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Multipartite Attitudes to Enterprise: A Comparative Study of Young People and Place

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Abstract

The article examines young people's attitudes towards enterprise, comparing prosperous and deprived neighbourhoods and two UK cities. Corpus linguistics analysis identified multi-layered attitudes and variations in how place prosperity and city affect attitudes. High interest in enterprise was associated with weaker place attachment and reduced social embeddedness. Young adults from prosperous neighbourhoods delegitimised other's enterprises; the 'deprived' sub-corpus included more fluid notions of enterprise legitimacy. Liverpool accounts contained stronger discursive threads around self-determination; Bradford accounts included greater problematizing of entrepreneurship versus employment. An original Multipartite Model of Attitudes to Enterprise is presented consisting of four layers: attitudes to enterprise generally; attitudes legitimising particular forms of enterprise; attitudes to enterprise related to place; and attitudes to enterprise related to self. The conclusion explains why policies and research need to be fine-grained and avoid uni-dimensional conceptualisations of attitudes to enterprise or deterministic arguments relating entrepreneurship to specific types of places or backgrounds.

Keywords: young enterprise, corpus linguistics, entrepreneurship, deprived communities.

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurship and new business start-ups have been linked to places achieving economic growth (Porter, 1995; Greene and Patel, 2013; PWC, 2018). In so-called 'deprived' areas, entrepreneurship as a panacea to depletion has had variable success (Southern, 2011) and enterprise support 'little influence on young people's take-up of self-employment' (Greene, 2002: 330). Studies of entrepreneurship in 'low-income' or 'depleted' communities suggest lack of fit (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004; Williams and Williams, 2012), limited entrepreneurial potential and entrepreneurial deficits (McKeever, Jack and Anderson, 2015). Problematization of low-income communities in this way has been criticised (Bates and Robb, 2011; Southern, 2011; Parkinson, Howorth and Southern, 2017) alongside suggestions that some area-based programmes and policies exacerbate marginalization (Amin, 2005; Lee, Sissons, Hughes et al., 2014; Kearns and Mason, 2018).

If places have particular entrepreneurial cultures (James, 2007; Spigel, 2013) that affect their success, understanding attitudes to enterprise of people living in those places is important for policy, research and practice. Yet, we know little about the shared views that determine how people in specific places understand and experience entrepreneurship (Spigel, 2013). Motivations of entrepreneurs may be directly influenced by their socio-spatial context (Williams and Williams, 2012), therefore, it is important to understand attitudes to enterprise within a specific spatial context (Zahra, Wright and Abdelgawad, 2014; Cheung and Kwong, 2017). Local place-based attitudes may be more important than national institutional environments in shaping entrepreneurial behaviour (Bosma and Schutjens, 2011; Lang, Fink and Kibler, 2014). Depleted or prosperous communities in one context may engage in entrepreneurship differently from those in another (Welter, 2011). Comparative studies are required to avoid drawing conclusions with limited validity and proffering ineffective interventions (Williams and Williams, 2012).

We know little about how young people in different places develop varying attitudes towards enterprise. Yet, young people are important for the future of places. Whilst the majority of adults aged 18-25 express interest in starting a business, their actual engagement in entrepreneurship remains low (Greene, 2002; EY 2015). Research into entrepreneurial propensity among young people is often reduced to age and background (Hickie, 2011; Fletcher, Jamal, Fitzgerald-Yau and Bonell, 2014; Jayawarna, Jones and MacPherson, 2014). Although past findings suggest that young people in low-income places reproduce marginal businesses typical of where they live(MacDonald, 1998), young people growing up in the digital era may be better able to transcend territorial problems of place (Young, 2012).

Parkinson et al. (2017) found that young people, known to be acting entrepreneurially, discursively rejected association of entrepreneurship with their low-income community.

In this article, we explore the question: How does place affect young adults' attitudes towards enterprise? We employ corpus linguistics analysis to compare the spoken text of young adults living in the most deprived and most prosperous areas of two UK cities. Interviewees had a range of backgrounds and varying levels of engagement with entrepreneurship, including non-entrepreneurs (Ramoglou, 2011). We aim to open up the conceptualisation of attitudes to enterprise and provide a more nuanced and authentic framing to further understanding of variations in attitudes to enterprise. Our contribution is three-fold:

First, our theoretical contribution illuminates the multipartite nature of attitudes towards enterprise, recognising that attitudes encompass cognition (thoughts), affect (feelings) and conation (volition, behavioural intentions) (Robinson, Stimpson, Huefner and Hunt, 1991). Previous studies that examine attitudes towards enterprise in relation to interventions or attitude towards enterprise programmes provide little conceptual advancement. Studies frequently adopt uni-dimensional scales that contrast with social psychological understandings of attitudes (Robinson et al., 1991). We derive a Multipartite Model of Attitudes to Enterprise that constitutes four layered elements: attitudes to enterprise generally; attitudes legitimising particular forms of enterprise; attitudes to enterprise related to place; attitudes to enterprise related to self. 'Attitudes to enterprise generally' varied in whether enterprise was spoken about in terms of ideas and self-determination or problematized. 'Attitudes legitimising forms of enterprise' varied with locational prosperity - the 'prosperous' sub-set qualifying or delegitimising certain forms of enterprise, the 'deprived' sub-corpus presenting a more fluid notion of legitimate forms. 'Attitudes to enterprise related to [my] place' captures variations in how enterprise was presented as relevant for their city. 'Attitudes to enterprise related to [me]' varies between the 'prosperous' sub-set discussing careers, work and experience, and the 'deprived' sub-set presenting more radical arguments positioning enterprise as an inevitable choice. Studies in a variety of contexts could adopt the Multipartite Model of Attitudes to Enterprise to provide a more rounded understanding.

Second, we contribute empirical analysis of attitudes to enterprise, comparing attitudes of young people by 'deprived' and 'prosperous' indicators, geographical location, and with high and low interest in enterprise. Previous studies are often limited by student samples, sometimes further biased by social composition of the student body. We examine young adults from a range of backgrounds in their milieu. Our analysis identified that geographical

location and prosperity indicators were relevant to different elements of attitudes to enterprise: 'attitudes to enterprise generally' and 'attitudes to enterprise related to place' varied more with location (city), whereas 'attitudes to enterprise related to self' and 'attitudes legitimising forms of enterprise' varied more between prosperous and deprived sub-sets. Our findings indicate why place-based entrepreneurial cultures might develop differently.

Third, we highlight and exemplify the rigour and potential of corpus linguistics analysis, previously published only twice in this journal (Lockett, Kerr and Robinson, 2008; Perren and Dannreuther, 2012). Whilst excellent examples of research using discourse or conversation analysis provide insights into complexities of context (Hjorth and Steyaert, 2004; Chalmers and Shaw, 2017), entrepreneurship studies rarely employ corpus linguistics analysis. Corpus linguistics analysis enables identification of meaningful patterns through rigorous analysis of spoken or written text, genuinely allowing data to speak (Scott and Tribble, 2006). The method is less biased by researcher preconceptions influencing findings (Rayson, 2008). Corpus linguistics analysis enabled comparison of three pairs of sub-corpora of young adults spoken data, relating to location (Liverpool: Bradford); neighbourhood prosperity (most deprived: least deprived), and interest in enterprise (high: low).

In the following sections, we review the literature then outline our approach to the research. We present three stages of analysis, followed by a discussion of the conceptual model. Our findings indicate the need to go beyond simplistic representations of place. The conclusion challenges arguments that attribute an area's propensity for enterprise to narrow place or person specific factors.

