# Spatial transformations in entrepreneurship:
A study of the Liverpool 'Baltic Triangle'

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool
for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy

by

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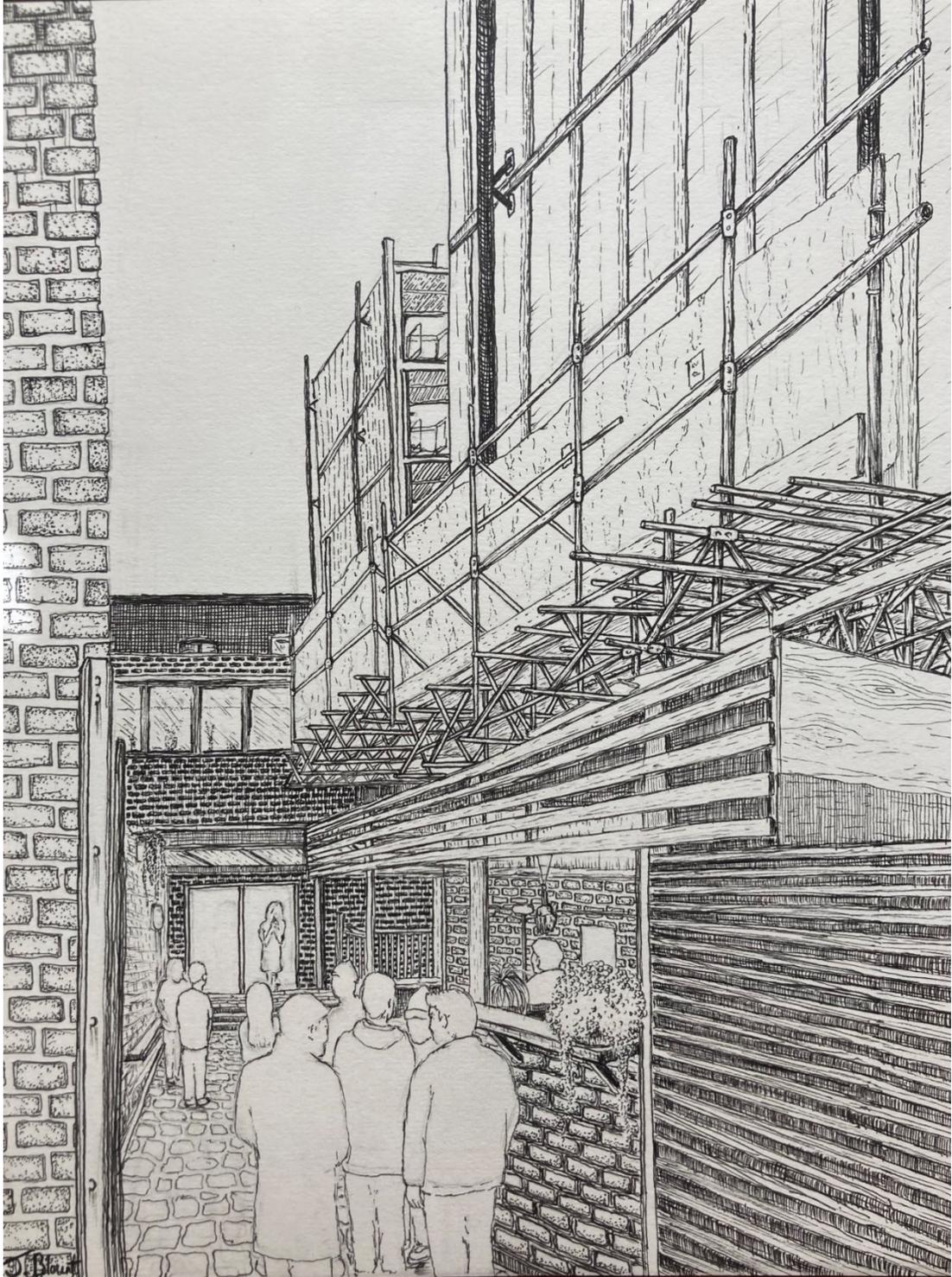
For my Grandad,
who would have liked talking about and reading this PhD Thesis

ABSTRACT

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Entrepreneurship is frequently seen as a transformational force for underdeveloped urban spaces. While much research has emphasized the role of urban governance or visionary individuals, less is known about how entrepreneurship works with and on these spaces over time. Investigating these processes involves taking entrepreneurship out of primarily economic concerns, and into a debate on the social, material and historical constitution of built environments.

In this thesis I present a study of the Liverpool Baltic Triangle, exploring how the past is brought into its present-day entrepreneurial transformations. The main body of my dissertation is compiled of four main chapters which form standalone paper-based contributions but also fit together here as a cohesive study (along with an introduction which is presented in Chapter One and a discussion and conclusion presented in Chapter Six). Within this work, I present two analytical studies, both taking on a key thinker on space which I theoretically set in relation to entrepreneurial activity at the Baltic Triangle.

I begin with a literature review, presented in Chapter Two, where I identify and interrogate theoretical and analytical approaches that have been employed for studying urban spaces and entrepreneurship. I present a typology of this body of work that is comprised of four distinct categories, including a sub-set of approaches that have explored the historical character of the 'in-between' and 'lived' aspects of urban entrepreneurial spaces, I subsequently use these latter studies as a springboard for my own research.

In Chapter Three, I outline a methodological agenda for my empirical research. I introduce Henri Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' and elaborate a set of methodological principles and processes for mobilizing his triadic notion of space for studying entrepreneurship. I emphasize historicized methodological procedures incorporated into a research design that combines multiple analytical techniques.

My first empirical study, which I present in Chapter Four, analyzes the entrepreneurial transformation of the Baltic Triangle as a history of spatial change. Informed by the methodological agenda I outline above I operationalize Henri Lefebvre's theory of space, reading his work alongside Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus's theory of entrepreneurial 'world-making,' to generate a dynamic account of the Baltic Triangle as a contested site of openings and restrictions for entrepreneurship. I use Lefebvre's triadic spatial elements as a configuring frame for witnessing how entrepreneurial practices continually emerge 'in-between' (and subsequently transform) the Baltics' spatial characteristics through time.

My second empirical study, which I present in Chapter Five, explores the entrepreneurial renewal of one of the Baltic Triangle's flagship buildings: the Cain's brewery complex. Here, I focus on the transformational potential of aesthetic

encounters with space, drawing inspiration from Walter Benjamin's kaleidoscopic account of his memories of childhood recalled through his present-day experience of the streets of Berlin, to investigate how the history of the Cain's brewery is experienced by entrepreneurial individuals as acts of remembrance. Employing conceptual and analytical techniques derived from a close reading of Benjamin's *A Berlin Chronicle,* I emphasize a cyclical process with a transformational potential: how entrepreneurial subjects remember is formed in encounters with the brewery; architectural experiences contributing to the collective articulation of a new entrepreneurial form.

By employing Lefebvre's spatial theory in Chapter Four I investigate the origins of entrepreneurial beginnings and how they grow and develop, using his triadic elements to trace the creative acts of multiple people as they collectively bring new ideas into commerce and contribute to the remaking of the Baltic Triangle. Conversant with Lefebvre, I emphasize especially the unfinished nature of this process. Entrepreneurial remaking creates new spatial conditions that eventually lead to an 'un-making' as the space becomes increasingly commercial, requiring new formulations of entrepreneurial action.

Through my reading of Benjamin's work on remembrance in Chapter Five, I emphasize a different process of entrepreneurial renewal. Benjamin' writings on memory offers a more aesthetic sensibility – he is interested less in the broader movements of change as they unfold through time, and more at how history is experienced in the present moment through personal encounters with architecture. Through Benjamin, I am able to get in closer to what it means to creatively inhabit the Cain's brewery to offer new insights into how its resident entrepreneurs pick up on its latent potential.

By engaging these two spatial theorists in my study of the Baltic Triangle, my study reveals entrepreneurship as both more and less than frequently assumed. More, in the sense of its pivotal role in the facilitation of transitions between social, material, cultural or historical moments in space, and thus, downgrading the role of primarily economic concerns with urban governance. But also, less, in terms of the role that any single entrepreneurial individual can play in creating such epochal spatial transformations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This PhD thesis turned out to be much harder work than expected, also taking much longer than anticipated, and a number of thanks are in order for the many people who have supported me, cheered me up, and kept me going throughout.

Firstly, I am not sure whether I will ever be able to express how grateful I am to Charlotte. Thank you for your love and care. I couldn't imagine my life without you.

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I must also thank my friends in Liverpool, Beth (who I know is always there for me), Jack from Kettering (thanks also for the lovely painting for the insert), Conor and Roddy (thanks to you both for the fun yet2 times too in the early years), Louis, Scott, Callum, Kat and Leo, Sarah and James, Jack and Sally. Also, thanks to friends not in Liverpool including Dale, Jemma, Jess, Donny, Ollie, Andy and Meadhbh. I am grateful also to Nathan for his kind words in the less fun times when I wished I'd have stayed at PwC. Shout out for Jordan and Will back in Harborough too, and Will up in the Toon. Also, my new neighbour James for all those kind reminders to put some proper clothes on and try and leave the house occasionally during writing days.

I surely would not have gotten very far in any of this without the friendship of many of my fellow student community at Liverpool, many of whom are now accomplished academics. I must firstly thank Kiz and Claire who have done so much to help me over the years, from accompanying me on my first conferences, helping me out with my own (doomed) attempt at a student-led conference, and assisting me in getting my first academic job. Sam and Roland have also been excellent mentors and lager consumption partners, as well as Carl, Chris, Vinnie, Mary Joy and Mariel too.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

CHAPTER TWO

**Studying urban entrepreneurial spaces:
A review of the literature**

CHAPTER THREE

**Entrepreneurship, practice theory and space:
Methodological principles and processes for spatial inquiry**

CHAPTER FOUR

**Contextualizing entrepreneurship, urban spaces as 'in-between' phenomena:
Liverpool's 'Baltic Triangle'**

CHAPTER FIVE

Remembering (in) urban entrepreneurial spaces:
The renewal of the Cain's brewery, Liverpool, UK

CHAPTER SIX

Concluding discussion

REFERENCES

APPENDICES

FIGURES AND TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FIVE

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

> "The Baltic Triangle is probably the most interesting part of the city, the most important part of the city for the next 10 years, because it will define what kind of city we are going to become."[1]

In this thesis I present a study of entrepreneurship in the Baltic Triangle located in Liverpool, UK. Following this introductory Chapter One, the main body of the dissertation is comprised of a literature review (Chapter Two), a discussion on methodology (Chapter Three), and two standalone empirical chapters (Chapter Four and Chapter Five) – with a concluding discussion presented in Chapter Six.

The first of my empirical chapters (Chapter Four) analyzes the unfolding transformation of the Baltic Triangle by investigating the continuous comings and goings of entrepreneurship in this space over a historical period of approximately 20 years. The second empirical chapter (Chapter Five) moves to a more fine-grained analysis of how history is experienced by entrepreneurial subjects as they enact change. Here, I focus on the transformational role of memory in the renewal of the Cain's brewery, which is one of the Baltic Triangle's flagship buildings.

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[1] These words were spoken by an invited discussant at a public panel discussion/roundtable event in September 2019. The panel was organized to discuss issues relating to the past, present and future of the Baltic Triangle. See Appendix A: Panel discussion 2.

This introductory chapter begins with my motivations for undertaking this research, where I describe how my interest in the Baltic Triangle was formed through my participation in this space over the last decade or so of living in the city. I then provide background empirical information, where, cognizant of my overarching interest in the temporal and spatial interrelations of urban space and entrepreneurship, I trace the development of the space that is now known as the Baltic Triangle (and the Cain's brewery within it) from inception in the mid nineteenth century to their present-day form. After outlining my empirical concern, I introduce key literature that has already studied urban entrepreneurial spaces, drawing out core themes that have informed my research. I then provide details of my research approach, including an account of how I went about researching and collecting the data that informs this thesis as well as a reflection on my methodological procedures. After that, I present a detailed overview of each subsequent chapter, accompanied by their specific research questions.

1.1 Motivation

I have been a resident of Liverpool for the last decade, arriving as an undergraduate student in 2011 when the city was subject to substantial regeneration efforts, which coincided with the recent completion of a flagship shopping complex ('Liverpool ONE'). I spent much of my early years exploring the city's more established spaces: taking in the famous sites and sights of the Pier Head and the Three Graces – a triplet of iconic buildings which face the river Mersey alongside the Royal Albert Dock – once a world-leading hub of international maritime trade, surveying the grand architectures of the Anglican and Metropolitan Cathedral, viewing the collections and exhibitions of the Walker Art Gallery and Tate Liverpool, and shopping in the

established chain stores of Liverpool ONE as well as in the record stores and skate shop of the more independently-minded Bold Street in the so called Ropewalks area – the city's 'Bohemian quarter' – which offers many opportunities for socializing in the bars and music venues in the vicinity which make up the area's lively surrounds.
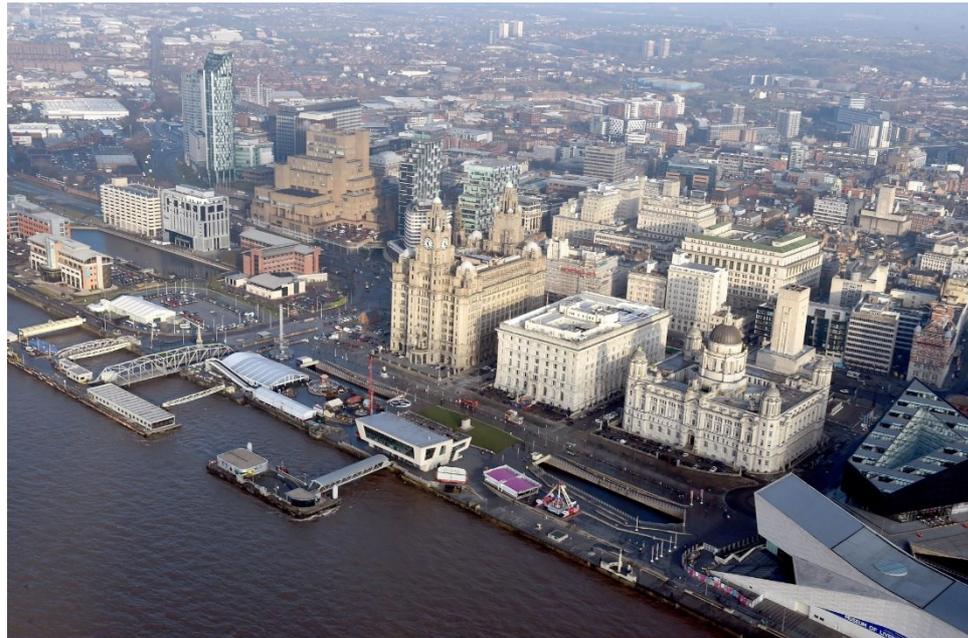
Figure 1.1 Aerial view of Liverpool Waterfront, showing Pier Head and Three Graces

Source: Liverpool Echo (2021).

The majority of these more-well known parts of Liverpool (Pier Head, Anglican Cathedral, Walker Gallery) have been a consistent presence on the landscape sometimes for as long as a century, with their 'iconic' architectures providing an image of continuity and stability. Yet the Ropewalks, and especially Liverpool ONE, represent much more recent successes of centralized urban planning by the local authorities and their investment partners. The Ropewalks is a "classic example of

urban regeneration in a run-down mixed-use area adjoining the city centre" (Evans & Jones, 2008: 1419), involving extensive coordinated refurbishment of historic buildings dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth century (originally constructed as workshops and roperies to meet the needs of the docks), and the reorganizing of street layouts to create new public squares. Whilst the project has been much lauded, commentators have suggested its 'top-down' emphasis "leaves local people with extremely little power over the regeneration process" (Couch & Dennemann, 2000: 143). Similarly, the creation of Liverpool ONE involved a decade of planning by the local authorities, and then razing the vast majority of the existing town centre and its structures to the ground, building a completely new shopping complex. This project spanned 42 acres (17 hectares) of the city, required private investment of £1 billion, and was "the most important development within Liverpool's city centre for more than 60 years and the largest regeneration project of its kind in Europe" (Daramola-Martin, 2009: 302).

These are, in a way, classic examples of 'strategic' urban development (as per de Certeau, 1984); huge investment and a full-on, all at once, coordinated change. Since then, however, these two spaces have remained more-or-less the same. Over the last decade, certain brands might have come and gone in the glass fronted facades of Liverpool ONE, and some of the bars and restaurants of the Ropewalks have made way for new establishments offering more trendy fare, but what these spaces in the city are fundamentally designed for, and how they are supposed to accommodate particular aspects of the established rhythms of urban life, has changed little throughout my time in Liverpool.

But there is another area in the city that is neither iconic, nor subjected to such radical redesign or outside investment, but that has over the last decade or so transformed nonetheless. The name of this area is the Baltic Triangle. A space once considered to be – in the words of one of my informants – "a place you didn't go to because it was too scary,"[2] and for a long time was principally seen as an inconvenient eyesore impinging on one's shopping experience: a ramshackle collection of disused buildings, some light industrial activity as well as two large scrap yards – which operated just a little bit too close, within eyesight, of the town centre (Liverpool City Council, 2008a). Today, it is now heralded as Liverpool's 'cultural quarter' (Liverpool City Council, 2020) and is currently experiencing some of the fastest growth in new business foundings and residential development in the Merseyside region (Liverpool City Region Combined Authority, 2020), recently being identified in academic studies as a nationally significant 'creative cluster' (Anderton, 2020).

My motivations for undertaking this research is to understand why the Baltic Triangle transformed despite not being flattened and rebuilt; how it has changed without the assistance of an initial grand plan or institutional investment. These most 'mysterious' questions of how an existing material fabric, once dilapidated with no centralized vision or investment of its future, is worked with and on to articulate a different future for this space. This puts the spotlight not on planning or investment but on apprehending how multiple small even seemingly inconsequential urban engagements can grow or contribute into something bigger. In terms of the transformation of the Baltic Triangle, how might we understand the role of an

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[2] Extract from Interview 9, see Appendix A.

exciting new music venue situated on a side street? What is the transformational potential of a record fair taking over downtrodden buildings on the weekends, temporarily restoring their vibrancy? Or a new artistic installation springing up in an old warehouse?

In this thesis I investigate the coming and going of these various new modes of creative urban engagement in the Baltic Triangle over time in order to provide new insights into how these acts have collectively changed how this urban space is used, inhabited, and interacted with.

These events in the Baltic Triangle over the last ten years or so have been closely entwined with my own experiences living and growing up in the city. On my arrival as a nineteen-year-old student in 2011, it was in its most nascent stages of development and was not immediately on my radar. At this time, my gaze was focused on the city centre and the more well-known bars, restaurants, and shops of the Ropewalks area, as well as attending ticketed events at its established music venues such as the Kazimier, known in underground music scenes as one of the more intimate and atmospheric venues in the UK, and Cream, which is among the most well-known clubbing brands in Europe. It was not until early 2013, having cultivated a more attuned cultural antennae, that I first visited the Baltic Triangle – back then still very much in its embryonic phase of rebirth – attending an event organized by fellow students who booked two British-born Berlin-based musicians to play in a so-called 'pop-up' venue in a small semi-derelict warehouse that they had hired for the evening at a very cheap rate. Numerous moments from that evening I remember as unremarkable: return transport arrangements were a palaver due to the absence of

any taxi rank at the time (and this was also pre-Uber); there were several problems with sound engineering as, like many others in the area, the building wasn't yet (re)connected to the national grid; and any time spent outside 'the venue' were spent in darkness due to a lack of streetlights in the area.
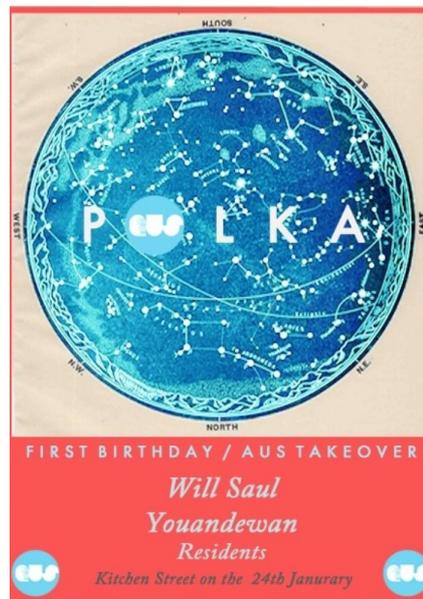
Figure 1.2 My first encounter with the Baltic Triangle: A poster from a music event in 2013

Source: Event promoter[3]

However, I also recall more arresting moments, such as stumbling upon a familiar looking DIY skatepark (New Bird Skatepark) that I had seen in a Sidewalk (a skateboarding magazine) feature back in 2011. I also remember being dropped off outside a large old brewery with a strikingly lit-up red-brick building (the cab drivers' reluctance to take us all the way into this 'dodgy' area resulted in us alighting outside the 150-year-old Cain's brewery which, unbeknown to me, was in

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[3] See Appendix A: Interview 3

its final months of brewing operations) – the experience prompting me to duly obtain their beer from the local section in the ASDA (supermarket) days later, which sadly was unremarkable. So, whilst I cannot say at the time that I felt I was in a space on the cusp of a transformation (not helped by the fact that I could not really see most of my surroundings due to the darkness), I was nonetheless intrigued by this first spatial encounter with the Baltic Triangle.

By late 2017, the year that I commenced my PhD studies, much had changed in the Baltic Triangle, and indeed elsewhere in the city too. Throughout this time, the established music venues I had regularly frequented in the city (Kazimier, Cream) had all closed down and the Baltic Triangle had emerged as the new centre of gravity for nightlife, but also as an experimental space for local art and culture – as well as residential development. Previously unlit streets were now populated with growing numbers of music venues, recently joined by numerous shared co-working spaces and large art studios, pubs and microbreweries, cafés, as well as a small theatre. The popularity of the Baltic Triangle had grown so much in just a few short years that it was being celebrated by the likes of the Times newspaper as 'the coolest place to live in Britain,' topping a list including twenty other post-industrial places such as Digbeth in Birmingham, Ancoats in Manchester, and Stokes Croft in Bristol. It was also during this year that proposals had been submitted by Liverpool City Council to extend its boundaries further southward to incorporate the Cain's brewery complex, which had lain dormant since going into administration shortly after my inaugural visit in 2013, but which was now in the very earliest phase of being renewed with a handful of shops, restaurants, bars and a food hall, as well as a number of further

developments (including large co-operative artist studio, creative workshop, and music studio) in-progress.

Having seen and participated in the already-underway spatial transformation of the Baltic Triangle for the last eight years, at the commencement of my PhD studies, I was poised to witness the earliest attempts at the renewal of the Cain's brewery, which today is one of its flagship attractions. The question was how to study these processes of spatial transformations? Whilst the politics of development at the Baltic Triangle and its surrounds have been investigated through the lens of urban and regional studies, employing principles of economic geography to explore political questions of residential development and gentrification (e.g., Martin et al., 2019; Miao, 2021), what I found to be less known was the role of entrepreneurship in the remaking of this urban space: not only that the role of entrepreneurship in transforming this space had been little studied, but also that the phenomenon itself was not that well understood (e.g., Welter & Baker, 2021), leaving an empirical and theoretical lacuna.

The key reason for my desire to understand this role for entrepreneurship is that the transformation of the Baltic Triangle and the Cain's brewery was not something that happened by design. Of course, the local authorities now have a well-developed regeneration strategy for the area and there is commercial (especially residential) interest. But in the beginning, this was not the case. Something needed to happen to ignite the renewal of this space so that anyone else that came along subsequently (whether in the planning department, property developer, new business) could get any sense that there was anything there to hold onto. On the basis of my own

experiences, having arrived in the city when entrepreneurial activities at the Baltic Triangle were already starting to gain momentum and on the cusp of commercial success, but then also later witnessing first-hand the earliest entrepreneurial engagements with the Cain's brewery, it felt to me that there are two stories to tell here.

The first story concerns the Baltic Triangle (presented in Chapter Four). Most intriguing here, unlike in Liverpool ONE for example, is that no one single vision of the space's future has been implemented, but rather, a transformation occurred from within. Understanding how this happened is the core motivation of this analytical study – and to find that out I trace recursive changes over time. The principal aim here was to gain a historicized understanding of how entrepreneurship has collectively produced change in this space, to understand its origins, and then bring that historical knowledge to bear on the present: to elucidate how spatial change (instigated by entrepreneurship) produces transformative effects on entrepreneurship (this idea encapsulated in the notion that entrepreneurial successes of music venues, for instance, can attract commercial development which threatens their continued operation).

The second story is based on my witnessing first-hand the renewal of the Cain's brewery (Chapter Five). Cain's was particularly interesting as it represented a microcosm of the transformation of the area itself. An unused and in parts derelict building of massive proportions, purpose built for large-scale brewing but corseted in a Victorian style brick and mortar frame, unsuitable to modern production processes. Here, my motivation was to hone in closely on the initial entrepreneurial

'spark' that ignited the renewal of this specific site. For me, the overarching question was why any entrepreneur would ever want to operate in this space. The brewery was indeed an inhospitable place for founding a new business or businesses, but the entrepreneurs that I met early on in my study were somehow compelled to operate there. After talking to them it soon became apparent that the 150-year-old history of this brewery and most crucially, how this history was *remembered* by its entrepreneurial inhabitants, was very significant indeed. Thus, understanding how memory unfolded in the brewery – and tracing these acts of remembrance to the emergence of new entrepreneurial forms – became the central focus of my second analytical study.

