, yet heavily contested questions prevalent in the humanities and social sciences, such as whose time should matter and how should it be conceptualised, are yet to enter the field (Lippmann and Aldrich 2016). All too often when phenomena are difficult to observe or defy obvious explanation, time is mentioned as an

afterthought as to why (Lippmann and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013; Wadhvani 2016). Within entrepreneurship research time is frequently approached as a theoretical construct and as a dependent or control variable which specifies the numerical duration and/or length of processes. It is treated as the number of days, months, or years that pass between set events (e.g., entrepreneurial entry and exit) with scholars often referring to entrepreneurs as ‘needing time’ to establish and make a success of themselves or reductively describing many entrepreneurial processes as merely ensuing ‘over time’ (Kalnins and Williams 2014; Naldi and Davidsson 2014). Time matters at the micro (individual), meso (firm), and macro (context) levels for entrepreneurship (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Grasping the importance of time and its impact on individual entrepreneurs, their firms and their contexts can enable scholars to build a better understanding of the entrepreneurial phenomenon, helping research to explain why entrepreneurial actions, intentions and outcomes might differ across varying regions and contexts (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Baker et al. 2005). This is precisely what this study sets out to do; producing context-sensitive theorising allows the temporal and spatial to become part of the story and offer deeper insights into how entrepreneurs interact with situations within place as well as how such situations can, in turn, influence both the entrepreneurship process and place, thereby offering contextually-bound explanations to seemingly irregular findings (Welch et al. 2011).

If time is so important, how has it afforded to have been overlooked for so long? On a very large scale, people have generally accepted the passage of time as to how it is measured thus treating it as simply ‘clock time’ (Lippman and Aldrich 2016). Despite the obvious ease and appeal of instrumental rationality and approaching time in this manner, it overlooks the fact that time is socially constructed and that the future is infinitely unknown – what is yet to be created cannot be understood as a mere increment or continuous accumulation vector (Buchanan and Vanberg 1991; Menger 2014). Indeed, to take time seriously within research is

to enable a deeper understanding of entrepreneurship, one that is rooted in a practice-based view and appreciates the variability, uncertainty and change integral to the entrepreneurial process (Lévesque and Stephan 2020).

Since the entrepreneurial process is a complex and lengthy one, when reading the literature it would seem that entrepreneurship is a one-off act which starts and ends with the life cycle of a firm (Zahra and Wright 2011). Even when research pays greater attention to the past in an attempt to establish and acknowledge the importance of temporality and place, the retrospective view of antecedents-event-consequences commonly treats time as too linear and monochronic (Wadhvani 2016). Whilst this linear notion of time can provide a convenient, numerical accounting scheme of the temporal context of entrepreneurship via calendars and clocks, it enforces a grave misconception that time itself unfolds in steady, predictable ways (Lippman and Aldrich 2016). This sequential reasoning of time may prove useful in business history to help explain the entrepreneurial action behind the creation of large businesses and global economies, but the focus on examining how context shapes action all too often neglects the idea that such actions can subsequently reshape context (Wadhvani 2016; Welter 2011).

Even though time is a socially constructed part of individual and collective minds, the fact that individuals exist from moment to moment, one succeeding from the next, does create a continuous, seemingly linear experience of time (Dilthey 2002). One could potentially forgive the focus of empirical research for employing linear models that are presumed to occur at a single point in time (Dimov 2011), typically with an event of interest to scholars, which can then be followed at regular intervals to follow progress and variations (Kim et al. 2015). Indeed, the latter has become prevalent within the field as the calls for longitudinal methods have mostly gone unheeded (McMullen and Dimov 2013), yet such methods which re-interview entrepreneurs at regular intervals may inadvertently exacerbate linear conceptions of time and lose sight of the non-linear ways in which the temporal can operate (Lippman and

Aldrich 2016). As such, entrepreneurship research often aggregates away temporal variability by looking at averages across individuals, firms and contexts (Stephan 2018) or ‘slices’ time by investigating a singular point in temporality (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Whilst these linear notions of time are prevalent within Western physical and social science, it overlooks the contextually specific nature of temporality (Helman 2005). What has therefore largely been left unaccounted for is the importance of variability and that entrepreneurs may carry meanings of time differently – multiple actors means multiple lived experiences which can result in multiple individual temporalities both between and within contexts (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Lippman and Aldrich 2016; Wadhvani 2016).

For the majority of entrepreneurship research to gloss over such a matter implies that the field is not particularly concerned with how temporal processes work or why they should matter. It seems that, for research, time is either inconvenient to fully conceptually consider, an afterthought to attempt to offer explanation, or irrelevant for studies interested in more short-term outcomes (Lippmann and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013; Wadhvani 2016). Extant literature has therefore diminished the role of the temporal within the entrepreneurial process by studying entrepreneurship as either a one-off act or something which simply occurs ‘over time’. Indeed, this notion of something occurring ‘over time’ reinforces another misconception that entrepreneurship is teleological, imbued with a sense of purpose and inevitability (Lippmann and Aldrich 2016). Treating time teleologically assumes that entrepreneurs’ grasp of their time and subsequent resources and environments is inevitable and out of their control. Such an approach conceptually reduces time down to a mere measure of the accumulation of experience, resources, knowledge, etc., and does not begin to scratch the surface of the immensity and intricacy of the concept (Koselleck 1985). Despite being essential to understanding the entrepreneurial process by which desires become intentions, actions, goals

and systematic outcomes, entrepreneurship scholars' explicit treatment of time as an integral component of context has, to date, been sparse and unsystematic (Zahra et al. 2014).

So what does this mean for research? Even though clock time relentlessly marches onward in a linear fashion, this study embraces the idea that entrepreneurs are constantly shifting their attention to various points in time. It allows for a better understanding of entrepreneurial actions made in the present, with the past in mind, which become more and more distant the longer into the future that ventures exist. It can analyse how entrepreneurs use their knowledge of the past, their established networks and resources to base their plans for the future to sustain both entrepreneurial creations and contexts. Creating legitimised contextual links and acting with the past in mind can create a better future (Cornelissen and Clarke 2010). Appreciating the temporal context therefore understands that, for entrepreneurs, time does not unfold in a neat and sequential manner and neither is it experienced as a teleological, linear process. Instead, "entrepreneurs often must bend time, infusing the present with times past or those yet to come" (Lippman and Aldrich 2016, 55). 'Bending time' and basing intentions and actions on the past, present, and future in conditions of uncertainty likens the entrepreneurship process to an experiment where the outlook is hopeful, yet not certain. Acknowledging and embracing the uncertainty of entrepreneurial processes and outcomes and how they can vary from entrepreneur to entrepreneur requires research to change the very way that the temporal context is approached in entrepreneurship and what it means at the individual level.

Approaching time in this manner implies that entrepreneurs use time differently to each other. Kim et al. (2015) found that explicitly invoking the temporal allowed a deeper understanding of how individuals used time to engender differing entrepreneurial journeys which impacted upon their rate of achievement and quality of work. Whilst this shows entrepreneurs as being able to 'bend' time to fit their individual purposes, this can lead to feelings of pessimism when looking back to past failures and simultaneous optimism about

future venturing (Miller and Sardais 2015). The ‘bifurcation’ of time of these studies indicates that the construct can move in all directions – forwards, backwards, and cyclically at different speeds depending on the individual (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; Miller and Sardais 2015). This can have important implications across contexts – some may have a sense of urgency, others may be laxer about time. These differences can often impact upon resource allocation, causing alarm in some contexts to ‘catch up’ to their counterparts (Zahra and Wright 2011). The scarcity of temporal entrepreneurship research and an increasingly global marketplace may see some contexts and entrepreneurs being ‘left behind’ unless scholarly work increases and traditional notions of time are challenged (Usunier 1991).

Explicitly invoking time allows research to view the entrepreneurship process as a journey, understanding and appreciating how it may change and develop rather than focusing on the individual links in a long chain of events. In reality, for research to offer a valuable contribution it must offer more than causal explanation – whilst each event may be necessary to contribute towards an entrepreneurial outcome, they are not sufficient by themselves; the temporal allows for a greater understanding of such events as a collective and the nature of their impact upon the entrepreneurial process (McMullen and Dimov 2013). In turn, this can help reduce history-related validity issues (i.e., the longer the time span between causes and outcomes, the more tenuous the link [Cook and Campbell 1979]) as well as issues surrounding the sequencing of events (i.e., if events are rearranged then each action and subsequent event will experience a knock-on effect and unfold in a different manner [Kauffman 2008]). Paying particular attention to the temporal context of the multi-level creative process that is entrepreneurship can: offer insights into the emergence and development of ventures and how they are managed (Zahra et al. 2014); understand how serial entrepreneurs do enterprise and learn from success and failure (Cope 2005); ascertain the sustainability of nascent firms and their development (Delmar and Shane 2004); and, appreciate who is engaged with

entrepreneurship, what it means to them, and what they believe it will mean to others (Corbett 2005; Dimov 2007; McMullen and Dimov 2013).

Given the immensity and complexity of temporality and the ways it contextualises entrepreneurial action requires researchers to re-evaluate research strategies for the empirical study of entrepreneurial processes. This study therefore sets out to examine how entrepreneurs within their entrepreneurship journeys (as opposed to across specific events/variables) engage with place, what it means to them, what are the impacts it may have and what is the role that time can play (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013). Covering aspects of temporal context through archival, historical and narrative analyses of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship will allow this study to better understand the differences amongst entrepreneurs at the local level and how these may conform/differ across contexts.

To successfully examine how time ‘flows’ in terms of lived entrepreneurial experiences research must go beyond the linear conception and measures of temporality, using alternative methods which allow research to unpack the importance of time whilst still appreciating its social and cultural prominence and embeddedness within individuals (Husserl 1960). Indeed, Lévesque and Stephan (2020) argue that the understanding of entrepreneurship can be significantly advanced if research moves beyond a static view, and instead adopts a dynamic view that takes seriously time’s various facets. There are many non-linear interpretations of time within other disciplines and this review will now briefly explore three alternative conceptions of temporality which have implications towards the entrepreneurship process and thus are appropriate for this study’s aims.

2.2.4.1 Temporal focus

Bluedorn’s (2002) concept of temporal focus can serve as a useful construct for understanding how individuals perceive their past, present, and future and what this may mean to them and their actions. Whilst predominantly time orientations have limited individuals to focusing the

majority of their attention to one singular time period (the past, the present, or the future), temporal focus suggests that the amount of attention devoted to these periods is actually a matter of degree (Shipp et al. 2009). Temporal focus therefore allows for a greater variation with how individuals allocate their attention to time periods without imposing a singular, lineal, conceptual restriction. This conception of time thereby allows for the possibility that entrepreneurs might focus on a single time period, on two and exclude one, or equally on all three time frames, capturing the complexity of temporality and how entrepreneurs may differently interpret and allocate attention across the past, present, and future.

Changes in temporal focus have significant implications for entrepreneurs, their actions and their relationship with spatial context. An entrepreneur's penchant for the past may result in slower movement through the entrepreneurial process, conservative contextual behaviour and sticking to what they know. Those focused on the present may be unable to visualise the potential development of place and thus struggle to envision long-term decisions or suitable goals. A focus on the future tends to be the mainstay of entrepreneurship research on individual time perspectives (Lévesque and Stephan 2020) and may lead to more optimistic, positive entrepreneurial action which could also become a downfall due to the uncertain, high-risk, nature of the future and an insufficient application of the lessons of the past. Whilst it has been demonstrated that entrepreneurs are influenced by their past to shape current activities, this may not just be due to an accumulation of knowledge and experience; Shipp et al. (2009) suggest that temporal focus can act as an important mediator between past experiences and current intentions, actions and outcomes.

The nonlinearity of temporal focus can offer insights into how entrepreneurs use time as a strategic resource, how they can allocate it to suit their individual needs, and how this can impact upon their engagement with place. Whilst dissimilarities in temporal focus may have negative impacts on group functioning (e.g., a community) (Gevers and Peeters 2009), it

enables research to better understand subtle individual differences within entrepreneurs' relationship to place rather than misattributing it to those which are more notable (e.g., length of residence). Questioning the strategic use of time in such a manner will help to uncover the nature of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place whilst simultaneously demonstrating what an important resource it can be in addition to the typically studied financial, social and human capital entrepreneurship literature (Lippman and Aldrich 2016).

2.2.4.2 Heterochrony – multiple temporalities

The linear, monochronic notions of time which are widespread within Western physical and social science, focus on the structure of behaviours in the present and referring to individuals as performing tasks sequentially (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; Shipp et al. 2009). Whilst this can act as a predictor of outcomes such as performance, satisfaction, self-efficacy, and strain (Slocombe and Bluedorn 1999), it doesn't account for the idea that time is culturally situated and individual notions of it are culturally specific (Helman 2005). What it fails to capture is that time is most meaningful to humans as part of their individual, lived experience so it is likely to be understood differently in different contexts. As cultures differ in their perspectives on time and industries vary in their pace of time and time management, research relating these differences to entrepreneurship can help to better understand why and when entrepreneurial behaviour takes different forms across contexts as well as the challenges involved (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Appreciating how entrepreneurs carry ideas of time differently can afford a new awareness of context in entrepreneurship by highlighting the all too often overlooked cultural, industry and individual differences in temporal orientation and how multiple actors may mean multiple temporalities.

Such a line of thinking relates to heterochrony as a conceptual notion of time. This notion refers to the idea that temporal orientations and the operation of time distinctly differ in different places or different eras and are not easily related to one another (Bluedorn and

Denhardt 1988; Moxey 2013). When related to this study such an approach will serve as a useful way to gain insights into the individual temporal orientations of entrepreneurs, how they may differ within and across contexts, as well as what the impacts of this may be.

This could therefore capture the complex nature of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place and how many aspects of it require a simultaneous focus on the past, present, and future. While some entrepreneurs may be able to simultaneously balance these foci, that may not be the case for all – a focus on one may occur at the expense of the others (Lippman and Aldrich 2016). A missing piece of the puzzle is that these temporal orientations may be contextual, varying across different environments and types of entrepreneurs. It is therefore important for research to delve into the possible individual, multiple temporalities of entrepreneurs to better understand how they may integrate spatial context within their cognitive processes such as knowledge, skills and actions, what the impacts of this are, and how this may differ contextually. This study therefore sets out to do just that, appreciating individual differences in temporal orientations, exploring whether time operates at the same speed across different entrepreneurs, different spatial contexts, different economies, different industries, and what the implications of this may be, all with a view to providing an in-depth, richer understanding of the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place.

2.2.4.3 Historical contextualisation

Wadhvani (2016, 66) proposes the idea of historical contextualisation to understand and develop theory surrounding the individual differences in temporal orientations as it can allow for “the analysis or interpretation of past event(s), in relationship to their time and place, in ways that address a question or problem that arises in the present”. In this sense, history of context is used as part of everyday localised sense-making, decision-making and communication by entrepreneurs. Wadhvani (2016) argues that history serves this important purpose because interpretations and understandings of the past inherently link to how

entrepreneurs experience the present and how they plan to act in the future. The questions of when, how, and toward what ends entrepreneurs use historical contextualisation within the entrepreneurial process represents the distinct research opportunity of this study to better understand entrepreneurial engagement with place and how such a relationship may influence entrepreneurial actions and reshape context (Wadhvani 2016; Welter 2011).

Historical contextualisation can act as an important alternative conception of temporality within this study because it establishes how entrepreneurs interpret the past within place as well as how it is related with an entrepreneurial concern of relevance in the present (or within the future). Despite its advantages and ability to offer new insights, there have been few entrepreneurship articles which make use of historical context, with some exception (Casson and Godley 2005; Lippmann and Aldrich 2014; Wadhvani 2016; Wadhvani and Jones 2014).

The logic behind historical contextualisation places the impetus on entrepreneurs themselves, how they view the past and how this understanding can impact upon their relationship with place and shape future-oriented entrepreneurial efforts (Wadhvani and Jones 2014). Rather than viewing the past as teleologically enabling or constraining, historical contextualisation allows an insight for research to appreciate how entrepreneurs understand themselves and how that may be represented in their present actions as well as their desired future (Wadhvani 2016), offering unique process-based insights (Axinn et al. 1999; Butterfield et al. 2005). A historical perspective is particularly useful for this study because ‘looking back’ is necessary for seeing and contextualising how entrepreneurs develop interpretations of the past for solutions to present challenges and opportunities, how entrepreneurial actions can shape and reshape contexts, and what the dynamic relationship may be between different levels of analysis (Schumpeter 1947; Wadhvani 2010; Wadhvani 2016). Historical contextualisation is therefore valuable in this sense because it treats the relationship between entrepreneurship

and place as neither fixed nor one directional, but rather as a continuous, developing interaction thus allowing for complex interrelationships between variables (Jackson et al. 2019).

2.2.4.4 Closing time

More broadly, it is unfortunate that temporal contexts been given inadequate attention in the study of entrepreneurship (Aldrich 2009). Whilst a time-based lens in entrepreneurship research can unearth how time matters for a variety of entrepreneurial phenomena, dedicated research focusing on time and its alternate conceptions is relatively new and slowly emerging (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). This may be due to the largely retrospective ways entrepreneurship is studied. Does looking back at the cause and effect of notable events focus on a time that no longer exists for entrepreneurs? Does looking at past actions to create generalisable frameworks come at the cost of envisaging the future? When research fixates itself with venture creation or failure it may inadvertently imply that the entrepreneurial process unfolds neatly, moving through the start and end of enterprise in a linear, teleological fashion (Aldrich 2015; Ruef 2005). Whilst it may be convenient for research to take temporality for granted, conceptualising and measuring time in an alternative, more thorough manner does not only do the construct justice but may also offer hidden explanations behind entrepreneurial behaviour (Lippman and Aldrich 2016).

Considering that uncertainty, pace of change, and envisioning the future are integral aspects of the entrepreneurship process, the question of what is the most relevant time horizon for studying different types of phenomena is an important one, yet one which has not been broached enough by entrepreneurship scholars (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013; Miller and Sardais 2015; Zahra and Wright 2011). Whilst management research has embraced broader conceptions of temporality (cf. Bluedorn 2002; Chen and Nadkarni 2017; Shipp et al. 2009; Whipp et al. 2002), entrepreneurship research should endeavour to do the same to better understand individual differences in temporal orientations and how they can

impact upon entrepreneurial actions and intentions at different stages of the entrepreneurial process.

This study will go some way to addressing that gap by examining the nature of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place which will require paying particular attention to the spatial and temporal dimensions of context. To take these steps forward, time is considered here as the bridging construct between the entrepreneur and the spatial context. Time can open new vistas for entrepreneurship research and the sociocultural context as, fundamentally, it creates a medium which enables entrepreneurial actions to become exposed and interact with place. This approach enables the research to understand entrepreneurs' actions and intentions and apply it to exploring and explaining their relationship with place. This will offer contextual insights into who entrepreneurs are, what they do, and what they feel they should do throughout the entrepreneurial process. Investigating the relationship between entrepreneurship and place will not only recognise the role of the spatial and temporal contexts, it will also offer insights into how entrepreneurs may be mobile across contexts, adding to a body of literature which remains fragmented and mostly limited to immigrant groups and entrepreneurial spin-outs (Wright 2011). This study's broad approach to cross-contextual factors can therefore open up wide-ranging research avenues, enrich theory building and guide policy making (Welter et al. 2019; Zahra and Wright 2011).

Any theory of context has to pay attention to temporal and historical aspects in order to avoid oversimplifications across contexts (Aldrich 2009; Hess 2004). Theory has to capture the potential enabling and constraining nature of contexts which can pose conceptual and methodological challenges. Whilst contextual factors can improve the 'theory lens' (Whetten 1989), the acknowledgement of the role of the spatial and temporal can help frame research questions and research designs (Miller and Sardais 2015) yet run the risk of 'over-contextualisation' in any efforts trying to capture the manifold contexts for entrepreneurship

(Hess 2004; Welter and Baker 2020). As the contextualisation of entrepreneurship is still in its relative infancy the question remains as how to best incorporate time into ‘theories of context’. Here, entrepreneurial engagement with place can link temporal and historical contexts, assisting in explaining everyday entrepreneurial actions. Rather than trying to be comprehensive, the importance of time is placed on the entrepreneurs’ personal narrative and how it may influence their actions and intentions, thus helping to unpack micro-level individual processes which can reveal greater detail on the variability of contextual entrepreneurship and offer new, temporally sensitive perspectives on entrepreneurial phenomena. Such an approach does not take for granted the conception of time as measured by clocks and calendars (Ritzer 2008) and allows for the possibility that when concerning the relationship between entrepreneurship and place, time may not necessarily be linear, universal, or progressive (Lippman and Aldrich 2016).

2.2.5 The next step

Over the years, the development of the field of entrepreneurship has without doubt earned its legitimacy, yet it is this very acceptance and approval which has led to the phenomenon becoming taken-for-granted, pushing out and recycling “theories [which] are primitive” (Welter et al. 2017, 318). Entrepreneurship remains too nascent to impose boundaries and limit research from the heterogeneity of the phenomenon; contextualising entrepreneurship can reveal not only the local perceptions of enterprise and how they are constructed, but also how these may be conditioned by context-specific discursive routines (Parkinson et al. 2017). Given the robustness and legitimacy of entrepreneurship research today, the need to reductively narrow down phenomena is a thing of the past; a broader, contextualised approach is needed (Welter et al. 2019). Research should therefore endeavour to remain in exploratory mode, observing, assessing, and attempting to understand the full range and richness of differences and variations that occur within the phenomenon, looking at the context beyond context.

Nevertheless, in the current body of work surrounding enterprise in context, the analytical focus is often heavily weighted on the effects of the entrepreneurial engagement with place (i.e., creating economic wealth and job opportunities) and “how the relationship between entrepreneurs and communities influences entrepreneurial practices and outcomes” (McKeever et al. 2015, 50). As a result, the intellectual search is still for the linear effects-of-causes and not the causes-of-effects explanations and little work has been done to show that an entrepreneurial outcome may be produced by numerous different temporal and causal pathways (Welch et al. 2011). This calls for research to address the context-specific entrepreneurial process, paying particular attention to the temporal linkages across the different stages in order to offer unique and potentially powerful theoretical insights into the notion that what works in one context (and when) may not necessarily work in another (Navis and Ozbek 2016).

This study’s contextualisation of the broad, dynamic process of everyday entrepreneurship through the narratives of enterprising individuals enables a greater understanding of entrepreneurial actions and pathways towards outcomes (Watson 2009). This meets the increased contemporary need for academic attention to research the environment in which the entrepreneur exists and therefore the context(s) in which enterprise, actions and outcomes are shaped and lived (Anderson and Warren 2011). It is important to note that these academic insights must comprehend a greater understanding than simply the characteristics of place or space (Gill and Larson 2014) to appreciate the complexity of the relationship of entrepreneurial embeddedness occurring within the context (Pitt 2004) and for the potential of the individual to have a considerable impact (whether it is consciously known or not) on shaping and reshaping their environment (Wadhvani 2016; Welter 2011). Appreciating such social circumstances and practices of context is imperative for entrepreneurship research as it helps to understand how the dynamic, local environment is built and perceived (Bika and Frazer 2020; Parkinson et al. 2017; Welter and Baker 2020; Welter et al. 2017).

Clearly, exploring the relationship between entrepreneurship and place is no straightforward matter as it can be approached from a number of different, partly overlapping perspectives (Halfacree 1993). It would be problematic to give one of these perspectives credence over another as the geographic location, material form, or the representations which construct place as meaningful can be effective as enabling and constraining factors for certain types of entrepreneurial activities (Gieryn 2000; Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Indeed, the attention paid to these multiple perspectives and contexts changes perceptions of what actually constitutes entrepreneurship and what theory must therefore explain (Welter et al. 2019). Whilst this study adds to the call of treading new ground and understanding entrepreneurship in a more expansive model than that of extant literature (Welter et al. 2017), further contextualised and potentially new forms of entrepreneurship offer both opportunities and challenges for theory development – in the modern sphere where everything can become context for something else it is important for research to not ‘over-contextualise’ and therefore sensibly approach the benefits and costs of theoretical contributions (Hess 2004; Welter et al. 2019).

Investigating entrepreneurial engagement with place fills an important research gap in the field as notable contextual differences at the local spatial level are likely to influence entrepreneurial processes in a number of different ways (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Whilst the relatively recent academic acceptance of an interdependent relationship between context and entrepreneurship is certainly a cause for celebration, the feeling remains that the field is still understudied in terms of how and why different forms of context, as well as specific contextual factors, can influence entrepreneurship processes and their various agents (Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2017; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra 2007; Zahra et al. 2014; Zahra and Wright 2011). This study therefore strives for an enhanced understanding of “what works for whom in which circumstances?” (Nielsen and Miraglia 2017, 40) (albeit without

creating easily transferrable entrepreneurial practices from one context to another). This would allow the development of a more temporally integrated understanding of everyday entrepreneurship in different contexts. Whilst it is common knowledge that different contexts may variably affect the entrepreneurial process, it is noted here that the entrepreneurial process itself may also vary both across contexts and within the same context as a result of different methods of entrepreneurial engagement to, and attachment with, place.

2.3 Entrepreneurial attachment to place

2.3.1 Place attachment

Place attachment is rich and varied, often focusing on homes and sacred places. The word ‘attachment’ emphasises affect and the unique sentimental experiences and bonds of people whilst the word ‘place’ focuses on the spatial context setting to which people are emotionally and culturally attached (Low and Altman 1992). Whilst earlier positivist-dominated research overlooked the heterogeneous nature of place attachment, in more recent years there has been an eclectic and broader acceptance of scholarly approaches and phenomenological analyses that capture the unique and subjective experiences within cultural and historical contexts and how these are becoming increasingly important within understanding the relationship between individuals and places (Morgan 2010; Smith 2018). As such, within the intellectual and social milieus, place attachment and the bonding of people to places has gained increased academic and societal attention. Research often portrays place attachment as a complex, multifaceted concept that incorporates several aspects of people-place bonding and comprises many inseparable, integral, and mutually defining features and qualities. It is therefore treated here as a holistic philosophical view characterising the bond between entrepreneurs and their important places (Giuliani 2003; Smith 2018). Place attachment can thus be considered as an integrating concept comprised of interrelated and inseparable aspects with origins that are

varied and complex and thereby contribute towards understanding various individual, cultural, self-definitions, actions and integrity of entrepreneurs (Low and Altman 1992).

The contemporary eclectic nature of place attachment has led the concept to being researched broadly, over an array of fields and therefore defined with a considerable degree of variance. Researchers have acknowledged different processes, places, and people involved in person–place bonding, but these definitions remain fragmented. This can partly be attributed to: the many spatial levels at which attachment to place can exist (e.g., at the city, home, and neighbourhood levels [Kasarda and Janowitz 1974]); some anthropological scholars believing that fulfilling fundamental human needs drives attachment and bonding with a ‘sense of place’ (Giuliani 2003; Scannell and Gifford 2017); others suggesting that place attachment incorporates identity play with sub-concepts like place identity and place dependence (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Smith 2018); that it can include ancestral and familial ties, inducing feelings of being an ‘insider’ (or an outsider) and a desire to remain in or depart from place (Clark et al. 2017; Kyle and Chick 2007); or that attachment to place can even be defined by displacement, longing for places which are lost (Brook 2003).

Scannell and Gifford (2010) review and synthesise these contributions into a three-dimensional, organising framework, defining place attachment as a multidimensional concept with person, psychological process, and place dimensions. The first dimension relates to the meanings the individual actor attaches to place. It involves the personal connections one may have, “it is not simply the places themselves that are significant, but rather what can be called ‘experience-in-place’ that creates meaning” (Manzo 2005, 74). It is therefore the personal *experiences* and symbolic *meanings* within place that facilitate place attachment echoing the importance of this study following Gieryn’s (2000) approach to the spatial. It is important to note that the attention to meanings also exists at the collective level as it is the historical experiences, values, and symbols shared among members that enable a process in which groups

become attached to the communities and cultures in the places this happens (Low 1992; Manzo and Perkins 2006).

The second dimension is the psychological process which concerns how affect, cognition, and behaviour are manifested in the attachment. Affect refers to the idea that attachment to place is grounded in emotion. This attachment and investment in place can elicit deeply laden intense emotions within entrepreneurs, prompting feelings of pride and providing a general sense of wellbeing (Brown et al. 2003; Smith 2018). Cognition involves the construction of, and bonding to, place; it is the memories, beliefs, meanings and knowledge that people associate with place as being personally important which creates a bond and attachment (Low and Altman 1992). Indeed, for entrepreneurs within context these could include the creation of ventures, expansion, community acceptance and even entrepreneurial exit. Hunter (1974) labels the cognitions paired with such events as ‘symbolic communities’ as the attachment is so often based on the representations of the past that has occurred in place. Behaviour in place attachment is expressed through actions. Hidalgo and Hernández (2001, 274) explain the behavioural level of place attachment as “a positive, affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is to maintain closeness to such a place”. The idea that attachment is characterised by proximity-maintaining supports the idea that it relates to length of residence (Lewicka 2010; Raymond et al. 2010), feelings of home (Anton and Lawrence 2014; Smith 2018) as well as the efforts to return if one has left (DeMiglio and Williams 2008; Riemer 2004).

The third (and arguably the most pertinent) dimension is the object of the attachment itself, place. This concerns the nature of what the attachment is actually to and therefore includes the characteristics of place, its meanings, the spatial levels and the prominence of social or physical elements. This includes the necessarily social elements of place-bonding that often consists of social ties, belonging to the community, and familiarity with fellow residents

within a neighbourhood (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Kyle et al. 2004; Scannell and Gifford 2017). Attachment to a place often therefore means attachment to those who reside within it and the social interactions that consequently occur, meaning spatial bonds frequently become important to individuals because of the social bonds that they represent (Lalli 1992; Woldoff 2002). Part of place attachment thus involves the social interaction of entrepreneurs with others within place and what importance and relevance this interaction holds within individuals (Scannell and Gifford 2010). On the other hand, the physical attachment to the place dimension can be the result of length of residence, ownership, and plans to stay within the context alongside feelings towards a broad range of physical settings; from built environments such as neighbourhoods, houses and streets, to natural environments such as parks, forests and oceans (Manzo 2005; Raymond et al. 2010).

Realistically, person-place bonding can occur for several reasons. Places can fulfil fundamental human needs offering survival and security with the supply of food, water, shelter, and other resources (Giuliani 2003). They can also provide continuity over time for attachments to place that are symbolically and temporally meaningful to individuals, evoking favourable memories and connections to the past which can help to shape entrepreneurial actions of the future (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996; Wadhvani 2016). However, and considerably relevant to this research, place attachment can offer goal support and self-regulation. Entrepreneurs can become attached to places that support the pursuit of goals and provide access to embedded resources if individuals are deemed as a legitimate actor within the community (Kibler and Kautonen 2016; Kyle et al. 2004). Indeed, attachment to place has been found to enhance localised horizontal and vertical networking, enabling entrepreneurs to build relationships, increase their legitimacy within communities and mobilise social capital (Lang and Fink 2019; Munoz et al. 2015). Looking at the degree and nature of the entrepreneur's attachment to the place alongside their past experiences therefore enables one to begin to understand how

individuals feel about place and how positive localised entrepreneurial behaviour may become repeated, thus offering an avenue to further strengthen attachment (Lang et al. 2014; Wheeler 2014).

Kibler et al. (2015) argue that by distinguishing between emotional ('caring about the place') and instrumental ('using the place') place attachment, one can understand entrepreneurial intentions more clearly. Indeed, additional research has shown that ventures with embedded resources and localised production activities can encourage entrepreneurs to pursue environmental protection and social justice, providing sustainability within the context they are located (Shrivastava and Kennelly 2013). Seghezze (2009) continues, suggesting that sustainable social practice is, by definition, linked to place and that entrepreneurs exhibiting place attachment are more likely to create value for place as they base entrepreneurial operations surrounding contextual norms and traditions (Lang et al. 2014). Therefore the relationship between entrepreneurship and place further illustrates an important academic line of inquiry – for a mutually beneficial relationship to occur, members of the community and key stakeholders must first be open to the ideas and activities of entrepreneurs to positively react to their actions and thus provide access to the necessary localised resources which can aid the entrepreneurship journey and help construct, shape and reshape context (Thuesen and Rasmussen 2015).

It is important to note that given the complexity of person-place bonding, not all the levels of place attachment must be examined in each and every situation but the understanding must remain that there are many different ties between individuals and their attachment to place – some may be stronger than others, some may be intertwined, and very few will be easily visible to outsiders (Scannell and Gifford 2010). The nature of an individual's attachment and relationship to place is therefore uniquely rich and personal and future research must take this into account to further understand the functions of place attachment, the particular needs it may

fulfil, and its potential contextual impacts. This study subsequently presents place attachment as an ideal concept to heed Kibler et al.'s (2015) call for future research to more explicitly address the role of place-attached emotions, in order to deepen the knowledge of when, where and how entrepreneurs engage with place throughout their venture's journey. This allows research to understand more about how the entrepreneurship journey unfolds within place, what importance this holds to entrepreneurs, how entrepreneurs may best deal with different place-based expectations and what this means for place itself (Kibler et al. 2014).

2.3.1.1 Place's competitive identity

Whilst the concept of 'place' is approached here as something flexible, holding different meanings to different people, cultures and temporalities (Gieryn 2000), it is these meanings which can often form stereotypes, thoughts and feelings towards certain types of places that can affect attachment due to how people view the context's legitimacy. Anholt (2007) conceptualises this as competitive identity. The act of summarising place, whether such impressions are positive or negative, true or untrue, can greatly affect behaviour and attachment towards contexts, their people and their products. Places with good, powerful and positive reputations may therefore find it easier to attract entrepreneurs to attach themselves and their ventures to place whereas contexts with poor reputations may struggle with not just this, but almost everything when compared cross-contextually with their more 'successful' counterparts.

The reputation of a place therefore has a distinct impact on its engagement with individuals and other contexts, playing a critical role in economic, social, political and cultural progress. In this sense the branding of place, its attractiveness and its marketing become important for entrepreneurs within the global market. Whilst it may seem distasteful that place should 'sell itself' to attract and attach entrepreneurs, it is uniquely important to the management and development of spatial context because it captures that the relationship

between entrepreneurs and place is two-way, emphasising the importance of managing both internal identity and external reputation (Anholt 2007). How place is positioned in the mind of entrepreneurs can powerfully affect their actions within and outside of the context, how they think about the spatial, the way they behave towards place and the way they respond to what is made and done within context. Allais (1953) contends that in attaching one's self to place observation plays a big part – the more important and consequential a decision becomes, the more likely people rely on their feelings and intuition when making decisions rather than logic, with most entrepreneurs finding their location by chance (Berg 2014).

So what is the importance of this? A common driver of most changes within place is globalisation – a series of regional places are rapidly fusing into a single, global marketplace and community. Anholt (2007) argues that a powerful competitive identity reputation which is more about the product of intellect can be a greater asset than a vast sum of money used to force uninspiring messages onto an unwilling audience. A place's competitive identity and reputation therefore positions itself as important for inspiring entrepreneurial attachment to place and potentially aiding regional development policy. What is therefore interesting and what this study hopes to capture is the reasoning behind the social constructions of place, what it (and its sentiments) means to entrepreneurs, and what they mean to it, and how this can work either for or against places. In doing so, one could potentially develop place (and its reputation) into a stronger, more valuable business environment catering to the specific contextual needs of entrepreneurs.

2.3.2 Entrepreneurial embeddedness

Investigating the relationship between entrepreneurs and how they engage with place cannot avoid discussing issues of embeddedness. Granovetter's (1985) seminal work saw economic behaviour as being influenced by the environment and social relations, with actors being seen as deeply embedded within such associations. He considered it the antithesis of the then-

traditional viewpoint of behaviour being rational, self-interested and affected minimally by social relations. It is now widely accepted that to view conduct as independent of the social would be a gross misunderstanding, especially within the context of this study (Massey 1995).

Embeddedness can thereby be likened to a process of moving between two extremes. One extreme is where social embeddedness is non-existent and purely rational market behaviour occurs, where social relationships do not affect decisions (Uzzi 1996). On the other hand there is over-socialisation within a market which implies that individuals choose not to make rational economic decisions, but to base their actions according to social structures (Granovetter 1985). In between these two extremes the entrepreneurial process becomes embedded within place, thus enabling actors to realise place's perceived importance, become part of it, and access its locally bound resources (Jack and Anderson 2002; Korsgaard et al. 2015a; Roos 2019). Embeddedness therefore plays a crucial role for economic activities; it is not only the price mechanism that shapes the nature of economic exchange, but also the perceived value of social interaction of individual and collective actors (even if this may be a spatio-temporal 'snapshot') (Hess 2004).

Entrepreneurial activity is thus fundamentally "conditioned by the dynamics of the entrepreneur and the social structure", creating a link between the economic (i.e., space) and social (i.e., place) spheres (Jack and Anderson 2002, 468). Embeddedness is viewed here as individuals' exposure to social relationships which can aid or impede economic action, holding a plurality of meaning (Hess 2004), and highlighting the importance of how the social can shape entrepreneurial practices, processes, intentions, actions, and goals at the local level (Granovetter 1985; Uzzi 1997). Through the concept of embeddedness, entrepreneurs can dip into the covert socialised pools of knowledge, experience and other local norms within place in order to expand their capabilities and available strategic options (Jack et al. 2008); positioning entrepreneurs as skilled cultural actors who navigate their environments to obtain

the resources they need and value (Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Überbacher et al., 2015). This also allows for increased contextual awareness as entrepreneurs can better understand local standards of behaviour, moral obligations, and ultimately the ramifications of their presence, relationship and engagement with place (Anderson and Miller 2003).

Being embedded in the social structure creates opportunity and improves performance (Jack and Anderson 2002), enabling entrepreneurs to use the specifics of the contextual environment, with dense and rich social relations in networks and communities enabling individuals to learn and share more easily with each other (Johannisson et al. 2002) leading to further empowerment (Goulet 2013). Local embeddedness has therefore been shown to enable entrepreneurial activity despite contextual resource constraints (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Entrepreneurs can exploit unique local resources (Anderson 2000b), they can make the most of family-based contextual opportunities and influences (Alsos et al. 2014), and they can exhaust the capabilities of the place in which they are embedded before looking outside of the context to further enterprise (Korsgaard et al. 2015a). The view that context in enterprise can be seen as a resource in itself, is enabled (Julien 2007; Tregear and Cooper 2016) with embeddedness allowing entrepreneurs of various origins to become a fundamental component of the local structure (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006) and access local resources and opportunities through local networks and communities (Müller 2016).

Whilst the local community context and social networks may have dominated entrepreneurial regional analysis literature, little attention has been given to micro-level processes within the spatial context (Hindle 2010; Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Welter 2011). Considering micro-level processes within the spatial context involves acknowledging the importance and impact of when, where and under what institutional conditions different actors included within the entrepreneurship process may have (Welter 2011). The associated social interactions of embeddedness can therefore aid understanding surrounding entrepreneurial

entry, contextual differences, and localised social change (Roos 2019; Vestrum 2014). Appreciating such interactions can offer unique insights into how embedded entrepreneurs can themselves become part of the embedding process as their venturing activity and subsequent social interactions can change, shape, and reshape the dynamics of the context in which they are situated (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). Clearly, the role of context within the entrepreneurship process must not be overlooked; to analyse entrepreneurs, one must also analyse the context in which they are embedded (Spedale and Watson 2014). There is therefore a need to analyse the embeddedness of entrepreneurs which can unveil the covert, localised bonds of *when*, *who*, and *what* are connected within place, thus also capturing how different contexts may interplay (Aldrich and Cliff 2003; Roos 2019).

In cases where entrepreneurs may find themselves disembedded, like that of “asignifying rupture”, their social bonds can be investigated to see how they may become broken if they are spatially cut off, whether they will seek to start up again on new or old lines, and what the impacts of this may be to their relationship with place (Hess 2004, 182). Indeed, Berglund et al. (2016) found that inhabitants may in fact re-embed themselves by capturing identity positions that break with tradition and offer agency in novel and unexpected ways, such as enrolling as regional actors eliciting regional development. The concept of embeddedness therefore acts as a powerful research lens with far-reaching theoretical implications as it can not only change the context in which venturing activity is embedded (and have potential impacts on others), but also effect and interplay with many other social processes (Roos 2019).

While embeddedness is largely associated with positive effects, at a certain threshold, the concept has also been associated with the negative outcomes of over-socialisation (Uzzi 1997; Waldinger 1995). The enabling force of social embeddedness has led some research to suggest that it may be possible for an entrepreneur to become *too* embedded, and that social

networks, historically anchored norms, and the heritage of a community may work against new ways of perceiving both a community and its inhabitants (Berglund and Johansson 2007). If entrepreneurs are able to recognise these norms and their importance they can work with them and challenge them in their relationship with place, becoming not only economic actors but also important local political and social forces who can rewrite their entrepreneurial discourse to focus on local issues, collective action, and contextual power struggles (Berglund et al. 2016; Rindova et al. 2009; Somerville and McElwee 2011). Nevertheless, other research further suggests embeddedness and attachment to place may inhibit entrepreneurial cultures by enforcing strict social norms and a conformity to local values (Jack and Anderson 2002; Schnell and Sofer 2002; Shaw and de Bruin 2013; Welter 2011). Parkinson et al. (2017) go as far to state that embeddedness and its many possibilities might even be considered as much of a problem for deprived communities whereas it is found to be a positive entrepreneurial factor in more prosperous places.

Additionally, it should be noted that past entrepreneurship research regarding embeddedness can often take the concept at face value, lacking detail of how, why and when embedded social values relate and integrate with enterprise in various places (Jack and Anderson 2002; McKeever et al. 2015; Uzzi 1997). This has served to produce rigid, binary-like notions of embeddedness within the field (Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019) – relying on a somewhat static, single-layered notion of embeddedness inhibits the understanding of how knowledge flows happen within place and what this means for differentiated entrepreneurial engagement (Roos 2019; Tregear and Cooper 2016). This signals an opportunity for this study to explore the social relationship of entrepreneurial engagement with place, which can contribute towards multi-layered conceptualisations of embeddedness. This would enable a broadened perspective for understanding knowledge flows and help to uncover new possible actors and ways of doing entrepreneurship (Roos 2019; Tregear and Cooper 2016).

2.3.2.1 Multiple embeddedness

Given that entrepreneurship is not only socially bounded but also framed by geographical embeddedness means that the spatial context is gaining more and more attention in the entrepreneurship field (Kibler et al. 2015; Müller and Korsgaard 2018). What research has found is that the phenomenon of entrepreneurship can be embedded within multiple spatial contexts, presenting different levels of analysis and factors which can affect the entrepreneurship process (Basco 2017). The concept of multiple embeddedness therefore captures how entrepreneurs' positions within their social networks across contexts come together with the way the markets they are active in are structured and how this can affect enterprise (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). The concept of multiple embeddedness can thereby allow an understanding of how entrepreneurs may (or may not) engage and leverage multiple contexts at once (Greenwood et al. 2010; Korsgaard et al. 2015a). It is important to note that this is not a one-way relationship, but a recursive one where the entrepreneurship phenomenon and its plurality of contexts are continuously impacting upon each other (Basco 2017). Multiple embeddedness therefore presents itself as a source of heterogeneity for entrepreneurship needed for context-sensitive theorising (Suddaby 2010; Welter et al. 2017) as it can capture a variety of entrepreneurs' positions within cross-contextual social networks alongside their impacts upon the entrepreneurial process (Kloosterman and Rath 2018).

Multiple embeddedness subsequently offers a perspective on how the micro-level of the individual entrepreneur and their assets can combine with the meso-level of local opportunity (Kloosterman 2010), relevant to specific time-and-place contexts (Ibrahim and Galt 2003; Thornton and Flynn 2003). It offers a generic and open framework for interpreting the interactions between agency (the entrepreneur) and structure (the opportunity) and how these are embedded in larger social structures (Dheer 2018). It demonstrates how the benefits of being embedded in a network of close social relations and family ties can offer the right

resources for entrepreneurship at the right time, whilst helping to shape goals and entrepreneurial action in a way that emphasises co-operation over profit maximising (Uzzi 1996).

The benefits provided by being embedded in multiple contexts or networks have been used to explain the mobilisation of entrepreneurs and, in particular, the increase in numbers and better overall economic performance of in-migrant entrepreneurs in rural areas (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006; Kloosterman 2010). It reveals relocating entrepreneurs cannot expect to transfer their activities from their initial context to their new environment as if nothing had changed – they have to accept the specific socioeconomic make up of their new ‘place’ (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). Entrepreneurs may therefore be embedded both in the local context and networks as well as non-local contexts and networks and they may use this mix in various ways to aid their entrepreneurial journey (Korsgaard et al. 2015a). Such a line of thinking is supported by Kloosterman (2010) who asserts that being embedded in both local and non-local networks can give entrepreneurs access to required resources and markets, increasing the likelihood of success. Entrepreneurs may therefore engage with place to make the most of these networks and gain access to the relevant resources and markets. Such engagement is not everywhere the same; it is contingent on the wider socioeconomic context. The potentially mixed nature of social embeddedness can therefore offer insights into entrepreneurs’ relationship with place in all the contexts they operate in.

The conceptual notion of multiple embeddedness consequently enables research to make more sense of the emerging patterns of mobilising entrepreneurship in different national and local contexts (Kloosterman and Rath 2001). Additionally, Meyer et al. (2011) acknowledge that entrepreneurs may face growing challenges in managing the complexity of interactions across distinct contexts at two levels: firstly, at the organisational level, entrepreneurs must organise their networks to be most efficient in exploiting the differences

and similarities of the contexts in which they are embedded; secondly, they must balance their own 'internal' embeddedness within the context whilst maintaining their network with external actors in contexts where they may no longer have a physical presence. Upholding such a balance of strategic external organisational links with a local identity and local links can often represent a trade-off (Meyer et al. 2011). Entrepreneurs may become overwhelmed from the managerial challenges arising from having to maintain and cultivate a 'local' relationship with place whilst connecting with other actors in distinctly different local contexts and devising strategies to best exploit these differences.

There is thus a need to explore how 'everyday entrepreneurs' may be mobile across contexts, recognising the full measure of complexity that is associated with adapting to place (Rugman et al. 2011), how such adaptation and development of relations can bolster human and social capital as an antecedent for enterprise (Basco 2017) and how these relations can inspire entrepreneurial actions and engagement with place thus aiding regional development (Korsgaard et al. 2015a). Including such ideas within this study heeds the heterogeneity calls for contextualised entrepreneurship allowing research to compare divergent paths of enterprise and mobilisation both within and across contexts (Kloosterman 2010; Kloosterman and Rath 2018; Welter et al. 2017). This can help to understand the relationship between entrepreneurship and place as conceivably being culturally contingent with embedded entrepreneurs potentially bringing a multitude of their own meanings, values and perceptions to place (Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). To this extent, multiple embeddedness affords an advancement into the more micro-level intricate interplay between individual entrepreneurs, their processes, agentic orientations and how this can be empirically explored.

2.3.2.2 Bridging contexts

What is closely related to multiple embeddedness is the concept of bridging. Bridging is the mechanism of *how* entrepreneurs create links and connections between the contexts in which

they are embedded, pointing to how they may go beyond the local place in search of markets, partners and resources (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). The idea of bridging across networks (Burt 2000; 2004) can be applied to bridging across spatial contexts; the structural holes of one place may act as a source of opportunity for entrepreneurs to connect to a non-local spatial context by engaging with outside networks, outlets and markets, helping to develop partnerships, attract non-local customers and sell place-specific goods and services non-locally (Hoang and Antoncic 2003).

Constructing new, or utilising existing bridges, can enable entrepreneurs to leverage multiple contexts and create opportunities. Existing bridges (e.g., infrastructural conditions, community links, etc.) may enable and/or constrain certain aspects of the entrepreneurial process, while other types of ventures may require the construction of new bridges, which in turn may benefit the wider community and the development of place (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Indeed, Marti et al. (2013) identified bridging occurring where ‘known strangers’ created links between a local impoverished community and outside resources to enable community development which would have been unachievable through the agency of solely local actors. Kalantaridis and Bika (2006) found that in-migrant entrepreneurs engage with place by bridging their current location with the networks of their place of origin to help further ventures. Similarly, Korsgaard et al. (2015a) found rural entrepreneurs to exhibit bridging with non-local partners to gain access to skills and resources which were not available locally.

Moyes et al. (2015) describe these kinds of partnerships as augmented social capital, which for many newly embedded, displaced or rural entrepreneurs may be vital to ensuring their success (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). The mechanism of bridging can enable entrepreneurs to actively participate in the globalised flow of resources, services and products across multiple spatial contexts, suggesting that embeddedness and external relations can be mutually reinforcing (Dubois 2016). Dynamically bridging between a local place and non-local

place(s) positions the entrepreneur themselves as a bridge. They can connect local economies with national and global ones (Kalantaridis 2010) which can have a significant impact and contribute substantially towards the development and resilience of place (Bristow 2010; Korsgaard et al. 2016; Simmie and Martin 2010).

Clearly spatial bridging impacts upon how entrepreneurs engage with place and the locally bound and unique resources tied to it. The extent to which entrepreneurs make use of localised resource bases, can consequently have an impact on just how embedded in and attached to place entrepreneurial activities are. Through the strategic use of place, entrepreneurs can build ventures that leverage spatial contexts in a way that provides competitive advantage. In doing so, not only do they become embedded within their locality, but they can also help to build and develop lively places which can safeguard their economic and social wellbeing (Marti et al. 2013; Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Considering the diversity of place, it is likely that spatial context influences entrepreneurial processes in distinctly different ways and whilst acknowledging bridging as a mechanism is important, there may be a wealth of other mechanisms which exist and invite further investigation.

2.3.2.3 Attachment to place through clustering

To avoid the issues associated with being attached to multiple places, leveraging multiple contexts and maintaining relationships which may not be spatially proximate, some entrepreneurs have been found to attach themselves to place through the method of clustering. Delgado et al. (2010) describe clusters as collections of industries with high levels of geographic co-location in terms of agglomeration economies such as technology, skills, suppliers, shared infrastructure, labour, and demand, which may have links among related clusters in neighbouring regions. The theory of agglomeration contributes to explaining why entrepreneurs may cluster in groups. Whilst there may be increased competition for resources and difficulty to retain exclusive technologies (Canina et al. 2005), the impacts of knowledge

spillovers, input-output linkages, and creating a pool of skilled labour can lead to higher performance (Marshall 1961). Higher performance can then lead to improved production and increased consumer demand, leading more entrepreneurs to follow suit and respond to the market forces of increased consumer needs (Porter 2007). Whilst most previous empirical studies of agglomeration and clustering tended to focus on variables such as overall employment and economic venture growth, additional contemporary drivers include local demand characteristics, the structure of regional business, and the area's social networks – all of which have emphasised the role and importance of entrepreneurs engaging with place via clustering and the impacts that this method of attachment may have on regional growth and development (Acs and Armington 2006; Haltiwanger et al. 2013; Markusen 1996; Porter 1998; 2000).

This coupled with the assertion from extant literature that firms benefit from being located together has led spatial clustering to become an increasingly pertinent and widespread strategy for entrepreneurs, firms, policymakers and academics to pursue (Sunny and Shu 2019). The presence of a strong cluster environment can reduce barriers to entry, lower costs, provide access to superior resources and enhance legitimacy of entrepreneurs as well as offering a strong network of inter-firm relationships to help overcome the uncertainty and troubles that go hand-in-hand with nascency (Folta et al. 2006; Poudier and John 1996; Sunny and Shu 2019; Tracey et al. 2014). In this fashion, strong regional clusters may not only offer entrepreneurs a way to engage with and attach themselves to place whilst developing their ventures in a positive manner, it can also help to enhance the range and diversity of enterprise occurring within a spatial context, reducing costs, increasing local confidence and potentially furthering place itself (Delgado et al. 2010).

Clusters have therefore been the focus of a wealth of academic and scholarly interest. Historically, literature has tended to focus exclusively on innovation and idea generation within

this model in line with the expectation that co-located firms will benefit from knowledge spillovers (Tracey et al. 2014). However, it is still unclear whether it is beneficial or not for entrepreneurs to attach themselves to place by clustering together as beyond the many positive relationships expected between cluster size and performance lies congestion economics ready to throw a spanner in the works (Folta et al. 2006). Larger clusters may offer negative returns to agglomeration, exposing entrepreneurs to diseconomies of increased costs and competition which can potentially endanger the viability of entrepreneurship within a certain spatial context (Sunny and Shu 2019). It is therefore important to understand clustering as a method of entrepreneurial attachment to place to better understand the impacts it may have on enterprise (be they positive or negative) and what this may subsequently mean for entrepreneurs, their actions and place itself.

Whilst most prior cluster studies have focused on high-tech clustering, innovation, the ‘Silicon Valley model’ of entrepreneurship and the impact to the economy at macro-regional levels such as metropolitan statistical areas or entire states (Tracey et al. 2014; York and Lenox 2014) it is also important to analyse the micro-level of the individual entrepreneur. There is a need to uncover not only how entrepreneurs situated within a cluster may be attached to place, but also what the impact of the said cluster can have on ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ within the same spatial context and how this can ultimately shape the overall relationship between entrepreneurship and place. Within such a framework, this study addresses Sunny and Shu’s call (2019) to better understand the temporal and spatial characteristics of clusters by employing a more non-linear, dynamic approach thus enabling greater insights into the multiplex nature of social and economic relationships within clusters (Heide et al. 2007; Uzzi 1996).

2.3.3 Belonging

Central to place attachment is also the experience of belonging; thinking about belonging evokes questions of what it is to fit in or to feel out of place, to be an insider or to be excluded, to feel accepted or to feel marginalised. The experience of local belonging can therefore be useful in understanding entrepreneurial engagement with place; entrepreneurs can belong to a community and places can become their community. The idea of belonging is summarised by Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) as the affective bonds of place attachment. A sense of belonging within place can consequently be created through cultural and social constructions along with local interactions, personal experiences and individual actions and beliefs (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). This line of thinking recognises an interdependence between the entrepreneur and the social with “each affected by the other” (May 2011, 365-366). Such an understanding characterises belonging as being fluid and dynamic, embedded within the pre-existing social practices and aspects of place. Evidently, belonging is an emotional experience (McManus et al. 2012) and one which can provide key insights into entrepreneurial engagement with place through the phenomenology of ‘being-in-the-world’ – that of experiencing place and the meanings attributed to such experiences (Dodd et al. 2013; Heidegger 1962).

Bell (1999) states it is important to note that belonging is not only concerned with being but also with the affective elements that surround yearning to be accepted within a particular group. This inclusivity and how individuals may relate to, assimilate, recognise and engage with place could evoke feelings of being “at ease with one’s surroundings” (May 2011, 372) as they become “part of the system” (Anant 1966, 21) fostering and growing a sense of belonging which can become a step beyond membership (Marshall 2002). Indeed, when thinking about entrepreneurial engagement with place individuals may connect to a place in the sense that it comes to represent who they are. Connections to place may be cognitive, and can sometimes be incorporated, at the most personal level, into one’s self-definition (Scannell

and Gifford 2010). Such attachment and acceptance from a particular group, context or community provides individuals with a greater sense of belonging (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Giuliani 2003), one that is mirrored in the interpersonal attachment literature (c.f. La Guardia et al. 2000).

Clearly, belonging to place is not simply a mechanical process that entrepreneurs can instigate. Instead, it involves individual agency and a joining of emotional investment from entrepreneurs with continual actions and efforts to present themselves as worthy of belonging (May 2011). The concept of belonging therefore helps to understand “how people can be embedded in a familiar everyday world yet feel they do *not* belong there” (May 2011, 370). Focusing on the inter-relational link that belonging forges between the entrepreneur and the social can provide a more dynamic and detailed viewpoint into the interplay of structure and agency within context, including a furthered knowledge of how entrepreneurial identities may be produced, performed, embodied and developed (Özbilgin and Woodward 2004). Indeed, how entrepreneurship is enacted and how it is received (Watson 2009) may itself be bounded by a sense of belonging (Anderson et al. 2018; Shepherd and Haynie 2009).

Belonging is therefore performative and can be created, recreated and altered through different entrepreneurial actions and practices (Bell 1999; Marshall 2002). This (re)creation of belonging can serve to establish and sustain perceptions and practices within place, determining a spatial context’s progression (or lack thereof). Indeed, whilst some argue that economics are often driving decline, others suggest that social involvement and a sense of belonging can counteract such decline (McManus et al. 2012). Entrepreneurship can therefore potentially act as a change process, renewing the sense of place through the experience of belonging (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). This study aligns with such a view and proposes that these ideas about meaning, belonging and experience offer a conceptually powerful viewpoint to discover, examine and begin to explain entrepreneurial engagement with place. In doing so,

the concept of belonging can link various localised scales of behaviour (such as individual and community) (McManus et al. 2012), therefore enabling deeper intellectual insights into the contextual shared values, within-group trust, historical reciprocity and bounded solidarity of entrepreneurs within place (McKeever et al. 2015). Despite this, belonging has received little explicit attention in the entrepreneurial sphere with few exceptions (c.f. Kondo 1990; Lewis 2012; Stead 2017). Embracing the concept of belonging and how it can encompass the aspects of acceptance, identity, recognition and inclusion within place (Marshall 2002; May 2011) can subsequently act as a means to explore the inter-relational dynamics between individual entrepreneurs and the social practices of their spatial context, providing greater insights into nature of the phenomenon (Ahl 2006; Hamilton 2013).

2.3.3.1 No place like home

The feelings of a place as ‘home’ can strengthen attachment to spatial context, evoking and instilling a sense of belonging and nostalgia (Oxfeld and Long 2004). People are drawn to home places driven by a desire of a spatial context which is more private and in which there is the presence of existing family networks and roots in the local area (Rérat 2014; Scott et al. 2017). While entrepreneurs are expected to be among the least inertial of people – innovative, flexible and adventurous (Lumpkin and Dess 1996) – their (often inertial) steadfast approach about their attachment to place and ‘home’ regions can impact upon the entrepreneurial process. Contemporary research has discovered that entrepreneurs greatly appreciate social values as they “weigh in more than four times as heavily as economic ones in entrepreneurs’ location decisions” (Dahl and Sorenson 2009, 173). Despite having the luxury of increased freedom of movement being an entrepreneur, it appears they have an even stronger tendency than those employed by others to remain in their home regions of birth (Clark and Lee 2006; Michelacci and Silva 2007), feeling not only as if they belonged there, but also a sense of

responsibility towards the place in which their ventures and themselves are embedded (Kibler et al. 2015).

Such a situation therefore poses a dilemma for entrepreneurs when considering their attachment to place; it appears that entrepreneurs value proximity to home, family and friends (i.e., place) greater than the proximity of environmental economic factors which could result in increased economic success (e.g., local infrastructure, human resources, availability of capital) (i.e., space) not so much to maximise the economic performance of ventures, but rather to allow more time to be spent with family and friends (Gimeno et al. 1997; Dahl and Sorenson 2009). Entrepreneurs may thereby exhibit a preference for home regions as those places have the highest concentration of loved ones where they can derive satisfaction from spending quality time with family and friends, thus garnering greater overall utility from being attached to a place which facilitates such interactions rather than one which optimises economic performance (Dahl and Sorenson 2012).

Nevertheless, the decision for entrepreneurs to remain attached to 'home' need not be a negative one, such a relationship with place can present notable opportunities for the entrepreneurial process. A better understanding of place and the social connections that 'home' affords means that their ventures are often more likely to succeed within these spatial contexts (Dahl and Sorenson 2012). Such attachment and engagement with place can act as a method for gaining and increasing social capital; possessing local information about the history of a place, its culture, connections which can offer value and a host of other factors can give 'home' entrepreneurs an advantage that would be difficult for an outsider to access. They can make use of personal relationships to increase the availability of capital, recruit potential employees and create an initial consumer base (Bygrave et al. 2003; Jack et al. 2008; Sorenson and Audia 2000). Entrepreneurs with deep roots and local knowledge of an area will also be deemed more trustworthy by external stakeholders (Koehn 2001), enabling the development of ventures to

be much smoother. Additionally, being located close to family and friends offers a viable method of attracting trusted and flexible employees (Ruef et al. 2003). It is however important to note that these local relationships which mobilise resources, develop social capital and increase chances of success remain largely rooted in place and cannot easily be transferred from context to context (Dahl and Sorenson 2012).

Conversely, those entrepreneurs who may be new to a region can experience a disadvantage of not being 'local' and may face difficulties becoming familiar with the customs, preferences and practices of the local population (Cuervo-Cazurra et al. 2007). Such a liability can be attributed, in part, to outsiders having a lack of local knowledge and therefore an inability to match products and services with demand as effectively as their local counterparts (Zaheer 1995). Whilst demand can vary from region to region and place to place, those with experience in a certain spatial context will be better equipped to match their offerings to local demand than that of outsiders.

While the concept of home has been extensively covered within human geography and travel and tourism it tends to be glossed over and taken for granted within entrepreneurship literature. The little attention it has received has focused on location choices and their effects on performance rather than what 'home' can mean contextually and experientially for entrepreneurs and place itself. This study will endeavour to address that very issue. One such way may be understanding how 'home' influences attachment to place and can impact upon entrepreneurs and their actions thus delving deeper into the *how* and *why* of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place (Parkinson et al. 2017; Wright and Stigliani 2013).