2.1 Place, Young People and Enterprise

Entrepreneurial processes are influenced by configurations of history, culture, politics and community interacting within places (Welter, 2011; Anderson, Warren and Bensemann, 2018). Political, social and cultural structures/practices interrelate at national, regional and local levels giving rise to variegated economic landscapes (Hall and Soskice, 2001; Peck and Theodore, 2007). Understanding entrepreneurial context based on individual background, networks and history as experienced in place (Massey 1991; 1995) can add to knowledge of why types of enterprise and entrepreneurial opportunities differ across geographies.

Place is a relational construct unrestricted by administrative boundaries, 'a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus… as articulated moments in networks of social relations' (Massey, 1991, p.28). Social cultural patterns establish a sense of community through place attachment (Fried, 2000), contributing to place-sensitive norms and shared meaning (Seelos, Mair, Battilana and Dacin, 2011). People find security in, and fight threats to, the community or place within which they live, developing place identities to deal with economic and social uncertainty or marginalisation (Hudson, 2001; Hoekstra, 2018). Social connections and network relationships in a place support entrepreneurship (Halinen and Törnroos, 1998; Renzulli, Aldrich and Moody, 2000; Anderson, Jack and Dodd, 2005), providing trust and resources necessary for economic exchange (Granovetter, 1982, 1985), producing dynamic social and economic contexts (Welter, 2011; McKeever et al., 2015) that influence agency. Actors make choices and construct attitudes towards entrepreneurship associated with everyday norms, conventions and local social structures (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Granovetter, 1985; Jack and Anderson, 2002).

Place attachment has been examined in existing entrepreneurs. Place attachment linked to personal connections has been found to have more influence on social entrepreneurial success than local or national government support (Lang et al., 2014). Place attachment enables rural entrepreneurs to overcome institutional barriers to set up businesses benefitting their community (Kibler, Fink, Lang, and Munoz, 2015). In low income areas, place attachment associates with entrepreneurship through heightened reliance on local community networks and emphasis on social rather than for-profit enterprise (Lionais, 2011; Seelos et al., 2011). Place attachment has not been examined in relation to the development of attitudes towards enterprise among young people and how this might contribute to an entrepreneurial culture or supposed deficit (Lloyd and Mason, 1984; Lyon, Berlotti, Evans et al., 2002; Benneworth, 2004). Studies of deprived areas indicate that place might influence motivations but do not examine young people specifically, and do not examine attitudes in any depth (Williams and Williams, 2012; Parkinson et al., 2017).

Place attachment can be understood through the concept of embeddedness, defined as being firmly or deeply ingrained in a place or context. Social networks provide the mechanism for becoming embedded (Jack and Anderson, 2002) and influence attitudes and choices. Embeddedness influences the entrepreneurial process through influence on attitudes, choices, social capital and resources (Jack and Anderson, 2002). Embeddedness is multi-layered as individuals are situated in different places concurrently (McKeever et al., 2015). Mixed embeddedness illuminates place specific analysis by drawing attention to the

demand side of entrepreneurship, considering subjective experiences of need, chance and opportunity against structures such as available forms of capital, market demand and even discrimination (Kloosterman, 2010). Mixed embeddedness indicates paying attention to place attachment, layered contexts of cultural and political history of place, family and household (Welter and Smallbone, 2013). This is important for a nuanced understanding of young people and their attitudes to enterprise in a specific place. However, studies of entrepreneurship and embeddedness have focused mainly on established entrepreneurs. There is little understanding of how young people's experience of place, as well as their exposure to affluence or deprivation, might influence their attitudes towards entrepreneurship.

Place attachment and embeddedness are important to entrepreneurship research (Jack and Anderson, 2002; McKeever et al., 2015) but while entrepreneurial activity is often considered important in shaping the success (or failure) of places (Porter, 1995; Southern, 2011; Greene and Patel, 2013) it is not a simple outcome from place attachment or embeddedness. Deprivation and affluence tend to endure in specific areas (DCLG, 2015). In those places where poverty has persisted and economic decline has long been drawn out, private enterprise was purported as a means of economic and social mobility (Greene and Patel, 2013; Stott and Campbell, 2014). Mixed embeddedness highlights how the social location on which community is centred (Hudson, 2001), the assemblage of social relations and what Massey (1991) refers to as place itself, might become a barrier to entrepreneurship (Williams and Williams, 2011; Parkinson et al., 2017). The conundrum of entrepreneurship being considered important to the economic performance of place and the perception of place being an obstacle to entrepreneurship is unresolved. By examining young people's attitudes to enterprise, insights can be provided into the potential for entrepreneurship in the future of places.

Entrepreneurship studies have treated young people as detached from place (Greene, 2002), focusing on age-related or ethnic factors (Walstad and Kourilsky, 1998). Likelihood of having a business idea (Scott and Twomey, 1988) and propensity to succeed in business (Gimeno, Folta, Cooper and Woo, 1997; Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Hickie, 2011) are associated with experience. Empirical evidence identifies barriers for young entrepreneurs, including difficulties accessing finance, lack of management experience (Blanchflower and Oswald, 2007), time pressures, availability of qualified help (Lorrain and Laferte, 2006), and age discrimination by financiers, suppliers and customers (Schoof, 2006; Lewis, 2009). Deterministic perspectives indicate young people with self-employed parents are more likely to become self-employed (Scott and Twomey, 1988; Athayde, 2009; Blanchflower and

Oswald, 2007) and socio-economic status may influence young people's entrepreneurial success (Jayawarna et al., 2014), implying that young people from more prosperous backgrounds have increased entrepreneurial propensity. Others argue that the draw for young people towards self-employment may be more connected to personal ethics and authenticity (Henderson and Robertson, 2000) than to classic entrepreneurial 'pull' factors (Bonnett and Furnham, 1991).

To summarise, place is important to entrepreneurship. Place attachment may influence attitudes and choices towards entrepreneurship. The links between place and attitudes to enterprise are particularly underexplored in relation to young people. Embeddedness indicates that a multi-layered approach is preferable to provide a nuanced understanding of young people and their attitudes towards enterprise.

2.2. Attitudes towards Enterprise

Attitudes are an important predictor of entrepreneurial intent (Schlaegel and Koenig, 2014; Botsaris and Vamvaka, 2016) and likely more reliable than demographic or trait approaches (Robinson et al., 1991; Douglas and Shepherd, 2002). Attitudes relate to two strands of entrepreneurship research, attitudes associated with entrepreneurship and attitudes towards enterprise activities. We focus on the latter. Attitude is defined as the '*predisposition to respond in a generally favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to the object of the attitude*' (Robinson et al., 1991: 17). Every attitude has an object, either general – for example, attitude towards achievement, or specific for example, attitude towards achievement in entrepreneurship. Social psychology indicates that attitudes are tripartite including thoughts, feelings and behavioural intentions (cognition, affect and conation respectively) (Rosenberg and Hoyland, 1960; Shaver, 1987; Robinson et al., 1991). Cognition refers to thoughts and beliefs about the attitude object or its perceived attributes; affect refers to feelings associated with the attitude object, and conation refers to past behaviours and future intentions regarding the attitude object. Cognition, affect and conation may not be distinct components; affect may drive cognitive and behavioural components of attitudes or affect and conation may be derived from cognitive beliefs (Fazio and Olsen, 2003).