In each of these two cases I investigate the spatial and temporal interrelations of urban spaces and entrepreneurship by bring a different spatial theorist to bear on the entrepreneurial phenomena that I observe (drawing on Henri Lefebvre for the Baltic Triangle study, Walter Benjamin for the Cain's Brewery). This means that whilst each chapter of this thesis is a standalone contribution, they do come together here as a cohesive whole connected by my overarching interest in the role of spatial history and recursivity for entrepreneurship. These are the core themes that weave their way through the collection of papers that I present in this thesis: whether guiding assessments of the existing literature (chapter two); informing my methodological procedures (chapter three); or indeed making up the theoretical sustenance of my empirical work.

But before turning to a more detailed overview of the key entrepreneurship and spatial literatures that provide the academic context of my research, furnishing the

theoretical sustenance of this work, I will firstly outline the historical background of my empirical site(s).

1.2 Empirical background

Defined as a 'development area' by Liverpool City Council (2008a), the Baltic Triangle is actually a relatively new name for the triangular-shaped strip of land where I locate my empirical study. Architectural historians have previously referred to the space as the 'Central Docks Area' (e.g., Hughes, 1964; Sharples, 2004), and for a while it was also the 'Jamaica Street Industrial Estate' (e.g., Howell et al., 2008), whilst urban planning literature has consistently used designations such as the 'Waterfront Business Area' (e.g., LRO M352 MDC/2/1/15) or the 'Docklands, Waterfront and Hinterlands' (Liverpool City Council, 2002). The present name 'Baltic Triangle' has actually only been widely used since about 2008, and this recent change corresponds with the local authorities' decision to amend the site's planning policy from exclusively 'light industrial use' – which had previously defined how the space was governed for over one hundred years – to permitting 'mixed use developments' in response to nascent entrepreneurial activities that had started to gather (Liverpool City Council, 2008a). Further, it is only even more recently that the Cain's brewery complex has been included within the Baltic Triangle's limits. This happened in 2017 when the boundary was extended to the south, over Upper Parliament Street, to incorporate the brewery on account of its entrepreneurial renewal which had commenced that year (Liverpool City Council, 2017).
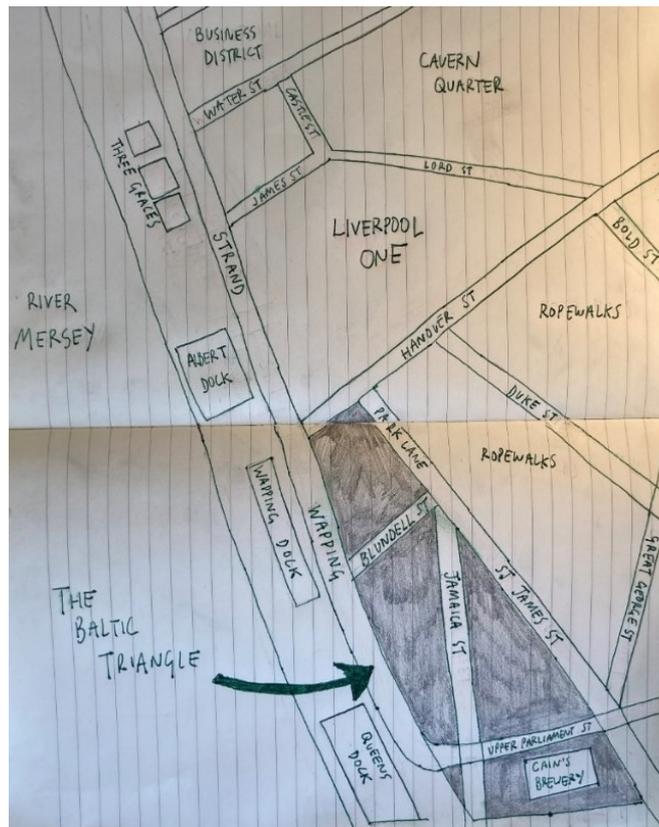
Figure 1.3 A map of the Liverpool Baltic Triangle.

Source: author drawing

My first analytical study that investigates entrepreneurial activities in the Baltic

Triangle over a period of twenty years or so is situated empirically in the shaded

grey area, whilst my second analytical study, with its much tighter empirical focus

exploring the entrepreneurial renewal of the Cain's Brewery, is located in the far

southern extremity of the Baltic Triangle (and also labelled on the map in Figure

1.3).

Geographically situated to the immediate south of the city centre, the Baltic

Triangle's eastern limit abuts the remnants of some of Liverpool's largest port

facilities and docklands once lined up against the river Mersey. The shops of the city

centre and Liverpool ONE border from the north, whilst the pubs, bars and restaurants that make up Liverpool's lively Ropewalks area are located along the western side. With the exception of the Cain's Brewery, clusters of more modern industrial warehouses lie to the south, with these eventually making way to rows of terraced housing that lie further afield and stretch out towards the city's more affluent southern suburbs. The built environment is a mixture of historic brick warehouses (mostly now renovated although some still remain dormant) lining the length of Jamaica Street, which runs through its centre. These older structures sit alongside later additions to the physical landscape which include a number of corrugated iron structures constructed in the last few decades, as well as more recently completed (many still in-progress) high rise residential developments constructed clad in reflective sheet-metal and glass.

The genesis of this space can be traced directly to the economic buoyancy that characterized Liverpool throughout the nineteenth century. During this time Liverpool was a global city of commerce and influence, for a while the second richest city in Britain, and the site of much innovation in the areas of civil engineering, and architecture, as well as public health and transport (Belchem, 2000). For instance, the first ever passenger railway was opened between Liverpool and Manchester in 1830, its pioneering 4 ft. 8 ½ in. gauge track system and locomotives, fitted multiple fire-tubed steam boiler systems and cylinders closer to the horizontal, soon becoming the blueprint for railways around the world (Dawson, 2016). The source of this money and influence was primarily derived from Liverpool's geographical location along the river Mersey and the international trade this enabled, also supporting attendant industries such as shipbuilding and insurance.

Trade was at the heart of Liverpool's wealth, including the slave trade, and this revenue was generated from its extensive dock systems. The development of these docks went through multiple material figurations, but the design principles of the Royal Albert Dock (built in 1846), which was the first successful fireproof warehouse system in the world, emerged as the standard model upon which the vast majority of dock systems in Liverpool were eventually based (Hughes, 1964). This collection of structure, at their peak around the turn of the twentieth century, stretched from Seaforth all the way down to Dingle in an unbroken seven-mile expanse of productive economic activity (Jarvis, 2014).

The layout of the roads and built forms that today make up the Baltic Triangle were initially conceived as part of an ambitious local administrative planning initiative that was developed as a co-ordinated response for managing the ever-growing number of commercial shipping activities taking place in the south of the city (Couch, 2003). The land was acquired by the Liverpool Corporation in 1869 (LRO 333 COR) and they set about establishing a suite of world-class brick warehousing facilities that were considerably larger and of much more modern design than the many privately constructed ramshackle wooden structures that littered the area at the time. By the late 1870's the site boasted the largest collection of modern warehousing facilities for the conveyancing of international goods in the city (Hughes, 1964), its streets surrounded by uniformly 'huge' brick structures, regularly up to ten stories high constructed for this singular purpose (Sharples, 2004). Figure 1.4 offers an aerial view of these structures in 1930.

Figure 1.4 'Constructed for a singular purpose': The warehouses of the Baltic Triangle in 1930, Jamaica street in background, Wapping Dock in foreground
Source: Liverpool Records Office, LRO 352 PSP/111/2478 (1930).

The Cain's Brewery similarly enjoyed its most successful commercial years during this era of seemingly unbounded economic growth in Liverpool. The brewery was founded by Robert Cain in 1850 in the very same location that the complex still stands to this day, quite close to the southern end of Jamaica Street (LRO 050 LIV). Back then, the brewery was only of modest size, but it grew and expanded at a significant rate over the decades that followed, and by the turn of the twentieth century had become one of the largest brewers in the UK market with a reputation for brewing 'superior ale' (Routledge, 2008). This significant commercial achievement was marked by its (at this stage, elderly) founder by a significant re-development of the building to upgrade its facilities: on completion in 1902, the

brewery was one of the largest and most technologically advanced in the country (LRO 720 KIR/2939), its exterior finished in a luxuriously ornamental renaissance style which would have been at the very height of architectural fashion at the time (Sharples, 2004). Figure 1.5 shows the brewery shortly after renovation.

Figure 1.5 The Cain's brewery, shortly after completion in the early nineteenth century

Source: Liverpool Records Office, LRO 720KIR 2939 (1903-1914).

Yet the substantial commercial successes of the city of Liverpool and its port during the second industrial revolution, which had for decades provided the economic sustenance permitting the streets that now make up the Baltic Triangle and the Cain's Brewery to thrive, were not to last. The city's commercial shipping activities experienced a crushing decline throughout the 1960s and 1970s and this was keenly felt by the vast purpose-built brick warehouses that line Jamaica Street (Couch,

2003). The port facilities that these buildings had been constructed to serve were unsuitable for conversion to containerization, which had emerged during this era as the new industry standard, and were abandoned in favour of retaining a more suitable facility in the north of the city that could more easily be modified: "it took little more than a single decade for Liverpool's port to shrink so much that it became almost unrecognizable" (Lane, 1987: 49).

This economic decline was accompanied by much urban administrative mismanagement, not just in the preserving of the cities architecture (e.g., Rodwell, 2008), but also in the maintenance of a cohesive urban planning policy (continuing to this day with recent arrests of the Mayor and his associates for property planning fraud[4]), as well as civil relations with the wider community (Couch, 2003; Dunster, 2008). The final decades of the twentieth century were blighted by the authorities (especially the police) poor racial relations with the city's historic black community, creating tensions that eventually led to the Toxteth riots of 1981 (Belchem, 2014). This ignited a toxic political debate among the ruling political party of the time, Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives, surrounding the possibility of a 'managed decline,' producing a defiant response from 'Militant Tendency' Labour-led city authorities (Parker & Atkinson, 2020). These events, coupled with the drawn-out saga of the dockers dispute of 1995-1998 (Castree, 2000), resulted in the assessment that "few cities, if any, can match Liverpool's dubious claim to have descended from 'world city' to 'pariah city' during the course of the twentieth century" (Wilks-Heeg,

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[4] Liverpool's former major, Joe Anderson, as well as his associates are currently subject to an ongoing investigation by Merseyside police into allegations of bribery and witness intimidation in relation to the awarding of building contracts in the city throughout his tenure.

2003: 36). Against this backdrop of considerable decline and disorder were various urban planning initiatives to reimagine the city centre – which was still scarred by the considerable bombing Liverpool experienced in World War II – these attempts are perhaps best characterized as embodying an 'anything is better than nothing' kind of approach, often involving utopian (at the time) high-rise or car centric re-developments of the city centre, and rarely being completed (Hughes, 1999).

By the first decade of the twenty first century, Liverpool was seen as a 'city on its own' (Hughes, 2019), with the lowest productivity and among the highest unemployment rates in the European Union (Liverpool City Council, 2008b). The legacy of unfinished 'laboratory experiments' (Couch, 2003) that had characterized its urban governance over previous decades meant Liverpool had become "a byword for projects that could go wrong" (Dunster, 2008: 74). Its built environment was littered with vanity projects (like the infamous, unfinished Shankland plan), which sat awkwardly alongside the skeletal remains of grand and imposing yet vacant and decaying industrial relics (Balderstone et al., 2014) – constructed to serve a capacity that no longer existed nor had any likelihood of ever returning (Lane, 1987). Indeed, if Liverpool was once a world city of great influence it was now "strangely *déclassé*, surrounded my monumental evidence of … a global scope that now seems beyond its reach" (Hatton, 2008: 50).

This experience of decline was mirrored in the Cain's Brewery, which since the death of its founder in 1907 had been through multiple failed ownerships and was now eking out a living one hundred years later predominantly by brewing generic budget lager destined for the bottom shelf of UK supermarkets (Routledge, 2008).

Cain's went into administration in 2008, was saved in the final hour, but eventually collapsed under the weight of its debts for the final time in 2013. Figure 1.6 shows an image of Jamaica Street from the 1960s, with the Cain's brewery in the background (at this moment in time under the ownership of a rival firm called Higson's).

Figure 1.6 Dereliction, remnants and rubble: the decline of Jamaica Street and the Cain's brewery in the 1960s

Source: Liverpool Records Office, LRO 770 ECH/1/1/2510 (1964).

This is the historical context of the empirical sites in which I locate my study. But whilst there are aspects of this historical account that are somewhat bleak, the present and future of the Baltic Triangle and the Cain's Brewery, including the city of Liverpool itself, is now considerably different.

The pace of change taking place in these spaces is most significant. For instance, the Baltic Triangle had 350 businesses operating within it in 2019 (Liverpool City Region Combined Authority, 2020). But this figure has already grown in the last few years to exceed 500 (Invest Liverpool, 2021). The council has also recently announced that they will be reopening a train station that was originally closed in 1917 – calling it 'Liverpool Baltic' – having invested over £1.5m in the project already (Liverpool City Region Combined Authority, 2020). Since taking on its first tenant in 2017 the Cain's Brewery had 35 tenants by 2019, including 60 business owners and 300 members of staff (Baltic Creative, 2019). Since then, there have been announcements of a £2.2m restaurant, which is now open, as well as a £3m retro Arcade, which now recently completed is the largest in Europe. Whilst, as I will elaborate later, I do not see these later commercial developments as particularly entrepreneurial, what I am especially interested in is understanding how they were made possible.

My empirical sites are now populated by businesses; the result of formal plans and large investment – millions ploughed into ambitious arcades and restaurants. But what created the conditions for the possibility of these formal ventures? For one, it was certainly not those charged with the administration of these spaces. Despite heightened interest and investment from the council today, an entrepreneur who has lived there for twenty years testified whilst undertaking this research: "the one thing that has always gone against the development of this area is Liverpool City Council

… everything that we have achieved over the years has been despite them."[5] This theme of entrepreneurship pushing against institutional headwinds, producing the unexpected, is also evident in Cain's. The brewery spent a number of years totally inactive whilst its owners (supported by the local authorities) courted overseas and institutional investors to try and get them to support their own lavish vision of the building's renewal – requiring huge structural change priced in excess of £150m, and as yet a project unrealized – before eventually admitting that "the cost of such a refurbishment scares people away" (Liverpool Echo, 2016: 1). The owners now preside over a thriving entrepreneurial space that they initially sought to dissuade. Said one entrepreneurial tenant in 2019, two years into their lease: "Cain's was basically derelict when we moved in, apart from two other venues, I don't even think even the owners envisaged such a change within its gates" (Baltic Creative, 2019: 9).

The question is: how did this space go from wasteland to opportunity? Something in the middle must have happened and is missing. This is what I am primarily interested in investigating – the 'liminal space' (e.g., Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018) between nothing and something. This curious space in-between something and nothing is where, I will argue, something truly entrepreneurial lives - a capacity to make things out of 'nothing' (e.g., Baker & Nelson, 2005) - and thus to see entrepreneurship as something quite different from business as such - which lives in spaces already formed and recognizable.

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[5] These words were spoken by another invited discussant at the same public panel discussion/roundtable event in September 2019, organized to discuss issues relating to the past, present and future of the Baltic Triangle. See Appendix A: Panel discussion 2

The Baltic Triangle and Cain's Brewery are two stories of entrepreneurial

transformation, from relics of the past to productive spaces of new activity.

For me, the question now is how exactly can we begin to apprehend the mystery of

how these spaces has been turned around by entrepreneurship? Not just through an

account of historical change, but also a question of beginnings and how things

emerge and grow.

Figure 1.7 The Baltic Triangle in the present day, Cain's in the foreground, city

centre in the background

Source: Liverpool Echo, 2021.

1.3 Key literatures

My empirical concerns described two historical sites that were once commercially

successful, then quite literally became rubble, experiencing an unexpected

transformational change, and eventually returning to commerce. This creation of

something new out of something old lies as the heart of Joseph Schumpeter's definition of entrepreneurship, which he envisaged as a continuous process of

> "industrial mutation … that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structures from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one" (Schumpeter, 1942: 83).

Schumpeter's seminal theory of entrepreneurship as this "perennial gale of creative destruction" (1942: 84) – at the centre of which lies the notion that something always needs to be destroyed for something new to be created – has informed the popularized view in business and management studies of the entrepreneur as a key agent of change and disruption: the central instigator of new and unexpected transformation in society (Jones & Spicer, 2009; Chiles et al., 2007).

For my own purposes, this is a definition of entrepreneurship that holds much potential for understanding how two previously downtrodden, post-industrial spaces, both burdened by their recent history, might come to be unexpectedly turned into productive spaces of new activity. I see both a literal link here (in the derelict structures) but also a figurative one – in the sense that both spaces characterized a wasteland of ideas. The Baltic Triangle and Cain's were not just sites filled with rubble; they were doubly derelict in their lack of potential.

Defining the space that entrepreneurship happens in and through is more of a challenge. In the context of entrepreneurship studies, space has proven to be an "extremely difficult concept" (Hjorth, 2004: 418). Some of this difficultly is related

to disagreement in the literature surrounding what is meant by concepts of 'place' and 'space' when studying entrepreneurial phenomena. Whilst there are instances of studies employing the two terms more-or-less interchangeably (e.g., Ekinsmyth, 2013; Korsgaard et al., 2015), usually they are treated as two mutually exclusive concepts, clearly demarcated, without any overlap or interaction. Arguments here go both ways: some authors have promoted space as the analytical category for apprehending the more lived and experiential considerations of entrepreneurially inhabiting the world (e.g., Muller & Korsgaard, 2018); whilst others have opted for the exact opposite treatment, emphasizing more phenomenological qualities of place and thus relegating concepts of space to matters of objective measurement such as quantifying administrative configurations that produce entrepreneurship (e.g., Gill & Larson, 2016; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004).

However, commenting on this split, there are other scholars (such as Beyes, 2006, 2009; Hjorth, 2004, 2005; Lange, 2011) that have rightly pointed out that this 'either or' approach can severely limit the scope of our inquiries, for instance, by encouraging a singular focus on how entrepreneurship is related to the feeling of inhabiting somewhere, but without also being able to account for any additional role in how the built environment is administered (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). The sentiment here is that both of these considerations (and more) are significant for understanding how entrepreneurship happens in a given location. As I have outlined so far in this Introduction, capturing this multiplicity of situated entrepreneurship is the focus of my study. So, rather than pick a side by treating 'place' and 'space' as mutually exclusive, or deal with the cumbersome task of trying to use both terms

simultaneously, I define the terms following Hjorth, Beyes, Lange, Steyaert and Katz by operationalizing the precise language of Michel de Certeau:

> "A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). The law of the "proper" rules in the place: The elements taken into consideration are beside one another, each situated in its own "proper" and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability"

> "A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus, space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it.... In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability or stability of a "proper." In short, space is a practiced place" (de Certeau, 1984, cited in Hjorth, 2005: 391).

Mobilizing de Certeau's *contradistinction* between the more planned, stable, and orderly category of place with the emergent, changeable, and disorderly concept of space is especially useful for my purposes, most crucially because it positions space and place as these two distinctive, but not separate concepts. As De Certeau emphasizes, space should be understood as a 'practiced place,' which I see as *incorporating* a concern for how a given site is lived and experienced with how it is planned or administered, by pointing out that the interactions between the two are

essential for capturing the process of how change comes about. By making space the analytical focus of my research, following de Certeau, I see a way of escaping the requirement to oscillate clumsily between two concepts, or having to pick one over the other. Translating this definition into a spatial comprehension of entrepreneurship, as indeed Hjorth, Beyes et al. do, I emphasize 'space' as my analytical concept for studying the sites that entrepreneurship happens in and through as at once prefigured by administrative designs but not solely determined by them (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). From this perspective, the definition of space that I now take forward is characterized as something emanating from abstractions such as plans and blueprints, but also simultaneously concerned with studying situated actions that encompass the "physical, relational, intensely historical, culturally rich and immediate … [whilst also being] … inherently dynamic, emerging from movements that are of the moment, improvised, involving tactical uses of proper public place" (Beyes & Holt, 2020: 13).

I find this conception of space as *inherently dynamic*, always being produced, comprised of multiple interacting elements as a most suitable analytic concept for my study. Firstly, it dovetails with the Schumpeterian definition of entrepreneurship that I outline above: its orientation away from stasis toward movement and change lending itself to the possibility of witnessing the 'destructive' practices of entrepreneurship continually creating the new from the old. It is also in sympathy with the philosophical and sociological theory that I enlist later in this dissertation. Lefebvre (1991) and Benjamin (1978) do not provide such precise comparative definitions as de Certeau but are nonetheless quite clear that they are concerned with animating situated movement, change, and lived improvisation in relation to already

existing environmental orders: emphasizing in their work that space is a continuous process of social production (Lefebvre); or is manifest through the transformative potential of experiencing intimate moments and discontinuities (Benjamin). Lastly, despite the previous historical lack of consistency in applications of place and space, entrepreneurship scholarship is now increasingly congregating around the latter concept (e.g., Korsgaard et al., 2020; Trettin & Welter, 2011). As I will reveal later in this section, this is especially the case in the key literatures that I enlist throughout this dissertation (such as Barinaga, 2017; Beyes, 2006; Garcia-Lorenzo, 2018).

Beginning with key 'mainstream' literatures that have employed Schumpeter's (1942) ideas to investigate the relations between entrepreneurship and space, what I encountered were attempts to explain the various mechanisms that can be used by those charged with urban governance to realize desired rates of entrepreneurship (e.g., Adler et al., 2019; Dean & Meyer, 1996; Woolley, 2014; Van de Ven, 1993). These studies have promoted precise spatial 'infrastructures' that cause entrepreneurship (Audretsch et al., 2015). Often providing tight and detailed commentaries that seek to measure the various success factors supporting high-growth technology-based entrepreneurial spaces like Silicon Valley (e.g. Saxenian, 1994), then promoting these as transferable spatial characteristics for exporting elsewhere as the hallmarks of realizing 'the Silicon Valley model of entrepreneurship' (Audtretsch, 2021).

But the principles that underly research concerned with the precise spatial mechanisms and infrastructures for entrepreneurship have also been criticized on two fronts. Firstly, they see entrepreneurship too much as something determined at

the decision-making level of commercial developers, planners, and city officiating (Kayanan, 2022). This emphasis on entrepreneurship happening by design sees entrepreneurship as an inevitable response to urban governance, and this actually relegates the inherent capacity of entrepreneurial action for creativity, surprise or spontaneity, that Schumpeter (1942) had explicitly sought to promote (and whom these studies often use as their point of departure). Secondly, this desire for causal relations between spatial configurations and entrepreneurship also sees urban space itself as something to be technically or managerially configured "predominantly through the lens of capital production based on the relative mix of factors of production available" (Johnstone & Lionais, 2004: 218).

For these two reasons, I find most accounts of entrepreneurship insufficient to understand the entrepreneurial processes that I observed in the Baltic Triangle or Cain's, nor able to provide answers to the theoretical question I pose, which is how have these historic spaces have been transformed by entrepreneurship. For instance, and as the high level of preoccupation with replicating the successes of Silicon Valley testifies, the focus of this literature is too often on explaining how to make already successful entrepreneurial spaces *more* successful – inquiries located in spaces that already have purpose-built infrastructures with already richly conceived visions of the type and amount of entrepreneurship to be cultivated within them (e.g., Feldman & Francis, 2004).

But as I have mentioned in previous sections of this introductory chapter, I am especially interested in investigating the processes by which creative entrepreneurial (re)uses are found for spaces that have lost not just their physical form, such as

derelict landscapes, but also their imaginative conceptions. At the core of my dissertation lies the recognition of a cyclical process: The entrepreneurial practices and activities that I have witnessed in the Baltic Triangle and Cain's Brewery were not expected or anticipated; they emerged *despite* relatively hostile and unwelcoming institutional and material circumstances, transforming the former wastelands into spaces brimming with obvious business opportunity whose uptake now increasingly squeezes out the more delicate initial entrepreneurial activities. In each instance (at least in the beginning), urban policy was reactive to the entrepreneurship happening in these two spaces, rather than seeking to determine it.

It has recently been remarked that understanding these spatial transformations remains somewhat of a 'mystery' in entrepreneurship scholarship:

> Despite all of our descriptive knowledge of what high technology entrepreneurial ecosystems and hotspots look like, when it comes to offering any sort of advice about how to create built environments – that is, intentional places – to promote organic development of diverse sorts of entrepreneurship, we are pretty much reduced to remaining quiet or relying on common sense. Our research appears remarkably silent on what seems such a theoretically interesting and practically important commonplace challenge. It would be good for our theories to tell us more about these places for entrepreneurship … Tuning in to disciplines that have a longer tradition of studying built environments may assist us in this regard (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1168).

There is growing community of entrepreneurship scholars exploring these questions in more depth, and this work gathers under the banner of contextualized inquiry consistent with the research traditions of the 'European school of entrepreneurship studies' (Hjorth & Johannisson, 2008). Whilst there are many ways to slice this large literature, what I find most intriguing is one of the fundamental pillars of this school, which seeks to apprehend entrepreneurship as something that emerges *in relation to* its surroundings (Fletcher, 2011; Welter, 2011). Contextualized approaches for studying entrepreneurial phenomena therefore understand the processes of its emergence as not solely pre-determined by what is purposively provided – although this can play a role – but rather study entrepreneurship as a creative response that comes into being through more novel interactions with already-organized sites (Chalmers & Shaw, 2017; Zahra et al., 2014). In many ways, this contextualized research agenda for entrepreneurship is much closer to Schumpeter's initial theorizing. Whilst he was certainly interested in the economic implications of entrepreneurial action, he nonetheless also talked of how our understanding of any entrepreneurial process "acquires its true significance only against the background of that process and within the situation created by it … seen in its *role* in the perennial gale of creative destruction" (Schumpeter, 1942: 84, emphasis added). I will now examine how contextualized approaches to entrepreneurship research might assist in helping me to understand how my empirical sites have been entrepreneurially transformed.