2.3.3.2 Entrepreneurship and community

A sense of belonging and attachment to place is necessarily social (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974) and is often compared, or conflated with, a sense of community (Pretty et al. 2003). Communities have intrinsic associations with place influencing the characteristics of

proximity, population stability and continuous loops of interaction (Barrett 2015). Places can therefore offer the very structural qualities which shapes the agency of communities (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). Communities can consequently provide a way for people to be connected and interact within place, defined as “a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialization processes” (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974, 329). Communities are identifiable social entities which are greater than kinship and more immediate than societies (Cohen 2013), they serve as a matrix of place that encourages shared sentiments and expectations, helping to better understand the social ties rooted within strong feelings of attachment (Markey et al. 2010; Nasar and Julian 1995). Communities therefore offer members meaning within place and that belonging to such a place shares some of those meanings and practices with others. Appreciating communities in this manner allows for a wider understanding of how they can benefit the local environment, subsequently developing context(s) (Haugh 2007; Welter et al. 2008). Indeed, through entrepreneurship this may manifest as job creation and local economic growth, however, contextual factors of place can act as additional drivers of entrepreneurship, encouraging social commitment, non-profit goals and benefits for the wider community (Welter 2011). Entrepreneurship within community business can therefore act as the leverage for social change to foster economic and social development, especially within depleted or declining communities (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004).

In the case of depleted or declining communities, there may be a disconnect between the ‘conventional’ nature of entrepreneurship and the local context (Southern 2011; Williams and Williams 2012). Depleted communities are often referred to as poor economic spaces which hold strong social values and offer potential for alternative, creative forms of enterprise (Hudson 2001; Johnstone and Lionais 2004; McKeever et al. 2015). If the lack of ‘fit’ between enterprise and depleted communities is not addressed, deprivation can develop and be

sustained. In doing so, a context may experience a lack of collective self-efficacy, a struggle to foster an entrepreneurial culture, and an inability to attract inward investment or external entrepreneurs (Dawson 2002; Williams and Williams 2012). Such disinvestment can restrict the capacity to sustain local enterprise as conventional entrepreneurship has limited purchase, meaning the community becomes less capable of developing its own growth and place therefore stagnates (Johnstone and Lionais 2004; Parkinson et al. 2017). The relationship between entrepreneurship and place in depleted communities therefore has considerable economic and social impacts – limited employment and incomes causes problems for maintaining local businesses and services (Bosworth 2012) as a vicious cycle of depletion drains both economic vitality and the means of which to escape it.

So what can be done to counteract this? Anderson and Gaddefors (2016) argue that a sense of belonging and a strong attachment to place can revitalise depleted communities by realigning the meanings and attributes of place. They argue that positively reconnecting place with meanings of the past and the present that had been forgotten or lost in the materiality of temporal changes can instil a new sense of confidence and purpose. Looking positively towards the future at what place may become rather than pessimistically looking back at how it used to be can create an entrepreneurial chain reaction transforming depleted communities into those with a renewed drive and sense of purpose. In this sense, entrepreneurship can act as a change process with one actor becoming an entrepreneurial role model, inspiring a whole community to shape and reshape the development and future of place. Such a chain reaction can allow the flow of entrepreneurial energy to become amplified in its dissemination and distribution instilling confidence in place, imparting a stronger logic of purpose and overcoming its depleted nature.

Indeed, research has reiterated this as Huggins and Thompson (2014) show how entrepreneurship mediates the relationship between the community and economic

development. Vestrum's (2014) and Bensemann et al.'s (2018) research details how an entrepreneur can bring fresh ideas to a community stimulating social change. Similarly, McKeever et al. (2015) found that observing the social rules, norms, values and cohesion of communities were positively associated with stronger, more enterprising local business cultures. These scholarly works further demonstrate the academic importance of understanding the relationship between entrepreneurship and place, suggesting that a cohesive community increases the entrepreneurial confidence and performance of individuals as well as aiding regional development.

Nevertheless, there are criticisms that depleted communities are contexts in which not only is entrepreneurship expected to occur, but also presumed to 'fix' and revive such places (Blackburn and Ram 2006; Southern 2011). Research highlights the need to address the deep-seated historical and cultural factors before spatial and economic futures can be meaningfully altered (Lindkvist and Antelo 2007). This may be particularly relevant to areas where the economy is struggling and alternative forms of enterprise may be suited (Lionais 2011) as conventional methods of enterprise may have little relevance and embeddedness may constrain activities as opposed to providing opportunities and resources (Johannisson and Wigren 2006; Johnstone and Lionais 2004; McKeever et al. 2015; Parkinson et al. 2017; Welter 2011). Understanding the relationship between entrepreneurship and place becomes all the more important in these settings, partly because of the belief in enterprise as a route out of deprivation (Parkinson et al. 2017). Whilst previously this belief has made such claims, expecting all the benefits of enterprise from some of the poorest areas whilst paying little attention to variation in local context offers unlikely scope for social change (Porter 1995; Southern 2011).

Considering entrepreneurship at the community level provides a perspective into the social realities of how entrepreneurship contributes to society and can create, structure and develop place (Steyaert and Katz 2004). This study therefore acts as a processual viewing and

appreciation of the entrepreneurial engagements in place, looking at the interactions between communities and entrepreneurs (Peredo and Chrisman 2006) and the interrelated meanings and impacts this may have between place and enterprise.

2.4 Conclusion

Entrepreneurship can be perceived as both a complex product of its milieu and as part of how the social world works (Berglund et al. 2016; Watson 2013). It is accorded meaning specific to a particular spatial and temporal dimension of place and space (Hudson 2001; McMullen and Dimov 2013), experienced and reproduced in daily lives (Cohen and Musson 2000; Steyaert and Katz 2004) and communally and relationally shaped (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). Socio-spatial theories see entrepreneurship as embedded in the social structure (Jack and Anderson 2002) with implicit sets of rules norms and values that shape and influence micro-level practices (Parkinson et al. 2017), allowing entrepreneurs to develop and form a relationship with place to construct and/or contribute towards: benefitting the community (Bensemann et al. 2018; Vestrum 2014), regional development (Berglund et al. 2016; Huggins and Thompson 2015; Wyrwich 2016) making use of networks (Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Tregear and Cooper 2016), furthering ventures (Sunny and Shu 2019; Tracey et al. 2014), or spending quality time with friends and family (Dahl and Sorenson 2012; Kibler et al. 2015). Ultimately, the relationship between entrepreneurship and place can engage researchers in new ways of thinking, understanding new ways of experiencing and, above all, about being (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016).

The main conclusion from reviewing the literature is that there is no one-size-fits-all pre-determined theory, notion or strategy which can adequately cover entrepreneurial engagement with place. Through delving into the connections and gaps between different bodies of extant work this review has uncovered that the processes of local-entrepreneurial interactions are still not very well understood (Bensemann et al. 2018; Fritsch and Storey 2014;

Lang et al. 2014; Welter et al. 2019). Entrepreneurship literature would therefore benefit by looking beyond positivism and objectivist effects-of-causes explanations behind macro-level outcomes (Dodd 2002; Frese and Gielnik 2014; Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Welter and Baker 2020), instead complementing this with the differentiated nature of causes-of-effects explanations behind the underlying processes and the strategies of micro-level entrepreneurial efforts. This would provide a more holistic understanding of the dark and bright sides of contextualising entrepreneurship (Welter and Baker 2020).

In doing so, entrepreneurial engagement with place can help explain entrepreneurial practices that cannot be accounted for by economic factors alone (Liñán et al. 2016) through developing context-sensitive theorising to address the often ‘placeless’ nature of extant entrepreneurship research (Bensemman et al. 2018; McKeever et al. 2015). Any account of entrepreneurship which neglects the nuances of engaging with the multifaceted dimensions of place will not be complete. Clearly, more conceptual development is needed to connect place and entrepreneurs (Fortunato 2014) and thus improve understanding of how social, spatial and economic processes are dynamic and interwoven within temporality (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Welter et al. 2019).

This research therefore seeks to better understand the nature of the entrepreneurial engagement with place by analysing the micro-level spatial processes of entrepreneurs, how they may (or may not) be attached to place and what the temporal nature of such a relationship may be. Addressing knowledge gaps in this manner will allow the research to discern not only how place may variably affect the entrepreneurial process, but also how the actions and intentions of entrepreneurs can construct, develop and alter the meanings and values of place, offering insights into how the entrepreneurial process itself may also vary within the same spatial context as a result of different methods of entrepreneurial engagement with place.

Accordingly, the research will be in touch with the *when* and *where* contexts and their nuances as place matters for entrepreneurship just as entrepreneurship matters for places.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

In the previous chapter after reviewing the respective, relevant and related literatures of both entrepreneurship and place it was concluded that there is no one-size-fits-all theory, notion or strategy which can adequately cover the relationship between the two. Chapter 2 illustrated entrepreneurship can be perceived as both a complex product of its milieu and as part of how the social world works (Berglund et al. 2016; Watson 2013). Entrepreneurial engagement with place therefore seems specific to a particular spatial and temporal dimension of place (Hudson 2001; Lévesque and Stephan 2020; McMullen and Dimov 2013) which can be communally and relationally shaped (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016) and embedded in the social structure (Jack and Anderson 2002; Roos 2019). Essentially, the relationship between entrepreneurship and place can engage researchers in new ways of thinking, understanding new ways of experiencing and, above all, about being (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). To further delve into the nature of entrepreneurial ‘being’ within place, this chapter aims to discern how the application of a constructionist epistemology and ontology can position the emphasis on individual entrepreneurs, their micro-level contextual processes and how these can subjectively construct their own reality of the world. This chapter therefore endeavours to put forth a methodological approach which will enable a better understanding of the temporal and spatial nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place and how it may differ from individual to individual.

In order to do so, this chapter is presented in five parts. Section 3.1 comprises the research design giving an overview the epistemological and ontological position alongside a discussion of the wider research approach. Section 3.2 provides information and justification behind employing a multiple case study investigation before then giving a background of each

case, its history, its current form and how it is situated within East Anglia. Section 3.3 will then cover issues surrounding sampling including how entrepreneurs were accessed and chosen for inclusion within the research before then briefly covering each case's sample of entrepreneurs, their backgrounds and characteristics. Section 3.4 will provide information regarding data collection which includes a discussion of the interview process, how it was conducted, ethical considerations and how primary material was complemented and triangulated with local media and internet secondary sources. Finally, section 3.5 clarifies the specific data analysis techniques used when analysing the entrepreneurs' emergent interview-derived narratives to explain the progress of analysis from the actual words and statements of interviewees (informant-centric) to the (researcher-centric) 2nd order themes and aggregate theoretical dimensions before then concluding with a discussion and justification of the methodological approach adopted for this study.

3.1 Research design

This study made use of a qualitative multiple case study research design, approached inductively from a constructionist epistemology. Whilst traditionally, entrepreneurship and management research makes use of positivist, quantitative approaches (Kempster and Cope 2010; Myers 2013), a qualitative design was employed as the research question is exploratory and focuses on meaning and lived experiences therefore requiring rich detail (Bansal and Corley 2012; Pratt 2009). Myers (2013) states that to understand underlying meanings and motivations it is essential to talk in-depth with participants to understand their feelings, values and perceptions that inspire and influence their behaviour. Numerous scholars have argued the need for qualitative studies of localised entrepreneurial processes in order to gain a deeper understanding of entrepreneurial engagement with place (Hindle 2010; Trettin and Welter 2011). This coincides with Dyer's (1994) suggestion of making use of life stories to gain a deeper understanding of entrepreneurs. The use of entrepreneurs' life stories can prove to be a

fertile ground for harvesting analysable data; individuals, especially entrepreneurs, are often compelled to explain their progress and situations to a wider audience, literally to tell their stories. When contextualised, their discourse creates dramatic narratives that allow others to gain insights into their hearts, minds and motivations (Frese and Gielnik 2014). Additional research from Downing (2005) and Pentland (1999) further justify the suitability of using entrepreneurial narratives to address the overall research problem and subsequently build context-sensitive theory. The focus of quantitative designs on gaining a wide range of generalisable data to test predetermined hypotheses (Levin et al. 1982) would not be beneficial to exploring the deeper, more concealed nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place. In addition, the qualitative approach allowed for sensitivity whilst intensively investigating delicate issues (e.g., life stories and attachments) (Johannisson 1996) whilst also offering a way to locate the important issues within each case study; using theory as the underlying framework for creating the research question, addressing such a question to the participants and probing how the data answered the study's line of inquiry (Gartner and Birley 2002).

The inductive nature of the research allowed participants to speak freely and explore their thoughts and feelings naturally without the rigidity of hypotheses testing which is often prevalent within deductive, quantitative data collection (Patton 2011). Although "positivism is the dominant form of research in most business and management disciplines" (Myers 2013, 38), this research was conducted from a constructionist epistemological perspective. Constructionism focuses on individuals as "social actors ... [who] may place many different interpretations on the situations in which they find themselves," therefore 'constructing' their own reality as a consequence of their own view of the world (Saunders et al. 2012, 137). The essence of constructionism is therefore "that 'reality' is determined by people rather than by objective and external factors" (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008, 59). Constructionism particularly lends itself to this study by appreciating that the entrepreneurs' reality is given meaning through

the sharing of lived experiences via the “medium of communication” (Shotter 1993, 94). Although some scholars argue against constructionism as they feel that studies are being based on “subjective opinions” (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008, 73), it has the capacity to adjust to new issues and ideas as they emerge, providing a way of gathering data which is natural rather than artificial, thus resulting in a strong contribution towards the evolution of new context-sensitive theories (Burr 2003; Welch et al. 2011).

Through seeking to understand the entrepreneurs’ own subjective reality, one can uncover their motives, actions and intentions and appreciate their perspective of the world, and more specifically, the context, subsequently allowing their rich and complex narratives to emerge. These narratives will enable the entrepreneurs’ feelings to be understood, as well as the values and perceptions that underlie and influence their behaviour (Myers 2013). These rich insights into the phenomenon would most likely have been lost if their complexity were to be reduced entirely to a series of law-like generalisations produced by that of a positivist epistemology (Saunders et al. 2012). Whilst this epistemology and the typically associated methodologies may require a greater deal of time and resources (Ghauri and Grønhaug 2010), the advancement of constructionism in management research has made progress against the “positivist mainstream” (Gill and Johnson 2010, 189).

As the relationship between entrepreneurship and context has often been overlooked and understudied (Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2017; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra 2007), case studies were selected as the most advantageous methodological tool to better the understanding of entrepreneurial engagement with place. Whilst some argue that case studies suffer from researcher bias and a lack of generalisability (Flyvbjerg 2006), others maintain that the rich, detailed qualitative information and insight for further research produced can be extremely useful (Stake 2013). As the relationship between entrepreneurship and place still offers uncharted in-depth research territory, a multiple case study approach will serve as a

significantly advantageous methodological approach to gain a deeper and wider understanding of the phenomenon. Implementing and basing this kind of qualitative technique on rich, detailed narrative data will consequently provide a substantial base for context-sensitive theory to be built upon (Welch et al. 2011).

3.2 The case studies

The predominant reason for carrying out the multiple case study research approach is to examine how the phenomenon performs in different environments. The research design will therefore consist of four case studies within East Anglia. East Anglia is a geographical area in the East of England defined by the ONS (2018) as comprising the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. East Anglia is surrounded to the north and east by the North Sea, to the south by the estuary of the River Thames and shares an undefined land border to the west with the rest of England. Much of East Anglia has undergone extensive drainage over the past centuries to aid land reclamation and leave flat, low-lying and fertile soil in its wake. This has led to agriculture playing an important role in the region (Davies and Hodge 2007) whilst also having a marked effect on the alteration of the coastline over the years; the north coast of East Anglia has moved further outland and the east coast has shifted inland significantly due to being subjected to rapid erosion. The study area of East Anglia has been chosen as the researcher has lived all his life and completed all his studies in the region. Giddens' (1974) double hermeneutic theory requires researchers to speak the same language as the people being studied in their 'pre-interpreted world' to understand the context of a phenomenon. The researcher's knowledge and experience of East Anglia can therefore allow for a deeper understanding of the issues that the region presents, an ease of access to participants, and a more comfortable, natural and flowing conversation during the data collection process. Four case studies within East Anglia have been chosen. The benefits of a multiple case study approach would be limited if fewer were to be studied as this would be unable to show enough

of the interactivity between the phenomenon and situations. Likewise, the study would also be inadequate if too many cases were to be selected as this would provide too much uniqueness and interactivity for both the researcher and the readers to come to understand (Stake 2013).

A multiple case study approach should select cases in both typical and atypical settings so that the study can incorporate a diversity of contexts. This research has subsequently chosen to examine the East Anglian cases of Cambridge, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich and Norwich. The respective county towns of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk are represented alongside the coastal town of Great Yarmouth. The high-tech nature of Cambridge (Koepp 2002), depleted community of Great Yarmouth (cf. Johnstone and Lionais 2004), gentrification of Ipswich (Ipswich Society 2009) and the urbanisation of Norwich (Ayers 1993), provides a heterogeneous collection of locales. This variety of locations reflects the idea covered in the literature of place as a malleable concept (Gieryn 2000) holding different meanings for different people, thus enabling entrepreneurial experiences to vary remarkably both within and across the cases. The fact that these cases are spatially proximate, structurally different and culturally interlinked allows a more thorough understanding of the phenomenon to be gained within a somewhat isolated, yet distinct and defined geographical context – East Anglia (Polèse and Stren 2000).

3.2.1 Cambridge

Cambridge originates back to as early as the Bronze Age and is home to the internationally renowned University of Cambridge, founded in 1209. The city is steeped in history and can boast a wide array of notable academics, monarchs and creatives who have lived and passed through the area. The University of Cambridge has a strong influence on the city (and further afield) with the institution owning over 17,000 hectares of land throughout the UK and students accounting for almost 20% of Cambridge's population (Guardian 2018). The two major landowners of the university are the colleges of Trinity and St John's with their ownership

ranging from local farmland, industrial estates and retail shops to a 999-year lease of the O2 Arena (Guardian 2018). The significant amount of local land ownership has been beneficial to enabling innovation and the development of a high-technology cluster in the area mainly thanks to Trinity College's Science Park and St John's Innovation Centre. This clustering of businesses has earned Cambridge the name of Silicon Fen – a nod to its neighbour across the Atlantic, Silicon Valley. Silicon Fen includes industries such as software, electronics and biosciences. It is the largest European innovation cluster in terms of the number of venture backed companies and capital committed; many of the start-ups are born out of the university with £140m being invested in spin-outs between 2001-2006 (Cambridge Cluster Report 2007). More recently, Silicon Fen has demonstrated noteworthy growth. For the period of 2010-11 to 2015-16 there has been a 12% increase in companies with turnover growing by 7.5% per annum and employment growing by 6.6% per annum (Cambridge Ahead 2017). The academic pre-eminence of the university, seemingly thriving economy and its ability to foster and nurture entrepreneurial innovation offers a unique and intriguing environment for research (Dacin et al. 2010). With entrepreneurial failure deemed an integral part of entrepreneurship (Yamakawa et al. 2015) the city has stepped towards almost establishing its own self-sustaining microeconomy, shifting the focus instead towards collaboration and networking to open up an entrepreneurial future beyond any one company. This combined with the rich local talent pool of some of the world's best graduates creates an enticing environment for would-be entrepreneurs not only within the cluster, but also for the surrounding ancillary services, presenting a stark contrast to the following case.

3.2.2 Great Yarmouth

Great Yarmouth has been a well-known seaside resort since the early 1700s; the community holds a strong connection to the tourist industry as it remains one of the UK's top 10 seaside resorts today, is worth £532 million per annum to the area and accounts for 29% of all jobs in

one way or another (Great Yarmouth Borough Council 2012). However, the arrival of low-cost package holidays abroad has left the tourism industry dwindling from its heydays of the 1960-70s (House of Lords 2019), thus diminishing the sense of identity and purpose for the town. This, coupled with a shattered fishing industry as a result of overfishing and quotas (Great Yarmouth Borough Council 2016), has led to the area having some of the most disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods with multiple wards amongst the most deprived 10% in the country (MHCLG 2019) represented by high levels of worklessness, an unemployment rate of 5.6% (UK average 3.9%) (ONS 2020) and the lowest ranked provision of education, skills and training out of 326 local authority areas (House of Lords 2019). Such deprivation has negatively affected underlying aspiration levels, contributing to reduced social mobility (House of Lords 2019) leaving a local feeling of discontent and, in this sense, the community has become 'depleted'. The loss of the community's control over their economic calling may influence a lack of belief in their own worth and capacity to inspire the social and economic regeneration needed (Bryden 1991; Thompson 2010). Despite this, the case study offers an interesting context for research as the area's energy industry is a major base for North Sea gas, oil and renewable energy ventures, playing a vital role in supplying 25% of the UK's energy. This creates an almost dichotomous environment for entrepreneurs – an opportunistic and investable business setting facing outwards towards the North Sea, but not necessarily so when business ventures face inwards towards the local context. Nevertheless, it allows innovative and creative entrepreneurial intentions to emerge through utilisation of local conditions and the unique circumstances of the host community (Johnstone 2013). The case of Great Yarmouth has therefore been chosen because of its unique coastal environment and how this interestingly affects, influences and interacts with entrepreneurial identities, alongside its ability to allow more transparent social processes to appear due to its close-knit, small, isolated, yet distinct geographic location (Polèse and Stren 2000).

3.2.3 Ipswich

Ipswich is the county town of Suffolk, believed to be one of England's oldest towns due to its location on the estuary of the River Orwell which flows into the North Sea at Felixstowe, 12 miles east of the town and the UK's largest container port. Ipswich itself is one of the Haven ports, handling several million tonnes of cargo each year and remaining one of England's most important ports for the whole of its history (Ipswich Star 2017). Heading into the 21st century, Ipswich has undergone extensive redevelopment principally around its docks area (the waterfront). This has considerably rebuilt the former industrial dock into an emerging residential and commercial centre with the addition of a university campus, The University of Suffolk. The Ipswich docks is subsequently now devoted almost solely to leisure and residential use. Despite such a large investment into the town, the regeneration has been met with opposition concerned that the maritime history, industry and heritage upon which Ipswich was originally built is at risk of being lost completely (Ipswich Society 2009). This, coupled with luxury apartments marketed to the more affluent as just a short walk away from an hour's train ride into central London, has led to questions whether the redevelopments fit with Ipswich's existing socioeconomic mix or whether the area is gradually undergoing the process of gentrification. Ipswich has therefore been included as a case study as it offers a different, yet equally engaging research context compared to the others – a town in transition. One of the largest sectors of employment in Ipswich is both wholesale and retail insurance with the town holding presence of some of the major players (e.g., Axa, Churchill, LV). Whilst these companies require access to a large pool of local talent, they also offer notable opportunities for ancillary businesses to emerge and develop in order to support the workforce. Entrepreneurs are therefore faced with an environment of contrasting opportunities when looking at the context – deciding to either stick with the status quo 'old' norms and history of the town or

choose the ‘new’ and produce novel business ideas to ride on the back of the wave of recent regeneration (Dyer et al. 2008).

3.2.4 Norwich

Norwich is the county town of Norfolk and is considered the capital of East Anglia. From the Middle Ages, Norwich was the largest city in England after London, and one of the most important, still remaining the most complete medieval city in the UK today (Nilson 2001). Norwich’s geographic location on the rivers Wensum and Yare provided access to the North Sea and the success of the wool trade made the city remarkably rich. This affluence continued to shape Norwich throughout history, found in the grand architecture the city is famed for. The city walls, however, have restricted Norwich’s expansion over time. Whilst the architectural legacy offers a highly attractive city centre that tourists wish to visit, it also confines the city to a tight, winding, medieval street plan, where the historical buildings can prove barriers to traffic movement and the expansion of modern day business (Williams et al. 2006).

Despite industrialisation coming late to Norwich due to its isolation and lack of raw materials, the city capitalised on the important industry of financial services (Williams et al. 2006). Norwich Union (now Aviva) was founded in the city in 1797 and over the years has expanded to become a dominant influence in the area and beyond, providing a high proportion of local jobs. The founding of the University of East Anglia (UEA) in 1963 has been another significant development in the city’s economic history with some world-class departments, including Environmental Science and English Language and Literature. The presence of UEA has enabled the city to attract and retain many young skilled workers, as well as providing a source of research for industries such as biomedical and environmental sciences (Williams et al. 2006). As such, the large university student population of both UEA and Norwich University of the Arts accounts for around 10% of the total population of the city (Complete University Guide 2018). Nowadays, Norwich is a popular place to both reside in and visit,

dubbed as one of the "Best Places to Live" in the UK by The Times (2018). It has been ranked one of the most prosperous shopping destinations in the UK with a mix of chain retailers and independent stores as well as the largest permanent undercover market in Europe (CACI 2006). Part of central Norwich, known as The Lanes, offers a series of small alleyways and streets noted for its abundance of independent retailers, eating and drinking establishments, which allow the city to maintain its character and individuality. This provides entrepreneurs with a specified retail-facing environment tailor-made for them to establish and develop where chain retailers are refused. This case therefore offers an exciting, seemingly thriving, independent business environment within a distinct and densely populated urbanised area which may provide thought-provoking unforeseen effects and influences with entrepreneurial activities and their ability to create and exploit opportunities. In addition, Norwich has been included as a case within the study as it is deemed the capital of East Anglia, tying the other three cases together. Although as the crow flies these locations are spatially close, transport infrastructure renders them as somewhat distant, linking the locales culturally whilst simultaneously providing contrasting feelings, values and beliefs both within and across the cases. As such, this research has chosen typical and atypical settings so that it can incorporate a diversity of contexts to investigate the different variation of entrepreneurial engagement with place across East Anglia.

3.3 Sample

To gain access to entrepreneurs, purposive sampling was employed after processing a freedom of information request through the respective local authorities to gain access to the datasets for local non-domestic (business) rates. This led to a wide range of business names and addresses for ventures in Cambridge (4,045), Great Yarmouth (2,398), Ipswich (4,537) and Norwich (5,814). Whilst these datasets may omit a few smaller entrepreneurs operating out of homes rather than purpose-built facilities, they are the most comprehensive list available for

businesses in the region. The key selection criterion was that the businesses be independent, as this implies a stronger emotional tie between the entrepreneurs, their ventures and, most importantly, place (Byrne and Shepherd 2015). The datasets were then combed through row by row to delete businesses which were not privately-owned independents and any multiple entries, resulting in the following datasets of: Cambridge (1,217), Great Yarmouth (935), Ipswich (1,254) and Norwich (3,986). These remaining lists were then controlled for certain characteristics i.e., industry, using the Valuation Office’s analysis codes and the researcher’s knowledge of local industry and businesses to ensure that the variety of local voices were heard by using sectoral quota (as seen in Tables 1-4).

Table 1. Sample stratification with Cambridge's business sectors

<i>Business Sector</i>	<i>% of total in the study area</i>	<i>% and number of entrepreneurs interviewed</i>
Technology/Innovation	15%	15% (3)
Retail	15%	15% (3)
Leisure/Hospitality	18%	15% (3)
Professional Services	13%	15% (3)
Construction/Manufacturing	8%	10% (2)
Transport/Travel	6%	5% (1)
Property	5%	5% (1)
Other Services	20%	20% (4)
TOTAL	100%	100% (20)

Table 2. Sample stratification with Great Yarmouth's business sectors

<i>Business Sector</i>	<i>% of total in the study area</i>	<i>% and number of entrepreneurs interviewed</i>
Construction	16%	20% (4)
Transport/Travel	14%	10% (2)
Manufacturing	11%	10% (2)
Energy	9%	10% (2)
Shipping/Marine	6%	10% (2)
Leisure/Hospitality	4%	10% (2)
Other Services	40%	30% (6)
TOTAL	100%	100% (20)

Table 3. Sample stratification with Ipswich's business sectors

<i>Business Sector</i>	<i>% of total in the study area</i>	<i>% and number of entrepreneurs interviewed</i>
Professional Services	17%	15% (3)
Retail	13%	15% (3)
Leisure/Hospitality	13%	15% (3)
Construction	10%	10% (2)
Transport/Travel	9%	10% (2)
Manufacturing	6%	5% (1)
Health/Care	5%	5% (1)
Shipping/Marine	5%	5% (1)
Property	4%	5% (1)
Other Services	18%	15% (3)
TOTAL	100%	100% (20)

Table 4. Sample stratification with Norwich's business sectors

<i>Business Sector</i>	<i>% of total in the study area</i>	<i>% and number of entrepreneurs interviewed</i>
Retail	38%	40% (8)
Professional Services	17%	15% (3)
Construction/Manufacturing	14%	15% (3)
Leisure/Hospitality	12%	10% (2)
Transport/Travel	6%	5% (1)
Health/Care	2%	5% (1)
Other Services	11%	10% (2)
TOTAL	100%	100% (20)

This study has a sample size of 80 with 20 respondents hailing from each of the four cases. The sample size was chosen to ensure that the people interviewed represented the various voices of the area (Myers and Newman 2007), was large enough to produce themes (Baker and Edwards 2012) feasible to reach saturation (Francis et al. 2010; Guest et al. 2006), yet still be modest and pertinent enough to adhere to time constraints. Initial contact was made by sending out cover letters briefly detailing the research, its importance, its relevance to entrepreneurs and what it hoped to achieve so that respondents would be more understanding and forthcoming when giving up their time (see appendix 1). The letters were sent to a potential sample of 100 businesses per case as this would require a modest success rate of 20% to reach the desired sample size. The proportions of the aforementioned sectoral quota informed the potential sample of 100 relative to each case. For example, as 15% of total independent businesses in Cambridge fell under the technology/innovation industry, 15% of the potential sample of 100 was to be comprised of businesses within that sector and so on and so forth with the remaining sectoral proportions of the case. To reduce bias, a random number generator was used to decide which businesses would be selected from the datasets to build the potential sample of 100 per case. A random number generator was then used again when deciding which businesses to

telephone first to follow up the cover letters with screening telephone questions to ensure that the potential participants were embracing an entrepreneurial identity. For theoretical clarity, the opportunity creation perspective provided the framework for this with a view that “opportunities do not exist until entrepreneurs create them through a process of enactment” (Alvarez et al. 2013, 307). Shifting the emphasis of research to entrepreneurial agency in this manner enables an understanding of how entrepreneurial experience can affect opportunity creation and exploitation and how entrepreneurs’ micro-level processes can develop and capitalise on any insights and information they might have to advance their ventures (Rerup 2005; Suddaby et al. 2015). Approaching entrepreneurship in this manner can strengthen theory building and the understanding of entrepreneurial phenomena by paying attention to all aspects and impacts of the entrepreneurial process including the spatial and temporal (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013; Ramoglou and Tsang 2016). If the individuals matched this perspective and were willing to participate, then arrangements for the face-to-face interviewing was negotiated over the phone until the required number of participants was met for each sector and case.

For analytical clarity, the entrepreneurs have been assigned different statuses of migration. Local entrepreneurs are those who have been ‘born and bred’ choosing to remain within a specific context. In-migrant entrepreneurs were defined as those who had chosen to move to the case in question from other locations throughout the UK leaving the term of migrant entrepreneur referring to those who had migrated from outside of the nation to settle within the cases.

3.3.1 Cambridge

The draw of Cambridge as a context in which to work and live was demonstrated within the sample as half of the entrepreneurs have moved to the area from elsewhere in England, with one originally hailing from Denmark (Thabitha). The remaining ten entrepreneurs interviewed

considered themselves to be Cambridge ‘locals’ providing an interesting dynamic into how their relationship with place differed from those who had simply moved to the city. Table 5 displays key details of the variety of business ventures ranging from one of the oldest trades (Jacob, stonemason) to one of the newest (Mitchell, app developer). The sample of 20 was reached after contacting 67 businesses, a 30% success rate. Sixteen respondents were male and four were female with their ages ranging from 22 to 65 (mean: 49). All the participants were white, akin to that of Cambridge’s majority ethnic group (white 82.5%) (ONS 2011).

Table 5. Profiles of Cambridge interviewees

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Employees</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Migration Status</i>	<i>Where from originally?</i>
John	Software developer	2	Technology/Innovation	49	In-migrant	London
Natalie	Tech provider	4	Technology/Innovation	55	In-migrant	Essex
Mitchell	App developer	26	Technology/Innovation	49	In-migrant	Kent
Liam	Jeweller	4	Retail	26	In-migrant	Kent
George	Retailer	30	Retail	57	Local	N/A
Paul	Retailer	15	Retail	65	In-migrant	Suffolk
Jake	Caterer	240	Leisure/Hospitality	59	Local	N/A
Jason	Café owner	20	Leisure/Hospitality	31	Local	N/A
Percy	Restaurateur	10	Leisure/Hospitality	50	In-migrant	Warwickshire
Gareth	Architect	2	Professional Services	53	In-migrant	Surrey
Tasha	PR practitioner	3	Professional Services	22	Local	N/A
Grant	Accountant	5	Professional Services	42	In-migrant	Southampton
Jacob	Stonemason	8	Construction/Manufacturing	44	Local	N/A
Rebecca	Materials provider	5	Construction/Manufacturing	59	Local	N/A
Roger	Car salesman	4	Transport/Travel	48	Local	N/A
Dean	Estate agent	3	Property	34	Local	N/A
Rhys	Bespoke supplier	10	Other Services	62	In-migrant	London
Patrick	Printer	6	Other Services	65	Local	N/A
Thabitha	Corporate event provider	22	Other Services	57	Migrant	Denmark
Jeff	Interior designer	7	Other Services	44	Local	N/A

3.3.2 Great Yarmouth

Interestingly, 10 of the entrepreneurs were in-migrants, originally hailing from a variety of locations across England and Scotland before moving to Great Yarmouth. This enabled an insight into not only their relationship with place, but also how this compared and contrasted

to the ‘local’ entrepreneurs. One had moved between cases from Norwich to Great Yarmouth (Keith) and one had done the opposite move whilst still retaining his business ties and socioeconomic processes linking to Great Yarmouth (Phil) thus earning him the ‘out-migrant’ status. The sample also had a 30% success rate as the 20 entrepreneurs were reached after contacting 66 businesses. The profile of the interviewees (see Table 6) evidences the variety of business ventures, entrepreneurial origin, size and sectors underpinning the data obtained. The sample comprised of 19 males and only 1 female, aged between 31 and 81 (mean: 51). Nineteen respondents were white with one entrepreneur (Amir) identifying as British Asian, replicating the 96.9% white and 1.2% British Asian profile of Great Yarmouth (ONS 2011).

Table 6. Profiles of Great Yarmouth interviewees

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Employees</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Migration Status</i>	<i>Where from originally?</i>
Matthew	Engineer	16	Construction	54	In-migrant	Tyne and Wear
Simon	Machinery producer	30	Construction	52	In-migrant	Middlesex
Rick	Interior tradesman	5	Construction	31	Local	N/A
Gordon	Waste management	11	Construction	39	Local	N/A
Nicholas	Haulier	2	Transport/Travel	57	Local	N/A
Chris	Coach operator	21	Transport/Travel	59	Local	N/A
Adam	Manufacturer	5	Manufacturing	36	In-migrant	Suffolk
Peter	Fabricator	50	Manufacturing	63	In-migrant	Surrey
Richard	Offshore servicer	290	Energy	50	In-migrant	Aberdeen
Gavin	Servicer to the energy industry	307	Energy	48	Local	N/A
Benjamin	Shipping agent	108	Shipping/Marine	81	In-migrant	Ayrshire
Keith	Ship chandler	35	Shipping/Marine	43	In-migrant	Norfolk
Phil	Holiday park and leisure owner	400	Tourism/Hospitality	60	Out-migrant	North Norfolk
Gary	Restaurateur	42	Tourism/Hospitality	46	Local	N/A
Luke	Retailer	6	Other Services	34	In-migrant	Kent
Sam	Business services	10	Other Services	63	Local	N/A
Nicole	Recruiter	6	Other Services	50	In-migrant	Bristol
Amir	Photographer	6	Other Services	42	In-migrant	Hertfordshire
Stan	Quality testing	20	Other Services	61	Local	N/A
Stuart	Property investor	4	Other Services	52	Local	N/A

3.3.3 Ipswich

The sample for Ipswich saw almost an equal gender split with 11 males and 9 females. Nearly all were local to the area with three in-migrants from nearby counties and one migrant from New Zealand (Tracey). The respondents ages differed between 30 and 67 (mean: 46) and all were white, displaying similarity to ONS (2011) statistics of an 88.9% white population. Ipswich draws upon many industries and has the largest sector variety out of the four cases, yet it had the lowest success rate (26%) of attaining the sample size of 20 after contacting 78 businesses. More details about the entrepreneurs, their ventures and their origins can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Profiles of Ipswich interviewees

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Employees</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Migration Status</i>	<i>Where from originally?</i>
Daniel	IT consultant	5	Professional Services	48	Local	N/A
Rupert	IT asset disposer	40	Professional Services	46	In-migrant	London
Damien	Software developer	28	Professional Services	51	Local	N/A
Alexa	Not-for-profit retailer	2	Retail	67	Local	N/A
Amber	Retailer	2	Retail	30	In-migrant	Surrey
Jenny	Servicer and retailer	3	Retail	46	Local	N/A
Malcolm	Butcher	5	Leisure/Hospitality	49	Local	N/A
Pippa	Publican	10	Leisure/Hospitality	36	Local	N/A
Brian	Public speaker	5	Leisure/Hospitality	31	Local	N/A
Myles	Developer	110	Construction	51	Local	N/A
Laura	Equipment lender	5	Construction	34	Local	N/A
Max	Mechanic	4	Transport/Travel	46	Local	N/A
Curtis	Vehicle lender	5	Transport/Travel	50	Local	N/A
Tony	Manufacturer	6	Manufacturing	46	Local	N/A
Abigail	Childcare provider	16	Health/Care	47	In-migrant	Norfolk
Tracey	Marine servicer & retailer	3	Shipping/Marine	40	Migrant	New Zealand
Kimberly	Estate agent	8	Property	35	Local	N/A
Ruby	Training provider	15	Other Services	63	Local	N/A
Alfie	Recruiter	4	Other Services	42	Local	N/A
Joshua	Equipment lender	10	Other Services	61	Local	N/A

3.3.4 Norwich

Norwich had the largest dataset of independent businesses out of the four cases and the highest success rate of 49% as the sample size was reached after contacting just 41 companies. The sample included 14 male and 6 female entrepreneurs with the size of their ventures ranging from just 2 employees to over 450. Twelve of the entrepreneurs considered themselves as ‘locals’, six were in-migrants from throughout England (with one originating from Great Yarmouth [Ivan]), one migrated from Germany (Karol) and one from Australia (William). The youngest entrepreneur in the sample was 33 and the eldest 64 (mean: 49). All were white British bar two, replicating the 84.7% white British and 5.4% white other ethnic profile of Norwich (ONS 2011). Table 8 gives further specifics about the participants and their ventures.

Table 8. Profiles of Norwich interviewees

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Employees</i>	<i>Sector</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Migration Status</i>	<i>Where from originally?</i>
Isabel	Retailer	8	Retail	46	Local	N/A
Karl	Florist	30	Retail	51	Local	N/A
Mary	Retailer	7	Retail	64	In-migrant	Nottingham
Jessica	Retailer	10	Retail	51	Local	N/A
Harry	Retailer	8	Retail	40	Local	N/A
David	Retailer	6	Retail	36	Local	N/A
Kelly	Baker	13	Retail	56	In-migrant	London
Alex	Manufacturing retailer	450	Retail	42	In-migrant	Oxfordshire
Isaac	Graphic designer	8	Professional Services	58	In-migrant	Surrey
Megan	Professional recruiter	2	Professional Services	49	Local	N/A
Kyle	Software developer	90	Professional Services	48	Local	N/A
Cameron	Property developer	12	Construction/Manufacturing	58	Local	N/A
Joel	Manufacturer	4	Construction/Manufacturing	61	In-migrant	Essex
Charlie	Engineer & manufacturer	21	Construction/Manufacturing	46	Local	N/A
Ivan	Restaurateur	12	Leisure/Hospitality	47	In-migrant	Norfolk
Karol	Restaurateur	15	Leisure/Hospitality	33	Migrant	Germany
Arnold	Transport provider	24	Transport/Travel	41	Local	N/A
James	Childcare provider	46	Health/Care	56	Local	N/A
Scott	Estate agent	4	Other Services	38	Local	N/A
William	Café owner & servicer	10	Other Services	54	Migrant	Australia

3.3.5 Overall

Overall, the research comprises of 80 entrepreneurs, 60 of these being male and 20 female. Out of this sample, 94% were white British, 5% white other and 1% British Asian. Although the sample is not representative of the UK population as a whole, it purposively characterises sectoral quota and thus the variety of entrepreneurs within each case study thereby offering a rich data environment, ideal for building context-sensitive theory upon (Pratt 2009; Welch et al. 2011).

The entrepreneurs hailed from a variety of locations around the globe with 59% deeming themselves to be 'locals', 35% in-migrant entrepreneurs, 5% migrant entrepreneurs from further afield and 1% 'out-migrant'. The size of their ventures varied notably with the smallest having 2 employees and the largest over 450 (mean: 36, mode: 5). The entrepreneurs' ages also demonstrated a wide variety as the youngest was 22 and the eldest 81 (mean: 49, mode: 46). Out of the 400 letters sent out to entrepreneurs the total sample size of 80 was reached successfully after telephoning 252 individual businesses resulting in an overall success rate of 34%, somewhat akin to similar research which employed face-to-face interviews with rural entrepreneurs (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006; Smallbone et al. 1999).

Although there was no financial incentive to take part in the study, the reasoning behind the research was explained to each participant, along with the hoped outcomes as well as thanking them graciously for their time both before and after the interviews. Participants were also offered the option to follow the research and be updated of its findings if they so wished (yes: 91%, no: 9%). The recruitment of entrepreneurs was more straightforward than anticipated and, on the whole, the participants were found to be very forthcoming.

3.4 Data collection

Saunders et al. (2012) contend that qualitative methodological tools are suited to exploring constructionist business research. Methods, such as interviews, can be utilised so that the

researcher can immerse themselves into a phenomenon (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008). This would enable a personal account of the lived reality that entrepreneurs assign to place, giving the participants a voice to represent their narratives instead of facts (Wolcott 1999). In-depth, loosely structured interviews were therefore chosen to collect data and build each case study with the selected respondents (Cope 2011). An interview guide was developed after visiting the literature so the research could follow the implications of current conceptual ideas surrounding entrepreneurship and methods of attachment to place whilst also addressing the research question without locking the research in too tightly (Miles et al. 2014). The researcher was highly familiar with the guide therefore offering the latitude to use a congenial way of asking and sequencing the questions tailored appropriately for different respondents. This allowed the research to address the specific topic whilst also allowing participants to recount stories and talk freely about their experiences (Denscombe 2010). In doing so, an understanding of the entrepreneurs, their practices and engagement with place was subsequently gained.

The constructionist ontology requires a trusting and open relationship between participant and researcher to effectively gather data (Burr 2003). This can affect how the research makes claims to knowledge; if the participant is uneasy, their account can be manipulated by becoming hostile or adopting demand characteristics (Myers 2013). The interview guide started and finished with simple questions about the entrepreneurs and their ventures with the exploratory focus occurring in the middle covering the history, backgrounds and ambitions of respondents as well as their engagement with the spatial context over time (Welter 2011). The informal and friendly format enabled notable pre-amble to ensue both before and after the interview with following questions stemming from the researcher and respondent dialogue. This helped build rapport and ensured participants felt comfortable and at ease, thus eliciting natural, flowing conversations, allowing them to decide what was pertinent (Byrne and Shepherd 2015; Burgess 1988; Cope 2011). Whilst staying impartial and

non-judgemental remained a necessity during both interviewing and reporting, if conversation moved off-track it was delicately steered back to the interview guide by the researcher to ensure best use of time for both parties (Blackburn and Ram 2006). The interview guide used for the research can be seen in appendix 2.

The interviews took place in a familiar environment for the participants, 78 of which occurred in company premises and 2 in respondents' homes with all the appropriate safety procedures in place (Paterson et al. 1999). This provided a relaxed setting for all participants, aiding the natural flow of narrative as well as recruitment; the researcher was mindful of the entrepreneurs mostly busy schedules and was therefore very flexible regarding when and where the interviews took place. Overall, the interviews averaged 55 minutes in length (mean) although their duration differed markedly both within and across the cases. In Cambridge the shortest was 31 minutes, longest 3 hours 19 minutes, mean average 57 minutes. In Great Yarmouth the shortest was 37 minutes, longest 2 hours 3 minutes and mean average 1 hour 1 minute. In Ipswich the shortest was 26 minutes, longest 1 hour 31 minutes and mean average 47 minutes. In Norwich the shortest was 32 minutes, longest 3 hours 8 minutes and mean average 55 minutes.

The interviews provided rich narrative data about the entrepreneurs' life stories, their experiences and ambitions as well as their engagement and attachment with the context. The in-depth nature of the interviews enabled thick description about the phenomenon to emerge, providing a general insight into 'what was going on' (Oinas 1999; Pratt 2009). This was combined with personal observations and comments which were often not recorded audibly. The process of listening and analysing narratives in real-time allowed insights to emerge from the data and enabled a deeper understanding of involvements, feelings and perceptions behind micro-level processes, thus aiding the interview process and theoretical development as the study advanced over time (Byrne and Shepherd 2015; Cope 2011).

3.4.1 The collective voice through critical events

The primary material gained was complemented and triangulated with local media and internet sources that discussed critical events which emerged out of the entrepreneurs' interviews and had impact on the cases. These events were purposefully chosen based upon their significance and prevalence within multiple entrepreneurs' stories. Whilst the cases may be spatially proximate, the individual nature of all four places remains distinctly different comprising marked contrasts of material form, meanings and values (Gieryn 2000). Despite this, there was a surprising amount of similarity in which critical events entrepreneurs deemed worthy of importance within their storytelling narratives. Four to five critical events emerged from each case which can be grouped into four categories, as follows:

Firstly, the business community. Within Cambridge this critical event mentioned by the entrepreneurs related to their exorbitant business costs, expensive rents and rates, unwavering landlords and a consequently high level of start-up failure. In both Great Yarmouth and Ipswich this manifested itself as the increasing number of empty shops on the high street, what this meant for other entrepreneurs within the case and what knock-on effects it had for place as a destination. In the case of Norwich, the critical event of the business community related to nepotism – the entrepreneurs felt that certain businesses would be seen as city/county council 'favourites' and both B2B and B2C relations favoured 'born and bred' locals over outsiders.

The second category of critical events concerns the image of place. In Cambridge this was demonstrated through the large scale of land, property and business ownership of the University of Cambridge and how their subsequent power allowed them to have a 'controlling influence' over the business environment and characteristics of place. In Great Yarmouth the entrepreneurs related two critical events to the image of place; the installation of three giant TV screens were undertaken with intention of local regeneration but a lack of contingency planning and forward-thinking ended up costing the context dearly in financial terms and a

decline in tourism with fewer tourist attractions uncovered an apathy towards change. Within Ipswich the entrepreneurs felt that local regeneration came at a cost of forgoing the town's maritime and historical heritage despite the renewed image of place. In Norwich the entrepreneurs deemed the existence of The Lanes to be a critical event behind the image of place as its large number of independents paints the city as a retail destination, yet beneath the pleasant exterior one can find homelessness, litter and graffiti.

The third category of critical events related to the infrastructure within place. In Cambridge the entrepreneurs recounted how the city's historic prominence and small, centralised nature has not grown with the modern-day usage of cars resulting in severe congestion and expensive parking. In Great Yarmouth, the critical event of the building of the outer harbour represented an important infrastructure link outward towards the North Sea for gas, oil and renewable energy ventures as the inward links towards the depleted nature of the context offered a more challenging business environment. In Ipswich the entrepreneurs also relayed infrastructure as a critical event with traffic and parking issues paramount to the town's development – frustratingly this was often at the whim of the weather with high winds forcing the closure of the Orwell bridge and grinding the entire town to a halt. Similarly to Cambridge, Norwich's historic and medieval nature has also led to the entrepreneurs deeming that the roads and subsequent traffic and parking are a critical event within place as they are unable to cope with modern-day motorist demands.

Fourthly, the labour force can further categorise four more critical events. In Cambridge the presence of 'the Cambridge phenomenon' or 'Silicon Fen' as a cluster was a critical event for entrepreneurs surrounding the inception, development and success of high-tech (as well as ancillary ventures) alongside gaining, retaining and losing human talent. In Great Yarmouth the high level of unemployment was repeatedly brought up as a cause for concern and therefore a critical event for entrepreneurs. Within Ipswich a lack of local talent was deemed to be a

critical event for entrepreneurs, exemplified by the draw of London, higher wages and a feasible rail commute for high-skilled workers. Whereas in Norwich, the entrepreneurs recalled how a greater influx of chains and multinationals had led to the failure of independent ventures leaving less choice for consumers and some either becoming unemployed or undertaking less skilled, homogenised work.

Appendix 3 illustrates quotes included from online sources that reflected the ‘collective’ voice of the context and were pertinent to the micro-level contextual processes of entrepreneurs, whilst demonstrating how local and national media perceived the same above 17 critical events, thus serving as the ‘embedded unit of analysis’ that summarises the social constructionist point of view about each event within each case. The critical event keywords and relevant synonyms were subsequently entered into local newspaper archives (Cambridgeshire Live, Eastern Daily Press, Ipswich Star, Great Yarmouth Mercury, Norwich Evening News, etc.) and internet search engines (e.g., finding relevant evidence in online publications such as the World Weekly or even mainstream national newspapers such as the Guardian or the Independent) backdating ten years. This not only offered an additional source of evidence and opportunities for triangulation, but also permitted the multiple case study approach to extend its reach, elongating the time perspective to reveal temporally variable social manifestations and thus provide a firmer basis for drawing contextualised explanations (Welch et al. 2011).

Drawing on multiple analytic tools in this manner can enhance context-sensitive theorising through combining grounded theory techniques that summarise the entrepreneurs’ data and contribute to model building with discursive approaches to explore how individual micro-level processes are closely tied to issues of history, culture and power within a context (Bakhtin 1984; Foucault 1983). This approach towards a context’s ‘collective’ voice is otherwise known as the big ‘D’ discourse (Cooren, 2015; Fairhurst and Putnam 2019), which

can enable research to single out the time-bound origins, cultural assumptions, and core ideas of place and what it is comprised of.

While the focus on the entrepreneurs' narratives centres attention to the unfolding scene of action of their engagement with place, examining their micro-level processes of 'becoming' and how they build on and amplify each other (Hernes 2014; Langley et al. 2013) alongside situating these within the big 'D' discourse highlights the variability in one's data and how this may be represented collectively as well as allowing analysis to explore how much variability exists in actors' individual relationship with place (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). This integrative methodology therefore adds value by making another avenue available; offering a shared understanding of the context from the collective voice of the secondary sources allows an interesting angle for analysis when compared and contrasted with the individual voice and lived experiences of the entrepreneurs. Not only does this multi-source evidence increase the validity of the data (Korsgaard et al. 2015a; Miles and Huberman 1994), it embraces inductive coding and ties it directly to the sociohistorical and cultural fabric of place. It therefore enables an empathetic and temporally sensitive view of how the entrepreneurs' environments have developed and how this may have subsequently shaped entrepreneurial behaviour over time. Through relying on induction and deduction, generating narrow and broad-based categories, and forming interpretations from situational and the sociohistorical context, this approach consequently allows research to dig deeper into the data, address conceptually rich questions and therefore enhance theory development (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019).

3.4.2 Ethical considerations

Participation within the research was reserved for adults on a voluntary basis. As such, ethical considerations revolved around anonymity and confidentiality. Only pertinent quotes from the in-depth interviews would be included with no sensitive nor identifiable information to do with the participants, their business or their practices being shared. The respondents were made

aware of these factors numerous times before commencing the interviews as well as the fact that they could answer as little or as much as they were comfortable with. It was also made clear to the entrepreneurs that the data would be used for this PhD thesis, conference papers and possible publications in academic journals. The measures taken to anonymise the respondents included using pseudonyms at all points of reference as well as omitting precise and detailed information, such as names, companies, industry specifics and any other points which may have threatened anonymity. Ethical approval (appendix 4) was thusly gained through the appropriate process as outlined by Norwich Business School at the University of East Anglia.

3.5 Data analysis

As the knowledge base surrounding entrepreneurs' engagement with place remains somewhat unexplored, the inductive method of constructionist grounded theory has been adopted for this research (Charmaz 2014). The constructionist approach to research has been developed as this can enable a flexible means of studying a wide variety of social processes and structures, thus suiting the exploratory nature of the research question (Charmaz 2014). Qualitative research has long been praised for its ability to tread new ground and provide thought-provoking conceptual development (Lincoln and Guba 1985) whilst simultaneously (and sometimes deservedly) being subject to criticism that assertions are not suitably justified, leaving some doubting whether qualitative researchers are merely creatively theorising on assumptions shrouded within a thin veil of evidence (Gioia et al. 2012).

Indeed, whilst some may argue constructionist grounded theory fails to capture the co-construction of meaning (i.e., how individuals collectively confer meaning and make sense of their surroundings) (Greckhamer and Koro-Ljungberg 2005) in that analysts 'discover meanings' which merely reflect a pre-existing reality (Glaser and Strauss 1967), the integrative methodology previously mentioned addresses this concern. Employing grounded theory

techniques of line-by-line coding and a systematic and iterative constant comparison of the data before then turning to the collective voice of the big ‘D’ discourse of the context allows the analysis to examine and situate findings within the co-constructed and generated meanings of place (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). Within this integrative approach grounded theory therefore does what it was initially designed to do vis-à-vis reflecting meaning (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), whilst adding an explicit big ‘D’ orientation to focus specifically on matters of co-construction of context; the two approaches are stronger together than they are separately (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). This study has subsequently endeavoured to conduct data collection and analysis in a systematic, iterative and traceable manner as opposed to cherry-picking quotes to best meet preconceived ideas and lines of academic inquiry.

The central concepts of grounded theory shall therefore be followed and combined with the Gioia methodology (Gioia et al. 2012). The research consequently holds a suspension of belief in the received wisdom of prior work, ensuring that the study is not undertaken with preconceived theories in mind and that the process of data analysis be both systematic and iterative (Gioia et al. 2012; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1998). This is displayed through the methodical presentation of a ‘1st order’ analysis (i.e., an analysis using the participants’ terms and codes) and a ‘2nd order’ analysis (i.e., using concepts, themes, and dimensions proposed by the researcher), thus helping the reader to visualise the rigour of concept development and context-sensitive theory building. Employing this “powerful qualitative approach” will therefore allow theory to emerge from being ‘grounded’ within the data, providing academic insights and a greater understanding of the entrepreneurs’ relationship with place whilst also balancing the need to develop new concepts inductively alongside meeting the high standards for rigour demanded by today’s top publications (Gioia et al. 2012; Gordon-Finlayson 2010, 154).

It is widely considered unfavourable to separate the interviewing and analyses, as they tend to proceed together (Langley 1999; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Phillips et al. 2013). As such, the data analysis comprised a series of partly overlapping stages. In the first stage, interview transcripts and notes were subjected to open coding allowing the entrepreneurs' experiences, outlooks, relationships and feelings towards each place to be contextualised, thus enabling a myriad of the participants' terms, codes, and categories to emerge early in the research process (Strauss and Corbin 1998). As soon as the process of open coding began, the spark and rise of codes and categories emerging from the data enabled the systematic progression to continue and aided later interviews as the researcher could press for further detail in areas of interest that had arisen from previous entrepreneurial narratives (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Repeating this process case by case subsequently allowed the emergence of increasingly pertinent codes and categories surrounding the entrepreneurs' engagement with place. This 1st order analysis used NVivo 12 Pro as a systematic software tool (an example can be seen in appendix 5), remaining participant-focused and adhering closely to specific terms with little attempt to condense categories from the outset, resulting in over 500 open codes on the front end of the study. Gioia et al. (2012, 20) describe this as commonplace with the vast number of categories becoming "overwhelming" and leaving the researcher in an important stage of feeling 'lost' so that the study, and ultimately conceptual development, can become 'found'.

As the research progressed, the mass of open codes was analysed for similarities and differences; deleting multiple entries, merging parallel codes and grouping together those most useful and relevant to the research question and characteristics of the enquiry facilitated the development of theoretical ideas (Saldaña 2009). Incorporating these grounded theory techniques, stages of coding and constant comparison between individual entrepreneurial narratives and the collective voice of the big 'D' discourse enables analysis to develop an eclectic view of place (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). Combining the thick descriptive qualitative

data and grounded theory allows analysis to examine the micro-organising dynamics instantiated by individual entrepreneurial efforts whilst situating these within the big ‘D’ discourse so that the research can ‘zoom in’ on specific details (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). Such a process enables insights which are ripe for modelling; grounded theory techniques code and identify issues of importance surrounding feelings and attachment to place of the individual entrepreneurs whilst going over the other aforementioned available secondary data of the big ‘D’ discourse (e.g., reports, newspaper articles, newsletters) examines how these fit in with the sociohistorical, cultural and collective forces of place thus helping to better understand the particularities, history and context of each case and unpack the differentiated relationships between the micro-level of the entrepreneurs and the meso and macro-level (Mitchell 2015). This reflects a context-sensitive approach to theory building aiming to refine it through seeing the macro as “constituted from lots of different micros” (Jackson et al. 2019, 25). Establishing systematic connections in this fashion between the open codes and categories alongside analysing the key points made by each interviewee considering the contextual descriptions and big ‘D’ multi-source evidence allowed the researcher to condense the wide variety of open codes into a much more manageable and relevant 44 ‘focused codes’ which retained labels and phrasal descriptors used by the participants (Gioia et al. 2012; Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Taking all of these aspects into consideration alongside the process of building systematic connections between the open codes and categories enabled the researcher to distinguish that many of the labels and phrasal descriptors related to history, norms and culture; to networks, homes and infrastructure; to growth, energy and local futures. This gave clarity in enabling the researcher to identify a set of 1st order categories. The three categories identified in this stage focused on the past, present and future of the context (i.e., place as it was; place as it is; and place as it could be). Incorporating ‘time’ into the design in such a manner enables this study to move beyond cross-sectional studies prevalent in the field and advance a more

dynamic, broader domain of contextual entrepreneurship research (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Indeed, the idea of connecting the temporal and the spatial not only helped to develop the open codes into more focused codes, it also provided structure to each stage of the analysis as, fundamentally, this is what creates place (Madanipour et al. 2001). Each of the three 1st order categories are comprised of eight or nine focused codes which were the most pertinent and prominent to the research enquiry, concentrating on how and why the entrepreneurs were engaging with place and depicting various forms of sense-making.

In the second stage, the temporal aspect helped further progress the 1st order categories into both existing and conceptually novel 2nd order themes. In this 2nd order analysis, now firmly in the theoretical realm, the search for linkages and connections that allow the research to build on the 1st order categories produce emerging themes and concepts which begin to help describe and explain the relationship between the entrepreneurs and place. This enabled the analysis to continue iteratively, moving fluidly between the relevant literature, data and cases until the patterns and connections were refined into adequate conceptual themes (Strauss and Corbin 1998). These conceptual 2nd order themes relate to the interviewees' heterogeneous attachment to place which differed depending on the entrepreneurs' engagement, length of residence within, and subsequent feelings for, the context. It consequently became clear that the entrepreneurs would utilise these alternative methods of attachment depending on their aspirations for themselves, their ventures and for place itself.

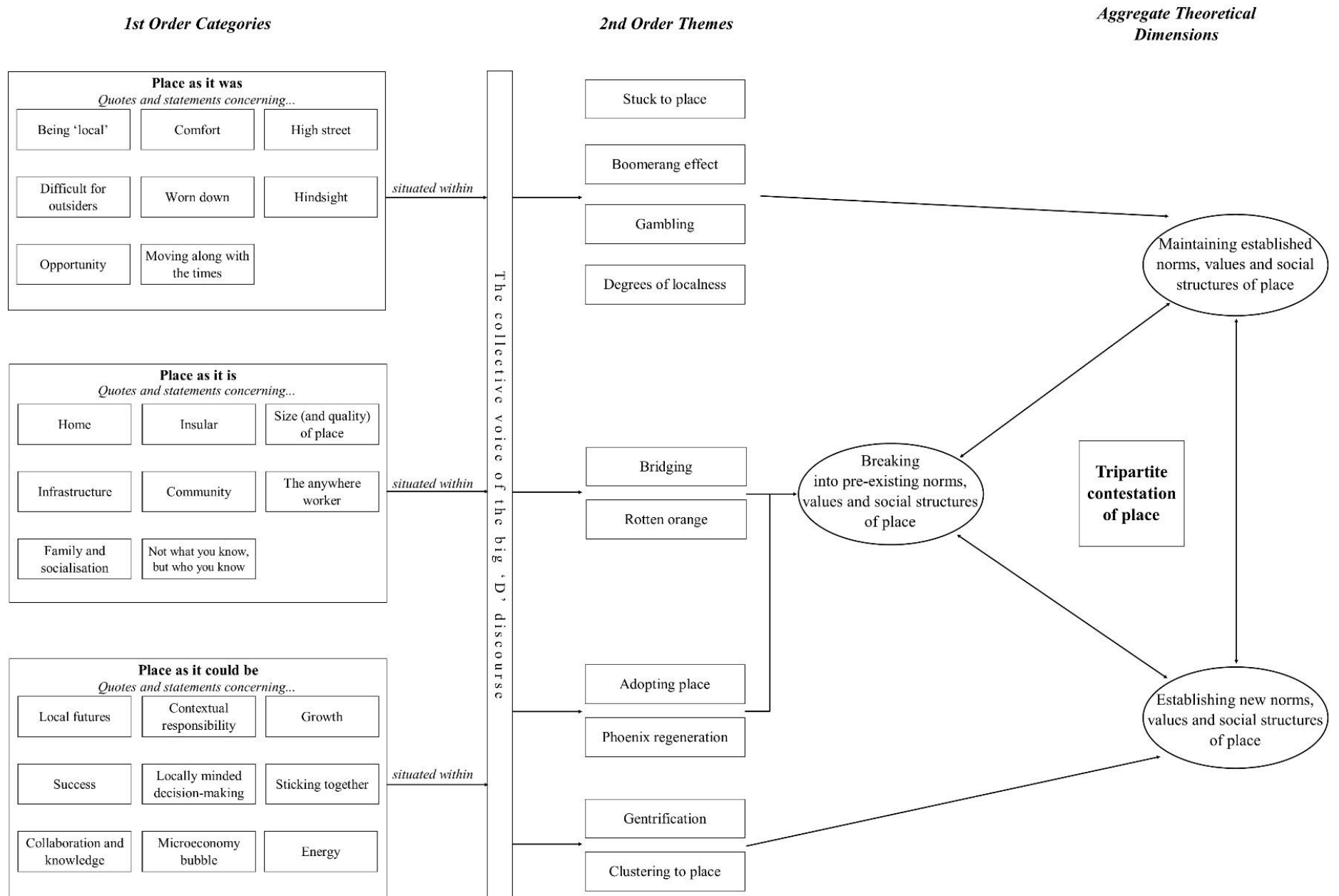
With this workable set of themes and concepts in hand, analysis entered the third stage and distilled the emergent 2nd order themes even further into aggregate theoretical dimensions (Gioia et al. 2012; Glaser and Strauss 1967). It became clear that each of the 2nd order themes developed in stage two related to one of three agentic dimensions: maintaining established norms, values and social structures, breaking into pre-existing norms, values and social structures and establishing new norms, values and social structures. Depending under which

agentic dimension the entrepreneurs aligned with, they would face a continuous contestation of place with the other two dimensions and their relative temporal-based methods of entrepreneurial attachment, thus creating a 'tripartite contestation of place'.