Studies of attitudes towards enterprise are mostly empirical. Uni-dimensional studies of attitudes to enterprise often focus only on the conative; for example, intention to engage in enterprise (Peterman and Kennedy, 2003; Majumdar and Varadarajan, 2013; Hart, Bonner, Heery et al., 2019), with many studies examining changes in attitudes pre and post

intervention (Fayolle, Gailly and Lassas-Clerc , 2006; Heuer and Kolvereid, 2014). Multi-dimensional studies (Hatten and Ruhland, 1995; Athayde, 2009) tend to examine changes in attitudes associated with entrepreneurship (e.g. achievement, self-esteem, innovation, control) captured in scales such as entrepreneurial attitude orientation (Robinson et al., 1991), rather than attitudes towards enterprise. Souitaris, Zerbinati and Al-Laham (2007) examine conation alongside entrepreneurship-associated attitudes, noting an important emotional influence of inspiration. A further group of studies examine attitudes towards entrepreneurship education programmes (Ede, Panigrahi and Calcich, 1998; Dioneo-Adetayo, 2006; Küttim, Kallaste, Venesaar and Kiis, 2014) noting positive attitudes towards entrepreneurship education are associated with increased likelihood of business start-up (Lee and Wong, 2003). The relationship between attitudes and entrepreneurial intentions has been examined (Krueger, Reilly and Carsrud, 2000; Schlaegel and Koenig, 2014), with the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) providing insights. Attitudes determine intentions (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) and are affected by exogenous influences such as traits, demographics and situational variables (Ajzen, 1991; Krueger et al., 2000). Attitudes towards a behaviour are believed to derive from outcome beliefs and expectations (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen, 1991).

Studies that examine entrepreneurial attitudes in young people most often rely on student samples. Hatten and Ruhland (1995) found that younger students were more likely to develop positive attitudes to entrepreneurship. There are some contradictions in empirical studies. Positive previous experience of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurship programmes have been shown to increase intentions towards enterprise (Peterman and Kennedy, 2003; Athayde, 2009; Küttim et al., 2014). Heuer and Kolvereid (2014) however, indicate limited usefulness of entrepreneurship educational programmes, particularly shorter programmes. Majumdar and Varadarajan (2013) found male and female students in the UAE were equally strong in their intentions to become entrepreneurs, suggesting no gender effect. However, Packham, Jones, Miller, Pickernell and Thomas (2010) identified differences in entrepreneurial attitudes between male and female students and between countries, stating that differences between gender, culture and regional settings need to be considered.

Such contradictory findings may have arisen from simplistic conceptualisation of attitudes towards enterprise and insufficient consideration of context, particularly attitudes towards enterprise in relation to place. We know little about the attitudes that determine how people in a specific place understand and experience entrepreneurship (Spigel, 2013). Botsaris and Vamvaka (2016) provide one of the first attempts to disentangle the dimensions of attitudes towards entrepreneurship, suggesting three separable components: instrumental or

cognitive; experiential or affective; opportunity costs. Affective attitudes were more persistent, less likely to be influenced by situational changes and more strongly related to intention than instrumental attitudes. However, Botsaris and Vamvaka (2016) examined tertiary students and did not consider context or place.

Attitudes to enterprise are not well understood due to limited conceptualisation, dependence on student samples and simplistic uni-dimensional approaches. If increasing entrepreneurial intentions and activity is the aim, different elements of attitudes to enterprise need to be understood and aggregate measures or uni-dimensional approaches are unlikely to be sufficient (Zampetakis, Kafetsios, Bouranta, Dewett, and Moustakis, 2009). In the sections that follow, we provide a rich analysis of young people's attitude to enterprise in context, enabling a multipartite conceptualisation.

3. Approach to the Research

The study captured voices of 18-25 year olds at different ends of the prosperity–deprivation spectrum, from two large cities in northern England, aiming to examine attitudes to enterprise across places and socio-economic status. Interviews avoided imposing definitions of enterprise, entrepreneurship, business or self-employment to not lead or bias responses. Liverpool and Bradford were selected as extreme cases because, in England, they are two of twelve local authority districts with the most severely deprived neighbourhoods (Lower-Layer Super Output Areas or LSOAs[1]) measuring highly deprived on six or all seven domains[2] (DCLG, 2011; DCLG, 2015), but they also include neighbourhoods in the 10% least deprived (i.e. prosperous). Examination of deprived and prosperous neighbourhoods within the same cities controls for regional and industrial variations, whilst allowing comparison of young people from extremes of deprivation-prosperity.

Liverpool is a large city on the north-west coast of England. Although many areas of Liverpool are defined as multiply deprived (DCLG, 2011), its external image is portrayed as a

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[1] LSOAs or Lower-Layer Super Output Areas are small areas of a similar population size, determined by the Office for National Statistics for reporting small area statistics. There are 32,844 LSOAs in England; each has approximately 1,500 residents or 650 households. LSOAs are referred to as 'neighbourhoods.'

[2] The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) combines information from seven domains to produce an overall relative measure of deprivation. The domains are Income Deprivation; Employment Deprivation; Education, Skills and Training Deprivation; Health Deprivation and Disability; Crime; Barriers to Housing and Services; Living Environment Deprivation.

lively arts, music and cultural centre. Liverpool continues to benefit from regeneration attracting prestigious initiatives, such as the European Capital of Culture (Garcia, 2018). The Liverpool city-region exhibits characteristics of deprivation amongst the most problematic in the UK (Phelan et al., 2018). Some districts have traditionally had the lowest levels of business start-ups in England, although since 2015 new business starts have increased more than the national trend (PWC, 2018).

Bradford is a large metropolitan district covering the City of Bradford, a small number of semi-rural towns and many villages. Bradford has a strong industrial heritage and includes areas that are in the 10% most deprived and 10% least deprived in the country. Bradford's image is blighted by multiple deprivation and historical racial tension. Bradford has the youngest population of all major cities in Britain (Bradford, 2019); youth unemployment is higher than the national average and growing (City of Bradford, 2012). Self-employment has increased more than the national average since 2010 (Bradford, 2019).

Place-based enterprise policy in England focuses on Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). LEPs deliver local economic growth strategies as voluntaristic public-private partnerships (Bentley and Pugalis, 2013), working with local combined authorities, which here are the Liverpool City Region Combined Authority and the West Yorkshire Combined Authority (Sandford, 2018). At the time of data collection, the Combined Authority arrangements were not in place in Bradford or Liverpool although Leeds City Region LEP and Liverpool City Region LEP existed. Liverpool City Region benefited hugely from European Union Objective 1 funding, providing support for new business formation and entrepreneurship growth. In Bradford, European Union support was important but less available because West Yorkshire was eligible only for Objective 2 funding with a reduced allocation of funds.

Liverpool and Bradford are not directly comparable. However, they are both large northern cities with areas of deep-seated deprivation alongside areas of prosperity; they were both historically the wealthiest cities in their region but have been overtaken by neighbouring cities (Manchester and Leeds, respectively). Both cities include prosperous, deprived, enterprising and non-enterprising areas that provide rich contrasts for exploring the relationship between place and young people's attitudes to enterprise.

<INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE>

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 40 respondents (Table 1) in 2014[3]. Interviewees aged 18-25 were recruited through local organisations including city councils, social enterprises, enterprise support organisations, personal networks and snowballing. Individuals were selected from postcodes in the 20% most deprived and 40% least deprived LSOAs (based on English Indices of Deprivation 2010 (DCLG, 2011) and Open Data Communities mapper). Purposive sampling was employed to provide variation in gender, age and a self-declared interest in or experience of entrepreneurship and no interest/experience. Ethnicity was not considered in this research; participants are broadly reflective of the demographics of the areas studied.

Interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes, were recorded and transcribed. Most were conducted individually but a small number were interviewed in pairs following interviewee preference. Being interviewed by a university researcher can be daunting and some young adults are more forthcoming when interviewed with a friend (Parkinson et al., 2017). Semi-structured interviews used six broad interview prompts to ensure consistency: three on place, three on enterprise/self-employment. Interview transcripts were aggregated into a single corpus of spoken text (n=172,000 words) for corpus linguistics analysis.

Analysis combined corpus linguistics analysis using Wmatrix (Rayson, 2008) with manual analysis on data excerpts. Corpus linguistics analysis provides unbiased quantitative measures that can potentially reveal insights that traditional coding or manual qualitative data analysis methods might not identify on their own (Scott and Tribble, 2006). Combining corpus linguistics with discourse analysis has been a powerful form of analysis in entrepreneurship (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008). Wmatrix corpus linguistics software provides reliable findings that inform 'which linguistic features should be investigated further' (Rayson, 2008: 519). Analysis tested whether frequently occurring words or concepts appeared significantly more (or less) frequently in the spoken text of young adults compared to the British National Corpus (BNC) Sampler Spoken[4] (n=982,712 words) or between two

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[3] Our aim was to provide a conceptual contribution that will stand the test of time. 2014 was an appropriate point for data collection because it was not subject to any major political or economic changes. Data were collected after the Conservative government came into power in 2010 but prior to the Brexit referendum, which might have influenced levels of optimism or pessimism and thus attitudes among young people. GEM data indicate that generally entrepreneurial attitudes in the UK have been stable since 2014 (Hart et al., 2019). Relative levels of deprivation and affluence have changed little within neighbourhoods since the indices were first constructed in the 1990s (DCLG, 2015; Phelan et al., 2018; PWC, 2018). Both Liverpool and Bradford continue to suffer from multiple deprivation, with little change over time. For example, Liverpool has shifted from ranking most deprived (No 1) in the country in 2010, to 4th most deprived in 2015 and 2nd most deprived in 2019.

[4] 'The British National Corpus (BNC) is a 100 million word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources, designed to represent a wide cross-section of British English from the later part

sub-corpora. Significant differences between corpora are tested using Log-likelihood value (LL). All reported overused words or semantic domains[5] in our analysis were statistically significant at the 1% level (LL >7; p<0.01) and most at 0.01% level (LL>15; p<0.0001). Differences in non-relevant domains (for example, Smoking; Anatomy) are not reported.

3.1 Keyness Analysis

First stage analysis tested the 'keyness' or 'aboutness' (Scott and Tribble, 2006:55) of our entire corpus of spoken text to ensure the dataset was 'about' what might be expected and appropriate for our analysis. Keyness analysis included manual examination of transcripts and comparison with the BNC Spoken Sampler corpus. Expected themes and differences were evident. Table 2 presents the top 25 key words in our data.

<INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE>

Semantic frequency analysis identified semantic domains (i.e. key concepts) overused in our interviews relative to the spoken British norm. Semantic domains relating to geographical names (+1063), business (+2029), work/employment (+1085), family (+787) and education (+1495) all appeared in the top ten most frequent domains. The semantic priorities of the spoken text of young adults confirmed the keyness of our corpus.

3.2 Approach to analysis of sub-corpora

Second stage analysis examined three pairs of sub-corpora based on geography (Bradford—Liverpool); prosperity (More Prosperous—Less Prosperous), and enterprise interest (High interest – Low Interest). Analysis followed corpus linguistics three stages (Rayson, 2008), namely: frequency of keywords to show keyness or 'aboutness'; semantic analysis to show clusters of key concepts or domains; and concordance analysis or Key

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of the 20th century, both spoken and written. The latest edition is the BNC XML Edition, released in 2007.'
http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/
'The BNC Sampler Corpus is a subcorpus of the British National Corpus, consisting of approximately one-fiftieth of the whole corpus, viz. two million words. The Sampler Corpus is word-class tagged, using a more detailed tagset than has been used for the BNC as a whole. It also has the advantage that all the word-class tags assigned to words have been manually checked and, where necessary, corrected.'
(http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix3.html) We use a sub-corpus, the BNC Sampler Spoken.
[5] Wmatrix includes pre-determined semantic domains or 'tags' for words. There are 21 major discourse fields used by Wmatrix (e.g. Belonging; Time) containing 232 further category labels (e.g. Time: Old). These 'semantic domains' group words that are 'connected at some level of generality with the same mental concept. The groups include not only synonyms and antonyms but also hypernyms and hyponyms' (Archer, Wilson and Rayson, 2002: 1).

Word in Context, enabling qualitative analysis of items of interest in the context of the surrounding text.

4. Findings

Findings examine three sub-corpus themes (geography; prosperity; and enterprise interest). In line with corpus linguistics methodology, quotations are not individually attributed because analysis is of a whole corpus or sub-corpus.

4.1 Attitudes to enterprise: differences based on geography

Key words overused in each geography-based sub-corpus (Liverpool vs Bradford) are presented in Table 3. The analysis compares Liverpool and Bradford sub-corpora with each other; listed words were significantly overused in that sub-corpus relative to the other $(p<0.01)$.

<INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE>

Geographical key words were used differently in each sub-corpus. The Liverpool sub-corpus tended to emphasise areas within their city (for example, Anfield) whereas the Bradford sub-corpus compared their city to other cities within the region (for example, Halifax, Leeds). A more parochial set of overused lexical items appears in the Liverpool data, while in Bradford lexical items relate to a broader geographical map, education and employment. Different family members were overused in each sub-corpora. Note that 'Nan' is a colloquial term for grandmother. 'Kid' is a commonly used epithet in Liverpool, for everyone from best friends to bus drivers.

Semantic analysis builds on analysis of keywords to show key domains (or concepts). Results illustrate a different angle to parochial (Liverpool) and regional (Bradford) characteristics in key words. Table 4 shows overused concepts in the Bradford sub-corpus were Geographical_names, Helping, and Strong_obligation_or_necessity. Overused concepts in the Liverpool data relate to Personal_names, Knowledgeable, and Pronouns. At the level of semantic domains, there was no overuse of place names in the Liverpool sub-corpus. Less significant statistically, but interesting potentially is temporal domain Time:_Past, Time:_Old;_grown-up with concordances around 'old', 'grew up', 'used to', 'history', 'background', 'last year', 'ages', indicating Liverpool young adults spoke more about their historical context.

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<INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE>

Keywords and semantic domain variations were investigated through more detailed concordance analysis. Concordance analysis suggests that attitudes to enterprise are strongly affected by where young people live. Concordance analysis of pronouns, overused in Liverpool data, indicated that discursive constructions of enterprise were predominantly ideational in nature. For example, enterprise was, 'Doing it yourself. Probably having a different outlook than what other people have got. Like, you want what you want and if you can get the backing for it, you can hopefully get where you want to be.' Note that 'you' is a colloquial substitute for 'one,' common in everyday speech. Alternatively, enterprise was 'to have ownership of something, you know, like real, you know what I mean'. Liverpool accounts also tended to contain strong discursive threads around self-determination and independence. For one young adult: 'you are going for something that you want, what you'd like to do… and it's like you are doing it for yourself' and for another, 'get it made into a proper business and start your way in life.'