My starting point is one of the guidebooks for contextualized work in entrepreneurship studies: Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus's (1997) *Disclosing New Worlds*, which beckons a more radical consideration of the nature of the

entrepreneurial condition as 'world-making.' The authors define entrepreneurial world-making as creating a "change in the way in which we understand and deal with ourselves and with things" (Spinosa et al., 1997: 2). They therefore envisage entrepreneurship as a facilitator for the transmission of the past into the future:

> "The entrepreneurs worth thinking about are the ones who are sensitive to how the problem that they sense has its roots in our pervasive way of living, our lifestyle, either in our culture as a whole or in some more or less self-contained domain. The changes they bring about are changes of historical magnitude because they change the way we see and understand things in the relevant domain" (Spinosa, et al., 1997: 41).

This contextualized theory of entrepreneurship emphasizes 'making'; the visceral and 'lived' task of recognizing, holding on to, articulating and spreading what hitherto was merely a vague sense for the possibility of change which had not yet broken out into articulated spheres. This notion of the gradual dawning or emergence of entrepreneurship emphasizes the deep immersion of entrepreneurs in their world; their attentiveness to this world and to the murmurs and trembles of historical dissonances and discontinuities, in whose sway a genuinely new endeavour may be fashioned. Here, entrepreneurship is less a determined response to given conditions and more of a conduit, the productive resolve through which those changes come to ripple through society (Popp & Holt, 2013a).

I see Spinosa et al.'s (1997) theory as particularly useful as it gestures towards entrepreneurship as both more and less than frequently assumed. It is more in the

sense of its role in the facilitation of transitions between social, material, cultural or historical transition in society (downgrading the possibility of spatial determination or causality), but also, less in terms of the role that a single individual can play in creating such 'epochal' entrepreneurial movements (which directs towards a different generative role for space). However, set against these nuanced descriptors, the examples they produce, especially of Gillette's disposable razor as an entrepreneurial heralding of the throw-away society, reveal too little of how substantial historical changes that hitherto lay latently in waiting are corralled by entrepreneurial endeavour and so made manifest and brought into the world: into a new world.

Recent developments in contextualized research have looked to extend theories like Spinosa et al.'s (1997) world-making in two ways. I categorize one sub-set of literature that attempts to situate theories of entrepreneurial action among wider social, material, cultural and institutional forces – whilst still not entirely losing sight of its economic potentiality – by employing spatialized theories (e.g., Beyes, 2006; Hjorth, 2004, 2005). Another sub-set has examined in more detail how entrepreneurial acts are imported with a lived dimension to historical experience, emphasizing the role of memory in bringing the past into the present, and therefore envisaging the built forms that these acts unfold in relation to as an important constituent of entrepreneurship as creative response (e.g., Popp & Holt, 2013a, 2013b). These attempts join other scholars seeking to advance contextualized research, in keeping with the European tradition, who have drawn extensively on developments in organization studies and this has often involved 'borrowing boldly' (Gartner et al., 1992) from concepts in sociological and philosophical research, such

as practice theory (Thompson et al., 2022), socio-material perspectives (Hill, 2022; Luthy & Steyaert, 2019), as well as aesthetic forms of inquiry (Beyes, 2015; Elias et al., 2018; Hjorth & Steyaert, 2009).

To address the concerns raised empirically and theoretically in this study, I see these developments in contextualized entrepreneurship research as offering two ways of rethinking the relationship between urban space and entrepreneurial action to answer my research question: how the Baltic Triangle and Cain's brewery have been transformed by entrepreneurship. The first way they do this is through the creation of new dialogues between entrepreneurship and spatial theories (which I use as a springboard for my study in Chapter Four), and the second is through the emphasis on lived dimensions of historical experience, where entrepreneurial creativity is formulated in relation to spatial settings through acts of remembrance (Chapter Five). Especially, I see in spatial studies a way of conceptually animating cyclical processes of how entrepreneurship might come and go in a space over time, whilst in research investigating lived aspects a way of apprehending how a space is entrepreneurially enacted in ways that are shaped and reshaped through unfolding historical experience.

Beginning with spatial studies of entrepreneurship (e.g., Beyes, 2006, 2009; Hjorth, 2004, 2005; Lange, 2011; Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). These studies have mobilized ideas from philosophers such as Michel de Certeau (1984), for instance, by employing his notion of everyday spatial tactics in the city to conceptualize entrepreneurship as something that 'poaches in the cracks,' emerging in-between the established orders of organizational life (Hjorth, 2005: 420) as the instigator of

unexpected moments capable of 'transforming work and surprising management' (Hjorth, 2004: 413). Another example is Garcia-Lorenzo et al. (2018) who mobilized Victor Turner's (1977) anthropological development of the liminal concept of thresholds, to conceptualize how entrepreneurship emerges in-between institutional constraints in deprived places: they characterized this as "spaces or times of 'structural meltdown' where new organizational forms can be created, played with, and experimented with" (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018: 378).

These spatial studies are amongst the key literatures that I endeavour to write with and alongside in this thesis. Whilst I engage more fully with this research in Chapter Two, what I would like to emphasize here is a central aspect that I see tying them together, which is the importance they place on attending to history. Cognizant with the theorizing of Spinosa et al., (1997), Hjorth argues that "studying entrepreneurship as creation, we silence too much of local realities if we do not attend to local cultures and histories" (2004: 430). Whilst Garcia-Lorenzo et al., suggest that conceiving of entrepreneurship as a process whereby "old values, symbols and institutions transcend into new ones" (2018: 376) means that any "entrepreneurial potential to generate creative disruption … is always historically and culturally situated" (389).

The core argument put forward here is that entrepreneurial processes make sense only when historically situated among the multiple spatial characteristics that made such acts possible. And further, that this historicized understanding is helpful for discerning how *new* constellations of spatial relations are formed by entrepreneurial acts (e.g., Beyes, 2006, 2009). These ideas animate the 'perennial gale' of creative

destruction that Schumpeter (1942) is talking about, and speak directly to my overarching theme of recursive relations. But whilst there has been some work in this area, with the studies I have mentioned discussing how entrepreneurship transforms already organized spatial settings, there has not yet been a study that processually animates a *continuous* coming and going of entrepreneurial formations over a prolonged period of time – the 'perennial' aspect of Schumpeter's theorizing. The central question here is what happens to entrepreneurship once a new trajectory has been set (e.g. Hjorth et al., 2015; Farias et al., 2019), and this is where I look to insert myself with my study of the Baltic Triangle – to explore a history of spatial change enacted and re-enacted through collective entrepreneurial efforts.

The second key literature that I wish to write alongside is concerned with the significance of history, not just in furnishing our understanding of creative responses to institutional or cultural events as a temporal process (e.g., Garcia-Lorenzo, Hjorth). The argument here is premised on the idea that history is also something that is *experienced* by entrepreneurs as part of social and collective memory:

> "the history of a place generates collective memories, expressed through and by narratives, buildings, monuments, and other symbols – frequently subject to contestation through many forms of discourse and manoeuvre – that shape and reshape how the past influences both the present and future. Narratives and memory are not the whole story of the influence of history on place, but they are the primary mechanisms of this influence" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1157).

This insight, that the old and the new are both related through experience in the process of creation, is reflected in the growing interest in the role of memory in entrepreneurship studies (Hjorth & Dawson, 2016; Popp & Holt, 2013b).

This is a different way of contextualizing entrepreneurship as unfolding in relation to its surroundings, as something emerging from already organized sites through attempts at "mobilizing traces of a site's past and present in order to recombine them and open up new experiences and, potentially, ways of acting" (Holm & Beyes, 2022: 238). This view conceives of such acts through the prism of lived experience: as "affectively charged phenomena that are interwoven with (and to some degree depend on) materiality" (238). It is in this sense that memory, as a constituent of entrepreneurial creativity, can be envisaged as not a detached act but actually *wrought* by social and material processes as one interacts with the world (Elias et al., 2022; Thompson, 2018).

Conceptually, these ideas are especially relevant for my study of the Cain's Brewery, where I witnessed the emergence of new entrepreneurial forms that carried traces of the site's history. What I observed was not so much a history of dates and events (which speak more to my study of the Baltic Triangle), but more much more intimately concerned with how that history was experienced and worked with and on by entrepreneurial inhabitants in their attempts to renew the space. Thus, I see this sub-set of literature as outlining the possibility of a more aesthetic form of engagement, one that privileges the transformation potential of spatial encounters with the past for understanding the emergence of entrepreneurial acts (e.g., Holm & Beyes, 2022).

There are studies that have pointed towards the importance of acknowledging built forms for this form of work. For instance, Banks (2006), studied cultural entrepreneurs in Manchester, UK, analysing how they formulated action in the present by drawing on "an abundance of collective memories … cultivated through historical immersion in Manchester's various social, political and cultural 'scenes'" (Banks, 2006: 464). Similarly, Barinaga (2017), through her study of a deprived neighbourhood in Sweden, investigated entrepreneurship as a process of "reorienting the string of associations tied to the neighborhood and its residents" (941). For this, she conducted a detailed empirical study investigating the lived experience of (re)enacting material reconfigurations in the community – told through the construction of a mural – that attempted to articulate an alternative to the 'official history' of this space, thus setting the community on a different trajectory into the future. Conversely, Gheres et al. (2020) researched urban governance in Doncaster and institutional attempts to introduce new entrepreneurial initiatives, finding that attempts to define a new entrepreneurial narrative for the town met opposition in the form of local sentiment that continued to characterize the space in relation to its industrial heritage: "in Doncaster's case, the memory of traditional industrial activity has endured the passage of time through place meanings firmly anchored in the locality's industrial past" (16).

But apart from these studies, most of the literature on lived aspects of memory, its connections to materiality and entrepreneurial action, is conceptual or does not mention specific spatial sites. This is problematic as "to understand places as contexts for entrepreneurship, it is useful to examine historical narratives and

collective memories that shape peoples' sense of what is desirable and what is feasible for the future, which is to ask, what are the opportunities for entrepreneurship" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1157). I see this as an invitation for further empirical and theoretical development on the lived dimension of entrepreneurial creativity, for example, in the notion that memory is formed in the Cain's brewery, giving it new entrepreneurial form. This still follows the theme of spatial history and recursivity, but in a different way: how the present and future is entrepreneurially formulated and pursued as the shaping and reshaping of history through acts of remembrance.

These two areas: spatial studies of entrepreneurship, and research emphasizing the lived experience of memory for entrepreneurial creativity, offer a broad remit for addressing my research question of how the Baltic Triangle and Cain's Brewery have been transformed by entrepreneurship. However, to attend to the specific questions, my investigation required inclusion of additional theoretical and methodological ideas, and I do this in the form of the spatial works of Henri Lefebvre and Walter Benjamin. I therefore contribute to this key literature in two ways; by conducting analytical studies of the Baltic Triangle and the Cain's Brewery that both bring new spatial theorists to bear on the entrepreneurial phenomena that I observe.

In Chapter Four, to investigate the unfolding entrepreneurial transformation of the Baltic Triangle as this historic process of spatial change, I draw predominantly on Henri Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad.' Whilst Lefebvre's work has been drawn on occasionally in entrepreneurship studies, the focus has been on his writings on

rhythm's (e.g., Verduijn, 2015), or more conceptual discussions of the implications of his writing (e.g., Beyes, 2006). Here, I deploy Lefebvre's theory of *The production of space* – considered to be his *magnum opus* – to animate how entrepreneurship comes and goes in the Baltic Triangle, collectively contributing to its transformation. Lefebvre (1991) offers a tripartite model for the study of space consisting of conceived, perceived and lived space in a processual formulation that is historical, inherently multiplicious, and purposely unfinished. In Lefebvre, I therefore spot an opening for taking entrepreneurship out of a static economic formulation – as something determined by urban governance – to contribute to existing spatial studies of entrepreneurship by offering new insights of how we might conceptualize its emergence and then re-emergence in-between changing constellations of spatial relations; to trace the origins of entrepreneurial beginnings and how they grow and develop, remaking space, producing social, material, cultural and institutional change, that may even contribute to the unmaking of entrepreneurship.

To bring Lefebvre (1991) in to conversation with entrepreneurship, I require a formulation of entrepreneurship that is sympathetic to his spatial theory. This could be something like Schumpeter (1942), but perhaps Schumpeter is too much concerned with the economic. For me, this does not fit so well with Lefebvre's theory of spatial production, which Lefebvre tells us is driven by the 'lived' aspect of space as it is continuously wiped away by conceived forces. Whilst conceived forces can be broadly aligned with planning departments, the 'lived' space of urban spatial production has been characterized as a space occupied not by abstract conceptions (as in the conceived space of planning) but rather by "intensities, capacities and

forces, rhythms, cycles, encounters, events, movements and flows; instincts, affects, atmospheres and auras; relations, knots and assemblages" (Beyes & Steyaert, 2011: 47). This points towards the need to pair Lefebvre with a theory of entrepreneurship with a more phenomenological sensitivity. For this reason, I employ the theory of Spinosa et al (1997) in Chapter Four – their historicized notion of the gradual dawning of latent entrepreneurial potential, then articulating this onto broader spheres bringing it into commerce, I see, as bridging the process by which the "space of lived experience gets crushed and vanquished by an abstract conceived space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 175) – which is the hallmark of Lefebvre's theory of 'endless' spatial production. Thus, by bringing these two theories together in my empirical study, I animate the incessant '*perennial* gale' of creative destruction (Schumpeter, 1942, emphasis added).

Lefebvre (1991) brings a structured way of studying and analyzing that is attuned with events throughout history, looking at dynamics between spatial elements that elucidate the bigger question of how space transforms as part of a change of the tripartite elements. But this structural nature becomes a hindrance for a more aesthetically charged investigation into the entrepreneurial renewal of the Cain's brewery. For this task, I turn to Walter Benjamin.

In Chapter Five, I mobilize concepts from Walter Benjamin's (1978) *A Berlin Chronicle*, to move from a history of spatial change to history as the lived experience of memory. For Benjamin, memory is sparked by experience of space, its built forms; this moment of visceral experience creates new constellations between past, present and future, changing the course of history, and breaking down any sense of

linearity of continuity. I therefore see in Benjamin a different way of apprehending how the old is destroyed in the process of making something new: his writings on memory offering a way of understanding spatial lived experience as central feature of entrepreneurial creativity.

Benjamin's (1978) writing style is elaborate and often elusive, its meaning often hidden, rarely explicitly instructive, and thus open to multiple interpretations. To build an analytical methodology out of *A Berlin Chronicle* I took inspiration from Benjamin's focus on fragments and morsels, which I see as manifest in his writing in two ways. Firstly, he writes how memory is 'sparked' not so much by grand and iconic architectural features, but rather by things that are smaller, often seemingly inconsequential, even rubbish (Benjamin, 1978). Secondly, this idea that material fragments can create the most potent acts of remembrance is then embodied in Benjamin's literary representation, which he presents as a mosaic of fragmented personal encounters with Berlin (and thus, his own past, present and future). I see this kaleidoscopic representation of different memories of space, all disturbed and out of order, their arrangement creating an entirely new story of the past viewed through the prism of present experience, as a most faithful depiction of Benjamin's overarching aim in his text to destroy any linear or straightforward notions of history. What I take from this is not only a way of studying (i.e., by going looking for material fragments) but also thinking theoretically and writing up how the creative processes of entrepreneurial renewal at the Cain's brewery create new constellations between past, present and future.

As I have now outlined, I slice the contextualized literature in two ways to carve out the key literature that can provide answers to my empirical and theoretical question: how the Baltic Triangle and Cain's brewery have been transformed by entrepreneurship. I see a clear contribution to these two literatures in my attempt to bring two new spatial theorists to bear on the entrepreneurial phenomena I witness. For instance, I observe the continuous development of a 'spatial turn' in adjacent organization studies (Beyes & Holt, 2020; Kornberger & Clegg, 2004; Taylor & Spicer, 2007), which is increasingly moving towards more processually-inclined work (e.g. Stephenson et al., 2020) as well as exploring the spatial and affective dimensions to material encounters and creative acts (e.g., Bell & Vachhani, 2020; Leclair, 2022). My argument is that these ideas hold much promise for revealing new insights into entrepreneurship, yet as I have outlined, I only see limited creative engagements with spatial concepts (where processual or material relational), and this has been recently pointed out by others (Korsgaard et al., 2020). The successes in introducing new conceptions such as the practice-turn to entrepreneurship studies (e.g., Thompson et al., 2020, 2022), suggests that there is still much reason to continue to borrow boldly (Gartner et al., 1992) to contribute to the fields continued development.

The analytical studies that make up my thesis offer new perspectives on how something new is entrepreneurially created out of something old. I see these two imaginative engagements as two different attempts to conceptualize entrepreneurship as this 'perennial gale of creative destruction' (Schumpeter, 1942), and they may therefore have a broader relevance in providing new insights into how to generate urban policies that are not so concerned with precise measurements and causal

relations, usually focused upon high-growth technology driven entrepreneurship (see Welter & Baker, 2021). Indeed, these ideas – highly popular in the 1980s and 1990s – are now starting to fall out of favour in policy circles (Swords, 2013, Hospers et al., 2008), and perhaps studies that look to explore how creative responses emerge in relation to urban space, rather than attempt to formulate ways of determining it, could be helpful here.

1.4 Research approach

As I have discussed, I found 'being there' and witnessing entrepreneurial phenomena to be important in the process of studying it. However, this importance can sometimes be underplayed in entrepreneurship research, which usually exhibits a preference for methodological individualism (Steyaert, 2007; Watson, 2013). On the basis of the empirical concern that I have outlined, and the way that I propose to study it, gleaning insights solely from interviews with entrepreneurs would not be suitable. How I countered this was by trying to look not at "the dancers of entrepreneurship" (Beyes, 2006: 252), but instead at "the dance of entrepreneurship" (252): to make space itself the unit of my concern. I propose to do this by mobilizing methodologies that are informed and inspired by the spatial writings of Henri Lefebvre and Walter Benjamin.

Firstly, this task involved getting familiar with the work of these two spatial writers. For this, I spend a lot of time initially in reading groups with my supervisory team, building my theoretical understanding, which I supplemented by consulting further biographical or interpretive works on both Lefebvre (e.g., Merrifield, 2006; Shields, 1991; Stanek, 2011), as well as Benjamin (e.g., Buck-Morss, 1989; Gilloch, 1996;

Tonkiss, 2005). It took many attempts to identify an aspect of their work to focus on (for instance, I also read Lefebvre's *The urban revolution* (1996), *Writings on cities* (2003a), as well as his restatement of the central tenets of his theorizing in *Preface to the new edition: the production of space* (2003b). I also consulted parts of Benjamin's (2002) sprawling *Arcades Project*, and then formulate an interpretation of their work that could be taken into a conversation on entrepreneurship.

Whilst Lefebvre (1991) is quite instructive on method (which I outline in Chapter Three), I found that I still needed to get a clearer sense for what an empirical inquiry that mobilizes the work of these two spatial theorists could look like, for this I spent time looking at a number of articles in organization studies, where I observed rich engagement with both of these writers.

Within this literature, I saw two takes on Lefebvre (1991), one emphasizing the power of planning (conceived space) in spatial production (Petani & Mengis, 2016; Newlands, 2021), another that looked to investigate how the lived dimension to space actually drove the process of spatial production through its incessant (and fleeting) ability to create surprising and unexpected moments (Giovannoni & Quattrone, 2018; Skogland & Holt, 2021). These interpretations informed how I went about doing the research in Chapter Four, translating these ideas to look at how entrepreneurship continuously drives in-between changing spatial relations as a fluid transformational force. What I also took from these studies was their use of multiple data sources, observing extensive use of planning documents (Petani & Mengis, 2016), visual or unconventional media materials (Skoglund and Holt, 2021), as well

as archival sources (Giovannoni & Quattrone, 2018; Liu & Grey, 2018) – often in tandem with interviewing and conducting multiple site visits.

In regard to research engaging the writing of Benjamin, attempting to get close to the more aesthetic and visceral notion of spatial experience, I saw an emphasis in organization studies on 'encounters,' as lived moments of interruption pregnant with the potential to shock or jolt one out of daily routines and conduct a creative movement into the future (De Cock et al., 2013; De Cock & O'Doherty, 2017). Often tracing further links to anthropological studies (e.g., Ingold & Vergunst, 2008), these engagements with Benjamin in the organization studies literature often extoll the virtue of walking as a way of 'getting at' these everyday spatial encounters (Beyes and Steyaert, 2021; Juhlin & Holt, 2021; O'Doherty, 2013). I saw this as lending itself well to the idea that entrepreneurship at Cain's might be sparked by lived encounters with the history of the brewery, entrepreneurially rearranging this experience into new formulations of the future through acts of remembrance.

Armed with these insights, I went out into my empirical sites where I 'hung around' in each site regularly (Johannisson, 2018). I spoke to entrepreneurs, but also their associates, employees and customers, I attended art festivals and other public events, including panel discussions attended by entrepreneurs but also musicians and residential developers. I went on walking tours with local historians. I regularly participated in music events and visited local public houses, where I had many unexpected and fortuitous conversations. Two moments that stand out to me were meeting the builders responsible for refitting the cellar of the Cain's brewery to accommodate a new venture, who showed me some of the more dilapidated corners

of the building. Another would be rescuing a French Bulldog who had escaped from a café – its owner turned out to be a local musician who had produced an album for *Orchestral Manoeuvres in the Dark* (an electronic act from the Wirral, widely influential in establishing New Wave music in the UK), and who was operating from a music studio located in the Baltic Triangle. Whilst doing all this I gathered documents, consulted policy documents and meeting minutes from Liverpool City Council. I visited Liverpool Record Office and the University of Liverpool Special Collection and Archives. I tuned in to radio interviews with entrepreneurs, developers, musicians and commentators, often interviewed on *BBC Radio Merseyside*, and looked for others published online. Throughout this I also regularly read the Liverpool Echo (the principal local newspaper of the city), but also many books on the history and architectural history of Liverpool (e.g., Hughes, 1964, 1991; Sharples, 2004; Lane, 1987). I took many pictures of my empirical sites throughout this time.

Figure 1.8 A site visit: author and friends photographed at 24 Kitchen Street, with residential re-development in progress

Source: Public social media post by 24 Kitchen Street

My participation in the Baltic Triangle since 2013 formed my 'pre-understanding' (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2022), but my formal primary data collection efforts commenced when I received ethical approval for my study in early 2019. However, only one year later, in early 2020 I was prevented from conducting any further face-to-face interviews due to COVID-19 restrictions. Whilst I could still conduct site visits alone – for instance, to take photographs – there was during this time very little happening, and I had to improvise my data collection approaches. On reflection, I think this event is why my research has such a strong historical orientation. I could not interview, but I was able to go back over archival and documentary material in more depth to understand the origins of my empirical sites and trace historical connections to the entrepreneurial discussion I had managed to have.

1.5 Thesis overview

This thesis is presented as a collection of papers prepared in accordance with University guidelines (therefore, referred to as 'chapters'), and geared toward eventual publication in business and management journals or contributions to research handbooks, as outlined in Table 1.5. For this reason, there is some overlap and repetition contained within the chapters – such as the aforementioned 'key literature' reappearing in my review chapter, and again repeated in my two empirical studies.

I see one considerable disadvantage with structuring my thesis as papers in that I do not get so much space to 'stretch out,' which would have perhaps made this thesis more straightforward as I work with a lot of different theory and have a lot of

empirical material from multiple sources. However, the thesis by papers route has permitted me to conduct two standalone studies, employing two spatial theorists in two empirical sites, which perhaps would not have been possible in a more conventional format. I will now outline each chapter of my thesis accompanied by their specific research question.

In Chapter Two, I conduct a literature review. This chapter is guided by the research question: 'What is the current state of knowledge of how urban space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship?' The aim of this literature review is to identify relevant theoretical, empirical, and analytical approaches that may provide answers. in particular, in light of my theoretically informed research questions, this chapter is concerned with identifying whether existing studies have apprehended the 'recursive' interrelationship between entrepreneurship and space, rather than a one directional/dimensional conceptualization of the influence of space on entrepreneurs 'or;' vice versa. I identify four distinct approaches in the literature that I present as a typology of spatial studies of entrepreneurship. These comprise *i)* studies that have investigated the effect of spatial clusters on entrepreneurship, *ii)* approaches that have explored how individuals enact entrepreneurial spaces, *iii)* a body of work that draws on the concept of embeddedness to produce interactive accounts of entrepreneurial wrought spatial change, and *iv)* studies that can be loosely organized around a more philosophically informed notion of entrepreneurial 'spatiality. I draw out some key themes from this collection of work, identifying a sub-set of this literature that has explored the historical character of the 'in-between' and 'lived' aspects of urban space and entrepreneurship, which I subsequently use as a springboard for my own research.