The process of conducting analysis with a series of partly overlapping stages enabled the data to be broken down, conceptualised, and rebuilt in new ways, therefore providing the opportunity for context-sensitive theory to emerge (Strauss and Corbin 1998; Welch et al. 2011). Whilst any analysis is subject to the cultural preconceptions of the researcher in question, given that here the researcher was very close to the cases, 'peer debriefing' (Corley and Gioia 2004) was used to help address the potential for bias in the analysis. This involved asking a researcher experienced in qualitative research and the type of analysis to audit the coding, data structure, and findings, as well as asking critical questions about the approach, thus helping evaluate the dependability of the analysis. If agreements about some aspects were low, the data was revisited to facilitate mutual discussions and develop understandings for arriving at consensual interpretations. This proved very helpful in clarifying the researcher's thinking and refining of the study as a whole.

The resulting data structure shown in Figure 1 not only allows the data to be constructed into a sensible visual aid, it also provides a graphic representation of how analysis progressed from the actual words and statements of interviewees to 1st order categories, to (researcher-centric) 2nd order themes and subsequent aggregate theoretical dimensions. This allows research to introduce specificity to the data structure and visually dig down to what the various concepts included were based on – a key component of demonstrating rigour in qualitative research (Gioia et al. 2012; Pratt 2009; Tracy 2010). Opting therefore to actively 'show' what the core concepts are about rather than passively 'use' them in the data structure builds context-sensitive theorising around the differentiated nature of engagement with place (Welter et al.

Figure 1. Data structure



2019) “that focuses on mechanisms; that is the set of driving forces that underlie and produce the patterns that we see empirically” (Gehman et al. 2018, 291). The collective voice of the big ‘D’ discourse is also introduced in the data structure as a vertical wall, in other words, a visual means of capturing variability and understanding why such variability exists (Gehman et al. 2018) through situating the individual entrepreneurs’ narratives within the wider context and thus presenting in detail the context-sensitive approach to data analysis by linking between the micro and the macro.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to put forth a methodological approach which would enable a better understanding of the temporal and spatial nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place and how it may differ from individual to individual. The very nature of the qualitative multiple case study research approach allows for the collection of rich, experiential data to better understand localised micro-level entrepreneurial processes and gain an insight into the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place (Hindle 2010; Trettin and Welter 2011). Not only does this heed the many calls for increased contextual entrepreneurship research (Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2017; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra 2007), but it manages to locate the important issues within case studies, offering elaborate and detailed insights into the phenomenon and providing a substantial base to build theory through offering contextualised explanations (Welch et al. 2011) which may very well have been overlooked within the positivist, quantitative mainstream (Gill and Johnson 2010; Saunders et al. 2012).

The thorough and consistent sampling method employed serves to reduce bias, increase reliability and validity (Flyvbjerg 2006) and ensure that the entrepreneurs interviewed represented the various voices of the cases (Myers and Newman 2007). Such an approach allowed the entrepreneurs to talk freely about their lived experiences of place, eliciting natural flowing conversations and deciding themselves what was pertinent (Byrne and Shepherd 2015;

Denscombe 2010). Conducting multiple interviews within multiple case studies in spatially proximate, culturally interlinked yet structurally different locales in this manner provides a more thorough understanding of individual entrepreneurs, their micro-level contextual processes and how these can subjectively construct their own reality of the world.

Finally, the application of a systematic, iterative, inductive and integrative data analysis approach provides unique, in-depth understandings into the differentiated nature of the entrepreneurs' engagement with place both between and within the case studies. The Gioia methodology improves the grounded theory techniques providing a visualisation of the rigour of concept development and theory building whilst ensuring findings emerged from within the data (Charmaz 2014; Gioia et al. 2012). Supplementing this with the big 'D' discourse proposed by Fairhurst and Putnam (2019) not only captured the 'collective' voice of the context(s) but managed to situate the individual micro-level processes and lived experiences (i.e., 'voice') of the entrepreneurs within the wider sociohistorical context. This affirms that not only are findings grounded from within the data, but they are constantly compared with, and relative to, the context in which enterprise is expected to occur therefore further clarifying the robustness and validity of the methodological approach utilised.

Chapter 4 – Findings

In the previous chapter a comprehensive overview of the qualitative, multiple case study methodological approach detailed how this research would collect rich, experiential data to better understand localised micro-level entrepreneurial processes and gain an insight into the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place. The findings herein subsequently make use of this rich data and the embedded experiences, feelings and relationships which constitute it to demonstrate what is going on within the contexts and how this was explained through entrepreneurial narratives.

This chapter draws upon the multiple analytic tools previously mentioned to examine how the big ‘D’ discourse summarises the social constructionist point of view about the critical events within context and how this becomes instantiated and reflects the interactions of individual micro-level entrepreneurial efforts, processes and narratives (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019; Potter and Wetherell 1987). The integrative nature of this chapter draws upon the methodological strengths of combining grounded theory techniques (to ensure that the findings emerge from and are grounded within the data) but are also contextualised within the sociohistorical and cultural fabric of the big ‘D’ discourse. This allows the research to produce findings which are contextually relevant, are operationalised in the form of individual entrepreneurial processes and can position entrepreneurs in relation to one another both within and across cases to appreciate the dynamic interplay between entrepreneurship, place and temporality (Fairhurst and Uhl-Bien 2012). Such an approach has identified and developed various methods of attachment to place with differing temporal and agentic orientations whilst also offering greater contextualised explanations (Welch et al. 2011) into the micro-organising

dynamics of entrepreneurs situated within the temporally variable social manifestations of place.

To present the findings this chapter shall be separated into four sections. Firstly, how the collective voice of the context shall be incorporated within this chapter shall be reviewed to ensure the background of place, its sociohistorical nature and culture are given credence. Secondly, this will be compared and contrasted with methods of attachment and entrepreneurial stories to illustrate their desire to revert back to 'place as it was'. Thirdly, the entrepreneurs' methods of attachment for 'place as it is' will be presented along with constant comparison of the collective voice. Fourthly, the entrepreneurial methods of attachment with a temporal emphasis on the future and 'place as it could be' will be detailed in the same manner before concluding the chapter.

4.1 The collective voice of the context

The quotes included within this chapter and appendix 3 represent how the collective voice of the context perceived the 17 critical events (the category of business community has 4 critical events [1 for each case], the image of place category has 5 [2 for Great Yarmouth and 1 for every other case], the infrastructure category has 4 [1 for each case] and the labour force category has 4 [1 for each case]) through local and national media. Interestingly, this collective voice more often than not echoes similar sentiments to those of the interviewed entrepreneurs when it comes to the thoughts, feelings and consequences of these critical events; the quotes captured here give not only a background of the sociohistorical and cultural nature of each case, but also provide further evidence of the business environment that the entrepreneurs have encountered. Most importantly, the collective voice of the context often moves beyond facts and concerns how place is viewed in the past, how in the present place had largely been accepted for what it is in the mind's eye as well as demonstrating the aspiring theme of how place could be in the future. The collective voice acknowledges the trials and tribulations of

each context, the presence of strategic initiatives, regeneration, long-term remedial action and numerous other measures to develop ‘place as it could be’. Both individual and collective accounts recognise a need for increased confidence within context and an obligation to cater for the whole business environment in order to fully progress place.

The big ‘D’ discursive approach employed here allows the research to explore how individual entrepreneurial systems of meaning and attachment are closely tied to issues of history, culture and power (Bakhtin 1984; Foucault 1983) in which analysis can take into account the temporalities, cultural assumptions and core ideas of place and what it is comprised of (Cooren 2015; Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). The integrative nature of this chapter therefore allows the secondary sources of the collective voice to reflect what was going on in place, when it was happening and how it may have impacted upon individual entrepreneurs and their actions and vice versa. The entrepreneurial methods of attachment to place will be reviewed across all the cases presenting findings alongside the collective voice of each context, matching, comparing and contrasting individual lived stories with what exists in the public domain as a shared collective. This consequently allows the research to better understand the variability within the data, how this may be represented collectively as well as allowing exploration into how much variability exists in actors’ individual relationships with place, their differing entrepreneurial methods of attachment, and approaches to temporality (whether these are consciously known or not).

4.2 Place as it was

A key theme emerging from the entrepreneurs’ narratives about their relationship with place was how it used to be comprised of in the past. Recalling what unique configurations constituted place at a previous moment in space and time not only impacted upon what was possible for enterprise (Wyrwich 2016) but also what was culturally and socially acceptable (Bensemam et al. 2018). Evoking such memories of ‘place as it was’ tended to be positive for

the entrepreneurs, often looking back at both their ventures and personal lives through ‘rose-tinted glasses’ holding an affinity for how place used to be and, for a number of individuals, how they hoped it would revert. This engendered storytelling narratives around how important it was to be considered a local, what opportunities this may have brought their ventures, what subsequent impacts this may have meant for ‘outsiders’ and how place had moved along with the times or remained in a state of inertia to name but a few 1st order categories. In doing so, entrepreneurs alluded to how they attached, reattached or distanced themselves from place throughout the duration of their relationship with context.

4.2.1 Stuck to place

Some respondents would relate to how they had either been ‘born and bred’ in place or present for so long that they feel unable to move anywhere else. This was often portrayed as a self-depreciating jibe from mainly local entrepreneurs but ultimately could be construed as either positive or negative depending on the individual. The idea of being ‘stuck’ to place stemmed from the entrepreneurs’ relationship with the context in previous years (i.e., place as it was) and how it had provided them with not just a base to live, but the opportunity to develop and maintain personal and familial relationships foremost, with their venturing activities often presented with a less prominent role. For instance:

“Well my wife, funnily enough, was born about 100 yards from where I was born and everyone’s got family in the area haven’t they? We’re stuck here for life” (Nicholas, 57, GY, local, haulier, 2e¹).

“We’re locals, so we will stay here ... I am 61 years old and I’ve been here all my life, so I haven’t got anywhere else to go” (Joshua, 61, Ipswich, local, equipment lender, 10e).

“It’s not just where my house is, it’s where my life is, I’m the sort of person who just stays somewhere, I’m not one for moving around in a lot of places” (Mitchell, 49, Cambridge, in-migrant, app developer, 26e).

¹ The attribution of quotes regarding the individual voices of the entrepreneurs shall be formatted (pseudonym, age, case, migration status, occupation, number of employees) herein.

“What keeps anyone anywhere? It’s alright here, it’s just nice ... my mates, family, job, it’s all around here. It’s structure. Structure keeps me here” (Dean, 34, Cambridge, local, estate agent, 3e).

“I have all of my family around here and I’m not one of these people who would just move off and go somewhere else on my own or with my husband or whatever, I’m definitely more family orientated – this is where everything is” (Kelly, 56, Norwich, in-migrant, baker, 13e).

Whilst the method of attachment of being stuck to place tended to be prevalent with entrepreneurs such as Nicholas, Joshua and Dean who were locally born and bred within their respective contexts and subsequently had a considerable length of residence, it was present across all cases and even with in-migrant entrepreneurs like Kelly and Mitchell. It seems here that the presence of family, ventures and a ‘home’ within place is what offers meaning to the entrepreneurs’ lives and exacerbates being ‘stuck’ as a method of attachment regardless of length of residence. With an increasing number of local ties not only did these entrepreneurs find themselves in an ingrained relationship with place, they felt they were incapable of leaving its grasp. Some explained this through the metaphor of roots; a growing number relates to the amount of ties to place and just as roots anchor a tree, these ties anchor the entrepreneurs, rendering them ‘stuck’.

“What keeps anyone anywhere? ... This is my home, my family are here, it’s where I work and live. I’ve put down roots.” (Thabitha, 57, Cambridge, migrant, corporate event provider, 22e).

“I’ve got no reason to move away really. I’ve put down roots, I’m involved with the church and the girls’ brigade, I’ve got a nice house which we’ve been in for years, I think I’m here forever.” (Alexa, 67, Ipswich, local, not-for-profit retailer, 2e).

The entrepreneurs choosing to set down roots inherently considers place as it was. For both Thabitha and Alexa looking back at how such ties to place with their family, businesses and homes had developed from past to present offers explanation into how such connections intertwined the entrepreneur and context, consequently holding them ‘stuck’ within place. What was interesting emerging from the analysis was that in the settings of place which are

considered more ‘rural’ (i.e., Great Yarmouth, Ipswich and Norwich) it seemed that entrepreneurs were more likely to become ‘stuck’ rather than in a more innovative and economically developed place (i.e., Cambridge).

“[My partner is] from Ipswich, born and bred, will never leave ... It’s Suffolk, it’s how they’re born and bred” (Tracey, 40, Ipswich, migrant, marine retailer, 3e).

“We’re sticklers, I’m not one for moving around much” (Joel, 61, Norwich, in-migrant, manufacturer, 4e).

Tracey and Joel relayed stories of how place had become central to identity shaping (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996), creating a hallowed tie between individual and context yet with a more transient population in an innovative, economically developed university city such as Cambridge, inhabitants seem to be less able (or willing) to develop such a connection. John (49, Cambridge, in-migrant, software developer, 2e), an entrepreneur who chose to remain in place after finishing his studies at Cambridge University, offers his thoughts as to what this may mean for local enterprise: “I think the more high flying your career the less likely you are to stay in one spot at a time”. With fewer market opportunities for entrepreneurs to develop and exploit in rural areas (Freire-Gibb and Nielsen 2014), the harder they may find it to develop an extremely economically successful entrepreneurial venture. Whilst this may therefore explain why some ‘unicorns’ are willing to up sticks and locate their ventures in the most economically viable and successful places (Sunny and Shu 2019) it also offers explanation into how ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ remain in context and develop meaningful local ties, consequently becoming ‘stuck to place’. It is important to note that this mechanism need not be considered as a negative, as a similar ‘stuck to place’ mindset may be prevalent in a large number of the rural population, which entrepreneurs can use to their advantage:

“The people here are very nice and want to be here. They are not typically looking for their next place to go, so they are a good work force” (Arnold, 41, Norwich, local, transport provider, 24e).

For locally born and bred Arnold, the idea of being stuck to place as a method of attachment presents itself as an opportunity for fellow entrepreneurs to build a reliable and dependable local labour force whilst acknowledging and appreciating the ties which initiated the attachment in the first instance. With regards to temporality, the extant literature tends to suggest the more amount of time spent in place, the more one feels they are ‘stuck’, often bringing negative connotations about ageing, healthcare and mobility (DeGood 2011; Erickson et al. 2012; Sharkey 2013). Indeed for some local entrepreneurs, length of residence was a contributing factor in being stuck to place and this did give rise to some negative emotions about spending all of their lives in one context (especially when comparing it to their favourable memories of ‘place as it was’), consequently leaving feelings of being ‘worn down’.

“I’ve done this for years, I could easily stop ... I’d sell this unit or let it out and put my feet up. I could do that couldn’t I?” (Ruby, 63, Ipswich, local, training provider, 15e).

"It’s a shithole ... the place needs cleaning ... There’s too many immigrants ... and it’s just the whole of Yarmouth as a seaside resort is a shithole, you can see that from the decline over the years" (Nicholas, 57, GY, local, haulier, 2e).

Whilst spending all of their lives ‘stuck’ within the one spatial context may have negatively impacted upon Ruby and Nicholas’ relationship with place, others felt that the importance of the past was essential in developing local ties and the subsequent method of attachment which in turn can offer comfort and safety.

“We value our social life along with the business life. We don’t particularly need to be millionaires to be happy, [being here] is more being comfortable with the surroundings, where you work and where you feel safe” (Isaac, 58, Norwich, immigrant, graphic designer, 8e).

“I’ve always loved Cambridge because I know lots of people here, I know business owners, I know the local football teams ... it’s super safe here” (Jason, 31, Cambridge, local, café owner, 20e).

For Isaac, an in-migrant entrepreneur who is originally from London and frequented Norfolk for childhood holidays before moving to Norwich in the '80s, and Jason, who has strong familial links and connections to Cambridge University, the feeling of being safe and comfortable within place strengthens their contextual relationship; it allows them to positively react to remaining within a context for prolonged time periods because place and the community have become an important 'anchor' for their personal identity (Beckley 2003; Trentelman 2009), enhancing being stuck to place as a method of attachment. Conversely, those who felt negatively about this mechanism spoke about how they may like to break the cycle of being 'stuck' yet their fear of the unknown, its potential costs and the uncomfortable nature of detaching themselves from place and its ties prevented them from taking substantial action.

"I have considered other areas. It's feeling like it would be a better option to change what I'm doing ... Obviously, there are then costs associated with relocating, and everything else, and what impact would that then have on me and the business?" (Amber, 30, Ipswich, in-migrant, retailer, 2e).

"As much as it may be interesting to see how we would do out there [relocating] we just can't. Inertia keeps us here" (Gordon, 39, GY, local, waste management, 11e).

Whilst Amber, an in-migrant and relative newcomer to Ipswich, feels her first foray into venturing has emotionally and financially tied her into place rendering her 'stuck', this is even more pronounced for Gordon, a locally born and bred 2nd generation entrepreneur. His relationship with his father (who is still involved in the family business), length of residence and subsequent prominent ties to 'place as it was' all contribute towards being 'stuck to place' – leaving him feeling he has no other option but to continue as he is doing. So what does this method of attachment mean for entrepreneurs and their temporal relationship to place? It shows that temporality (local ties and appreciating how these have developed from the past to the present) may superficially determine 'strength of attachment' to place but beneath the surface

the true feelings of the entrepreneurs show that while some may appreciate their length of residence in place, others may find it like a glass cage – they may know, understand and have aspirations or desires in a different spatial context to where they currently reside and operate but feel ‘stuck’ and unable to leave.

To understand to how this method of attachment has been portrayed collectively across the cases the findings must move from the micro-level processes of the entrepreneurs to the big ‘D’ discourse of each context (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). Being ‘stuck to place’ as a method of attachment was collectively expressed in the cases through critical events concerning the local labour force. In the rural areas where being ‘stuck’ to place was somewhat exacerbated it seems as if this method of attachment affected both the entrepreneurs and local population alike. In Great Yarmouth, the local populous demonstrated a similar attachment of remaining ‘stuck’ to place despite there being a lack of jobs and opportunities to pave a way out of deprivation.

“Great Yarmouth ... has become [a] dumping ground for the unemployed and benefits-dependent” (11/08/13 The Independent, Oscar Quine, Journalist²).

“Unemployment rises at sharpest rate for nearly five years ... with Great Yarmouth ... among the largest risers” (21/02/18 Eastern Daily Press, Doug Faulkner, Journalist).

While it was local residents within the Great Yarmouth secondary sources collectively expressing being stuck to place due to a lack of funds and opportunities to pursue careers and desires outside of their context, in Ipswich, it was the entrepreneurs and businesses alike who collectively demonstrated being ‘stuck’ as a method of attachment.

“At least six in 10 respondents admitted a skills shortage in their workplace, and 60% said they think it has worsened in the last 12 months” (30/07/18 East Anglian Daily Times, Jessica Hill, Journalist).

² The attribution of quotes regarding the secondary sources collective voice of the big ‘D’ discourse shall be formatted (dd/mm/yy publication, real name, contextual role) herein.

The secondary sources collectively portray entrepreneurs and business owners as remaining anchored in place despite a lack of sufficient local talent and a consequently questionable future over the context's (and therefore its ventures) economic sustainability. Likewise, in Norwich being stuck to place was also collectively expressed by entrepreneurs and business owners yet this was whilst facing tough competition from chains and multinationals.

“[It's difficult] competing with chain restaurants, whose corporate structure and funding mean they can weather the tough times, whilst some independent outlets suffer and die” (05/01/18 Eastern Daily Press, Courtney Pochin, Journalist).

“It's important to have a mixture of chain stores and independent shops on the high street but at the moment there seems to be a bit of an imbalance with a lot of independent shops closing and that is heartbreaking to see” (02/07/11 Eastern Daily Press, David Blackmore, Journalist).

It seems that Norwich independent entrepreneurs and business owners chose to stick to place valuing their local social ties despite often being on the losing end to tough competition from chains sometimes driving them to find work elsewhere or pursue another venture. In Cambridge, however, this method of attachment was less prevalent and therefore presented an issue for entrepreneurs and businesses struggling to retain their talent.

“There is a myriad of change because the job market is ever tougher. In a full employment economy, such as we have in Cambridge, the recruitment and retention of quality talent and clients is a key issue for any business” (31/05/17 Cambridge Independent, Colin Jones, Construction Law Specialist).

“Competition to hire software engineers and biochemists is rivalled by the difficulty in finding receptionists and baristas who can afford to live in the area” (03/07/19 Financial Times, Derek Jones, Babraham Research Campus).

The lack of being 'stuck' to place in Cambridge is collectively displayed as affecting not just the high tech and innovation labour force, but ancillary services as well. The collective voice portrayed that a lack of this method of attachment meant that it was highly possible that

entrepreneurs and business owners may lose talent to other businesses within the case or to the draw of higher wages in nearby London.

Clearly temporality and opportunities within context affect whether entrepreneurs and residents alike become ‘stuck to place’ as a method of attachment. Whilst for some this mechanism may invoke favourable memories of the past and how place has allowed them to flourish personally and professionally, offering comfortability, safety, a secure job and fewer worries, others clearly question such a lengthy attachment to place, whether they have become stuck in a rut (Easthope and Gabriel 2008) and, ultimately, if the grass really is greener elsewhere.

4.2.2 Boomerang effect

Some respondents did question whether the grass really was greener in other contexts and told narratives of how they detached themselves from place to pursue education, careers and life experiences elsewhere. In the case of Norwich this method of entrepreneurial attachment to place following such individual mobility was prevalent – people would find that once they have accumulated the necessary experience(s) they wanted to achieve they would yearn to return to place to live and delve back in to ‘place as it was’ in their mind’s eye. A locally born and bred entrepreneur, Scott, exhibited this very method of attachment helping to coin the term ‘boomerang effect’.

“Norwich is my hometown, I’ve travelled all about and came back, it’s like a boomerang really I suppose. It is [the same] for most people I know. It’s just my hometown, that’s it really” (Scott, 38, Norwich, local, estate agent, 4e).

The current literature often refers to this pattern of migration as returnee entrepreneurs – enterprising individuals who leave place to learn skills or educate themselves to then return home and set up a venture (Liu and Almor 2016; Wright et al. 2008) yet this is not quite what the ‘boomerang effect’ captures. Instead, this method of attachment encapsulates the thoughts

and feelings regarding context rather than the (somewhat rigid) leave-learn-return cycle allowing a better understanding of why entrepreneurs may leave for a variety of reasons and, arguably more importantly, why they return.

“I left Norwich because I wanted more, I wanted to work on different things ... there wasn't enough going on in Norwich to keep me local so I went to Brighton ... then I moved to London ... and then from there back to Norwich in 2004. I moved back because it's a lovely city, Norfolk is a great place to live and a significant part of that is the location ... there's less people, there's more countryside. It's got the right combination, Norwich is quite a small city really so you get what you need from the city when you need it ... it's my home, it's my family home” (Kyle, 48, Norwich, local, software developer, 90e).

“I came back home, walked down The Lanes with a couple of mates and I thought 'I'm not going anywhere' ... I just felt comfortable again. You know when you're younger you always just want to get out of there, you think your hometown is shite and you're just fed up of it and fed up of the people, stuff like that. When you go away and come back I think you just appreciate it more and I think that's what happened to me” (Scott, 38, Norwich, local, estate agent, 4e).

While the literature concerning returnee entrepreneurs often exemplifies ideals of hard work and persistence in the face of adversity all surrounding the pursuit of progress to one day 'loyally' return to your hometown (Murphy 2000) this is not what was exhibited here. What is important, and what this method of attachment captures, is that losing an affinity towards place and the subsequent relationship breaking down allowed the entrepreneurs to relinquish their ties and detach themselves from the context. In doing so, the time spent away from the context made both Kyle and Scott appreciate the characteristics of place, what it meant for them personally and how returning could enrich their lives, allowing them both to realise just how important this relationship was intrinsically to their identity and overall wellbeing. Leaving the context behind and looking back in the past at 'place how it was' before they detached themselves provided an opportunity for the entrepreneurs to reassess their temporal attachment, often looking back with fond memories surrounding socialisation and the concept of 'home'. Actively reminiscing about the past through their storytelling narratives often led the entrepreneurs to remember the positives about their attachment to place, with their time spent

away from the context allowing them to overlook the reasons they initially left. Not only did this time spent away from the context allow the entrepreneurs to overlook place's potential pitfalls, it also offered the entrepreneurs the chance to objectively determine what was spatially important to them, be it the idea of home, family or friends, and how best to locate themselves and their ventures to make the most of these ties and attachments.

“Wherever you go you, just find yourself gravitating back home” (Megan, 49, Norwich, local, recruiter, 2e).

“I think I am attached to Norwich. I think until you leave you don't appreciate the good stuff in Norfolk” (Charlie, 46, Norwich, local, engineer and manufacturer, 21e).

Here Megan and Charlie, entrepreneurs originally hailing from Norwich who have exemplified the 'boomerang effect' as a method of attachment, demonstrate the use of temporality (i.e., their time away from place) to reassess their relationship with context, often choosing to positively remember their attachment to place as it was (perhaps through rose-tinted glasses). Not only does this encourage them to return like a boomerang, but it also gives them the chance to bring back new ideas to place, be it through academic qualifications, career endeavours or life experience with a new perspective. This process can help to overcome shortfalls and barriers in personal relationships with place as well as aiding entrepreneurial entry and venture creation as evidenced in the narrative of Isabel:

“I studied Fashion Management in London and worked in London for a few companies so I got a grip on how it all worked really and then came back to Norwich for a summer just to review what I was going to do but I decided to dive in at the deep end and I never left Norwich” (Isabel, 46, Norwich, local, retailer, 8e).

However, it is important to mention that the outcome of this method of attachment may not always be positive.

“There's the opportunity to start a new business in Norwich because the place is thriving. I would go back but my wife wouldn't, she said she could never go back

and I swore I would never go back because I always think that things are never as good as they seem” (Rhys, 62, Cambridge, in-migrant, bespoke supplier, 10e).

Rhys, an entrepreneur who lived and grew up in Norwich until his early 20s, addresses whether one can truly be objective when considering place attachment in the past. He questions whether it is just the positive memories coming to the forefront and creating an illusion of place which may no longer exist. Indeed, looking back to place as it was and returning hoping that it has maintained the same characteristics, social relationships and opportunities as before one left carries inherent risk – it is feasible that over time place may have grown and developed into somewhere individuals no longer recognise. Not only may the same issues, barriers, and feelings initially encountered by individuals resurface, but there may also be an entirely different dynamic facing the entrepreneurs on their return that they must learn and adapt to. This can hold notable impacts for not just the entrepreneurs and their wellbeing, but also their aspiration for venture creation, enterprise and place itself. Nevertheless, Isaac comprehensively sums up the patterns of mobility which underpins how the boomerang effect as a method of attachment was portrayed within the data:

“I think [Norwich has] got a lot to offer, more from a social point of view at the moment than a business point of view, I think people still feel the need to travel away from Norwich to find work. I think a lot of people come back, in our experience, I know quite a lot of youngsters ... [who] especially if you’ve been living in the area feel ‘oh I want to go and try somewhere else’ you go and try somewhere else and it’s not many years before you think actually I’d rather be back in Norwich” (Isaac, 58, Norwich, in-migrant, graphic designer, 8e).

The small size of Norwich may mean some feel they are restricted when it comes to opportunities to develop education, careers and themselves. However, it seems that both the entrepreneurs and inhabitants greatly value their social connections, memories and historical connections, having a strong affinity for what they feel constitutes ‘home’ and thereby tending to look back fondly at past attachments to place. With regards to temporality, this method of attachment emphasises the importance of individual historical accounts of context and how

these play an important part of localised sense-making and decision-making (Wadhvani 2016). The entrepreneurs' interpretations and understandings of the past offer explanation as to why they returned as well as to how they experience the present – they value social connections and historical ties greater than opportunities to increase their ventures' chances for economic success in a context further afield.

The big 'D' discourse offers another avenue to triangulate findings and gain insight into how this method of attachment has been exhibited collectively within the case (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). The 'boomerang effect' was collectively portrayed concerning the critical events of the image of place and, more specifically, in Norwich this related to The Lanes – a mainly pedestrianised series of streets, alleyways and courtyards which are home to over 300 independent retailers, cafés, restaurants, pubs and bars.

“We have created a village in a city, where you can find great customer service, people don't just stand behind counters like they do in the national stores, but are willing to help ... We have a waiting list of about 30 shops wanting to come into The Lanes and many of the buildings have retail below with residential [or other businesses] above ... so The Lanes has its own micro economy” (01/02/19 Eastern Daily Press, Jonty Young, Norwich Lanes Association).

The idea of a village within a city emphasises here the importance of socialisation within the case. It puts forward the feeling that everybody knows everybody, that people are willing to take time to help and talk to individuals which therefore makes it feel more like 'home'. This nature of place emulated the narratives and micro-level processes of the entrepreneurs, encouraging them to return to the context and thus develop the boomerang effect as a method of attachment. Interestingly, this same idea of neighbourly friendliness was reinforced through the experiences of a visitor to the case within the secondary sources.

“It feels like you get to know the people in the shop fronts. It also makes you appreciate how multicultural the city is” (07/07/19 Eastern Daily Press, Yolanda Howard, Visitor to The Lanes).

This same idea of friendliness and feeling as if you know everybody not only puts forward the idea that socialisation and social ties are important within the case, it shows that individuals value them, therefore inspiring a return to place and forming the foundations of the boomerang effect. It also shows that to deem this is worth mentioning positively to a journalist means it is not considered the norm elsewhere. This offers explanation of both why this method of attachment was prevalent within Norwich as well as why the entrepreneurs would traverse the world before returning to a somewhat inconspicuous city in East Anglia – the social ties and opportunities for socialisation are rich and unique and are valued highly by the entrepreneurs and inhabitants alike.

This method of attachment clearly emphasises the importance of historical contextualisation for the entrepreneurs. Reviewing lived experiences from multiple individual temporalities allowed the entrepreneurs to determine how they wanted to experience the present (i.e., deciding what they value most) (Wadhvani 2016) and within this method of attachment that manifested itself as returning ‘home’ for kinship and socialisation first and foremost. Alongside this, the ‘boomerang effect’ as a mechanism also captures that the time spent away from place allowed the entrepreneurs to develop themselves intellectually and/or experientially aiding not only venture creation and/or development upon their return to place, but also (and often inadvertently) increasing the offering of goods/services/opportunities to those within context which may have previously been absent and spurred individual’s initial detachment. In this fashion it moves beyond the narrow leave-learn-return cycle put forth in returnee entrepreneur literature (Liu and Almor 2016; Murphy 2000; Wright et al. 2008) and instead argues for a reconceptualisation towards a reject-experience-revalue perspective to better understand this form of entrepreneurial engagement with place alongside the contrasts in both personal and social mobility.

4.2.3 *Gambling*

The notion of looking back in the past at ‘place as it was’ was recalled countless times by individuals throughout each of the cases. Often when recounting stories of venture creation, the entrepreneurs spoke about how they had previously encountered place and how based upon these past contextual experiences they felt they could locate themselves appropriating place to best suit their individual needs and ventures, tailoring their offering to meet the context’s (and beyond) present and future demands. These storytelling narratives of how the past shaped present and future entrepreneurial actions often were assimilated with metaphors of betting, winning, and losing; it is this which has led to the development of ‘gambling’ as an entrepreneurial method of attachment to place. In each case entrepreneurs would recall their experience of ‘place as it was’ and how it influenced them to ‘gamble’ with place via their individual ventures.

"I know Yarmouth, it is a deprived area, it's an area with challenges ... it's had its day as it had a very strong tourism business after the Second World War ... once the aeroplane came along, people started going abroad for their holiday, it just dwindled and dwindled. It meant property was cheap but to sink your money in here with the odds stacked against you? That's a risk" (Stuart, 52, GY, local, property investor, 4e).

"I shouldn't have started this place because I was putting all of my eggs in one basket and rolling the dice. There's good gambling and bad gambling, I know Cambridge well but playing it too safe is not playing the game. I think being here for the long term is next to impossible ... My entire wealth at the minute is taken up by these 4 walls. I don't have any money in my bank account, this is it" (Jason, 31, Cambridge, local, café owner, 20e).

"I had nothing, I had no property, I owned a bicycle and that was about as much as I could lose. It's favourable to set up when you're younger, I knew the market and I had nothing to lose whereas now I have a house, I have children" (Isabel, 46, Norwich, local, retailer, 8e).

"I don't think it's a bad high street. I think it's a relatively good offering, but I think it's very obvious that a lot of shops have been shutting over the years and there are big premises that are sitting empty, and you think, 'right. Is this too risky?' because a small independent like us can't afford to gamble it all away" (Amber, 30, Ipswich, in-migrant, retailer, 2e).

The findings illustrated that the entrepreneurs tended to place their temporal focus within the past (i.e., place as it was) (Bluedorn 2002) when considering entrepreneurial entry and, ultimately, their attachment to place. For Stuart, Jason and Isabel, being a ‘local’ gave access to an intricate socially bound network, easing start-up costs and thus affording them the opportunity to become embedded within place, providing contextual know-how and improving their ability to mobilise local resources (Roos 2019). This, combined with their knowledge of how their ventures’ offering fitted in with the local context (and beyond), encouraged the entrepreneurs to plunge in and ‘gamble’ cementing their attachment to place through the creation of local ventures.

Attaching to place through this mechanism clearly carries risk for the entrepreneurs, yet what is interesting is how this method of attachment is temporally sensitive to both the case and the individual. Upon initial venture creation the entrepreneurs are undoubtedly aware of the inherent risks associated with entrepreneurship, yet they deem this gamble with both their context and career worthwhile. Over time, however, the dynamic between entrepreneur and context rarely remains constant; whilst entrepreneurs continued to be tied into context via their ventures, both place and the individuals themselves are constantly changing and evolving, thus shortening or lengthening not only the odds of entrepreneurs’ chances of success, but also their likelihood of a ‘successful’ relationship with place.

For example, for Isabel the risk has become greater because she now has a family to support and a house to lose. This mechanism therefore reflects the idea that she is now, in essence, betting more on her entrepreneurial attachment with place than she was at entrepreneurial entry as she has become more reliant on a successful contextual relationship now that she has more locally-bound ties (which she considers valuable) at stake. Equally, Amber has also experienced ‘lengthened odds’ after gambling with her attachment to place. As a relative newcomer to Ipswich she saw ‘place as it was’ in her mind’s eye – a better high street

with a good shopping destination and therefore acted accordingly, setting up a central retail shop. ‘Gambling’ as a method of attachment here captures that whilst initially she set out with best intentions, over time, her relationship with place has deteriorated and she now fears that as even larger competitors become unable to survive perhaps the gamble of attaching herself and her venture to the context will not reap the rewards she had hoped for. Nevertheless, ‘gambling’ as a method of attachment to place need not be negative – when the odds are stacked against individuals it can ignite entrepreneurial intentions.

“I went to various other things like Business Link and they told me I was crazy. I went to various advisors and they told me I was crazy. Most people tried to talk me out of it and no one supported it. As more and more people told me it wouldn’t happen here and couldn’t happen here, it drove me to prove them wrong” (Arnold, 41, Norwich, local, transport provider, 24e).

Somewhat ahead of its time, Arnold’s ‘gamble’ to attach himself and his innovative, high-tech venture to context seemed overly risky to outsiders, however he had observed a gap in the market of ‘place as it was’ and developed an opportunity to best exploit it. The gamble and risk associated with attaching himself and his venture inspired and drove him to ‘shorten the odds’, developing a unique and somewhat unlikely relationship with place which has grown stronger and improved over time; this method of attachment demonstrates how combining his past temporal focus along with his future unwavering vision has consequently paid off.

With regards to the big ‘D’ discourse, ‘gambling’ as a method of attachment to place was collectively portrayed through critical events concerning the business community. In Great Yarmouth, this was portrayed through the secondary sources collective voice of the context raising concern about the amount of empty shops within the case.

“Walk around Great Yarmouth and it's not hard to find empty shops crying out for new life ... once bright windows have given way to a boarded-up bleakness” (20/09/18 Great Yarmouth Mercury, Liz Coates, Journalist).

Such a concern demonstrates that most entrepreneurs are unwilling to ‘gamble’ attaching themselves to the context as they can see ‘place as it was’ – a thriving retail sector, compared to ‘place as it is’ – longstanding empty premises alluding to a lack of a market and therefore carrying too big of a risk to enter into an entrepreneurial relationship with. However, the secondary sources show that this has not gone unnoticed within the case, with the town centre manager questioning whether they are offering local entrepreneurs the best odds when it comes to their relationship with place.

“There needs to be more incentives for potential occupiers to take up empty shops for retail, office, or leisure use to rejuvenate their communities ... there should be penalties if [town centre] shops were left empty for too long forcing landlords to be more flexible. Are landlords ... being creative and considering other uses? ... It is not just the empty shop it is the impact on other shops in terms of light and general ambience” (20/09/18 Great Yarmouth Mercury, Jonathan Newman, Town Centre Manager).

It seems here that a route out of deprivation for the Great Yarmouth case is to encourage more entrepreneurs to ‘gamble’ and attach themselves to place by encouraging and allowing entrepreneurship to adapt and follow more creative and unique means which better suit the host community (Johnstone 2013). It appears there are hopes that the more this is done, the more it will break the cycle, lessen the risk associated with future entrepreneurs’ attachment to place, bettering the context and, ultimately, paving a way out of deprivation.

Similarly, in Ipswich ‘gambling’ as a method of attachment to place has also been collectively illustrated through the critical event of a growing number of empty shops within the case.

“Unfortunately Ipswich has been on a downward slope for quite a while. The high street is littered with empty or charity shops. Dreadful when you think this used to be a thriving town” (29/03/13 Ipswich Star, Naomi Gornall, Journalist).

Equally, here, the view of ‘place as it was’ as being ‘thriving’ would have encouraged entrepreneurs to attach themselves to place, however, that has not been the case for Ipswich.

This emphasises the importance of temporality with ‘gambling’ as a method of attachment – it captures that an individual’s attachment to place rarely remains constant. What may initially seem like a calculated risk can either reap rewards or, in this instance, result in entrepreneurial exit leaving behind empty shops and a feeling of discontent. Nevertheless, the idea that the risk associated with entrepreneurs attaching themselves and their ventures to place needs to be lessened was also evidenced within the collective voice.

“[We need to be] be very entrepreneurial about how we grant planning permission ... we want to see shops, cafes, cinemas, doctors surgeries and hospitals, but there are planning restrictions on how many units can be used for non-pure retail use and that is a nonsense in this day and age ... to just sit back and wait for retailers is the wrong thing to do” (08/11/12 BBC News, Paul Clement, Ipswich Central Executive Director).

Removing unnecessary barriers to entrepreneurship demonstrates one way to reduce the risk associated with attaching ventures to place, taking a proactive step towards instilling a greater entrepreneurial spirit across various spatial levels and therefore encouraging more entrepreneurs to ‘gamble’ with place.

In the case of Norwich, ‘gambling’ as a mechanism was illustrated through a recent influx of chains and multinationals forcing the closure of independent entrepreneurial ventures.

“Continued growth could spell trouble for existing businesses. There’s only a certain amount of custom that can go around, if you thin that out enough then someone starts struggling” (14/02/19 Eastern Daily Press, Lauren Cope, Journalist).

‘Gambling’ as a mechanism further incorporates temporality as it captures the idea that the future is infinitely unknown (Menger 2014). Norwich has long been known for its successful wide array of independents but individuals would have been unlikely to predict that such a coveted aspect of place would increasingly come under such pressure from large chains, further demonstrating that entrepreneurial attachment to ‘place as it was’ can be quite a gamble.

Indeed, the collective voice of the secondary sources calls for inhabitants of place to ‘use it or lose it’.

“Support your independents: clothing shops, restaurants, market stalls, coffee shops, record shops, because if you don’t you will lose them. No one wants to live in a city that is basically one big shopping mall” (05/01/18 Eastern Daily Press, Courtney Pochin, Journalist).

Clearly, the number of independent entrepreneurs within the case is seen as a key characteristic and draw to place. The importance of this is displayed by the collective voice compelling inhabitants to use such independents, therefore hoping to offer a stronger business environment, have fewer closures and thus present Norwich as less of a risky gamble for entrepreneurs looking to attach themselves and their ventures to place.

In Cambridge this mechanism was collectively represented through the secondary sources detailing the high localised costs of running a business and subsequent high failure rate.

“Being an entrepreneur is not without risks and in a place like Cambridge it can be quite pricey. In fact, the number of 'To Let' signs is quite astonishing in ... popular streets. It's not just independent shops which struggle here in Cambridge. Major brands ... have also closed their doors” (15/06/19 Cambridgeshire Live, Nicola Gwyer, Journalist).

Here, ‘gambling’ as a method of attachment is shown not only to exist in more economically developed contexts (e.g., Cambridge), but also to exist with the stakes raised. Whilst entrepreneurs may consider the case ‘as it was’ (being historically economically well-off), to individually attach themselves to place and develop a relationship which translates into entrepreneurial success is a deceptively complicated risk in a case where costs, and potential failure, are considerably higher.

Ultimately, this method of attachment demonstrates the importance of entrepreneurial temporal focus (Lippman and Aldrich 2016). Assessing ‘place as it was’ allowed entrepreneurs to not only evaluate the context and market for potential gaps and opportunities they could

develop, it offered them the insight to determine how they wanted to live and experience the present; weighing up whether they felt the ‘gamble’ of attaching themselves and their ventures to place was worth the risk. This method of attachment therefore captures individual differences in temporal orientations, how this can impact upon entrepreneurial actions (especially entrepreneurial entry) and how the subsequent interrelationship between entrepreneurship and context can carry inherent risks and/or rewards. Essentially, the process of ‘gambling’ as a mechanism was succinctly summarised by the way of Jake (59, Cambridge, local, caterer, 240e) and his narrative: “it was very much you dive in with the other sharks and you’ve got to sink or swim”.

4.2.4 Degrees of localness

Whilst this mechanism was alluded to in each case, it extensively emerged within the storytelling narratives of the entrepreneurs in Norwich. The idea of ‘place as it was’ seemed to matter to entrepreneurs and inhabitants alike for determining how ‘local’ an individual may be. If an individual (and their generations before them) were present within ‘place as it was’ the more local they were considered and therefore the more attached and loyal to place they were believed to be.

“I’m Norfolk born and bred and realising that the clients that you supply to like to have that ... [they] like to keep things local as much as possible ... people can be quite strange here in that they can take a while to accept anybody that isn’t Norfolk ... you have to live here for 100 years before Norfolk people accept you” (Megan, 49, Norwich, local, recruiter, 2e).

Megan, a Norwich native, explains here how individuals are not considered a ‘true local’ unless they had been historically present within place, exhibiting contextual attachment for generations and generations. This somewhat crude measure of deciding ‘degrees of localness’ not only emphasises temporality as being the determining factor in entrepreneurial attachment

to place, but also that those who were of a similar attachment level of ‘true localness’ would show preference to each other, aiding both business networks and custom.

“[Norwich] is very insular though, people would only deal with people they knew for decades, people their family knew. I think that’s partly why Norwich has succeeded and survived, they have that mentality of ‘no, we’re not changing’” (Rhys, 62, Cambridge, in-migrant, bespoke supplier, 10e).

Rhys recalls the nature of the business environment in Norwich from earlier in his life arguing for the mechanism’s success within the case as such a mentality may mean those considered ‘more local’ have a better knowledge of the context’s history, its norms, and local preferences (Cuervo-Cazurra et al. 2007); it does, however, assume that temporality and a greater length of residence means not only a stronger attachment, but also a more ‘worthy’ inhabitant of place. The line of thinking exhibited here therefore implies that the longer one spends in place, the more loyal they are to the context and the more likely they will foster relationships which mobilise local resources, develop social capital and increase their chances of success (Dahl and Sorenson 2012). So what does this mean for the entrepreneurial ventures within the case?

“Norwich is a very traditional area and people still trade in a very traditional manner. They still trade on who they know, on face-to-face or over the phone contact ... Norfolk isn’t the cheapest, I suspect price of items is probably an issue but in terms of reliability of delivery and service and quality of product – it’s those things which are important” (Charlie, 46, Norwich, local, engineer and manufacturer, 21e).

Charlie, a locally born engineer, reveals that entrepreneurs who have historically been present in ‘place as it was’ are (rightly or wrongly) assumed to have a stronger relationship with place and therefore offer a more reliable and trustworthy good/service for both B2B and B2C which is greatly valued within the context. It seems that the somewhat insular nature of place has entrenched its resistance to change, meaning that it still trades in a ‘traditional’ manner which is comfortable for entrepreneurs who are locally born and bred.

“We possibly have a way of working that isn’t as used to change as other parts of the UK but, similarly, some of those things are actually very nice because they make Norfolk a nicer place to work and do business” (Charlie, 46, Norwich, local, engineer and manufacturer, 21e).

Whilst Charlie and his fellow locals may feel this is a nice, traditional way to do business with each other, it can raise inherent complications for those first and second-generation entrepreneurs originally from outside of the context. Even if entrepreneurs have resided in place most of their life and feel they are attached to the context, others who feel they have a greater historical presence in ‘place as it was’ will deem such an attachment unworthy compared to their longstanding temporal relationship with place and therefore may limit access to locally embedded resources and networks (Müller 2016). Indeed for some, this even bordered on a slight disdain for those originally from outside the context.

“The line that my father always uses is ‘if we haven’t got a motorway, it keeps out all of the pricks’ [laughs] which is a theory I kind of agree with. We are insular, but, it’s a hard thing to say really” (Scott, 38, Norwich, local, estate agent, 4e).

Through Scott’s narrative it appears that this mechanism used by locally born and bred entrepreneurs to discern the ‘degrees of localness’ of those within the case may be passed down and instilled from generation to generation. Such an ingrained perspective can lead to difficulty surrounding the individual mobility of migrants, in-migrants and those from outside of the context trying to attach themselves and their entrepreneurial ventures to place, trying to increase their chances of success and, above all, trying to become socially accepted.

“I don’t actually feel like a local. I probably don’t even though I’ve been here 40 years ... a lot of the people that I deal with in this area are a bit more slow-paced, they take a bit longer to accept you” (Kelly, 56, Norwich, in-migrant, baker, 13e).

“We are, clearly, new, it’s very obvious to me that until we’ve done three generations of being here we’re not going to be considered ‘local people’ [laughs] but despite all of that there’s a good chance to have quite a good family feel here” (Alex, 42, Norwich, in-migrant, manufacturing retailer, 450e).

“I don’t know what I think of Norwich really from coming outside, it’s very cliquey so it can be difficult at times. You have to be in that clique to fit in, and if you’re not in that clique, you’re an outsider” (Mary, 64, Norwich, in-migrant, retailer, 7e).

Here, Kelly, Alex and Mary – who despite living in the context for 40, 1 and 34 years respectively – are clearly experiencing a disadvantage of not being ‘local’ enough. Whilst their personal mobility may, in part, explain why they feel their ventures are at a disadvantage – a lack of local knowledge, resources and networks can present an inability to match products and services with demand as effectively as their local counterparts (Zaheer 1995) – it does not account for them struggling to become socially accepted. It seems that within this mechanism, time is the only remedy for the entrepreneurs who face difficulties becoming familiar with the social customs, preferences and practices of the local population (Cuervo-Cazurra et al. 2007); as it marches forward the spatial separation of home and work gradually decreases (Scott et al. 2017).

It is, however, important to note that whilst a greater length of residence can contribute to entrepreneurial attachment to place it is not the be all and end all. Some have come to terms with the social circumstances of place, understanding and appreciating the norms of the context but refusing to let it stand in the way of their individual engagement.

“I’ve only been up here for 35 years so I’m still a newcomer to a lot of people up here. Norfolk people are set in their ways; you get a few plonkers but you get over it. There’s a lot of very nice people ... [but they’d] say I’m only still visiting Norwich ... I know I’m a visitor still and I don’t want it to sound like that’s a negative thing, that’s just the way it is” (Joel, 61, Norwich, in-migrant, manufacturer, 4e).

Despite residing in place for a lengthy period, Joel is aware he is still considered a newcomer and therefore may not be privy to a wealth of embedded localised resources and networks however he does not hold this against the host community. He understands the nature of place, the importance of temporal attachment (to both local entrepreneurs and inhabitants) and

therefore accepts the “visitor” role both he and his venture plays as merely a characteristic of context rather than a pitfall.

In relation to the big ‘D’ discourse of the wider context, ‘degrees of localness’ was collectively portrayed through critical events concerning the business community and, in particular, nepotism within the case. Firstly, considering ‘place as it was’ historically, Norwich was built to be one of the largest cities in the UK off the back of ‘non-locals’.

“In the 1500s ... ‘the strangers’ [who] were protestant refugees ... fleeing persecution in the low countries ... settled in Norwich for good reason ... the truth was that Norwich needed their help. The city had grown up around the textile industry, but ... foreign fabrics [became] preferred over English wool. Luckily, many of the protestant refugees were skilled in textiles – it was a perfect relationship. Over a relatively short time of ten years, the city saw an influx of around 5,000 strangers. It would have been a drastic change at the time, considering the local population was only 12,000” (05/02/18 Discovering Britain, Frank Meeres, Norwich Record Office Archivist).

It may be considered somewhat ironic that a city built on the work of refugees and migration nowadays might snub those it does not consider ‘local’ enough. However, the collective voice reiterates the view of the entrepreneurs that that is very much still the case in today’s society. It appears that the ‘degrees of localness’ line of thinking is deep-set within the case as it even extends towards the local government valuing the input (and arguably displaying nepotism) to historically prominent, locally born and bred companies over others.

“The BID and city council have also been working closely with the likes of John Lewis, Jarrolds, The Forum, Norwich Castle and the city’s two shopping malls” (30/10/13 Norwich Evening News, David Freezer, Journalist).

“[Jarrolds] plans to build more than 200 homes in Norwich city centre which will see a much-loved printing museum forced to relocate, have been recommended for approval” (09/03/19 Eastern Daily Press, David Hannant, Local Democracy Reporter).

Within the collective voice of the context it seems that Jarrolds – a Norwich based company since 1823 – appears to have a considerably larger presence within the secondary sources. Their status as a ‘true local’ large business seems to place them as ‘council favourites’, often

consulted for their opinion and given their way in terms of future plans within the case. It should also be noted that ‘degrees of localness’ was demonstrated within the big ‘D’ discourse as not just limited to entrepreneurs and businesses.

“Locals keep telling me to stop promoting our county to outsiders but I like to share and I feel everyone should experience the joys of living in this amazing county” (21/07/15 Metro, Jess Shanahan, Journalist).

“Norfolk is a fine county. Beautiful skies, some of the best landscapes and wildlife that this country has to offer ... On the other hand the people who live in Norfolk could not be of a more contrasting manner. Cold, suspicious, unfriendly and unwelcoming. It is said even if you have been living in Norfolk for over 20 years, you are still a stranger ... Shopkeepers and assistants blunt and to the point, either unable to join in with friendly chat or just unwilling to ... Maybe it is a fine county with insular unfriendly locals” (14/08/17 Eastern Daily Press, D J Zenden, Contributor and ‘Non-local’).

Clearly, an issue exists here for the case concerning not only the relationship between entrepreneurship and place but also for the wider community. The somewhat insular nature of place and a resistance to change combined with the ‘degrees of localness’ mechanism presents an uncertain future for the case – if those from outside of the context are made to feel unwelcome the relationship between entrepreneurship and place may feasibly stagnate and deteriorate. Nevertheless, this mechanism has not gone unnoticed and remedial suggestions have been put forward to make context more accessible and suitable for all whilst still retaining its traditional, community feel.

“Perhaps more involvement in community projects would aid [community development], and also ease any perceived division between [non-locals] and locals” (13/08/17 The Norwich Radical, James Anthony, Contributor).

Essentially, this mechanism demonstrates that contexts each experience their own unique characteristics and that entrepreneurs have to be willing to adapt to or to attempt to work such characteristics in their favour to develop and maintain a successful relationship with place. This method of attachment therefore not only captures how important temporality and length of

residence is to some concerning engagement with place, but also how such engagement can augment chances for success through gaining access to embedded, and otherwise hidden, localised resources and networks (Jack and Anderson 2002; Roos 2019). ‘Degrees of localness’ subsequently provides an insight into how being historically present within ‘place as it was’ may not only offer experience and attachment to those within a certain spatial context, but also (rightly or wrongly) how it can better equip entrepreneurs to match their offerings to local demand than that of outsiders.

4.3 Place as it is

A second key theme emerging from the entrepreneurs’ interview data surrounding their engagement with place was how it was comprised in the present and how this had influenced both current actions and future intentions. Assessing place in its present form offered a specific temporal and spatial meaning for the entrepreneurs (McMullen and Dimov 2013), shaping their entrepreneurial behaviour and therefore providing an understanding into how the individuals connected and attached themselves to place, its characteristics and its values (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). Through detailing their micro-level discursive and material practices, it soon became clear that some interviewees would tell entrepreneurial stories of accepting ‘place as it is’, making the most of what the context had to offer and potentially looking further afield for any additional socioeconomic resources needed. This therefore gave an insight into what the entrepreneurs valued within their relationship with place, and what they thought it was lacking, thus provoking storytelling narratives surrounding a wide variety of 1st order categories. A few examples concerned: the importance of the characteristics of place, the relevance of external networks, entrepreneurial legitimacy and what context and the community could offer the entrepreneurs (and vice versa). In doing so, the entrepreneurs described how attached they felt to place, how they felt this was achieved and what this engagement meant for both themselves and the context.

4.3.1 Bridging

One such way in which this was exhibited by the entrepreneurs was through the mechanism of bridging. Throughout the cases individuals would recount stories of how they had felt they had made the most of place in its current form (i.e., place as it is) and would therefore look outside of the context in search of markets, partners and resources (Müller and Korsgaard 2018) to quench their entrepreneurial thirst, expand their ventures and, sometimes inadvertently, develop multiple temporal attachments to context. Engaging with place in such a manner enabled the entrepreneurs to position themselves as a ‘bridge’ between spatial contexts, gaining access to skills and resources which may not have been available locally (Korsgaard et al. 2015a). Their stories often described how their multiple embeddedness afforded them the opportunity to best shape their individual discourses of enterprise and gain specific resources to meet their respective needs (Moyes et al. 2015).

“It is a good place to be established within the offshore industry now [with the outer harbour links] but it’s not a good place to be if you’re going to set up manufacturing and stuff like that y’know? There are some food companies etc., but getting in and out of Yarmouth is, um, a problem” (Benjamin, 81, GY, in-migrant, shipping agent, 108e).

“We’ve just started a new business for us in Spain where instead of working with a distributor ... we’ve linked up with a couple of guys who will help us sell directly to the customer so the relationship is developing with some local guys who are culturally aware, they know the market really well and they’re advising us” (Alex, 42, Norwich, in-migrant, manufacturing retailer, 450e).

“We have just always moved round, because of my father’s work. So, I don’t think I would have happened upon this place otherwise, but it’s home. I’m here now. I’ve got a business here and I’ve now got links everywhere else. It’s like a place is what you make it, type thing” (Amber, 30, Ipswich, in-migrant, retailer, 2e).

For Benjamin, a Scottish shipping agent unwilling to retire, bridging between contexts is necessary within his relationship with place as it provides him with the mechanism to capitalise on the opportunistic and lucrative business setting facing outwards towards the North Sea when the local context’s insular, isolated and depleted state offers little in the way of entrepreneurial

success with inward facing ventures. Through bridging out from Great Yarmouth towards the North Sea and beyond he is able to cement his attachment with the case as a base for exploration, contributing towards its growth and resilience (Korsgaard et al. 2016) through creating, maintaining and developing attachments with contexts elsewhere, ensuring his success and safeguarding his (and, in part, the case's) economic and social wellbeing (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Equally, for Alex, a relative newcomer to Norwich, and his large venture with over 450 employees and a comprehensive UK supply chain, bridging allowed him to become embedded in multiple contexts, expanding distribution, gaining access to a new market and increasing profit margins in doing so. Such a relationship with the case 'as it is' reinforces his attachment to place as his reliance increases on the factory and the local workforce whilst also establishing and developing entrepreneurial relationships with spatial contexts further afield. On the other hand, Amber feels she gets to make the most out of her new relationship with place by bridging between Ipswich and her previous contexts. She described how her previous and relatively recent attachments to place awarded her with invaluable networks and links regarding advice and sourcing, helping her to become upwardly mobile and make the most of 'place as it is' through leveraging her connections within spatial contexts in a way that provides competitive advantage (Marti et al. 2013).

It should be noted, however, that bridging was not just demonstrated by the entrepreneurs as a mechanism to leverage multiple embeddedness. Some entrepreneurs detailed how bridging offered an inroad into a new, potentially more lucrative, context which led entrepreneurs to choosing a relationship with one place *over* another.

“We were offered to do a small boutique hotel from a link from family ... that was a big draw to the Cambridge area, and I've always been around Cambridge, I've always liked Cambridge and I thought, 'Actually, it's time we changed' ... that was fortunately a fantastic success ... [it] was a huge trial by fire going from small cafes to doing a hotel. That cemented us up here ... That's therefore helped us move into Cambridge, because we were originally outside” (Jeff, 44, Cambridge, local, interior designer, 7e).

For Jeff, who was originally from Cambridge but found his work had taken him further afield, bridging allowed him to take advantage of an opportunity to engage back with the alternate spatial context he used to call home. His varying degree of multiple embeddedness then also provided him with the chance to assess his current temporal relationship with both contexts. This offered clarity regarding his present relationship with the case as he was able to weigh up the contexts against each other and choose to progress forwards in uprooting himself and exclusively attaching back to Cambridge 'as it is'.

Describing stories of bridging and how entrepreneurs felt place in its current form (i.e., as it is) was lacking socioeconomic resources became even more apparent when the entrepreneurs recalled narratives about the rural nature of place. They often alluded to the idea that the more rural a place, the less likely it would fulfil entrepreneurial needs and desires (Korsgaard et al. 2015a) and therefore the more likely that entrepreneurs would have to leverage multiple spatial contexts via mechanisms such as bridging.

"I forget the figures but it's embarrassing, [the case] suffers from historically high unemployment ... there's just not enough here ... you get that sense that seaside towns are the end of the line" (Gordon, 39, GY, local, waste management, 11e)

I think if you're trying to run a business in Norfolk you've got to look at other ways of working. We've obviously ended up with people all over the place, having remote teams, virtual teams but it makes it hard ... it's not viable to build a big company in Norwich without mixing it up a little bit in terms of how you might work" (Kyle, 48, Norwich, local, software developer, 90e).

Here it seems that bridging as a mechanism offers the entrepreneurs a way around the drawbacks of the case whilst remaining attached to place. Gordon and his 2nd generation family business tied to Great Yarmouth must bridge outside of the context to secure an adequate amount of work as the rural and depleted nature of place being at "the end of the line" does not offer him enough. Whereas Kyle in Norwich feels he must "mix it up" to progress his high-tech venture; leveraging multiple contexts to acquire the labour force is needed to expand his business as the somewhat insular nature of the case, and therefore its lack of specified talent,

has hindered his growth. The act of bridging described by the entrepreneurs here offers a mechanism to strengthen entrepreneurial ventures by allowing entrepreneurs to have the best of both worlds. Not only can they remain and possibly improve their attachment to place, but they can overcome the drawbacks associated with the rurality of the cases in their current form. In doing so, they demonstrate differentiated engagement with place connecting local economies (Kalantaridis 2010) which can contribute towards a context's development, thus improving future offerings and the sustainability of localised enterprise. Nevertheless, this may not be as simple for the entrepreneurs as it seems.

“We were asked to move to Oregon years ago, then San Francisco, we could have moved to London. There's a lot of hype and bullshit out there. A lot of failures and as much as they were potentially bigger opportunities there's a risk that you lose your heart and soul. Our heart and soul is here” (Arnold, 41, Norwich, local, transport provider, 24e).