In Bradford, keywords self-employed and self-employment were overused. Concordance analysis indicated that constructions of enterprise appeared problematized. Self-employment was problematized by comparison to employment, for example: 'But I think the other side of self-employed is the fact that you don't get any sick pay. And I think areas like that you've not got the security as being employed.' Business was compared to a 'proper career': 'I think if he made his business big enough he'd do really well in it. But I don't know how sustainable it is as a proper career.' Self-determination and independence were less evident than in the Liverpool data. Overuse of domains related to Helping and Obligation reflected a prominent discourse in the Bradford data around needing support, including public support for enterprise: 'Support, we need so much support… If I start a business, how do I start it, how do I know who to cater it for ... Everything, I just don't think there's enough support'.

In the Bradford sub-corpus, concordance analysis identified that place-centred logics were mixed with regards to positioning enterprise in Bradford as favourable or unfavourable. Accounts from both deprived and non-deprived areas use place arguments to present Bradford as a positive enterprise environment, as in 'Bradford seems to be awesome for business. There seem to be new businesses opening every time I go into Bradford and closing as well to be fair.' However, arguments were also presented negatively, as in 'I think every time there's a new business open it's based on bad money. So my perceptions of enterprise in Bradford aren't really that positive'.

In Bradford data, other places were used as comparators, positively and negatively, as in: 'I don't think there's a difference between opening a business elsewhere and opening a business in Bradford,' or 'Things like takeaways will always work in Bradford, because Bradford is known for that. Whereas you look at things like accounting and things like that, the main industry is outside of Bradford.' In Liverpool, place was not a comparative term and there were few instances using place to connect Liverpool and enterprise.

This analysis suggests that where they live itself may influence how enterprise discourses are constructed and how attitudes to enterprise prevail. In Liverpool, enterprise was related to independence and self-determination. In Bradford, enterprise was problematized and needed support. Such discourses may be shared among young adults and become an unquestioned 'truth' in their city. Next stage analysis looked at attitudes to enterprise in relation to prosperity or deprivation status.

4.2 Attitudes to enterprise: differences based on prosperity

Table 5 presents analysis of key words overused in sub-corpora classified as 'deprived' and 'prosperous' relative to each other. Classification was according to the postcode of the interviewees' home locations. Listed words were significantly overused in that sub-corpus relative to the other ($p<0.01$).

<INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE>

Data from the 'prosperous' postcodes show overuse of words relating to places, education and parents. Deprived postcodes data show relative overuse of business/market words, more personal pronouns and less emphasis on geographical places. Analysis of semantic domains reflects keyword findings. Business concepts were overused more in the deprived sub-corpus (Business:_Selling and Business:_Generally), also Knowledgeable, Helping ('supportive', 'encouraging', and welfare 'benefits'), People generally (as opposed to Kin), and People:_Female, including, 'she', 'she's', 'woman', 'women', and family members, 'sister', 'nan'. Fewer domains had a statistically significant level of overuse in the 'prosperous' sub-corpus relative to the 'deprived' sub-corpus. This could indicate that living in a prosperous place might have little influence on young adults' attitudes to enterprise.

<INSERT TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE>

Concordance analysis of business terms in the 'deprived' data identified enterprise positioned as a choice, as in 'I want my own business and I want my own money and I'm

going to work' (Liverpool). In some instances, enterprise was a 'no choice' option, for instance 'So basically the reason why we first set up this business was because I wasn't having any joy in finding a job' (Bradford). Interviewees in the 'prosperous' sub-corpus were more likely to position enterprise in relation to their own life trajectories, work, careers and experience. Enterprise was occasionally positioned as a career path itself but more often as an eventual option, as in 'But the point is I need a career before I can go into a business immediately you know.' Interviewees in the 'prosperous' data frequently positioned enterprise unfavourably relative to employment such as 'I always thought I'd go into something, a profession that was a readymade profession rather than starting anything up myself'.

Usually in the deprived sub-corpus, enterprise or business concepts were mentioned without any tempering or qualification, as in 'I'd just like to have my own businesses and sit back on the beach and let them all do the work'. Or, 'you can you know be self-employed and make your own money'. In contrast, the tendency in the prosperous sub-corpus was to qualify references to enterprise experiences, as in 'Her and her friend do wedding photography and children, things like that. But it's not like their main source of income'. The questioning of whether something was a legitimate form of enterprise was much more prevalent in the prosperous sub-corpus as in 'she loved doing it but she never really made like a proper business out of it, she just done it for like something to do'. There were more examples of language that suggested trialling or 'toying' with business ideas in the deprived data, as in 'He's got his own business now. So I might as well. Give it a whirl'. This signals important entrepreneurial concepts of experimentation, playfulness and informality, might vary by place prosperity. Some similar references appear in the non-deprived data but less frequently and less playfully, for example: 'to actually have a crack at it'.

Analysis of the overuse of personal pronouns in the deprived sub-corpus identified a powerful discourse of self in relation to others either in framing self-determination: 'I don't need anybody to tell me to go back to work because I can define my own future. I don't need anybody to tell me what to do anymore. Because I'm a mum.' Or learning from another's experience 'He says it was just too much for him to deal with…So it makes me think I wouldn't be able to deal with having my own firm'. Similarly, in the prosperous data, interviewee perceptions of others tempered their views on enterprise as a career. One interviewee aligned herself to her aunt with a professional career over her father who founded and ran a successful business: 'like my dad who's invested and gone into business. Actually, I want to be more like my aunty than my dad or my mum'. Non-family members were also connected with arguments for or against enterprise. One interviewee described,

'this fella did it on his own, just set up by himself and people loved it … and people at this event were going wild for it and I thought that's such a simple idea'.

Interestingly, analysis indicates that young adults from less prosperous postcodes appear more likely to talk in terms of enterprise, particularly in relation to their own life trajectory, and to legitimise enterprise more positively than those from more prosperous postcodes.

So far, both place factors (prosperity and geography) appear to provide differences in attitudes to enterprise. The final analysis compared the High Interest and Low Interest in Enterprise sub-corpora. This allowed us to examine the research question from the other side of the lens: whether enterprise interest was associated with attitudes to place.

4.3 Attitudes to place: comparison of high and low interest in enterprise

Level of interest in enterprise was self-declared: interviewees engaged in enterprise, small business or self-employment or actively intending to pursue an entrepreneurial career classified as high interest and those with no experience and no intentions towards an entrepreneurial career classified as low interest.

Key word analysis revealed expected differences in aboutness of the two sub-corpora with the High Interest sub-corpus overusing business items (stalls, products, van, clients) relative to the Low Interest sub-corpus. Interestingly, personal pronouns (I, me, myself) were overused in the High Interest sub-corpus and collective pronouns (we, our) were overused in the Low Interest sub-corpus. Place names and family/friends related terms were also overused in the Low Interest sub-corpus. Table 7 presents the key words analysis.

<INSERT TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE>

The striking variation in key words shown in Table 7 suggests a different relationship to place between young adults with Low Interest and High Interest in enterprise. The contrast between the two sub-corpora continues in the semantic domains in Table 8.