In Chapter Three, I ask: 'What methodologies/analytical techniques are required for empirical inquiries into urban entrepreneurial spaces?' To answer this question, I introduce Henri Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' and elaborate methodological principles and processes for mobilizing his triadic notion of space for empirical research. Whilst I hang my discussion on Lefebvre (and not Benjamin), I nonetheless introduce a set of principles that guide both analytical studies that I present in this thesis. These principles emphasize the importance of apprehending recursivity through historicized methodological procedures, and how these should be incorporated in research designs that combine multiple analytical techniques in order to 'witness' entrepreneurial practices and activities as they unfold in and transform urban space. Chapter Three was produced for *Research handbook on entrepreneurship as practice* (Thompson et al., 2022), which has since been published (see Davis, 2022).

In Chapter Four, I analyze the entrepreneurial transformation of the Baltic Triangle as a history of urban spatial change. This chapter is driven by the question 'how does an urban space provide openings, as well as restrictions, for the continuous coming and going of entrepreneurial formations, producing physical, economic, social, and cultural change?' Informed by the methodological agenda I outline above, I operationalize Henri Lefebvre's (1991) triadic notion of space along with Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus's theory of entrepreneurial 'world-making' to generate a dynamic account that reveals how the material, social and institutional constitution of the Baltic Triangle produces openings as well as restrictions for the continuous

coming and going of entrepreneurial formations over time, always emerging and re-emerging 'in-between' changing spatial characteristics.

In Chapter Five, my second empirical study, I ask the questions: 'How does the history of space generate memories? And how does the act of remembrance, as it unfolds in urban spaces, shape and influence entrepreneurial practices and actions?' I provide answers to this question by studying the entrepreneurial renewal of the Cain's brewery. I draw on conceptual and analytical techniques derived from Walter Benjamin's *A Berlin Chronicle* to investigate how the history of this space is experienced by entrepreneurial subjects as acts of remembrance, which unfold through material encounters with the Cain's brewery, shaping and influencing the entrepreneurial practices and activities that contribute to its renewal.

I discuss the key findings and their contributions in Chapter Six, which is accompanied by consideration of the limitations of my study as well as possible avenues of future inquiry.

Table 1.1 Outputs presented in this thesis

Chapter number	Title and authorship	Research Question	Material/ data	Key Theory/ Concepts	Findings	Contributions	Output
2	Studying urban entrepreneurial spaces: A review of the literature *Sole authored*	What is the current state of knowledge of how urban space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship?	Literature review	How to conceptualize recursivity for studying urban entrepreneurial spaces	A typology of 4 approaches: clusters; enactment; embeddedness; spatiality	Tracing connections between a fragmented literature; elaborating a conceptual opening for studying urban entrepreneurial spaces	Prepared for submission to *International Journal of Management Reviews*
3	Entrepreneurship, practice theory and space: Methodological principles and processes for spatial inquiry *Sole authored*	What methodologies/analytical techniques are required for empirical inquiries into urban entrepreneurial spaces?	Conceptual, methodological with illustrative case	Incorporating temporal sensitivity and multiplicity in method; Mobilizing Lefebvre's *Spatial Triad*	Processes: Beginning in the present; excavating history; returning to the present Principles: Employing multiple data collection techniques such as interview, observations, archival and visual	How to develop Lefebvre's work into a historical method attentive to the multiplicity and complexity of interrelations between space and entrepreneurship	Published in April 2022 in *Research Handbook on Entrepreneurship as Practice*. Edward Elgar Publishing (Thompson, Byrne, Jenkins and Teague Eds.) See, Davis (2022)
4	Contextualizing entrepreneurship, urban spaces as 'in-between' phenomena: Liverpool's 'Baltic Triangle' *Co-authored with Mike Zundel*	How does an urban space provide openings, as well as restrictions, for the continuous coming and going of entrepreneurial formations, producing physical, economic, social, and cultural change?	13 interviews; 4 panel/ roundtable discussions; 13 site visits (53 hours); 50 archival sources; 95 photos; 45 documents; 11 online interviews; 6 visual media sources.	Animating the in-between and everyday nature of entrepreneurial spatial production over time; Lefebvre; Spinosa, Flores & Dreyfus.	Entrepreneurial space is produced by the everyday actions of multiple different actors; entrepreneurship emerges and re-emerges in-between spatial characteristics that are always changing	A new conceptual and analytical apparatus for theoretically animating and studying entrepreneurial spaces as the continual interplay of context and action	Presented at EGOS Colloquium, 2021 (Virtual, VU Amsterdam) Prepared for submission to *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*.
5	Remembering (in) urban entrepreneurial spaces: The renewal of the Cain's Brewery, Liverpool, UK *Co-authored with Andrew Popp*	How does the history of space generate memories? And how does the act of remembrance, as it unfolds in urban spaces, shape and influence entrepreneurial practices and actions?	8 interviews; 17 interview encounters 7 site visits (22 hours); 14 archival sources; 27 photos; 67 documents; 4 online interviews; 1 visual media source.	Exploring memory as spatial lived experience and tracing connection to entrepreneurial creativity; Benjamin	The act of remembrance has a latent entrepreneurial potential that unfolds through spatial encounter creating new constellations between past, present and future	The generative potential of spatial encounter offers new insights into the occurrence, form and intensity of remembrance in the formulation of entrepreneurial action.	Presented at EGOS Colloqium, 2019 (Edinburgh), and Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, 2019 (Boston, USA). Prepared for submission to *Organization Studies*

CHAPTER TWO

Studying urban entrepreneurial spaces:

A review of the literature

Abstract

In this review I interrogate existing approaches to studying urban entrepreneurial spaces, looking for a conception that is able to animate the multiplicity of spatial context and its recursive relations with entrepreneurial action. In my search, I engage critically with four distinct approaches, including studies that have investigated the effect of spatial clusters on entrepreneurship, research exploring how individuals enact entrepreneurial spaces, studies promoting the embeddedness of entrepreneurship, as well as entrepreneurship scholarship that engages with more philosophically-informed spatial theory. I suggest that these latter studies might offer the most fruitful analysis of how space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship, and I subsequently organize these approaches around two themes. Firstly, I highlight their emphasis on the 'in-between' character of urban entrepreneurial spaces, and secondly, how they point towards the creative entrepreneurial potential that resides within more lived and experiential dimensions to urban space. On the basis of this discussion, I conclude my literature review by outlining a future research agenda for studying urban entrepreneurial spaces.

Key words

Entrepreneurship, urban space, clusters, functionalism, enactment, interpretivism, embeddedness, structure, agency, spatiality, in-between, lived experience, literature review

2.1 Introduction

The empirical motivation for my study is to understand how Liverpool's Baltic Triangle and the Cain's Brewery site have been transformed into entrepreneurial spaces. In each of these cases, I ask, what spatial characteristics give rise to entrepreneurship and, in turn, how does entrepreneurship transform these spaces? My theoretically informed research questions are therefore concerned with a 'recursive' (e.g., Welter, 2011) interrelationship of entrepreneurship and space, rather than a one directional/dimensional conceptualization of the influence of space on entrepreneurs 'or;' vice versa (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). The importance of understanding this *continuous* interplay between entrepreneurship and context has been pointed towards in previous research (e.g. Chalmers & Shaw, 2017; Daskalaki et al., 2015; Drakopoulou-Dodd & Anderson, 2007; Hjorth et al., 2015), but has not been widely investigated in spatially sensitive approaches toward studying entrepreneurial phenomena.

The aim of my review chapter is to examine in-depth the current state of knowledge of how urban space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship. More specifically, I will provide a review of the literature in order to identify the key audience for my subsequent empirical studies, as well as identifying to which extent the empirical question posed above has already been addressed conceptually or, indeed, with other empirical research. My aim is therefore not so much to spot a 'gap' but to engage

with the existing body of work in order to be able to contribute to current debate by reviewing conceptual and empirical contributions.

My research question follows calls for entrepreneurship scholarship to further investigate the recursive relations that characterizes the intersection of space and entrepreneurship (Korsgaard et al., 2021; Welter, 2011). Acknowledging this "joint impact of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial places has … been little researched" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1165). These calls have argued that the 'challenge' (Trettin & Welter, 2011) is to move entrepreneurship scholarship beyond a treatment that privileges concepts of space as the material manifestation of the built environment – as static and 'out there,' understood principally as a physical constraint that exerts a singular influence on entrepreneurship – towards a conception that is able to animate multiple interactive dimensions to space (Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Wadhwani et al., 2020; Welter et al., 2019). Here, entrepreneurial spaces are conceptualized as the coming together of creative agency with social others set within material, social, cultural, institutional and historical context in a process where "both context[s] and act constitute each other reciprocally" (Rehn & Taalas, 2004: 237). Being able to theoretically and empirically animate these various lived interactions and entanglements is necessary for apprehending the recursivity of entrepreneurial spaces (Welter, 2011; Welter et al., 2017).

In this review I therefore seek a conceptualization of entrepreneurial space that apprehends simultaneously how "it takes sites and spaces for entrepreneurship to come about, and sites and spaces may be constituted or altered through entrepreneurial activities" (Beyes, 2009: 95). I identify four distinct approaches in

the literature that might be helpful for these purposes. These comprise *i)* studies that have investigated the effect of spatial clusters on entrepreneurship, *ii)* approaches that have explored how individuals enact entrepreneurial spaces, *iii)* a body of work that draws on the concept of embeddedness to produce interactive accounts of entrepreneurial wrought spatial change, and *iv)* studies that I loosely organize around a more philosophically informed notion of entrepreneurial 'spatiality.' These are summarized in Table 2.1 below. It is these latter approaches that I suggest are able to animate the multiplicity that characterizes the recursive relations between entrepreneurship and space that I outline above. And I suggest that the collection of studies that I gather together under this banner offer new insights firstly, through the emphasis on the 'in-between' character of urban entrepreneurial spaces, and secondly, by pointing towards the creative entrepreneurial potential that resides within more lived and experiential dimensions to urban space.

The main purpose of my review is to interrogate the published literature on urban entrepreneurial spaces, to permit for a comparative discussion of each of the four approaches indicated above, and so be able to make a considered assessment of its potential usefulness for answering my own research questions as well as furnishing a mode of empirical enquiry. As I conduct this work, I encounter studies employing many different theoretical assumptions informing their specific worldviews, analytical techniques, critique and key empirical work. Concurrent with the heterogeneity of the literature, I find throughout my review the geographical location of entrepreneurship expressed in a variety of ways: I encounter entrepreneurial 'spaces' but also places, districts, cities, metros, neighborhoods, communities, as well as individual complexes or buildings. For the purposes of my comparative

discussion, I use the term 'space' when I am referring to these many different geographical locations through which entrepreneurship can be analyzed (e.g. Steyaert & Katz, 2004). Space acts as an 'umbrella construct' to gather together and discuss this distributed and fragmented literature (e.g. Taylor & Spicer, 2007).

My review of the four approaches that I outline above involves an extended discussion of intellectual sources and exemplary empirical studies, including my critical assessment of their usefulness for answering my research question. I now examine each in turn.

Table 2.1 A typology of four approaches for studying urban entrepreneurial spaces

Approach	Intellectual source(s)	Main concern of empirical work	Notion of space	Entrepreneurial mode	Typical findings	Preferred methods
Clusters	Alfred Marshall (1890; 1919)	Distance and density; proximity and rates; urban governance; economic configurations of space	Objectively existing and singular; providing inputs and mechanisms	Passive; transactional/ economic; inevitable	Entrepreneurship is caused by variances in spatial clusters	Quantitative; functional; surveys and panel data
Enactment	Karl Weick (1979)	Individual subjectivity; internal meaning-making and interpretation; creation and construction	Subjectively created and malleable; plurality of meanings and attachments	Cognitive; unilateral making	Space is created by projections of the entrepreneurial imagination	Qualitative; interpretive; interviews; case study
Embeddedness	Mark Granovetter (1985)	Situatedness of practices in specific context (social, cultural, institutional)	Regulator of action: enabling and constraining; boundary conditions and thresholds;	Consensus forming; participatory /social; building or constructing; conforming	Being embedded in space is a pre-condition for entrepreneurship	Qualitative; interviews; observations; site visits;
Spatiality	Henri Lefebvre (1991); Michel de Certeau (1984); Bruno Latour (2005).	Multiplicity of spatial production; lived experience everyday practices; material relations; Cultural or institutional history	Always in flux; contested; multiplictious; affective	Re-making; situational/ interventionist; Socio-material; Resistance; In-between	Entrepreneurship is a continuously unfolding lived process; entrepreneurial spaces are entanglements of social, cultural, material and institutional relations	Qualitative; interviews; observations; site visits participatory; practice-based; Actor Network Theory; archival;

2.2 Clusters and entrepreneurship: inputs and spatial mechanisms

The first body of work that has investigated the relations between entrepreneurship and space comprises studies that have examined the role of clusters to produce explanations for how a space can convey specific benefits for entrepreneurship. The key intellectual source for this work is Alfred Marshall's (1890) writings on industrial districts.

2.2.1 Intellectual sources

Scholarly interest in spatial clusters and entrepreneurship can be traced back to Marshall's (1890) inquiry into economic and social activities of cutlery makers in the British city of Sheffield and the surrounding region of South Yorkshire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Delgado et al., 2010; Johannisson & Wigren, 2006; Verdu & Tierno, 2019). Marshall's (1890) work comprised multiple interviews with many owner-managers of Sheffield-based firms engaged in cutlery manufacture operating in close spatial proximity to one another (Potter & Watts, 2011); he developed a theory of this clustering of related firms – which he termed as an *industrial district* – as a spatial phenomenon that could not be entirely explained by the presence of natural resources or favourable institutional business environment due to the presence of three additional economic benefits.

Marshall (1890) suggested that cutlery firms gathered in Sheffield specifically to benefit from *i*) the co-location with specialized producers to establish beneficial supply chain linkages, which he described as conducting "a movement toward intermediate plans" (172). *ii*) To gain access to a pool of specialized labour "as employers are apt to resort to any place where they are likely to find a good choice

of workers with the special skill which they require; while men seeking employment naturally go to places where there are many employers who need such skill as theirs" (156). As well as *iii*) to guarantee participation in continuous exchanges of important commercial and technical knowledge (often exchanged informally) between metalworkers engaged in various aspects of manufacture – and Marshall argued that this exchange of knowledge between related workers could lead to the establishment of new firms in a process whereby "social forces here co-operate with the economic" (156).

Due to the presence of these three economic benefits, Marshall (1890) understood Sheffield as the quintessential self-sustaining industrial district: "when an industry has thus chosen a locality for itself, it is likely to stay there long: so great are the advantages which people following the same skilled trade get from near neighbourhood to one another" (156). He especially saw the spatial clustering of related firms as conducive to the establishment of new ventures, and his theory of industrial districts was his attempt to draw more than one causal links, explaining why this is so:

> "Although even a little obstinacy or inertia may ruin an old home of industry whose conditions are changing; and although the opening out of new sources of supply or new markets for sale may quickly overbear the strength which old districts have inherited from past conditions: yet history shows that a strong centre of specialized industry often attracts much new shrewd energy to supplement that of native origin, and is thus able to expand and maintain its lead" (Marshall, 1919: 190-191).

So, whilst Marshall (1890) did trace the vibrancy of the Sheffield cutlery cluster to inherited factors, as an industrial phenomenon "largely influenced by the richness of her soil and her mines, and her facilities for commerce" (1890: 155), as well as the "excellent grit of which its grindstones are made" (155). He was clear that the possibilities for entrepreneurship *also* reside within continuous social interactions that take place between city inhabitants as they go about their daily economic activities and, for Marshall, that these social interactions in particular are crucial to the establishment of new ventures:

> "If one man starts a new idea, it is taken up by others and combined with suggestions of their own; and thus, it becomes the source of further new ideas. And presently subsidiary trades grow up in the neighbourhood, supplying it with implements and materials, organizing its traffic, and in many ways conducing to the economy of its material" (Marshall, 1890: 156).

For Marshall (1890), the economic dynamism of Sheffield was contingent on ongoing social interactions between its residents continually introducing economic (and therefore, spatial) change. He visualized these multiple interactions as a force producing a "special industrial atmosphere" (Marshall, 1919: 190), which "yields gratis to the manufacturers of cutlery great advantages that are not easy to be had elsewhere: and an atmosphere *cannot be moved*" (189, emphasis added). Thus, for Marshall, if we are to apprehend the continuous economic evolution of Sheffield, scholarly investigation would not learn so much by focusing on the role of given natural resources or administrative facilities for commerce. Rather, his notion of an 'atmosphere' encourages one to:

"turn aside from these broader movements … and follow the fortunes of groups of skilled workers who are gathered within the narrow boundaries of a manufacturing town or a thickly peopled industrial district" (1890: 156).

Summarizing Marshall's (1890) work, it is clear he was seeking economic explanations for the spatial development of regions and cities. But he was also interested in social and inter-personal dynamics and how these ongoing relations produced new ventures – and towards these ends he grappled with concepts of history and time and how the benefits of spatial clustering were passed on through knowledge sharing and skills inheritance (Belussi & Caldari, 2009). Indeed, he states explicitly that the clustering of cutlery manufacture and related activity in Sheffield characterized a set of socio-economic relations where "the mysteries of the trade become no mysteries; but are as it were in the air, and children learn many of them unconsciously" (1890: 156). Marshall's (1890) theorizing is therefore intriguing for my research questions, and this is because he resists a completely one-directional arrow: that space simply 'does things' to human action. So, whilst he refers briefly to the role of structural-determinism through inheritances from the past (e.g. gritstone and natural resources) and the role institutional conditions (facilities for commerce) – he does not see these spatial forces as exerting the strongest influence on the *continued* economic vibrancy of Sheffield as a destination for industry. For Marshall, it is the unfolding interactions between the people that live in the city and work in the industry that leads to the creation of a space that is conducive to the establishment of new ventures. He animates a sense of recursiveness to this process by emphasizing that the economic potential of these social interactions strengthens over time, indeed, once an industry becomes settled in a space it is likely to stay there long – thereby attracting continuous flows of new arrivals.

However, in research that has employed Marshall's (1890) ideas, making up a large body of work studying the effects on entrepreneurship of a 'Marshallian cluster' (Pickernell et al., 2007) or 'Marshallian district' (Corolleur & Courlet, 2003), is a strong focus on the solely economic aspects of his ideas. This normally comprises empirical work that firstly quantifies the amount of economic benefit that is present in a space (expressed as cluster), before then attempting to establish a causal relationship between said economic benefit(s) and subsequent rates of entrepreneurship (Rocha, 2004).

2.2.2 Exemplary empirical research

As exemplified in his study of cutlery manufacture in Sheffield, Marshall (1890) conceived of the relationship between space and entrepreneurship as characterized by the economic benefits that arise as a result of clustered social and economic relations (an 'atmosphere'), set within a broader sphere of forces – he mentions a role for natural resources and institutional setting, as well as how the material fabric of Sheffield changes due to the establishment of new ventures. The subsequent literature that I can observe employing his ideas has shifted away from these multiple areas of focus, downplaying recursive economic and social relations, and instead has set out to codify different aspects of his work by investigating the effects that the provision of one or more of the economic benefits that characterized a 'Marshallian cluster' (such as suppliers, labour, knowledge) end up doing 'this' or 'that' to subsequent rates of entrepreneurship in a given space (e.g., Adler et al., 2019).

A lot of this academic work has analyzed the regional level (e.g., Rocha & Sternberg, 2005; Wennberg & Lindqvist, 2010). More in-keeping with my own

research focus on entrepreneurship in city spaces, Glaeser and Kerr (2009) mobilize Marshall's (1890) ideas to produce explanations why "some places, like Silicon Valley, seem almost magically entrepreneurial with a new startup on every street corner … [whilst] … other areas, like declining cities of the Rust Belt, appear equally starved of whatever local attributes make entrepreneurship more likely" (623-624). They employ each of the three aspects of Marshall's (1890) theory of clustering to construct a comparative schema, where they are able to attribute differences in observed rates of entrepreneurship across American cities to the number of suppliers, labour and knowledge-sharing that is already taking place in each city:

> "We look at whether entrepreneurship clusters around industries that are suppliers or customers, industries that employ similar types of labour, or industries that share ideas" (Glaeser & Kerr, 2009: 624).

The authors summarise what they found: "overall levels of local customers and suppliers are only modestly important, but new entrants seem particularly drawn to areas with many small suppliers … [and] … abundant workers in relevant occupations strongly predict entry" (Glaeser & Kerr, 2009: 623). What I therefore observe in this work is the operationalizing of Marshall's (1890) theory into a set of assumptions underpinning how "incumbent structures of each city shape the availability and flow of goods, people and ideas to new ventures" (Glaeser & Kerr, 2009: 624).

Therefore, rather than 'turning aside' from what Marshall (1890) called the 'broader movements' (seeking singular explanations in natural resources, institutional factors,

or other forms of structural determinism) to instead embrace the sociological dynamics of new venture creation (the industrial atmosphere of space). I observe here the opposite movement. This academic work codifies aspects of his theory to establish a basic causal relationship between the amount of economic benefit provided in a space and its effect upon subsequent rates of entrepreneurship. It is therefore a *functional* conception of the space and entrepreneurship relationship that seeks to quantify relations (e.g. Pittaway, 2005) – encapsulated in the findings that Silicon Valley has more entrepreneurship than elsewhere because it has more suppliers and more workers in relevant occupations.

Adler et al. (2019) take these ideas further, not just establishing causal relations but also producing specific recommendations for how a city (or parts of a city) should be 'spatially organized' to be more like places such as Silicon Valley. They offer detailed prescriptions for how urban governance can provide infrastructures that clusters the suppliers, workers and knowledge that are conducive for high rates of entrepreneurship. The authors pursue this project in their empirical study of Swedish cities of Malmö, Göteborg and Lund, where they find entrepreneurship in these cities "heavily concentrated in relatively small groups of metros that provide assets and capacity in the form of diverse pools of talent, diverse groups of firms, leading edge research universities and knowledge institutions" (128). They then extrapolate from this that entrepreneurship is "the product of differing underlying spatial mechanisms" (123) – what they also call 'Marshallian mechanisms.' From this, they propose a proactive role for city-administrators:

> "The city-region or broad metropolitan level must bring together and organize the labour market and talent; a wide array of firms that function as

customers; end-users and suppliers; universities and knowledge institutions; and other key inputs" (Adler et al., 2019: 123).

In Adler et al. (2019) I witness Marshall's (1890) theory again codified into various economic aspects. But then, turned into a set of key inputs (such as knowledge) to be provided by city administrators through spatial mechanisms (such as a university), and delivered to entrepreneurs in the right places (through the co-location of universities with premises for entrepreneurship in a relatively small designated part of the city). These assumptions – that a given space is able to produce entrepreneurship formally or formalistically through the design and configuration of its urban infrastructure – is therefore, again, a functional conception of the space-entrepreneurship relationship (e.g. Pittaway, 2005). Critics of this approach have suggested that these sorts of formulations can produce empirical findings that suffer from a form of circular reasoning (e.g. Dimov, 2011), and I can observe this in Adler et al.:

> "There are several key mechanisms that underlie the geographic clustering of entrepreneurial activity and innovation. Such activities cluster because entrepreneurs and innovators derive economic benefits from clustering" (Adler et al., 2019: 122).

The above extract offers one explanation why entrepreneurship can become 'unbearably elusive' (Dimov, 2011), in this instance through attempts at establishing causal relations between space and entrepreneurship as both Adler et al. (2019) and Glaeser and Kerr (2009) do.

Further, this functional language of 'inputs' and 'spatial mechanisms,' or 'incumbent structures,' with its emphasis on urban governance as determining entrepreneurship, can actually leave very little room for creativity. Indeed, this was pointed out by Schumpter (1947) who argued that entrepreneurship, viewed as creative response, "creates situations that no deterministic credo avails against" (150). This points to the crucial problem with the functionalist proposals of the empirical studies I have reviewed: they necessarily assume that economic benefits provided by clusters are always objective, in the sense that the inputs always "are what they are" (Baker & Nelson, 2005: 331), whilst also being unproblematically given through spatial mechanisms. This is an understanding that entrepreneurs will either always have what they need, or they simply will not. From this perspective, it is not entrepreneurs that enact changes to spaces – and Marshall (1890) originally envisaged this as a collective process where one man can have an idea and then work on it with others – but rather the objective features of the space itself, or more specifically, the precise and measurable configuring activities of those charged with its administration (Audretsch et al., 2015; Woolley, 2014).

In the empirical studies I have reviewed, mobilizing Marshall's (1890) notion of spatial clustering, I see attempts to take his theory of how economic relations have an important social aspect, leading to the collective founding of new ventures that can introduce spatial changes, and simplify these ideas down to a more straightforward structural determinism that seeks to explain a cause-and-effect. This strategy typified by the use of terms such as 'Marshallian mechanism' (Adler et al., 2019). I have also shown that employing this functionalist language of inputs, mechanisms and structures loses much the sense of the fluidity of socio-economic interactivity and the multiplicity of spatial forces that I identified in Marshall's

account. Rather than embrace his notion of potential recursivity to the entrepreneurial process, I have so far encountered empirical work that produces a one-sided arrow (space as something that is 'out there' exerting singular influence on entrepreneurship) – something which Marshall took active care to avoid.

2.2.3 Critical reflection in terms of my research questions

I seek a conceptualization of how space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship. I in Marshall (1890), I saw that whilst the economic benefits of clustering are important for understanding how new ventures come into being, these benefits that are not so much given by existing conditions as they are produced through the agency of individuals operating within their wider spheres of social relations. Marshall elaborated this process as contingent on an 'atmosphere,' which offered us a way of beginning to apprehend a partial role for given spatial conditions but *also* an appreciation of how humans interrelate in a space to produce new economic forms that can lead to continuous spatial transformations.