Clearly for Arnold in Norwich, the grass is not always greener when bridging and thus forging another attachment with place. His decision to deliberately avoid bridging raises some thought-provoking implications for the mechanism; whilst it seems such a decision may, in part, restrict his entrepreneurial opportunities, he feels that is a small price to pay for being situated in and attached to a context held dear. Arnold feels that place has become part of his identity and part of his being. Encompassing the aspects of acceptance, recognition and inclusion not only exemplifies his belonging within place (May 2011), but also begs the question as to whether these feelings are truly achievable within multiple contexts. Does forging an additional relationship with place come at the expense of an entrepreneur's initial original attachment to context? For Arnold, it seems so. It appears here that if an entrepreneur values their relationship with place highly, they may not want to risk detaching themselves from the current social practices of their spatial context by chasing additional socioeconomic resources further afield – a perspective somewhat reminiscent of chasing a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

Analysing the big ‘D’ discourse of the context revealed that bridging tended to be displayed through the physical infrastructural conditions of place and how these may enable and/or constrain certain aspects of the entrepreneurial process (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Within the Great Yarmouth case this was demonstrated through the investment in the outer harbour.

“Research commissioned by Peel Ports on Great Yarmouth’s potential as a base for offshore wind operations revealed location was its biggest strength ... The power of place and clustering like-minded companies, especially in offshore energy, is immense ... [delivering] more projects off our shores than anywhere else” (22/11/17 Eastern Daily Press, Bethany Whymark, Journalist).

Here it is clear that bridging out towards the North Sea offers the case links to the more prosperous gas, oil, and renewable ventures rather than solely relying on the depleted nature of place. In turn, this positions ‘place as it is’ as a powerful and valuable location for these more prosperous energy ventures seeking to deliver offshore projects. Situating these types of ventures in Great Yarmouth can not only invest in the context, but can also boost local employment, improving the economic state of place and the community as well as instilling a new sense of confidence and purpose (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). Similarly, in Ipswich, bridging was referred to in the secondary sources through the physical infrastructure of the case.

“A new multi-million pound river crossing ... could ease traffic problems, help create jobs and regenerate the waterfront ... [and] is the single most important piece of new infrastructure that the town needs at the moment. It will link the town better ... and help us to re-stitch the waterfront to the town centre” (16/03/16 BBC News, Ben Gummer, Ipswich Conservative MP).

Here, the collective voice of the context demonstrates ‘place as it is’ as lacking, needing physical bridging to link the context together with itself and with the surrounding area. Engaging with this mechanism stands to connect current outside networks and markets to help develop relationships (especially with companies frequenting Felixstowe, 12 miles east of the

town and the UK's largest container port), creating a cohesive sense of place and thus attracting entrepreneurs to the context, in turn benefitting the wider community and the development of place (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). The big 'D' discourse therefore portrays bridging as a mechanism which can aid regeneration by easing the flow of resources, services and products across multiple spatial contexts, suggesting that embeddedness and external relations can be mutually reinforcing (Dubois 2016) and that these actions can help to transition context's current form 'as it is' to 'as it could be' in the collective perspective. Equally, in the case of Norwich, the critical event regarding the physical infrastructure of place and how it needed to be better connected alludes to the mechanism of bridging.

“[Until 2014] Norwich was the largest UK city not linked to the dual carriageway and motorway network - something which campaigners have long claimed has held it back from realising its full potential” (12/12/14 Eastern Daily Press, Dan Grimmer, Journalist).

Here, the collective voice reiterates the views of the entrepreneurs about the nature of place in Norwich. A lack of sufficient links from the context outwards until relatively recently emphasised the city's disconnect from the rest of the UK, reinforcing the idea of the 'insular' nature of place. This offers explanation as to why the case currently struggles to attract and retain sufficient pools of talent, which for many newly embedded, displaced or rural entrepreneurs (as mentioned by Kyle) may be vital to ensuring their success (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Within Cambridge, bridging emerged within the big 'D' discourse through the impacts it had on the labour force and how the critical event of the 'Silicon Fen' cluster had connected the case to local, national and global economies.

“Cambridgeshire's reputation as a world-class centre of excellence in technology and life science continues to act as a huge draw for international occupiers. This, and the government's commitment to supporting such areas of innovation in its Industrial Strategy only serve to increase the city's appeal” (29/03/18 Cambridgeshire Live, Will Mooney, Head of Cambridge Carter Jonas & Local property expert).

The collective voice of the secondary sources demonstrates here that the ‘Silicon Fen’ cluster and Cambridge’s “world-class” reputation serves to effortlessly facilitate bridging from the context. Not only are the government committed to supporting ‘place as it is’, but if any additional labour, skills and resources which are not available locally are required by entrepreneurs then the unique resources tied to the case and its global appeal makes bridges simple to build and mutually beneficial external relations easy to source.

Clearly, for the entrepreneurs interviewed, spatial bridging impacted upon how they individually engaged with place. While some found that a lack of existing bridges (e.g., infrastructural conditions, community links, etc.) have constrained certain aspects of the entrepreneurial process and limited their growth, others’ ability to leverage multiple spatial contexts and create opportunities meant they were able to shape the enterprise discourse to make the most of ‘place as it is’ and gain specific resources to meet their individual needs. This mechanism therefore captures that the nature of enterprise dynamically develops along different trajectories and temporalities, where place is shaped, enacted and reshaped in a multitude of different ways to aid the entrepreneurship process whilst (sometimes inadvertently) helping to build and develop lively places which can safeguard economic and social wellbeing (Marti et al. 2013; Müller and Korsgaard 2018).

4.3.2 Rotten orange

In the case of Cambridge, one method of entrepreneurial attachment to place in its current form (i.e., as it is) came to the forefront of the entrepreneurs’ narratives. Some of those interviewed would emphasise on how they had attached themselves to place based on its present form, its prosperity and how this might affect their chances for success rather than analysing in-depth its somewhat questionable past. It was Liam, a 3rd generation entrepreneur in the family jewellery business and one of the youngest included in this study’s sample who exhibited this method of attachment most vigorously, thus helping to coin the term ‘rotten orange’.

“Cambridge is like a rotten orange, it looks really good on the outside, it’s terrible on the inside, plain and simple. The way the public make it look, the way the media make it look, when you’re selling something here they tell you you’ll get a fortune for it ... they’re [Cambridge University] renowned throughout the world. Cambridge Council and everybody else in Cambridge at the top know that and that’s what they use to get silly little businesses like ours to have to stay here because you’ve got no choice ... On the outside it’s amazing [but] I’m just not getting the business ... Shops are up and they’re gone by a year. Why does it keep happening? Surely people would go ‘hold on, I keep seeing that shop open and close, open and close’ makes you think have the colleges thought about how our rents are extremely bloody high? How are people going to survive? But they don’t think. They say ‘oh you’re going to do amazing here, do you know how much money is here, do you know who you’ve got next door? Do you know who you’ve got around the corner? It’s deceiving, they don’t ask why the geezer left before them, they don’t ask that” (Liam, 26, Cambridge, in-migrant, jeweller, 4e).

Liam relocated from Kent to Cambridge in 2014 to take over the running of the family venture after his grandfather suffered a stroke. Being unexpectedly thrown in at the proverbial deep end left few other options but to assess ‘place as it is’ leading to an oversight of crucial aspects of the case. Attachment to the context then develops, along with a realisation of its drawbacks, yet individuals feel they have to remain as it is ‘too late’ and they have “no choice”. Whilst it seems that prosperity and a well-developed economic context might on the surface offer greater entrepreneurial chances of success, a lack of temporal focus on the past, ‘place as it was’, and previous entrepreneurial failures clearly carries considerable issues for entrepreneurs. The world-renowned nature of place and its wealth may present itself (or in Liam’s case be pitched as) a context in which considerable profit can be made (i.e., the shiny skin of an orange), however Cambridge is a small city and a seemingly difficult market to penetrate. While there may be large rewards for those who are successful, there are also large risks for those who are not (i.e., the rotten insides of the fruit).

Many other entrepreneurs reiterated the same feelings as Liam, exemplifying the ‘rotten orange’ as a method of attachment to place. When considering their relationships with place, the entrepreneurs would often position their context and the contexts around them in a somewhat crude hierarchy depending on how prosperous they were and how this might affect

their chances for success. As the case of Cambridge is undoubtedly prosperous, some alluded to it as nearing the top of their hierarchy, yet still recalled stories of how and why they had experienced the ‘rotten’ nature of ‘place as it is’ where others (and especially outsiders) would expect nothing but a fresh and juicy business environment.

“I think people see Cambridge as a good strong place to be putting money, it’s not necessarily the case ... if it’s in Cambridge with the whole sort of Cambridge ‘feel’, it feels safer and the more sensible thing to do when you’re risking money but that isn’t always so” (Mitchell, 49, Cambridge, in-migrant, app developer, 26e).

“With Cambridge, it is quite difficult, it really is. People that come into the town don’t really understand that. Many have come and gone in the time that we’ve been here ... there are a lot of people that come to Cambridge for different reasons other than shopping. If you’re looking at an area with a potential of opening a shop then that can give a false image, a false opinion of what may be possible ... people want to see the history, that’s fine, it just doesn’t mean they’re spending money here” (Paul, 65, Cambridge, in-migrant, retailer, 15e).

“It’s dead, but it’s not dead. I think people probably think it is a good location, especially the town centre but if you look it’s full of cafes and restaurants, all consumables really ... there is money in Cambridge but I don’t think it’s being spent in our kind of shops, it’s people who go for a day out to Cambridge, they sightsee, they have something to drink ... you don’t come *into* Cambridge as a family to spend money, you come in to be entertained” (Rebecca, 59, Cambridge, local, materials provider, 5e).

Mitchell, a Cambridge University graduate who chose to remain within the context after completing his studies, describes how place’s current and longstanding reputation may elevate people’s perception of it and how this may offer a false sense of security for independent entrepreneurs committing and attaching themselves and their ventures to the context. Paul, a jeweller who has worked all over Europe and in the case since the 1980s alongside Rebecca, a born and bred local, offer further explanation as to why this method of attachment exists. They, alongside others interviewed, agreed that the context ‘as it is’ may superficially present itself as a busy and prosperous place to attach entrepreneurial ventures to because of the large influx of tourists and the extensive student population, however, these groups are unable to provide a sufficient local demand for many entrepreneurial ventures. While there may be a lot of people within place, they tend to be prudent with their spending meaning there are few financial

transactional opportunities for ‘everyday entrepreneurs’, thus contributing towards the ‘rotten orange’ method of entrepreneurial attachment within the case. So what does this mean for the entrepreneurs’ relationship with place?

“Cambridge isn’t as perfect as everyone thinks, it’s too crowded, it suffers like most things do, I don’t want to live here anymore, I want to move away” (Rhys, 62, Cambridge, in-migrant, bespoke supplier, 10e).

“What are my thoughts about Cambridge? A dying town ... it’s extremely difficult to run a business here and make it work, there’s a huge turnover of shops and businesses. It’s big companies that are going to the wall, the Grafton Centre is a write off as well, I think nobody seems to want to do anything to help independent small traders” (Rebecca, 59, Cambridge, local, materials provider, 5e).

Despite their longstanding ties to place Rhys (since the early ‘90s) and Rebecca (all her life) clearly demonstrate through this method of attachment that not all is as it seems for entrepreneurs within the case. Place’s superficial “perfect” nature does not correlate with the issues which lie beneath its surface and it is the small independent entrepreneurs who are bearing the brunt of it. Not only is it negatively impacting business relationships within the case forcing numerous ventures to cease trading, it is also affecting personal relationships with place; Rhys wishes to detach himself from the spatial context entirely and the conditions which create the ‘rotten orange’ situation, whereas Rebecca feels nobody is willing to help, encourage, grow and develop local independent entrepreneurs. Interestingly, this feeling runs deep within the case and there is a strong sense of ‘them versus us’ when it comes to the university and the townsfolk (i.e., town versus gown) which only serves to exacerbate the challenging conditions of place, leading more entrepreneurs to subsequently experience the ‘rotten orange’ as a mechanism for attaching to place.

“The university runs everything and unless you’re old school Cambridge or went to the university as an alumni, it’s a difficult client to gain and get along with. Sometimes you can find yourself at loggerheads with their principles and the ‘Cambridge’ way of doing things and that can be frustrating” (Gareth, 53, Cambridge, in-migrant, architect, 2e).

“The moment you get on a big street in Cambridge, it’s staggering, it’s only chains and they [Trinity College] openly told me they want chains. They don’t want independent businesses because independent businesses pop up, find it’s too tough, go bust and then they’ve got to find another tenant” (Rhys, 62, Cambridge, immigrant, bespoke supplier, 10e).

“The Cambridge colleges as landlords, they are greedy. They’d rather something be empty than being below on the rent ... there’s an inherent problem with the council’s attitude and the colleges, between them they are not doing anything to help. In fact, you could be forgiven to think that they are actually trying to hinder” (Thabitha, 57, Cambridge, migrant, corporate event provider, 22e).

Here, migrating and individually mobile entrepreneurs detail their ‘outside perspective’ as to why the rotten orange exists as a method of attachment. Cambridge University is a significant land and property owner within the case and therefore experiences exorbitant wealth. Both Rhys and Thabitha feel this makes them a callous landlord as their extensive ownership means they can control the majority of the city’s (expensive) rental values whilst not having to worry about empty premises as buildings are often unencumbered and the colleges have multiple other varied substantial sources of income. Such actions paint the picture that the university (and subsequently the case) does not care for the independent entrepreneurs who they may feel offer an unpredictable source of income compared to that of chain stores with high capital reserves. This only serves to create a vicious circle; the higher the local business costs, the less likely independent entrepreneurs will succeed within place. Such a circle weakens entrepreneurial relationships with place as it intensifies the feeling of ‘them versus us’ (as seen in Gareth’s excerpt) and subjects entrepreneurs to experience the ‘rotten orange’ method of attachment because their lack of control within the context leaves them with little, if any, other options.

The ‘rotten orange’ as a method of attachment to place has not gone amiss within the collective voice of the context, evidenced within the secondary sources surrounding the business community and, in particular, the critical event of high business costs and start-up failure. Analysing the big ‘D’ discourse within the case of Cambridge first reiterates the view

of entrepreneurs that whilst ‘place as it is’ may be energetic and busy, it is filled with groups who may be giving a false representation of local demand (i.e., the orange’s shiny skin) when, in fact, it appears they are spending very little with everyday entrepreneurs, flocking to the case to be ‘entertained’ and off-putting others.

“With more than four million tourists visiting each year, the locals fear that the city is turning into a theme park, locking out small shop-keepers and ruining the idyllic streets” (17/02/14 The Independent, Margareta Pagano, Journalist).

The collective voice of the context then goes on to further reveal the impact this has for entrepreneurship within the case, reinforcing the idea of the rotten centre of the orange; that business costs are exceedingly high and that small independent entrepreneurs are seemingly not cared for as an insignificant and easily replaced component of the vicious circle.

“Independent shops are buckling left, right and centre under the strain of high [rent and rates] ... there are no independent shops left ... There is such high demand for shops that landlords don’t really care if your business survives or not – they can easily fill your place” (11/02/17 Cambridgeshire Live, Piero D’Angelico, Mill Road Traders Association).

However, the vicious circle has been somewhat acknowledged within the case. In an effort to reduce the ‘rotten insides’ of place and build a more accessible business environment the big ‘D’ discourse details how Cambridge BID have introduced a collaborative scheme to attempt to halt the vicious circle and help encourage a more reciprocal relationship between entrepreneurs and the context.

“A free service introduced by Cambridge Business Improvement District (BID) has so far saved city centre businesses £135,500 on their running costs ... a collaboration of 1,100 businesses, working together to promote and improve the city centre was established ... to support businesses and make them sustainable, through helping them to cut down their costs” (07/02/17 Cambridgeshire Live, Jenny Chapman, Journalist).

Such a collaborative scheme recognises the difficult conditions independent entrepreneurs face within the case and has been implemented to not just prevent the relationship between these individuals and place from deteriorating, but also to develop the ‘rotten orange’ mechanism for attaching to ‘place as it is’ into something which is more appealing, sustainable and can be enjoyed by all.

It is evident that this method of attachment is closely linked to ‘gambling’ covered in section 4.2.3, however what is captured here is that some entrepreneurs’ would overwhelmingly base their attachment on ‘place as it is’ and its current characteristics, tending to overlook ‘place as it was’ (unlike that of ‘gambling’). The temporal focus on the present of the entrepreneurs exhibiting the ‘rotten orange’ method of attachment demonstrated how place’s reputation, its prosperity and its busy nature can cloud entrepreneurial judgement and provide a superficial image of place which may not necessarily be true. This can have significant ramifications in the relationship between entrepreneurship and place and Dean, a proudly local Cambridge estate agent, manages to summarise this well.

“Quite frankly, it feels at times that the city is broken but there isn’t a simple answer ... I guess it’s common sense, the risk is higher because rents are more but the rewards are higher here. They go hand-in-hand. Cambridge is great if you can crack it, but I bet more people have fallen by the wayside than other people if they’ve tried opening somewhere else” (Dean, 34, Cambridge, local, estate agent, 3e).

Clearly assessing and attaching to place solely based on its present nature (i.e., place as it is) carries inherent risks for entrepreneurs. While prosperous places with a strong reputation in a prime location may increase a place’s competitive identity (Anholt 2007) and initially seem appealing to entrepreneurs, individuals must question their temporal engagement with context to ascertain how the past, present and future may well affect their attachment to context as well as their venture’s success. It seems here that such a competitive identity may be misleading as what is beneath the surface may not be representative of what is superficially visible (i.e., a rotten orange). This method of attachment therefore captures the higher risk of when

entrepreneurs attach themselves to prosperous places based on their current characteristics; while some may find they succeed, a lot will flounder and it seems to be the independent entrepreneurs who will struggle the most within place as they may not have the capital reserves required to escape and overcome the ‘rotten core’ of a context.

4.4 Place as it could be

The third key theme to emerge from the entrepreneurs’ interviews regarding their engagement with place detailed how they hoped to influence and alter the future characteristics and nature of context. Assessing the future possibilities of place offered particular temporal insights into the entrepreneurs’ relationship with the context and how their micro-level processes meaningfully shaped the spatial and economic futures of both their ventures and the case itself (Lindkvist and Antelo 2007; Lippman and Aldrich 2016). This allowed findings to reveal the entrepreneurs’ aspirations for ‘place as it could be’ and how they moulded their individual discourses of enterprise to best achieve this. Many retold narratives looking positively towards the future of what place could become and how they had hoped enterprise could act as a change process, inspiring communities and regional development. Future temporal insights into what the entrepreneurs hoped their relationship with place would evolve into provoked storytelling narratives surrounding local futures, growth, contextual responsibilities, collaboration and local decision-making to name a few of the 1st order categories. Such detailed description offered a fresh perspective into the entrepreneurs’ attachment and engagement (or lack of) with place, what they hoped to achieve with their contextual relationships and why they felt such actions were necessary and/or important.

4.4.1 Adopting place

One such perspective with a temporal emphasis on the future and how to develop ‘place as it could be’ was the mechanism of ‘adopting place’. This method of attachment encapsulated the

difference between in-migrant and locally 'born and bred' entrepreneurs within the case of Great Yarmouth. The general consensus emerging from the narratives of local entrepreneurs was that being born and bred within Great Yarmouth was almost like being dealt a bad hand in life. Whilst some displayed an appreciation and acknowledgement of local, social ties, the majority repetitively conveyed the depleted sense of community and its negative connotations. Despite their longstanding presence in place, the local entrepreneurs displayed an almost helpless attitude, exhibiting qualities of being 'stuck to place' as covered in section 4.2.1. They felt they could neither move away from the context nor offer much contribution or remedial measures towards its positive development which may be accredited to them experiencing the context's depleted nature and thus greater obstacles to business venturing for longer periods of time (Lévesque and Stephan 2020).

"If it was just a purely business-based decision and nothing else then I would have probably gone somewhere else. If I could just pick it up and move then I would" (Gary, 46, GY, local, restaurateur, 42e).

"We're quite independent, we'll row our own boat. I probably don't take half as much interest in what's going on and what the council are doing than I probably should do" (Stuart, 52, GY, local, property investor, 4e).

"I don't get behind half of the stuff they do here ... Economically I think it's probably suffered from a history of mismanagement" (Gordon, 39, GY, local, waste management, 11e).

Gary, Stuart and Gordon are examples of locally 'born and bred' entrepreneurs offering description of how they largely chose to stay within the context that they may reject, due to an appreciation of kinship and social ties (Dawkins 2006) despite often lacking a feeling of responsibility to 'give back' to the place that raised them. In doing so, the local entrepreneurs of the case often presented themselves as detached from community practices and socioeconomic processes aimed at developing the context. It seems that they had learned to live and accept the depleted nature of 'place as it is'. This set the scene for in-migrant entrepreneurs to step in and 'adopt' the context. Likening the local entrepreneurs' emotional

detachment from place to that of birth parents offering a child for adoption revealed the desire of in-migrant entrepreneurs to intervene (like adoptive parents to a troubled child) and ‘adopt’ the context as their own.

"Although we're not from here... we've been here for a long time, we're established here, we belong here... I wouldn't move for the life of me, if I won the lottery I wouldn't move" (Amir, 42, GY, in-migrant, photographer, 6e).

"I'm an outsider if you like, I've come here and I'd never go back to a big city. You know I feel I belong, I like it just the way it is. On the business level there really needs to be more done you know but that's what we're working towards" (Matthew, 54, GY, in-migrant, engineer, 16e).

"We like where we live and want to invest in the Great Yarmouth area and the people, we've got children, and we see it as very important that we put our roots down here... it's opportunities for my children and my children's friends and I want Great Yarmouth to be a success" (Simon, 52, GY, in-migrant, machinery producer, 30e).

In doing so, in-migrant entrepreneurs such as Amir, a photographer from Hertfordshire, and Matthew, an engineer from Newcastle, were often seen to relinquish the networks and connections of their former context to focus almost entirely on improving their current one to make ‘place as it could be’. They, alongside Simon’s excerpt, therefore exhibited a willingness to ‘adopt’ the context rather than bridge it by caring for it and engaging in socioeconomic practices towards the benefit of and improvement of place, all with an aim to overcome its depleted nature.

"We've got to pull together. I try and knock into them [employees], it's about changing their mind-set ... it's for us, it's paid your wages, it's your household it's supporting, it's my household it's supporting, it's for us. We've got to think further than [ourselves]" (Peter, 63, GY, in-migrant, fabricator, 50e).

"What we're trying to do is encourage females into an industry which they think might not be suited for them ... We've been going into the [local] schools and colleges, taking groups of students out and taking them to [places] where they wouldn't normally get an opportunity to go into and see what is out there ... they don't necessarily have to do the hairdressing, the beauty and the admin, there are other skills they can go in to and I don't think they are aware of that" (Nicole, 50, GY, in-migrant, recruiter, 6e).

"Outsiders have the perception of Yarmouth being flashing neon lights and tourists and Yarmouth has a perception of itself as being a dump ... give the local kids a

chance, train, develop, pull people through; we've done a lot of that locally... If you can get the right attitude then you can see things change" (Richard, 50, GY, in-migrant, offshore servicer, 290e).

Here, the in-migrant entrepreneurs relayed aspirations to change the local mind-set and develop its long-term prosperity, attempting to increase the context's positive social forces and work towards overcoming its depleted nature. For Peter, a sculptor-turned-fabricator originally from Clapham who has long battled with his own personal inner demons, this is a collective effort; working together, doing enterprise and engaging with place with the best intentions offers hope for developing 'place as it could be'. Equally, Nicole, a recruiter who moved to the context as a young adult after her parents bought a hotel, and Richard, an energy specialist from Aberdeen, emphasise the importance of changing local perceptions; committing to community engagement with young people within the spatial context serves to inspire intentions and overcome the depleted nature of place whilst inadvertently positioning themselves as change agents (Bensemman et al. 2018). Indeed, for many of the in-migrant entrepreneurs mentioning how they had experienced the transition from being an 'outsider' to being embedded, subsequently enabled them to feel they 'belong' within the context. Their entrepreneurial stories revealed a yearning to put down deep-set roots, working towards building a better business environment for the future generations with the hope that, in turn, future generations could continue the cyclical relationship to benefit the context and further develop 'place as it could be'.

When analysing the big 'D' discourse of the case the collective voice of the context echoes the sentiments of both local and in-migrant entrepreneurs when it comes to the critical events and, in particular, those relating to the image of place, giving not only a background of the case but also demonstrating the disjoint environment that the entrepreneurs have encountered.

“There’s this apathy. This idea that things don’t need to open because nobody is coming. Well somebody needs to pull their finger out” (24/07/15 Great Yarmouth Mercury, John and Muriel Greenock, Repeat Great Yarmouth Holidaymakers).

“It saddens me to see its decline ... it breaks my heart to see the town centre half empty and like a shell of what it was” (29/01/19 Great Yarmouth Mercury, Matthew Ceiley, Local Musician).

"Unemployment figures reveal that an area of Great Yarmouth has one of the highest rates of people claiming unemployment benefits in the United Kingdom ... The figures were last night described as 'shocking'" (17/05/12 Eastern Daily Press, Colleen Walker, Great Yarmouth Mayor).

Indeed through discussing repetitively the critical events of a further decline in tourism, an increase of empty shops and high unemployment this version of the collective voice demonstrates a local feeling of shock, unrest, disappointment and concern, thus reinforcing the context’s need for role models and change agents to step in and revitalise the community. Alternatively, the collective voice of the secondary sources also demonstrates the aspiring theme of ‘place as it could be’. It recognises that future initiatives need to take increased, and sometimes alternative, measures involving the host community (Johnstone 2013) to put strategic plans in place aimed at positively developing the context’s future.

"The [Great Yarmouth] borough faces an \$8 million funding gap ... the local council publicly appealed for money-saving tips to add to its own proposals of yanking out streetlights, charging more for public burials, taxing mobile home residents and selling off public buildings ... It’s not that there are no ambitions here, only that poverty crushes your feeling that you can achieve them” (03/08/14 The World Weekly, Andrew Forrest, The Priory Centre Social Services Hub).

“[Local] volunteers ... Despite [some] having moved to the area [Great Yarmouth] only in 2016 ... have been core to the restoration project ... [so] visitors will once again be able to take to rowing boats in Norfolk’s answer to northern Italy” (17/08/19 The Guardian, Esther Addley, Journalist).

“A new employment grant scheme aims to reduce the unemployment rate in Great Yarmouth ... [with grants] available to help not-for-profit organisations offer [coaching, support and] training to help those who are currently unemployed across all age groups and backgrounds ... to get back to work” (25/01/19 Great Yarmouth Mercury, Rebecca MacNaughton, Journalist).

“There’s too many empty premises ... there needs to be more incentives for businesses in the town because some of us are struggling” (12/04/19 Great Yarmouth Mercury, Lenny Gordon, Family Business Owner).

Through paying tribute to depleted nature of place the collective voice acknowledges here the hardship of the context and the presence of a negative cycle which requires long-term remedial action to inspire individuals within the case and develop 'place as it could be'. The similarities between this more marginal but also alternative version of the collective voice and the in-migrant entrepreneurial stories become more pronounced when considering the decline in tourism. The collective voice illustrates how 'non-local' volunteers had committed their time and effort to a local restoration project aimed at actively improving the image of place despite only recently moving to the area. Likewise, both the individual accounts of the in-migrant entrepreneurs and the collective voice of the secondary sources recognise a need for increased confidence in the context with alternative and more creative forms of enterprise (McKeever et al. 2015) to get people back to work and reduce the amount of empty premises. Positioning enterprise as a route out of deprivation (Parkinson et al. 2017) emphasises the collective voice of the context's obligation to cater for the whole business environment rather than select specific sectors (and therefore leave behind others) in order to progress the case towards 'place as it could be'.

Ultimately, this method of attachment provides insight into why the in-migrant entrepreneurs 'adopted place' due to a perceived lack of management and responsibility from both the local authority and the 'locals'. Doing so enabled them to feel accepted and embedded into the context, inspiring a responsibility to 'give back' and improve both place and its local community where possible (Johnstone 2013). This sense of belonging created a sense of purpose for the in-migrants' businesses other than solely making economic gains which included providing local opportunities, training, and raising awareness for young people in order to "get the right attitude" and "see things change" (Richard, 50, GY, in-migrant, offshore servicer, 290e). Not only does this inspire individuals and increase future human talent pools, but it also demonstrates that being locally 'born and bred' is less relevant regarding active

contribution to the area's positive development, thus reinforcing the perceived role of the in-migrant entrepreneurs as shaping 'place as it could be'. This disregards the traditional nature of leaving community revitalisation as the responsibility of local authorities and other 'locals', instead portraying the in-migrant entrepreneurs as positive role models for the area who offer increased measures for community development and hope to inspire others to follow suit (Kalantaridis et al. 2019).

4.4.2 Phoenix regeneration

Another method of attachment that emerged from the entrepreneurs' interviews surrounded the idea of regeneration and how enterprise can help to develop 'place as it could be', progressing a context from what may be considered its biggest downfall towards something to be proud of. Such a mechanism was primarily mentioned by the interviewees within the case of Ipswich and was referenced like that of a phoenix rising from the ashes. Regeneration in this sense countered the declining state of the town centre which the entrepreneurs felt was hindering entrepreneurial aspirations and beliefs, instead improving the context to 'place as it could be', looking positively towards the future at what may be possible. This mechanism therefore positioned place as a beacon of hope, offering greater entrepreneurial opportunities for development and therefore inspiring a more positive future with a renewed drive and sense of purpose.

“When they were saying what they were going to be doing with the businesses around the dock area [regeneration] everyone was sort of like ‘no you aren’t going to get people to go down there, that stinks down there because of the Orwell’ but they’ve made it thrive down there. They’ve done a bit of a phoenix job because obviously in the summer, that’s where people want to go, it does thrive” (Pippa, 36, Ipswich, local, publican, 10e).

“A big part of it is the town centre dying. With the town centre dying and nothing replacing it, it doesn’t spark new people wanting to stay in Ipswich, and they start moving out to other areas” (Tracey, 40, Ipswich, migrant, marine retailer, 3e).

“[Ipswich has] obviously been going through some tough times and you can see pockets of where they’re trying to improve the status of the town. The docks have

been very good, but, obviously, that stalled back in 2008, and we've been left with some monoliths down there that make it look pretty awful. Hopefully, you know, they've recently been sold, and they'll be developed out, and that area on the whole has seen a transition in a much more positive direction" (Myles, 51, Ipswich, local, developer, 110e).

The above excerpts demonstrate the twofold nature of this mechanism and its impacts upon the relationship between entrepreneurs and the case of Ipswich. On the one hand, many entrepreneurs interviewed within the case, such as Pippa and Myles, felt that regeneration and its positive temporal emphasis on the future was beneficial for the spatial context, their ventures and their relationship with place. They, alongside others, felt it offered the context the chance to repurpose itself and rise from the ashes, combatting the notion of it "dying" and instead building towards 'place as it could be', inspiring local entrepreneurial intentions, encouraging attachment to the case and subsequently working towards a more positive future.

On the other hand, Myles also reveals how the air of uncertainty surrounding unfinished developments and regeneration has engendered a similar level of doubt about this how this mechanism develops 'place as it could be' and at what cost. Indeed, some of the entrepreneurs felt that sustainability of the 'phoenix regeneration' was a cause for concern for the context with regards to its longevity and how it may only be advancing a select few areas of the case (and therefore leaving behind others) rather than place as a collective whole:

"The waterfront, that looks nice and they put that bit on the TV and people must look and think 'oh my god, it's fantastic, Ipswich is looking really nice' and that bit you see as a snap on the telly, that is it, it's just a façade. Once you've seen that snap you've seen it all ... It's so disconnected from actual Ipswich" (Tony, 46, Ipswich, local, manufacturer, 6e).

"There are parts of Ipswich that have been given lots of money to actually turn it around. The waterfront is absolutely spectacular. The amount of money they've had into that waterfront area. Then, when you walk into town your heart sinks because you think you could be in two completely different places" (Abigail, 47, Ipswich, in-migrant, childcare provider, 16e).

"The dockside is nice, but it doesn't really connect very well into the town. You've got to get from that across two carriageways of traffic to get into town. Nobody bothers, they all just stay on the waterfront or they go home ... how are you going

to drag people across from the waterfront to here?” (Joshua, 61, Ipswich, local, equipment lender, 10e).

It seems here that the ‘phoenix regeneration’ effort to develop ‘place as it could be’ has inadvertently contributed to the disjointed nature of place and subsequent entrepreneurial engagement. Focusing lengthy regeneration work on one sole area not only disconnects the case physically (as Joshua evidences the issue of having four lanes of traffic and abandoned waste ground between the opposing areas) but also socioeconomically with the waterfront area experiencing an alternative, and more prosperous, business environment to that of ‘actual Ipswich’. In this sense, phoenix regeneration has enticed and bettered some newcomers, inspiring entrepreneurial intentions and providing alternative entrepreneurial opportunities within the case, however such a mechanism may come at the expense of other residents through swallowing up local resources, squandering the town’s historical heritage and substantiating a socioeconomic divide.

“It’s changed completely, it’s good to see but it’s changed. We’ve gone from not having manufacturing anymore like we used to, a lot of those buildings down the docks, it was a working dock when I was a kid. That has just completely changed but has it changed for good or bad? There’s good and bad in all” (Curtis, 50, Ipswich, local, vehicle lender, 5e).

“They’ve made the docks, that’s starting to get quite prosperous, it’s almost as if this little bit of town centre is for the poor and the rich are going into more the docks type of area, that’s how it seems to me ... there are some good parts of Ipswich, I just think they need to incorporate the whole thing” (Malcolm, 49, Ipswich, local, butcher, 5e).

“It seems like it’s a constant cycle of regeneration ... I don’t think it’s going to happen quickly and I think other areas will just decline as quickly as things are being improved and you’ll have the same gravity of nice and bad bits” (Brian, 31, Ipswich, local, public speaker, 5e).

Here, local entrepreneurs with longstanding connections to place illustrate their concerns about the ‘phoenix regeneration’ occurring within the case. Curtis, who has spent his entire working life in Ipswich as an entrepreneurial vehicle lender, seems to encapsulate this method of attachment well as “there is good and bad in all” – what may be beneficial for some

entrepreneurs in the case (and thus improve their relationship with place) can come at the detriment of others. In his account this manifested itself as losing the history, norms and the very essence which initially started the town back in the Saxon period (and built place to what it is today) in order to produce novel business ideas to ride on the back of the wave of recent regeneration (Dyer et al. 2008). Malcolm, a proudly local butcher, then goes on to illustrate how this mechanism of ‘phoenix regeneration’ has not only forgone the history of the context but cements a socioeconomic divide, bettering the more prosperous entrepreneurs at the waterfront yet having the entirely opposite effect for those outside of this area in ‘actual Ipswich’, causing their ventures to struggle and their relationship with place to deteriorate. Brian, a locally born and bred public speaker, feels that the “constant cycle of regeneration” has not only taken a huge amount of time and resources but its time-sensitive nature diminishes its beneficial after-effects leaving himself and others within the case to become desensitised to the ‘buzzword’ of regeneration being bandied about as the panacea for place. Interestingly, this apathy for contextual change was also captured in several other entrepreneurs’ narratives regarding their relationship with place.

“They’re trying with the town, with the regeneration and trying to put in new shops and stuff. It isn’t working, and I don’t know why. I’m not that minded, to actually be bothered to find out why it’s not” (Abigail, 47, Ipswich, in-migrant, childcare provider, 16e).

“There’s so many empty shops. I know it’s a catch 22 because if people are not buying from them, the shops are not going to stay open but I don’t know what the answer is. They keep revamping and revamping but nothing seems to change ... the will is there but it just never sort of happens” (Alexa, 67, Ipswich, local, not-for-profit retailer, 2e).

“There’s nothing wrong with [Ipswich], I know people talk badly of it but there’s nothing really bad about it ... I mean people are trying but I think it just is a probably just a plodding along place, it’s a middle-ground” (Laura, 34, Ipswich, local, equipment lender, 5e).

The entrepreneurs here display feelings that the seemingly “constant cycle of regeneration” to ‘place as it could be’ will be never ending as there is no quick fix and a continuously altering

vision of exactly what the future goals for place are. This means the mechanism of ‘phoenix regeneration’ has not only exposed (and perhaps contributed towards) an apathy towards efforts designed at improving the future of the context, but also that significant financial regenerative investment may not necessarily improve place and peoples’ opinions of it. It seems here that this can actually have the adverse effect with some locally born and bred entrepreneurs in the case feeling that place is a “dead duck” (Tony, 46, Ipswich, local, manufacturer, 6e) unworthy of the time and money ploughed into it. Some feel there is little point trying to develop ‘place as it could be’ into something it is not when they have already accepted their relationship with ‘place as it is’ as a “plodding along ... middle ground” (Laura, 34, Ipswich, local, equipment lender, 5e).

Indeed, the twofold nature of this mechanism has been reflected in the collective voice of the context through the critical events of empty shops and loss of the town’s heritage. Analysing the big ‘D’ discourse first illustrates the number of empty shops, indicating the adverse business environment place is experiencing and argues for the need of ‘phoenix regeneration’ to develop ‘place as it could be’. The collective voice then also goes on to offer support for the side of “actual Ipswich” recognising the importance of the town’s history and heritage not just for venturing, but for the inherent makeup of the context and its locally born and bred inhabitants.

“The retail sector is undergoing a seismic shift that is changing the look and feel of our town centres at a rapid rate. It feels as though each day brings a new onslaught of bad news” (23/01/19 Ipswich Star, Jessica Hill, Journalist).

“Efforts have been made to improve the town centre offer and a £3m scheme is under way to rejuvenate the Cornhill, with a water feature and sculptures ... We will not draw shoppers away from Norwich, but we can attract people to our town centre for culture and entertainment” (29/04/18 BBC News, Ian Fisher, Ipswich Borough Council).

Here, the secondary sources set the scene for the need of ‘phoenix regeneration’ to stop the “onslaught of bad news” in the context and inspire new hope to develop ‘place as it could be’.

It seems that despite the context's willingness to invest significant financial sums into regeneration there is a presence of self-awareness and perhaps even a lack of self-belief of what is possible for the town (Parkinson et al. 2017) (i.e., feeling as they cannot compete with nearby Norwich). This reflects the ideas of some of the entrepreneurs accepting 'place as it is' as a "middle ground" and therefore questioning the longevity and actual worth of the regenerative efforts within the case.

"There has been a surprising surge in the number of people heading to the Suffolk town, with visitor figures rising by around 23,000 year-on-year ... more bizarrely, there isn't one new attraction or event that seems to be bringing visitors in [although] Ipswich has redeveloped its waterfront" (23/05/13 Daily Mail, Jo Tweedy, Journalist).

"We have missed the best opportunity to begin to put things right. The [£3.8m] spent on the redevelopment of the Cornhill should have been the catalyst for change but it has turned out to be a damp squib and a complete let-down" (13/05/19 Ipswich Star, Ian Fisher, Conservative Group Leader).

The big 'D' discourse then demonstrates that whilst 'phoenix regeneration' may work for some areas and individuals within the case inspiring change and revitalising place, it may not work for others and will therefore not be undertaken unopposed. This calls for care when considering regenerative efforts and, in particular, 'phoenix regeneration' as a mechanism of entrepreneurial attachment to place at precisely what the different parts of context stand to gain and what they may potentially lose. This has not gone amiss within the wider big 'D' discourse as the secondary sources stand to reaffirm the importance of history, heritage, cultural norms and values within the context.

"Heritage here in Ipswich is really important to everybody in the town as it makes you feel part of something ... The town has got thousands and thousands years' worth of history and it is great to know ... this is ours to own and we are here because of our past ancestors" (15/09/19 Ipswich Star, Carrie Willis, Christchurch Mansion).

"The message is clear - our heritage needs to be saved and investing in heritage pays. It helps to transform the places where we live, work and visit, creating successful and distinctive places for us and for future generations to enjoy" (17/10/19 East Anglian Daily Times, Tony Calladine, Regional Director for Historic England in the East of England).

Here the collective voice displays similarity with the thoughts of the locally born and bred entrepreneurs conveying the importance of history within place in not only building a successful context (i.e., place as it could be) but for developing the identities of those within place (Cohen and Musson 2000) and providing a solid foundation for future generations and future possibilities of the context. Ultimately, the collective voice reiterates that the empty shops and declining image of place stimulated ‘phoenix regeneration’ which may have come at a cost of the case’s heritage, leaving some disillusioned with the case’s efforts at developing ‘place as it could be’ whilst others reaped the benefits.

While it is clear ‘phoenix regeneration’ is undertaken with a positive future temporal emphasis, its apparent opportunistic benefit for incomers to the case can offer improved contextual attachment, whilst simultaneously (and inadvertently) leaving other residents feeling marginalised and thus jeopardising their relationship with place. Amber, a relative newcomer and fashion boutique owner, manages to sum up this mechanism, its challenges and future steps forward to develop ‘place as it could be’.

“It’s people that are in Ipswich that seem to be against [regeneration] the most, and I just think, if we all got behind it a bit more, it would probably make a bit of a difference, and create a bit more of a positive, attractive atmosphere for people ... There has been a lot of development, input, regeneration and that’s great. It’s just then how do they promote that message to everybody in the same way ... I think Ipswich is quite behind, in that respect, and I don’t know if it’s because of the people in charge, or not. It’s a tricky one, I think. There’s a lot of work to be done here” (Amber, 30, Ipswich, in-migrant, retailer, 2e).

Similar to the ‘adopting place’ method of attachment she finds it is mostly locals who are against the ‘phoenix regeneration’ aimed at improving place. She rallies for people to get behind the efforts aimed at improving place so that the context can promote and present itself in the best possible light. What is important to note here is that ‘phoenix regeneration’ is aimed at bettering one area (whilst inadvertently augmenting the chances of success for newcomers)

whereas in ‘adopting place’ it is the newcomer in-migrant entrepreneurs who better place. This mechanism therefore captures the need of a clear and consistent message across place as a whole to ensure that what is aimed at improving ‘place as it could be’ does not come at the cost of disconnecting contexts and marginalising individuals. Instead, it calls for more awareness of how the varying social realities of entrepreneurship both are subject to and contribute towards society and can subsequently create, structure and develop place (Steyaert and Katz 2004). ‘Phoenix regeneration’ as a mechanism essentially offers a processual insight into entrepreneurial engagements in place, looking at the interactions between regeneration, communities and entrepreneurs (Peredo and Chrisman 2006) and the interrelated meanings and impacts this has between place, enterprise and temporality.

4.4.3 Gentrification

When analysing the entrepreneurs’ narratives about their desire to develop ‘place as it could be’ a method of attachment which was clearly linked to ‘phoenix regeneration’ was gentrification. Clark’s (2005) essential definition of gentrification is a neighbourhood’s inflow of higher status groups and outflow of lower status groups linked to a considerable reinvestment of fixed capital. Many of the entrepreneurs in the case of Ipswich closely related the process of ‘phoenix regeneration’ with gentrification as the upward class reconstitution of urban space often brought up questions or concerns about the spatial manifestation of intensified hierarchical social difference (Wyly 2019). Complex thoughts, feelings and perceptions of identity emerging from entrepreneurs’ interviews were often referring to gentrification as a method of attachment to place and how it may be positive or negative for developing ‘place as it could be’.

“I think Ipswich has got a lot of potential. Like I said, a place is what you make it. Ipswich, compared to other towns in Suffolk, gets a lot of bad press. I think there’s a big snob factor when it comes to Ipswich ... I think the perception is that it’s quite a lower class, or low-end place, because of that it’s seen as some dumping ground

for a load of people that can't get work" (Amber, 30, Ipswich, in-migrant, retailer, 2e).

"Some places [like Ipswich] have got a bad reputation. So it's not going to draw people through, because of the past there ... I don't think a lot of people view Ipswich as a nice, place to live. I don't think there is anything here that would draw people to this area" (Brian, 31, Ipswich, local, public speaker, 5e).

Here, Amber and Brian demonstrate their feelings of the current state of 'place as it is' alluding to the socio-political arrangement which so often precedes gentrification (Maloutas 2012). They refer to the "lower class" nature of place and relate it to urban histories which (it seems Amber is alluding to as "potential") has produced gentrifiable urban areas and building stocks which will shape urban restructuring activities (i.e., phoenix regeneration) affecting socio-political traditions, inhabitants and the outcomes of place (Maloutas 2018). Indeed, some of the entrepreneurs felt this evolving fluidity of place and its increased social mobility offered the chance to positively develop 'place as it could be' and strengthen contextual attachments.

"I think also with all the new developments and all the new flats I think the kind of people that are living in Ipswich has also changed ... I think the town centre is changing a lot more. Young professionals working here, moving to Ipswich for jobs, got a lot of money to spend, I think the people are there, they just need to be capitalised on" (Kimberly, 35, Ipswich, local, estate agent, 8e).

"[One of] the positive things about it [gentrification] is that you create an identity in an area, which is what you're interested in" (Myles, 51, Ipswich, local, developer, 110e).

Here Kimberly, a local estate agent, and Myles, a construction developer, illustrate their feelings about how an upwardly mobile neighbourhood would benefit themselves, their ventures, and the context as a whole. They relayed feelings of how an influx of a wealthier local target market would not only provide ventures with increased sources of income and therefore increased optimism for the future, but also how greater localised resources and capital expenditure would allow entrepreneurs' venturing activity and subsequent interactions with

consumers provides more chances to build, structure, and reshape place (as well as its local ventures) as the entrepreneurs see fit, standing to improve their future contextual relationships.

However some interviewed raised concerns about the impact gentrification would have on the viability of local socio-spatial realities (Maloutas and Fujita 2012). As the built environment develops, historical contextualisation becomes dismissed and ideologies alter, the social structure of place changes considerably, bringing with it a fear that ‘lower class’ inhabitants of the case may become displaced and this may hold severe ramifications for the entrepreneurs and their ventures, adversely affecting ‘place as it could be’.

“They have put money in the waterfront, but who’s living there? I don’t know of anyone who’s living in those flats. Certainly haven’t met any of our customers living down there, so I don’t know. If you’re commuting, maybe you’re spending your money in London. I’m not sure ... you’re going from the train station to the waterfront, back to the train station. So, I don’t think it’s probably benefiting the wider community very much” (Tracey, 40, Ipswich, migrant, marine retailer, 3e).

“If they make it so that Ipswich becomes a commuter town, it is good for that, but in having that and having those people come in, the money isn’t always spent in the town, because they’re never in the town. They’re always down in London, because that’s where they work ... So London still gets the money, and Ipswich doesn’t get it” (Max, 46, Ipswich, local, mechanic, 4e).

“You can look at it as London is the upper-class area and Ipswich is the poorer area. [What works for] the upper class is not going to work in the poorer class ... You can’t take Ipswich away from the people that have been here for their whole lives. For them to do that, the money is not in Ipswich. The locals haven’t got the money here ... to do the things that they might do in London. Obviously do the place up but it needs to be for us, it needs to be relevant to the people around here ... it needs to be focused on building up the market here rather than trying to attract outsiders. Okay, attract the upper market but that should be few and far between, they shouldn’t forget about us” (Pippa, 36, Ipswich, local, publican, 10e).

The above entrepreneurs demonstrate that whilst they understand gentrification may be pursued to develop ‘place as it could be’, it serves only to worsen the already disjointed nature of place and does little to benefit the wider community. They feel the efforts put into place to encourage gentrification (e.g., phoenix regeneration, ventures aimed at the upper-class) displace and/or marginalise the locals who are already there. It seems that the entrepreneurs relate their attachment to their length of residence (Lewicka 2010; Raymond et al. 2010) and they feel this

is being taken away from them (and similar others) who may not be deemed as ‘worthy’ of place as somebody with higher levels of income. Instead, their relationship with place becomes shunned in favour of becoming a “commuter town” in a bid to attract upwardly mobile individuals. The entrepreneurs feel as if this causes even more concern for place as commuters will spend little time in the spatial context and will therefore be unable to invest socially, emotionally and financially into place when compared to their local counterparts who, if not already displaced, feel their contextual attachment deteriorating.

Analysis of the big ‘D’ discourse of the case provides an insight into how the collective voice of the context perceived such contextual engagement. Regarding the critical event of empty shops it was clear to see the dwindling state of the business community and precisely how the case collectively hoped that incentivising an influx of (seemingly wealthy) individuals to “locate and thrive” in expensive regenerated building stocks was hoped to counteract such decline.

“We are working hard to attract businesses to locate and thrive in the town in a number of ways. These include investing in regeneration sites such as Princes Street and St Peter's Dock, making small retail grants to encourage firms to invest in their properties, implementing national business rate relief schemes ... On top of that, we need to find innovative and different uses for our empty shops, and that could be pop-up shops, places where families can be entertained, something to attract all ages” (18/10/19 Ipswich Star, Terry Hunt, Ipswich Vision Chairman).

Nevertheless, the collective voice also captured the concerns of some of the entrepreneurs who felt that attracting upwardly mobile individuals through the mechanism of gentrification may adversely affect ‘place as it could be’. The collective voice concerning the labour force and the critical event of lack of talent manages to illustrate what has happened in the context when upwardly mobile individuals have been attracted to place.

“Ipswich can ill afford to lose [high skilled] jobs. Quite apart from the expense and inconvenience to the staff concerned of working out of [the region], there will be a loss of spending power in Ipswich shops and businesses” (05/07/13 Ipswich Star, David Ellesmere, Ipswich Council Labour Leader).

It emerges that upwardly mobile individuals who may have taken advantage of the regenerative work are unable to be sustained by the labour market of the case, reiterating the entrepreneurs' fears of place becoming a "commuter town". The collective voice captures the worry that this will reduce spending power in Ipswich businesses, keeping money out of the context and therefore affecting the viability of entrepreneurs' ventures. Not only may this potentially put the context into even more of a deficit than to begin with, but it may come at the cost of marginalising long-term lower-class inhabitants as they feel little is being done with them in mind as the hopes of the context's future rest on the shoulders of external actors through mechanisms such as gentrification (Dawson 2002; Williams and Williams 2012). The collective voice then goes on to demonstrate that regardless whether or not this method of attachment is successful at developing 'place as it could be', it has come at a cost of the image of place through a loss of heritage.

"From working dock to leisure hub: the changing face of Ipswich waterfront. Ipswich Dock was completed in 1842 ... [but] much of the trade has moved from the dock and the area was redeveloped into a mostly residential and leisure area, with marinas, offices and flats opening around once busy quays where coal, grain and timber was unloaded" (24/04/18 Ipswich Star, David Kindred, Local Historian & Contributor).

While this method of attachment clearly has both positive and negative implications for entrepreneurs in place, all those concerned seem to agree that this mechanism is engaged with best interests in order to try and develop 'place as it could be'. Some of the entrepreneurs yearn for a new influx of upwardly mobile individuals to "come to Ipswich, it isn't really that bad!" (Kimberly, 35, Ipswich, local, estate agent, 8e) to enable gentrification so they can target new, wealthier market segments, structure their ventures, and reshape 'place as it could be' in their mind, improving their future relationships with context. Contrarily, this mechanism presents notable concern for other entrepreneurs who consider themselves as locals and feel they are

becoming marginalised through gentrification as well as those who feel that the local target market they have built their ventures around are becoming displaced through upward class mobility. In this fashion, it is not the origins of the entrepreneurs which are important within this mechanism but rather their perception of identity, opinions of social mobility within the case and what it may mean for their ventures. Additionally, and perhaps more worryingly, the findings also demonstrate that the new influx of individuals ‘displacing’ locals tend to expend capital elsewhere, reducing local purchasing power, keeping money out of the case and potentially putting the future of place in even more of a predicament than it initially was.

Whilst some fear for the future and possible displacement others have been able to capitalise on this mechanism – this not only relates to the longstanding debate of a ‘two-tier society’ (Kalantaridis 2010; Philips 1993; Shucksmith 2001) but also begs the question of why some entrepreneurs adapt better to contextual change than others. Here, it seems that those who positively welcome change and possess a strong future temporal focus of ‘place as it could be’ tend to reap the rewards better than those adverse to it. This mechanism therefore uncovers the complex nature of social mobility changes in context, the knock-on effects it can have for differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with place and what policy might do to build more inclusive, more equitable places in the future.

4.4.4 Clustering to place

Through their storytelling narratives the entrepreneurs also relayed how they had become attached to place through the method of clustering (either being directly located within or indirectly associated) and how this can develop ‘place as could be’ through the creation of a strong, self-sustaining business environment rich for developing entrepreneurial opportunities. This was referenced by many of the entrepreneurs in Cambridge and their experience of ‘Silicon Fen’, how they had benefitted from agglomeration economies such as technology, skills, suppliers, shared infrastructure, labour, and demand (Delgado et al. 2010) or, and

perhaps more commonly for ‘everyday entrepreneurs’, how they perceived context can improve (or already has) due to clustering and how this had impacted upon their engagement with place. The entrepreneurs felt that the presence of such a strong internationally renowned cluster offers them not only a way to engage with and attach themselves to place whilst developing their ventures in a positive way, it also helps to bolster ancillary entrepreneurial ventures within the case, increasing local confidence (Delgado et al. 2010) and developing an almost self-sustaining context which is seemingly impervious to the wider economic worries of the world.

“There wouldn’t be a science park if it wasn’t for the Trinity College initiative in 1980 which used some pretty much slum land on the edge of the city to create ‘Silicon Fen’ as it’s now described. That has attracted companies worldwide to us, it’s been incredible for the local economy ... A lot of the vibrancy of the economy really is owing to [innovation clustering] ... it’s a great marriage really between using some of the fantastic academic excellence and expertise that the university attracts and being equally able to attract big money from companies that want to have the very best” (Jake, 59, Cambridge, local, caterer, 240e).

Jake, a born and bred local caterer who feels he transcends the town versus gown divide, reveals that for entrepreneurs the importance was not surrounding overall employment and economic growth which the current literature tends to focus on (cf. Acs and Armington 2006; Haltiwanger et al. 2013; Welter and Baker 2020) but rather the energy and “vibrancy” that such a method of attachment can bring to place. It seemed that this manifested itself as a defining characteristic of context providing a reifying virtuous cyclical business environment and developing ‘place as it could be’ – where individuals want to be attached to and/or are grateful to be situated in, emphasising the role and importance that this method of engaging with place imparts.

“It’s got an energy, a real positive energy. If you go to Kings Lynn, for example, you can feel it, you can feel its struggle. If you come to Cambridge you can feel the buzz, you can feel people are positive, they want to get on and do things” (Percy, 50, Cambridge, in-migrant, restaurateur, 10e).

“It’s basically everything around [the cluster] ... there are always those sorts of networking opportunities that arise ... There are a number of other people who I know here who commute in from further afield ... which shows actually how much

of a magnet Cambridge is, really ... It's just the right people being here I guess"
(Grant, 42, Cambridge, in-migrant, accountant, 5e).

Here Percy, a restaurateur based in Cambridge since 2010, and Grant, an accountant since 2008, further reiterate the importance of clustering as a mechanism for stimulating “positive energy” within the case and how this, combined with the unique attributes of the context, serve to not just shape and reshape the characteristics of place, but also to act as pull-factor drawing in “the right people”, attracting a wealth of talent and inspiring entrepreneurial intentions. Such a method of attachment therefore enhances the range and diversity of enterprise occurring within the spatial context (either directly inside the cluster or indirectly through ancillary services), reducing costs, increasing local positivity (Delgado et al. 2010) and further developing ‘place as it could be’ in the eyes of the entrepreneurs. This subsequently enables entrepreneurship to become less affected by issues occurring outside the context (thus allowing ventures to become more efficient) as place begins to exhibit a rudimentary, self-sufficient microeconomy further evidenced by the entrepreneurs’ narratives:

“I think the economy is quite well insulated against the rest of the wider economy. You get the feeling that things carry on here, you get these very long-term projects that people are pouring loads of money into, it seems like it's a very strong place. I don't think I've experienced any of that directly but indirectly it does seem like it's one of the more commercially alive parts of the country. I did notice that through some parts of the recession Cambridge seemed to be insulated from it like it was in its own little bubble. A lot of the businesses are high-end research-based businesses, spin-offs from the university, they're not affected too much by the business side of the rest of the world, they're in their own bubble” (John, 49, Cambridge, in-migrant, software developer, 2e).

“The recession of 2008/09 did not affect us whatsoever. We continued to grow. I think we're very, very fortunate, I'm very fortunate to own a company that is actually trading in Cambridge. That is a big plus. I think with the recession and everything else that goes on, Cambridge tends to stay quite aloof from that ... We've got so much extra here” (Patrick, 65, Cambridge, local, printer, 6e).

“We've managed to avoid some of the more striking economic parts of the cycle, the 2008 recession and stuff because we've just kept going ... You could describe it as a microeconomy, I think that you could just say it's got its own microeconomy which is actually self-sustaining, I can't see that in the immediate future coming to an end” (Jake, 59, Cambridge, local, caterer, 240e).

Here both locally born and in-migrant entrepreneurs reiterate the positive benefits that attachment to place through clustering can bring directly or indirectly. The presence of a strong cluster environment in place provides the entrepreneurs with a strong and stable backdrop that instils confidence, provides access to superior resources and enhances the legitimacy of enterprising individuals – all whilst offering a strong network of inter-firm relationships to reduce susceptibility to wider economic concerns as well as the overall uncertainty and worries that entrepreneurial ventures infamously have to contend with (Sunny and Shu 2019; Tracey et al. 2014). In this fashion, a strong regional cluster may not only offer entrepreneurs a mechanism for attaching to place, but it can also act as a magnet for talent. It can create and sustain a context's economy becoming resistant to issues occurring outside of it whilst continuing to benefit those inside of it, subsequently contributing to a virtuous cycle of developing 'place as it could be' (Delgado et al. 2010). Clustering to place therefore presents itself as an eminently positive method of attachment for the entrepreneurs and has consequently led many to attribute their entrepreneurial success to their relationship with place.

“There's loads of start-ups coming together in Cambridge because there's good minds and a lot of energy. They call it Silicon Fen but I think it applies to everybody here. Cambridge comes with its own little amount of kudos if you work around here or live around here. I think because there's a certain benchmark of quality that goes on in Cambridge, if you work below that benchmark you're not really going to survive or be that successful. I think that's the most defining thing about Cambridge” (Gareth, 53, Cambridge, in-migrant, architect, 2e).

“I would not want to operate the company in any other town. It would not succeed to the level it does now in any other town, in any part of the country. I don't think it would succeed to anywhere near this level, it would survive but not as successful as we are at the moment. I attribute that to Cambridge, being in this part of East Anglia is the number one reason” (Patrick, 65, Cambridge, local, printer, 6e).

Patrick, a locally born and bred printer, and Gareth's, an architect originally from Surrey, examples of attributing their success to the context reiterates the importance of how this method of attachment creates energy within place and how such energy can aid innovation and inspire entrepreneurial intentions for those not just inside the cluster, but also for 'everyday

entrepreneurs' and their ancillary ventures – furthering the notion of 'place as it could be' in the eye of the entrepreneurs. It seems then that being attached to place via clustering may increase the chances of knowledge spillovers, improving input-output linkages, and creating a pool of skilled labour (Marshall 1961), which can lead to the higher performance demanded by place. Clustering as a method of attachment which develops 'place as it could be' therefore not only aids entrepreneurial relationships with context as it improves ventures and their access to localised resources, but it also manages to confer a higher level of reputation (Anholt 2007), quality and standard to those who succeed, with those who do not tending to fall by the wayside (as alluded to within the 'rotten orange' mechanism in section 4.3.2). It is important to note that this is how clustering to place differs from gentrification; whilst both may exhibit similar patterns in social and personal mobility, clustering as a mechanism creates uniformity amongst the participating members thereby breaking down social divisions and marginalisation rather than reproducing them as seen within gentrification. Nevertheless, clustering to place is not without its drawbacks; the more successful place is developed 'as it could be', the more it continues to grow and with a small centralised location and green belts limiting expansion (Morrison 2010), the context, its infrastructure and localised resources come under strain.

“If you wanted to be within the tech arena, it's a natural place that you would want to be but you can totally see why all these parks have set up around Cambridge so that you don't have the travel nightmares of the morning. I mean, I've crossed Cambridge in two minutes, and sometimes it takes me two hours to cross Cambridge. That in itself is a big problem for Cambridge, and it's just going to get worse ... it makes it difficult because there's the traffic, the cost of living and everything, it's a small city it's now around 50,000 people and it's quite compact with nowhere to grow” (Jeff, 44, Cambridge, local, interior designer, 7e).

Despite offering a fruitful method of attachment to place for entrepreneurs, Jeff, an interior designer, details how clustering may be a victim of its own success – as the case continues to expand it struggles to meet rising demands. It is therefore possible that the larger the cluster becomes the more entrepreneurs could become exposed to diseconomies of increased costs

potentially endangering the viability of future entrepreneurship within the case (Folta et al. 2006; Sunny and Shu 2019).

Analysis of the big ‘D’ discourse of the case provides further evidence to the entrepreneurs’ narratives. Firstly, concerning the labour force and the critical event of ‘Silicon Fen’ the collective voice of the secondary sources details how the presence of a strong regional cluster can aid a context’s entrepreneurial ventures and thus develop ‘place as it could be’, bolstering the relationship between entrepreneurship and the case.

“Cambridge's strength is a continually evolving ecosystem employing many thousands of people. It is inspiring new markets, new companies, new products and services, and is [self] sustainable” (09/05/12 BBC News, Charles Cotton and Kate Kirk, Co-authors of ‘The Cambridge Phenomenon’).

“[It is] a low risk environment to do high risk things” (03/07/19 Financial Times, Hermann Hauser, Cambridge Angel Investor).

“If something doesn’t work there are people [here] in the sector who can put it right, or tell you it’s a waste of time and money. If funding dries up, employees have options to move elsewhere. If everything goes to plan there is a pool of the best talent to poach from” (01/07/18 Cambridge Independent, Ben Comber, Journalist).