<INSERT TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE>

Table 8 reveals that the High Interest sub-corpus captured voices of young people with higher engagement in business, as relevant domains General Actions/making and Business: selling were significantly overused. Collocation analysis revealed that words in the Knowledgeable domain and the Pronouns domain were frequently associated with business or self-employment. We excluded the word 'know' as it is mostly used in the interjection 'you know' (in both sub-corpora). There was still a significant overuse of the Knowledgeable

domain in the High Interest sub-corpus. Frequent collocates with Knowledgeable domain words included business (n=87), as in 'I understand business', enterprise and self-employment.

Significant variation in use of Pronouns is confirmed by semantic domain analysis. Relative overuse of personal pronouns 'I' and 'me' in the High Interest sub-corpus contrast with relative overuse of collective pronoun 'we' in the Low Interest sub-corpus. Concordance analysis supports the notion of increased self-efficacy and agency within the High Interest group. In the High Interest group, there is notable collocation of Pronouns with business (100+ matches), often variants of 'I am', 'for me' with doing/making a business; similar collocates were identified with self-employment, entrepreneur/ship and enterprise.

Interestingly, place factors are relatively absent in semantic and concordance analysis of the High Interest sub-corpus. Both Bradford and Liverpool are used more than twice as frequently in the Low Interest sub-corpus (Bradford 238:142; Liverpool 100:43 mentions). The High Interest group talk very little about places and appear to have an unpolarised view of where they live or come from. However, in the Low Interest sub-corpus Geographical names and Places are significantly overused. This could indicate a stronger degree of attachment to place than those with a high interest in enterprise. The Low Interest sub-corpus also significantly overuse words in the Belonging to a group, Residence, Kin and Personal_relationship:_General domains, which suggests greater social embeddedness. Increased preoccupation with their cities and surroundings suggests that place is more important for the Low Interest group.

Analysis of other significantly different domains for the Low Interest sub-corpus reveals a complex relationship between belonging to a group and separation from business. In the Belonging to a group domain, notions of togetherness are used in connection with setting up a business but are generally negatively loaded, as in, 'I can kind of see why my cousin is stressed out because partnership in a small business, I imagine it would be kind of hard to keep things equal'. Where connections between Belonging and enterprise are more positively loaded, it is usually related to 'others', as in 'I think networks are ideal. Some of the big businesses all worked in Bradford because of their networks.' Community and networks feature strongly in the Belonging domain linking business and place. One Bradford interviewee suggested 'Things are changing, culture is changing here. And we need to respond to it. I hope it's a positive thing. More jobs should open up perhaps and businesses. There's more people therefore there should be more businesses.' A situated characteristic of the Low Interest sub-corpus was apparent.

Concordance analysis of the Residence domain reveals home (n=66) to be positively loaded but often working against the option of enterprise in the Low Interest sub-corpus. One Liverpool interviewee uses home in arguing against enterprise for her: 'that firm is your baby and you look after it and develop it and grow it as much as you can and put everything in. But I just don't have the energy for that. I just want to think about myself, go home, switch off, relax and not stress about anything.' Home is also the site of business and may connect family experience with business but in the Low Interest sub-corpus the connection was often negative, as in 'My dad was never an entrepreneur. He makes furniture, sort of bespoke furniture and he wasn't even an entrepreneur, he just did what everybody did back then'. Where parental support bore a positive loading, other factors were employed to distance Low Interest interviewees from enterprise, for example: 'Well my dad's done self-employment, my mum's got the business acumen. And without them I probably might not have even considered it in the first place. So they were more or less crucial. Yeah, but I'd really need the backing of official bodies or charities to actually have a crack at it'. The disqualification of enterprise or self-employment through accounts of family members in business was common across the Low Interest group.

Analysis of the Personal relationship: General domain revealed that friends constitute the majority of concordances, usually as an important and positive influence, alongside family members. Friends are collocated with business in 32 instances (of 264 total) usually describing a friend or friend's parents' business. For instance, one friend is 'really quite enterprising and the rest of them just getting along. Some of them academically fantastic but there is this middle batch which way, I suppose I fit into that catchment'. This account is typical of the Low Interest group in using fairly loose description of enterprising friends and disconnecting them from the speaker's own experience or plans.

Combined, for the Low Interest sub-corpus, the overuse of Geographical names, Place, Belonging to a group, Residence, Kin and Personal_relationship:_General domains along with collective pronouns, indicates a stronger attachment to place and people than in the High Interest sub-corpus. The Low Interest sub-corpus compared and contrasted themselves with others who were doing enterprise. The High Interest sub-corpus included concepts that suggest self-efficacy and agency, including increased use of personal pronouns and collocation of personal pronouns and business. Despite mixed attitudes towards the places of Liverpool and Bradford, generally a negative association is emerging between attachment to place and perceived likelihood of engaging in enterprise activities.

5. A Multipartite Conceptualisation

<INSERT TABLE 9 ABOUT HERE>

Table 9 summarises analysis of varying relationships between attitudes to enterprise and place. Four elements were identified (Table 9, column 5): attitudes to enterprise generally; attitudes to enterprise related to [my] place; attitudes to enterprise related to self (past, present and future); attitudes legitimising certain forms of enterprise (over others). 'Attitudes to enterprise generally' relates to whether enterprise is spoken about in terms of ideas, self-determination and independence (Liverpool) or problematized, weighed up and supported (Bradford). 'Attitudes to enterprise related to [my] place' reflects that in Bradford young people consider enterprise in terms of how it fits in their city whereas in Liverpool the city is less relevant and parochial accounts more common. 'Attitudes to enterprise related to [me]' is presented variously, with the 'prosperous' sub-set discussing careers, work and experience whereas the 'deprived' sub-set includes more radical arguments positioning enterprise as an inevitable choice. 'Attitudes legitimising forms of enterprise' is represented in the 'prosperous' sub-set as a tendency to qualify or delegitimise certain forms of enterprise activity, whereas the 'deprived' sub-corpus presented a more fluid notion of legitimate forms that incorporates play or experimentation. Informal enterprise may be perceived as socially legitimate (Chavdarova, 2014; Fletcher et al., 2014; Hickie, 2011). Legitimate enterprise forms are not bounded by place but constrained by concerns around financial precarity and employment stability.

Figure 1 presents the Multipartite Model of Attitudes to Enterprise derived from our analysis. The four elements of attitudes to enterprise are not additive but layered within each other from general to specific. 'Attitude to enterprise generally' is the outer-most layer and is mainly cognitive with some elements of affect. 'Attitudes legitimising forms of enterprise' is the next layer and represents cognitive beliefs about what are and are not legitimate forms of enterprise. 'Attitudes to enterprise relevant to place' include affect, feelings about place, and cognitive beliefs about what is possible, appropriate or the norm in this place. 'Attitudes to enterprise as relevant to self' is the innermost layer, influenced by an individual's beliefs and feelings regarding their past, present and future. It is only in considering self that entrepreneurial intentions become relevant. This layer of attitude to enterprise therefore includes affective, cognitive and conative components.

<INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE>

The Multipartite Model of Attitudes to Enterprise illuminates the complex interweaving of place, self and different components of attitudes. The model is expected to apply to alternative contexts. Geographic location and the socio-economic status of place influence different elements of attitudes to enterprise. Inversely, levels of interest in enterprise highlight differences in attitudes to place. This complex picture has important implications for understanding place and youth in relation to enterprise.

6. Conclusion

If entrepreneurial cultures are linked to place (James, 2007; Spigel, 2013) and affect the success of places, understanding the attitudes to enterprise of people living in those places is critical. The context and socio-economic status of places help explain how and why young people respond to opportunities or lack of opportunities in the ways they do. In answering our research question, the emerging picture is of complex interplay between place factors and other influences on young adults' attitudes to enterprise.