However, Marshall's (1890) nuanced account has given way to more recent economic formalization in empirical studies that are inspired by his work. As I have shown, these studies merely code a space through its measurable aspects. The empirical approaches I have reviewed that employ his ideas have looked at the structural determinants of the economic context more than the multiplicity of its spatial characteristics and relations. For example, while they do attribute a role for institutions this is only as the 'makers' of entrepreneurship by providing the required economic inputs through mechanisms. This empirical research is therefore couched in functional principles, and whilst this means that it is able to deal partially with the

first part of my research question (how a space shapes entrepreneurship), it is not so equipped to deal meaningfully with the latter.

Much of this issue revolves around the problem of 'inputs' for entrepreneurship having to be understood as necessarily objectively existing as well as unproblematically given – which are a set of assumptions that make it difficult to apprehend how a space that is devoid of these inputs could ever witness the emergence of entrepreneurship. I therefore see space here reduced too much down to measurable and objective elements: entrepreneurial action as an inevitable consequence of the inputs space provides. This conception creates issues for understanding how entrepreneurs enact change in spaces that are characterized by a lack of institutional oversight – it cannot provide answers to how spaces that are not endowed with inputs such as knowledge institutions, or a pool of skilled labor, or suppliers – or any administrative vision of how they might be spatially organized – may themselves be conducive to a different form of entrepreneurship.

In summary, the feeling of the importance of the space itself and especially the people that occupy it, which started to come through in Marshall's (1890) account of Sheffield, is replaced by more abstract and codified representations as inputs or mechanisms. In so doing so, the character of a space; it's 'feel,' which Marshal elicited through careful qualitative inquiry (Potter & Watts, 2014), is supplanted or lost in the empirical studies employing his ideas. This means that this literature, especially later empirical studies, does too little for me and my research question. What is especially missing is a broader subjective engagement with space and its material aspects and landscapes, and a second big tradition in entrepreneurship

studies does not start with a realist conception of space (as out there, providing inputs), but with the notion that space is something that has to be interpreted by entrepreneurial subjects as they enact spatial change themselves.

2.3 Individual enactment: entrepreneurial spaces as interpretive phenomena

My second approach for studying the relationship between entrepreneurship and space draws upon the concept of individual enactment. A key distinction between this approach and the former is that it sees entrepreneurs as the agents that give space life and animation primarily through the creation of new meaning. Here, the various aspects of a space are no longer objectively given and precisely measurable but are open to subjective interpretation which can produce new and/or unexpected economic trajectories. While there is a long intellectual history leading up to the development of interpretivist thinking in business and management studies, the source especially for the early entrepreneurship work is Karl Weick (1979).

2.3.1 Intellectual sources

Karl Weick's (1979) *The social psychology of organizing*, is frequently cited in interpretive approaches to entrepreneurship research, as well as subsequent philosophically inspired extensions (Alverez & Barney, 2007; Gartner et al., 1992; Hjorth & Johannisson, 2008; Steyaert, 2007; Wood & McKinley, 2010). In this text Weick, observing the dominance of management research assuming that "structure influences people, their actions, and their decisions" (1979: 92), proposes individual enactment as an alternative understanding by employing interpretive principles "to depict the subjective origin of organizational realities" (153). Specifically, Weick is seeking a way of conceptualizing how individuals 'act upon' rather than are

'determined by' their surroundings: the core of his argument is that the creation of new organizational forms is actually the *output* of how individuals interpret their world and not the result of external inputs that seek to control and direct action (166).

Weick (1979) offers a way of departing radically from the structural determinism inherent in the functionalist empirical studies I have reviewed so far. His theory of individual enactment rejects that there is a singular or fixed environment that is 'out there,' external to human agents but nonetheless determining their conduct – and he argues that this is because no individual would ever be able to comprehend all the facts about that fixed environment to respond to it unequivocally (183). Enactment instead advances the idea that individuals actually ignore a lot of their surroundings choosing to attend to only selected aspects. Weick proposes that this process is made up of three interrelated actions: *ii)* individuals choose to perceive certain aspects of their surroundings; *ii)* they then interpret these selected aspects, investing them with subjective meaning; *iii)* proceeding to act in accordance with these interpretations (see Weick, 1979: 45, 166):

> "en*act*ment … emphasize[s] that managers construct, rearrange, single out, and demolish many objective features of their surroundings. When people act, they … literally create their own constraints. This holds true whether those constraints are created in fantasy … or created in actuality" (Weick, 1979: 164, emphasis in original).

This idea that enactment can create new constraints does not see action as realizing an unbroken linear movement from point A to point B. Rather, it is an attempt to apprehend how something can occur repeatedly in organizational life. Weick (1979) is explicit about this, and invokes various images such as a fireman constantly shovelling coal unevenly into a steam locomotive (making it more difficult for themselves to preserve steam pressure), the music producer with a penchant for overengineering their tracks, producing repetitive music that dissuades listeners, as well as the physician whose non-subtle diagnostic procedures contribute to patient iatrogenesis – suggesting that each comprises an example of how "people in organizations *repeatedly* impose that which they later claim imposes on them" (Weick, 1979: 153, emphasis added). This suggests that individual enactment occurs repeatedly as *re-enactment* (91-92), and therefore implies a recursive process.

In terms of entrepreneurship scholarship, Weick's (1979) theory has been mobilized as a way of studying entrepreneurship not as a passive inheritance – something that can be controlled by existing conditions and therefore inevitable – but rather as an individual attempt to repeatedly conceptualize a future that enacts a new or different set of conditions (e.g. Alverez & Barney, 2007; Gartner, 1993; Wood & McKinley, 2010), which has especially orientated research efforts toward revealing the internal processes how entrepreneurial subjects make decisions about what parts of their surroundings they want to select for attention and respond to (Fletcher, 2004).

Instead of looking for the economic elements of a space that function as inputs or mechanisms for entrepreneurship, the idea of enactment promotes the search for how individual entrepreneurs enlist material aspects that mark out a space in their

attempts to creatively enact it in a new or different way, whether that be through an original interpretation of the material features of an individual building (Anderson, 2000) or the imaginative mobilizing of a town's history to articulate a new economic trajectory (Anderson et al., 2019). The premise of these spatial studies is that enactment opens up the possibility for a multiplicity of meanings to be written (and then entrepreneurially pursued), across the same space – the idea that different people will 'construct, rearrange, single out, or demolish' their environments differently (e.g. Weick); different spatial interpretations produce different entrepreneurial outcomes (Fletcher, 2006). The interpretive principles that underscore enactment (see also, Daft & Weick, 1984) thus emphasize that researchers must get in as close as possible to the entrepreneurial phenomena they observe so that they can begin to apprehend the internal cognitive 'gymnastics' involved (Jones & Spicer, 2009). The lending of new meaning to 'things' to bring about entrepreneurial change:

> "Entrepreneurship is not *caused* … [but rather is] … a *choice* that certain individuals make. Interpretivism seeks to understand that choice and, thus, the action that it instigates" (Packard, 2017: 538, emphasis in original).

Cognizant with this idea, various qualitative techniques – with interviewing the most common (Leitch et al., 2010) – are usually employed to capture the minutiae of how entrepreneurs interpret features of their spatial surroundings as they attempt to enact new ventures (e.g. Gill & Larson, 2014). In regard to my own inquiry, the interpretive ideals underlying enactment permit movement beyond the assumption that a space either has the inputs that entrepreneurship requires, or it does not (e.g.

Baker & Nelson, 2005). Rather than studying space as objectively existing –
something counted and measured, drawing causal inferences between given
economic inputs and entrepreneurial rates – the emphasis has shifted to attempts to
gain a qualitative understanding of how a space is given life and animation at the
hands of the 'interpretive repertoires' of individuals (Knox et al., 2021).

Therefore, I see possible spatial interpretations of Weick's (1979) theory of
enactment as holding much promise for revealing the subjective processes that
entrepreneurs use their agency to reimagine and remake spaces which are
downtrodden or administratively overlooked. Theoretically offering a way of
overcoming the binary conditions (either the inputs exist, or they do not) presented
by the structural determinism inherent in the previous empirical studies I have
reviewed.

2.3.2 Exemplary empirical research

Anderson (2000) mobilizes Weick's (1979) theory of enactment to investigate how
individual interpretive processes can produce change in what he calls 'peripheral
spaces.' Of particular interest here in regard to my own research is his empirical
focus on the entrepreneurial renewal of a historic building in a dilapidated condition
(i.e. akin to my own study of the Cain's Brewery): Anderson's (2000) research
investigates an entrepreneur purchasing an 'ancient semi-derelict castle' in Scotland
in such a poor state of repair that it apparently "not even sufficiently interesting to
have value for historians" (100).

The focus of Anderson's (2000) work is to provide an interpretive account of how this Scottish castle was entrepreneurially enacted as a wedding venue. He describes a process whereby the entrepreneurial subject (whom he characterizes as an English 'outsider') perceived selected material aspects of the castle to "recognize the old values" (104) such as how a flickering candlelight danced off the stonemasonry of the banquet hall and crypt. The entrepreneur created new interpretations of these material features: envisaging how its crumbling exterior walls lent an atmospheric quality that was appropriate to the old-fashioned pomp and ceremony of weddings. He then entrepreneurially enacted the castle as this traditional building for engaged couples to get married in through the use of costumes, velvet drapes and new lighting techniques – all efforts that comprised an entrepreneurial "recreation of old redundant values that had not been entirely 'forgotten'" (104). Anderson goes on to elaborate the implications of employing this interpretive frame:

> "The … apparent framework of object (the environment) and subject (the entrepreneur) is not an object-subject relationship at all. The field of study is a subject-subject relationship … What one saw in the indicative case studies is that the environment is actually enacted and consequently becomes a 'subject' (Anderson, 2000: 105).

For Anderson, then, entrepreneurship is not determined by the objective features of a space. Rather, space is enacted by entrepreneurs through the "management of meaning to create a new entity" (2000: 104). A new entrepreneurial future for this ruined and outmoded building was premised upon a subjective process whereby someone was able to come along and produce new interpretation of its material

aspects, eventually enacting a new but hitherto concealed economic trajectory for it: "his entrepreneurial skill was in recognizing the opportunity … [by taking] … a latent value form of tradition, heritage and antiquity and transforming it into an appropriate form for harvesting benefit" (100). Anderson cautions that this process is therefore neither straightforward nor easy:

> "The degree of subjective interpretation involved … may help to explain why there are relatively few entrepreneurs, since few people are equipped with this constructive imagination. (It also helps to explain why economic theory is so limited in explaining entrepreneurship). The entrepreneurial process was characterized by interpretation; the subjective recognition of value in the environment and the enactment in the business form was a reflection of their subjective understanding and interpretation" (Anderson, 2000: 105).

Here, Anderson (2000) is illustrating exactly how an interpretive focus can allow for new kinds of entrepreneurial investigations into the (re)enactment of economically disadvantaged places. Indeed, for Anderson, the crucial fact is that it is not possible to explain the entrepreneurial renewal of this 'tumble-down' castle by employing functionalist principles of structural determinism (which he refers to as 'economic theory'): indeed, the castle, "whilst it has physical manifestations, these are not deterministic" (104). This is because its dilapidated state theoretically creates the situation where there is not any institutional vision for the space, and therefore not any economic inputs to be provided – and then the only conclusion to arrive at is that entrepreneurship will not emerge in this space because it is not able to provide any of the things that entrepreneurship requires (Baker & Nelson, 2005).

So what Anderson (2000) is offering, conversely, is an account of how an entrepreneurial subject drew on their interpretive repertoire to enact spatial change in a way that diverged from (rather than unfolded in accordance with) what Weick calls "the objective features of their surroundings" (1979: 164). Indeed, in Anderson's (2000) example it was the material features of the castle that his entrepreneurial subject was able to attribute new meaning to that others were unable: "the key to the operation was the use of the old crypt, but this was a damp musty old cellar, with low-barrelled ceiling and initially not even equipped with an electric light" (100).

This account of entrepreneurship privileges subjective knowing and places the individual at the centre of new venture creation (Fletcher, 2006). The task now is to understand where this superior interpretive ability might come from. But Anderson (2000) doesn't really say – apart from attributing it at least partly to the fact that the entrepreneur who enacted the space was not a local, and therefore able to see things differently to locals. This means my second literature occupies the opposite extreme than the first; now, it is not space itself providing inputs, but rather:

> "Individuals that are the source of opportunities. Entrepreneurship, then, is an agentic rather than a purely social function, and can, in fact, *occur even in social isolation*" (Packard, 2017: 540, emphasis added).

Indeed, this is strongly alluded to by Anderson who remarks that "it seems to take some special set of skills to recognize these opportunities, most likely a reflection of the uniqueness of us as individuals" (2000, 103). But favoring the agency of the

individual entrepreneur to this extent – with accompanying remarks implying their rare creative qualities or characteristics – can mean that this approach produces a heroic imagery of the individual entrepreneur organizing the world around them (Johnsen & Sorenson, 2017). At the extreme, this can reify the entrepreneur as superior visionary individual that can create 'something from nothing' (Jones & Spicer, 2009). And it is for this reason that research employing interpretive principles can sometimes be too strongly couched in a "deeply rooted Cartesian reflex … [of giving] … priority to the individual" (Steyaert, 2007: 460). Not always able to fully acknowledge the multiplicity of spatial relations (whether social, material, institutional) that make up 'the real world' (Fletcher, 2006: 421), and which characterize the full spectrum of entrepreneurial (re)enactment (e.g. Holm & Beyes, 2022).

This empirical account therefore signals a turn to a more nuanced conception of the relations between entrepreneurship and space, where entrepreneurship is not simply provided for but rather comes into being through the entrepreneurial subject interpreting their surroundings to create new meaning. However, whilst some consideration is given to the space itself – in this case, the material of the castle (such as its stonemasonry in the crypt) are recruited to show how the possibility for entrepreneurship is formulated by attending to selected spatial aspects. In Anderson's (2000) study, a sense for the involvement of wider spatial interactions in the entrepreneurial process (the enabling or constraining role of social others, or institutions, for instance) is mostly downplayed or absent, these becoming only the benign spectators of entrepreneurship, or the eventual customers.

2.3.3 Critical reflection in terms of my research questions

My research question concerns an interrelation of space and entrepreneurship, meaning that I seek not a one directional conceptualization but a formulation able to capture a continuous interrelating: apprehending how multiple spatial characteristics give rise to entrepreneurship and, in turn, how entrepreneurship transforms space. I have so far suggested that research investigating the effects of clusters on entrepreneurship addresses partially the former part of this question, employing the principles of structural determinism to establish a cause-and-effect where entrepreneurship is the function of the inputs provided by a space. Space 'does things' to entrepreneurship.

The second perspective I have reviewed, mobilizing Weick's (1979) theory of enactment, has revealed more the subjective intricacies that underscore entrepreneurship, and therefore emphasizes the second aspect of my research question: how entrepreneurship shapes space. But, whilst the interpretivist principles that this approach embodies are really useful for understanding how subjects individually enlist their material surroundings differently in the process of enacting change, empirical studies that have employed these ideas emphasize too much a situation where "each place can become its own goldmine" (Berglund et al., 2016: 77). This lends itself to an account of spatial change unilaterally enacted at the hands of the individual entrepreneur, and what this means is that we return once again to the one-sided arrow, but this time inverted: space is enacted by entrepreneurs, and thus, entrepreneurship 'does things' to a space. Especially, Anderson's (2000) implying of an unencumbered entrepreneurial movement from point A to point B,

means that I again lose the sense of any recursivity which I did observe initially in Weick's (1979) account of enactment as a continuous process.

So far, I have reviewed a literature that emphasized too much how space determines entrepreneurship, and conversely, another that can paint an image of a space as simply enacted at the hands of the individual entrepreneur. It is against the backdrop of these two opposing positions that I now move to my third literature, which promotes the 'embeddedness' of entrepreneurial action. This perspective attempts to animate how entrepreneurship comes about through the interactions that take place between individual entrepreneurs and their spatial surrounds.

2.4 Concepts of embeddedness: examining the interplay

My third approach for studying the relationship between entrepreneurship and space promotes the embeddedness of entrepreneurship. This approach investigates how entrepreneurial action is situated in and therefore a product of the specific material, social, cultural, and institutional conditions that can distinguish a space. The intellectual source for this work is Mark Granovetter (1985).

2.4.1 Intellectual sources

Mark Granovetter's (1985) *The problem of embeddedness* is the foundational text for studies that promote the embeddedness of entrepreneurship (Wigren-Kristoferson et al., 2022). Granovetter was concerned with "the extent to which economic action is embedded in structures of social relations in modern industrial society" (1985: 481), arguing that theoretical and empirical accounts of economic action have historically

occupied two extremes: resulting in the problem of an 'over-socialized' or 'under-socialized' view of human behavior.

Granovetter (1985) stipulates a problem that has some implications for the binary positions of the two literatures I have reviewed thus far. For instance, that the structural determinism employed by empirical studies of spatial clusters produces what he calls an over-socialized account where "conceptions of how society influences individual behavior are rather mechanical … an external force that, like the deists' God, sets things in motion and has no further effects" (486). And if Granovetter's notion of over-socialization values the primacy of structural determinism, then under-socialization proposes the opposite, and I observed this in the interpretivism of the individual enactment literature. For Granovetter, here individual agency can be "abstracted out of social context" (487) by privileging the knowing subject, producing accounts where "behavioral patterns have been internalized and ongoing social relations have only a peripheral effect" (485).

Granovetter (1985) argues that both of these approaches "merge in their atomization of actors from immediate social context" (485):

> "A fruitful analysis of human action requires us to avoid the atomization implicit in the theoretical extremes of over- and undersocialized conceptions. Actors do not adhere slavishly to a script written for them, nor do they behave or decide as atoms outside a social context" (Granovetter, 1985: 487).

He then offers a concept that avoids subscribing to either of these two extremes by promoting human behavior as "embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations" (Granovetter, 1985: 487). In his text, he elaborates his thinking through the example of preventing malfeasance in the market, arguing that economic transactions are not *just* regulated by institutional governance nor individualistic notions of a moral selfhood. Rather, it is both: how we conduct ourselves in economic transactions is partly dictated by legislation, partly by our own sense of morality, but these two are always tempered (and sometimes radically altered by) the social expectations and interactions that define the context that we find ourselves transacting in. Embeddedness thus animates an account of human action as a continuously unfolding socio-economic form of interactive collaboration, where the ongoing development of a capitalist society is:

> "Not a once-for-all influence but an ongoing process, continuously constructed and reconstructed during interaction. It not only shapes its members but also is shaped by them, in part for their own strategic reasons" (Granovetter, 1985: 486).

I sense a potential in Granovetter (1985) to move beyond the one-sided arrow that has characterized my search so far. His embeddedness concept offers the tools for apprehending how the formulation and pursuit of individual courses of action always takes place in relation to social others: it is through one's social ties that ideas might get formulated or discarded, then are either helped along, sometimes inhibited or even denied through what he calls these 'structures of social relations.'

Granovetter's (1985) ideas have been mobilized to understand how "entrepreneurial activities are embedded, meaning that they are situated in contexts that enable and/or constrain certain activities, actions and strategies" (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019: 1011). This project started by inquiring into the role of 'interpersonal ties' which is the idea that a new venture is most likely to be successful when it is formulated and pursued by individuals who are actively involved in a given locale's social network of relations (Jack & Anderson, 2002). Entrepreneurs derive specific advantages from their socially 'embedded' position such as gaining access to idiosyncratic information, access to resources on favorable terms and legitimizing their new venture (Thornton, 1999).

These early ideas have since been developed to investigate the embeddedness of entrepreneurs in wider contexts. Even though Granovetter (1985) does not spatialize the social matrix in which he sees people embedded in, the broad principles of his theory have been employed in entrepreneurship scholarship to investigate how entrepreneurial action is situated in (and thus a product of) various social, cultural and institutional and material contexts:

> "The study of the social, material and institutional embeddedness of
> entrepreneurship has enhanced our general understanding of the
> heterogeneity of entrepreneurial responses to external conditions, as well as
> demonstrating how structural factors influence entrepreneurial processes at
> the micro-level" (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019: 1012).

When promoting this embeddedness of entrepreneurial action, the various constituents of spatial context are theorized as a set of 'external conditions' generating heterogeneous responses as well as the 'structural factors' (understood as Granovetter's (1985) structure of social relations), influencing how entrepreneurial processes play out on the 'micro-level.' This conception can be explained by visualizing entrepreneurial contexts as host to bundles of latent resources (with *latent* being the operative word) – with the entrepreneurial work as both the identification and creative recombination of these resources (Muller & Korsgaard, 2018).

Interpretations of Granovetter's (1985) work could therefore investigate the intersection of context and entrepreneurship by emulating his attempts at resisting any 'once-for-all' influence on either side. Promoting the embeddedness of entrepreneurial action permitting for examinations into "the interplay between agency and structure, linking individual constructions of enactment to the societal level" (Fletcher, 2006: 426-427). The potential of this third tranche of literature for my research lies in these connective qualities: this perspective does not deny that the environment can hold useful inputs (or, resources) for entrepreneurship, but neither does it make the totalizing assumption that these objectively exist and can be unproblematically provided through any form of mechanism or the like.

Translating these ideas into a spatial formulation. The extent an individual is *embedded* in a space influences how they are able interpret its material landscapes, or cultural codes, or institutional conditions, to generate novelty (leading to 'heterogeneity' in entrepreneurial responses). Whilst the extent they are also embedded in the 'structure' of social relations in space affects their ability to work

with others (on the 'micro-level') in their subsequent efforts to enact their novel visions:

> "The finite set of resources afforded by the spatial context of the entrepreneurial activities may limit an entrepreneur's freedom to create any type of venture imaginable … [because] … embeddedness strongly influences entrepreneurial decisions about what to produce, whom to collaborate with, whom to hire and which markets to serve" (Muller & Korsgaard, 2018: 247).

This permits a view of space as the site of entrepreneurial potential, but only to those who are at once familiar enough with its multiple idiosyncrasies to know what might work, and at the same time also equipped with the requisite connections and skills to seize upon this and garner enough support to make their tentative entrepreneurial concept a reality. It is from this perspective that spatialized approaches envisage "entrepreneurial embeddedness, the connections to place and community, becomes the situated condition from which new entrepreneurial combinations arise" (McKeever et al., 2015: 51). Rather, the possibility for entrepreneurship is contingent on an individual being familiar with the space itself as only then will they be able to exercise their agency by identifying and then realizing its entrepreneurial latency.

This can place additional demands on researchers themselves to be 'familiar' with space (Korsgaard et al., 2015). In this third literature, I therefore see a shift towards a suite of qualitative techniques that augment interviewing (which still remain the

principle technique) with more spatially sensitive (and sometimes, longitudinal) insights afforded by observation, documentary analysis, and other ethnographically inspired techniques (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2022).

In sum, promoting the embeddedness of entrepreneurship holds promise for highlighting the shaping influence of a space on entrepreneurship, whilst also conferring more of a role for social others than I have seen in previous literatures. However, whether it is able to animate a truly recursive set of interrelationships remains to be seen – in the contemporary interpretations of Granovetter's (1985) work that I have observed so far are indications of a more enthusiastic take up of how human action is 'shaped by' its surroundings, exemplified in the idea of embeddedness as an entrepreneurial contingency (e.g. Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2022), but with perhaps less interest in the 'shaping' possibilities of human action.

2.4.2 Exemplary empirical research

Inquiry into the embeddedness of entrepreneurial action has focused especially on how entrepreneurship emerges in spaces that are economically underdeveloped. This is exemplified in an empirical study by Korsgaard et al. (2015) situated on a remote island in Denmark. These authors suggest that this isolated location "experienced the dark side of the unequal regional developments that characterize late modern society" (579). Their central point being "opportunities do not necessarily present themselves in abundance. They may need to be created" (580). For Korsgaard et al. (2015), the practices that lead to this entrepreneurial creation are embedded in the specific spatial peculiarities of this island and its towns:

"Entrepreneurs access the local resources of the physical, historical and cultural landscapes through … [their] … embeddedness. By being and living in the place, the entrepreneurs become intimately acquainted with the landscapes of their island settings. And this knowledge and acquaintance is leveraged by the entrepreneurs to create products that articulate the particularities of the place" (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 586).

Korsgaard et al. (2015) therefore equate embeddedness with living (or having lived) on the island for a prolonged period of time, and they suggest that these living circumstances confer two crucial advantages for entrepreneurship. Firstly, embeddedness helps entrepreneurs to sharpen their interpretive repertoires: their familiarity allows them to interpret spatial surroundings in a finely-tuned way – like a local person would – so that they can create ventures that are in-keeping with the 'peculiarities' of the space. Secondly and relatedly, when entrepreneurs are embedded, they become party to important knowledge: "a strong understanding of the resources … [on the island] … and how to access these resources" (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 586). This is seen as especially important due to the fact that local resources are seen not as (solely) of economic origin – which would suggest a straightforward transaction or extraction – but rather reside also in the 'physical, historical and cultural landscapes' of the island. Korsgaard and colleagues elaborate further on what they mean here:

"Places … are formations of material elements such as landscapes, infrastructure and location in physical space and socialized elements such as meanings and experiences that make the material elements appear

meaningful for those intimately familiar with (embedded in) the place"

(Korsgaard et al., 2015: 587).