Here, the big ‘D’ discourse captures the notion that through clustering place is dynamic, continually reifying, developing and progressing itself towards ‘as it could be’. Doing so not only inspires and encourages entrepreneurship and localised entrepreneurial intentions, but also makes these individual desires more accessible due to lower perceived risk. Indeed, the collective voice reaffirms that attaching to place through clustering offers a “low risk environment” to entrepreneurs as they can benefit from inter-firm localised networking to help overcome issues associated with nascency (Sunny and Shu 2019) as well as having access to increased pools of funding and skilled labour whilst reducing costs (Delgado et al. 2010; Tracey et al. 2014). Naturally, such an environment would be appealing to entrepreneurs and (similar to the individual narratives of those interviewed) the collective voice of the secondary sources also depicts the drawbacks that this method of attachment elicits.

“Scratch the surface of ‘Silicon Fen’, however, and there is significant unease ... Cambridge has been suffering enormous growth tensions for some time and has been served up with a Brexit vote it did not want ... leaders have complained that growth is being stifled by poor transport connections and insufficient housing” (23/07/16 The Guardian, Terry Macalister, Journalist).

“Thanks to the draw of its university, Cambridge has become a magnet for technology and biomedical firms. But this brings attendant pressures. Between 2001 and 2011, the population of Cambridge ... increased by 14% ... placing huge demands on housing” (27/11/16 The Guardian, Jamie Doward, Journalist).

A desirable environment and positive future emphasis on ‘place as it could be’ encourages more inhabitants and entrepreneurs alike to attach themselves to place through clustering, however the big ‘D’ discourse illustrates the negative impacts this draw is having on the context. Cambridge’s small yet centralised location within a tightly-drawn green belt has constrained the land supply within the context and increased growth has led to increased pressures within the city. The lack of room for expansion has seen land values and house prices rise excessively contributing to a housing crisis as well as increasing traffic congestion and burdening public transport links (Cambridgeshire Horizons 2008; Morrison 2010).

Ultimately, this method of attachment illustrates the effect a strong regional cluster can have on entrepreneurial engagement with place. Most see it as a positive for developing ‘place as it could be’ as the benefits of agglomeration economies support the growth of both entrepreneurial ventures situated within the cluster as well as indirectly associated ancillary organisations. Whilst this mechanism encourages, and some say even demands, higher performance of the entrepreneurs, it is not without its drawbacks – a constant temporally prominent virtuous cycle of developing ‘place as it could be’ will only entice more and more people to try and grab a slice of the pie, increasing demands on an already stretched system of housing and infrastructure.

Heeding the call of Sunny and Shu (2019), this method of attachment provides an insight into the temporal and spatial characteristics of entrepreneurial attachment to place by

analysing the dynamic, non-linear effects of clustering. In doing so, it moves beyond the literature's preoccupation with the 'Silicon Valley model' of entrepreneurship and economic growth (Haltiwanger et al. 2013; Tracey et al. 2014) by offering further understanding about 'everyday entrepreneurs' within the same spatial context, the complex nature of social and economic relationships within clusters (Heide et al. 2007) and how this can ultimately impact upon the overall engagement between entrepreneurs and place.

4.5 Conclusion

The integrative nature of this chapter draws upon the strengths of both grounded theory and discourse analysis to ensure that the individual voice of the entrepreneurs and the collective voice of the context is embedded within the findings, producing a substantial base for context-sensitive theory to be built upon (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019; Welch et al. 2011). This integrative approach consequently allows research to consider the temporally variable social manifestations of place to better understand how the wider sociohistorical context and culture can influence entrepreneurial behaviour but, also, how entrepreneurial behaviour may have influenced both the culture and wider sociohistorical context. In doing so, it demonstrates the nature of context at that specific time therefore providing further evidence and reasoning as to why the entrepreneurs engage with place in the manner that they do.

Such an approach has allowed this chapter to appreciate differing temporal orientations of the entrepreneurs whilst they are situated within the ongoing dynamic interplay between entrepreneurship, place and temporality. This has consequently opened up space to unpack differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with context, what it means to the individual micro-level contextual processes of entrepreneurs and how this can develop aspirations for the nature of place whilst ensuring the empirical settings of enterprise remain attached to the context in which they occur (Andriopoulos and Gotsi 2017; Schad et al. 2016). This appreciates the connections which may exist both between and within cases, thus painting a broader picture

(and a subsequent more detailed understanding) of the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place.

This understanding has presented itself based upon individuals attaching themselves to place in a number of different ways for a number of different reasons based upon their temporal and agentic orientations. The entrepreneurs' temporal relationship did not only influence their method of attachment, but also what and how they hoped to progress place alongside their venturing activity. In doing so, many of the entrepreneurs shaped their enterprise discourse in an effort to bring together all of these factors, aligning their venturing activity with their method(s) of attachment alongside their aspirations to determine the nature of context. It is important to note that entrepreneurs are not just limited to one method of attachment or one temporal orientation; many entrepreneurs displayed multiple orientations and mechanisms evidencing that their engagement with place is an ongoing, processual trajectory between the temporal and the spatial (Garud and Gehman 2019).

As scholarly work on contextual entrepreneurship continues to grow, research requires more detailed, alternative methodologies to examine sophisticated questions, build knowledge, and develop theory which is precisely what this study has set out to do (Kibler et al. 2015; Korsgaard et al. 2015a; Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Welter et al. 2019). Embracing the notion of place and how spatial contexts may be experienced, shaped and lived gives light to the interactions between the social, spatial and institutional. Such an approach has enabled this chapter to put forward the basis of a more integrated understanding for researching everyday entrepreneurs' engagement with place in different contexts. This consequently serves to enhance knowledge of entrepreneurship at the local level as well as emphasising just how important this phenomenon is and how often it is overlooked by academics (Calás et al. 2009; Welter et al. 2017; Zahra and Wright 2016). Enriching the understanding of *when* and *where* entrepreneurship occurs goes some way towards capturing the richness of entrepreneurship as

a commonplace social phenomenon (Welter et al. 2019). Not only will this enable a more contextualised understanding of entrepreneurship theory development (Hodges and Link 2019), but one which appreciates the complex relations between entrepreneurs and their structural, temporal, and spatial contexts which has been somewhat amiss within extant literature (Baker and Powell 2016; Lippmann and Aldrich 2016; Wadhvani 2016; Welter and Baker 2020; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra et al. 2014).

Chapter 5 – Discussion and Conclusions

In the previous chapter, the integrative approach embraced a comprehensive notion of place and how it is comprised, thus providing insights into how spatial contexts may be experienced, shaped and lived by entrepreneurs, giving light to the interactions between the social, spatial and institutional. Chapter 4 consequently illustrated that entrepreneurs engage with place in a number of different ways, attaching themselves for a number of different reasons, based upon their temporal and agentic orientations. In doing so, many of the entrepreneurs shaped their enterprise discourse in an effort to bring together these varying orientations, aligning their venturing activity with their method(s) of attachment alongside their agentic aspirations to determine the nature of place. The findings therefore open up space to unpack differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with context, what this means for the micro-level contextual processes of entrepreneurs and how this can sustain and develop agentic orientations towards place whilst ensuring the empirical settings of enterprise remain attached to the context in which they occur (Andriopoulos and Gotsi 2017; Baker and Welter 2020; Schad et al. 2016). Such an approach appreciates the nuances and connections which may exist both between and within cases, thus painting a broader picture (and a subsequent more detailed understanding) of the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place. This chapter therefore aims to answer the research question and further evidence that entrepreneurial engagement with place is a differentiated, ongoing trajectory (Garud and Gehman 2019) between the temporal and the spatial.

Thus to answer the research question – what is the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place? – the findings and methods of attachment covered in the previous chapter shall be

discussed herein to understand the answers and the implications for both research and practice. This chapter will therefore be largely structured around the core contributions of the thesis which are threefold. Firstly, section 5.1 theorises the mechanisms of entrepreneurial attachment to place detailing the conceptualisation and contribution of each mechanism, together with how these support varying agentic dimensions and how this provides insights for both theory and practice. Secondly, section 5.2 puts forth the development and discussion of a temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs which demonstrates there are multiple ways in which entrepreneurs engage with place. Thirdly, section 5.3 will then explore how these advancements can help to better understand spatial outcomes, reconceptualising place through a tripartite contestation. Further contributions shall then follow as this chapter considers the overall implications for policy and theory as well as stating the contribution of the integrative methodological approach. Finally, limitations and directions for future research shall be considered before concluding the thesis.

5.1 Theorising mechanisms of entrepreneurial attachment to place

The analysis of the workable set of emerging themes and concepts which helped build the mechanisms of attachment – as well as learning about how these are enacted through the micro-level processes of entrepreneurs and situated within the temporally variable social manifestations of the big 'D' discourse – has enabled the research to distil these findings into three agentic dimensions. It became evident that the different methods of attachment shown in each of the three temporal categories (place as it was, place as it is and place as it could be) related to different agentic dimensions concerning aspirations, hopes and agentic orientations towards place.

Referring back to the data structure in Figure 1 (chapter 3, p. 121) provides a graphic aid to represent how the analysis progressed from the raw interview data to the themes of varying methods of attachment and subsequent theorisation. This demonstrates the rigour in

qualitative research theory development (Gioia et al. 2012; Pratt 2009; Tracy 2010) and visually illustrates how each of the methods of attachment covered within the previous chapter related to one of three following agentic dimensions of the entrepreneurs within place: 1) maintaining the established norms, values and social structures of place; 2) breaking into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place; and, 3) establishing new norms, values and social structures of place. Whilst not purporting to be comprehensive, this section shall now be broken down into these three dimensions to review the conceptualisation and contribution of the entrepreneurial methods of attachment (items in italics represent conceptual components), discuss how they support their relative agentic dimension, and discern what this means for entrepreneurs, place and relevant theory. Critically examining the findings in this manner will provide novel insights into the temporal orientations of entrepreneurs and their differentiated engagement with place, adding dimensions to the field which are widely acknowledged to be understudied and underdeveloped (Hodges and Link 2019; Lang et al. 2014; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2019; Zahra et al. 2014).

5.1.1 Maintaining established norms, values and social structures of place

All four of the methods of attachment originating from the entrepreneurs wishing to keep ‘place as it was’ in the past (stuck to place, gambling, degrees of localness and boomerang effect) related to maintaining the history and heritage of place, its norms, values and social structures. This section will now discuss the conceptualisation and contribution of each of these methods of attachment and how they offered a mechanism to both engage with context and shape the course of enterprise to encourage this agentic dimension.

5.1.1.1 Stuck to place

For being ‘stuck to place’, the presence of family, ventures and a ‘home’ within place is what offers meaning to the entrepreneurs’ lives as these characteristics confer the ability to develop and maintain personal and familial relationships, particularly when entrepreneurs choose to

begin their families, thus offering distinct contributions to a lifecourse perspective on entrepreneurs (Scott et al. 2017). This included seeing entrepreneurs largely opting to maintain these relationships and norms as they offer comfort and safety, allowing for place and the community to become an ‘anchor’ for their personal identity due to their prolonged length of residence within the context (Beckley 2003; Trentelman 2009). Not only are these ties central to the ‘identity shaping’ of entrepreneurs (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996), but they position place as integral to individuals, with a vast array of ‘roots’ preventing ideas and aspirations of mobility and/or migration.

Whilst for some, the roots signified by this mechanism may invoke favourable memories of the past and how such micro-level processes can be maintained to provide comfort, safety, a secure job and fewer worries, others feel they have become stuck in a rut (Easthope and Gabriel 2008); it is this same feeling, albeit viewed negatively, which is what limits the actions of the entrepreneurs as their fear of the unknown, its potential costs and the uncomfortable nature of detaching themselves from place leaves them ‘swimming with the current’ (Blair-Loy 1999) – inadvertently helping to embed themselves in social, political, and economic contexts. However ‘unjust’ this may appear in an expanded perspective, it serves the actors well within their own personal and professional lives due to an appreciation of kinship and social ties which seems to be more prevalent in rural settings than those increasingly urban.

Whilst superficially it may seem this mechanism supports the idea that attachment is characterised by a proximity-maintaining length of residence (Lewicka 2010; Raymond et al. 2010), resulting in a heightened sense of belonging (De Cremer and Blader 2006; Kohlbacher et al. 2015; Livingstone et al. 2008) and feelings of home (Anton and Lawrence 2014; Smith 2018), it actually demonstrates how temporality (appreciating how maintaining a number of local ties have developed from the past to the present) can enable a better understanding of the subtle individual differences within entrepreneurs’ engagement with place rather than

misattributing it to those which are more notable (e.g., length of residence) (Hashemnezhad et al. 2013). Indeed, this method of attachment accounts for the varying contextual feelings of the entrepreneurs; while some appreciated their length of residence in place, others found it like a glass cage, giving depth to the idea of why length of residence may no longer assume a ‘greater’ attachment to place. Instead, this mechanism adds another dimension to the entrepreneurial mobility literature recognising that residential mobility is not only influenced by housing/location preferences, but is structured by wider, relational and contextual factors (Scott et al. 2017). This adds to the idea that decision-making is often driven by a desire for the presence of existing family networks as an *increasing number of local ties* can provide invaluable property, financial and emotional support (Gkartzios 2013). This subsequently advances the behavioural loyalty to a place literature (Hwang et al. 2005; Kyle et al. 2003) through explicitly recognising the off-the-job factors that sustain entrepreneurial embeddedness within context, contributing further to research that highlights the role of family in certain contexts (Bijker et al. 2012; Haartsen and Thissen 2014) through offering a viewpoint into a mobilities perspective which is essentially relational (Cresswell 2012).

Whilst today cross-regional job mobility has become more common (Weng et al. 2018), the ‘stuck to place’ method of attachment demonstrates this is not always the case within contexts, especially those of a more rural/insular nature. In this sense the mechanism opposes the idea that “individuals who are highly mobile are supposed to experience little or no place attachment and vice versa” (Gustafson 2001, 669) as it revealed individuals who were highly immobile yet detached and disparaging of place. Such a mechanism can therefore be applied to provide reasoning behind entrepreneurial (im)mobility, discrepancies in geographical turnover behaviour (Weng et al. 2018) and the importance of the people-place relationship in a context’s ability to retain entrepreneurs. Being ‘stuck to place’ can subsequently help to explain the antecedents of regional attraction as well as offering a psychological perspective

on why entrepreneurs may use this mechanism to maintain place's status quo. The more they can maintain the established norms, values and social structures of place, the less likely localities are to change and entrepreneurs are to leave. This consequently advances the findings of Weng et al. (2018) seeing place as facilitating the conditions which make people feel more psychologically attached, tending to increase their length of residence and therefore adding to a conceptualisation of residential immobility and why people may choose to stay in place (Clark et al. 2017; Coulter et al. 2016).

It is important to note that this advancement incorporates the significance of temporality as it recognises that being stuck to place may be established and sustained intentionally or inadvertently and it can be viewed either positively or negatively depending on the individual. In this fashion, it also contributes to knowledge surrounding the relationship between linked lives and mobility, such as dual earner households seeking compromise regarding location choices (Findlay et al. 2015) and households' relationships with wider family networks as it ultimately underscores the importance of accounting for entrepreneurs' emotional bonds within place. The idea of being 'stuck to place' offers a broader perspective of regional mobilities beyond the stereotypical counterurbanisation narrative that dominates the literature (Scott et al. 2017) by providing a mechanism to better understand why individuals remain within context for lengthy periods of time. It therefore goes some way in capturing the diverse range of population movements that underpin change processes (or lack thereof) inclusive of and beyond counter urban flows, unmasking the importance of local, lateral and regional (im)mobility in (re)shaping places and thus reflecting calls by Milbourne (2007), Smith (2007) and Stockdale (2016) to recognise the importance of a fuller range of movements in both urban and rural localities.

5.1.1.2 Gambling

Gambling as a method of attachment to place encapsulates how entrepreneurs would recall their experience of ‘place as it was’ and how it influenced them to ‘gamble’ with the spatial context via their individual ventures. This contextual engagement begins with a retrospective delve into the big ‘D’ discourse of the context or one’s prior ‘stock of knowledge’ as stored in typifications, repertoires, and social narratives of the spatial (Schutz 1967) to ascertain whether or not entrepreneurs wished to enter into a relationship with place. In doing so, individuals position the impetus of how they *review the history* of place upon themselves and how this understanding could shape their future-oriented entrepreneurial efforts, aligning with the historically contextualised findings of Wadhvani and Jones (2014). Indeed, for the entrepreneurs these decisions often weighed heavily as memorable eras and important events (Brehm et al. 2013) alluding to the idea of ‘symbolic communities’ as this mechanism encouraged attachment based on the representations of the past which have occurred in place (Hunter 1974).

The use of the integrative methodology allows for a greater understanding of the events occurring in place as a collective and the nature of their impact upon the micro-level entrepreneurial processes of individuals. This means that ‘gambling’ as a mechanism helps to reduce history-related validity issues (McMullen and Dimov 2013) through examining how time ‘flows’ in terms of lived entrepreneurial experiences. It thus moves beyond myopic conceptions and measures of temporality (Lévesque and Stephan 2020), instead unpacking the differentiated importance of time and its social and cultural prominence and embeddedness within individuals (Husserl 1960). In this sense, the mechanism contributes to historical contextualisation (Wadhvani 2016) as individuals engage with the history of context to address issues in the present and shape future action as well as forming part of everyday entrepreneurial sense-making. This mechanism therefore demonstrates that an individual’s cognitive

involvement can primarily be with the past, agreeing with Wadhvani (2016) that history serves an important purpose because these historical interpretations and understandings inherently link to how entrepreneurs experience the present and how they plan to act in the future.

Rather than viewing the past as teleologically enabling or constraining, this method of attachment consequently allows an insight for research to understand how entrepreneurs differentially allocate their attention to the past, how such a temporal focus (Bluedorn 2002) can be represented in entrepreneurial actions, and how this alternative use of temporality can contribute to the understudied importance of time within entrepreneurship research (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Lippmann and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013). Viewing the entrepreneurship process as a journey in this manner offers unique process-based insights (Butterfield et al. 2005) into how contextualised entrepreneurship can change and develop rather than focusing on the individual links in a long chain of events, thus reinforcing the idea that temporal focus can act as an important mediator between past experiences and current intentions, actions and outcomes (Shipp et al. 2009).

Indeed, the findings demonstrate that once the entrepreneurs felt they had sufficiently reviewed place's past through the accumulation of knowledge and experience, they would use such information to *assess* and inform the progression of their relationship with place. Such a conscious use of history was typically framed around what Swidler (1986) calls a toolkit; i.e., the repertoire of finite material and immaterial resources, from which entrepreneurs can create new combinations. Whilst it may appear that those who had a greater length of residence within place were more likely to think in terms of the past viewing it favourably and using historical imprinting to guide such combinations, the process of assessing place certainly involved the 'bifurcation' of time (Miller and Sardais 2015) enabling individuals to develop legitimised contextual links to act with the past in mind and create a better future (Cornelissen and Clarke 2010).

This allowed the entrepreneurs to draw upon past experiences in order to clarify motives, goals, and intentions, to locate possible future constraints, and to identify morally and practically whether they should move beyond tolerance and therefore *bet* or *reject* on their relationship with place. Gambling as a method of attachment is thereby considered valuable because it treats the relationship between entrepreneurship and place as neither fixed nor one directional, but rather as a continuous, developing interaction between the spatial context, the sociocultural level (i.e., the big ‘D’ discourse) and the entrepreneurship process. In this sense, the anticipatory identifications of the past are never accomplished once and for all, but rather are subject to continual reevaluation in light of the shifting and multidimensional character of human motivations and social relationships (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). So not only is considerable entrepreneurial agency exercised to re-combine resources creatively and uniquely (Müller and Korsgaard 2018), but such a mechanism can also serve to further embed entrepreneurs within the social fabric of place. This consequently fuels a desire to maintain the already established norms, values and social structures of place in order to align with a past temporally-focused version of context (Bluedorn 2002) and improve the odds of their gamble ‘paying off’. Others who lacked a deeply rooted historical attachment to place or deemed the historical contextualisation (Wadhvani 2016) unsuitable to their entrepreneurship journey revealed a ‘*rejection*’ of context through either their actions or a desire to move on and take advantage of other spatial economic opportunities, similar to the findings of Huggins and Thompson (2014) and Bensemann et al. (2018).

Setting forth the cycle of reviewing history, assessing, then betting on/rejecting place which this novel method of attachment captures further contributes to the literature as it incorporates the idea that the future is infinitely unknown (Menger 2014). It appreciates that the dynamic between entrepreneur and context rarely remains constant and therefore that the retrospective view of antecedents-event-consequences commonplace within entrepreneurship

research (Müller 2016; Trettin and Welter 2011; Welter and Baker 2020) is too linear and monochronic (Wadhvani 2016), often overlooking how the phenomenon is embedded in, and fundamentally shaped by, sociocultural dynamics (Patriotta and Siegel 2019) and entrepreneurial agency. Instead, gambling as a mechanism captures individual differences in temporal orientations, how this can impact upon socially embedded entrepreneurial actions (especially entrepreneurial entry) and how the subsequent nature of the two-way relationship between entrepreneurship and context can carry inherent risks and/or rewards.

It therefore embraces the idea that entrepreneurs are constantly shifting their attention to various points in time. This allows for a better understanding of entrepreneurial actions made in the present, informed by the past, to base future plans around sustaining both entrepreneurial ventures and the already established norms of place. It therefore reinforces that “entrepreneurs often must bend time, infusing the present with times past or those yet to come” (Lippman and Aldrich 2016, 55), allowing a deeper understanding of how individuals use time to engender differing entrepreneurial journeys (Kim et al. 2015). It indicates that time can move forwards, backwards, and cyclically at different speeds depending on the individual (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; Miller and Sardais 2015). In this fashion it contributes to the body of work on place as it reinforces the idea that there is no singular version of place with fixed characteristics or essence, only a personally deemed series of significant occurrences to be recounted.

Additionally, this mechanism adds another dimension to one of the major entrepreneurial narratives outlined by Dodd (2002) as it finds the concept of gambling ‘at work’ within entrepreneurship. Whilst de Koning and Dodd (2008) found such a metaphor tended to be associated with losing and was unmistakably negative, this study demonstrates how the concept can offer insights into the micro-level processes behind a more or less constructive relationship with place. Gambling as a method of attachment to place therefore need not be negative: when the odds are stacked against individuals it can ignite entrepreneurial intentions

(akin to the underdog effect [Nurmohamed 2020]), it can aid regional development if perceived barriers/risks to entrepreneurs can be actively reduced (Johnstone 2013), and it can subsequently take a proactive step towards instilling a greater entrepreneurial spirit across various spatial levels through encouraging more entrepreneurs to ‘gamble’ with relevant contexts. Ultimately, gambling as a mechanism makes headway in a field which calls for increased consideration of the temporal (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Lippman and Aldrich 2016; Miller and Sardais 2015; Usunier 1991) as well as a greater understanding of differentiated contextual entrepreneurial engagement and embeddedness (Kalantaridis et al. 2019; Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019; Welter et al. 2019).

5.1.1.3 Degrees of localness

Degrees of localness as a mechanism concerns the treatment of entrepreneurs within place based upon how ‘local’ they are perceived to be. If individuals and their ancestral ties were present within ‘place as it was’ they were considered more attached and loyal to place as they held a better knowledge of the context’s history, its norms, and local preferences (Cuervo-Cazurra et al. 2007). An entrepreneur’s lifelong engagement with the spatial context was therefore deemed valuable for both local B2B and B2C transactions as its ‘traditional’ feel provides feelings of security and attachment not present in communities or neighbourhoods with a large-scale, rapidly changing, transient population (Clark et al. 2017; Koehn 2001). ‘Degrees of localness’ therefore implies that the longer the *length of residence*, the more local one is considered to be and the more likely one will foster relationships which develop social capital, mobilise local resources and increase chances of success (Dahl and Sorenson 2012); hence the desire of those engaging with this mechanism to maintain the already established norms, values and social structures of place.

But how is a certain ‘degree’ of localness bestowed upon individuals? Arguably, it comes down to building enough social capital; the longer the residence, the greater the

likelihood of local ties and building local social capital (Clark et al. 2017), the greater the chances of local *acceptance*. Interpersonal trust, norms of reciprocity or mutual aid and civic engagement are qualities that are frequently associated with social capital (Paldam 2000), created through relationships and lodged in the structure of social organisation (Coleman 1988). It seems then that this mechanism captures how ‘locals’ prefer to deal with others who have similar levels of social capital to themselves, linking lives, resolving collective problems and allowing for repeated interactions making social transactions less costly (Putnam 1995). This mechanism could therefore argue the case of time as a proxy for building social capital, legitimising ‘local’ entrepreneurs and providing reasoning as to why locals would show preference to each other, aiding both their business networks and custom.

In this fashion, ‘degrees of localness’ not only captures how important temporality and length of residence is to some concerning their relationship with place, but also how such perceived ‘localness’ can embed entrepreneurs within a network of close social relations and family ties (Uzzi 1996), increase access to contextual opportunities and influences (Alsos et al. 2014), exploit unique local resources (Anderson 2000b) and therefore increase entrepreneurial chances for success. By dipping into the covert socialised pools of knowledge, experience and other local norms within place, entrepreneurs expand their capabilities and available strategic options (Jack et al. 2008; Müller 2016; Roos 2019). This mechanism consequently positions those who build their social capital within place as skilled cultural actors with increased contextual awareness (Anderson and Miller 2003) who navigate their local environments to obtain the *networks and resources* they need and value (Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Überbacher et al. 2015).

Such a mechanism therefore accounts for the necessarily social elements of place-bonding incorporating social ties, belonging to the community and a familiarity with fellow ‘locals’ (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001; Kyle et al. 2004; Scannell and Gifford 2017) whilst

substantiating the idea that spatial bonds become important to individuals because of the social bonds that they represent (Lalli 1992; Woldoff 2002). Indeed, these very social bonds shape entrepreneurial action, support the pursuit of goals (Uzzi 1996) and enable access to partially hidden, embedded resources if individuals' social capital deems them as legitimate actors within the community (Bensemman et al. 2018; Kibler and Kautonen 2016; Kyle et al. 2004). It therefore adds another dimension to the place attachment literature to better understand the micro-level processes behind local horizontal and vertical networking, how this can build and sustain relationships, increase local legitimacy and mobilise social capital (Lang and Fink 2019; Munoz et al. 2015), thus providing an insight into how localised entrepreneurial behaviour is internalised, repeated and ingrained over time (Lang et al. 2014; Wheeler 2014). The importance and relevance of the social interactions (Scannell and Gifford 2010) that this mechanism captures demonstrates how entrepreneurs wish to maintain the established norms, values and social structures of place to make the most of their perceived 'localness', the social capital this confers and the access to embedded networks and resources it provides, thereby increasing chances of success.

On the other hand, however, those with a *shorter length of residence*, newcomers to place, or those lacking 'sufficient' local ancestral ties found the process of building social capital profoundly more complex leaving them feeling *shunned* within the spatial context. This mechanism consequently positions locality, place and history as important resources for entrepreneurial agency and opportunity (Berglund et al. 2016) with 'true locals' regarding mobility and attachment as a contradiction, feeling that newcomers must make a choice between the two (Gustafson 2001). Indeed, whilst entrepreneurs' personal mobility may explain why some are unable to match demand as effectively as their more local counterparts (Zaheer 1995), it considers the idea of newcomers struggling to belong (Bensemman et al.

2018), offering reasoning behind feelings of being an ‘insider’ (or an outsider) and a subsequent desire to remain attached (or not) to place (Clark et al. 2017; Kyle and Chick 2007).

Such feelings have long been approached within the literature as a binary opposition, drawing a distinction “between those who are local, ‘people like us’, and those who are non-local, ‘outsiders’” (Urry 1995, 73). This mechanism makes a conceptual advancement in revealing that it is much more nuanced than this as there can be varying degrees and levels to perceived ‘localness’. It is not the physical nature of place nor its disembodied values which constitute such levels, but the social networks which comprise and embed the social context within enterprise (Bensemam et al. 2018); less tangible than physical context but also less amenable to change, the social context operates here as a manifestation of ingrained local values. Such an ingrained perspective can lead to difficulty surrounding uneven migratory mobilities within place; if those from outside of the context are made to feel unwelcome, the relationship between entrepreneurship and place may stagnate as it works against novel ways of perceiving a community and its inhabitants (Berglund and Johansson 2007) which can subsequently inhibit entrepreneurial cultures by enforcing strict social norms and a conformity to local values (Jack and Anderson 2002; Schnell and Sofer 2002; Shaw and de Bruin 2013), becoming especially problematic for deprived communities (Parkinson et al. 2017).

Whilst research often alludes to the benefits provided by being embedded in multiple contexts and networks (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006; Kloosterman 2010; Korsgaard et al. 2015a), this method of attachment demonstrates that such engagement with context may not always be positive and this depends on its population make-up. It can leave entrepreneurs feeling shunned and unable to become socially accepted, adding depth to the idea that enterprising individuals may face growing challenges in managing the complexity of interactions across distinct contexts (Meyer et al. 2011). Even within the collective voice of the big ‘D’ discourse this mechanism positions time as the only remedy to build social capital

(Lang and Fink 2019; Munoz et al. 2015) and reduce the spatial separation of ‘home’ and ‘work’ for entrepreneurs (Scott et al. 2017). Degrees of localness thus reinforces the notion that entrepreneurial processes are shaped by region-specific factors, which are influenced by history and social networks (Fritsch and Storey 2014), contrasting entrepreneurial success with narratives of local spatial resistance and legitimacy.

This mechanism therefore shows that such factors can contribute to a complex intrusion into place, affecting economic and social legitimacy for newcomer entrepreneurs. It contributes to the idea that legitimacy of entrepreneurship is founded in a place-based understanding of the world (Bensemman et al. 2018) and can be enhanced the longer one commits to place. In this fashion, it is not simply the short-term ‘social validation’ that is important for entrepreneurs, but the ongoing social engagement in a larger sense that encourages acceptance and enables embeddedness in place, opposing the literature’s prevailing perspective that geographical mobility contradicts the importance of place attachment (Gustafson 2001). By demonstrating the importance of the temporal this mechanism therefore adds another dimension to the findings of Bensemman et al. (2018) who assert that entrepreneurial legitimacy is a delicate balance of ego, social and economic factors. Such conceptual advancement responds to De Clercq and Voronov’s (2009) call for a wider understanding of how the nature and success of newcomer entrepreneurs’ day-to-day activities facilitate or prevent them from maintaining their legitimacy in the eyes of other field participants, deepening the knowledge of the role of place-attached emotions (Kibler et al. 2015), capturing how different contexts may interplay (Aldrich and Cliff 2003; Roos 2019), and giving an insight into how the development of family, network, community and industry relations can develop human and social capital as an antecedent for enterprise (Basco 2017).

Ultimately, this method of attachment acknowledges that the unique configurations of people, history and meanings which constitute a place are exceptional in space and in time.

Well-embedded ‘true locals’ are likely to be more aware of how these channels work, aligning with Szkudlarek and Wu (2018), helping to understand the relationship between entrepreneurship and place as being culturally contingent. Degrees of localness thus provides a richer conceptualisation of how (im)mobility is bound up with linked lives, structural connections and how entrepreneurs must be open to the nuances of place that will otherwise impede the success of their ventures (Coulter et al. 2016). In this manner, relocating entrepreneurs cannot expect practices to be easily transferable and must therefore endeavour to embrace and become cognisant of the specific socio-economic make up of their ‘new’ place.

5.1.1.4 Boomerang effect

The boomerang effect has long been conceptualised in social psychology as a persuasive message which produces an attitude change in the direction opposite to that intended (Levy and Maaravi 2018). This conceptualisation of a U-turn in a person’s thinking has helped develop the boomerang effect as a mechanism of a U-turn in entrepreneurial mobility – where individuals return to the area in which they grew up. Whilst mobility research embraces the idea of return migration, it is often heavily imbued with a sense of economic purpose and rationality – drawing upon economic models of migration to assess the ways in which return migrants mobilise resources they acquire away from context, such as human and financial capital, to achieve economic mobility upon return (Hagan and Wassink 2020). Indeed, notions of cyclical and return migration have been developed for some time (cf. DaVanzo 1983; McHugh et al. 1995), yet most residential mobility theories focus on explaining the decision to stay or move at a singular point in time (Coulter et al. 2016) conceptualised in terms of how present behaviour affects outcomes rather than how it can relate to moving and staying across an individual’s lifecourse. Research’s focus on outcomes and causality encourages scholars to accept the migration experience as dichotomous and linear, assuming it is a homogeneous process in which all migrants accumulate similar resources at a similar speed to then mobilise

them in a similar same way upon return. Such simplified measurements of the migration experience found econometric studies generally assume that postmigration outcomes are attributable to premigration goals yet offer little explanation of the specific micro-level processes that individuals encounter whilst they are away or upon their return (Hagan and Wassink 2020). The tendency to focus on average economic effects has meant that despite the substantial number of returning migrants, the social processes of resource accumulation and mobilisation remain largely overlooked, limiting theoretical innovation and hindering attention to the topic (Battistella 2018).

Unfortunately, the entrepreneurship field retains a similar view, embracing return migration as ‘returnee entrepreneurs’, often romanticised through ideals of hard work and persistence in the face of adversity all surrounding the pursuit of progress to one day ‘loyally’ return to one’s hometown (Murphy 2000) and help boost its economy (Gruenhagen et al. 2020). The entrepreneurship literature consequently tends to approach return migration as a long-term mobility strategy (Hagan and Wassink 2020), leaving place to learn skills or educate oneself to then return home and set up a venture (Gruenhagen et al. 2020; Liu and Almor 2016; Wright et al. 2008). The boomerang effect as a method of attachment to place demands a reconceptualisation of the rigid, linear leave-learn-return format present in extant literature, instead recognising that migration is a complex social process which moves beyond established economic models and can offer nuanced reject-experience-revalue explanations behind resource accumulation, mobility and labour market reintegration upon one’s return.

This method of attachment is therefore first conceptualised through a *diminished engagement* with context, leading individuals to *reject* and detach themselves from place. Losing an affinity towards place allowed the entrepreneurs to relinquish their ties and detach themselves from the context (Lewis 2000) to pursue education, careers and/or life experiences elsewhere.

The *experience* through (temporary) mobility away from the ‘home’ context can allow entrepreneurs to acquire skills and human capital through both informal and formal learning (Hagan et al. 2015), accumulate financial capital to overcome constraints (Lindstrom and Lauster 2001; Massey and Parrado 1998) enhance entrepreneurial development and survival (Marchetta 2012) and subsequently create opportunities for occupational mobility and entrepreneurship upon their return (Grabowska and Jastrzebowska 2019; Janta et al. 2019). Williams and Baláz (2005, 442) coin this accumulation of experience as ‘brain circulation’ referring to “human capital enhancement via (temporary) mobility which, implicitly, is used more effectively upon return.” The boomerang effect consequently positions ‘experience’ as not only essential in migrants’ human capital formation, resource mobilisation and long-term economic mobility (Hagan and Wassink 2020), but also in providing an opportunity for entrepreneurs to look back and reassess their temporal attachment to place.

Such an opportunity to *revalue* individuals’ relationship with place once they have accumulated the necessary experience(s) they wanted to achieve offered the entrepreneurs the chance to objectively determine what was spatially important to them, what provides continuity in being symbolically and temporally meaningful within place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996), and how best to locate themselves and their ventures to make the most of these attachments. Revaluing lived experiences from multiple individual temporalities allowed the entrepreneurs to determine how they wanted to experience the present (i.e., deciding what they value most) (Wadhvani 2016) and within this method of attachment that frequently manifested itself as returning ‘home’ for kinship and socialisation. This mechanism therefore supports the idea that attachment is characterised by feelings of a now ‘re-evaluated’ home (Anton and Lawrence 2014; Smith 2018) as well as the efforts to return if one has left (DeMiglio and Williams 2008; Riemer 2004) because of the feelings of inclusivity it can offer (May 2011), the sense of acceptance and belonging it bestows (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Giuliani 2003;

Kibler et al. 2015) as well as the opportunity to capitalise on one's 'degree of localness'. The boomerang effect thus demonstrates that entrepreneurs are drawn to home places, driven by a desire of a spatial context which they can assimilate and re-engage with anew and in which there is the presence of existing family networks and roots, suggesting that mobility reasons are not only guided by economic factors but social and family ties as well (Rérat 2014; Scott et al. 2017).

As such, this mechanism supports the idea that entrepreneurs greatly value their social connections, memories and history within place (Dahl and Sorenson 2009; 2012), with a strong affinity for locating in what constitutes this time a 're-evaluated home' (Clark and Lee 2006; Michelacci and Silva 2007). It illustrates that entrepreneurs value proximity to home, family and friends in mobilising newly gained human and social capital, garnering greater overall utility from a place which facilitates such interactions rather than one which optimises economic performance (Dahl and Sorenson 2012; Gimeno et al. 1997; Stockdale and Catney 2014). With regards to temporality, this method of attachment emphasises the importance of individual historical accounts of context thus supporting the idea of heterochrony – that entrepreneurs use time in different ways to revalue their relationship with place (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Wadhvani 2016). Temporary mobility allows research to identify the importance of residential history in grasping how entrepreneurs understand themselves, how that may be represented in their present actions as well as their desired future (Scott et al. 2017; Wadhvani 2016), and how temporal orientations and operations of time towards place distinctly differ from individual to individual (Bluedorn and Denhardt 1988; Moxey 2013). Such findings mean that the cyclical duration of the boomerang effect greatly differs depending on the entrepreneur and that reintegration back into place may depend upon a number of factors: first, the sufficient accumulation of resources and experiences within the (temporary mobility) *experience* stage; second, the entrepreneur's readiness for return after *revaluing* their

relationship with place; third, the state of the established norms, values and social structures within the 'home' context and how, if possible, entrepreneurs wish to maintain these so place remains how it was in their mind's eye before detachment; and fourth, the opportunity to mobilise resources and their human, social and financial capital within these contexts and local economies upon their return (Hagan and Wassink 2020).

This mechanism contributes further to a lifecourse perspective of entrepreneurs, mobility and in-migration, emphasising the importance of socialisation as it demonstrates the worth of moving closer to 'home' and family networks behind both counterurban and lateral migration (Haartsen and Thissen 2014; Scott et al. 2017). Not only does this offer entrepreneurs the ability to raise children in a locality similar to where they grew up and close to family support (Stockdale and Catney 2014), but it also gives them the chance to learn skills, increase human capital and bring back new ideas to place. The temporary mobility conceptualised here helps to overcome shortfalls and barriers in entrepreneurs' personal relationships with place as well as aiding entrepreneurial entry and venture creation through increasing the offering of goods/services/opportunities to those within context which may have previously been absent and spurred individual's initial detachment (Grabowska and Jastrzebowska 2019; Janta et al. 2019).

In this fashion, the boomerang effect conceptually advances the leave-learn-return perspective put forth in returnee entrepreneur literature (Liu and Almor 2016; Murphy 2000; Wright et al. 2008) allowing a better understanding of the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place alongside the contrasts in temporal orientations and both personal and social mobility. It therefore adds to a body of literature dominated by counterurbanisation revealing the importance of local, lateral and in-migrant mobility in (re)shaping places, contributing to these debates by exploring the role of 'revaluating home' alongside friend and family networks in entrepreneurial location decision-making. It thus heeds

the call of Hagan and Wassink (2020) to incorporate local context with return migration in better understanding the micro-level processes behind experience, allowing a broader conceptualisation of why entrepreneurs may leave for a variety of reasons and, arguably more importantly, why they return and under what conditions. It consequently moves away from exclusively focusing on the economic or political, reflecting the contextual and individual heterogeneity inherent to return migration, resource mobilisation and temporality (Hagan and Wassink 2020), thus appreciating the variances and differentiated nature of behavioural loyalty to a place (Lee et al. 2019). Looking beyond the duality of ‘economic considerations’ and ‘environmental amenities’ as the dominant drivers and narrative within the literature reinforces that entrepreneurs’ mobility reasons are guided by social and family ties as well as economic rationality (Rérat 2014; Scott et al. 2017). Essentially, the boomerang effect positions return migration and mobility not necessarily as a long-term strategy, but more of a discovery, and one which offers a mechanism to build human capital, inspire entrepreneurial intentions and contribute to the social and economic development of ‘re-evaluated home’ places.

5.1.2 Breaking into pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place

Upon reviewing the findings it was clear that both methods of attachment originating from entrepreneurs’ engagement with place in its present form ‘as it is’ (bridging and rotten orange) related to breaking into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place alongside two mechanisms which initiated from the entrepreneurs’ aspirations for ‘place as it could be’ (adopting place and phoenix regeneration). Indeed, the latter two sought to instigate change towards ‘place as it could be’ by breaking into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures to improve upon what already exists within place rather than trying to establish something new. This section will now review the conceptualisation and contribution of each of these methods of attachment and how they offered a mechanism to both engage with context and shape the course of enterprise to support this agentic dimension.

5.1.2.1 Bridging

Bridging is the mechanism of how entrepreneurs create links and connections between the contexts in which they are embedded, pointing to how they may go beyond the local place in search of markets, partners and resources (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). This study found entrepreneurs in variously resource-constrained contexts have different methods of connecting (or not) across spatial contexts and such variance can impact upon the nature and development of ventures. Connecting local place with non-local space (Johnstone and Lionais 2004) meant that entrepreneurs could build ventures that leverage spatial contexts in a way that provides competitive advantage. The findings support the idea that the more rural a place, the less resource endowments it will hold (Müller and Korsgaard 2018) and therefore the less likely it would fulfil entrepreneurial needs and desires. Consequently, similar to the findings of Korsgaard et al. (2015a), the entrepreneurs' recounting of micro-level processes revealed they would first *exhaust local resources* combined with a *diminished engagement* with the context leading them to *look elsewhere for additional resources*. Engaging with spatial context via this mechanism subsequently offered entrepreneurs a way around the drawbacks of each case whilst remaining attached to place and strengthening entrepreneurial ventures through allowing entrepreneurs to have 'the best of both worlds' (Korsgaard et al. 2015a).

Whilst some found a lack of existing bridges (e.g., infrastructural conditions, community links, etc.) constrained entrepreneurial activity, others used and extended existing bridges to other spatial contexts and non-local markets to succeed with their ventures. Such a finding therefore supports the idea that some regions offer more opportunities for entrepreneurial activity than others (Stuart and Sorenson 2003), especially those with lower levels of human capital and weaker institutional structures – coined 'institutional thinness' by Tödting et al. (2011) – helping to explain why some of the cases appear to be stuck in a 'downward spiral' (Breitenecker and Harms 2010). This mechanism thus confirms local

resource endowments and spatial bridging as two important ways that spatial context influences entrepreneurial activities (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). Entrepreneurs may therefore make use of, negotiate, and shape their multiple attachments to place through bridging to make the most of local networks, gain access to relevant resources and markets and thus break into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place.

Not only does this explain why some areas seemingly ‘do better’ than others (Kibler et al. 2014), it positions the structural holes of context as a source of entrepreneurial opportunity to connect non-local spatial contexts (Burt 2004; Hoang and Antoncic 2003), creating value and linking social capital (Lang and Novy 2014; Moyes et al. 2015) alongside helping to explain the mobilisation of entrepreneurs (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006; Kloosterman 2010; Kloosterman and Rath 2018). The findings reiterate that entrepreneurs make use of this mechanism to gain access to localised networks, communities and resources (Müller 2016), enabling them to become active participants in the globalised flow of services and products across multiple locations (Dubois 2016).

In this fashion, it therefore supports the idea that bridging multiple spatial contexts can offer entrepreneurs the ability to shape the enterprise discourse to meet their individual needs, aligning with the findings of Korsgaard et al. (2015a) that leveraging a mixture of spatial contexts can aid entrepreneurial journeys. However, the temporally sensitive approach of this study manages to conceptually advance the mechanism of bridging through the addition of a temporal lens – better understanding the time committed to accessing localised context-specific resources provides greater insights into the differential bridging activities which can be created and thus how such activities can have varying levels of spatio-temporal embeddedness within place.

It was evident from the findings that there are vast differences in the extent to which entrepreneurs would commit time to make use of localised resource endowments in various

spatial contexts, consequently impacting upon how embedded within a place certain entrepreneurial activities are. As chronological time is a finite resource which cannot be renewed, the entrepreneurs of the cases studied here seem to therefore exercise a (conscious or unconscious) choice about the amount of time committed to entrepreneurial activities and thus the levels to which these are spatially embedded, subsequently advancing a multi-layered notion of embeddedness. Appreciating multiple temporal attachments in this manner not only adds depth to the mechanism of bridging which tends to be approached as a ‘static snapshot’ within the literature (Müller and Korsgaard 2018), but it also provides a new insight into how such a mechanism can broaden the notion of social embeddedness; it moves beyond static, single-layered notions of embeddedness which consider being embedded as something the entrepreneur either is or is not (Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019) and instead adds depth to the understanding of how knowledge and resource flows happen within place (Roos 2019; Tregear and Cooper 2016).

Appreciating the temporal within entrepreneurship research (Lévesque and Stephan 2020) in this manner reveals both bridging and embeddedness to be much more dynamic and nuanced than extant literature may suggest. Introducing a temporal lens to bridging also adds depth to the ideas of Meyer et al. (2011) as they argue that entrepreneurs may face notable challenges balancing their ‘internal’ embeddedness and the maintenance of external links where they no longer have a physical presence. They argue such a balance of cultivating a ‘local’ relationship with place whilst maintaining strategic non-local organisational links represents a ‘trade off’. The temporal lens allows research to better understand and simplify such a trade off – the more time one dedicates to their embedded entrepreneurial activities within a certain spatial context means less time for any other activities within any other contexts. Whilst literature prefers to focus on the positive consequences of embeddedness (Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019) this finding uncovers potential drawbacks of being embedded

within multiple contexts. Akin to research on over-embeddedness – where entrepreneurial activity is constrained due to strict conformity to local norms and values within a singular context (Jack and Anderson 2002; Parkinson et al. 2017; Uzzi 1997) – it is feasible to suggest that the more contexts an entrepreneur is embedded in, the further their experience and resources are stretched, and the more challenges they face. They may therefore find they are unable to commit the same time to entrepreneurial activities within various contexts, negatively impacting upon their relationships and varying levels of embeddedness with place. This therefore adds depth to the ‘paradoxes’ of being embedded (Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019); developing activities, transforming contexts and becoming socially embedded may result in becoming disembedded or alienated from contexts elsewhere.

As demonstrated within the big ‘D’ discourse, this now broadened understanding of bridging can offer macro-level benefits through improvement to structural networks, links and even physical structure between contexts, strengthening not just local entrepreneurship but the social and economic development of place as well. This mechanism can enable such development through attracting and retaining talent (Müller and Korsgaard 2018), building social capital (Moyes et al. 2015), connecting contexts to local, national and global economies (Kalantaridis 2010; Kitchen and Marsden 2009), and benefitting the wider community (Müller and Korsgaard 2018) as ventures build a solid, resilient economic base for resource-constrained localities (Bristow 2010; Hudson 2010; Korsgaard et al. 2016; Simmie and Martin 2010) which can safeguard economic and social wellbeing (Marti et al. 2013; Müller and Korsgaard 2018).

This method of attachment subsequently provides much needed insight into differences and variations of bridging where research has come to expect sameness through making use of small and homogeneous samples (Müller and Korsgaard 2018). The in-depth study of heterogeneous everyday entrepreneurs employed within this study helps to capture the complexity and contingency of bridging, exploring the relationships underlying

entrepreneurship intersecting with spatial context (Johnstone and Lionais 2004; Korsgaard et al. 2015a; Müller 2016). This heeds the heterogeneity calls for contextualised entrepreneurship, allowing research to compare divergent paths of enterprise and mobilisation both within and across contexts (Kloosterman 2010; Kloosterman and Rath 2018; Welter et al. 2017; Welter et al. 2019). Such advancements move beyond the more static, monocausal explanations of entrepreneurial action, considering both the variation in levels of bridging and embeddedness, therefore reflecting a multi-layered conceptualisation of both that may no longer be approached as an expression of an analytical universal. This therefore addresses Kibler et al.'s (2015, 1) call for more research that will cast light upon the role of “territorial embeddedness in shaping the entrepreneurship journey” as it helps to explore how economic rationality and optimisation can either be compromised by social and institutional embeddedness or, conversely, how it can enable entrepreneurial activities for individuals with privileged positions in networks and institutions, thus increasing chances for success (Anderson et al. 2012). Ultimately, the addition of a temporal lens makes theorising more sensitive to the social and institutional contexts in which entrepreneurship occurs (Welch et al. 2011; Welter 2011; Welter et al. 2019), enabling deeper explorations into the intricacies of entrepreneurial processes (McMullen and Dimov 2013) and aiding understanding that entrepreneurial ventures may very well dynamically develop along different trajectories and temporalities where spatial context is enacted in different ways.

5.1.2.2 Adopting place

This method of attachment encapsulated the difference between in-migrant and locally ‘born and bred’ entrepreneurs. The evidence from the findings shows that it was the in-migrant entrepreneurs who became willing to ‘adopt’ the context rather than bridge it by caring for it and engaging in socioeconomic practices towards the benefit and improvement of Great Yarmouth. The in-migrant entrepreneurs were often seen to relinquish the networks and

connections of their former context to focus almost entirely on improving their current one to make 'place as it could be'. This very nature of the in-migrant entrepreneurs' relationship with place has developed 'adopting' as a distinctive approach to engaging with place that draws heavily on the family metaphor and merits theoretical consideration in its own right. In Triseliotis et al.'s (1997) seminal text on familial adoption, this is depicted as a three-way relationship involving the birth parents, the adoptive parents, and the troubled and transitioning child. A similar three-way relationship was recognised within the case of Great Yarmouth albeit between the local entrepreneurs, the in-migrant entrepreneurs and the depleted context.

Indeed, it was the transition of the in-migrant entrepreneurs from being an outsider to *belonging* which encouraged immersing themselves and their ventures within the social fabric and relationships of place, combining *socioeconomic activities* to benefit the context within their micro-level entrepreneurial processes in order to *grow localised resources*. The in-migrant entrepreneurs worked hard to position themselves within the community, to engage the local population through integration and interaction rather than being perceived as simply moving into town and directing activities (Akgün et al. 2011). Engaging with place in this manner allowed the entrepreneurs to capture identity positions that break with tradition and offer agency in novel and unexpected ways, serving as a mechanism to ultimately 're-embed' themselves (Berglund et al. 2016), thus breaking into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of their 'new' place.

On the other hand, the local entrepreneurs often presented themselves as detached from community practices and socioeconomic processes aimed at developing the context with the emerging picture that they had learned to live and accept 'place as it is', thus appreciating and enabling the development of locally-based kinship and social ties. Whilst on the surface it may appear that the local entrepreneurs lacked a feeling of responsibility to 'give back' to their context, such an approach can arguably be attributed to a low future time perspective. This is

a feeling that ambitious future goals are typically unattainable as in the ‘here and now’ local entrepreneurs experience they have little resources or agency to change their current situation, thus their time perspective is oriented towards coping with the present (Guthrie et al. 2009), often built upon a string of negative past experiences (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Such a perspective combined with resource-poor contexts and the uncertainty entrepreneurs feel about their ability to access resources often contribute to poor performance and poor wellbeing outcomes (Gore 2018).

The mechanism of adopting place, however, allows the in-migrant entrepreneurs a means of becoming socially embedded without having to carry the heavy burden of local history and these negative past experiences, hence their openness to the positive future possibilities of place. Indeed, through exhibiting these varying ideas of belonging both in-migrants and locals engage inherently differently with place. Whilst both groups (and their variant expressions) embrace place ‘as it is’ and ‘as it could be’ the former do so much less statically than both the latter and indeed the collective voice of the big ‘D’ discourse. It is not that locals do not care about the future of place, it is just that their prolonged exposure to the challenging nature of the context increases (albeit variably) their pessimism and creates inertia in everyday entrepreneurship (Lévesque and Stephan 2020), whilst at the same time making them conservative in their emotional investments outside of their own family and friends. This suggests that empowering entrepreneurs in challenging contexts requires shifting time-perspectives; helping entrepreneurs develop an appreciation of the positive aspects of their past and present engagement can highlight specific localised skills and relationships which can then be drawn upon as strengths to further develop ventures and mobilise resources in the future (Lévesque and Stephan 2020).

In this fashion, adopting place also contributes to multiple embeddedness in regional development (Korsgaard et al. 2015a), however it sees in-migrant entrepreneurs choosing their

new context over their previous one, unwilling to engage in the ‘trade-off’ between balancing ‘internal’ embeddedness and the maintenance of external links where they no longer have a physical presence (Meyer et al. 2011). They instead elect to form an integral part of the local structure (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006) through fully immersing themselves within the social conditions of place. Interestingly, similar feelings were also illustrated collectively within the wider sociocultural context through the result of the 2016 EU Referendum. Great Yarmouth was the fifth highest area in the whole of the UK to support the Leave Campaign (71.5%); inhabitants demonstrated a similar desire to develop and progress Great Yarmouth themselves relinquishing the help and support of those from outside of the context (i.e., the EU)..

Most importantly, this mechanism disregards the idea of dis-embedded outsiders that are seen here as being cut-off spatially from their original context but also as re-embedded into the “matrix of their new location” (Jankowicz 2003, 107). This goes against literature suggesting that a longstanding relationship with spatial context would result in a heightened sense of belonging and greater levels of place attachment than ‘outsiders’ of a group (De Cremer and Blader 2006; Kohlbacher et al. 2015; Livingstone et al. 2008). Introducing adopting place as one of the differentiated ways in which entrepreneurs engage with place and can become socially embedded therefore makes a conceptual advancement – demonstrating further dimensions of place attachment gives light towards offering space for new conceptualisations into the multidimensional nature of what social embeddedness entails, what its potential mechanisms may be, and what they *mean* and *feel* like for entrepreneurs within varying contexts. These findings therefore suggest that policy initiatives and local authorities’ aims to attract and incentivise entrepreneurs to an area (and thus ‘adopt’ them) may be inefficient because they assume a “one-way relationship” between entrepreneurship and an externally given context (Welter 2011, 175).

This mechanism instead shows that the impact of in-migrant entrepreneurs is not confined to pre-existing networks and contacts that enable access to distant knowledge resources (Kalantaridis et al. 2019) and that their subjective experiences and meanings assigned to place make their impact enduring, enabling them to introduce new and varied optimism to contexts. This subsequently enables a deeper understanding to ideas that migrants hold stronger levels of place attachment than native residents in neighbourhoods (Kohlbacher et al. 2015; Phillips and Robinson 2015). It is not necessarily that migrants' attachment to place is 'stronger' than locals as it is inherently different; adopting place as the in-migrants' method of attachment positions individuals as drivers of transformational change, shaping enterprise to contain socioeconomic activities aimed at growing local resources, thus embedding themselves in the local context and providing a means to break into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place. Ultimately, this research insight reaffirms the belief that in-migration should be welcomed in depleted contexts as these require fresh blood and ideas of how to break the mould and do things differently (Kalantaridis et al. 2019), while local and returnee residents may potentially offer only a romanticised version of what is needed in everyday entrepreneurship (Welter et al. 2017).

5.1.2.3 Rotten orange

This mechanism captures how entrepreneurs' temporal focus on the present influences their entrepreneurial engagement and impacts upon attachment to place. It reveals entrepreneurs' somewhat crude judgement of place; the more prosperous a place is deemed within the social constructionist view of the wider big 'D' socioeconomic context, the more likely it will offer entrepreneurial chances for success. Such a line of thinking positions the socially constructed stereotypes, thoughts, and feelings towards place as central to conferring legitimacy on contexts (Bensemann et al. 2018), thus supporting Anholt's (2007) conceptualisation of competitive identity 'at work' in a real-life setting. The findings evidence that place's current

and longstanding reputation can elevate entrepreneurial perception, yet this may offer a false sense of security for independent entrepreneurs who *commit* and attach themselves and their ventures to the spatial context. Places which therefore hold good, powerful and positive social constructions will find it easier to maintain a favourable reputation and subsequently attract entrepreneurs to attach and embed themselves within the spatial context.

However, what conceptually advances Anholt's (2007) theory of competitive identity is that these social constructions are not representative of the subjective nature of entrepreneurs' relationship with place. Indeed Welter and Baker (2020) argue entrepreneurs 'do' place: they interact with their environments over time to enact and construct the places in which they operate. This means what serves some entrepreneurs well may come at the detriment of others. Not only then can place hold a strong competitive identity acquired many years ago that it does little to deserve today, but such a process can provide a superficial image of place which may not necessarily be true and may subsequently be unable to provide sufficient local demand. The rotten orange as a mechanism captures that place's superficial 'perfect' nature may not correlate with its underlying issues; rather, it is the differential power of groups which come into play in defining, sustaining and challenging place narratives (Welter and Baker 2020). It is therefore this power which defines who belongs in place and who is made to feel an outsider with the *realisation* that the latter tends to fall upon small and medium sized independent entrepreneurs.

Indeed, the findings demonstrate that the power dynamics intertwined within this mechanism serve to create a vicious circle; the higher the local business costs, the less likely independent entrepreneurs will succeed within place. This intensifies feelings of 'them versus us' as independent entrepreneurs feel their *lack of control* within the context leaves them with little, if any, options to break into the seemingly infrangible pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place. Such a vicious circle can weaken entrepreneurial relationships with

place as whilst it may appear there are large rewards for those who are successful, it overlooks the large risks for those who are not (i.e., the rotten insides of the fruit), reinforcing the subjectivist notion that what works for somebody in one context (and when) may not necessarily work for somebody else (Navis and Ozbek 2016).

This mechanism consequently demonstrates that a temporal focus whereby entrepreneurs concentrate the majority of their attention to the present (Bluedorn 2002; Shipp et al. 2009) is inefficient and carries inherent risks for entrepreneurs who may consequently struggle to envision long-term decisions or achieve suitable goals (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Instead, individuals must question their temporal relationship with place to examine both the contemporaneous built environment and landscapes in which structures are embedded alongside the history which has shaped the context for entrepreneurship (Welter and Baker 2020). This can offer a greater understanding of place not so much as a static indicator of geographic and theoretical boundaries at a certain point in time, but more as the locus of historical and ongoing micro-level processes of power and contestation that both bring together and separate people. This contributes towards only a minority of academic opinion which adopts a subjectivist position in relation to meaning(s) of place (Kalantaridis et al. 2019) as it argues for viewing entrepreneurs as autonomous agents who assign meanings to place using a scheme of interpretation that comes from their past and present experiences (Tuan 1977). Such experiences can be both direct and personal, they can be indirect and conceptual, and they can be mediated by common concepts as illustrated through the power dynamic of ‘them versus us’. Clearly these contested narratives matter in that they affect how people incorporate and make use of the unique dynamic evidenced in Cambridge, shaping their sense of the place, their circumstances within it, and their ideas for entrepreneurial action toward breaking into the entrenched pre-existing norms, values and social structures.

In this sense, it adds another dimension to the field of entrepreneurship where scholars propose that overconfidence can lead entrepreneurs to pursuing questionable ventures, engaging in limited efforts to establish venture legitimacy and seeking fewer resources than needed for venture success (Cassar 2010; Cassar and Friedman, 2009; Hayward et al. 2006). While optimism is required for entrepreneurs to believe in the feasibility and success of an idea, this mechanism provides reasoning as to why entrepreneurs may feel overconfident and how it can impact them (Frese and Gielnik 2014) as “the ‘right’ people often end up in the ‘wrong’ places” (Navis and Ozbek 2016, 121). The rotten orange consequently positions the socially constructed reputation of place as one of the potential sources of entrepreneurial overconfidence. This offers further explanation into why entrepreneurs become attracted to the contexts where they are least likely to be successful and are repelled from those in which they are most likely to succeed (Navis and Ozbek 2016) as it instead argues for “the right people at the right time” in the right place when considering entrepreneurial entry and success (Ahsan 2017, 145).

In a globalised world, place may matter more than ever, shaping and contributing to entrepreneurial identities and actions (Larson and Pearson 2012) thus holding a distinct impact on entrepreneurial engagement and a multiplicity of contexts, playing a critical role in economic, social, political and cultural progress (Welter and Baker 2020). As a series of regional places are rapidly fusing into a single, global marketplace and community (Anholt 2007) this mechanism demonstrates the power of the social construction of place and how it can aid regional development through managing both internal identity and external reputation to attract entrepreneurship. Indeed, policymakers could potentially develop the notion of place and its reputation within the wider big ‘D’ socioeconomic context into a seemingly stronger, more valuable business environment which caters to the specific contextual needs of entrepreneurs. It is important to note that such a notion of place will be a temporally sensitive

continually shifting mixture of positive and/or negative. In this sense, places' competitive identity should aim to comprise both economic rationality as well as desirable place sentiments to advance the perceived legitimacy of place, understand how residents experience and respond to change and thus work towards aiding regional development (Bensemann et al. 2018). This is especially important for lesser-known promising places which may be crying out for enterprise yet are often overlooked within the global marketplace.

This mechanism therefore helps the understanding of 'relational place-making' insofar as the networked, political processes of place (Pierce et al. 2011) through offering a mechanism for political geographers to theorise socio-spatial political processes. However, advancing a subjectivist notion of place allows for a better understanding of the differentiated ways of engaging with the spatial through identifying specific conflicts, the places they produce and therefore conceptualising the interconnections and co-constituencies among place, networks and politics. A subjectivist understanding of place demonstrated here brings together entrepreneurs and their micro-level processes as the influence of place is mediated by individual entrepreneurial experiences. This mechanism consequently shows that the meaning of place is neither independent and externally given nor shared, that it can be mediated by common concepts (the result of past conflict), but still differentiated by individual (entrepreneurial) experiences (Kalantaridis et al. 2019).

Through highlighting the simultaneous dark and bright sides of contextualising entrepreneurship, this mechanism demonstrates a less positive, less quantifiable (and more overlooked) method of engaging with place which offers insights into the variety and differences surrounding the exclusion and inclusion of individuals as (potential) entrepreneurs. These arguments point strongly towards power relations as a theme for entrepreneurship research that is mindful of place, heeding Welter and Baker's (2020) call to provide new theoretical narratives that open the field to consideration of heterogeneous motivations.