Our multipartite conceptual model identified four elements of attitudes to enterprise intertwined with place and self. The model highlights the importance of contextualising attitudes to enterprise by demonstrating that attitudes consist of: attitudes to enterprise generally; attitudes legitimising forms of enterprise; attitudes to enterprise related to place; and attitudes to enterprise related to self. Studies or policies that focus on uni-dimensional attitudes or only one element of place for example, city or socio-economic status, fail to fully capture influences on attitudes to enterprise and subsequent involvement in entrepreneurship. We need to go beyond simplistic representations of attitudes and place to understand the specifics of place and structures, including the influence of background and socio-economic status (Scott and Twomey, 1988; Athayde, 2009; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2007; Jayawarna et al., 2014). Our findings do not suggest a causal relationship between place, attitudes to enterprise and entrepreneurial practice. Instead, we illuminate why place-based entrepreneurial cultures might develop variously through attitudes to enterprise.

We caution against generalising about the attitudes of young adults to enterprise based on family background, socio-economic status, or other person or place specific factors, but recommend seeking a fine-grained understanding. Where they live and the area's prosperity were shown to have different effects on attitudes to enterprise. Young adults with an interest in enterprise who express less attachment to where they live are less likely to have their entrepreneurial aspirations constrained by notions of prosperity or deprivation. Those with little or no interest in enterprise tend to have stronger attachments to place, higher social

embeddedness and express more views on the constraints of place. By incorporating the voices of young adults who do not engage in enterprise as well as those who do (Ramoglou, 2011), a less-biased picture is obtained. Proximity to or distance from enterprise cultures (Schoof, 2006) were not a significant factor in our data.

Our analysis highlights a number of areas requiring further research. Most importantly, our multipartite model should be explored in alternative contexts. The model's parsimony enables it to be applied outside the context of young people and deprived/prosperous places to illuminate attitudes to enterprise. We caution against quantitative reductionist attempts to aggregate elements into one measure of attitudes to enterprise. The premise of the model is that attitudes are multipartite.

Specific areas highlighted by our analysis are worthy of further investigation. On the one hand it is encouraging that young adults in areas labelled deprived appear optimistic about the possibilities of enterprise. On the other hand, it is concerning that their counterparts in prosperous areas talk more in terms of careers. We question whether this implies an assumption that young adults in prosperous areas have careers whereas those in deprived areas should become self-employed. Further research could open up such assumptions and examine enterprise alongside education, career prospects and other factors influencing young adults in deprived areas (Kearns and Mason, 2018; McGarvey, 2018).

Young people with low interest in enterprise indicated stronger place attachment and social embeddedness. Further examination of the relationship between place attachment and social embeddedness, perhaps considering self-determination and social capital, could be illuminating. Helpful in this regard would be comparative studies of young people who have moved away from a place against those who remain. Additional studies might also examine family influences. Further research needs to recognise local context and multipartite nature of attitudes.

Our findings indicate that blanket policies aimed at specific types of places or young entrepreneurs are likely to be less effective than more nuanced, targeted approaches. A deep and detailed understanding of local context is important for policy interventions. The LEPs generally have focused on growth instead of new business start-up, while national policy provides limited support through for example, the New Enterprise Allowance scheme, helping marginalised groups from ethnic communities, and women out of the labour market, to consider start-ups. Displacement of area-based initiatives by a general programme means places like Bradford and Liverpool are faced with a lack of support that considers local variation. The National Industrial Strategy focuses on supply-side initiatives particularly

innovation, technology, clusters and competitiveness. Our findings suggest that further area-based policy for enterprise and providing support specific to young people beyond education in schools could be effective.

Enterprising activity is already part of the lives of many young adults regardless of deprivation status or geography. Attachment to enterprise could be an important asset for future entrepreneurial cultures in places like Bradford or Liverpool. However, young adults with a self-reported high engagement with enterprise depict a weaker attachment to their area than those with low interest. This presents a conundrum for policy aiming to encourage young adults to consider enterprise as a strategy to redress declining local economies.

By specifically drawing young adults from deprived and prosperous localities in two large cities, we have been able to provide a more fine-grained analysis than many previous studies. Corpus linguistics analysis is a reliable method of analysing spoken text that is less subject to researcher bias than manual methods. However, our study has some limitations which further research might address. We did not impose social categories onto the data. Variations in cultural and familial institutions, ethnic and socio-economic demographics and economic development might influence attitudes. Further research might investigate how such factors relate to place, age and entrepreneurship. Our findings are based on spoken data at a particular point in time and are therefore likely to be influenced by the temporal context. Further research might examine a similar sample of young adults at a different point in time. Further interesting insights into place might be provided by varying the geographical context, comparing young people from rural and urban areas or young people in different countries.

A better understanding of attitudes to enterprise can inform policy aimed at increasing young people's engagement and help understanding of how and why types of enterprises might vary in different places. Our findings challenge claims that future enterprise will be more or less likely to emanate from certain types of places or backgrounds, or that certain types of enterprise activity are more or less typical of deprived or inner city places (Southern, 2011). Such generalisations form dangerous assumptions (Bates and Robb, 2011). Initiatives encouraging youth enterprise in attempts to address place-based economic challenges, such as unemployment or deprivation, need careful consideration. Finally, given young adults general orientation to experimental, informal and fluid notions of enterprise, understanding the formative value of informal activity and experiential learning in pre-entrepreneurial processes may be critical. Embracing these aspects might be important if enterprise is to be part of the future success of place.

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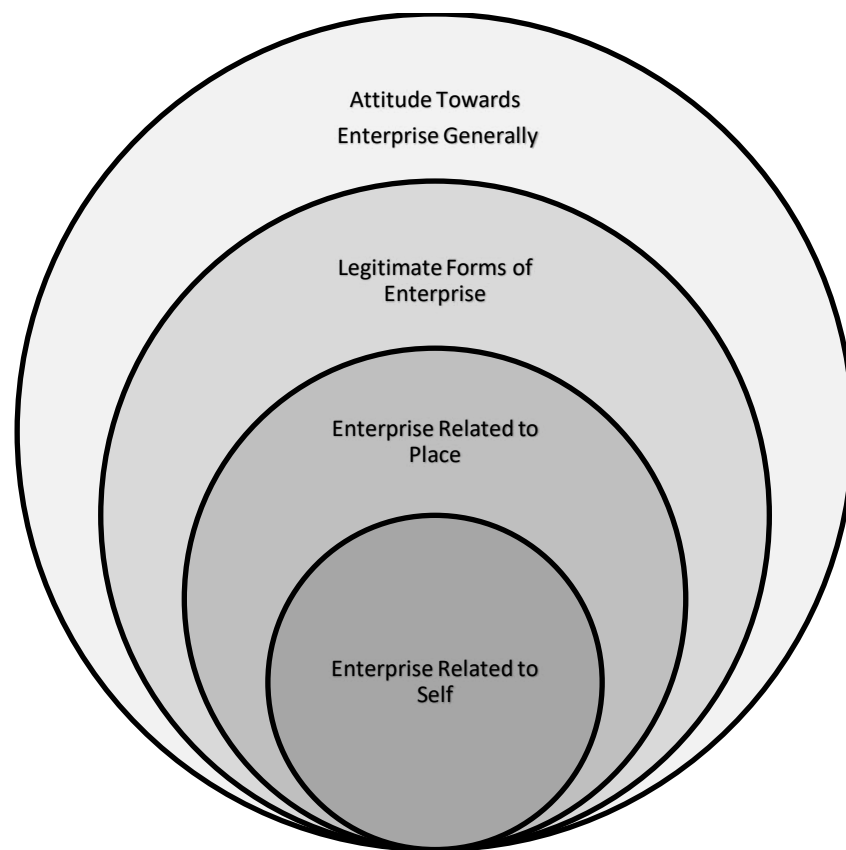
Figure 1: Multipartite Model of Attitudes to Enterprise