Korsgaard et al. (2015) propose that embeddedness, understood as this long-standing familiarity with a space, offers a lens for unpacking how "rural entrepreneurs enacted opportunities in local places" (576). For the authors, it was only resident entrepreneurs who were able to discern any possibility among their island surroundings, make an informed assessment on its likely reception among the community and then know how to go about making that possibility a reality. In the case of this characteristically under-resourced Danish island, being embedded was the pre-condition for entrepreneurs to be:

> "Highly creative in their use and recombination of resources, in particular
> with regard to extracting as much value from the localized resources as
> possible. This was done primarily by combining physical resources with
> elaborate narratives that often-included references to the place of the
> ventures" (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 593).

For Korsgaard et al., (2015), the remote Danish island is a place that is mostly inhibitive to entrepreneurial opportunity for outsiders. But that does not mean that the possibility for entrepreneurship is absent, rather, "entrepreneurial ventures in rural areas will need to benefit from using local resource bases" (592). The extent that an individual is embedded has a direct bearing on their ability to entrepreneurially mobilize the specifically local resource base. This is a view which

emphasizes embeddedness as an entrepreneurial contingency (e.g., Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2022).

Compared to my previous literature, this approach advances a more nuanced understanding of the interrelations of space and entrepreneurship. Useful resources (or inputs) are not just 'out there,' but are partly concealed; it therefore takes a while to get familiar with a space to know how to get at them and put them to entrepreneurial use. Similarly, interpretive repertoires are formed not in isolation – individually formulated and projected onto the world – but are actively honed via an ongoing participation. And Korsgaard et al. are cautious to show that this does not mean that agency is diminished, but rather making the right decisions about the aspects of a space that should be selected for entrepreneurial attention is contingent on a keen awareness of the socialized processes that make material elements of a space appear meaningful to local inhabitants.

However, whilst I can see the consideration for social others in the above, this research does not elaborate much of an interactive process of entrepreneurial co-creation. The social milieu that surrounds the entrepreneurial enactment that Korsgaard and colleagues describe, operates mostly here as a gatekeeper or a sounding board ensuring that new ventures retain a semblance of the particularities of the island deemed acceptable by the local community, rather than having any real active involvement in the entrepreneurial process as a truly collective creative event. This comes through in some of the examples of entrepreneurship that the authors provide: a particular jam made from an indigenous berry employing local pickling techniques in the recipe; a vineyard that harnesses the local terroir to produce

unconventional wines. For this reason, I wonder if this research goes quite far enough in conceptually animating the back-and-forth that Granovetter (1985) was so keen to achieve; broadly translated here as entrepreneurship continuously constructed *and re-constructed* in collaboration with others; a process shaped by space but also shaping new spatial trajectories.

McKeever and colleagues tackle directly this issue of "entrepreneurial embeddedness as a "one-way relationship" (2015: 50), proposing to study "the actual relationship and dynamics between entrepreneurs and the communities in which they operate" (50). The authors envisage that their account of "entrepreneurship as '*situated enactment'* extends existing concepts of embeddedness" (51, emphasis added) and they set out to provide a more processually-informed, interactive application of Granovetter's (1985) ideas by investigating how "entrepreneurial agency, as embedded in the community, modifies that community" (51). They locate their study in what they call a 'depleted place,' which was once host to much manufacturing activity of auto-parts, textiles and foodstuffs. In the years leading up to the research, the space experienced a rapid decline of economic activity due to the relocation of facilities coupled with economic crises, leaving many skilled employees out of work and producing a sense of 'malaise' among the general populace with no solution from urban governance immediately forthcoming – circumstances that are not dissimilar to my own research sites of the Cain's Brewery and the wider Baltic Triangle.

For McKeever et al., "being embedded means being enmeshed, entangled and engaged with the meanings, the purposes and identities of place" (2015: 61).

Cognizant with this idea, the entrepreneurial practices that they elaborate on in their study are firmly located within the daily economic, social and institutional routines and circumstances that make up the research site. The authors describe how local entrepreneurs used their intimate knowledge and connections to cultivate creative responses to unique spatial circumstances presented by their depleted community; often emphasizing how material transformations instigated wider social, cultural and institutional change in the community. They elaborate examples such as a collective of local entrepreneurs building a shopping centre on the foundations of a disused factory and offering a nominal rent to other nascent ventures (60); as well as a case of an individual purchasing a brownfield site for redevelopment as a hotel, who engaged local councillors to provide funding when European Union regeneration monies were not forthcoming, and contracted the construction to a local community trust who provided out-of-work labourers to build it (59). These entrepreneurs were said to be 'embedded' in the sense that they could initially formulate their venture, and then pitch it to others, in a fashion that was in-tune with local sentiment and therefore able to galvanize the involvement and/or support of the wider community:

> "Entrepreneurial embeddedness helped them [the entrepreneurs] to understand the marketplace, the labour market, political priorities and business opportunities which would work for the community. They knew the limitations of available resources and the local potential. This knowledge empowered the community to become involved" (McKeever et al., 2015: 62).

The authors here see embeddedness as the key enabling factor and as something that is contingent on the entrepreneurial subject(s) living in the area. As before, the

entrepreneurship they observe is not something that they believe could have been so easily realized by anyone coming from outside:

> "Entrepreneurs lived, worked and socialized in the fishbowls of … [the research site] … this local 'belonging' made their particular repertoire of choices, actions and reactions both appropriate and possible (McKeever et al. 2015: 61).

For McKeever et al., (2015) it was the embedded condition of the people responsible for entrepreneurship that meant they were able to get an initial sense, and then find the words for "what they saw as the understood but unarticulated needs of the community" (McKeever et al., 2015: 61). Their actions engaging "community members in collective action by providing identities and cultural frames which made sense of circumstances and motivated local support" (61). Crucially, they were only able to enact their entrepreneurial visions by "crossing the boundary between business, community and politics, drawing upon their embeddedness in these spheres to create these new possibilities" (61).

In McKeever et al., (2015), promoting the concept of entrepreneurial embeddedness permits for an appreciation of how entrepreneurship emerges within constellations of forces in a space (they focus on social, cultural and institutional), also producing changes to these forces. For example, the shopping centre increased new economic activity in the area, whilst the hotel led to the re-skilling of the workforce. The authors capture the growing sense of purpose among the community's inhabitants and local authorities as demonstrate of the much broader project of entrepreneurship

as a dynamic force of spatial change: "what was being collectively achieved was a gradual redefinition of community and economy" (McKeever et al., 2015: 62).

So, whilst we saw in Korsgaard et al.'s (2015) study individuals leveraging their embedded position to 'extract' the local resources mostly likely to lead to the economic success of new products. In this account we find a more serious engagement with the possibility of an entrepreneurial space as *collaboratively* produced; that cannot take place without the involvement of the community and support from local institutional actors:

> "They [the entrepreneurs] were not "extracting" i.e. mining the local community for self-serving purposes. It really seemed to be more of a building process, where they were enabling the community to enact a better brighter environment and solve a range of social and economic issues through entrepreneurship" (McKeever et al., 2015: 59).

This tentatively points towards the recursivity of relations that I am seeking, and indeed, McKeever et al. (2015) invoke this explicitly in their text: "communities can be shaped by entrepreneurship, but communities also shape and form entrepreneurial outcomes" (62). Especially, I find a role for the historical characteristics of a space but not so much as something determining entrepreneurship: the emphasis here is that any entrepreneurial re-articulation of a new or different socio-economic trajectory for this depleted place must be somehow sensitive to what came before to galvanize the necessary support for the change it wishes to instigate. By employing the concept of embeddedness, then, McKeever et al. (2015) reveal how

entrepreneurship can be understood as situated enactment: entangled with the specific social, institutional, cultural and historic conditions of the community it seeks to change.

However, promoting the embeddedness of entrepreneurial action can tend to produce insights that are perhaps too limited to describing *only* these very specific spatial circumstances in and through which particular entrepreneurial ventures is situated and produced (Fletcher, 2006). Especially, the talk of the empirical site as the 'fishbowl,' as well as another study situated on an 'island,' could be seen as metaphors for the spatial isolation that the embeddedness concept can imply, and I envisage that this creates two issues that pertain to my research.

Firstly, the way that the embeddedness concept works in both of these examples is by assuming that spatial conditions are given and that the entrepreneurs job is simply to fit in. This views embeddedness as a mostly static fact happening in a narrowly defined spatial context that an individual must become familiar with to unlock access to local resources (e.g. Korsgaard et al., 2015). This has some implications for animating how action alters the fabric of a space because it means embeddedness is only treated as the more-or-less constant enabling condition permitting entrepreneurship to repeatedly happen – but not actually changing these contingent conditions. So, whilst the latter empirical studies I have reviewed begin to animate a sense for recursivity (space shaping and shaped by entrepreneurship) they do not quite go far enough in discussing the processual *consequences* of this. Both of the studies I have reviewed see entrepreneurship still too much as a linear process, formulated and enacted by individuals whose position in the community is privileged

enough to figure out what works in a given space and then recruit others to share in their vision and realize its objectives. There is not so much of a back-and-forth, or an ebbing and flowing, as entrepreneurship is constructed and *re*-constructed through continuous interaction (despite the claims of McKeever et al.). In the papers I have reviewed the local community and cultural or institutional context that an entrepreneur must become familiar with to enact their visions stays more-or-less the same regardless of the amount of successful entrepreneurship that takes place. This overlooks that entrepreneurship, even if it seeks to preserve certain aspects of a space, will generate transformative and disruptive spatial consequences that can enable but also inhibit *further* entrepreneurial efforts.

Secondly, and relatedly, in each of these studies there isn't really a sense for any outside involvement and this risks the possibility of embedded entrepreneurship producing accounts of a spatial conformity (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2022). Sometimes, entrepreneurship requires an element of provocation, misfit or tension with the established norms, practices and routines of a space – the re-articulation or remobilizing of its past in a novel and disruptive way (e.g. Holm & Beyes, 2022) – and this means that entrepreneurship is oftentimes introduced by outsiders. However, "entrepreneurial action that means deviations from culture and traditions or bringing new ideas from the outside are rarely considered in these [embeddedness] analyses" (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2006: 211). As a consequence, conceptions of embeddedness cannot always apprehend the delicate balance of entrepreneurship as a local involvement meeting outside influences (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019). Here, I am especially reminded of Anderson's (2000) talk of how it was an outsider (an Englishman) who came in with his new vision to enact a new entrepreneurial

future for a derelict Scottish castle that locals did not know what to do with – such an occurrence would be likely denied by studies promoting the embeddedness of entrepreneurial practices.

2.4.3 Critical reflection in terms of my research questions

In summary, McKeever and colleagues do begin to animate this double play of space and entrepreneurship that lies at the core of my own inquiry, in a way somewhat reminiscent of Marshall (1890), where new ideas formulated by working intensely in a space come to fruition through the active involvement of social others, but with a further texture added to this process through the active participation of local institutional institutions, which Marshall observed but did not elaborate on so much. Indeed, whilst Marshall's account was empirically rich, he was theoretically not so helpful, and these studies add to this with their theoretical construct of 'embeddedness.' They are accounts that add nuance to how entrepreneurship emerges in relation to those charged with the administration of space: not a zero-sum proposition as advanced in the first literature but at the same time it wasn't the case that institutions were impotent – it's just that it took someone to do something before they could themselves see any possibility to rally behind – and the same goes for the local inhabitants. At the same time, I see entrepreneurship also as not something that is simply thought of and projected onto a space through individuals' superior 'cognitive gymnastics' (Jones & Spicer, 2009).

Studies that promote the embeddedness of entrepreneurial action help us to appreciate how the possibility for change is latent in the environment, requiring someone who is familiar with that space to locate and then articulate its

entrepreneurial potential in a way that could garner the collective support for change, and this especially comes through in McKeever et al. (2015). Therefore, this third literature does move towards the conceptualization I require for my research question. Consideration for the materiality of a space, but also its social, institutional and historical dimensions and how they are also implicated in entrepreneurship. The embeddedness concept also keeps the focus on spaces that are characterized by uneven development and how to study their entrepreneurial renewal, which is a focus of my own research.

However, there are issues around embeddedness as a given condition – as the binary condition of entrepreneurs as either being embedded or not – and because this is seen as a stable contingency, space becomes the platform for successful new ventures to be launched. Because of this stasis, helped along by isolated conceptions of spatial context using the language of fishbowls or islands, these approaches do not go all the way in animating recursivity as the *continuous* negotiation of entrepreneurial action among always changing constellations of spatial circumstances.

I have now reviewed three approaches, demonstrating each time, and to varying degrees, an intellectual source (whether Marshall, Weick, or Granovetter) attempting to (conceptually or otherwise) animate a recursivity to human action in relation to its surroundings. However, I find this often gets lost in subsequent attempts to employ these ideas for empirical research, and this is perhaps illustrative of the difficulty of this endeavor (e.g. Welter, 2011; Welter & Baker, 2021). I am yet to find the conceptual and analytical tools for bringing recursivity in to the study of urban entrepreneurial spaces.

2.5 Entrepreneurial spatiality: studying the in-between and lived dimensions of urban entrepreneurial spaces

Looking at these primary approaches to studying the intersection of space and entrepreneurship, I note that there is either empirical richness as in Marshall, or more or less theoretical development. The latter, however, often loses this empirical richness – ending up in abstractions, whether economic or cognitive. Of the three, embeddedness is perhaps the most elegant notion so far, but it also remains restricted in the role it attributes to space as a taken for granted condition enabling entrepreneurs to make things happen, and it therefore does not really allow for the consideration of the active (not stable) role of space in entrepreneurial activity and the changes to this over time.

There are, however, a number of additional studies that have begun to address this issue. What is common to them is that they are theoretically informed, but they do not approach space in the abstract or the constant. They seek to be attentive to how entrepreneurs' dwell in space, are part of space as much as space is part of them. This nascent literature, which I organize around the notion of an entrepreneurial 'spatiality,' is not tethered to one singular theoretical perspective that I was able to discern in previous approaches. But what these studies have in common as that they all attend to the intimate relation between a living, breathing space and the possibilities for creativity within it. The ideas that inform this spatiality approach are not (yet) formed into a coherent body of work and I therefore present them in this section, following on from my review of more established research trajectories. With a relevance to my own empirical research in mind, I organize this work around two

themes. The first theme emphasizes how entrepreneurship emerges 'in-between'

multiple spatial characteristics, provoking their transformation. The second puts the

spotlight on the back-and-forth that characterizes the lived dimension of urban

spatial experience, seeing this process as a key source of entrepreneurial creativity.

2.5.1 The 'in-between' character of studying urban entrepreneurial spaces

Philosophically-informed studies that promote the 'in-between' character of

entrepreneurship can be traced back to the work of Hjorth (2004, 2005). In his work,

Hjorth primarily engaged the spatial philosophy of Michel de Certeau (1984),

employing his notion of how people produce spatial tactics 'on the pavement' in

their daily negotiation of the city, to conceptualize and study organizational

entrepreneurship as something that 'poaches in the cracks,' emerging in-between the

'disciplining' and 'normalizing' established orders of working life (Hjorth, 2005:

420). For Hjorth (2004), management practices set out to impose idealized 'places'

of work: they establish hierarchical superiority, structure practices of innovation and

configure material relations in the office. His core argument is premised on the idea

that these managerial attempts to control the workforce and institutionalize officially

sanctioned versions of 'entrepreneurship' (as structured practices of innovation)

inadvertently create the conditions for the invention of new practices. Here,

entrepreneurial creativity is not something that can be created by design (as in cluster

theory), but nonetheless the workplace can become the unexpected site of

entrepreneurship which manifest as spatialized acts that take these given elements

and transform them in new and unexpected combinations. Hjorth's influential work

characterizes these as 'in-between' acts, situated in offices (which, of course are still

urban spaces), instigating the unexpected moments capable of 'transforming work and surprising management' (Hjorth, 2004: 413).

These early ideas have subsequently been taken 'out onto the street,' for instance, through efforts of Garcia-Lorenzo et al. (2018) who mobilized Victor Turner's (1977) anthropological development of the liminal concept of thresholds, to conceptualize how entrepreneurship emerges in-between institutional constraints in three unnamed deprived spaces in Spain, the UK and Ireland. They characterized the entrepreneurship they observed in these urban spaces as emerging in-between the "spaces or times of 'structural meltdown'" (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018: 378). Here, entrepreneurship is not just a resistance to managerialism (as per Hjorth), but rather a creative engagement with context out of 'necessity': Garcia et al.'s entrepreneurs "find themselves in a space where the social structure they know dissolves, rendering them invisible and forcing them to create their own structural conditions" (389). The authors argue that it is within these 'in-between' spaces that we might find alternate ways of being or doing emerge in an unfolding process "where entrepreneurial self and environment are transformed and developed through creative interactions" (390). They give examples of these spatial transformations through material appropriation (such as the improvisation of garages and shops), as attempts to become 'institutionally visible" (390).

These theoretically informed empirical studies point towards the potentialities of more closely investigating these in-between moments – how they come about, what happens after they've occurred – to reveal the recursivity of urban entrepreneurial

spaces. This idea holds much promise for my study of the Baltic Triangle, but it also points towards the need for a substantial conceptual and analytical apparatus.

One of the more theoretically elaborate attempts at this form of work, also empirically located in the city (of Berlin), is Beyes (2006). He argues that to animate a *continuous* process in we need to find ways of making the multiplicity of urban space the focus of our research: "it is not the dancers of entrepreneurship that are of interest, it is the dance of entrepreneurship" (Beyes, 2006: 252). He elaborates on what this form of spatial analysis could look like by introducing Henri Lefebvre's (1991) *The production of space*: a three-part model of urban spatial production comprised of the categories of conceived space, perceived space, and lived space.

Beyes (2006) identifies the usefulness of Lefebvre's triadic theory for apprehending the 'in-between' character of entrepreneurship, which he elaborates by outlining its usefulness as a dynamic configuring frame for revealing how creativity emerges (and remerges) within the cracks created by the constant tensions between conceived (planning) and perceived (material) space. This idea is based on Lefebvre's (1991) notion that the conceived space of planning (i.e., urban governance) is the dominant space in the city, creating blueprints for the material world and how it should be interacted with by urban inhabitants. Lefebvre sees these plans as often highly successful (as in cluster theory), but he nonetheless argues that they can never achieve their full objective of completely determining the city and conditioning how its spaces are interacted with – and he argues that this is due to the inherent capacity of 'lived space' for the surprise and the unexpected. Building on these ideas, at the core of Beyes (2006) argument is that we find entrepreneurial potential not in what is

already given but 'in-between' the space between what is intended and what is materially realized. He gestures towards Lefebvre's (1991) third category as lived space as these "in-between places where opportunities are sensed and tackled, and where new practices are invented" (Beyes, 2006: 264).

Beyes (2006) implores researchers go mobilize Lefebvre's ideas to looking for lived spaces, and then to trace connections to their conceived and perceived counterparts, in order to:

> "Open up possible lines of inquiry that might contribute to a wider and richer agenda of entrepreneurship studies, denoting a generalized model for introducing innovative thinking, rearranging the established and producing the new across many sites and spaces, and for a range of goals exceeding those of enterprise" (Beyes, 2006: 269).

These ideas take the study of urban entrepreneurial spaces in a number of important new directions that are highly relevant to my research questions. To emphasize the in-betweenness of entrepreneurship does not see it falling out of urban governance unproblematically (as in cluster theory), nor as the result of the superior visions of one single individual (as in individual enactment). Rather it attempts to animate how entrepreneurship creatively responds to already organized spaces, not through sheer willpower alone, but rather through working in the cracks, 'poaching' in them (Hjorth, 2004), attempting to bend open these cracks by relating affirmatively to them rather than projecting internalized visions (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). It also does not envisage space as a conditioner or gatekeeper of what is and is not an

acceptable form of entrepreneurship to pursue in a given context (as in embeddedness approaches). Instead, this approach looks at the spatialized process that lead to new movements into the future – requiring a familiarity, but crucially, not conformity – to capture the entrepreneurial acts that set space itself on a new and *unexpected* trajectory.

The crucial point here is that Beyes (2006), using Lefebvre's (1991) categories of conceived, perceived and lived space, offers a way of capturing all of these related processes as an 'endless production' (370). To witness the emergence and re-emergence of entrepreneurship within constantly changing constellations of spatial forces. But if Beyes (2006) tells us how we might broadly apply these analytical tools, and especially suggests where we should focus our research efforts (on lived spaces), he does not do himself the detailed empirical work nor reveal much about suitable methods for doing this. This is a key avenue for further research.

Further, Lefebvre's (1991) notion of lived space (and indeed, Beyes's interpretation) is loose. Scholars have previously pointed towards multiple readings of its meaning (e.g., Zhang, 2006). There are many questions surrounding what a lived space could look like in an entrepreneurial context. What is it like to inhabit this place of creative origins, how can we experience its sparks of urban novelty and how is this translated into an entrepreneurial potential? So, whilst Lefebvre is clear about where lived space sits among wider structures, showing us how it is related to other spaces in society (space planning, material manifestation of space). He is does not tell us where we might locate entrepreneurial creativity within this lived space, and neither does Beyes (2006). This issue, I suggest, invites us to look at final strand of

approaches, that I also gather under the 'spatiality' banner, which looks at the idea of a living and breathing spatiality differently. Rather than looking at great waves and reciprocated movements, this sub-set of approaches has explored how to study the more experiential dimensions to urban entrepreneurial space.

2.5.2 Lived and experiential dimensions to studying urban entrepreneurial spaces
Contextualized research has explored lived or experiential dimensions of entrepreneurship (e.g., Berglund, 2007; Steyaert, 2007), often by employing phenomenological interviews (e.g., Cope, 2005), but comparatively little that has explored these in the context of urban entrepreneurial spaces. The ideas that I want to advance here is that researching lived experience, in a spatial context, puts the spotlight on how a space's past is experienced, which demands additional methodological techniques (and forms of inquiry).

This approach sees entrepreneurship primarily as attempts at "mobilizing traces of a site's past and present in order to recombine them and open up new experiences and, potentially, ways of acting" (Holm & Beyes, 2022: 238), conceiving of such acts through the prism of spatial lived experience in the sense that entrepreneurial practices are "affectively charged phenomena that are interwoven with (and to some degree depend on) materiality" (238). I therefore see in this approach a different 'spatiality': an important, alternative a way of attending to the intimate and recursive relations between dwelling in a living, breathing space, and generating possibilities for creativity within it.

Exemplary work in this area is a detailed and theoretically informed empirical

inquiry conducted by Barinaga (2017), who locates her study in a poor Swedish

neighborhood twenty kilometers north of Stockholm called 'the million suburbs.'

Barinaga explored how collective entrepreneurial efforts, in light of the impotency of

government initiatives in addressing negative socio-spatial relations that

characterized the neighborhood, had 're-enacted' this urban space. She follows

closely the development of an entrepreneurial venture that sought to establish a new

mural in the center of the suburb. The significance of the mural lies in its potentiality

as a way for the community to begin to take ownership of their space; to turn it into

an entrepreneurial expression of their own circumstances in a process "that *both*

reflects and shapes individual and social life in the neighborhood" (Barinaga, 2017:

944, emphasis added):

> "The painted wall becomes a space in which communities create their own
>
> stories, giving them the possibility to resist dominant (stigmatizing)
>
> imageries and constituting new modes and themes of resistance … thus
>
> contributing to rearticulate the socio-spatial dynamics that constitute them"
>
> (Barinaga, 2017: 944).

Barinaga (2017) traces entrepreneurial efforts to establish the mural, comprising

collective attempts toward "reorient the string of associations tied to the

neighborhood and its residents" (941). She animates this process as a form of spatial

'tinkering,' which she defines as lived practice of working closely with urban space.

Here, entrepreneurship is performed in manifold everyday relational practices with

the community and beyond. Enrolling an ever larger and more varied constellation of

actors such as arts councils, funding bodies, creative professionals and local political activists and recruiting their involvement in the venture. Barinaga describes processes of

> "Finding arguments to requalify the vulnerability of the group being addressed into an attractive quality to be sought by other actors; articulating a new geographic imaginary that engaged actors into action; mobilizing interests and stakes that could restructure the terrain of debate on the vulnerable suburbs; and associating with actors that could contribute with their reputation to the reformulation of the immigrant youth" (Barinaga, 2017: 950).

Here, entrepreneurship is performed and observed in manifold everyday forms and practices of the community and beyond, and she describes how capturing these many collective practices as it unfolds places multiple methodological demands on our research as it must be able to follow:

> "The observation of actors as they become, relations as they build up, movement as it proceeds, thus enabling descriptions of the openness that comes with movement and ongoing transformation … aware of the many tiny elements that unfold as processes emerge inclined to a sort of hyper-empiricism, one that is attentive to detail, describing the manifold negotiations, translations and adaptations that make up processual movement" (Barinaga, 2017: 938).

Through these precise techniques, Barinaga (2017) shows how we might make entrepreneurship visible in how the history of an urban space is experienced and turned around, thus revealing how the historical and institutional do not cause but rather become implicated in collective entrepreneurial transformation – which she elaborates through community attempts at a material appropriation.

Like Beyes (2006), Barinaga also introduces a complex notion of recursivity – juggling multiple spatial aspects in a processual formulation. But what I see in her work especially is that she is also telling us how to study it. Instead of outline a sprawling analytical framework for studying changes over history, Barinaga (2017) offers an intimate account of the entrepreneurial transformation of space that sought to harness a bottom-up re-articulation of its past – resisting state efforts to enforce their new narrative – in a process that was constituted through how the space was experienced *differently* by its inhabitants (compared to institutional sentiments). She therefore directs us towards uncovering of the micro-processes that underly lived everyday entrepreneurial re-articulation of a space's past, which she achieves through her empirically rich work.