Ultimately, the rotten orange reflects the differential power of different groups and processes of contestation within place. It captures the higher risk of when entrepreneurs attach themselves to place with a temporal focus on the present and how this can impact upon entrepreneurial action.

5.1.2.4 Phoenix regeneration

This mechanism details the impact of local regeneration on entrepreneurs within a declining community and how it can affect their attachment to place. Through positively reconnecting place with meanings of the past that had been lost in the materiality of temporal changes, *local regeneration* here realigns the meanings and attributes of place allowing the hustle and bustle of the once busy waterfront to return and thus instilling a new sense of confidence and purpose. This regeneration helped to boost the availability of desirable premises, removing barriers for entrepreneurs looking to start businesses (Thompson et al. 2008; Welter et al. 2008), attracting new businesses into the area from other localities (Porter 1995) and encouraging customers to visit ventures in this newly regenerated area. In this sense, regeneration offers policymakers an avenue to ensure suitable workspace is available aiding entrepreneurship and the attractive ambience of areas (Welter et al. 2008) through both public and private sector investment having a positive impact on the area and the efforts made to clean it up (Williams and Williams 2011). The conscious focus on local regeneration here supports the idea that entrepreneurial activity is often considered important in shaping the success (or failure) of places (Greene and Patel 2013; Southern 2011).

The findings further reveal that when presented with the opportunities arising from local regeneration some entrepreneurs would choose to *capitalise on* the investment and increased availability of desirable premises to help break into the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place without being heavily constrained by conformity to local values and conventional methods of enterprise (Jack and Anderson 2002; Shaw and de Bruin 2013).

Attracting entrepreneurship in this manner enabled a chain reaction, renewing drive and a sense of purpose for place, inspiring others to follow suit and providing a pathway for them to shape and reshape the development of place (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). Regeneration in this sense countered the declining state of the town centre which the entrepreneurs felt was hindering entrepreneurial aspirations and beliefs, with a positive temporal emphasis (Lévesque and Stephan 2020) on the future benefitting the context through inspiring local entrepreneurial intentions and encouraging attachment to the case.

Much of the literature surrounding entrepreneurship and development leans towards researching the effects-of-causes with the causes-of-effects explanations tending to be glossed over (Müller 2016; Trettin and Welter 2011; Welter and Baker 2020). Scholarly work thus tends to approach entrepreneurship as an antecedent for local regeneration (cf. Bensemman et al. 2018; Huggins and Thompson 2014; McKeever et al. 2015; Vestrum 2014) yet this mechanism demonstrates that similar can happen when the roles are reversed; local regeneration can enable enterprise. This therefore supports the idea that motivations of entrepreneurs may be directly influenced by their socio-spatial context (Williams and Williams 2012), meaning it is important to understand attitudes to enterprise within specific places (Cheung and Kwong, 2017; Parkinson et al. 2020) to provide an alternative route for entrepreneurs where heavily embedded conventional methods may constrain activities rather than provide opportunities and resources (Johannisson and Wigren 2006; Johnstone and Lionais 2004; McKeever et al. 2015; Welter et al. 2019). Such ideas offer a means to further aid regional development, revitalise communities and encourage both attachment and a greater sense of belonging to place (Berglund et al. 2016; Elwood et al. 2015).

On the other hand, the findings further reveal that those who did not capitalise on local regeneration run the risk of *marginalisation* within place. The problematisation surrounding the regeneration of declining communities in this way has been criticised (Bates and Robb

2011; Parkinson et al. 2017; Southern 2011) with concerns that some area-based programmes and policies exacerbate marginalisation (Kearns and Mason 2018; Lee et al. 2014; Parkinson et al. 2020). Indeed ‘phoenix regeneration’ reinforces such concerns revealing some entrepreneurs’ negative perceptions towards the sustainability of regeneration, how it may only be advancing a select few areas of the case (and therefore leaving behind others) and how this can substantiate a socioeconomic divide. This means the mechanism of ‘phoenix regeneration’ has not only exposed (and perhaps contributed towards) negative perceptions of place and its regenerative efforts, but also that significant financial investment reveals self-awareness of a problem which can detrimentally impact self-belief of what is possible for place (Parkinson et al. 2017). Considering entrepreneurship at the wider community level in this manner provides a perspective into the social realities of how enterprise contributes to society and can create, structure and develop place (Steyaert and Katz 2004). These findings illustrate that challenging negative perceptions of place and the efforts to improve it presents a key task for those in declining communities. This mechanism demonstrates that there are entrepreneurs who view change as a positive opportunity yet there are notable numbers who perceive the opposite, hampering localised enterprise development. As entrepreneurship is largely a phenomenon of the mind, concerning opportunity creation, perception and imagination (Alvarez et al. 2013; Ramoglou and Tsang 2016), negative perceptions need to be challenged for enterprise to be successfully harnessed (Williams and Williams 2011). While perceptions within place may not be universally negative, challenging pessimism in this way can help to overcome deep-seated historical and cultural factors before spatial and economic futures can be meaningfully altered (Lindkvist and Antelo 2007).

This mechanism subsequently suggests policy must consider who is being supported and who is not (Williams and Williams 2011). Generalisations from blanket-wide policies/expectations of entrepreneurship from declining communities can elicit dangerous

assumptions (Bates and Robb 2011). This mechanism challenges arguments that attribute an area's propensity for enterprise to narrow place or person specific factors and instead proposes it is much more complex than this. In this sense, it counters the "policy 'fad' of uncritically advocating that small firms and entrepreneurship are a key route for individual and societal economic and social salvation" (Blackburn and Ram 2006, 85) to 'fix' and revive declining places (Parkinson et al. 2017; Southern 2011). This mechanism, rather, calls for a deep and detailed understanding of local context to provide more targeted approaches for policy interventions to avoid displacement of entrepreneurs through a lack of support that fails to consider local variation (Parkinson et al. 2020). This means that traditional policy measures of providing public finance subsidies may not be effective in declining communities given the low growth potential of businesses receiving funds coupled with the responsibility of public sector agencies to 'pick winners' (Williams and Williams 2011) which may further displace existing firms in the area. Governments have long sought to remove the barriers facing potential entrepreneurs in order to harness entrepreneurship in such communities (Evans et al. 2006; Huggins and Williams 2009); this mechanism contributes to that endeavour, demonstrating how policy can help tackle barriers to entrepreneurship through challenging negative perceptions of place. It calls for care when considering regenerative efforts about what different parts of context(s) stand to gain and what they may potentially lose – illustrating the need for understanding variation in place and indicating that enterprise is not a one size fits all strategy. This mechanism consequently advocates a more holistic approach to be adopted regarding the range of policy measures that might harness entrepreneurial activity to progress place as a collective whole and ensure certain areas are not left behind (Parkinson et al. 2020).

'Phoenix regeneration' thus demonstrates variegated economic landscapes (Hall and Soskice 2001; Peck and Theodore 2007) within the same spatial context, helping to raise the understanding of how and why entrepreneurial activity might vary both within and across

different places. Local regeneration helps to attract inward investment and external entrepreneurs (Dawson 2002; Williams and Williams 2012), developing place's own capacity for growth, overcoming stagnation and therefore holding considerable social and economic impacts (Johnstone and Lionais 2004; Parkinson et al. 2017). Indeed, this mechanism offers insights into how overcoming barriers may help cultivate entrepreneurship among the local population as well as understanding how to attract businesses so that a critical mass which provides employment opportunities is fostered, helping to vanquish negative cycles of depletion and social problems (Porter 1995; Williams and Williams 2011). If places have particular entrepreneurial cultures (Spigel 2013) that affect their success, understanding the activities of entrepreneurs living in those places is important for policy, research and practice – 'phoenix regeneration' represents one way of furthering knowledge of how people in specific places understand and experience entrepreneurship (Parkinson et al. 2020). It offers a broader, richer view of entrepreneurship as a socialised phenomenon (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016) and calls for care in identifying areas of priority regenerative action which may stigmatise 'problem areas', foster the idea of a 'culture of poverty', an 'urban underclass' and inadvertently exacerbate marginalisation (Chatterton and Bradley 2000; Kearns and Mason 2018; Lee et al. 2014).

Ultimately, the challenge of entrepreneurship being considered important to the economic performance of place and the perception of place being an obstacle to entrepreneurship is unresolved (Parkinson et al. 2020), yet this mechanism offers precious advancement. The local regeneration and entrepreneurial attitudes towards it demonstrate that entrepreneurial legitimacy is not bounded by place but constrained by concerns around its financial viability and employment stability. This mechanism goes beyond simplistic representations of attitudes towards place to understand the specifics of the spatial context and its structures through appreciating the influence of individual entrepreneurs' backgrounds and

the impact of local regeneration. Embracing a fuller understanding of these aspects is imperative if enterprise and regenerative efforts are considered to be part of the future success of place.

5.1.3 Establishing new norms, values and social structures of place

The final two methods of attachment originating from entrepreneurs engaging with place in ‘as it could be’ (gentrification and clustering to place) related to how entrepreneurs envisioned place, its growth and development in the future, demonstrating a desire to establish new norms, values and social structures. The following section shall review the conceptualisation and contribution of each of these methods of attachment, discussing how they offered a mechanism to shape the course of enterprise, engage with context, and support this agentic dimension.

5.1.3.1 Gentrification

As evidenced within the findings this mechanism is closely linked to phoenix regeneration, yet it details more about the social mobility of individual entrepreneurs and the influence this has on their attachment to place. The entrepreneurs relayed thoughts and feelings about the economic conditions and processes that make reinvestment in disinvested urban areas alluring for investors (Hackworth and Smith 2001), overshadowing cultural factors and alluding to the socio-political arrangement which so often precedes gentrification (Maloutas 2012). Referring to a declining nature of place, relating it to urban histories and providing suitable building stocks facilitated the gentrifying upgrading of working-class quarters (Glass 1964) encouraging an inflow of higher status groups with considerable financial reinvestment affecting socio-political traditions, inhabitants and place’s characteristics (Maloutas 2018). This demonstrable *upward social mobility* class reconstitution of urban space often brought up questions or concerns about the spatial manifestation of intensified hierarchical social difference (Wyly 2019).

Indeed, such a process has been intertwined with the struggle between wider social institutions (represented within the big ‘D’ discourse) hidden within real estate and policy boosterism (e.g., phoenix regeneration). Some of the entrepreneurs felt the evolving fluidity of place and the increased social mobility offered the chance to establish new norms, values and social structures. As population stability and continuous loops of interaction are intrinsically linked with communities and characteristics of place (Barrett 2015), this mechanism offers the very structural qualities to direct the agency of entrepreneurs towards establishing new norms within place (Anderson and Gaddefors 2016). A greater influx of upward social mobility therefore offers entrepreneurial ventures increased sources of income, an increased exposure to the developing social conditions of place and therefore the ability to become socially embedded, providing more chances to build, structure, and establish new norms and values of place (Kloosterman and Rath 2018; Thuesen and Rasmussen 2015).

This study, however, advances gentrification as it no longer views the concept as solely a dualism between locals and newcomers, but rather between those who are upwardly socially mobile and those who are not – regardless of their migration patterns. Such thinking reconceptualises (im)mobility as relational practices that connect entrepreneurs to structural conditions of place through time and space. This allows a better understanding of demographic shifts whilst appreciating the diverse meanings of immobility and the links with those who are upwardly socially mobile (Coulter et al. 2016). These links offer insights of how entrepreneurial social mobility and immobility are implicated in spatial processes like gentrification, highlighting how both social mobility and structural connections can provide pathways to restructure contextual conditions and affect both power relations and inequalities (Sharkey 2012; Welter and Baker 2020).

As the built environment develops, ideologies alter and the social structure of place changes considerably, there emerges a fear that ‘lower class’ immobile inhabitants of the case

may become marginalised and/or displaced. What consequently appears is a dualism in relation to enterprise development that is reminiscent to the one identified by Philips (1993), Shucksmith (2001) and Kalantaridis (2010) regarding a *two-tier society*; integration of upwardly mobile individuals within the spatial context occurs alongside the disintegration of those less socially mobile. Whilst this may help to develop local markets (Battu et al. 2005), the population churn can disrupt communities, particularly those thought to be in decline (Finney and Jivraj 2013). The point of view from the entrepreneurs and the big ‘D’ discourse acquires certain relevance in understanding how demographic changes may underpin the emergence of differential views among individuals. Moving beyond the confines of the migration patterns in the local versus newcomer debate allows a more nuanced understanding of gentrification and transformational change within place. What seems to matter most is the temporal focus of entrepreneurs; those who positively welcome change and possess a strong future temporal focus tend to reap the rewards. This advancement helps to explain the complex nature of social mobility changes in context and the knock-on effects it can have for differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with place.

The findings reveal that such a temporal focus tends to be polarising; individuals either *positively embrace* change looking towards the future, or they *fear and reject* it. Entrepreneurs positively embracing such change, targeting a new, wealthier market segment stand to enhance entrepreneurial self-interest (e.g., through profit maximisation) which can offer secondary benefits for place through job creation, local economic growth, social commitments and benefits for the wider community (Welter 2011). A future temporal focus can constitute a significant influence upon the context which goes beyond the economic and the social, to the institutions that underpin the local milieu as a whole (Kalantaridis and Bika 2006). On the other hand, those who fear and reject demographic changes in social mobility reiterated concerns about the displacement and *marginalisation* of ‘poorer’ individuals through changes in local

market demand and upgrading of commercial and residential building stocks (Welter and Baker 2020). Such concern was deemed central to the overall shaping of opportunity structures in place, fuelling fears regarding venture viability, mobility and asset accumulation (Forrest and Hirayama 2009).

This mechanism therefore presents notable concern for ‘poorer’ entrepreneurs who feel little is being done with them in mind as the hopes of place’s future rests on the shoulders of external actors (Dawson 2002; Williams and Williams 2012). Those who relate their attachment to their length of residence (Lewicka 2010; Raymond et al. 2010) feel they and the local target market they have built their ventures around are becoming marginalised in favour of upward class mobility. In this fashion, it is not the geographical origins of the entrepreneurs that are important within this mechanism, but rather their perception of identity, opinions of social mobility within the case and what it may mean for their ventures. Such findings question the view which celebrates gentrification as ‘a natural evolution’ that is ‘healthy for cities’ and ‘almost a law of nature’ (West 2017; Wyly 2019) when it comes at the expense of others’ contextual attachment.

This mechanism thus details the actions of both those who are upwardly socially mobile and those who are not alongside the subsequent impacts for entrepreneurial attachment to place. It shows those getting displaced in context; demonstrating that upward social mobility may benefit some entrepreneurs (regardless of migration patterns) but such actions can marginalise others. The issue, therefore, might lie not in the influx of individuals displacing locals, but rather the fact that insufficient local businesses are targeting this new, wealthier market segment. This consequently constitutes a key area for future research that could enable informed policy decision-making. It argues for a move towards knowledge resources that can be reconfigured through entrepreneurial activity based upon policy development that is ‘done by’ heterogeneous entrepreneurs (Stott and Tracey 2018). Such policy making takes into

account the individual (im)mobility of entrepreneurs beyond individual ventures, underscoring the paramount role of variations in guiding the specifics of when and where entrepreneurship takes place, enabling a greater understanding of how to foster the phenomenon and manage provisions for those getting displaced or marginalised by development or market processes (Wyly 2019).

Advancing gentrification in this manner helps recognise the importance of localised opportunities for entrepreneurs, allowing policy to address social challenges of increased economic and social inequality (Baker and Powell 2016). It offers insights into social mobility within declining communities and how the relationship between the ‘many’ and the ‘few’ can vary across and between different entrepreneurs and contexts (Welter et al. 2020). In an academic world where under the entrepreneurial paradigm gentrification mainly gives credence to capital accumulation and short-term economic gains via the built environment (Zhang and He 2018), this furthers the debate through linking the understanding of gentrification into wider deliberations over social restructuring and the processes of class constitution. At the broader scale, this reconceptualisation provides a rich perspective into how the agency of individuals interacts with socio-spatial structures, rethinking (im)mobility as an active relational process and providing a way to comprehensively integrate time and space into entrepreneurship and urban change (Bailey 2009; Coulter et al. 2016). Here, gentrification is presented as the spatial competition among different co-existing generations of entrepreneurs, demonstrating a geopolitical process – a localised expression of the competitive struggles of hierarchical power within place. Gentrification, therefore, must be understood as the ongoing, inter and intra-generational struggle over the nature of entrepreneurship in place. This advancement helps to understand gentrification as the manifestation of wider processes of intensified social competition as place is reconstituted through evolving spatialities of mobility, fluidity, and temporality (Wyly 2019). Such advancement offers a means to understand the

emerging manifestations and variations of gentrification alongside the socio-spatial practices of its actors without being bound to outdated conceptual frameworks (Davidson 2011). Essentially, this method of attachment captures the impacts of regional development and change for a variety of different ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ (Welter et al. 2017).

5.1.3.2 Clustering to place

The findings also evidenced that entrepreneurs had developed attachment to place through either being directly located within, or indirectly associated, to "geographic concentration[s] of interconnected companies ... and associated institutions" – clusters (Porter 1998, 1997). Clusters have long been the focus of academic and scholarly interest and have arguably misrepresented the study of entrepreneurship (Welter et al. 2017), historically tending to focus on macro-level economic outcomes, innovation, idea generation or knowledge spillovers (Isaksen 2016; Tracey et al. 2014; York and Lenox 2014). The findings here, however, demonstrate that the implications of clustering are much more far-reaching with the specific roles of cluster configuration and processes affecting attachment to place, thus offering seemingly elusive micro insights into how clustered entrepreneurs are situated in both geographic and socio-structural spheres (Tracey et al. 2014; Whittington et al. 2009).

Indeed, the importance evidenced here was not surrounding overall employment and economic growth which the literature tends to valorise (Acs and Armington 2006; Haltiwanger et al. 2013; Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Welter and Baker 2020), but rather the impacts that a strong regional cluster has on the micro-level processes of entrepreneurs. Aligning with Stam (2015, 1761) that “the entrepreneur, rather than the enterprise, is the focal point” allows an appreciation of the energy and vibrancy conferred to entrepreneurs through being situated within/near to a strong cluster, positioning physical proximity as being both influential and beneficial to entrepreneurial activities (Boschma 2005). Whilst prevailing theoretical constructs emphasise the importance of proximity as the main unit of spatial analysis (Ward

and Brown 2009), this mechanism moves beyond assuming place as a given or independent of actors (Kalantaridis et al. 2019) and instead depicts how the uniformity provided by a strong, well-established cluster encourages individual entrepreneurs to engage with place in similar ways. Consciously aware or not, creating, sustaining and developing such *uniformity* amongst the participating members thereby helps to collectively establish new norms, values and social structures of place which can break down social divisions and marginalisation rather than reproduce them as seen within gentrification.

Such uniformity supports the idea that the overall configuration of a cluster helps promote particular relational practices amongst its members (Colombelli et al. 2019). Spatial proximity can therefore facilitate negotiation, strengthen the effect of centralisation (Gilson et al. 2009) and thus produce distinct value-creating properties for entrepreneurs resulting from complex interactions between a cluster's macro-level configuration and its micro-level processes (Tracey et al. 2014). Such processes enable entrepreneurs to feel that they are situated in a particular community, providing them both a sense of identity and feeling of belonging (Barrett 2015; Müller and Korsgaard 2018; Scannell and Gifford 2017). The sense of community demonstrated within this mechanism possesses large numbers of actors (firms, universities and others) connected through a dense network of linkages. The uniformity amongst members encourages similar entrepreneurial engagement with place, facilitating resource flows, knowledge exchange and sharing, built upon relational dimensions incorporating power, reciprocity and trust (Fisher 2013; Kalantaridis et al. 2019; Tregear and Cooper 2016). Indeed, such uniformity offers a means to become embedded within the social relationships of place; it aids learning processes, economic action and adds further depth to a multidimensional nature of embeddedness frequently overlooked or eclipsed by other social or structural arrangements in terms of explaining the dynamics of collaborations (McKeever et al. 2015; Tregear and Cooper 2016; Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019).

Invoking social embeddedness within the relational dynamics exhibited in this mechanism enables entrepreneurs to gain access to *shared networks and resources*. Rather than embeddedness within a local community context dominated by the literature (Tregear and Cooper 2016; Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019), this mechanism demonstrates it is the uniformity provided by adhering to sectoral norms and habits within the cluster which shape actor relations, networks, knowledge sharing and learning most significantly. Not only does this therefore challenge popular assumptions about how embeddedness can shape collective action and learning, it demands a broader perspective of social embeddedness to allow for alternative aspects and dimensions to emerge.

Indeed, such an expanded perspective on social embeddedness enables this mechanism to reveal a high density of social networks (Putnam 2000) such that ties between entrepreneurs are strong in nature (i.e., trustworthy, reciprocal), rather than weak (i.e., one-off) (Granovetter 1973), representing a solid basis for the development of collaboration (Ring et al. 2010; Sunny and Shu 2019). This mechanism therefore illustrates that engaging with place in this manner can provide access to superior resources, help individuals to learn and share more easily with each other, enhance the legitimacy of entrepreneurs leading to their further empowerment and the ability to overcome a multitude of issues commonly faced by both those who are nascent or well-established (Delgado et al. 2010; Goulet 2013; Folta et al. 2006; Sunny and Shu 2019; Tracey et al. 2014). These dense and rich social relations, networks and shared resources subsequently enable entrepreneurship to become less reliant on and affected by issues occurring outside the spatial context through the formation of a rudimentary, self-sufficient *microeconomy* within place.

The presence of a strong cluster environment in place depicted here presents a microeconomy via a strong network of inter-firm relationships, reducing susceptibility to wider economic concerns. The benefits of this supports the growth and efficiency of both

entrepreneurial ventures within the cluster and ancillary entrepreneurial ventures in the spatial context, increasing local confidence (Delgado et al. 2010) and aiding relationships with place as it further enables access to localised knowledge and resources. Such a process confers a higher level of reputation (Anholt 2007), quality and standard to those who succeed and thrive within this microeconomy – demanding high performance whilst providing entrepreneurs with a strong and stable backdrop that instils confidence at a global level (Sunny and Shu 2019; Tracey et al. 2014).

Nevertheless, literature's well-known accounts of over-embeddedness (Jack and Anderson 2002; Shaw and de Bruin 2013; Uzzi 1997) would suggest such an 'insular reliance' on strong relational ties would come at the exclusion of outside actors possessing potentially important expertise or information, leading to stagnation of ideas and inertia (Håkasson and Ford 2002). This mechanism, however, illustrates the importance of a strong communication channel, namely the University of Cambridge and its college structure (Dacin et al. 2010), to facilitate fresh knowledge and talent to easily enter and benefit the cluster. In this instance, the university helps to act as a 'boundary spanner' (Oreszczyn et al. 2010; Wellbrock et al. 2013) providing a balance between rich internal social relations on the one hand, and a multiplicity of open, outward-facing connections to external actors and institutions on the other (Fisher 2013). Not only does this process serve to establish new social structures, norms and values of place, but also to act as pull-factor in attracting a wealth of talent and inspiring entrepreneurial intentions. Such a method of attachment therefore enhances the range and diversity of enterprise occurring within the spatial context while simultaneously enabling higher performance. This can lead to improved production and increased consumer demand, encouraging more entrepreneurs to follow suit in order to respond to the raised market forces of consumer needs and demands (Porter 2007).

It should be noted, however, that while this mechanism presents itself as beneficial to the development of entrepreneurship it also uncovers some cause for concern. Enticing more entrepreneurs to the cluster may offer negative returns to agglomeration, exposing entrepreneurs to diseconomies of increased costs and competition, potentially endangering the viability of entrepreneurship (Sunny and Shu 2019). Not only this, but the more place continues to grow with a small centralised location and green belts limiting expansion (Morrison 2010) sees land values and house prices rise excessively, contributing towards a housing crisis and inequalities as well as increasing traffic congestion and burdening public transport links (Cambridgeshire Horizons 2008). Indeed, the very nature of clusters presents an example of built environments that implicitly exclude some groups of entrepreneurs or restrict them because of stereotypical expectations (Welter and Baker 2020). Without the conscious development of inclusive and permeable social infrastructures (Kalantaridis et al. 2019; Ring et al. 2010), entrepreneurs may find themselves unwittingly excluded from place (as alluded to by individuals engaging with context via the ‘rotten orange’ mechanism) through clustering to place’s development of new norms, values and social structures.

In assisting awareness of different aspects of constraints and enablers for entrepreneurs alongside adding nuances to the understanding of how entrepreneurs enact their built environments and landscapes, this mechanism raises implications for policy. It begs the question of whether policy should continue to emphasise ‘separate’ spaces for the benefit of entrepreneurship even if such actions reinforce the exclusion of some individuals from important forms of enterprise (Welter and Baker 2020). Regardless of policymakers’ stance on this debate, this mechanism calls for measures to consider the unique complexities of place, even if implementing the frequently favoured (and often implicit) top-down perspective of the UK Industrial Strategy (Kalantaridis et al. 2019).

Essentially, this mechanism contributes to literature through heeding the call of Sunny and Shu (2019) and providing an insight into the impact clustering has on temporal and spatial characteristics of attachment to place. The focus on micro-level processes (Atherton and Johnstone 2008) further complements the literature's preoccupation with macro-level outcomes (Haltiwanger et al. 2013; Müller 2016; Welter and Baker 2020), demonstrating the multiplex nature of both economic and social relationships with clusters (Tuli et al. 2010; Heide et al. 2007; Uzzi 1996) and thus contributing further towards multi-layered notions of embeddedness, helping to provide an insight into networks, knowledge and resource flows within place (McKeever et al. 2015; Tregear and Cooper 2016; Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019). Advancement of this mechanism consequently moves beyond the 'Silicon Valley model' of entrepreneurship and economic growth (Haltiwanger et al. 2013; Tracey et al. 2014) by offering further understanding about 'everyday entrepreneurs' within (or nearby) clusters (Welter et al. 2017). It therefore supports that collaboration is facilitated within a dense network of linkages where actor relations are in alignment (Ring et al. 2010; Tregear and Cooper 2016) and that entrepreneurial activity can be stimulated through spatial proximity to universities and other small or medium-sized enterprises (Audretsch and Feldman 2004; Audretsch and Keilbach 2004; Muller and Korsgaard 2018).

This advancement into how clustering can impact attachment and processes at the micro-level offers more detailed theoretical explanations than literature's tendency to consider performance at clusters' aggregate level (Isaksen 2016; McCann and Sheppard 2003; Tracey et al. 2014). Such micro-level insights overcome core challenges (e.g., delineation of cluster boundaries and determination of cluster membership) of viewing the phenomenon at the aggregate level, instead helping to account for variations in scope and continual temporal evolution (Eisingerich et al. 2010; Feser and Bergman 2000; O'Donoghue and Gleave 2004). 'Clustering to place' therefore helps to add new meaning to personal mobility and

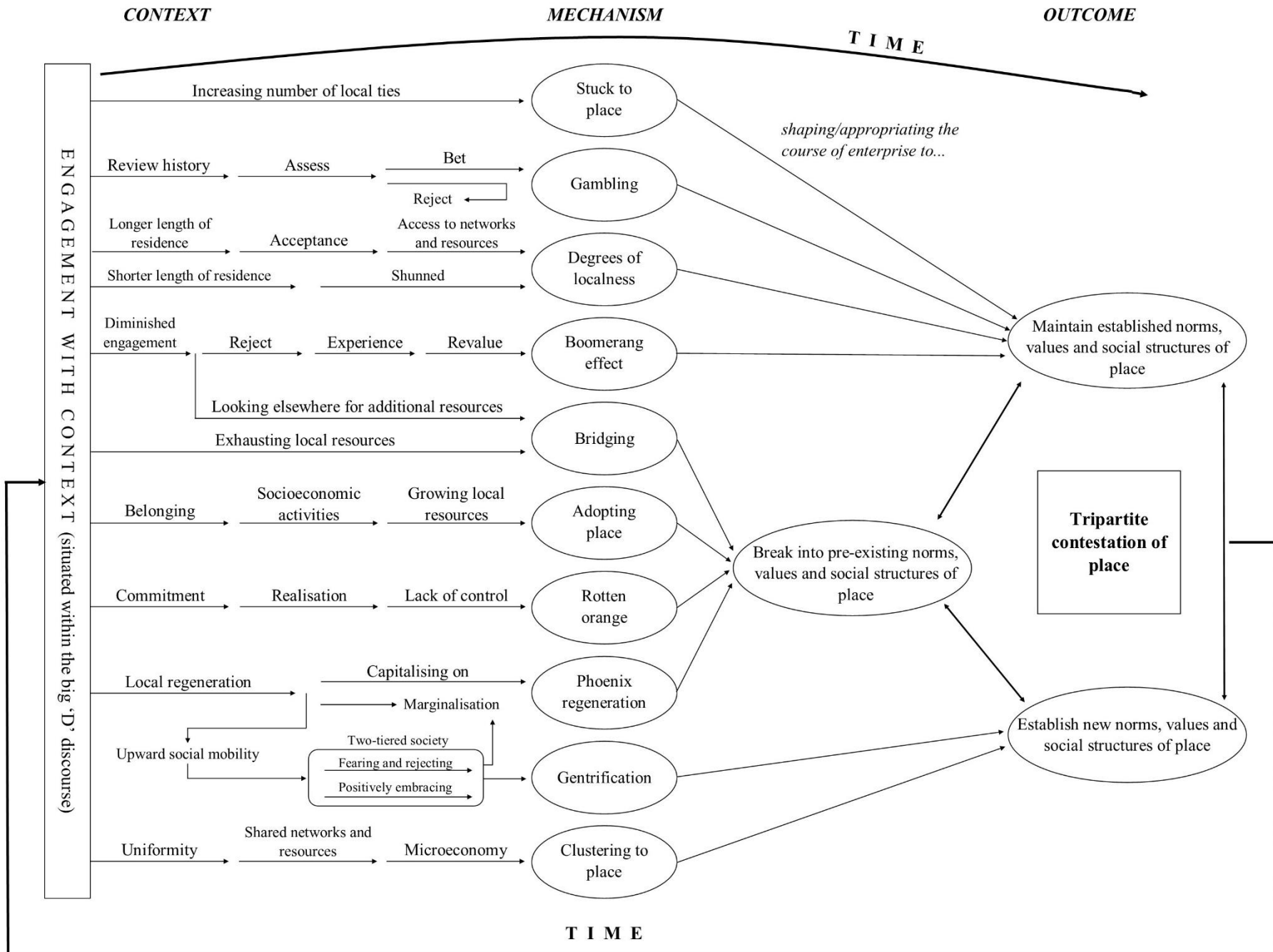
communication channels within place, themselves reshaped following withdrawal from the EU (Kalantaridis et al. 2019). In this sense, the contribution provided by this mechanism may help develop the building blocks of entrepreneurial ecosystems through acknowledging that ecosystems are highly variegated (Brown and Mason 2017) and responding to recent calls for a deeper focus on heterogeneity (Acs et al. 2017; Roundy et al. 2017). This mechanism's micro-level insights offer a better understanding of what works for who and when (Nielsen and Miraglia 2017), while emphasising the agency of entrepreneurial individuals in relation to the role of the entrepreneurship context (Cunningham et al. 2019; Stam 2015).

5.2 A temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs

The above discussion about the conceptualisation and contribution of each method of attachment has formulated the following temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs (seen in Figure 2 below, p. 245) which both forms and visually demonstrates the second core contribution of this thesis – that there are multiple ways in which entrepreneurs *engage* with place. Items in italics within section 5.1 form integral components of the conceptualisation of each mechanism and thus can be seen on the processual, temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs.

For analytical purposes and in order to describe and elaborate upon the theoretical issues emerging from the model, the process has been divided into the into three main stages: the context stage, the mechanism stage, and the outcome stage. Contextual engagement, mechanisms of entrepreneurial attachment and a tripartite contestation of place are respectively the core components representing the three stages. At every stage of the model entrepreneurs are not conceived as atomised individuals but rather as active constituents of nested and overlapping systems. To adequately describe the model, each of these three stages shall be

Figure 2. A temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs



succinctly reviewed before assessing their relevance and importance. Firstly, the context stage. The core contribution that this model demonstrates is the wide array of differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with context and the process of when, where and how it happens. It illustrates that entrepreneurial engagement with place is processual, enacted through ongoing iterative processes and emergent events as opposed to sequences of discrete acts or stages of a life cycle (Lévesque and Stephan 2020; Mead 1932). Analysing such contextual engagement reveals that the micro-level processes of entrepreneurs are distinctly impacted by (and can impact upon) the context-specific sociohistorical and cultural fabric of place. Subsequently, how entrepreneurs choose to engage with place (and for how long) can decide their temporally-based mechanisms of attachment.

Secondly, the mechanism stage. The model demonstrates how distinct contextual engagement would support varying mechanisms of entrepreneurial attachment to place. It shows how entrepreneurs' contextual engagement would (consciously or subconsciously) attach themselves to place through certain mechanism(s) enabling them to creatively shape, appropriate, and re-write their course of enterprise to work towards the social and political beliefs and aspirations which they felt was best for both themselves and for place. The model therefore shows that the various methods of attachment conceptualised in section 5.1 can be theorised and distilled into supporting three distinct agentic dimensions which incorporate such beliefs and aspirations: 1) whether entrepreneurs wanted to maintain the status quo and the norms, values and social structures which exist in place; 2) whether entrepreneurs wanted to break into and build upon the pre-existing norms, values and social structures of place; and, 3) whether entrepreneurs wanted to create and establish new norms, values and social structures within place. The three agentic dimensions depicted do not exclusively correspond to the past, present and future nor do they represent successive stages of action. It is important to note that each of these agentic dimensions has a simultaneous internal orientation towards the past,

present, and future of place as they are all temporally embedded in the flow of time (Lévesque and Stephan 2020), yet for the entrepreneurs one dimension was often the dominant tone, shaping the way in which they attach themselves to place and relate to the other two agentic dimensions.

Thirdly, the outcome stage. The three agentic dimensions presented in the model demonstrate multiple, overlapping ways of individually ordering time towards which entrepreneurs can assume different simultaneous agentic orientations. The varying temporally-influenced perspectives and aspirations incorporated within the agentic dimensions represents a fundamentally intersubjective process, constituted by the ability of entrepreneurs to simultaneously hold and understand multiple viewpoints (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Entrepreneurs may therefore switch between (and reflexively transform) their orientations toward action and under which subsequent agentic dimension they mostly align with, thereby changing their degrees of flexible, inventive, and critical response toward structuring contexts. It is this which develops the conceptualisation of the continually evolving ‘tripartite contestation of place’ within which all three agentic dimensions resonate as separate and rarely harmonious tones. Depending under which agentic dimension entrepreneurs align, they face a continuous contestation with the other two dimensions and their relative temporally-based mechanisms of entrepreneurial attachment, creating new tensions and challenged meanings about ‘what is’ the nature of place (Scott et al. 2017). This tripartite contestation can therefore fluidly evolve and change as entrepreneurs respond to the diverse and shifting environments around them, continually and iteratively moving throughout the model in response to a series of feedback loops (Lounsbury et al. 2019).

Though the model in Figure 2 (see above, p. 245) seems to follow a chronology, the feedback and reciprocal correspondence among the elements of the model depicts first and foremost the existence of an iterative, conceptual process of entrepreneurial engagement with

place, and of which the tripartite contestation is but a part. The development of the temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs consequently enables entrepreneurial narratives to be contextualised through relational, performative and temporal processual efforts (Garud et al. 2014; Garud and Gehman 2016). Through their relational efforts, the contextual engagement and mechanisms detail precisely how entrepreneurs interact with and forge linkages across social and material elements; through their performative efforts, entrepreneurs are able to shape the course of enterprise, triggering action and engagement towards their contestation of the nature of place (even in the midst of changing objectives); and through their temporal efforts, entrepreneurs speak to the processual nature of their journeys throughout the model as they refer to different accounts of the past, present, and future. Most importantly, adopting a processual lens allows the model to recognise that outcomes and a tripartite contestation of place are not once and for all, but occur as a stream of provisional developments in an ongoing trajectory (Garud and Gehman 2019).

Essentially, the temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs identifies conceptual categories and junctures in the process of entrepreneurial engagement with place based on empirical, grounded data. It links the conceptual categories and junctures to develop a comprehensive, integrative process model of entrepreneurial engagement with place which is iterative, continues through all phases of venturing, and is not linear or chronological. It can be used to qualitatively distinguish the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with context, discern the specific interplay of enterprise, place and temporality, ascertain precisely how entrepreneurs attach themselves to place, and begin to understand how this can influence the outcomes of *what* is the nature of place. Ultimately, the model described here is an iterative, non-linear, feedback-driven, conceptual, and physical process.

So what relevance does this model have? For the prospective entrepreneur, the model can serve as a useful road map. It can alert the entrepreneur to the potential context-specific strategic issues of the entrepreneurial process and how these may be situated within the wider sociohistorical and cultural settings of place. For the policymaker, it reinforces the notion of heterogeneity within entrepreneurship. It argues against the implementation of blanket-wide policies which treat entrepreneurs and their ventures as homogeneous (Welter 2011) and instead contends strategies should acknowledge and stimulate the heterogeneity of entrepreneurship to better address entrepreneurs' context-specific needs. Most importantly, for theory, it fundamentally challenges the means-ends models present in the literature's preoccupation with macro-level outcome-focused research (Müller 2016; Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Trettin and Welter 2011; Welter and Baker 2020) as it subsequently seems that the collective action frame that has been previously used to help understand, or creatively reconstruct, place as what underpins business venturing (Martin 2003; McKeever et al. 2015) did not leave much room to discuss the potentially differentiated ways of engaging with place (Kalantaridis et al. 2019).

It is specifically the historical, cultural, and personal variability of differentiated engagement with place that makes this model so compelling. Indeed, embracing alternative perspectives of temporality not only reveals the processual, interrelational nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place, it also affords a new way of understanding and empowering differentiated entrepreneurship in a variety of contexts. It does this by providing an innovative alternative view for understanding entrepreneurial engagement with context, enabling insights into personal and social mobility, the intent to stay or to relocate and, beyond everything, the micro-level processes of attachment which incorporate both economic and sociological theoretical views. Whilst the mechanisms within the model are not necessarily the only mechanisms at work, "they provide a strong theoretical framework for exploring the

interrelation of spatial context and entrepreneurship” (Müller and Korsgaard 2018, 247). Rather than attempts at being exhaustive (Navis and Ozbek 2017), this temporally sensitive model instead agrees and engages with the arguments of Foss et al. (2019) and Lounsbury et al. (2019) on the need to *contextualise* entrepreneurship, particularly in ways that also extend the narrow, atomistic perspective on entrepreneurs that have largely dominated the economics literature. In doing so, this model furthers the ways in which research understands entrepreneurs’ relationship to the past, present and future, and how this can make a difference to their actions – the continuously developing agentic dimensions in relation to structural norms, values and contexts profoundly influences how entrepreneurs in different places see their worlds as more or less responsive to their engagement, imagination, purpose, and effort (Baker and Powell 2019; Emirbayer and Mische 1998).

The process model developed here provides an *integrative* framework to bring cohesion to the body of existing contextual entrepreneurship literature. Successfully integrating the two, often disparate, bodies of research it contributes to the advancement of entrepreneurship theory as it widens understanding about the complexities of ‘where’ entrepreneurship occurs and how it is intertwined with ‘when’ – aspects which “remain strikingly underexplored and undertheorized in entrepreneurship research” (Welter and Baker 2020, 2). Drawing on these insights about temporality affords a perspective into the construction of the places where everyday entrepreneurship happens, enabling the understanding of place not as a static geographical location, but more as the locus of historical and ongoing processes of contestation that can both bring together and separate people across changing configurations of stories, migration and mobility (Stockdale 2016). Indeed, through highlighting and theorising the exclusion and inclusion of individuals as (potential) entrepreneurs the model allows research to consider multiple contexts in contextualising entrepreneurship theory, better understanding the diversity of entrepreneurial places, the behaviours those places generate and the potential

outcomes from such behaviour. This advancement into everyday heterogeneity progresses the field much further than the literature's fixation with bifurcations could account for (Welter and Baker 2020). The development of this model therefore calls for entrepreneurship scholars to embrace broader perspectives on spatio-temporal research; places are made in many more ways than researchers typically imagine, and subtle, unobtrusive and largely invisible agentic dimensions uncovered here may often be overlooked using archetypal lenses (Baker and Welter 2020).

The nature of the differentiated forms of entrepreneurial engagement put forward within the model contend that the meaning of place cannot be taken as independent and externally given (Zahra et al. 2014) and should be mapped out in the context of the experiences of the individual actor(s) concerned (Kalantaridis et al. 2019). The meaning of place is therefore differentiated by individual (entrepreneurial) experiences accumulated by actors over time, positioning the active relationship between place and entrepreneur centre stage and thus overcoming the field's (often implicit) theorisation of context as static and mechanistic (Welter and Baker 2020). Instead, this model explicitly demonstrates that the micro-level processes of entrepreneurial engagement with place are differentiated and enables scholarly interest to move towards the study's third core contribution: exploring how the agentic dimensions of a tripartite contestation progress a reconceptualisation of place through varying and interacting with each other to enact, construct and constitute the environments in which entrepreneurs operate – something which both Baker and Welter (2020) and Bika and Frazer (2020) have recently discussed as the idea of entrepreneurs 'doing contexts'.

5.3 Reconceptualising place through a tripartite contestation

The third core contribution of this study therefore contends that such differentiated engagement can lead to a reconceptualisation of place through a tripartite contestation. Whilst the second core contribution represents the differentiated *process* of engagement with place and its

importance, this third core contribution is distinctly different and warrants theoretical consideration in its own right as it delves deeper into what the *outcomes* of this can be for place.

A tripartite contestation lays the foundations for a theory of action that analyses the “conditions of possibility” (Joas 1993, 250). It gives insight into how the structural environments of action are both dynamically sustained by and also altered through entrepreneurial agency. Within this study, an appreciation of the big ‘D’ discourse revealed the temporally variable social manifestations helping to understand how actors’ social engagement is informed by the past (place as it was), but also oriented toward the future (place as it could be) and toward the present (place as it is). This appreciation enabled a novel insight into how the entrepreneurs respond to changing environments – they continually reconstruct their view of the past in an attempt to understand the causal conditioning of the emergent present, while using this understanding to align with their agentic dimension, controlling and shaping their responses to the arising future.

This process illustrates temporal-relational contexts supporting particular agentic dimensions, which in turn develop opposing structuring relationships of entrepreneurs towards their environments. It is this tripartite contestation of place that brings together differing temporal orientations and agentic dimensions allowing entrepreneurs to assume degrees of transformative leverage in relation to the structuring contexts of action (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). It should be stressed here that a tripartite contestation of place is formed from analytical distinctions; whilst one tends to be the dominant tone, all three of the agentic dimensions may be found, in varying degrees, within any empirical instance of action (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). In this fashion, entrepreneurs located in complex relational settings must accordingly take a wider variety of factors into account when considering their engagement with context to reflect upon alternative paths of action and to communicate, negotiate and instigate change.

A tripartite contestation conceptually demonstrates the power of entrepreneurship as offering broad change potential within place. The actions of an individual or a group of individuals can elicit an ‘emancipatory process’ (Rindova et al. 2009) bringing about change within economic, social, institutional, and cultural environments. A tripartite contestation of place therefore encompasses a wide variety of change-oriented mechanisms and perspectives, allowing for a broader set of actions to be theorised. Such actions are therefore intended not only to incorporate entrepreneurial self-interest, but also to bring about change in both the social order and structure of the places in which entrepreneurs are embedded, thus impacting upon the places themselves, which then go on to iteratively constitute different mediating future relationships of actors toward those contexts.

This process thus captures the desire to overcome economic, social, and cultural constraints while simultaneously engaging in enterprise; it therefore appears that entrepreneurs are willing to risk personal and emotional resources, whilst potentially holding only a limited understanding of the solidity of the structures they seek to dislodge (Rindova et al. 2009). This consequently positions entrepreneurship as being undertaken not only to pursue opportunities, but also to overcome or remove perceived environmental constraints for themselves and others, thus creating outcomes which further develop possibilities within place. This supports the idea that enterprising individuals hold transformative leverage because they are internally motivated to change their worlds, shaping them in a manner that fits with who they are and who they want to be (Baker and Powell 2019). While the agentic activities engaged in by the entrepreneurs here may not be present at the outset of venturing (and in this study’s instance understood through ex post facto reflection), the culturally embedded mechanisms of attaching to place demonstrate how actors receive their driving impetus from each case’s social conditions and thus invoke change to influence the outcomes of place and their subsequent degree of freedom in relation to existing structures (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). A tripartite contestation of place

therefore helps to account for variability in entrepreneurs' engagement with place and the change in their agentic capacities for imaginative and critical intervention in the diverse contexts within which they act as they construct, shape and mould place as their own (Gieryn 2000). These findings underscore possible ways in which entrepreneurial engagement might be elicited in particular contexts and how, in turn, such agentic action can enable a reconceptualisation of place through seeing entrepreneurs as not merely responding, but rather constituting, developing and being part of their contexts (Bika and Frazer 2020).

This advancement therefore embraces the idea of 'multiple causality' insofar as acknowledging the multitude of potential social outcomes within context as well as the many possible causal means for arriving at them. Understanding differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with place, the subsequent mechanisms this sustains and develops, and how such actions support agentic dimensions encourages greater research attention to the means in which entrepreneurs can implement change, imprinting their creative visions on the reality that surrounds them, and thus stimulating a fuller exploration of precisely *how* entrepreneurs 'do contexts' (Bika and Frazer 2020; Welter and Baker 2020). This therefore moves beyond the more monocausal explanations of entrepreneurial action, instead exploring specifically how entrepreneurs can be situated at the intersection of demographic, economic and structural changes within place, taking into account varying agentic capacities in a broader societal context (Kloosterman and Rath 2018).

Indeed, this study found entrepreneurs willing to go beyond their locations of birth and immediate networks whose varying levels of social embeddedness, personal and social mobility and desire to build social capital centred around the engagement (and disengagement) of all the actors which constitute their contextual environment (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Such entrepreneurial agency aimed at influencing *what* the nature of place is contained "nuanced lines of inclusion and exclusion, acceptability and nonacceptability within

crosscutting contexts of action” (Emirbayer and Mische 1998, 980), serving as a fundamental means through which entrepreneurs can become who they want to be while creating the impact on the world they envision (Baker and Powell 2019). Appreciating outcomes for place from this more context-sensitive viewpoint demonstrates the multiplicity of both entrepreneurial engagement and attachment. It surpasses crude, binary notions of simply being attached or not and in this sense, the longer the relationship one has with a place does not necessarily equal to a greater significance of the entrepreneurial actor as a change agent nor does it automatically increase susceptibility to widely recognised accounts of over-embeddedness (Jack and Anderson 2002; Shaw and de Bruin 2013; Uzzi 1997).

So what does this mean for wider theory? Focusing on the relationships between change and entrepreneurship can subsequently allow research to systematically explore alternative mechanisms of contextual engagement, how these can support variable agentic dimensions and thus enable insights into how to influence and instigate change and/or regional development in a variety of contexts as well as better understanding the creation, rather than assuming the discovery, of localised opportunities (Alvarez et al. 2013; Ramoglou and Tsang 2016). This research insight reaffirms the belief that local place-based attitudes may be more important than national institutional environments in shaping entrepreneurial behaviour (Lang et al. 2014; Parkinson et al. 2020) and that understanding such behaviours is important for policy, research and practice (Spigel 2013). Indeed, approaching entrepreneurship in this manner offers insights into how micro-level entrepreneurial activities go hand-in-hand with contextual norms and traditions to create value for place (Lang et al. 2014; Seghezzo 2009), how policymakers need to think about maintenance of such behaviours if they want places to be cared for by its people, and, as a result thrive in the long term through providing sustainability within the context(s) enterprise is located (Kibler et al. 2015; Shrivastava and Kennelly 2013). This contribution therefore cements the notion that the relationship between entrepreneurship and place is an

important academic line of inquiry – understanding the varying agentic dimensions of entrepreneurs not only offers an interesting perspective into the entrepreneurship journey, but also provides specific contextual insights into when, where and how entrepreneurs instigate change and thus reconceptualise the very nature of place itself.

5.4 Policy implications

The three core contributions (theorising multiple mechanisms of entrepreneurial attachment to place, putting forth a temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs, and understanding how a tripartite contestation can progress a reconceptualisation of place) have inherent importance to policy to better understand localised entrepreneurship, instil a greater entrepreneurial spirit across various spatial levels and encourage regional development via entrepreneurial activity and agency.

Unfortunately, as already mentioned, much of the contemporary focus on entrepreneurship in regards to both policy and academia has been based on its potential for economic growth and job creation, hence there is a disproportionate amount of attention directed towards these types of individual high-growth ventures (Welter and Baker 2020). It therefore appears that academics and policymakers alike are less enthralled by ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ (Welter et al. 2017) and such an oversight limits the perspective of understanding the variegated nature of places. Indeed, such an orientation has often created policy aimed at promoting high-growth ‘unicorns’ of the entrepreneurship world and (arguably not particularly effective) ways in which to replicate them (Welter and Baker 2020).

Quite often this comes in the form of spatial clustering or incubators which can be a costly policy instrument (Rigby and Ramlogan 2016). Tamasy (2007) argues such policymaking only provides minor stimulus for individual start-ups, does not increase the likelihood of firm survival, innovativeness or growth and only makes a modest contributor to regional economic development. Blanket-wide policy aimed at this spatial level tends to offer

schemes to provide information and advice of a standardised form addressed at the firm, rather than the entrepreneur (Rigby and Ramlogan 2016). This therefore implies that assistance to individual entrepreneurs and small firms may not be as effective as supporting high-capitalisation, high-growth ventures. Whilst arguably such an inference is unjust, it also has severe ramifications for place; aiming and favouring schemes at certain types of ventures and spatial levels can come at the detriment and displacement of (potential) entrepreneurs in other areas. Indeed, the findings here demonstrate that this may be inefficient and should, instead, be framed the other way around – ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ outside of these spatial levels may need more individually-centred support than those in clusters/incubators who find themselves situated within a dense network of support and linkages.

This study has shown that ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ are by their very nature heterogeneous. They can be embedded within multiple contexts and temporalities and it is therefore critical not only to acknowledge, but also to use this heterogeneity within place (Kalantaridis et al. 2019). Relatively few academics have noted a move in the emphasis away from policy’s support of high-growth spatial clustering towards placing greater focus upon the entrepreneur, their skills and values (Henrekson and Stenkula 2009; Kalantaridis et al. 2019; Rigby and Ramlogan 2016), a development that has been referred to by Cox and Rigby (2013) as ‘the entrepreneurial turn’. This study argues that such a movement is necessary for policy to capture, encourage and stimulate the heterogeneity of entrepreneurship and should therefore be implemented directly to address entrepreneurs’ context-specific needs.

Indeed, akin to extant research (Larivière 2007; Rigby and Ramlogan 2016) the data collection of this study often revealed that respondents were unaware of certain existing resources that would be able to support them in their endeavours. This, coupled with the ideas put forth in this chapter, align with the thinking of Stott and Tracey (2018) – arguing for the need of a more contextualised approach to engage ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ in policy

development that is ‘done by’ entrepreneurial individuals. Suggestions of policy actions that could account for the heterogeneous nature of entrepreneurship within place may wish to incorporate: enhancing the role of LEPs to offer neutral ground for facilitating interactions between entrepreneurs and thus representing a tripartite contestation of place in policy development (Kalantaridis et al. 2019); considering alternative solutions to longstanding social issues (e.g., attracting innovative types of in-migrant or immigrant entrepreneurs to provide fresh blood and ideas of how to break the mould and do things differently [Stockdale 2006]); focusing on the importance and variance of context-specific place attachment in the attracting and retaining of entrepreneurs (Weng et al. 2018); and, the implementation of coaching schemes of well-established entrepreneurs au fait with the local environment and its intricacies to give advice to (potential) entrepreneurs whose background, local knowledge and experience may be limited (Rigby and Ramlogan 2016). While blanket-wide schemes may continue to be useful for broad-based education policy to increase awareness of entrepreneurship as a career choice, this study advocates the use of more nuanced, targeted approaches implementing a deep and detailed understanding of local context as demonstrated here. Similar to the recent findings of Parkinson et al. (2020), this therefore supports the idea that policy should be made at different levels, as well as in different areas, relevant to the context(s) in which enterprise is expected to occur.

This consequently challenges the idea that future enterprise will be more or less likely to emanate from certain places or backgrounds, or that certain types of ventures are typical of deprived or inner-city places (Southern 2011). Such generalisations can form dangerous assumptions that certain types of places, and therefore implicitly suggesting certain types of entrepreneurs, are homogeneous (Bates and Robb 2011; Parkinson et al. 2020). Instead, tailoring context-specific policy creates both opportunities and operational challenges for considering the relationship between entrepreneurship and place. Whilst entrepreneurs may be

able to gain access to resources outside of the context due to their networks, would this halt the development of place in producing similar types of resources or alternatives for themselves? In bettering themselves, could entrepreneurs inadvertently be halting the development of place? What impact would this have on local contextualised entrepreneurial processes? And how would multiple-embedded individuals ‘fit’ within context? Do external relations impact upon how they are viewed by the internal community and key stakeholders? Such questions demand that policy should consider both the subjective notion of place, its meanings assigned by entrepreneurs and the subsequent intersubjective process constituted by a tripartite contestation of place. In doing so, policymakers may gain valuable insights into understanding how one place may be more appealing to entrepreneurs than another, whether entrepreneurs uproot themselves to chase aspirations and follow such perceptions, how these perceptions may be tied to the socio-spatial make up of place and, most importantly, how all of this impacts upon the entrepreneurship process.

Considering entrepreneurs’ subjective notion of place enables the direction of action to be influenced by the manner in which the context within it occurs is conceptualised. The implications of this therefore align with Kalantaridis et al. (2019), moving beyond Parkinson et al.’s (2017) idea of place as holding a collective, shared meaning and thus appreciating the nuances of local social (and material) practices and how they can impact upon entrepreneurship. This necessitates an engagement of ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ in UK policy design, specifically, Industrial Strategy (BEIS 2017, 220) so that “Local Industrial Strategies ... will be developed locally and agreed with government”. Such a process widens the scope for alternative and potentially differential types of action – the differentiated meanings of attaching to place demonstrated by individuals here may be producing distinct strategies that demand different policy actions to consider both complexities of place and the importance it holds for entrepreneurs.

5.5 Research implications

5.5.1 Theoretical contributions

The discussion of the three core contributions of this study are wide-ranging and will therefore have numerous implications for theory unable to be covered in depth here. For succinctness, an interesting select few shall now be considered to challenge the preoccupations of literature and provide thought-provoking comments and questions intended to theoretically advance the field.

Firstly, analysing and understanding entrepreneurs' subjective notion of place offers a fine-grained perspective into the multifaceted nature of spatial context and how it can aid the entrepreneurship process both economically and socially. This wider appreciation of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place demands broader notions of attachment which move beyond the crude binary-like consideration of simply being attached to place or not. Increasing the little attention given to varying mechanisms of attachment may be useful in considering how entrepreneurial engagement with place can support variable agentic dimensions and therefore reflect multi-layered conceptualisations of embeddedness beyond the expression of an analytical universal. The recently acknowledged 'interdependent relationship' between entrepreneurship and local context (Bensemann et al. 2018; Huggins and Thompson 2015; McKeever et al. 2015) has yet to take stock of this.

Secondly, the tendency of literature to place research emphasis on creating and analysing bifurcations (Welter and Baker 2020) between seemingly homogeneous groups offers little chance for unique and interesting insights to appear. This study argues for the need of research to embrace heterogeneity and variability and the ways in which this could be both understood and encouraged. Heeding the calls of Welter et al. (2017) and understanding more about 'everyday entrepreneurship' as illustrated within this study gives a broader picture of the entrepreneurship phenomenon as well as allowing the field to move beyond preoccupations

with macro-level outcome-focused research (Müller 2016; Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Trettin and Welter 2011; Welter and Baker 2020). Not only does this allow a deeper exploration into the nature of entrepreneurship, but also into providing a novel, multidimensional appreciation of entrepreneurial engagement with place and the potential concepts at play. Such a process allowed this study to recognise the heterogeneity of entrepreneurial engagement, the agentic dimensions this supports and the subsequent tripartite contestation of place. In this fashion, it calls for research to engage with multiple causality and embrace that there is no singular determinant route of action. Instead of regarding causation as uniform (the regularity model of causation that leads to law-like generalisations) this can afford case researchers the ability to “explain by factoring in the unique combinations and conditions found within the case rather than seeking to measure the net effect of an isolated variable ... given that causality is multiple [and contingent]... the same outcome may be produced by different causal pathways” (Welch et al. 2011, 749-750). In other words, research should acknowledge there are a plethora of potential social ends within place and many possible causal means for arriving at them.

Thirdly, this implication begs the following of the field: what would happen, both theoretically and analytically, if the focus was reframed from entrepreneurship as an economic activity with possible social change outcomes to entrepreneurship as a social change activity with a variety of possible economic outcomes? (Calás et al. 2009). A tripartite contestation of place suggests that entrepreneurship research should more closely consider the social change agendas inherent in many entrepreneurs’ agentic dimensions in order to understand their ‘emancipatory’ potential (Rindova et al. 2009). Such an implication questions the need for the institutionalised distinction between regular and social entrepreneurship. This perspective suggests that such a distinction is not only unnecessary but also potentially invalid seeing as many entrepreneurs seek to improve their economic positions through the impact of broader social change (Bensemman et al. 2018; Patriotta and Siegel 2019; Weber et al. 2008).

Fourthly, the temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs forwarded here calls for research to move beyond linear and/or teleological conceptions of time to better understand that outcomes for place are not final and that spatial contexts are continuously evolving and developing. Increasing scholarly attention on alternative conceptualisations and measures of temporality accounts for the unpredictable nature of entrepreneurship (Aldrich 2015; Ruef 2005) and allows for the possibility that when concerning entrepreneurship and place, time may not necessarily be linear, universal, or progressive (Lippman and Aldrich 2016). Taking time more seriously in this manner can open new vistas for entrepreneurship research and the sociocultural context (Lévesque and Stephan 2020) as entrepreneurial actions become exposed, interacting and integrating with place (Lippman and Aldrich 2016; McMullen and Dimov 2013) thus providing new outlooks on exploring and explaining entrepreneurial behaviour. The idea, therefore, of strong or weak attachment to place defined by length of residence offers little to furthering scholarly knowledge. Research should instead strive for a more detailed understanding of entrepreneurs' self-reflexive agentic dimensions, that is, the capacity of actors to reflectively reconstruct their own temporal orientations toward action, and how these can influence both attachment to and engagement with place.

5.5.2 Methodological contributions

Closely tied into the theoretical implications is the methodological contribution this study makes. Such research insights are not merely limited for micro-level analysis but can also have important implications for macro-level research. Using the integrative methodology, the collective voice of the big 'D' discourse manages to increase the validity of the data (Korsgaard et al. 2015a; Miles and Huberman 1994) as it embraces inductive coding and ties it directly to the sociohistorical and cultural fabric of place. This enables an empathetic and spatio-temporally sensitive view of how the entrepreneurs' environments may have developed in a

disjoint manner and how this may have subsequently shaped entrepreneurial behaviour over time. Drawing on multiple analytic tools in this manner can strengthen evidence and enhance context-sensitive theorising through exploring how individual micro-level processes are tied to issues of history, culture and power within a context (Bakhtin 1984; Foucault 1983). This subsequently enables research to single out the time-bound origins, cultural assumptions, and core ideas of place and what it is comprised of (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019). The contribution of this integrative methodology can therefore serve to highlight the variability in one's data and how this may be represented collectively as well as allowing analysis to explore how much variability exists in entrepreneurs' individual relationship with place.

The novel methodology therefore links “the objective temporalities of long-term historical processes to the subjective temporal orientations of social actors” (Aminzade 1992, 470) helping to better understand how actors collectively conceive of the binding power of the past, the prospects of the future, or the capabilities to intervene in situations which can offer transformative leverage in relation to their environments. Such an approach to research may shed light into understanding how actors (implicitly or explicitly) use collective memories in attempts to renew places, how the ‘hallowed past’ can inhibit or encourage entrepreneurship to deal with the uncertainties of today and the future by moving in new directions, and how entrepreneurs and other key stakeholders play a part in creating the discourses that shape collective understanding of the past and possibilities for the future (Welter and Baker 2020). This approach can therefore be put to use in future empirical research to better understand differentiated entrepreneurial engagement in more contexts, how the role and the interplay of collective narratives make some places more inviting to particular sorts of entrepreneurship, how this can relate to a broader notion of multi-level contextualisation and how this links contingently to the processes of social reproduction and change within place.

Additionally, this study was undertaken in a sample area (East Anglia) often treated as a singular macro-regional statistical locality. Breaking down this region into four cases which are spatially proximate yet engage with and embrace place distinctly differently allowed rich, unique and complex narratives to emerge thanks to the in-depth cross-contextual analysis (Myers 2013). Few studies undertake a cross-comparative approach within the regional level (cf. Ado et al. 2017) to account for variations in perceptions and entrepreneurial behaviours and even fewer use methodologies able to capture the richness and depth of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place (Szkudlarek and Wu 2018). Through employing the integrative methodology and focusing on the various voices of ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ (represented through sectoral quota) within places with contrasting degrees of prosperity, this thesis has been able to provide a more fine-grained analysis than many previous studies. The cross-comparative methodological approach helps raise the understanding of how and why enterprise activity might vary in different places as well as providing a means to draw conclusions with increased validity and thus proffer interesting insights into entrepreneurial engagement (and subsequent agentic capacity for change) within place (Williams and Williams 2012; Parkinson et al. 2020).