Attitude Towards
Enterprise Generally

Legitimate Forms of
Enterprise

Enterprise Related to
Place

Enterprise Related to
Self

Table 1: Research Participants

Bradford Interviewees: *Liverpool interviewees:*

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

Table 2: Keyness Analysis (overall corpus comparison)

	Frequency (our corpus)	Frequency (reference corpus)	+/-	LL
Business	738	139	+	2176.80
My	1559	2354	+	1577.95
Bradford	380	7	+	1426.14
Family	299	149	+	650.70
Can't	159	0	+	625.15
She's	158	0	+	621.22
People	890	2001	+	533.38
Friends	223	111	+	485.55
We've	112	0	+	440.36
Liverpool	143	34	+	399.31
Leeds	108	10	+	359.16
Live	217	218	+	315.93
Enterprise	92	13	+	287.01
Wouldn't	71	0	+	279.16
Dad	242	332	+	270.10
Work	416	896	+	266.89
Money	342	643	+	266.64
Job	227	324	+	243.59
set_up	103	58	+	212.03
my_own	87	35	+	206.39
Community	91	43	+	202.58
Networks	61	6	+	201.25
your_own	93	48	+	199.29
Myself	137	149	+	187.63
Parents	99	70	+	181.08
Support	146	181	+	179.08

Table 3: Key words significantly overused – Liverpool vs Bradford sub corpora

LIVERPOOL			BRADFORD		
Overused word	f	LL	Overused word	f	LL
Liverpool	141	176.83	Bradford	356	482.08
I	3051	46.02	Parents	85	64.93
Nan	23	31.83	Halifax	51	62.33
Anfield	23	31.83	Leeds	90	59.63
Thinking	93	28.34	Asian	28	38.89
Wouldn't	57	27.82	University	86	29.69
Geography	19	26.29	Be	516	29.54
Ormskirk	19	26.29	Three	21	29.17
Sense	38	25.86	Self-employment	21	29.17
Kid	27	25.58	Stalls	20	27.78
Bootle	18	24.91	Self-employed	28	23.33
Live	143	23.71	Yorkshire	21	22.00

Table 4: Key semantic domains – Liverpool vs Bradford sub-corpora

Liverpool (+LL)		Bradford (+LL)	
76.37	Personal names	74.87	Geographical names
68.03	Knowledgeable	52.62	Helping
61.31	Pronouns	43.08	Strong obligation or necessity
19.98	Time: Old; grown-up	42.38	Open; Finding; Showing

Table 5: Key words significantly overused – 'Deprived' vs 'Prosperous' sub-corpora

'DEPRIVED'			'PROSPEROUS'		
Overused word	f	LL	Overused word	f	LL
Me	527	50.04	Liverpool	107	45.92
Know	722	42.06	London	74	34.69
Business	449	38.27	We	414	33.19
What	845	37.94	Ormskirk	19	28.69
Myself	105	32.70	Real	24	24.68
Anfield	23	29.2	Baildon	15	22.65
Certain	41	27.98	Ilkley	14	21.14
Location	38	27.87	Warrington	13	19.63
Bradford	236	25.17	Students	21	17.44
Kid	27	22.75	University	76	16.98
Market	41	22.75	Parents	65	16.74
Person	72	22.35	Living	55	16.51

Table 6: Key semantic domains – 'Deprived' vs 'Prosperous' sub-corpora

'Deprived' (+LL)		'Prosperous' (+LL)	
40.71	Business: Selling	10.59	Generally: kinds, groups, examples
27.71	Knowledgeable		
25.21	Business: Generally	8.62	Interested/excited/energetic
24.91	People	8.06	Politics
24.06	Pronouns		
24.04	Helping		
14.10	People: Female		

Table 7: Key words significantly overused – High vs Low Interest sub-corpora

'HIGH INTEREST'			'LOW INTEREST'		
Overused word	f	LL	Overused word	f	LL
I	3423	73.85	We	439	66.65
Me	535	42.87	Bradford	238	44.14
Myself	110	40.50	Liverpool	100	34.39
Stalls	20	24.39	Important	82	32.38
Kid	27	21.51	Our	89	32.14
Products	30	21.18	Ormskirk	19	29.80
Son	22	20.17	Students	23	24.57
Anfield	22	20.17	Baildon	15	23.52
Van	20	17.92	Cousins	18	21.61
Just	866	17.54	Enterprise	64	21.45
Trying	79	17.24	Deprived	13	20.39
Clients	17	14.58	Lived	47	20.35
			Friends	135	19.87
			Parents	66	17.72

Table 8: Key semantic domains - High and Low Interest sub-corpus

High interest (+LL)		Low interest (+LL)	
38.78	General actions/making	115.94	Geographical names
28.68	Pronouns	32.30	Belonging to a group
		28.81	Places
27.47	Knowledgeable	17.44	Residence
18.40	Business: Selling	18.62	Kin
		15.35	Personal relationships: General

Table 9: Discursive patterns in constructing attitudes to enterprise

Sub-corpora	Point of difference		Attitudinal element:	Overall theme
Geographical Place (LPL-BFD)	**Liverpool** Enterprise predominantly ideational. Strong discursive threads around self-determination and independence.	**Bradford**, Problematized constructions of enterprise. Career related accounts argue for or against enterprise per se. Prominent discourse around support for enterprise.	In depicting enterprise generally, **where they live** exerts a stronger influence on constructions of enterprise than deprivation status	**Attitudes to enterprise generally (mostly cognition; some affect)**
	Place is rarely used to connect **Liverpool** and enterprise. Liverpool presented as a positive place for enterprise.	Place-based constructions of enterprise common in the **Bradford** data. Some present Bradford as a positive enterprise environment; others draw a discursive divide between enterprise and Bradford. Comparisons with external places.	**Where they live** is perceived as generally more relevant to considerations of whether enterprise is a favourable option in Bradford than Liverpool	**Attitudes to enterprise related to (their) place (cognition; affect)**
Socio economic status of place (Prosperous-Deprived)	Work, careers and experience are strong discursive threads among the '**prosperous**' data.	In the '**deprived**' data, enterprise is positioned as an inevitable choice. Contingency planning and hard work ethic (mainly family members) resonate as both positive and negative influences on enterprise.	Where interviewees build arguments for or against enterprise in relation to their own trajectories, **deprivation status** may be more influential than where they live.	**Attitudes to enterprise related to self (my past, present and future) (cognition; affect; conation)**
	Prosperous sub-corpus Tendency to qualify references to enterprise experiences known to them. This has the discursive effect of delegitimising forms of enterprise activity, including informal.	**Deprived sub- corpus** Examples of enterprise are mentioned without any tempering; (in)formal activity as a route into enterprise often carried through notions of 'toying', invoking experimentation and playfulness	**Deprivation status** reveals greater difference than location in interviewees' constructions as they legitimise some forms of enterprise activity over others.	**Attitudes legitimising particular forms of enterprise over others (cognition)**