That the old and the new are both related through experience in the process of spatial creation, is a central tenet of Barinaga's (2017). She focusses especially on the process of realizing a vision, the collective efforts to recruit personnel to create the mural. But what she does not do so much is say where the idea for the mural came from. She offers institutional impotency as a possible inspiration, almost as the foil for the idea, but the material that she focusses on, the mural, is nonetheless a blank

canvas that is subsequently filled up. For me, exploring how the possibility for the mural was formulated by the community (which Barinaga does not elaborate) is a key part missing in her account.

The importance of occupying this gap has been reflected in recent research that has explored lived experience of cities. For instance, there is Banks (2006), who studied cultural entrepreneurs in Manchester, UK, observing how they formulated action in the present by drawing on "an abundance of collective memories … cultivated through historical immersion in Manchester's various social, political and cultural 'scenes'" (Banks, 2006: 464). Conversely, there is Gheres et al. (2020), who researched urban governance in Doncaster and institutional attempts to introduce new entrepreneurial initiatives, finding that attempts to define a new entrepreneurial narrative for the town met opposition in the form of local sentiment that continued to characterize the space in relation to its industrial heritage: "in Doncaster's case, the memory of traditional industrial activity has endured the passage of time through place meanings firmly anchored in the locality's industrial past" (16). These two studies reveal that the history of urban space is experienced powerfully by entrepreneurial subjects in relation to urban spaces like Doncaster and Manchester, affecting how they are entrepreneurially enacted in the present. But whilst this is a key insight, they both merely empirically observe this in their respective studies, and therefore do not go far in terms of conceptualizing or theorizing this phenomenon. These studies come together in their reflection of the growing interest in the role of memory in entrepreneurship studies (Elias et al., 2022; Hjorth & Dawson, 2016; Popp & Holt, 2013b).

"the history of a place generates collective memories, expressed through and by narratives, buildings, monuments, and other symbols – frequently subject to contestation through many forms of discourse and manoeuvre – that *shape and reshape* how the past influences both the present and future. Narratives and memory are not the whole story of the influence of history on place, but they are the primary mechanisms of this influence" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1157, emphasis added).

This point towards the need for a more aesthetic sensitivity in our research, the methodological requirements of which I suggest Barinaga (2017) outlines in detail. This future avenue of inquiry has also been promoted by those that have written conceptually about the importance of researching lived and experiential dimensions to urban entrepreneurial spaces (Holm & Beyes, 2022). In terms of future directions, the focus could become less on the back-and-forth of bringing an idea into fruition, and more on how creative moments are sparked by relational encounters with spaces through acts of remembrance (e.g., Elias et al., 2022; Thompson, 2018).

2.6 Conclusion

I seek a way of studying urban space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship. I began my search for a suitable approach by looking in-depth at the theoretical sustenance of much existing work in this area, which is Marshall's (1890) notion of a cluster. In Marshall, I observed an explicit concern for animating the wider spatial aspects of clustering to apprehend the economic benefits that they bring to entrepreneurship, not so much given by existing conditions as they are produced through the collective agency of individuals operating within a wider sphere of

social and spatial relations (which he coined as the 'atmosphere' of a place). Marshall attributed the success of Sheffield's cutlery cluster (its ability to continuously produce new ventures that change the fabric of the city) partially to natural resources and institutional factors inherited from the past, but mostly to the unfolding interactions between the people that live in the city and work in its industry – and he emphasized that the economic potential of these social interactions strengthened over time as things gain momentum. This was a promising start, but the empirical approaches that I subsequently reviewed looked much more at operationalizing economic aspects of his theory to explain spatial determinants of entrepreneurship (e.g. Adler et al., 2019). They employed a functionalist language of inputs, mechanisms and structures, and therefore lost much the sense of the fluidity of socio-economic interactivity, and the multiplicity of spatial forces, that I initially identified in Marshall's account. This meant that I arrived at a one-sided arrow: space 'does' things to entrepreneurship, rather than any recursive formulation.

I then looked at individual enactment, where I saw possible spatial interpretations of Weick's (1979) theory of enactment as holding much promise for revealing the processes by which entrepreneurs use their agency to reimagine and remake spaces – especially I was encouraged by Weick's attempts at theorizing how enactment can occur *repeatedly* in organizational life. This shifted emphasis from 'deterministic credo' (Schumpeter, 1947), toward gaining a qualitative understanding of how a space is given life and animation at the hands of the 'interpretive repertoires' of entrepreneurs. However, I found that approaches that employed Weick's theory emphasized too much the superior power of interpretive repertoire: so much so that space itself became a 'subject' (e.g., Anderson, 2000). This suggestion that

entrepreneurship can be formulated by isolated individuals, their visions

unproblematically projected onto a space, I found, was too strongly couched in

methodological individualism (e.g., Steyaert, 2007). This approach was unable to

acknowledge the multiplicity of relations (whether social, material, institutional) that

constituted urban space and characterized the full spectrum of entrepreneurial

(re)enactment (e.g. Holm & Beyes, 2022). This means is that I returned once again

to the one-sided arrow, but this time inverted: entrepreneurship 'does things' to

space.

Acknowledging the opposing binary positions of these two approaches, I turned to

embeddedness and especially, the work of Granovetter (1985), in which I detected

the possibility of a more 'fruitful analysis' of urban entrepreneurial spaces as

constituted of ongoing cycles of social (as well as material, cultural, institutional)

relations. Noting Granovetter's argument that the embedded concept is resistant to

any 'once-for-all' influence (which I observed in the previous two approaches

respectively), I analyzed how Granovetter's ideas had been mobilized to investigate

entrepreneurial practices as embedded: a view where specific spatial characteristics

enabled and constrained possible courses of action. Compared to my previous

literature, this approach advanced a more nuanced understanding of the interrelations

of urban space and entrepreneurship. I saw spatial translations of Granovetter's work

explicitly stating their search for recurstivity (e.g. McKeever et al., 2015). This was

the first time (since Marshall) that I encountered a role for history: the idea that any

entrepreneurial re-articulation of a new or different socio-economic trajectory for

this depleted place must be somehow sensitive to what came before to galvanize the

necessary support for the change it wishes to instigate. However, promoting the

embeddedness of entrepreneurial action can tend to produce insights that are perhaps too limited to describing *only* these very specific spatial circumstances in and through which particular entrepreneurial ventures is situated and produced (Fletcher, 2006), and the talk of 'islands' and 'fishbowls' that I observed were testament to the inability of this approach to move past the idea that embeddedness is just a more-or-less constant enabling condition permitting entrepreneurship to repeatedly happen – but not actually changing these stable 'contingent' conditions (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2022). As it does not acknowledge outside influence (beyond the fishbowl), embeddedness approaches did not quite go far enough in animating recursivity as the *continuous* negotiation of entrepreneurial action among always changing constellations of urban spatial circumstances.

Finally, I looked at a smaller and more loosely organized literature which I gathered under the term 'spatiality.' I suggested that what these studies have in common is that they attend to the intimate relation between a living, breathing space and the possibilities for creativity within it, and I suggested that they do this in two ways. The first area was by honing in on 'in-between' acts of entrepreneurship, and I noted empirical work that looked at this in relatively self-contained spaces like the side street, the garage or the office. These theoretically informed empirical studies point towards the potentialities of more closely investigating these in-between moments – how they come about, what happens after they've occurred – to reveal the recursivity of urban entrepreneurial spaces. This idea holds much promise for my study of the Baltic Triangle, but it also points towards the need for a substantial conceptual and analytical apparatus. I highlighted the promise of Beyes (2006) suggestion that Lefebvre (1991) offers the conceptual and analytical framework for apprehending

this multiplicity and movement through his categories of conceived, perceived and lived space. The crucial point here is that Beyes (2006), using Lefebvre's (1991) categories of conceived, perceived and lived space, offers a way of capturing all of these related processes as an 'endless production' (370). To witness the emergence and re-emergence of entrepreneurship within constantly changing constellations of spatial forces. But if Beyes (2006) tells us how we might broadly apply these analytical tools, and especially suggests where we should focus our research efforts (on lived spaces), he does not do himself the detailed empirical work nor reveal much about suitable methods for doing this. This is a key avenue for further research, and demands considerable work – to acknowledge movements, events, patterns that all cohere in random but nonetheless directional patterns (Hjorth et al., 2018).

This work invited me to pick up my final strand of approaches, which have looked a lived and experiential aspects of urban entrepreneurial spaces. I located exemplary research in this area in Barinaga (2017), who showed how studying entrepreneurial spaces requires researchers to locate the everyday spatial negotiation that brings new ventures into being. What is see in Barinaga is the potential for more of a relational, aesthetic sensibility to spatial experience. Here, entrepreneurship is still operating in openings and gaps, relating affirmatively to them, but the emphasis is on the 'tinkering' aspect of knowing your space, working intimately with it over time. I suggested that it might be fruitful to take these ideas further by borrowing her methods to look at how inspiration strikes and is dependent on historical encounters with materiality, through the work of memory.

CHAPTER THREE

Entrepreneurship, practice theory and space:
Methodological principles and processes for spatial inquiry

Abstract

In this chapter, I outline a methodological agenda for studying entrepreneurship through spatial inquiry. Beginning with a review of practice-theoretical approaches in entrepreneurship scholarship, I introduce Henri Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' and elaborate methodological principles and processes for mobilizing his triadic notion of space for empirical research. I illustrate this method drawing on examples from a study of an entrepreneurial regeneration of a post-industrial space in Liverpool, UK.

3.1 Introduction

Approaches to studying entrepreneurial activity are traditionally classed in two difficult to reconcile methodological camps: one investigating characteristics of the entrepreneurial individual ('agent') the other exploring environmental, social, network or economic conditions that contain the activity ('structure') (Tatli et al., 2014). In recent years, scholars have questioned the utility of these often-static structure-versus-agency divisions by focusing on social (entrepreneurial) practices as the unit of analysis – looking to combine both structural and agentic elements in research (Thompson et al., 2020).

Examples of entrepreneurship-as-practice research (see Champenois et al., 2020 for a review) include discursive-material approaches that treat activities such as pitching and storytelling as acts of sensemaking or language games and so emphasize how these play out as part of wider fabrics, for instance when garnering institutional support or legitimation in particular settings such as business clusters and networks (Chalmers & Shaw, 2017; Garud et al., 2014). There have also been inquiries into the underlying practices that support these infrastructures where entrepreneurial clusters or networks are understood as being constituted over time through much broader social and cultural practices (de Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Vincent & Pagan, 2018).

Practice approaches also highlight the role of time and space (Schatzki, 2005). Especially questions of time have started to receive more attention in the literature (e.g. by emphasizing the processual) but with few exceptions, the role of space in entrepreneurship is less well explored. For example, Steyaert (2007) conceptualizes entrepreneurship as a complex and non-linear process of 'becoming' – calling for contextualized and involved methodological techniques that witness unfolding entrepreneurial practices and activities as they occur in real-time: "all the meetings, the talking, the selling, the form-filling and the number-crunching by which opportunities actually get formulated and implemented" (Thompson et al., 2020: 247). There have been calls for entrepreneurship researchers to bring the role of space into greater focus including complex interactions concerning the relationship between entrepreneurship and especially the role played by the built environment, involving questions of how entrepreneurial practices emerge through an ongoing

relating between people and such spatial settings (e.g. Korsgaard et al., 2020; Welter & Baker, 2021).

So, what is the relationship between space and entrepreneurial practicing? How can we explore the influence of a space in relation to its current entrepreneurial activity? How might we understand the different aspects of space – this confluence between structural (space as objectively existing) and experiential (space as felt and understood) aspects? And methodologically, how can we begin to synthesize these different spatial aspects in a dynamic and unfolding entrepreneurial process? In this chapter, I elaborate one way that the interrelationship between space and entrepreneurship could be researched drawing upon Henri Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad'.

Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad is a conceptual and analytical frame for studying spatial phenomena over time that incorporates three interrelated 'spaces' in society: these include *perceived* space ('real' physical properties of space), *conceived* space ('imagined' mental representations of space) and *lived* space (the 'lived' experience of space in-between the real and imagined) (38-39). Lefebvre's triad has been employed widely in organization studies to research how spaces such as buildings, architectures and other workspaces do not only contain organization but are also actively produced and changed by it, thus invoking a deeply reciprocal interrelationship between structural and agentic aspects of organizing as well as emphasizing a strong processual dimension (e.g. Liu & Grey, 2018; Petani & Mengis, 2016; Skoglund & Holt, 2021). This capacity to override traditional structure-agent dichotomies to study together phenomena that are so often treated as

separate means that Lefebvre's triad has much potential for entrepreneurship-as-practice research.

In this chapter, I outline a set of methodological principles for mobilizing Lefebvre's triadic notion of space to investigate the temporal and spatial interrelations that give rise to and are simultaneously shaped by entrepreneurial practices; entrepreneurship as emerging in the space in-between, incorporating the mental and the physical yet irreducible to either, where space is both the outcome of time and the setting for the future (Lefebvre, 1991: 91-92). These principles emphasize the need for researcher immersion and historicized methods as well as the importance of attending to wider geographical forces and the political implications of human action, following Lefebvre (1991: 66, 2003b: 211), they are organized in a research process comprising three phases: beginning in a present space where entrepreneurial practices and activities are gathering, going back to investigate the historical development of this space before returning, armed with a historicized understanding, "to rediscover the present, but elucidated, understood, explained" (Lefebvre, 1953, cited in Merrifield, 2006: 4).

I elaborate this method using empirical examples drawing on my own research investigating the entrepreneurial regeneration of the Cain's brewery building in Liverpool, UK. Cain's was once a highly entrepreneurial space and a substantial regional brewer throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century that entered administration in 2013 and subsequently fell into disuse. Today entrepreneurial practices and activities are gathering anew and Cain's is in the midst of a transformation from defunct brewery to important center for leisure and employment

orientated predominantly toward (but not exclusively on) the nighttime economy: old cellars have become pubs and bars; horse stables are now co-working spaces and the cold storage facility is a food market. The entrepreneurial transformation of Cain's has acted as a catalyst for the regeneration of the surrounding area, which is currently one of the fastest growing districts in the city.

I investigate the interrelation between space and entrepreneurship at the Cain's brewery. More specifically, and by mobilizing the interplay of Lefebvre's triadic notion of space, I explore how we can understand the influence of a space, in this case a building, in terms of multiple and changing aspects including its design and layout, its location, its previous occupancy through time and how its current inhabitants relate to this space in the context of their present-day entrepreneurial practices and activities. My primary contribution is to attempt to show how entrepreneurship-as-practice scholars might utilize spatial inquiry to continue to unsettle structure-agent dichotomies, where space is treated as a dynamic and unfolding phenomenon actively shaping and in-turn shaped by entrepreneurial practices and activities over time.

3.2 Entrepreneurship and practice theory

Entrepreneurship is considered a key economic contributor and entrepreneurs and their innovations have been recognized as important in technological and societal developments, even changing the course of history (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016). The cultivation of entrepreneurship has become integral to policy and economic development and regeneration efforts as well as to business school curricula, and over the last fifty years entrepreneurship research has largely followed two distinct

directions: one strand focused on psychological or behavioural theories to explain the agency of the individual entrepreneur (e.g. McClelland, 1961), describing intrinsic qualities or producing retrospective accounts of moments of decisive entrepreneurial decision and cognition in the subjective interpretivist tradition; a second strand has examined the structural conditions (environmental, social, network, economic) containing the activity by drawing on functional principles such as classic theories of economic exchange (e.g. Kirzner, 1973), often sacrificing a richness in empirical insight. These two strands of research have produced a range of methodological approaches from psychological and trait-based perspectives (agentic approaches) on one end of the spectrum through to analysis of the economic and other environments (structural approaches) in which entrepreneurship takes place on the other (Tatli et al., 2014).

Some entrepreneurship researchers have voiced concerns that contemporary studies on either side of this structure-agency dualism produce insights that separate entrepreneurship from its context, thus compartmentalizing agentic and structural concerns, studying each separately in a static formulation that "describes and explains a world that does not bear up under close scrutiny" (Thompson et al., 2020: 248). But researching entrepreneurship in a way that is able to apprehend the temporally and spatially specific, idiosyncratic, and often only post-hoc identifiable nature of the activities involved is notoriously difficult (e.g. Spinosa et al., 1997), and scholars have called for new approaches to apprehend the complexity and diversity of entrepreneurship as it unfolds in everyday life (Welter et al., 2017). In response a third strand of research, entrepreneurship-as-practice, has emerged that seeks to study entrepreneurial activities *in* context (Thompson et al., 2020).

Following practice-theoretical ideals, entrepreneurship researchers have explored discursive-material practices such as sensemaking (Cornelissen et al., 2012), pitching (Chalmers & Shaw, 2017) and storytelling (Garud et al., 2014). By conceiving of these entrepreneurial activities as discursive-material *practices* rather than a form of subjective interpretivism, these studies add to knowledge of how entrepreneurs use language in different ways to realize context-specific outcomes such as gaining institutional support for a fledgling venture (e.g. Cornelissen et al.) or achieving legitimacy among peers (e.g. Garud et al.).

In addition to tracing discursive-material connections, researchers have also investigated the underlying practices that support entrepreneurial contexts such as networks or clusters – entrepreneurship does not only emerge in specific contexts but also is constituted over time *through* wider social and cultural practices that give these contexts form and meaning (de Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Keating et al., 2014; Vincent & Pagan, 2018). This view emphasizes the processual dimension of practice where any notion of 'sensemaking,' 'legitimacy' or 'institutional support' is in fact "inconceivable without first considering the enactment and entanglement of various practices" (Thompson et al., 2020: 250).

Further studies have suggested that looking at process opens up an 'entrepreneuring' perspective (e.g. Steyaert, 2007; Johannisson, 2011; Verduijn, 2015). This approach conceives of entrepreneurship as "a creative and social/collective organizing process that materializes in a venture" (Johannisson, 2011: 137). An entrepreneuring formulation further emphasizes the processual dimension of practice by treating

entrepreneurship as a fundamentally unfinalized and open-ended act of 'becoming' that requires contextualized methodological techniques involving the researcher's active participation (Champenois et al., 2020: 299) – scholars should themselves be involved in the 'nitty-gritty work' of decision-making to witness entrepreneurship 'as it happens' (Thompson et al., 2020: 247).

3.3 Entrepreneurship and space

The practice-turn in entrepreneurship studies takes practices as the unit of analysis (Thompson et al., 2020: 249). In practice theory, 'practice' is understood as an organized, open-ended spatial-temporal manifold of human action that transpires in 'material arrangements': historical settings composed of built entities and physical orders (Schatzki, 2005: 471–472). Practices "acquire meaning only when understood as situated in context and in history, and as the collective accomplishments performed by multiple people" (Champenois et al., 2020: 283). So, while existing studies have elaborated the socialized human practices (e.g. rules, understandings, actions) involved in entrepreneurship very well, they often overlook the spatial and temporal dimensions of these practices. Research that is explicitly concerned with the relevance of wider social practices and their physical infrastructures for inquiring into locally situated entrepreneurship, taking in spaces such as cities, districts, local communities, buildings and other physical settings, is currently under-represented in entrepreneurship-as-practice studies (e.g. Champenois et al., 2020) as well as in entrepreneurship scholarship in general (e.g. Korsgaard et a., 2020; Welter & Baker, 2021)

A small number of extant studies have started to unpack the relationship between space and entrepreneurship. Johnstone and Lionais (2004) studied entrepreneurship enacted in various 'depleted communities' and observed how local socio-economic historical factors exerted a strong influence on the shape and form of entrepreneurship that emerged in each space: due to their institutional legacy depleted communities were found to be more conducive to community-based entrepreneurship orientated towards driving new forms of spatial development. Johnstone and Lionais (2004) therefore show that built spaces can cultivate locally specific idiosyncratic forms of entrepreneurship that are a product of their environment but also change it too.

Also, in a study of a depleted community, this time 'Stanton' in New Zealand, Anderson, Warren and Bensemann (2019) observed how entrepreneurial activities were shaped and influenced by micro-level contextual factors in a study that was "embedded in the history of Stanton" (1564). The authors found localized entrepreneurial practices where "the role of place was central to the enactment" (Anderson et al., 2019: 1572). In Stanton, a material legacy comprising "boarded up shops, dilapidated buildings, and peeling paintwork" (1564) discouraged entrepreneurship in the town centre, and new practices gathered on the outskirts of the town to capture the passing trade of motorists instead. Due to these material spatial realities, as well as other local factors, entrepreneurial activities worked inwards from the outskirts in a process that eventually produced new spatial changes in the town centre "economically and visually … retailers of gifts, clothing and fancy goods have opened, the cafés are prospering, and local council have spruced up the town gardens, picnic areas and toilets" (Anderson et al., 2019:1564).

These two studies demonstrate the beginnings of a movement from a mostly abstracted conception of space (e.g. the 'depleted communities' of Johnstone & Lionais, 2004) toward a more concrete treatment (e.g. 'Stanton' in Anderson et al., 2019), with this shift driven by investigating the actual concrete circumstances of entrepreneurial practices as they unfold in their natural settings (e.g. Watson, 2013: 17). In both instances a reciprocal relationship between act and setting is observed, establishing that there is an important relationship between entrepreneurship and space: entrepreneurship as shaped by space and shaping space in-turn (see Welter & Baker, 2021). However, the structural side of this relationship tends to take precedent as a constraining or determining factor (see also Champenois et al., 2020: 299).

In his study of cultural entrepreneurs in Manchester, UK, Banks (2006) showed that structural characteristics, whilst important, are not the only way that we can understand space as shaping and influencing entrepreneurial practices. Banks's research investigated the role of spatial experience, finding that:

> "Throughout, a sense of community, strong social and cultural ties and a regard for the 'can-do' and creative 'atmosphere' of Manchester were cited as incentives to action. Manchester's diverse configurations of social and spatial relations, underwritten by a rich history of images, myths and narratives, were often alluded to as source of inspiration and value" (Banks, 2006: 464).

Banks (2006) described how the practices and activities of cultural entrepreneurs were infused with or 'underwritten' by their own spatial experiences of Manchester, including personal and collective perceptions of its rich musical heritage and long association with independent music that were tied to specific sites such as music venues and shops. Entrepreneurs had "an abundance of collective memories and shared experiences cultivated through historical immersion in Manchester" (464) which in the present became 'incentives to action' (464):

> "with many entrepreneurs expressing a strong, progressive sense of place it was not surprising that the desire to 'give something back' to the city was often expressed. To give some examples, entrepreneurs involved themselves in voluntary teaching and mentoring at local colleges, devoting services free to local arts and entertainment events, combining work with the provision of public art in the local community, driving a women's night-bus and, in the case of one local recording studio, working through colleges to offer local youth free use of their facilities" (Banks, 2006: 464).

This research suggests that the relationship between space and entrepreneurship is multiple and complex. The influence of a space, how it shapes and is in-turn shaped by entrepreneurial practicing unavoidably involves the everyday negotiation of its structural aspects (as in Johnstone & Lionais, 2004, also Anderson et al. 2019) but there are also important experiential considerations too, where an immersion in space over time leads to everyday entrepreneurial practices becoming infused with a sense of local culture, imagination and memory (Banks, 2006). This formulation requires a notion of space that accounts for but is at the same time not solely

irredicuble to either of these two spatial aspects, but the continued study of this relationship between entrepreneurship and spatial-temporal aspects of practice, including important questions of how this multiplicity and complexity might be further conceptualized and analyzed, has received little attention in the literature (e.g. Welter & Baker, 2021). I now turn to Henri Lefebvre.

3.4 Henri Lefebvre's triadic notion of space

Henri Lefebvre is known among organizational scholars for his Marxist inspired inquiries into the social practices that constitute daily life (*Critique of everyday life*), as well as his analysis of the political questions of emergent urban society throughout the 1960s (*The right to the city*), but without doubt his most widely cited work in organization studies is *The production of space* (1991). Against a backdrop of late 1960s/early 1970s industrial development in cities and towns, Lefebvre (1991) employs and extends a Marxist notion of production to look for a way of investigating how urban space is produced in society that is able "to get to the root of capitalist society, to get beyond the fetishisms of observable appearance, to trace out its inner dynamics and internal contradictions, holistically and historically" (Merrifield, 2006: 104).

To Lefebvre (1991: 27), spatial analysis has long suffered at the hands of an emphasis on either the physical (the 'realistic illusion') or the mental (the 'illusion of transparency'), and *The production of space* is his attempt to construct a unitary theory of space by harnessing what he calls a 'tridimensionality' (370). Lefebvre (1991: 11-12) develops his threefold concept intended to supersede the separation of the physical and mental (which we can understand as broadly consistent with

traditional notions of the structure-agent binary) by dialectically relating them through a third space: a disturbing force which works in-between, the space that "the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (Lefebvre, 1991: 39) that is "occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias" (12).

Lefebvre (1991) introduces his 'spatial triad' as the conceptual and analytical frame to accommodate his unitary theory. The triad harnesses the simultaneous interplay of three 'spaces' in society, one of which is *conceived* space: the 'ideal' space of planning and conception that attempts to impose a form that may not naturally emanate from how a space is practiced (33). This is space as conceived 'from above' by planners, urbanists and politicians, which means conceived space is "the dominant space in any society" (38-39). The triad also incorporates *perceived* space: the 'real' space of physical appearance and habitualized everyday routines that take place 'on the ground' (33). Perceived space is concerned with material empirical reality and becomes manifest through the realization of the conceived: comprised of subjects moving through and negotiating physical space in the course of everyday routines (38). The triad dialectically relates these two spaces through a third, which is space as directly *lived*: this is space as it is experienced by users and inhabitants in-between the ideal and the real, the space in society that is pregnant with the potential for change and appropriation (39). For Lefebvre, lived space comes through the constant failure of idealized plans to be executed perfectly, and this disturbing quality drives the continuous development of any urban space in society in a process whereby the creative imagination of users and inhabitants "overlays physical space,

making symbolic use of its objects" (39). Due to its subversive potential lived space is often "linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life" (33).