Understanding change within place has become all the more pertinent when considering the UK’s withdrawal from the EU and the recent impacts of Covid-19. Such globally impacting issues confer even more importance on understanding entrepreneurial mechanisms of attachment to place, especially in a post-Brexit, reduced migratory context where ‘low-skilled’ jobs previously reliant on migrant workers now seem uncertain. This adds a new meaning to entrepreneurial mobility beyond the provision of entrepreneurial talent encouraging high economic growth and more towards the sustainability of enterprise within place. Essentially, this distinctive methodological approach (coupled with the researcher undertaking it living all his life and completing all his studies in the research area) has been able to demonstrate

varieties of ‘Britishness’, how this is influenced by current affairs and how, in turn, this materialises in localised enterprise.

5.6 Limitations

This study represents an important point of departure for the consideration of everyday entrepreneurial engagement with place, the theoretical incorporation of such mechanisms and how these can support varying temporal orientations and agentic dimensions. Needless to say, this study is not without its limitations.

Firstly, the study was limited by the brevity of the research process. This could be usefully addressed through a longitudinal study of the sample to attend to the numerous calls to research which have mostly gone unheeded (McMullen and Dimov 2013; Lévesque and Stephan 2020) and to further follow progress and variations (Kim et al. 2015). Such a process may offer further insights into temporal variability (Stephan 2018) and the non-linear ways in which time can operate (Lippman and Aldrich 2016), thus offering a route to delve deeper into entrepreneurs’ temporal orientations, further develop the processual model, and determine if any alternative methods of attachment or paths of action emerge.

Secondly, a drawback of this study is the unequal gender split and lack of ethnic diversity within the sample. This resulted in a cohort of entrepreneurs (75% male, 25% female) who were all white, bar one British Asian male in Great Yarmouth. This is not a reflection of interviewer bias or the outcome of convenience sampling that often has a selection bias. It is worth highlighting that the sample was selected using a process of random selection and the diversity of the sample was increased on other dimensions by controlling for certain characteristics (i.e., industrial sector) to ensure the variety of local voices were heard (Myers and Newman 2007). One can safely assume that the unequal gender split and lack of ethnic representation of entrepreneurs might therefore be a reflection of the East Anglia context and how entrepreneurial engagement with place manifests itself there.

Thirdly, the research area was restricted to East Anglia, one region of the UK. Whilst this region may be relatively small, the data derived from each case was rich, allowing research to consider in depth the real-life situations and lived experiences of entrepreneurs and to examine these within the big ‘D’ discourse (Fairhurst and Putnam 2019; McKeever et al. 2015). The research question posed, and the integrative methodology employed, allowed this to be achieved. It is important to note that the findings and relationship between entrepreneurship and place as illustrated here may not always work in this way. With this in mind, the context-sensitive findings propose a particular view of causality as “a complex and dynamic set of interactions that are treated holistically ... [where] theorising is viewed as a localised explanation” (Welch et al. 2011, 754) and the context is used to generate an interpretation for the motives and actions of the entrepreneurs that does not seek generalisability but rather “invites the reader to evaluate the applicability of their results in other situations” (Welch et al. 2011, 755). Thus, the emergent findings and conclusions are generalisable to the sample and to theoretical propositions yet not to populations of entrepreneurs as a whole, with the relevance of the contributions largely lying within their analytical application.

5.7 Directions for future research

Future research should seek to build upon the empirical and theoretical foundations laid by this study. Further empirical investigation into how context and its various forms interact contingently with the varying processes of everyday entrepreneurship can widen the domain surrounding ideas about the role of an entrepreneur and their accompanying behaviours. Not only can this contextualise and extend the narrow conceptualisations of entrepreneurship by academics (Welter et al. 2019), but it may also help to progress the institutionalised views of the media, popular press clichés and financiers' expectations (Welter et al. 2017). Exploring the relationship in more contexts in this manner can offer a holistic view of entrepreneurial engagement with place as well as the many small-scale initiatives through which individuals

and groups seek to change their worlds (Baker and Powell 2019; Rindova et al. 2009). This widened perspective may hold valuable research insights surrounding both the decision to leave the EU and the recent arrival of Covid-19. It poses the immediate research question of whether such issues may reduce immigration or affect its re-composition to incorporate more immobility and/or arrivals (with very different experiences) from elsewhere in the world, thus combining new and existing meanings to place which may serve to intensify the processes of a tripartite contestation.

The theoretical contributions of this study demonstrate how place matters for entrepreneurship. While the importance of these elements have been discussed alongside insights into how each of the mechanisms were gained, it is still likely that other mechanisms exist. Further studies are needed to explore which other mechanisms might be in play, and perhaps more visible in spatial contexts outside of East Anglia. These ideas suggest the importance of exploring the relationship between place and entrepreneurship in other countries (both advanced and developing). Many non-Western cultures have alternative constructions of the relationship between past, present, and future, which can offer insights into how particular forms of change, social creativity and reproduction can be constrained and/or enabled (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Extending the reach of this study to fluid institutional environments, such as economies in transition and developing countries, may help to better understand how entrepreneurial activities can shift the boundaries set by legal structures and norms where necessary frameworks for traditional approaches to entrepreneurship may not exist or be well-developed (Rindova et al. 2009; Welter and Baker 2020). In doing so, research may also benefit from an increasingly developed and refined conceptual vocabulary for understanding the nature and role of the spatial context (Müller and Korsgaard 2018).

Such developments may offer future research an avenue to explore a multitude of contextual concepts in more depth. One such way may be furthering multi-layered notions of

embeddedness beyond the spatial domain to offer alternative insights into the nature of differentiated contextual entrepreneurial engagement (Kalantaridis et al. 2019; Wigren-Kristofersen et al. 2019; Welter et al. 2019). Do multiple temporalities reflect on the multiple embeddedness of individuals? ‘Temporal embeddedness’ may mean that individuals are embedded and attached within a time frame and a place even when removed from context – e.g., Greeks who migrated to Western Europe for work exhibiting more traditional ‘Greek’ characteristics than modern-day families still living in Greece. Future research may very well wish to navigate how entrepreneurs may be variously embedded within the multiplicity of intertwining contexts including, but not limited to, the spatial, social, institutional, and temporal. One way this may be beneficially incorporated into research is through the implementation of a longitudinal approach to this study (and its sample) to analyse the stability of the emergent findings across time. How and why entrepreneurs introduce and maintain the varying mechanisms demonstrated here alongside their alternative perceptions of time is a question that invites further empirical investigation (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). Such an inquiry will help solidify the notion of evolving places and that these are neither homogeneous nor static spaces, albeit without neglecting to remind policymakers that they also need to think about maintenance of entrepreneurial attachment if they want places to be cared for by its people, to influence change, and as a result, thrive in the long term. Future research may also wish to employ a similar methodological approach to this study yet include more female entrepreneurs with specific reference to diversity of ethnicity within the sample to gain an even broader understanding of the heterogeneous nature of contextual entrepreneurship.

Moreover, as entrepreneurs alter or shift between the agentic dimensions, dialogically reconstructing a tripartite contestation of place, they may increase or decrease their capacity for invention, choice, and transformative impact in relation to the situational contexts within which they act. Such a conception opens up compelling questions for future research. Given

the causes-of-effects explanations of the theoretical formulations proposed here, the empirical challenge becomes that of locating, comparing, and predicting the relationship between different kinds of entrepreneurial agentic processes and particular structuring contexts of action. A national or international quantitative survey may therefore be useful into gaining these insights through testing the mechanisms and emergent themes of this study and therefore determining the specific outcomes (effects-of-causes) for both entrepreneurship and place. In discerning the outcomes of a tripartite contestation of place, research may offer insights towards the ‘invisible hand of the market’ and anonymous macro social dynamics which have the power and influence to help create, maintain and change entrepreneurial places, how this may work, and ways in which entrepreneurial places can be made to be more democratic and inclusive (Welter and Baker 2020).

Finally, the agentic dimensions of maintaining established, breaking into pre-existing, and establishing new norms, values and social structures of place have inherent links to Thomas Lawrence’s ideas of institutional work. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006, 215) define institutional work as “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” which incorporates three main aspects: it depicts institutional actors as reflexive, goal-oriented and capable; it focuses on actors’ actions as the centre of institutional dynamics; and it strives to capture structure, agency and their interrelations (Battilana et al. 2009; Lawrence et al. 2013). While the outcome-focused links between Lawrence’s body of work and the theoretical contributions of this study are unable to be explored in depth here, future research may wish to draw upon institutional work as an orienting concept for further developing the theoretical model proposed in this chapter. Such work may be able to depict the relationship between institutional dynamics and entrepreneurial cognition and action, broadening understanding of the varieties of work aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions within and across contexts (Zietsma and Lawrence 2010), thus delving

deeper into the specificity of outcomes rather than the *process* entrepreneurs may use to get there. As institutions only change slowly (Suddaby et al. 2014) it is often difficult to study their effects on entrepreneurship, to identify the origins and impacts of institutions, and the processes by which they change (North 1990; Wadhvani 2016). This temporally sensitive direction for future research could provide a way to overcome such issues and examine social structures and entrepreneurial processes with newfound appreciation.

As future research may become more outcome-focused, all the talk about contexts and contextualisation threatens to overwhelm academia with its potential complexity (Baker and Welter 2020; Welter and Baker 2020). Nevertheless, the relatively clear directions forward proposed here offer the chance to ‘find the entrepreneur in entrepreneurship’ (Gartner et al. 1994), not in isolation but hand-in-hand with the context, thus understanding the ‘real’ agent-place interactions that trigger both intended and unintended entrepreneurial outcomes and the mechanism of how and why this works, or not, within context.

5.8 Conclusions

To conclude this thesis it is important to revisit the research question – what is the nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place? It is imperative to note here that the focus is not on contextual outcomes such as economic growth, job creation, or deprivation indices, but rather about the process of engaging with place and what this means for both the individual entrepreneur and the spatial context. Analysing entrepreneurial engagement with place in depth in this manner has revealed that the core contribution of this study is threefold: 1) it has developed and theorised seven novel mechanisms of attachment to place and conceptually advanced three existing others; 2) the development of the temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs demonstrates the differentiated nature of entrepreneurial engagement with place through entrepreneurs variously immersing themselves within social conditions and relationships to

support varying temporal orientations and agentic dimensions; 3) such orientations and dimensions can serve to influence spatial outcomes, reconceptualising place through entrepreneurial agency captured within a tripartite contestation.

It is evident from the literature that context shapes entrepreneurship, yet it is lesser known the extent to which entrepreneurship affects context. This study's integrative methodology and novel approach to considering the temporal gives answers that the field's typical approaches have been unable to find (Welter and Baker 2020). Understanding that the temporal orientations of entrepreneurs vary between and across contexts and influence both mechanisms of attachment and agentic dimensions offers precious advancement for entrepreneurship research to embrace much more than has yet been imagined. Such a perspective enabled the development of the temporally sensitive model detailing specifically how this dynamic interplay works within four case studies in the East of England.

The premise of the model is that the nature of the relationship between entrepreneurship and place is differentiated and the subsequent contestation of place is tripartite. It argues that entrepreneurs are always simultaneously living in the past, present and future, continually adjusting the various temporalities of their existence centred around the engagement (and disengagement) of all the actors which constitute their contextual environment (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). They interact with patterns and experiences from the past, adjust their actions to the emerging situations of the present and project future pathways of development for both themselves and their aspirations of place. Moreover, there are times and places when entrepreneurs are more oriented toward the past, more evaluative of the present, or more directive toward the future (Bluedorn 2002). This study offers a means to understanding the different temporal orientations of entrepreneurial activity, allowing research to examine forms of agentic dimensions which are intrinsically linked to the temporally sensitive micro-level processes and relevant methods of attachment of situated actors. In examining such changes

scholars and policymakers alike can gain crucial insights into the transformative leverage of a tripartite contestation of place shown by entrepreneurs in relation to the constraining and enabling contexts of action. It should be noted that a tripartite contestation arising from varying agentic dimensions may not necessarily always generate morally superior outcomes in response to problematic situations. Its potential inventiveness can be for good or bad, it can be positive or negative depending on both the circumstance and the individual(s) involved. Nevertheless, in better understanding and analysing the relationship between multiple contexts and entrepreneurship, this process extends current theorising of how entrepreneurial places are made, changed and developed, towards consideration of how contexts are constructed, or 'done', by entrepreneurs (Baker and Welter 2020). Not only does this advance a new, more fluid theorisation of context than the somewhat static approach historically employed by literature (Bika and Frazer 2020), it opens up unlimited possibilities towards the ongoing reconceptualisation of place.

This advancement therefore addresses preconceptions within the literature as it goes against the assumption of time as being linear, occurring steadily in the background, producing a stronger attachment to place for a greater length of residence, or something which should be controlled. Instead, it shows that entrepreneurs carry with them different experiences of time that impact and influence their varying contextual engagement, mechanisms of attachment to place, and subsequent agentic dimensions. It demonstrates that the relationship between entrepreneurship and place is an ongoing trajectory between the temporal and the spatial constituted through a series of iterative feedback loops. It is the varying temporal orientations which make entrepreneurship *work* in place – without both time and place not only would entrepreneurs fail to be located, they would essentially have no place and no room for manoeuvre to undertake the very activities that bestow them such a title. The temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship

occurs is not intended to provide a fully articulated theoretical perspective but, rather, to stimulate a conversation in the field about differentiated entrepreneurial engagement with place, how this offers transformative leverage and the novel research directions that this advancement opens up. It emphasises the multiplicity of ‘when and where contexts’ and demonstrates that they must be theorised together to depict the interplay of entrepreneurship, place and temporality. Increased focus on these dynamics can greatly enrich the theorising of contexts in entrepreneurship as they provide a greater insight into considering more and different facets of the lived reality of ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ alongside their aspirations and efforts to create change in the world.

In this fashion, the temporally sensitive context-mechanism-outcome theoretical model of when and where entrepreneurship occurs may bring a fuller, more comprehensive understanding of the processes of entrepreneurship as it can account for much more variability and diversity in terms of region of origin, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and economic, social and cultural resources. This provides building blocks for creating new theory by connecting ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ from varying contexts on the basis of experiences, values and attitudes (Currid-Halkett 2017). Contextualising entrepreneurship research within the sociocultural and institutional settings in this manner helps to understand what shapes entrepreneurial actions (Kloosterman and Rath 2018), thus transcending the idea of direct dyadic, personal relations (Granovetter 1985) and instead unpacking the differentiated relationships between the micro-level of the entrepreneurs and the meso and macro-level (Mitchell 2015), ultimately contributing towards a fuller understanding of the entrepreneurship phenomenon and how its plurality of contexts may continuously and variably impact upon each other (Basco 2017). This therefore provides an avenue to overcome the shortages of the preoccupation with macro-level outcomes (Welter et al. 2019), instead allowing researchers to talk about the ‘becoming’ of the variables (Jackson et al. 2019). Moving towards understanding

‘multiple causality’ and ‘middle-range’ theories (i.e., “being linked to empirically bounded phenomena” as suggested by Jackson et al. [2019, 35]) offers the chance to empirically explore the causal pathways (Welch et al. 2011) of how and why entrepreneurs engage with place (Parkinson et al. 2017; Wright and Stigliani 2013). The hope is that by bringing more mechanisms to bear and thus making more dynamics visible, research will be able to create a broader base for driving work forward to capture the real everyday world of entrepreneurship across places and times. It is indeed an academic journey worth taking.

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Appendices



Appendix 1 – Cover letter

[Name]
[Address Line 1]
[Address Line2]

[Date]

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Dear [Name],

On behalf of the University of East Anglia (UEA) we are undertaking research to discover, explore and evaluate the relationship between small and medium-sized businesses and community development within [case]. With a turbulent economic environment and times of rapid change, it has become increasingly important to understand how our businesses interact with, and rely on, the locale and community in which they are based. We are therefore looking for independent enterprises within [case] to participate in this research.

It is important for us to talk to people like yourself who own or manage such businesses within the [case] area. Therefore, we would be extremely grateful if you could spare an hour to participate in a face-to-face interview when one of us will be visiting the area in the next few weeks or so. We shall call you soon to enquire after your availability.

We would also like to reassure you that all information that you may decide to provide us with will be treated with the utmost confidence and no names, nor company names, will feature in the published research findings.

Yours sincerely,

George Redhead and Dr Zografia Bika

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Appendix 2 – Interview guide

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND PLACE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview length:

Company Name and Address:

Interviewee Name:

Interviewee Age:

Interviewee Gender:

Interviewee Role:

Date:

Time:

INTRODUCTION

Thank you for being willing to take part in an interview for this research. Can I first of all assure you that you, and all of the information you provide, will remain completely anonymous and no records of the interview will be kept with your name on them.

Also, I would like to ask you for permission to audio record this interview. This is so that there is an accurate recording of your responses and opinions, improving the validity of the data set. This will also facilitate the analysis of the data which will have to be conducted during the latter course of the research.

If you have no further questions, I would like briefly to introduce you to the subject of this interview:

[THIS INTERVIEW WILL CONCERN HOW YOU AND YOUR COMPANY ENGAGE WITH AND RELATE TO [CASE]].

GENERAL INQUISITION

Q1 Can I first ask you the nature of your business?

A) What activities does the business do?

B) How many employees?

- Q2 And secondly, what is the history of your business?
- A) What are the origins of the business? (resources, competitive edge, change, challenges)
 - B) How were resources gained for start-up? (Social, economic and technological)
 - a. Who was involved in the process of starting/developing the business? (Both external and internal actors and the nature/origins of their relationships)
 - b. What are the reasons that underpinned the decision to go ahead, the problems/opportunities encountered and how were these resolved or sought?
 - C) What was the role of different external but also different internal actors in the process of developing the business? (explore the nature, role and significance of relationships)
- [If necessary, probe further: Family business? /Which generation? /Acquired or built up? /Always been local? /Ever expanded out of the area? /(Multiple)Embeddedness?]

Q3 Where about in the borough is your business located?

- A) Why did you choose this location?
 - a. Geographic location – why this specific location?
 - b. Material form – resources/labour/clustering/infrastructure/gap in the market
 - c. Meaning and value

Q4 Do you consider your business to be entrepreneurial?

- A) Why? /Why not?
 - a. How has this developed over time?
- B) What does entrepreneurship mean to you? (i.e., how is it constructed?)
- C) How does your business fit/not fit into your description?

Q5 Who is the entrepreneur in this venture?

- A) What is their background? (e.g., origins, education, employment history, migration status)
- B) What is their role? (Allows a deeper insight rather than just a general overview of what the company does)

Q6 Generally, how do you view [case]? (Thoughts and feelings & Metaphors – Home, a good market, exciting place to live, suitable place for families, source of skilled/cheap labour)

- A) Why do you feel this way?
 - a. What significance does feeling this way hold for you and your business?
- B) How would you describe your relationship with place? (Metaphors – e.g., son/daughter, responsible citizen, an employer, etc.,)
 - a. Why do you feel this way?
- C) How has this developed over time?
- D) Do you feel as if the area meets your needs (emotional, social and spatial)?
 - a. How does it/doesn't it?
 - b. Do you think that this is important?

Q7 How do these factors relate to [case] as a business location?

- A) Has any of this affected your business in any way either positive or negative?
 - a. What actions have you taken to rectify/enhance this?
 - b. How do you feel others view [case] as a business location?
 - c. How important is the location in enabling or obstructing innovation?
- B) Do you make use of any networks here?
 - a. If so, What? If not, why? Do you know of any local networks?
 - b. If struggling, probe further - networks within the supply chain, regional/national/international, knowledge-related or sectoral ones?

Q8 Do you feel that the level of prosperity here influences entrepreneurship?

- A) How?
 - a. Has it helped or hindered your entrepreneurial growth?
 - b. Technical infrastructure (e.g., transport, communication etc.,) or Soft Infrastructure (e.g., research institutes, incubators, local know-how etc.,)

- B) Do you feel that there are ways to overcome/make the most of these issues/aspects?
 - a. How could these be implemented?
 - b. Whose responsibility do you feel that this is? Regional incentives?
 - c. Why?

- Q9 Are there any activities you have done which have contributed positively (or negatively) to the development of [case]? (Both PLACE and COMMUNITY)
- A) If not, is there anything you feel you could do? How can this change things?
 - a. Why do you feel this hasn't happened?
 - B) If yes, what have you done and why?
 - a. What significance does this hold for you?
 - C) How did this contribute to the development of the area? Did it make a difference?
 - D) What kind of recognition did you receive for doing this, if any? Is such recognition needed?

- Q10 What keeps you here?
- A) Was there a something which happened (i.e., a process) that made you feel attached here? Or created a sense of belonging? Or influenced the perceptions of place?
 - a. Explore the reasons for staying or migrating here both in business and personal terms
 - b. Examine their understanding of the place as well as their embeddedness (belonging)

- Q11 What are yours and your business' plans for the future?
- A) Do you expect to stay in [case]?
 - B) If so, why?
 - C) Do you feel there needs to be specific improvements?
 - D) Do you feel as if your businesses' future work and presence could offer any specific improvements?

Q12 Do you feel as if there is anything we have missed, or is there anything else you would like to talk about?

CONCLUSION

Firstly, I would like to thank you very much for your patience, it is much appreciated. Do you have any other comments at all about anything that we have discussed, or about the research as a whole?

If you want, a transcript of the interview can be sent to you along with a summary of the research findings. You are also more than welcome to have a full copy of the final report as well.

Appendix 3 – The collective voice of the context quotes

Cambridge

- High business costs (start-up failure)

Place as it was

“From April [2017], business rates will be based on 2015 rental values — which are the data being released on Friday — rather than on the pre-recession values of 2008 ... As business rates are the third-largest outgoing for most businesses after rent and salaries, the changes could have a severe impact on those groups operating on tight margins and who are unprepared for a sharp rates increase ... Office occupiers in ... Cambridge ... are expected to face increases of more than 35%” 29/09/16 *Financial Times*, Vanessa Houlder, *Journalist*

Place as it is

“With more than four million tourists visiting each year, the locals fear that the city is turning into a theme park, locking out small shop-keepers and ruining the idyllic streets” 17/02/14 *The Independent*, Margareta Pagano, *Journalist*

“A new study of house prices to earnings ratios across the UK reveals [Cambridge as the third] most unaffordable place to live” 26/02/15 *The Telegraph*, Anna White, *Property correspondent*

“Our magical toy shop can no longer survive in the city that Cambridge has become. It really is a sad day, not just for us but for Cambridge too if a shop like ours can’t survive” 28/12/16 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Paul Warner, *Former toy shop owner*

“Independent shops are buckling left, right and centre under the strain of high [rent and rates] ... there are no independent shops left ... There is such high demand for shops that landlords don’t really care if your business survives or not – they can easily fill your place” 11/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Piero D’Angelico, *Mill Road Traders Association*

“We are still seeing that supply against demand in Cambridge is causing an uplift in prices across all locations” 22/05/17 *Business Weekly*, Steven Harvey, *Cheffins local property expert*

“The growth we have seen in Cambridge over the last 12 months has been nothing short of astonishing. City centre stock levels are now critically low which has resulted in occupiers challenging for space and driving rents upwards at an unprecedented pace” 14/02/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Patrick Stanton, *Bidwells Partner*

“Office prices in Cambridge hit eye-watering high ... [with] the Cambridge office space boom show[ing] no sign of slowing down” 29/03/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Matt Gooding, *Journalist*

“Being an entrepreneur is not without the risks and in a place like Cambridge it can be quite pricey. In fact, the number of 'To Let' signs is quite astonishing in ... popular streets. It's not just independent shops which struggle here in Cambridge. Major brands ... have also closed their doors” 15/06/19 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Nicola Gwyer, *Journalist*

“There are many issues, it's simple but it's complicated ... [market traders] spend nothing on rates, whereas I have to pay £70,000 per year - which does not include refuse collection which is £7,000. That hurts us.” 06/09/19 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Pasquale Benedetto, *Longstanding Restaurateur*

Place as it could be

“Strength in numbers ... A free service introduced by Cambridge Business Improvement District (BID) has so far saved city centre businesses £135,500 on their running costs ... a collaboration of 1,100 businesses,

working together to promote and improve the city centre - was established ... to support businesses and make them sustainable, through helping them to cut down their costs ... sourcing the best contracts in the marketplace” 07/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Jenny Chapman, Journalist*

“We need to subsidise rents for small businesses. Big chains can afford to pay £80,000 a year, but independent traders can’t ... business rates – “they are set by the government and are excessively high”. They do not correlate to the state of the economy and to the success of the business – there is no justification for them” 11/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Piero D'Angelico, Mill Road Traders Association*

“I said no to all the cafe and hair salon proposals and waited six months for the right tenant ... Fighting for trade with similar competitors is not a good business model, and there’s more to business than making a profit. For me, stability is important, as is being ethical – I love independent business and I own one myself” 11/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Anil Sharma, Local shop landlord*

“The way forward for many businesses is to expand their online presence ... [and] to make sure people are signposted to parts of the city they wouldn't normally go to, so that those shops do well” 11/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Daniel Zeichner, Labour MP*

“The main issue is the lack of sufficient schemes ready for occupation ... businesses requiring immediate space will be hard pushed to find it ... This shortfall of suitable sites coupled with strong demand is having an upward impact on rents and we expect this trajectory to continue” 29/03/18 *Cambridgeshire Live, Will Mooney, Head of Cambridge Carter Jonas & Local property expert*

- **University control**

Place as it was

“The college [Trinity] remains one of Britain’s largest landowners. It was once said anecdotally that in olden times you could ride from York to Kent without leaving Trinity land” 29/01/12 *Business Weekly, Tony Quested, Journalist*

“The enormous wealth is attributed to building assets and land ownership accumulated over Cambridge [University’s] 800 year history” 02/03/12 *The Telegraph, University Education Report*

Place as it is

“Cambridge Science Park owner Trinity College has made another sensational foray into big city property deals with a mega-million pound swoop to buy 50 per cent of a Tesco plc stores portfolio ... reportedly worth £450m” 29/01/12 *Business Weekly, Tony Quested, Journalist*

“Cambridge University is richer than any other British university with £4 billion of assets, according to a new analysis ... the wealth gap figures attracted fresh criticisms of elitism” 02/03/12 *The Telegraph, University Education Report*

“During the past few decades, more than 1,500 technology companies have emerged from the so-called Cambridge Cluster. Of those, Prof Borysiewicz [Cambridge University Vice-Chancellor] says the university has backed 300 hi-tech and 200-computer based companies (which earn £250m between them) with more than a £1bn of funding and it also owns the IP on more than 1,000 patents” 17/02/14 *The Independent, Margareta Pagano, Journalist*

“The ‘town’ versus ‘gown’ divide in Cambridge has grown in recent decades as the university has become increasingly closed off from the general public ... and it can make the place look (which it shouldn’t be) like a two-party town” 15/04/14 *The Telegraph, Miranda Prynne, News Reporter*

“Only the rich can afford to work at Oxford and Cambridge” 20/11/15 *The Guardian, Anonymous Academic*

“The main issue is the extra rent we are being asked to pay by the college that owns the building, Sidney Sussex ... The college wanted quite a high increase in rent, although ... It’s just not viable” 28/12/16 *Cambridgeshire Live, Vivienne Watson, Former toy shop owner*

“Independent businesses in Cambridge have to be very savvy to survive in such an unrealistic market, which is dominated by Cambridge University college landlords” 11/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Piero D’Angelico, Mill Road Traders Association*

“The city has become so unequal it now tops the chart for the most unequal city in the UK (Centre for Cities, 2017)” 05/04/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Freya Leng, Journalist*

“Cambridge office building achieves record rental values ... Cheffins has provided significant savings to the college [landlord] throughout each level of the process, whilst simultaneously achieving an uplift in rental values of over 50 per cent” 22/05/17 *Business Weekly, Kate Sweeney, Journalist*

“‘Town v gown’ battle over Cambridge University bid to block village green ... for sports and pastimes ‘as of right’” 12/07/17 *Cambridgeshire Live, Raymond Brown, Journalist*

“Cambridge’s wealthiest college, Trinity, increased its net worth by £158.6 million in the 2016/17 academic year, £2 million more than the combined assets of the poorest four colleges, new figures have shown” 02/02/18 *Varsity, Jack Conway and Edwards Pinnegar, Student Journalists*

“[Colleges and international occupiers] are setting the rental tone of the city’s office and laboratory market. This could negatively impact businesses that already occupy space in the city but have rent reviews in the pipeline” 29/03/18 *Cambridgeshire Live, Will Mooney, Head of Cambridge Carter Jonas & Local property expert*

“Trinity College, Cambridge, is the wealthiest of the individual colleges with published assets worth £1.3bn in its latest accounts ... [second is] St John’s College holding £780.1m. The concentration of accumulated reserves of wealth in the hands of just two institutions raises questions” 28/05/18 *The Guardian, Richard Adams and Xavier Greenwood, Journalists*

“Cambridge, which holds net assets of £4.8bn ... encompass ancient and modern possessions ... the two major Cambridge landowners [being] St John’s and Trinity, which have 10,500 hectares worth £1.1bn and make up more than half of the 17,000 hectares owned by Cambridge colleges [among the] swaths of rural farmland and woodland” 29/05/18 *The Guardian, Xavier Greenwood and Richard Adams, Journalists*

Place as it could be

“Until the 1970s, the divide between town and gown was poisonous ... much of the city’s success comes from the transformation of the university into a good neighbour which now shares its valuables, lectures and museums – as well as its funds – with the locals” 17/02/14 *The Independent, Nicholas Chrimes, Local Tourist Guide & Author*

“To the north-west of the city, the University of Cambridge is working on a whopping £1bn development including new research facilities, 3,000 new homes, space for 2,000 post-graduate students, new schools and a nursery, shops and surgeries ... it’s the single biggest investment by any university in the UK. Together with another £1bn being pumped into the city by the Government for a new railway station, new houses and roads, more money is going into Cambridge than at any time since the Victorian age” 17/02/14 *The Independent, Margareta Pagano, Journalist*

“The worlds of commerce and academia are not always easy bedfellows, however ... Universities are not directly driven by money. Start-ups, consultancies, commercial companies absolutely are ... When you bring academia and industry together that's when you create exciting opportunities” 24/03/14 *BBC News, Katie Hope, Business Reporter*

“We should be working towards making Cambridge a great place for everyone. Cambridge is a university and a town worth celebrating, and worth making even better” 15/04/14 *The Telegraph, Mary Beard, Cambridge University Professor*

“A town versus gown spat in which wealthy colleges, politicians and conservation groups slug it out to shape the future of Cambridge. Who emerges victorious will reveal much about how Britain could look decades from now” 27/11/16 *The Guardian*, *Jamie Doward, Journalist*

“Cambridge has taken steps to address its own imbalances by operating the Colleges Fund, which requires the richer colleges to provide financial support to poorer colleges” 28/05/18 *The Guardian*, *Richard Adams and Xavier Greenwood, Journalists*

“Some of the universities’ vast wealth could be put to better use in funding sophisticated access and outreach programmes” 28/05/18 *The Guardian*, *David Lammy, Labour MP*

“Scrutiny is now required on land ownership, in order to solve the housing crisis, tackle a catastrophic decline in habits, and reverse spiralling inequalities in wealth ... by monopolising valuable land in prime development locations, [landowners] may be unfairly profiting from the housing crisis by hoarding land in the hope that they can sell it for more in future” 31/05/18 *The Guardian*, *Guy Shrubsole, Blogger and Contributor*

“[The university is a] public body in receipt of public funding, and the colleges are charities, with a particular social obligation towards future generations – the students they educate – and a wider responsibility passed down by history ... to pressure universities into revealing their land and property investments ... could light the touchpaper of a wider movement to fix the housing crisis by addressing its fundamental driver – the value of land, and who owns it” 31/05/18 *The Guardian*, *Guy Shrubsole, Blogger and Contributor*

- Infrastructure (traffic, parking, difficult to get around)

Place as it was

“Due to Cambridge's small and narrow streets and being a very old city, it should have received a special status and been protected by not allowing for more and more greedy developers to use every tiny green space” 11/08/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Tommy Lumby, Journalist*

“More people are now commuting by car or van in and around the city since 2011 – from 32 per cent in 2011 to 37 per cent in 2017 for Cambridge residents” 06/01/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Tara Cox, Journalist*

Place as it is

“Some shoppers in Cambridge are finding it cheaper to park illegally in the city centre and pay a fine than to use an official car park” 14/06/13 *BBC News*, *Mike Cartwright, Reporter*

“The Cambridge Toy Shop has been in business in Sussex Street for 12 years, but owner Vivienne Watson said it was no longer viable to keep trading ... blaming high college rents [and] steep parking fees” 28/12/16 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Chris Elliott, Journalist*

“Cambridge has 13th worst traffic levels in the UK. Research suggests that the city's congestion is costing motorists an average of £834 a year ... [and] more than a day's worth of time stuck in congestion” 20/02/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Tom Pilgrim, Journalist*

“Cambridge is the UK's gridlock capital ... A new study has discovered drivers in the Cambridge area crawl along at an average of 13.73 miles an hour - half the average speed for the nation as a whole” 11/04/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Chris Elliott, Journalist*

“Cambridge's car parks make a profit of more than £6million ... [which] makes them the 32nd most profitable in England, according to figures released by the RAC” 28/11/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Rachael McMenemy, Journalist*

“Traffic congestion is ranked the biggest transport challenge (64.6 per cent), with key issues being lack of adequate and reliable public transport (both 42 per cent)” 06/01/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Tara Cox, *Journalist*

“It is notoriously difficult to find parking in Cambridge, not to mention expensive, so many drivers resort to parking in front of homes” 19/01/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Raymond Brown, *Journalist*

“Drivers coughed up more than £1 million in fines and pay and display tickets after parking on the city's roads last year, new figures have revealed” 02/02/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Samar Maguire, *Journalist*

“Drivers in Cambridge face the highest number of days in a year stuck in traffic – almost double the time spent by commuters in London ... [naming] Cambridge as the congestion capital ... [spending] 23 days getting to and from work at peak times [per year]” 03/04/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Tara Cox, *Journalist*

“The Grand Arcade Car Park is the most expensive costing £25 for six hours” 20/04/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Raymond Brown, *Journalist*

“Rents have gone up, congestion has got worse – those are all features of an economy which is out of balance. We haven't been building enough houses, we haven't paid enough attention to transport, while at the same time the economy has been growing very quickly” 01/07/18 *Cambridge Independent*, Ian Mather, *Cambridge Ahead Chair*

“You've got parking issues. People would rather go out to a village diner than [Cambridge] because they've got to spend £20 to park, on top of the money they would be spending on food” 06/09/19 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Pasquale Benedetto, *Longstanding Restaurateur*

“At best, the commute into Cambridge in the mornings is at a snail's pace” 27/09/19 *Cambridge Independent*, Alex Spencer, *Journalist*

Place as it could be

“[‘Silicon Fen’] is producing annual employment growth of 7.4% – faster than China, they say. They want more than 35,000 houses to be built and investment poured into roads and rail to keep Cambridge up to speed” 23/07/16 *The Guardian*, Terry Macalister, *Journalist*

“Britain should create its own high-tech Silicon Valley with new rail links and housing between the university cities of Cambridge and Oxford, the Infrastructure Commission has recommended” 16/11/16 *Financial Times*, Gill Plimmer, *Journalist*

“To alleviate pressure on infrastructure, the Greater Cambridge City Deal, a body set up by local councils, is considering plans for a dedicated busway, up to 20m wide and with the potential to take driverless cars, through the fields and water meadows west of Cambridge” 27/11/16 *The Guardian*, Jamie Doward, *Journalist*

“The top city for travelling in was Edinburgh, with Salford in second place and Cardiff third. Interesting how two of those have council-run buses ... Until we have a subsidised public transport system nothing much will change” 11/08/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Tommy Lumby, *Journalist*

“Dramatic plans to tackle congestion and poor air quality could mean petrol and diesel vehicles being banned from parts of Cambridge city centre” 12/12/17 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Josh Thomas, *Local Democracy Reporter*

“There is general acceptance that car travel needs to be disincentivised ... [with] support for a form of road charging and pollution charging ... [but] this would only be viable if people had access to good alternatives first, and that any charge was applied in a fair way” 06/01/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Tara Cox, *Journalist*

“Fresh calls have been made for better public transport routes to help reduce the city's growing congestion woes ... [as] the net population increase of traffic in Cambridge rose by 294 per cent” 03/04/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Tara Cox, *Journalist*

“Creating a motorway link between the A1(M) and the M11 ... [will help] reduce congestion and help traffic move more smoothly ... [which] would be fantastic news for the region and the communities”
07/09/18 *Cambridge Independent*, David Bray, *Highways England Project Director*

“Cycling has been hailed as the way to solve the city’s congestion problems, with plans for a Cambridge metro and light rail being dismissed as ‘fantasy’ ... [seeing as] cycling rates in Cambridge are the highest in the English speaking world” 30/11/18 *Cambridge Independent*, Josh Thomas, *Local Democracy Reporter*

“Some people are calling for roads to be partially closed to cars to improve air quality and congestion in the city” 29/10/19 *Cambridgeshire Live*, Robin Heydon, *Journalist*

- ‘Silicon Fen’ (clustering, retaining/losing talent)

Place as it was

“The 1960s and early 1970s were tough for technology companies in Cambridge, with attitudes and planning restrictions set against anything vaguely commercial” 09/05/12 *BBC News*, Charles Cotton and Kate Kirk, *Co-authors of ‘The Cambridge Phenomenon’*

“Within the university, much of the pressure [for industrial development in the 1960s] came from researchers in physics, engineering and computing who came to see local industrial development in their fields as desirable for various reasons: as a way of exploiting their research via startup ventures; as a potential source of research collaboration and funding; and as a way of boosting the employability of their students” 01/12/13 *The Guardian*, John Naughton, *Journalist*

“Innovation by itself is nothing ... It’s extraordinary people that make this place: Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, Charles Darwin, Francis Crick and James Watson to name a few. Cambridge ideas really have changed the world. What used to happen is that these ideas would go off elsewhere but then, in the late 1970s to early 1980s, Cambridge people got smart, they got organised and they got the desire to achieve. Professors are company directors and vice-versa. Cambridge is booming because we have a real community of -enterprise and social inclusion. Everyone shares with each other and it’s cosmopolitan; a global village” 17/02/14 *The Independent*, Alan Barrel, *Cambridge University Professor*

“Once a sleepy market town with a major academic institution at its heart, Cambridge is now about computer technology and biosciences as well” 23/07/16 *The Guardian*, Terry Macalister, *Journalist*

“The transformation began in 1970 when Trinity college invested in what became Britain’s first science park, drawing in the businesses as well as research institutes. Since then, the initiatives have piled up to create a dynamic whole ... The collaboration fostered by Lord Broers and a group of academics and entrepreneurs — mostly Cambridge alumni — over the past 30 years has transformed the region into an innovation centre nicknamed Silicon Fen, after the surrounding wetlands” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, William Wallis, *Journalist*

“In the 1950s local authorities, in an effort to protect the ‘sanctity’ of the university, enforced a cordon sanitaire, preventing businesses from setting up within 12 miles. Now by and large the academic community doesn’t regard itself as walled off” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, Matthew Bullock, *Master of St Edmund’s College*

Place as it is

“Cambridge’s strength is a continually evolving ecosystem employing many thousands of people. It is inspiring new markets, new companies, new products and services, and is sustainable” 09/05/12 *BBC News*, Charles Cotton and Kate Kirk, *Co-authors of ‘The Cambridge Phenomenon’*

“The ‘Cambridge phenomenon’ – the extraordinary ecosystem of science- and technology-based companies in and around the town – has acquired near-mythological status ... now ranked as one of the top three ‘innovation ecosystems’ in the world” 01/12/13 *The Guardian*, John Naughton, *Journalist*

“Companies have a fantastic survival rate: 80 per cent of start-ups are viable after three years, compared with 58 per cent nationally ... Cambridge workers are rated the most highly-skilled in the country and average earnings of £40,000-a-year are higher than elsewhere. Unemployment is a low 3 per cent and there are fewer people on Jobseeker’s Allowance than elsewhere in the UK” 17/02/14 *The Independent*, *Margareta Pagano, Journalist*

“Scratch the surface of “Silicon Fen”, however, and there is significant unease ... Cambridge has been suffering enormous growth tensions for some time and has been served up with a Brexit vote it did not want ... leaders have complained that growth is being stifled by poor transport connections and insufficient housing” 23/07/16 *The Guardian*, *Terry Macalister, Journalist*

“Thanks to the draw of its university, Cambridge has become a magnet for technology and biomedical firms. But this brings attendant pressures. Between 2001 and 2011, the population of Cambridge ... increased by 14% ... placing huge demands on housing” 27/11/16 *The Guardian*, *Jamie Doward, Journalist*

“We’ve got an economy where jobs growth in recent years has been 7% ... but housing has been growing by 2.6%. We’ve got to balance the number of jobs with the need for more housing. People on low incomes are being forced out” 27/11/16 *The Guardian*, *Lewis Herbert, Cambridge City Council*

“The city continues to be one of the leading economic powerhouses in the UK ... as Cambridge enjoys inward investment from a variety of different sectors alongside the tech and biotech industries” 22/05/17 *Business Weekly*, *Steven Harvey, Cheffins local property expert*

“There is a myriad of change because the job market is ever tougher. In a full employment economy, such as we have in Cambridge, the recruitment and retention of quality talent and clients is a key issue for any business” 31/05/17 *Cambridge Independent*, *Colin Jones, Construction Law Specialist*

“Cambridgeshire’s reputation as a world-class centre of excellence in technology and life science continues to act as a huge draw for international occupiers. This, and the government’s commitment to supporting such areas of innovation in its Industrial Strategy only serve to increase the city’s appeal” 29/03/18 *Cambridgeshire Live*, *Will Mooney, Head of Cambridge Carter Jonas & Local property expert*

“The UK’s annual state of the nation’ report on the country’s tech sector ... stated that the top three challenges in Cambridge (which contains the world-renowned ‘Silicon Fen’ tech cluster) were 1. Cost of living; 2. Access to talent (which will be affected by immigration rules before and after Brexit); 3. Brexit” 17/05/18 *Tech Crunch*, *Mike Butcher, Editor*

“If something doesn’t work there are people [here] in the sector who can put it right, or tell you it’s a waste of time and money. If funding dries up, employees have options to move elsewhere. If everything goes to plan there is a pool of the best talent to poach from” 01/07/18 *Cambridge Independent*, *Ben Comber, Journalist*

“The Cambridge ecosystem holds one of the richest seams of scientific knowledge and technological innovation in the world” 01/04/19 *Cambridge Independent*, *Paul Brackley, Journalist*

“One of the biggest reasons you come to Cambridge is the network you build” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, *William Wallis, Journalist*

“Plenty of challenges exist. Rents are soaring, traffic worsening and inequality is on the rise. Competition to hire software engineers and biochemists is rivalled by the difficulty in finding receptionists and baristas who can afford to live in the area” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, *Derek Jones, Babraham Research Campus*

“[When] American friends ring him up to ask how [Lord Broers] is surviving ongoing political turmoil in the UK [Brexit], he tells them: “I don’t live in England. I live in Cambridge.”” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, *Lord Alec Broers, Former Cambridge University Vice-Chancellor*

“[It is] a low risk environment to do high risk things” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, *Hermann Hauser, Cambridge Angel Investor*

Place as it could be

“People in the Cambridge cluster are willing to collaborate and share knowledge. They are also willing to put something back, and this is particularly evident in the growth of angel funding groups, where successful local entrepreneurs offer experience and finance, providing a nurturing environment for young companies” 09/05/12 *BBC News*, Charles Cotton and Kate Kirk, Co-authors of *The Cambridge Phenomenon*

“The ‘Cambridge phenomenon’ tells us that innovation ecosystems cannot be bought off the shelf and installed wherever governments wish to locate them ... they take lots of time to evolve and mature” 01/12/13 *The Guardian*, John Naughton, *Journalist*

“Trying to replicate the city’s DNA would be dangerous because the ecosystem, however successful, is fragile and unique” 17/02/14 *The Independent*, Sir Leszek Borysiewicz, *Cambridge University Vice-Chancellor*

“To succeed in the global economy, the UK must build on its strengths. The corridor connecting Cambridge, Milton Keynes and Oxford could be Britain’s Silicon Valley — a globally recognised centre for science, technology and innovation. But its future success is not guaranteed. This is a once-in-a-generation opportunity — we must grab it with both hands” 16/11/16 *Financial Times*, Sir John Armitt, *Infrastructure Commission Deputy Chairman*

“Some in the Cambridge development lobby want to go much further. They talk of transforming Cambridge (population: 125,000) into a city of 600,000 inhabitants and a million workers. It is a vision that has captured the attention of the government, which talks of building a new “Silicon Fen” between Milton Keynes and Cambridge” 27/11/16 *The Guardian*, Jamie Doward, *Journalist*

“Brexit undoubtedly hangs over the market, but Cambridge (or as it sometimes referred to “Silicon Fen”) remains a magnet for science and technology companies” 12/02/19 *Information Age*, Andrew Ross, *Reporter*

[Cambridge] doesn’t have a start-up problem. We have a scale-up problem ... now backing some [new technologies Mr Hauser is] going to try to hang on to this one [retaining talent and intellectual property]” 03/07/19 *Financial Times*, Hermann Hauser, *Cambridge Angel Investor*

Great Yarmouth

- Empty shops

Place as it was

“In its heyday the Victoria Arcade in Great Yarmouth was packed full of unique and ingenious businesses. But now almost half of the premises are empty and its once vibrant atmosphere has been relinquished” 25/10/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Joseph Norton, *Journalist*

“It saddens me to see its decline ... it breaks my heart to see the town centre half empty and like a shell of what it was” 29/01/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Matthew Ceiley, *Local Musician*

“Those of a certain age will remember what seems like a boom time for retail when the spectre of today’s vacancy rates was a distant nightmare” 31/01/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Liz Coates, *Journalist*

“It is impossible to list the missing umpteen town centre shops and stores in Yarmouth and Gorleston. The Market Place so-called “country stalls” where smallholders sold their produce are but a memory. Bakery closures include Matthes, Purdy’s, Bullards and smaller ones. Banks are fewer, the Royal Bank of Scotland on Hall Quay being the latest departure. Yarmouth and Gorleston both had head post offices, their services now available in shops” 03/02/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Peggotty, *Contributor & Resident*

“The town centre no longer offers the same shopping experience it once did” 17/03/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Joseph Norton, *Journalist*

Place as it is

"We are obviously disappointed in losing a very successful retailer ... from the centre... The situation that retail is in at the moment is that with the current economic climate, people are looking to save money; so the type of shops expanding are the shops offering discounts" 25/08/11 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Nick Spencer, *Shopping Centre Manager*

"[New businesses moving in would be] a show of confidence in the town where the economic down-turn has thrown up a clutch of empty shops" 07/12/12 *Eastern Daily Press*, Liz Coates, *Journalist*

"Marks & Spencer is to close its King Street store in Great Yarmouth... The move, announced yesterday, has disappointed and caused concern in the community" 14/07/14 *Lowestoft Journal*, Anne Edwards, *Journalist*

"Compan[ies'] decision[s] to leave [the town centre] for the out-of-town retail parks have been criticised by many people" 13/01/15 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Lauren Rogers, *Journalist*

"Industry [in East Anglia] could suffer from "unfair" changes to business rates, a sector leader has warned, as pressure mounts on the government to think again over its revaluation ... There are some really good entrepreneurs in our industry for who nothing is happening. It really is stifling expansion" 22/02/17 *Eastern Daily Press*, Martin Dupee & Victoria MacDonald, *Chairman of Norfolk and Suffolk Tourist Attractions & Landlady*

"Walk around Great Yarmouth and it's not hard to find empty shops crying out for new life ... once bright windows have given way to a boarded-up bleakness" 20/09/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Liz Coates, *Journalist*

"The historic market, cheap prices and family friendly feel ... make Yarmouth so great according to residents and visitors but the number of empty shops and amount of litter are cited as reasons for concern" 20/11/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, David Hannant, *Local Democracy Reporter*

"With the departure of H Samuel a row of shops will sit dark and empty facing what was one of the main pedestrian shopping zones in the town" 17/01/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Eleanor Pringle, *Journalist*

"It is tough out there on the high street for shops struggling to make ends meet" 31/01/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Liz Coates, *Journalist*

"In [a local] survey, 73% of [people] thought the empty and closing stores were a 'big issue'" 17/03/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Joseph Norton, *Journalist*

"Shops have cited high business rates and declining footfall as major issues, with the impact of online shopping showing no signs of stopping" 23/03/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Daniel Hickey, *Journalist*

"With the town losing several major retailers in recent years - including Marks & Spencer and H.Samuel - the demand [for replacement retail] has continued to grow" 12/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Joseph Norton, *Journalist*

"Many of the vacant buildings [that need to be the correct size and] finding suitable premises in Great Yarmouth that doesn't require a lot of maintenance [may be] ... a stumbling block" 12/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Jonathan Newman, *Town Centre Manager*

"Market Gates [shopping centre] has 49 units, eight of which are empty and several more - including Debenhams - said to be at risk" 20/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Liz Coates, *Journalist*

Place as it could be

"It was positive to see [the department store] being brought back into retail use, as a previous scheme had proposed it be turned into a school ... In terms of optimism for the town centre it is quite important because it does show, in a time when towns the size of Yarmouth are being told the retail heyday has been and gone,

that retailers are looking to expand ... it shows there's some confidence in Great Yarmouth town centre" 06/03/15 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Jonathan Newman, Town Centre Manager

"[Empty shops] need to be occupied and occupied by destination retailer[s] that attracts more people into the town and provides Great Yarmouth shoppers with an additional retail offer" 15/03/17 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Jonathan Newman, Town Centre Manager

"Filling empty shops is always the aim - used shops are better than empty ones. However, at the moment large companies are favouring retail parks, so it is positive to see one moving to the town centre" 25/01/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Graham Plant, Borough Councillor

"There needs to be more incentives for potential occupiers to take up empty shops for retail, office, or leisure use to rejuvenate their communities ... there should be penalties if [town centre] shops were left empty for too long forcing landlords to be more flexible. Are landlords ... being creative and considering other uses? ... It is not just the empty shop it is the impact on other shops in terms of light and general ambience" 20/09/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Jonathan Newman, Town Centre Manager

"A Great Yarmouth-based arts organisation, is staging a trio of exhibitions there as part of the retail hub's effort to redefine itself ... reanimating the town centre" 02/04/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Liz Coates, Journalist

"There's too many empty premises ... there needs to be more incentives for businesses in the town because some of us are struggling" 12/04/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Lenny Gordon, Family Business Owner

"Marta Pereira originally from Caparica, a city near Lisbon ... wants to try bring people back in again ... [reopening a bakery] continuing a 150-year-old tradition while also adding some new flavours" 04/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Daniel Hickey, Journalist

"Cash injection is first step ... as part of an initiative to revive Britain's high streets ... from the government's Future High Streets Fund" 08/07/19 *ITV News*, *ITV Report*

"A £1m funding windfall will help bring empty shops back into use and get space above them used as living accommodation ... The money from a government scheme [aims] to breathe life back into our beleaguered high streets" 16/09/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Chris Bishop, Journalist

- TV screens

Place as it was

"Seafront regeneration bosses launched into the purchase of £900,000 of [three] big screens with wide-eyed enthusiasm but scant regard for risk, a report from the authority reveals" 20/03/12 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Sam Russell, Journalist

"A lot of decisions had to be made very quickly and possibly there was not time to investigate the best options" 26/03/12 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Charles Reynolds, Borough Council Cabinet Member

Place as it is

"A top council officer and the responsible cabinet member have been asked to explain the circumstances in which [two of] Great Yarmouth's seafront big screens [costing £600,000] came to be sold for £16,000" 30/03/12 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Stephen Pullinger, Journalist

"Two of the screens have now been sold for just £16,000, and the third screen - which broke down only two years after being installed in the Market Place - was written off after a protracted but fruitless legal battle with the manufacturer" 20/04/12 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Sam Russell, Journalist

Place as it could be

"In particular, it is clear that the project concept was, perhaps, overambitious and was not subjected to a sufficiently rigorous initial appraisal and risk assessment" 20/04/12 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *Officers Report of the InteGreat Group*

- **Tourism decline**

Place as it was

"Great Yarmouth has heritage in spades" 26/09/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, *Mary Coleman, Mayor & Councillor*

"As for travel, mainline termini Yarmouth Beach and Southtown closed (leaving no direct line to London) plus stations like Gorleston and Caister. Holiday camps at Gorleston, Caister and Hemsby closed, plus the hugely popular South Denes caravan site, long before the new harbour might have required its land ... Our heritage has evaporated. Everything has changed. Only memories survive" 03/02/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *Peggotty, Contributor & Resident*

"Established in less complicated times for a holiday heyday that no longer exists, resorts such as Great Yarmouth can no longer rely on an annual influx of trippers keen to spend two weeks and their hard-earned cash on seaside entertainment" 04/04/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *Liz Coates, Journalist*

"There was a time, when ... Great Yarmouth was 'a magical world' ... [but] by the 1970s and 80s Great Yarmouth's Venetian Waterways, like the town itself, were struggling to maintain their holiday cheer. Industry was failing and holidaymakers scarpering" 17/08/19 *The Guardian*, *Esther Addley, Journalist*

Place as it is

"Previous giant of UK tourism - ... [Great Yarmouth] has suffered a slump in visitor numbers with an average decline of 5%" 15/01/13 *Travel Weekly*, *Travelodge Report*

"There's this apathy. This idea that things don't need to open because nobody is coming. Well somebody needs to pull their finger out" 24/07/15 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *John and Muriel Greenock, Repeat Great Yarmouth Holidaymakers*

"A company which announced a ferry service between Great Yarmouth and Holland has postponed the plan due to fears over Brexit ... The ambition to have ferries travel between the resort and IJmuiden stretches back to 2001" 16/02/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *Anthony Carroll, Journalist*

"Great Yarmouth is benefiting from the uncertainty which surrounds Brexit according to a report which shows the town ranks in the top 20 destinations for Brits going on holiday during Easter" 01/04/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *Joseph Norton, Journalist*

"End-of-the-line locations ... contributes to a geographical remoteness that is both their bane and their fortune ... as faded resorts struggle to redefine what they are ... [with] a litany of regret and a paucity of ambition ... for too long, seaside towns have been neglected. They suffer from issues rooted in the decline of their core industries, most notably domestic tourism, but also in fishing, shipbuilding and port activity, and from their location at the 'end of the line' A single solution to their economic and social challenges doesn't exist" 04/04/19 *The Future of Seaside Towns Report*, *Lord Bassam of Brighton, Chairman*

"The boil on the backside of a beautiful gentrifying county ... to the Chelsea-on-Sea of North Norfolk ... Great Yarmouth ... is not all about seaside, faded glory, deprivation and tat, ready to be written off as the has-been and blip in a fancified county ... Great Yarmouth has always been about more than kiss me quick hats and candy floss" 08/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, *Rachel Moore, Local CEO and Former Journalist*

"Tourism businesses need to become all-weather attractions and not blame the rain, snow or sun for lost profits" 22/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, *Professor David Field, East Anglia Tourist Director*

“Controversial proposals to build nearly 200 homes on the site of a derelict holiday park have been approved” 11/07/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Thomas Chapman, Journalist

“[A family business which has been running] for more than 50 years ... said they have three times as many customers during the summer months compared with winter” 13/07/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Joseph Norton, Journalist

Place as it could be

"The government has tried to help address the problem ... Great Yarmouth has received \$1.3 million in grants so far... Placed against the total need, however, that sum is a drop in a bucket: The borough faces an \$8 million funding gap ... the local council publicly appealed for money-saving tips to add to its own proposals of yanking out streetlights, charging more for public burials, taxing mobile home residents and selling off public buildings... It's not that there are no ambitions here, only that poverty crushes your feeling that you can achieve them" 03/08/14 *The World Weekly*, Andrew Forrest, *The Priory Centre Social Services Hub*

"The problems aren't going to be fixed overnight. But it's been spiralling and the first thing is to stop it going any further" 24/07/15 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, John Greenock, *Repeat Great Yarmouth Holidaymaker*

“Great Yarmouth has really raised the bar. It's a demonstration that clearly this town cares and wants to expand – [the reception is] completely above and beyond and sends all the right messages” 01/07/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Suzanne and Stuart Amos, *Holidaymakers*

“Both Margate and Hastings have become increasingly gentrified in recent years, as they hope to make the most of the tourist trade ... Now, Great Yarmouth is looking to emulate the[ir] regeneration ... to maximise the potential of the borough” 20/11/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, David Hannant, *Local Democracy Reporter*

“The visit of these luxury cruise liners offers the opportunity to develop an exciting new side to the visitor economy from the Outer Harbour, and we are pleased that further visits are planning for 2019” 14/03/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, *Great Yarmouth Borough Council*

“The key to success is touted as shifting away from tourism and thinking about a town's own local economy ... to regain their pioneering spirit and ... reinvent themselves with a long-term, place-based vision grounded in each town's unique assets” 04/04/19 *The Future of Seaside Towns Report*, Lord Bassam of Brighton, *Chairman*

“[A newly built *Premier Inn* is] not just another hotel, it is the start of hopefully a major leisure development in Great Yarmouth which is going to bring jobs and tourism all year round” 12/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Albert Jones, *Pleasure Beach Director*

“A luxury cruise liner will get a warm welcome when it docks in a Norfolk town ... bringing more than 450 passengers to the seaside resort ... with more on the horizon” 27/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Daniel Hickey, *Journalist*

"The more cruise ships we can bring in - the better it is for Great Yarmouth" 30/06/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Henry Cator, *High Steward of Great Yarmouth*

“[Local] volunteers ... Despite [some] having moved to the area only in 2016 ... have been core to the restoration project ... [so] visitors will once again be able to take to rowing boats in Norfolk's answer to northern Italy” 17/08/19 *The Guardian*, Esther Addley, *Journalist*

“The scale of the regeneration challenge for the town is clear. New industry dominates the skyline – this is the centre of eastern England's offshore wind industry – and its relationship with tourism has changed” 17/08/19 *The Guardian*, Esther Addley, *Journalist*

- Outer harbour

Place as it was

“Great Yarmouth was once the most important herring port in the world. It reached its peak in the early 20th century with about 1,000 vessels bringing 2,000 million fish ashore in one season. More than 6,000 seasonal workers ... would pour into Yarmouth ... but the industry started to go into decline with the outbreak of the first world war” 30/06/10 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Anthony Carroll, Journalist

"We were able to look at the information before the harbour was built and compare it with afterwards ... There was a clear change and there is no doubt ... that the harbour has made a significant contribution to erosion of the beach at Hopton" 26/03/13 *BBC*, Dr Phil Barber, Coastal Defence Expert

“The Port Company claimed the ‘complex’ ownership structure was hindering growth at the port and confusing customers” 25/03/14 *BBC News*, *Great Yarmouth Port Company loses legal fight*

“We have heard moans and groans for years about the outer harbour not being used, and now that efforts are being made to increase its use, that seems to be wrong!” 01/02/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Brenda Taylor, Contributor & Resident

“It seems like only it [the port] accommodated hundreds of herring drifters. In summer there were pleasure boats busily offering sea, river and Broadland trips. Steamers imported huge quantities of timber, stacked on Southtown quaysides. Roll-on/roll-off ferries like the Sealords and Norfolk Line were regular and frequent visitors. Coasters abounded ... watched by crowds on Gorleston Pier who used to greet drifters arriving to land herring” 03/02/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Peggotty, Contributor & Resident

“To the disappointment of sight-seeing port enthusiasts, the [port] has little to offer nowadays, with shipping sparse. Older generations miss the variety of port users - those timber importers, the autumn herring drifter fleet, salted fish exporters, coasters, tankers, roll-on/off ferries, lightships and Trinity House vessels, rig support ships, Thames barges, tugs, river boats, pleasure trippers... even a floating pub, albeit briefly!” 30/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Peggotty, Contributor & Resident

Place as it is

"The Port of Great Yarmouth has announced the suspension of its container operation - with the £30m terminal's £7m cranes set for removal before they have even been used once" 10/11/10 *Norwich Evening News*, Stephen Pullinger, Journalist

“I hope that bringing various parties together we can have a constructive discussion about both past involvement and the positive role the whole port can potentially play" 01/02/11 *Eastern Daily Press*, Paul Morse, Chair of Cabinet Scrutiny, Norfolk County Council

"The town is the preferred harbour location for ... the Dudgeon Offshore Wind Farm ... we need a harbour with the flexibility to meet the range of concepts under our consideration, and to accommodate the changes anticipated" 01/01/14 *Great Yarmouth Business Economic Development Newsletter*, Halfdan Brustad, Chairman of Dudgeon Offshore Wind Board of Directors

"Public money was used to build the £80m outer harbour which was mired in controversy when popular proposals for a container terminal and a passenger ferry terminal never materialised, and neither did the thousands of jobs they were expected to create" 15/03/15 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Lauren Rogers, Journalist

“Research commissioned by Peel Ports on Great Yarmouth’s potential as a base for offshore wind operations revealed location was its biggest strength ... The power of place and clustering like-minded companies, especially in offshore energy, is immense ... [delivering] more projects off our shores than anywhere else” 22/11/17 *Eastern Daily Press*, Bethany Whymark, Journalist

“The outer harbour has not been the employment money pit [nor has] the promised ferry produced the 10,000 jobs between the outer harbour and the Golden Mile” 12/01/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, John L Cooper, Contributor & Resident

“Daily ferries carrying up 100 cars and 100 trailers between Ijmuiden and Yarmouth’s port operated by Peel Ports [were in the pipeline] ... The proposed ferry route was said to be ideally suited to exploit the strong demand for business, short breaks and holiday travel between Amsterdam and the UK ... [but] because of the ‘uncertainty’ over the consequences of the Brexit vote and process the service was postponed” 16/02/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Anthony Carroll, Journalist

“A multi-million pound legal dispute over coastal erosion has been settled out of court ... the Port Authority and Bourne Leisure had signed a confidentiality agreement over an undisclosed sum [with the outer harbour] denying responsibility for the erosion” 09/03/18 *BBC News*, Andrew Turner, Journalist

“A cruise ship ... docking is very important for us. It gives us another string to our bow in terms of what we can handle at the port” 01/07/18 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Richard Goffin, Port Director

“A comparative handful of rig supply ships are still operating here, plus other vessels secreted in commercial confidentiality in the Outer Harbour” 03/02/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Peggotty, Contributor & Resident

“The North Sea offshore industry boosted the port's activities, with the occasional extra treat of a massive offshore structure perched on a barge being towed [yet] in 2019 river activity is negligible” 30/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Peggotty, Contributor & Resident

Place as it could be

“Yarmouth is a small port but we want to build Yarmouth and give opportunities for jobs for the future” 18/05/12 *BBC News*, Jamie Frater, EastPort UK Director

"Locals had a “right to be cynical” after years of talk, but it was different this time ... the easily clogged road around Yarmouth would continue to be a source of frustration - particular with more large ships beginning to load at the port, but he felt “some hope” there would be change this time" 18/09/13 *Eastern Daily Press*, Stephen Hammond, Transport Minister

"During the eight years of ownership the port had been greatly expanded with the construction of the outer harbour and acquisition of the strategic land areas between the river and harbour" 15/12/15 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Eliza O'Toole, International Port Holdings

“Great Yarmouth will be integral to the successful delivery of East Anglia One, which will be one of the largest offshore wind farms to go into construction anywhere in the world ... the facilities at Great Yarmouth are some of the best anywhere for delivering large-scale offshore wind farms ... we hope that our [future] plans will continue to create jobs and investment in the region for decades to come” 31/01/17 *Maritime Journal*, Charlie Jordan, Scottish Power Renewables Project Director

“The third cruise ship visit within a year, with more on the horizon, is testament to the success of the previous visits” 27/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Daniel Hickey, Journalist

“Investment into offshore renewables being made in our region ... [means] Great Yarmouth is at the forefront of the offshore sector, with tremendous potential to grow. Peel Ports have invested £12m in extending Great Yarmouth's outer harbour to accommodate offshore projects, with further expansion planned ... which will transform Great Yarmouth's future” 28/06/19 *BBC News*, Richard Goffin, Port Director

“Mr Jordan said the project [East Anglian One wind farm] has invested £5m into the local economy. Some of the money was spent on upgrading the port and the vessels transporting the turbines and blades to the farm were built in Great Yarmouth” 12/09/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Charlie Jordan, East Anglia One project director

- Unemployment

Place as it was

“The sight of the fishing boat *Eventide* chugging its solitary way out to the North Sea yesterday was a sad reminder of the decline of the town's once-thriving fishing industry” 30/06/10 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Anthony Carroll, Journalist

“Once the largest herring port in the world and a smart resort in the late Victorian period, Great Yarmouth's fishing industry collapsed after the first world war, and by the early 1920s thousands were unemployed ... the economic lives of seaside towns like this one have long been vulnerable” 17/08/19 *The Guardian*, Esther Addley, Journalist

Place as it is

“As Richard Brookin steered the [*Eventide*] vessel out ... they inherited the title of becoming Yarmouth's sole surviving full-time fishermen” 30/06/10 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Anthony Carroll, Journalist

“Great Yarmouth has one of the lowest proportions of highly qualified workers in England and very low earnings ... [with] high levels of long-term unemployment” 09/09/10 *BBC News, Challenges Facing Great Yarmouth Report*

"Latest unemployment figures reveal that an area of Great Yarmouth has one of the highest rates of people claiming unemployment benefits in the United Kingdom ... The figures were last night described as 'shocking'" 17/05/12 *Eastern Daily Press*, Colleen Walker, Great Yarmouth Mayor

"Seaside towns are suffering “severe social breakdown”, with high levels of school failure, teenage pregnancy, lone parenting, and worklessness.... the highest rates of teenage pregnancy [in England and Wales] ... is in Great Yarmouth" 08/05/13 *The Independent, The Centre for Social Justice Think Tank*

“Great Yarmouth ... has become [a] dumping ground for the unemployed and benefits-dependent” 11/08/13 *The Independent*, Oscar Quine, Journalist

"Although [unemployment] numbers have declined... many suspect the drop owes more to a year-old government crackdown on benefit claims than any improvement in living conditions" 03/08/14 *The World Weekly*, Patricia Slade, Great Yarmouth Food Bank

“UK coastal areas [are] 'pockets of deprivation' ... [with] Great Yarmouth ranked lowest in England and Wales for post-16 education” 04/09/17 *BBC News, Social Market Foundation Report*

“Unemployment rises at sharpest rate for nearly five years ... with Great Yarmouth ... among the largest risers” 21/02/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Doug Faulkner, Journalist

“Industry - a major employer - has been badly hit, perhaps thousands losing their jobs and forced to seek alternative work when the machinery was finally switched off at Bird's Eye, Erie Resistor/Electronics, Grouts, Smith's Crisps, Johnsons, Watney's Maltings, gasworks on both sides of the river” 03/02/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury*, Peggotty, Contributor & Resident

“It was announced last week that the Gorleston-based business had lost the East Anglia One contract due to delays in construction ... the entire project has now been given to [a] Dutch company” 12/03/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Eleanor Pringle, Journalist

“It's full of feisty strength and voice, history, regeneration, survival, family businesses, innovation, buoyed by a concrete belief that its time will come again. Above all, it's about community ... Seasonal work has always been an issue, making it hard for families to make ends meet all year round” 08/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Rachel Moore, Local CEO and Former Journalist

“The 10 most deprived areas in [Norfolk] are all in Great Yarmouth and Lowestoft ... the statistics combined levels of low income, unemployment, education, health, crime, barriers to housing and the quality of the local environment” 03/10/19 *Eastern Daily Press, Taz Ali, Journalist*

Place as it could be

"Unemployment is a major challenge and there is a lot of work still to do. What we need to do now is create a stable economic environment to aid recovery and introduce a variety of incentives across the board" 14/03/12 *Great Yarmouth Mercury, Peter Aldous, Waveney MP*

"People in the town said more must be done to increase employment opportunities... Great Yarmouth needs more industry. This does not deflect from the valuable role the tourism industry plays to the Great Yarmouth economy, but there isn't enough work in the tourism industry for 52 weeks of the year" 17/05/12 *Eastern Daily Press, Michael Jeal, Borough Councillor*

“The energy sector is our best way of heading and we see that will obviously offer jobs, but it will require people in Yarmouth to undertake specialist training but we are here to be successful, we're here to create jobs and we're here to promote Great Yarmouth” 18/05/12 *BBC News, Jamie Frater, EastPort UK Director*

“A new employment grant scheme aims to reduce the unemployment rate in Great Yarmouth ... [with grants] available to help not-for-profit organisations offer [coaching, support and] training to help those who are currently unemployed across all age groups and backgrounds ... to get back to work” 25/01/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury, Rebecca MacNaughton, Journalist*

“At 5,000-student East Coast College, where a new £11m energy training centre is being built, they can feel the change in the air ... the prospect of well-paid, long-term jobs on their doorstep is creating real excitement among students ... they are not just getting a qualification, they are getting a future” 07/05/19 *BBC News, Mark Shields, Journalist*

“The wind farms are set to last 20, 30, 40 years. It means two generations of a workforce that will be operating and maintaining these turbines," he said. We are developing these skills and will be exporting them around the world ... [with local companies offering] the opportunity to train for free ... as a way to recruit new talent into its growing offshore wind work” 07/05/19 *BBC News, Mark Shields, Journalist*

“6000 jobs. Multi billion pound investments. Great Yarmouth is on the rise, so gentrified Norfolk should stop looking down on it ... Great Yarmouth's spirit of community has kept it going through tough times and will be the bedrock of its rebirth as a real force to be reckoned with one more” 08/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press, Rachel Moore, Local CEO and Former Journalist*

“A report into the offshore wind industrial strategy predicts that the region has the potential to benefit from 6,150 skilled full-time jobs by 2032 ... [but there is] a need for more support to be given to businesses running training programmes to ensure enough local people are taught the skills needed as the industry grows” 21/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press, Daniel Bennett, Journalist*

“As part of the [East Anglia One wind farm] project more than 83 STEM workshops have been held to engage over 3000 students with science, technology, engineering and maths subjects, and over £55,000 has been invested in supporting training at the Offshore Wind Skills Centre in the town” 06/06/19 *Great Yarmouth Mercury, Liz Coates, Journalist*

“The contract to operate the boat hire and restored 1920s cafe was won by a social enterprise that aims to help unemployed people back into work” 17/08/19 *The Guardian, Esther Addley, Journalist*

“Sixteen people have seen their lives transformed after going from unemployed to earning £40,000 in three months - with no prior experience [having] been entirely trained, for free, by Great Yarmouth-based 3sun ... how to service offshore windfarms on the 12-week course which was worth £10,000 a piece” 04/09/19 *Eastern Daily Press, Eleanor Pringle, Journalist*

Ipswich

- Empty shops

Place as it was

“Large single units were the fashion for what were known as ‘variety stores.’ Well now, with internet shopping and other changes, those kind of stores have gone out of fashion and we have to accept that” 13/12/17 *Ipswich Star*, *Bill Knowles, Labour Councillor*

“Planners in the 1960s thought that vast, bleak, shopping arcades were the way forward ... Few shops opened at the brutal concrete-built site ... In 1984 the central area, the empty shops and plaza were demolished and replaced with a grassed area” 06/03/18 *Ipswich Star*, *David Kindred, Local Historian & Contributor*

“The economic downturn saw some stores close ... [labelling] some parts of it as ‘a bit shabby’” 29/04/18 *BBC News*, *Lord Rose, Former Marks & Spencer Boss*

Place as it is

“The [Tower Ramparts Shopping Centre] has 38 units and currently about 15 are empty. Announcing the[ir] purchase, LaSalle described the current state of Tower Ramparts as ‘neglected’ and ‘tired and in need of revitalisation’” 15/12/11 *BBC News*, *Gavin Ingram, LaSalle Asset Manager*

“Empty shops in Ipswich need entrepreneurs ... [and] more entrepreneurial thinking ... [to] allow other types of business to move into retail units” 08/11/12 *BBC News*, *Suffolk Report*

“Unfortunately Ipswich has been on a downward slope for quite a while. The high street is littered with empty or charity shops. Dreadful when you think this used to be a thriving town” 29/03/13 *Ipswich Star*, *Naomi Gornall, Journalist*

“A major blow to the town centre in 2016 was the closure of BHS, with the site still standing empty, although proposals for new restaurants and shops on the site won backing in 2017. However, on the positive side, the last few years have also seen the revamp of the Buttermarket centre, with the arrival of the Empire Cinema and the opening of new restaurants and a bowling venue” 13/11/18 *Ipswich Star*, *Judy Rimmer, Journalist*

“Ipswich town centre ‘stabbed in back’ as council's development arm buys retail park ... outside the borough's boundary” 27/11/18 *Ipswich Star*, *Paul Geater, Journalist*

“The retail sector is undergoing a seismic shift that is changing the look and feel of our town centres at a rapid rate. It feels as though each day brings a new onslaught of bad news” 23/01/19 *Ipswich Star*, *Jessica Hill, Journalist*

“I think we have missed the best opportunity to begin to put things right. The [£3.8m] spent on the redevelopment of the Cornhill should have been the catalyst for change but it has turned out to be a damp squib and a complete let-down” 13/05/19 *Ipswich Star*, *Ian Fisher, Conservative Group Leader*

“[Empty shops] have been described as possibly the biggest eyesore in Ipswich town centre today” 28/07/19 *Ipswich Star*, *Ipswich Society*

“Ipswich town centre, like countless others around the UK, has been blighted in recent years by a growing number empty shop fronts [which] has reached its highest level in four years” 13/08/19 *Ipswich Star*, *James Carr, Journalist*

“That's why you see lots of shops shutting down. When you have overhead charges along with business rates, it's very hard to cope with that. That is what is putting many people out of business” 18/09/19 *Ipswich Star*, *Hatice Arslam, Local Shop Owner*

“Walk around many town centres today and you will find streets that have struggled with several shop closures over the years ... [one] area is making a comeback after years of decline ... with much of it seemingly thanks to independent stores” 18/09/19 *Ipswich Star*, Andrew Papworth, Journalist

“More than 450 pubs, clubs, high street shops and offices across Ipswich are currently empty - with more than 300 in the town centre alone ... Almost 10% of shops in Ipswich town centre are vacant ... A target of less than 55 empty premises was set for the town for 2018/19 but 67 shops actually remained unused” 18/10/19 *Ipswich Star*, Jake Foxford, Journalist

“It has been a turbulent year for [Ipswich retail as another shop] collapsed into administration in January citing 'challenges' for the retail sector” 18/10/19 *Ipswich Star*, Adam Howlett, Journalist

Place as it could be

“I have never hidden the fact that Ipswich's retail offer needs to be improved but, in order to achieve this, a 'game-changing' transaction needed to be brought forward” 15/12/11 *BBC News*, Paul Clement, Ipswich Central Executive Director

“The important thing is that we turn our attention back to the town centre and be very entrepreneurial about how we grant planning permission within it. We want to see shops, cafes, cinemas, doctors surgeries and hospitals, but there are planning restrictions on how many units can be used for non-pure retail use and that is a nonsense in this day and age. We haven't given up on bringing in bigger retailers, but what I'm saying is just to sit back and wait for retailers is the wrong thing to do” 08/11/12 *BBC News*, Paul Clement, Ipswich Central Executive Director

“Efforts have been made to improve the town centre offer and a £3m scheme is under way to rejuvenate the Cornhill, with a water feature and sculptures ... We will not draw shoppers away from Norwich, but we can attract people to our town centre for culture and entertainment” 29/04/18 *BBC News*, Ian Fisher, Ipswich Borough Council

“Plans for a new free school to fill an empty department store in Ipswich have moved a step closer, as the sale of the building in Carr Street has been completed” 13/08/18 *Ipswich Star*, Jason Noble, Local Democracy Reporter

“[It is] very disappointing [seeing empty shops and it is] important for Ipswich to bring back to life disused buildings” 29/01/19 *BBC News*, Terry Hunt, Ipswich Vision Chairman

“[Developing the] historic site [between the centre and Waterfront] is key to the redevelopment of the entrance to Ipswich Waterfront” 31/01/19 *Ipswich Star*, Judy Rimmer, Journalist

“Despite the retail slump, an upmarket clothing brand is opening a new store in Ipswich ... It will be a welcome boost for Ipswich town centre after a new year which has seen a number of shop closures” 11/02/19 *East Anglian Daily Times*, Jessica Hill, Journalist

“The Global Educational Trust shop is in 15/17 Princes Street, in a shop which had previously been empty for some time [which gives away free books] to help promote literacy and a love of reading” 15/04/19 *Ipswich Star*, Judy Rimmer, Journalist

“A block of [empty] shops and flats in Ipswich is likely to be demolished and replaced by 16 new council flats” 04/06/19 *Ipswich Star*, Paul Geater, Journalist

“What is wrong with Ipswich town centre? Yes, out-of-town stores offer everything people want and the parking is free. But how come places like Norwich and Bury St Edmunds are doing so well? They are doing it right, so why can't the council see how they do it and put their ideas into place in the town centre” 28/07/19 *Ipswich Star*, John Alexander, Contributor

“Currently, retail accounts for 5% of the economy, yet pays 10% of all business costs and 25% of all business taxes ... We need an immediate freeze in rates ... to relieve the pressure on the high street” 13/08/19 *Ipswich Star*, Diane Wehrle, Springboard Marketing Director

“We are working hard to attract businesses to locate and thrive in the town in a number of ways. These include investing in regeneration sites such as Princes Street and St Peter's Dock, making small retail grants to encourage firms to invest in their properties, implementing national business rate relief schemes ... On top of that, we need to find innovative and different uses for our empty shops, and that could be pop-up shops, places where families can be entertained, something to attract all ages” 18/10/19 *Ipswich Star*, Terry Hunt, *Ipswich Vision Chairman*

- Loss of heritage (port, shipping, manufacturing)

Place as it was

“[Ipswich] was once one of the most important and wealthiest towns in the realm. Abundant with churches and priories, Ipswich was once a place of pilgrimage and a centre of commerce” 25/03/13 *Ipswich Star*, Lynne Mortimer, *Journalist*

“Sailmaking was one of the major industries of Ipswich in past years, and helped it to develop from a small port into the busy town of today” 24/07/14 *BBC News*, Gavin Ingram, *LaSalle Asset Manager*

“Ipswich men had been building ships at St Clement’s shipyard and in the yards immediately adjacent for perhaps 400 years” 11/03/18 *Ipswich Star*, John Norman, *The Ipswich Society*

“Heritage here in Ipswich is really important to everybody in the town as it makes you feel part of something ... The town has got thousands and thousands years worth of history and it is great to know how ... this is ours to own and we are here because of our past ancestors” 15/09/19 *Ipswich Star*, Carrie Willis, *Christchurch Mansion*

Place as it is

“Ipswich former County Hall - a Grade II building which once boasted wood panelling and stained glass windows, but has been at the mercy of vandals, thieves and squatters since being sold to a private owner” 18/10/12 *ITV News*, *The Victorian Society*

“There has been a surprising surge in the number of people heading to the Suffolk town, with visitor figures rising by around 23,000 year-on-year ... more bizarrely, there isn't one new attraction or event that seems to be bringing visitors in [although] Ipswich has redeveloped its waterfront” 23/05/13 *Daily Mail*, Jo Tweedy, *Journalist*

“[A] report found that there are more than 70 main languages are spoken in the town with English, Polish and Portuguese ranking in the top three” 11/06/13 *Ipswich Star*, Lizzie Parry, *Journalist*

“The number of boat builders in Ipswich has fluctuated over the centuries. Recently a number have gone into administration and today only [one] remains... the route of the proposed Upper Orwell Crossing ... [means] What is likely to be lost under the eastern abutment is Ipswich’s last shipyard” 11/03/18 *Ipswich Star*, John Norman, *The Ipswich Society*

“From working dock to leisure hub: the changing face of Ipswich Waterfront. Ipswich Dock was completed in 1842. The Royal Assent from Queen Victoria for the Ipswich Dock Act was received in June 1837 ... By the late 1970s much of the trade had moved from the dock and the area was redeveloped into a mostly residential and leisure area, with marinas, offices and flats opening around once busy quays where coal, grain and timber was unloaded” 24/04/18 *Ipswich Star*, David Kindred, *Local Historian & Contributor*

“Small shops and businesses just don't have the support that they need in order to flourish and we are left with either empty shops or large corporate stores” 29/04/18 *BBC News*, Andy Patmore, *Ipswich Green Party*

“It’s nice to have something that’s not just a charity shop, betting shop or coffee shop” 27/03/19 *Ipswich Star*, James Carr, *Journalist*

Place as it could be

“A £4m plan to revamp and rename a shopping centre in Ipswich has been unveiled. Tower Ramparts will be renamed Sailmakers and a new design will draw on the town's maritime heritage” 24/07/14 *BBC News, Suffolk Report*

“Thousands enjoy return of Ipswich Maritime Festival to the Waterfront ... where around 60,000 punters gathered along the marina to enjoy the special atmosphere and celebrate the town's maritime history” 20/08/17 *Ipswich Star, Jason Noble, Local Democracy Reporter*

“We want to show community groups that they really can make a difference, take on what may seem a daunting task, and ... learn how to save churches and other historic buildings ... [to] use these wonderful places to their full potential” 11/09/17 *Ipswich Star, Laura Norris, Programme Director – BRICK, The Prince's Regeneration Trust*

“[Ipswich Maritime Trust] believes that re-development of the currently derelict buildings [at the Waterfront] through collaborative working between Ipswich Borough Council, Suffolk County Council and landowners ... is now possible, giving a wonderful opportunity once more to bring back historic craft to this area of unused tidal water with a Heritage Harbour, and so complete the link between the Waterfront and the Town Centre by way of St. Peter's Street” 27/09/17 *Ipswich Star, Stuart Grimwade, Ipswich Maritime Trust Director*

“After an epic 15-year campaign, we are delighted that one of Britain's finest lidos - and a much loved part of Ipswich's heritage - has not only been saved, but will be enhanced” 20/12/17 *BBC News, Mark Ling, Broomhill Pool Trust*

“A six-figure sum has been awarded to 'bring to life' plans for a new Suffolk records office and heritage centre ... to deliver a comprehensive, year round heritage activity and events programme to develop new audiences to visit Ipswich Waterfront” 15/09/18 *Ipswich Star, Andrew Hirst, Journalist*

“The message is clear - our heritage needs to be saved and investing in heritage pays. It helps to transform the places where we live, work and visit, creating successful and distinctive places for us and for future generations to enjoy” 17/10/19 *East Anglian Daily Times, Tony Calladine, Regional Director for Historic England in the East of England*

- **Infrastructure (traffic, parking, Orwell bridge)**

Place as it was

“I've lived here since 1976, almost 40 years, and [traffic has] never been as bad as it is now ... [and] it will only get worse as the number of homes in the area increases” 23/07/15 *Ipswich Star, Randall Bevan, Long-standing Resident*

“Why is it that [the Orwell bridge] only started to get shut because of the wind in the last few years yet it has been there since the 80s and never used to get shut? Why don't they rectify and modernise it to stop a tiny bit of wind causing complete mayhem?” 13/03/19 *Stowmarket Mercury, Stephen Endean, Commuter*

“[Previous] administration[s] had allowed the council's car parks to fall into a sorry state. Spiral Car Park had been privatised and Crown Car Park demolished. The council controlled so few spaces it could no longer influence the market. Private operators did not have to worry about the quality of their offer and could basically charge what they liked” 03/06/19 *Ipswich Star, David Ellesmere, Ipswich Council Labour Leader*

“[Ipswich] has seen some improvements to its infrastructure over the last 30 years - but it still feels as if we have to fight tooth and nail for everything we need and that they take too long to come to fruition” 18/07/19 *East Anglian Daily Times, Paul Geater, Journalist*

“Parking in the town centre has always been a problem” 01/11/19 *Ipswich Star, Will Jefford, Journalist*

Place as it is

“Despite the development that has taken place, Anglo Saxon Ipswich largely remains in its road patterns”
25/03/13 Ipswich Star, Lynne Mortimer, Journalist

“[Ipswich] is one of the most rapidly expanding in the UK, according to a new study ... Ipswich’s population is set to rocket to 150,000 within only seven years, a new report has found – prompting concerns over how equipped the town’s infrastructure is to cope” *11/07/13 Ipswich Star, Lizzie Parry, Journalist*

“People driving through Ipswich in recent times have become frustrated at the number of new traffic lights in the town, many of which are part of the Travel Ipswich project which aims to improve traffic flow”
08/12/14 Ipswich Star, Edmund Crosthwaite, Journalist

“[Ipswich is listed as] 17th [in the] most congested cities in the UK” *20/02/17 Cambridgeshire Live, Tom Pilgrim, Journalist*

“The traffic problems that are created when the Orwell Bridge is closed are well known. Something must be done, both for Suffolk and the UK which relies so heavily on the movement of goods through Felixstowe”
27/02/19 Ipswich Star, Nick Gowrley, Mid Suffolk District Council Leader

“The new "Norwich in 90, Ipswich in 60" services fulfil a Greater Anglia franchise commitment - but are realistically unlikely to make a major impact on travel patterns to London” *08/03/19 East Anglian Daily Times, Paul Geater, Journalist*

“Welcome to Gridswich' ... Commuters trying to get to work in Ipswich have expressed their misery about today's closure of the Orwell Bridge” *13/03/19 Stowmarket Mercury, Suzanne Day, Journalist*

“Failed Ipswich bridge project 'let down' Suffolk's taxpayers ... Business leaders say Ipswich must continue to 'think big' - despite a costly failure to build a major new bridge over the River Orwell. Suffolk County Council spent £8.1 million on the Upper Orwell Crossings scheme, a project that was eventually axed due to escalating costs. Half of that money went to one consultancy firm and critics say the taxpayer has been let down” *13/06/19 ITV News, Rob Setchell, Reporter*

“My suspicion is we'll get some of the improvements to ... infrastructure, but not all. I fear we'll get the 'easy wins' ... but the big schemes like ... rebuilding Copdock Mill might be put in the 'pending' file for someone else to decide on in five or 10 years time” *18/07/19 East Anglian Daily Times, Paul Geater, Journalist*

Place as it could be

“The town centre master plan, overseen by Ipswich Borough Council and Ipswich Central, is out for consultation at the moment and it aims to link the main shopping area with the waterfront in a north-south direction” *15/12/11 BBC News, Gavin Ingram, LaSalle Asset Manager*

“The Northern Fringe is a major opportunity to deliver the new housing and community facilities that Ipswich must supply if it is to grow and maintain a vibrant and economically stable community” *27/11/12 BBC News, Ipswich Borough Council*

“Car parking needs to be cheaper than nearby towns ... [so] our town centre [can] recover out of recession and compete with Norwich, Bury or Colchester” *27/01/15 BBC News, Ben Gummer, Ipswich Conservative MP*

“A new multi-million pound river crossing ... could ease traffic problems, help create jobs and regenerate the waterfront ... [and] is the single most important piece of new infrastructure that the town needs at the moment. It will link the town better ... and help us to re-stitch the waterfront to the town centre” *16/03/16 BBC News, Ben Gummer, Ipswich Conservative MP*

“Motorists would surely prefer not to spend their time sitting in traffic but rather have a more convenient and cost-effective alternative to jumping into their cars. A properly integrated public transport system, safer

cycle paths without potholes, safe cycle parks and provisions for those who may only travel into the town centre infrequently would go a long way to facilitate this” 29/04/18 *BBC News, Andy Patmore, Ipswich Green Party*

“To boost numbers in the town [we should] reduce the parking charges to zero” 29/04/18 *BBC News, Tony Gould, Ipswich UKIP Chairman*

“The proposal to build a new crossing over the River Orwell ... was designed to ease traffic around the town centre and to open up the “Island Site” between the Wet Dock and the New Cut to become a new high-tech enterprise hub ... the crossings are due to open to the traffic by 2023” 31/07/18 *East Anglian Daily Times, Paul Geater, Journalist*

“Ipswich is well-placed and should be really prospering” 28/09/18 *Ipswich Star, Tom Hunt, Ipswich Conservative Candidate*

“[A] planned northern relief road would run across the top of Ipswich and connect the A14 to the north west of the town with the A12 to the north east. It is hoped it would ease congestion problems in Ipswich – particularly when the Orwell Bridge is closed and traffic, including lorries, has to divert through the town centre” 05/12/18 *Ipswich Star, Jason Noble, Local Democracy Reporter*

“£67.4 million Ipswich tidal flood barrier officially opened. The new flood scheme will protect 1,600 homes and 400 businesses in Ipswich over the next century ... and will release land for development helping to create an estimated 4,000 jobs” 08/02/19 *Government Press Release, DEFRA*

“Free Sunday parking is to be offered at Ipswich's Crown Car Park in a bid to boost town centre footfall during a challenging time for the town's retail sector” 28/05/19 *Ipswich Star, Jake Foxford, Journalist*

“[A bridge is needed] across the River Orwell in Ipswich - including a traffic crossing to alleviate gridlock on the one-way system” 13/06/19 *ITV News, Rob Setchell, Reporter*

“A Northern Bypass is a priority infrastructure project for Ipswich and I know that for many people in the town it cannot come soon enough” 01/07/19 *Ipswich Star, David Ellesmere, Ipswich Council Labour Leader*

- **Lack of talent**

Place as it was

“In 2017 Ipswich was ranked among the 30 worst local authority areas in a nationwide Social Mobility Index. The index assessed the chances a disadvantaged child, measured by whether they are eligible for free school meals, will perform well and get a job. Ipswich came 292 out of 324” 06/06/19 *Ipswich Star, James Carr, Journalist*

Place as it is

“Ipswich can ill afford to lose [high skilled] jobs. Quite apart from the expense and inconvenience to the staff concerned of working out of [the region], there will be a loss of spending power in Ipswich shops and businesses” 05/07/13 *Ipswich Star, David Ellesmere, Ipswich Council Labour Leader*

“Businesses constantly tell us that improving the skills that our workforce has is the most important issue for them. That’s why skills are a central part of our City Deal” 30/10/13 *Heart, Mark Bee, Suffolk County Council*

“Based on a calculation of how many tech jobs there are per head of the local population ... Ipswich is another standout, thanks to the fact that many firms there have congregated around the headquarters of BT Research - the telecoms firm's R&D division” 19/09/16 *BBC News, Leo Kelion, Technology Desk Editor*

“Ipswich Mygo centre which has helped thousands of young people find jobs over the last three and a half years is to close at the end of the month after its funding ran out ... the fact that Brexit was on the horizon was a factor in meaning this funding stream was turned off, making it impossible for the county to keep the Mygo centre in Princes Street open” 05/03/18 *Ipswich Star*, Paul Geater, Journalist

“Thousands of young people in Suffolk have found work, apprenticeships and education through MyGo and it feels like it has been given up without a fight. I’m incredibly frustrated – time and time again we receive warm words but, in reality, our young people are being abandoned by the Tories at Suffolk County Council” 25/05/18 *Ipswich Star*, Jack Abbott, Labour Spokesman for Education at Suffolk County Council

“At least six in 10 respondents admitted a skills shortage in their workplace, and 60% said they think it has worsened in the last 12 months” 30/07/18 *East Anglian Daily Times*, Jessica Hill, Journalist

“[A] third of jobs in Ipswich ... fall below £9/hr threshold ... with 18,000 residents earning less than £9 per hour, representing 30% of all jobs. A total of 42% of these were in part-time roles” 23/05/19 *East Anglian Daily Times*, Sarah Chambers, Journalist

“A lot of the jobs in Ipswich aren't visible on the high street so people don't necessarily know they're there. There were two redundancies recently at large companies ... so we have tailored job fair[s] to suit the needs of the hundreds of people we know are now looking for jobs” 11/10/19 *Ipswich Star*, Michelle Gordon, Ipswich Borough Council Economic Development Manager

Place as it could be

“[The City Deal] is an unprecedented opportunity for the people who know Ipswich best to decide how to invest millions of pounds in the region, ensuring we are building a stronger economy and doing it fairly. It will allow Ipswich and the rest of Suffolk to be really innovative and design whole new ways to help more young people into sustainable employment and increase their earnings ... It will give young people a greater chance of finding a job, it will help people gain extra training, improve education and provide a massive boost to the area’s businesses” 30/10/13 *Heart*, Nick Clegg, Former Deputy Prime Minister

“Over the last ten years, Sanctuary [Personnel] has invested heavily into the development of their apprenticeship academy which has launched the careers of hundreds of local young people” 28/03/17 *Ipswich Star*, David Vincent, Journalist

“Plans are underway to create a new youth employment scheme to replace the MyGo centre, it has been revealed - but district and borough councils look likely to be fronting half the cash ... It is understood a bid for further EU funding was unsuccessful” 25/05/18 *Ipswich Star*, Jason Noble, Local Democracy Reporter

“Suffolk County Council last week confirmed that a bid for £4million European Social Fund cash had been submitted, with the express aim of supporting more than 3,000 adults into work and reduce the disability employment gap ... To help tackle the problem, Ipswich DAB has set up an internet cafe and courses to deliver digital training, which could provide a platform ... to fill the many thousands of vacancies that will arise in the IT industry over the next five or so years” 03/07/18 *East Anglian Daily Times*, Jason Noble, Local Democracy Reporter

“A new £19m pot has been unveiled for projects which will boost skills and productivity across Norfolk and Suffolk” 19/10/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Mark Shields, Journalist

“Hundreds of jobs are up for grabs this week as an employment fair comes to Ipswich” 19/02/19 *Ipswich Star*, Megan Aldous, Journalist

“New centres to boost digital skills will be built ... [including] a £6.5m information technology centre at the University of Suffolk ... Suffolk New College will also receive £1.6m for a new centre to teach digital skills ... The University of Suffolk's research and training centre will use the strengths of BT and technology businesses at Adastral Park to support the digital economy. It is expected to train 520 students and 145 apprentices, and create 36 new jobs” 27/03/19 *BBC News*, Suffolk Report

“Contractors of outsourced public sector jobs [should] be obliged to offer a living wage to all workers ... to improve the 'upstairs-downstairs' labour market in the region” 23/05/19 *East Anglian Daily Times*, Warren Kenny, GMB Union Regional Secretary

“Major strides are being taken to level the playing field and give youngsters the opportunities they deserve. Ipswich was selected as one of 12 'Opportunity Areas' in England to receive an equal share of a £72 million funding pot to deliver plans which will help build the knowledge and skills of local young people ... [as well as] working with other employers to develop employability and skills in schools and colleges” 06/06/19 *Ipswich Star*, James Carr, Journalist

“Again this year local Ipswich digital company IJYI will be supporting Suffolk Library in its aim to give young people access to programming training. In this fun, social environment young people from ages 7-17 will be able to try out programming and maybe even start their journey into building their coding skills for a future career in the IT sector” 03/08/19 *Ipswich Star*, David Vincent, Journalist

“[BT in Ipswich] is to hold its first open apprentice assessment event for young people at its research and innovation centre. The tech firm is keen to build a community of apprentices ... Those who are successful will be offered paid, BT degree-apprenticeship positions with the cost of their degree also funded by the company” 14/08/19 *East Anglian Daily Times*, David Vincent, Journalist

“[We are] investing in regeneration sites ... implementing national business rate relief schemes, developing skills and job opportunities with a range of partners, and supporting enterprise zones which bring five years of business rate relief” 18/10/19 *Ipswich Star*, Ipswich Borough Council

Norwich

- Nepotism (degrees of localness/council favourites)

Place as it was

“Jarrold took over the St James' Yarn Mill in Whitefriars in 1898 and after a succession of uses it ultimately became the HQ of the Jarrold printing and publishing empire. It prospered until, unable to compete with the production costs of overseas printing, the works closed in 2006. This heralded a further diversification as it moved into property. Jarrold has supported a range of cultural and social activity within the city and until recently sponsored at stand at Carrow Road” 27/08/16 *Norwich Evening News*, Michael Loveday, *The Norwich Knowledge* Author

“In the 1500s ... 'the strangers' [who] were protestant refugees ... fleeing persecution in the low countries ... settled in Norwich for good reason ... the truth was that Norwich needed their help. The city had grown up around the textile industry, but it was beginning to lag. Fashions were changing with foreign fabrics preferred over English wool. Luckily, many of the protestant refugees were skilled in textiles – it was a perfect relationship. Over a relatively short time of ten years, the city saw an influx of around 5,000 strangers. It would have been a drastic change at the time, considering the local population was only 12,000” 05/02/18 *Discovering Britain*, Frank Meeres, *Norwich Record Office* Archivist

Place as it is

“Events have been organised by Norwich City Council and are supported by the Norwich Evening News, BBC Radio Norfolk The Forum Trust, Jarrold and Virgin Money” 21/11/12 *Eastern Daily Press*, Tom Bristow, Journalist

“The BID and city council have also been working closely with the likes of John Lewis, Jarrolds, The Forum, Norwich Castle and the city's two shopping malls to try and make the most of their lighting for the wider good of the city” 30/10/13 *Norwich Evening News*, David Freezer, Journalist

“The Norfolk dialect is very distinct and unless you’ve grown up with it, a very strong Norfolk accent peppered with words that aren’t widely used elsewhere in the UK, can be difficult to understand ... is one of those things that Norfolk folk always use to confuse outsiders and show off just how diverse our own ‘language’ really is” 09/06/15 *Metro*, Jess Shanahan, *Journalist*

“Locals keep telling me to stop promoting our county to outsiders but I like to share and I feel everyone should experience the joys of living in this amazing county” 21/07/15 *Metro*, Jess Shanahan, *Journalist*

“Norfolk is a fine county. Beautiful skies, some of the best landscapes and wildlife that this country has to offer ... On the other hand the people who live in Norfolk could not be of a more contrasting manner. Cold, suspicious, unfriendly and unwelcoming. It is said even if you have been living in Norfolk for over 20 years, you are still a stranger ... Shopkeepers and assistants blunt and to the point, either unable to join in with friendly chat or just unwilling to. Hotels and restaurants seldom going that little bit extra to please ... Maybe it is a fine county with insular unfriendly locals” 14/08/17 *Eastern Daily Press*, D J Zenden, *Contributor and ‘Non-local’*

“A £45m scheme for more than 200 homes on a Norwich city centre site ... including 200 homes, a 60-bedroom hotel and offices, was granted to Jarrold in 2007” 16/09/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Dan Grimmer, *Journalist*

“[Jarrold’s] plans to build more than 200 homes in Norwich city centre which will see a much-loved printing museum forced to relocate, have been recommended for approval” 09/03/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, David Hannant, *Local Democracy Reporter*

Place as it could be

“The BID and the business community wanted to work with the city council and other partners to get the lights back to a place where they should be ... which we hope will attract more visitors and provide a valuable boost to the local economy at the same time” 30/10/13 *Norwich Evening News*, Stefan Gurney, *Norwich BID Executive Director*

“Perhaps more involvement in community projects would aid [community development], and also ease any perceived division between [non-locals] and locals” 13/08/17 *The Norwich Radical*, James Anthony, *Contributor*

- **The Lanes (positive and negative)**

Place as it was

“Intent on keeping the tradition alive, the Norwich Lanes have decided to ‘Bring Jack Back’ ... Norwich is modern and vibrant, but it’s great to see the revival of Valentine’s Eve celebrations adding to the life of the city with exciting events” 03/02/14 *Eastern Daily Press*, Donna-Louise Bishop, *Journalist*

“The [Norwich Lanes] fair began in 2008 as a small event called the St Benedicts Street Fair and it has gone on to become one of the major highlights of the city calendar” 08/07/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Louisa Baldwin, *Journalist*

Place as it is

“Filled with a wonderfully unique range of quirky and diverse shops, cafes, restaurants and bars, Norwich Lanes is the beating heart of Norwich's independent sector. It epitomises all that is great about keeping things local, and shows the importance of ... encouraging more people to give their support to independent traders” 11/11/11 *Norwich Evening News*, Emma Knights, *Journalist*

“The unique shops and the atmosphere [make] such a friendly community. Also, everybody is knowledgeable and enthusiastic about what they sell. Shopping in Norwich Lanes is just a nice experience” 11/11/11 *Norwich Evening News*, Sarah Pattison, *Upper St Giles Street Manager*

“The Norwich Lanes was crowned top of the shops in the city category of the national awards competition which celebrates the achievements of local people in making their high streets great places to live, work and shop” 08/11/14 *Eastern Daily Press*, Peter Walsh, *Journalist*

“[A] founder of a mobile payment app was piloted in the Norwich Lanes ... [and launched a] reward programme for independent traders in Norwich” 15/06/16 *Eastern Daily Press*, Mark Shields, *Journalist*

“Norwich Lanes is home to some of the best independent retailers, eateries and pubs anywhere in the UK. For unique, boutique or independent businesses, this area is the place to shop in Norwich. From music stores to restaurants with no menu, the lanes are certainly varied” 06/07/17 *Omniseach*, Lucie Towndrow, *Contributor*

“We are part of Norwich Lanes and want to support the businesses. We want the area to look nice. Graffiti is a problem in Norwich ... [and shop owners] have to pay for work to remove graffiti as they are private buildings” 07/01/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Sophie Wyllie, *Journalist*

“With its vibrant cafe culture and laid-back way of life under those big Norfolk skies, Norwich is fast becoming East Anglia’s hippest hangout” 06/08/18 *Norwich Evening News*, Lauren Cope, *Journalist*

“Shop owners in Norwich Lanes are celebrating a record-breaking start to the year bucking the trend for doom and gloom on the high street. One owner reported tripling his sales this month and another had the ‘best Christmas season for 27 years’” 01/02/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Caroline Culot, *Journalist*

“It feels like you get to know the people the shop fronts. It also makes you appreciate how multicultural the city is” 07/07/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Yolanda Howard, *Visitor to The Lanes*

“The [Norwich Lanes] fair ... will feature stalls from the city's thriving independent businesses. The event is returning this summer after... attracting around 15,000 people in 2017... This time around, the event is back bigger and better than ever after its hiatus and is sponsored by the Norwich Business Improvement District (BID) and Norwich City Council” 08/07/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Louisa Baldwin, *Journalist*

“[A fish and chip shop] in the Norwich Lanes, were given [a] welcome boost after the CEO of an Asian airline extolled the virtues of Norwich with a travel review praising the fish and chip bar based in Lower Goat Lane” 12/08/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Caroline Culot, *Journalist*

“It's easy to lose a few hours in the Norwich Lanes, exploring the kooky, quirky band of independent shops this part of the city has to offer” 31/10/19 *Norwich Evening News*, Charlotte Smith-Jarvis, *Journalist*

Place as it could be

“The Lanes, a series of medieval streets, alleyways and open spaces, which boasts more than 300 independent retailers, cafés and bars, was one of seven winners selected by judges across a range of categories for its ability to innovate, collaborate and adapt to changing consumer habits” 08/11/14 *Eastern Daily Press*, Peter Walsh, *Journalist*

“Officers launched a crackdown on beggars at the start of October after traders in the Norwich Lanes complained about the behaviour of those on the streets. Since then, officers have spoken to people more than 150 times about begging ... 17 repeat offenders have been charged” 02/11/16 *Eastern Daily Press*, Tom Bristow, *Journalist*

“We have created a village in a city, where you can find great customer service, people don't just stand behind counters like they do in the national stores, but are willing to help ... We have a waiting list of about 30 shops wanting to come into the Lanes and many of the buildings have retail below with residential [or other businesses] above ... so the Lanes has its own micro economy” 01/02/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Jonty Young, *Norwich Lanes Association*

“Since 2014, Norwich has attracted more people than the previous year – bucking the national trend which has continually fallen ... The thing we hear the most from people is: ‘I had no idea Norwich was like this – it’s such a well kept secret.’ Then they go home, they tell their friends, and word spreads that way”
08/02/19 Eastern Daily Press, Eleanor Pringle, Journalist

- **Infrastructure (traffic, parking, difficult to get around)**

Place as it was

“[Until 2014] Norwich was the largest UK city not linked to the dual carriageway and motorway network - something which campaigners have long claimed has held it back from realising its full potential” *12/12/14 Eastern Daily Press, Dan Grimmer, Journalist*

“We are determined to improve Norfolk's infrastructure after years of under-investment” *02/06/15 ITV News, George Nobbs, Norfolk County Council Leader*

“Since 2013, there has been a gradual decline in the number of vehicles using the inner ring road, which could suggest motorists are more reluctant to drive into the city [than they used to be]” *23/06/18 Eastern Daily Press, David Hannant, Journalist*

“In the past, St Stephens Street was a busy entrance to the city centre ... [and] nearly 5,000 vehicles used it every day ... the changes in 2014, which also covered Rampant Horse Street, meant only cyclists, buses and taxis had access as part of an ongoing overhaul to city centre traffic ... but changes with all the roads really put people off coming back ... Sometimes it feels like a ghost town here” *05/03/19 Eastern Daily Press, Lauren Cope, Journalist*

“The Norwich in 90 campaign was launched a decade ago, with the aim of improving the speed and reliability of services as well as upgrading the customer experience with new more comfortable trains ... For too long we had to accept a poor service. Old trains running on creaking infrastructure which was proving a real barrier to business growth” *20/05/19 Eastern Daily Press, Chris Starkie, New Anglia LEP Chief Executive*

Place as it is

“[Norwich's] airport development fee, which was first introduced in 2007, will increase from £5 to £10 in January 2012. But there will no longer be a charge for children aged under 16. Airport bosses have said the price hike is needed to safeguard the future of Norwich International Airport” *27/09/11 Norwich Evening News, Kate Scotter, Journalist*

“Shoppers at one of Norwich's malls face an increase in car parking charges ... [as] Castle Mall is putting up its car parking tariffs for up to four hours, and the centre will no longer offer free parking after 5pm on Thursdays” *02/10/13 Eastern Daily Press, Emma Knights, Journalist*

“The noise and vibration of an endless flow of heavy vehicles would threaten the foundations and fabric of some of the most attractive and historically important homes in the city” *24/02/14 BBC News, Peter Jackson, Chapelfield Action Group*

“The cost of a planned bypass in Norwich has risen by £29m. The northern distributor road (NDR) ... [has seen] delays and increased outlay for environmental factors have raised the cost to £178m” *11/08/15 BBC News, Norfolk Report.*

“Angry shopkeepers claim parking enforcement at their Norwich shopping centre [Earlham House] is driving trade away” *01/06/16 Eastern Daily Press, Dan Grimmer, Journalist*

“Controversial parking rules have left a shop owner so fearful for the future of his business that he has pledged to reimburse customers' tickets ... [parking is] the “biggest threat” to traders at the [Earlham House] complex since it opened ... there needs to be a more intelligent approach on how to deal with the parking” *14/04/17 Eastern Daily Press, Luke Powell, Journalist*

“It's becoming increasingly expensive to park in Norwich ... [and] Drivers in Norwich will soon have to pay even more to park, with fees increasing from November 13th” *06/10/17 Eastern Daily Press, Courtney Pochin, Journalist*

“Millions of pounds worth of profit is being made from car parks in the region ... Norwich City Council made £2.8m” *28/11/17 Eastern Daily Press, Jessica Long, Journalist*

“Anyone who drives through Norwich will know how the relentless stream of changes to the city's road layout have been a continuous bugbear ... Many of the roadworks have led to frequent delays for motorists moving around the city while the schemes were carried out. And they have sparked a fierce debate about whether they have been a net positive for the city, or just caused greater problems for people driving through” *23/06/18 Eastern Daily Press, David Hannant, Journalist*

“I think the amount of roadworks has made it harder for businesses, but the strength of the city and our position within East Anglia has meant we have been resilient” *23/06/18 Eastern Daily Press, Stefan Gurney, Norwich BID Executive Director*

“Free city parking on evenings and Sundays may be abolished, Norwich City Council has revealed” *13/09/18 Eastern Daily Press, David Hannant, Journalist*

“The new ‘Norwich in 90, Ipswich in 60’ services fulfil a Greater Anglia franchise commitment - but are realistically unlikely to make a major impact on travel patterns to London” *08/03/19 East Anglian Daily Times, Paul Geater, Journalist*

“Commuters parking at Norwich railway station are set to be stung by an 85pc rise in car parking fees” *01/06/19 Eastern Daily Press, Bethany Whymark, Journalist*

“85pc of private vehicles travelling across the Greater Norwich area today are single occupancy, rising to 95pc during peak commuter periods. There is significant benefit if we are able to reverse this trend and maximise the efficiency of the transport network” *22/08/19 Eastern Daily Press, Norfolk County Council Report*

“The city council has dished out hundreds more parking permits than there are spaces available in some parts of Norwich ... there are zones across the city that have seen as many as 156 extra permits sold. This does not include the 110,000 visitor day scratch cards and about 5,000 business permits in use” *17/09/19 Eastern Daily Press, Abigail Nicholson, Journalist*

“[Norwich] infrastructure has the potential to become a defining meme for inept design ... [as] a new segregated cycle lane being built in Norwich will make the city ‘a national laughing stock’ – because it has trees planted in the middle of it” *24/09/19 Road.cc, Simon MacMichael, News Editor*

Place as it could be

“A vision setting out how Norwich Airport will almost treble passenger numbers and fly to many more global destinations over the next generation has today be exclusively revealed ... look[ing] to cement the airport’s position as a key economic player in the region and raise the profile of Norwich and Norfolk around the world” *06/07/17 Eastern Daily Press, Mark Shields, Journalist*

“Despite the frustration members of the public have expressed at [roadworks] ... those behind the changes over the past five years say they have not only improved access to the fine city, but also resulted in a 97pc increase in cycling” *23/06/18 Eastern Daily Press, David Hannant, Journalist*

“The majority of the income generated through on and off street car parking is used to manage parking services ... [but] The cost of parking should cover the cost of providing the service, not become a stealth tax paid by a few thousand who regularly visit” *09/12/18 Eastern Daily Press, Conor Matchett, Journalist*

“[The Norwich in 90] investment in new trains and infrastructure on the Great Eastern Mainline would reap billions of pounds of economic growth in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. The business case was

instrumental in persuading the government to invest £1.4bn in new trains as part of the new East Anglia franchise” 20/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Chris Starkie, *New Anglia LEP Chief Executive*

“[Norwich] needs high quality rail infrastructure to support growth” 20/05/19 *BBC News*, Chris Starkie, *New Anglia LEP Chief Executive*

“It is taking transport in Norwich into the 21st century. Norwich is a growing city and we need to improve and maintain accessibility in the coming years when the population does increase ... Those objectives include: quicker, more reliable buses; a better park and ride service; cutting trips by private car; cleaner, less polluting buses; promotion of cycling and infrastructure for areas of housing growth” 10/06/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Tom McCabe, *Norfolk County Council Executive Director of Community and Environmental Services*

“The Norwich Western Link is one of Norfolk County Council’s key infrastructure priorities. It is expected to significantly improve travel between the A47 and Broadland Northway west of Norwich. The hope is to start construction before the end of 2022 ... [with work] estimated at £153m” 16/07/19 *The Construction Index*, *Norfolk Report*

- **Influx of chains and multinationals (less skilled work, closing independents)**

Place as it was

“For more than 200 years Norwich has been a bastion of traditional shoemaking ... But the late 20th century brought tougher challenges of the city’s shoe manufacturers [outsourcing and presence of multinationals], which eventually spelled the end for many” 22/08/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Bethany Whymark, *Journalist*

“A decline in the number of independent retailers and lack of support from the industry have been blamed for the decision to close [longstanding] women’s footwear brand Van Dal’s factory in Norwich” 04/09/18 *Drapers*, Emma Sheppard, *Reporter*

Place as it is

“People who run independent shops have a true passion and love for what they do and it is these shops which make high streets sparkle and stand out ... it’s important to have a mixture of chain stores and independent shops on the high street but at the moment there seems to be a bit of an imbalance with a lot of independent shops closing and that is heartbreaking to see” 02/07/11 *Eastern Daily Press*, David Blackmore, *Journalist*

“If people do not use independent shops, they will be gone forever. It is important to buy locally for lots of reasons which are obvious ... [it] is full of alternative choices. This is the place to be if you want to do something different” 11/11/11 *Norwich Evening News*, Emma Knights, *Journalist*

“Norwich has been rated the ninth best shopping destination in the UK, and is predicted to rise to eighth over the next five years ... [the] vibrant city centre has retail at its heart, from the boutique independent of Norwich Lanes and Timberhill to the two shopping centres to the major department stores; Norwich is as far from a generic high street as you can find in a city” 15/11/12 *Eastern Daily Press*, David Bale, *Journalist*

“[It’s difficult] competing with chain restaurants, whose corporate structure and funding mean they can weather the tough times, whilst some independent outlets suffer and die” 05/01/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Courtney Pochin, *Journalist*

“Another Norwich [independent] restaurant could be heading out of business due to competition from [national chains] and rising business rates” 23/08/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Bethany Whymark, *Journalist*

“Local retail experts have expressed confidence in Norwich, saying it is still a favoured location among national chains and supports a growing array of independents ... [even if] Names such as Toys R Us,

Maplin, Mothercare and House of Fraser have suffered under the weight of [recent economic] troubles, which have caused the closure of shops and collapse of chains ... the growing number of independent shops is helping to support Norwich's retail scene ... [and] Norwich has become a destination shopping city" 19/09/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Bethany Whymark, Journalist

"[A recent] study analysed the number of independents per city, combined with a penalty score for the number of big chains (coffee shops, restaurants, pubs and supermarkets) to determine the thriving locations when it came to independent retailers [and Norwich placed 2nd for retail and 7th overall]" 17/12/18 *Business Matters*, 'Independent' City Report

"Independent restaurant owners are teaching the chain titans a lesson in 2019, with the news that the owner of [chains are] seeing earnings fall due to rising costs" 02/01/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Eleanor Pringle, Journalist

"The city's large number of independent, smaller venues [are] now part of its charm ... it makes Norwich a destination [and] you have to make a destination welcoming, people don't like it if places become pretentious" 13/02/19 *Norwich Evening News*, Sabrina Johnson, Journalist

"Continued growth could spell trouble for existing businesses. There's only a certain amount of custom that can go around, if you thin that out enough then someone starts struggling" 14/02/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Lauren Cope, Journalist

"It's difficult for any independent retailer right now because people are more discerning than ever and probably more cautious with their hard earned cash than previously" 21/02/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Dennis Bacon, Serial Local Entrepreneur

"The current trading situation for independent restaurants is challenging, many have closed over the last few years within the city centre ... The influx in larger chain operated restaurants has greatly impacted the smaller independent businesses" 20/03/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Lauren Cope, Journalist

"Consumers are moving away from chains. Instead they are choosing to shop and eat at smaller independents which offer something a bit more authentic" 03/09/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Stefan Gurney, Norwich BID Executive Director

"Just as high street retailers are shuffling off the mortal coil, I predict we'll see other chains [head into administration]. But vivre le difference. I for one cannot wait to see what my local [independent] hotspots come up with next. Long may they reign" 22/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Charlotte Smith-Jarvis, Food and Drink Editor

Place as it could be

"You'll be hard pressed to find a place with more independents ... [Norwich] is full of beautiful local businesses and it's also a fantastic place to start your own because we love to buy local. There's even an initiative [Buy Local Norfolk] to get more people spending money with local businesses" 21/07/15 *Metro*, Jess Shanahan, Journalist

"The big chains have been safely corralled into a couple of malls, leaving the streets free for a wonderfully quirky open-air market and a fine selection of independents in the Lanes" 29/01/17 *The Times*, Tim Palmer, Journalist

"Support your independents: clothing shops, restaurants, market stalls, coffee shops, record shops, because if you don't you will lose them. No one wants to live in a city that is basically one big shopping mall" 05/01/18 *Eastern Daily Press*, Courtney Pochin, Journalist

"The big chains can go to suppliers and say: 'Sell me this for that price, and I'll buy it for all my restaurants.' We can't do that ... luckily for us, even though we're not a chain, we have a network with other independent businesses who appreciate how tough it is and will give us the best price they can ... We don't have customers who would go to a chain restaurant. We have people who want to support the

independents, and that customer base is growing – especially in places like Norwich” 02/01/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Francis Woolf, *Local Restaurateur*

“Mr Young is the [Norwich] Lanes’ gatekeeper in terms of negotiating with landlords buying properties and ensuring that chain stores are kept out” 01/02/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Caroline Culot, *Journalist*

“The way we eat out is changing, and it's small, local businesses who can adapt and lead the way ... The rising cost of food (especially with the shadow of Brexit looming) cannot be ignored ... [and] there's not great deal a large chain can do to react immediately ... the downfall of the chain could herald the renaissance of the neighbourhood restaurant ... Local independents can work closely with a network of equally independent local producers, taking their pick of what's in season, what's the most cost effective” 22/05/19 *Eastern Daily Press*, Charlotte Smith-Jarvis, *Food and Drink Editor*

UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA
NORWICH BUSINESS SCHOOL
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

RESEARCH ETHICS CHECKLIST

This form should be completed by all staff and students planning to conduct research that involves collecting data from human participants.

Before completing this form please read the University research ethics principles at:

http://www.uea.ac.uk/research/research_policies

Students should also discuss the ethical aspects of their proposed research with their supervisor before completing the form.

1. Applicant Details

Name: George Redhead

Student no. (if applicable): 6242855

Status (circle appropriate): PGR student

Course (if applicable): R1N200101 – PhD Management Research

Contact telephone number: 07535 217937

E-mail address: g.redhead@uea.ac.uk

Primary supervisor's name (if applicable): Dr Zografia Bika

2. Project Details

Title of project: Entrepreneurship in East Anglia: A multiple case study investigation into the relationship between place and entrepreneurship

3. Research Ethics Checklist

Please answer all questions by ticking the appropriate box:

	Yes	No
1. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. people under 18; people with learning disabilities; students you teach/assess)		✓
2. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their informed consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation)		✓
3. Will any financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses / compensation for time) be offered to participants?		✓
4. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics in a personal, social, cultural, or commercial sense? (e.g. sexual activity, bereavement, drug use, illegal activities, whistleblowing)		✓
5. Could the study place participants at risk of physical or psychological harm, distress, or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?		✓
6. Will the research involve any appreciable threat to the health and safety of the researcher(s)?		✓
7. Will the study involve any incitement to, encouragement of, or participation in, an illegal act? (by participant or researcher)		✓
8. Will the study involve recruitment of patients or staff through the NHS?		✓
9. Will participants be informed about the purpose of the research and the nature of the research procedures?	✓	
10. Will participants be debriefed after taking part in the research?	✓	
11. Will arrangements be made to ensure that data obtained from/about participants remains confidential?	✓	
12. Will participants be informed about the use to which the data will be put?	✓	
13. Will the consent of participants be obtained?	✓	
14. Will it be made clear to participants that they are free to withdraw from the research at any time, without negative consequences?	✓	

If you ticked a **WHITE** box for **ALL** questions in the checklist, further ethical approval from the NBS Research Ethics Committee is not required. Simply sign and return this form as indicated on page 3.

If you ticked a GREY (i.e. shaded) box for ANY question, you will also need to complete form E2: NBS ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM. The form asks you to provide more information about how you plan to deal with the 'grey area' ethical issues raised by your research. This

does not mean that you cannot do the research but your proposal will have to be considered and approved by the NBS Research Ethics Committee.

Important: Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University research ethics principles and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. **This includes providing participants with appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the use and storage of data in accordance with the Data Protection Act.** Any significant change in the research question or design of the study may require completion of new E1 and/or E2 forms.

4. Signatures

Signature of Applicant:

Date:

Supervisor declaration (for student research only)

Please tick as appropriate:

- I have discussed the checklist and ethical implications of the proposed research with the student and am satisfied that the study does not raise ethical problems that must be considered by the NBS Research Ethics Committee.
- I have discussed the checklist and ethical implications of the proposed research with the student. One or more potential ethical issues have been identified which require completion of form E2: Ethical Approval Form for consideration by the NBS Research Ethics Committee.

Signature of Supervisor:

Date:

Submitting your Form(s)

**PLEASE PHOTOCOPY THIS FORM FOR YOUR OWN RECORDS
AND SUBMIT THE ORIGINAL**

**IF YOU ALSO NEED TO COMPLETE AN ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM (E2),
PLEASE SUBMIT IT WITH THIS FORM (E1)**

Please return your completed form(s) as follows:

PGT Students: NBS Teaching Office

PGR Students: SSF Postgraduate Research Office

NBS Staff: HoS Secretary

Appendix 5 – NVivo 12 Pro coding example

Entrepreneurship and Place Post-Analysis.nvp - NVivo 12 Pro

Document Tools: Document, Edit

Nodes Search Project

Name	Files	References
Being local	48	202
High Street	35	198
Attributes of business	48	197
Community	45	184
Relationships with place	50	179
Growth	45	179
Traits	51	173
Family and Socialisation	46	145
Attributes of place	42	145
Attachment	44	140
'Home'	41	117
Knowledge and Collaboration	39	109
Economy	40	107
Opportunity	41	101
Sticking together	36	98
Gambling (Business as a game)	33	82
Infrastructure	33	81
Insular	30	70
Locally minded decision-making	27	64
Local futures	33	62
Networking	32	57
Emotions	24	54
Prosperity	36	51
Phoenix regeneration	16	47

NORWICH INTERVIEW 6 TRAN

are here, you've now got the A11 and the A14 that are becoming more known as the technology corridor now, especially moving to Cambridge. I'm not a fan of London as an operational base for anyone. I view London nowadays as a city which is not fit for purpose. It wastes too much time, it's not efficient, the transport links don't work, they've overdeveloped it, it's gone well beyond it's useful space in my opinion. Coming out to the provinces is a much more straightforward thing to do if you want something that's more efficient. We can spend our time travelling around in this part of the world and travel much greater distances than they can in London. You can't drive in London for example. Their public transport works to a degree, hopefully. If I'm going to be late for a meeting, it's going to be in London. If I travel up to Glasgow to see someone, I won't be late. If I go to London I can allow myself an extra hour and I could still be late and I have been in the past. I've been on a tube ringing someone saying 'I'm sorry, the tubes held up, I'll be a little bit late' thinking to myself Christ I left an hour early this morning and I'm still late, it's frustrating! Yeah I think a lot of London companies and a lot of south-east companies in particular view Norwich, or view East Anglia, to coin the phrase 'the arse-end of nowhere' that's been used quite a lot. Why would you want to go there? Well why not!

I: And does that impact upon this business?

IS: Not really, no. It does in the credibility for some companies but it doesn't impact on what we are able to do. Once we start working with someone we can prove that we're probably equal or most of the time better than some of the companies that are on their doorstep, and certainly we're more cost-effective because our overheads are lower and labour is lower, that's the biggest factor. Nowadays, I don't know what the rent for one of these places is down in London now, an astronomical amount of money I reckon. It's got to go on to the overall pricing structure of the product hasn't it? Equally, I'm one of these people that turn, I'm not too keen to have the area overdeveloped because the rural roots of what we have and why people want to be here, if we took all of those away then would we want to move somewhere else? I don't know. I probably wouldn't because it's too late for me. Chloe Smith would call me 'one of them' yeah I am 'one of them' Chloe and I've had conversations with her about that subject in the past. They want to keep developing and developing, no, to a point! Why do you like being here? What's the point of being here if you're going to make it something else then it's not going to be the same place you started off with in the first place. Just let it develop, don't push it too hard. The road link was great, the A11 being

Attachment

Reliable

A Tale of 2 Halves

GR 541 Items Codes: 85 References: 279 Editable Line: 1 Column: 0 100%