For Lefebvre (1991), urban space is a process of "endless production" (370) involving all three aspects of the triad in continuous interrelation. The analysis of any space in society must therefore account for but at the same time cannot be solely irreducible to either of these three spaces as space is "itself the outcome of past actions" (73) whilst also being "at once a precondition and a result of social superstructures" (85). At the centre of this idea of space as a continuously unfolding phenomenon is the notion "that a given plan must of necessity highlight either function, or form, or structure" (Lefebvre, 1991: 369), yet "no plan could conceivably maintain a perfect balance between these diverse moments or 'formants' of space" (369). This is precisely how we can understand lived space as the driver of change over time, as continuously unsettling, disturbing, working in-between the real and ideal, thus superseding their binary separation as "*use* corresponds to a unity and collaboration between the very factors that such dogmatisms insist on disassociating" (369).

A number of organizational scholars have drawn on Lefebvre's work to investigate the temporal and spatial dimensions of organizing in spaces such as local authority planning departments (Petani & Mengis, 2016), university buildings (Liu & Grey, 2018) and workplace facilities such as toilets (Skoglund & Holt, 2021). Lefebvre's triad is able to apprehend how these spaces do not just contain organization but are actively produced and changed by it over time invoking a deeply reciprocal relationship between structural and agentic aspects of organizing; offering a dynamic

conceptual and analytical frame for studying together phenomena that are so often treated as separate, shifting attention from the study of "*things in space* to the actual *production of space*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 37, emphasis in original).

An illustrative example of the triad in action is Liu and Grey's (2018) study of the 'Founders Building' – a Victorian-era UK university initially constructed to provide higher education to women. Liu and Grey suggest that the "Lefebvrian 'triad' enables organizational space to be studied as a condensation of all the social concepts and interrelationships through which it has emerged and evolved" (2018: 645), and they employ it to investigate the historical development of the Founder Building revealing how "the bricks and mortar have not changed, but their social and organizational meaning has" (662). The study describes how a space that was initially conceived of in terms of quite narrow gender proprietary becomes re-conceived in terms of much broader notions of diversity and community over time at the hands of users and inhabitants, thereby demonstrating the inherent dynamism of Lefebvre's triadic formulation: the conceived, perceived and lived aspects constantly "shift and change over time so that the organizational space is not just an 'inheritance' but something whose meaning is amenable to re-working and re-interpretation" (Liu & Grey, 2018: 662).

More specifically for entrepreneurship studies, Beyes (2006) suggests that Lefebvre's spatial triad opens up new possibilities for research:

> "it takes sites and spaces for entrepreneurship to happen, and at the same time sites and spaces are constituted and reorganized through entrepreneurial

activities. Applying a spatial perspective therefore offers myriad opportunities for exploring the ways in which manifold forms, practices and concepts of entrepreneurship emerge" (Beyes, 2006: 269).

In particular, Beyes emphasizes the new possibilities (both conceptual and analytical) implied in Lefebvre's (1991) notion of lived space with its capacity for creativity "intertwining the real and the imagined without preferring the one over the over" (Beyes, 2006: 263). He suggests that researchers should 'look out' for lived spaces where new inventions or transformations of practices emerge "connecting real and imagined spaces, contesting dominant discourses, producing subversion, provoking transformation, enabling social change" (Beyes, 2006: 264).

In one of few attempts to apply Lefebvre's triadic formulation to entrepreneurship, Beyes (2006) pays particular attention to the theoretical aspects of his work. There remain, however, substantial methodological questions pertaining to the mobilizing of Lefebvre's ideas for empirical research. In the section that follows, I attempt to build upon Beyes's work by first drawing out and then exemplifying some methodological principles and processes, with empirical examples, for entrepreneurship-as-practice researchers wishing to conduct an inquiry utilizing Lefebvre's spatial triad as a conceptual and analytical frame.

3.5 Mobilizing Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' for empirical research: methodological principles and processes

"For how *could* we come to understand a genesis, the genesis of the present, along with the preconditions and process involved, other than by starting from that present, working our way back to the past and then retracing our steps?" (Lefebvre, 1991: 66, emphasis in original).

For Lefebvre (1991), the core value of the triad lies in concretizing the seemingly abstract: the triad "loses all force if it is treated as an abstract 'model'. If it cannot grasp the concrete … then its import is severely limited" (40). Mobilizing the three interrelated aspects of the triad for empirical studies requires researchers to incorporate several spatial phenomena all at once and this is not an easy task; in organization studies "many scholars whose studies are theoretically underwritten by Lefebvre seem hesitant to operationalize a dialectic method" (Skoglund & Holt, 2021: 1015):

"to capture in thought the actual process of production of space … it's a task that necessitates both empirical and theoretical research, and its likely to be difficult. It will doubtless involve careful excavation and reconstruction; warrant induction and deduction; journey between the concrete and the abstract, between the local and the global, between self and society, between what's possible and what's impossible." (Merrifield, 2006:108).

On the basis of my own research, which I will outline in detail below, I suggest four (certainly by no means exhaustive) guiding principles for operationalizing Lefebvre's triad. These principles emphasize researcher immersion and historicized methods, as well as the importance of attending to wider geographical forces and the

political implications of human action. Following Lefebvre (1991: 66, 2003b: 211), these principles are organized in a methodological process that describes a present space where entrepreneurial practices and activities are gathering, that then travels backwards to investigate the historical development of this space over time before returning armed with this historicized understanding to further elucidate present-day entrepreneurial enactments (see also Lefebvre, 1953, cited in Merrifield, 2006: 4). Throughout this process, I mobilize the three interrelated aspects of the triad, unfolding the continuous interplay between the conceived, perceived, and lived.

I furnish this method with empirical evidence from my own research investigating the entrepreneurial regeneration of the Cain's brewery building in Liverpool, UK. Constructed in 1887, Cain's impressive red-brick structure is an unmistakable part of the local landscape and its fluctuating fortunes have entered local folklore as a metaphor for Liverpool's own rise, decline and re-emergence (e.g. *The story of Liverpool in a pint*: see Routledge, 2008). Cain's was once a highly successful brewery with its success peaking around the turn of the twentieth century, but the story of the ensuing years was of gradual decline before the demise of brewing operations in 2013. Today, new entrepreneurial practices and activities are gathering as the space is brought back into productive use at the hands of local entrepreneurship, with different parts of the brewery now occupied by an eclectic and growing mix of fledgling organizations trading out of old cellars, horse stables, cold storage facilities and brewing rooms. Cain's is in the midst of an entrepreneurial transformation from defunct brewery to important destination for culture and leisure with a particular emphasis on the nighttime economy. The space has become catalyst

for the regeneration of the surrounding area which is now one of the fastest growing districts in the city.

I explore the relationship between space and entrepreneurship at the Cain's brewery. More specifically, I investigate how we can understand the influence of a space, in this case a building, in terms of multiple and changing spatial aspects including its design and layout, its location, its previous occupancy through time and how its current inhabitants relate to this space in the context of their present-day entrepreneurial practices and activities. The main thrust of this section is to further a research agenda for entrepreneurship-as-practice scholarship that can continue to unsettle structure-agent dichotomies (e.g. Thompson et al., 2020); mobilizing Lefebvre's triadic formulation of space to investigate the temporal and spatial interrelations that give rise to and are simultaneously shaped by entrepreneurial practices (e.g. Welter & Baker, 2021).

3.5.1 Starting in the present

From the outset, Lefebvre (1953, cited in Merrifield, 2006: 4) suggests approaching empirical material with a scrutiny guided by observation and a general theory; to engage closely with the phenomena under investigation, attentive to the small details, aware of possible connections, but at the same time retaining a certain openness and willingness to let the space speak on its own accord (see also Lefebvre, 2003b: 211-213). At the point of departure researchers could utilize methodological techniques such as observation, participation, shadowing and primary visual photography, activities that amount to a form of 'hanging around' (Johannisson, 2018: 393) that could even include the occasional pursuit of leisure, all the while

producing detailed descriptions and visual records of observable entrepreneurial practices and activities as well as built surroundings.

On a typical day Cain's is a busy and bustling scene, initial impressions might summarize a variety of local and independent-focused shops, bars, nightclubs, shared creative workspaces and local artist space that collectively occupy a recently transformed and architecturally impressive Victorian-era industrial building. The main building is striking, many stories high with a tower protruding from its centre – adorned with terracotta tiles arranged in ornamental style. On the walls is a stencilled piece of graffiti: 'Liverpool has its own story to tell.' On show are various traces of its industrious past as a substantial regional brewing outfit: large loading docks have become outdoor seating areas for recently established bars and restaurants located in vast brewing rooms; old stables and garage doors have been turned into main entrances; a cellar is now one of the larger pubs in the city. There are many cases of old architectural features and industrial functions being incorporated into the fabric of these newly established ventures. Other remnants from the Victorian industrial era comprising brewery equipment in various stages of decay are also on show: a deep well along with its rusted machinery is displayed under plexiglass in the cellar pub; commercial brewing artefacts (pulleys, motors, measuring instruments, brewing equipment – all of which date from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century) as well as old advertising hoardings have been strategically placed around the site. Yet alongside this rekindling and showcasing of the old, there are also some unreservedly modern developments and new construction in-progress to accommodate the ever-growing number of new arrivals.

We can begin to unpack these early observations by employing Lefebvre's (1991) triadic formulation as a configuring frame. The first thing that strikes any visitor is the sheer size of this space, the brewery dominates the local landscape and its material stature invokes feelings that this is a building enacted as it was intended at the point of conception: to achieve market dominance, to impress, reminiscent of empire. However, up close, we can see that the building is indeed grand but there is still a patchwork roof, evidence of efflorescence and broken windows on upper levels. Despite the busy and bustling scene there are still large swathes of the building that remain unused and dilapidated and these sections of the brewery are cold, uninsulated, remote and inhospitable. This is a building that was once reminiscent of empire, alive to the confidence in British capitalism and industry that characterized the era of its construction, but today its physical stature speaks also to a faded grandeur. We can see the entrepreneurial as coming through this rupture: repairing, patching up, bringing back into productive use – practices that "overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre, 1991: 39).

So, how can we begin to understand the influence of this space in relation to its current entrepreneurial enactment? Cain's brewing history appears to be significant and this is certainly true in regard to aesthetic concerns, as evidenced through the proliferation of late nineteenth century brewing paraphernalia. But there is also a sense of a symbolic significance to this entrepreneurial regeneration arising from the brewery's long association with the city of Liverpool. Indeed, 'Liverpool has its own story to tell' – and it is clear that much work had to be done to bring sections of this old and damaged building back into productive use, the majority carried out by new and fledgling local entrepreneurial ventures who characteristically possess limited

financial resources. There is a notable absence of the national brands and chain stores that typically inhabit similar re-developments in other cities in the UK – and perhaps this is why Cain's retains a certain DIY ethic, a rough-around-the-edges charm that is often absent in post-industrial retained-façade regeneration projects. Thus, we see entrepreneurial practices at Cain's at once attempting to rescue fragments of the past, to preserve and to showcase selected aspects, to exploit their commercial potential, but at the same time these practices imply an attempt to collectively articulate something new and different. To enact a new future for this space.

These insights gesture towards layers of meaning that are perhaps not so obvious at first but rather become more apparent over time, demonstrating the importance of immersive research practices that permit such spaces to begin to do their work. A single visit to Cain's might yield a surface understanding but it is by hanging around that researchers can begin to develop a sense for the possibility of multiplicity and complexity (e.g. Johannisson, 2018). This echoes prescriptions for entrepreneurship-as-practice research to endeavour to "stay close to 'what happens,' that is, to real and concrete practices under study" (Champenois et al., 2020: 291). However, observed practices "acquire meaning only when understood as situated in context *and in history*" (283, emphasis added). Thus, we can take these initial insights as further invitations to excavate the historical development of this space (Lefebvre, 2003b: 211-213). To journey into the past to situate observed practices in their specific historical conditions (e.g. Thompson et al., 2020: 247).

3.5.2 Excavating history

"If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with *history*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 46, emphasis in original). Writing in 1986, in the *Preface to the new edition* of *The production of space*, Lefebvre affirms that his project seeks "not only to describe the space we live in, and its origins, but to retrace the origins, through and by the space it produced" (2003b: 211). For this task, research can draw upon primary archival as well as documentary and other secondary sources, which could comprise a wide variety of textual and visual materials such as newspapers, press releases, company reports, local authority papers, meeting minutes, historical photographs, local histories, oral histories as well as social media.

Company records show that the Cain's brewery building was designed in the late nineteenth century to accommodate vastly increased production and to establish the business as one of the largest in the region, with an elaborate Renaissance decoration that at the time would have been the height of fashion (Routledge, 2008). Cain's was constructed when Liverpool was a truly global city of significant power and influence and the physical attributes of this space embodied the confidence of this era:

> "The brewery is a remarkable building, rightly considered one of Liverpool's finest. With its ornate terracotta tiles and brickwork, the elaborate crest, the tower and the pretty Brewery Tap pub nestling in one corner, it is a monument to the optimism of Victorian Liverpool" (Routledge, 2008: 1).

Mobilizing Lefebvre's (1991) triadic formulation once more, we find that the conceived values of Cain's at the point of inauguration comprised a design for a visually attesting building; built high and wide, elaborate and decorative; requiring vast quantities of raw material but also a fine craftmanship. Invoking intended themes of dominance: over nature, over the immediate surroundings, over commercial rivals. These idealized conceptions of power, prestige and productivity can be envisaged as being more-or-less enacted at the perceived level: a large ornate building was constructed and its physicality asserted the brewery amongst the immediate surroundings; the interior housed state-of-the-art machinery for mass production that enabled and enforced movements and work routines that greatly increased productive activity relative to competitors; market share grew as a result, and thereby profits (Routledge, 2008).

However, Cain's struggled through much of the twentieth century and eventually collapsed under the weight of its debts in 2013. The brewery building subsequently fell into disuse. It became grand relic of a distant model of British industrial capitalism.

In 2013, new plans for Cain's were published to transform the space into a 'Brewery Village' in accordance with a more 'post-industrial' model of re-development driven by property investment. This re-conception involved re-purposing the brewery as a destination for high-end transient tourism and leisure; the roof of the building was to be cleaved off to make way for a cocktail bar; the inside gutted to house serviced luxury apartments and a supermarket installed underneath complete with a large glass frontage. Planning permission was granted by the local authority with £150m

required from investors; promotional material was produced and there was significant fanfare online, particularly in local newspapers and on social media. But despite all this the brewery was eventually deemed ineligible for large-scale re-development, investors baulked at the state of disrepair and out-of-town location and the plans for the Cain's Brewery Village were quietly abandoned.

We can envisage this passage of time as bearing witness to the uncoupling of conceived and perceived space: no longer in harmonious agreement but now circling one another; sometimes even producing a direct opposition where the plans for a shiny, glossy retained-façade post-industrial re-development stand in stark contrast to an empirical reality of a cold, damp and decaying building located in the 'wrong' part of the city. Cain's size, its architecture and its decoration made it an attractive target for this proposed re-development – and we see much promotional material featuring the words 'iconic,' 'aspirational,' 'ambitious' – but at the same time these features erected barriers to this plan: the space was deemed to be too large, too elaborate. The extent and scale of Cain's dilapidation meant that the prevailing view among investors was that there was too much work to be done, too many risks associated with proposed re-development, the project was a financially unappealing prospect for those seeking healthy returns on capital. Cain's soon found itself on the periphery, rather than attract investment as desired, its state of disrepair and abandonment lent itself much more readily to more subversive activities and documentary analysis revealed the proliferation of urban exploration and art installations, also uncovering flyers for warehouse parties advertising deejays from Detroit and Chicago – activities that define Lefebvre's notion of a lived space

"linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art" (1991: 33).

At Cain's, we find that capitalist heritage and industry cast a long shadow, but we have also uncovered a contested historical process of a substantial regional brewery embodying a very British capitalism actually becoming intrinsically resistant to these forces; tracing entrepreneurial practices back to the spark first ignited by underground groups who found a creative use for a space that had been cast adrift by the conventional forces of urban re-development.

3.5.3 A return to the present

Having re-traced our steps we can start to elaborate further on the entrepreneurial practices that are gathering at Cain's, situating present enactments in their historical conditions (e.g. Thompson et al., 2020) to "rediscover the present, but elucidated, understood, explained" (Lefebvre, 1953, cited in Merrifield, 2006: 4). At this phase, research could conduct further phenomenological interviews with questioning guided by accumulated practical and historical knowledge of the entrepreneurial phenomenon under investigation gleaned over time from previous phases of inquiry.

The present experience of Cain's is constituted of multiple and complex interactions between geographical and political forces situated in history. Once a substantial regional brewing operation, a site for mass-production, the regulated movement of users – a most pure expression of capitalist power – Cain's is now in the process of an entrepreneurial transformation that is predicated on a different notion of what this space is and can become. The wreckage of Cain's industrial past and the inability of

traditional forces of re-development to enact their plan for the future became a source of creativity and new possibility. With this historicized understanding we can now begin to appreciate the influence of the early reclamation practices of the underground groups that came before: they sought to make a rejected space their own and the entrepreneurial practices that followed channel this momentum; absorbing the spirit of resistance to traditional notions of re-development; articulating the new possibilities implied in this lived space onto much wider spheres. This process of regeneration manifest through entrepreneurial practices comprising many small spatial transformations: re-building among the ruin, altering existing material arrangements, appropriating the history of this space and its past industrial functions and re-representing them in a different way, creating new constellations. The accumulation of these many small transformations instituting a much broader project: an entrepreneurial enactment that collectively forms an expression of a new future for Cain's that is premised on a much more local notion of re-development – space as both the outcome of time and the setting for the future (Lefebvre, 1991: 91-92).

Invoking Lefebvre, this process is an "endless production" (1991: 370) that is still very much in motion, and the success of local entrepreneurship at Cain's means that the space is now showing signs of aggregating towards more traditional and mainstream ideals of re-development that its current inhabitants sought initially to oppose: where the clustering of entrepreneurial activity, generating increased footfall and favourable demographics, is encouraging the regrouping of conceived forces. The unrealized plans for a 'Cain's Brewery Village' coming back to the table, already closer to realization than before, calling for new entrepreneurial formulations

once more. This demonstrates the strong temporal dimension of Lefebvre's (1991) dynamic triadic formulation, where the multiplicity and complexity of the present and into the future starts to become apparent through a historical treatment of constitutive spatial forces. These forces are always changing, interrelating in new ways. Thus, what we are left with in our return to the present is not "the linear, time-based dialectic of thesis/anti-thesis/synthesis" (Beyes & Holt, 2020: 11), but rather "a propulsive but undirected triadic awareness" (11).

Indeed, the efficacy of Lefebvre's triad (1991) lies in its ability to visualize complexity, to offer a configuring frame for understanding the present as constituted of multiple forces that are all "inscribed in the built landscape, literally piled on top of each other" (Merrifield, 2006: 105). Lefebvre invokes the image of a "flaky *mille-feuille* pastry" (1991: 86, emphasis in original) to help us to envisage space as comprised of these multiple layers where "the local, the regional, the national and the world-wide interweave and overlap" (2003b: 211) – and if we do not trace these wider connections there is a risk that research "separates what is connected" (211) by treating local studies as isolated phenomena which can "break up spatial networks, links and relations" (211). Thus, we can draw clear links between Lefebvre and an entrepreneurship-as-practice research agenda that seeks to apprehend entrepreneurial practicing as not just an economic function, but a societal phenomenon situated among broader social, cultural, geographical as well as political forces (e.g. Champenois et al., 2020; Thompson et al., 2020).

With Lefebvre's (1991) triad as the productive force for analysis, I have offered an attempt at not resting or settling, but continually shifting between three interrelated

spatial aspects so that what this space 'is' and what its entrepreneurial practices 'amount to' remain curious, challenging, and unfinished (e.g. Johannisson, 2011). I have attempted to illustrate one way of exploring the spatial and temporal dimensions of entrepreneurial practicing as emerging through a triadic set of tangles in a methodological process where there is a constant movement between the conceived, perceived and lived over time (e.g. Liu & Grey, 2018; Skoglund & Holt, 2021). Where going from an initial surface understanding to more immersive research practices mobilizes a historicized appreciation that moves toward becoming more questioning; taking in historical accounts of success and industry but also of decline and failure; shifting between local and global forces where one is not always dominant. Where among these continuously unfolding spatial forces, entrepreneurial practices emerge.

3.6 Conclusion

Previous research exploring the relationship between space and entrepreneurship tends to emphasize built spaces as already objectively existing structural phenomena that entrepreneurial practices must negotiate or navigate, or conversely, to imply that the relationship is more premised on individual perceptions and experiences of space – where subjective representations prompt particular courses of individual entrepreneurial action (Welter & Baker, 2021). Conversant with practice-theoretical ideals, Lefebvre's (1991) triad is not isolated nor static but rather constituted of a cluster of relations which are always in dialectical interrelation, encouraging us to go looking for entrepreneurship as it emerges in-between binaries as a disruptive and transformational force (e.g., Thompson et al., 2020) – entrepreneurial practices as both a product of and also able to change space.

In this chapter, I have attempted to show one way of exploring the temporal and spatial interrelations that give rise to and are simultaneously shaped by entrepreneurial practices by mobilizing Lefebvre's (1991) triadic notion of space, thereby elaborating a new opening for empirical investigations into the role of built spaces and their significance for present day entrepreneurial enactments. Whilst this is not a full set of procedures or complete taxonomy, I have endeavoured to show what a methodological entry to the study of entrepreneurial practicing through spatial inquiry could look like, and how this might unearth new forms of entrepreneurship-as-practice scholarship that continues to unsettle traditional dichotomies.

CHAPTER FOUR

Contextualizing entrepreneurship, urban spaces as 'in-between' phenomena: Liverpool's 'Baltic Triangle'

Abstract

In our empirical study we answer calls to investigate the contexts of entrepreneurship, bringing together Henri Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' and Spinosa, Flores and Dreyfus's theorizing of entrepreneurship as 'world-making' to provide a processual account of how changes in the city are continuously animated by entrepreneurial action. By paying attention to these spatial characteristics in-between, we provide new insights into the openings and closings of entrepreneurship in the remaking of urban spaces.

Key words

Entrepreneurship, context, urban space, process, in-between, Henri Lefebvre, spatial triad, Liverpool, Baltic Triangle.

4.1 Introduction

The importance of the built environment for the study of the entrepreneurial action and its capacity for the 'remaking' of spaces has recently become acknowledged (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1170). Researchers have started to study contexts characterized by uneven development, such as declining (Anderson et al., 2019) and depleted places (Johnstone & Lionais, 2004), that can offer degrees of regulative, financial, or ideational freedom for idiosyncratic forms of entrepreneurial action

eventually contributing to the renewal of these contexts (McKeever et al., 2015), thereby highlighting that the social phenomenon of entrepreneurship unfolds in spatial settings (Welter, 2011).

Following calls, also in *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, to further investigate the contexts of entrepreneurship (e.g., Welter, 2011; Welter et al., 2017), and to explore the entrepreneurial potential harboured in urban space (Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Holm & Beyes, 2022). We investigate the dynamic interplay of entrepreneurial action and context in the remaking of urban space through a study of entrepreneurial action in a hitherto neglected and run-down industrial area in the English city of Liverpool, setting spatial relations in continuous play to animate how context affects and is affected by entrepreneurial action. Our empirical study asks: how does an urban space provide openings, as well as restrictions, for the continuous coming and going of entrepreneurial formations, producing physical, economic, social and cultural change?

To answer this question, we follow the call to explore cognate disciplines (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1168), and we invoke Henri Lefebvre's (1991: 33; 38-39) triadic theorization of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* characteristics of urban space (see also Beyes, 2006). Lefebvre's threefold conception for studying the built environment over time considers how historical plans, such as the successive designs (*conceived*) by generations of city planners, businesses and inhabitants generate particular built environments, and how these forms are *perceived* by various parties dwelling in, having an interest, or being otherwise affected or in touch with a space. Over time, changing conceived and perceived characteristics of a space can give rise

to indeterminate spaces 'in-between,' when small dissonances or disturbances, often emerging from seemingly trivial everyday activities of urban inhabitants, can provide fleeting openings for new endeavours and ventures that go beyond extant conceptions and perceptions, including the potential for novelty, tactics and resistance. Lefebvre names this in-between stage '*lived space*' (see also Lefebvre, 1996: 148, and 2003a: 39). We suggest that this threefold characterization of urban spatial development – with lived space as a fleeting sphere for novelty – help us understand the role of context when studying "when, how, and why entrepreneurship happens and who becomes involved" (Welter, 2011: 166). Revealing how different spatial configurations of a city – constellations of relations between formal structures and institutions, built arrangements, and urban inhabitants – lead to the emergence (and *re*-emergence) of entrepreneurship as these various actors, forces and forms interrelate with and transform each other over time.

However, any matching of urban space and venturing also requires a conceptualization of entrepreneurship as a contextualized process (McKeever et al., 2015), and for this we draw on Spinosa, Dreyfus and Flores's (1997) account of entrepreneurial world-making. Spinosa et al. argue that actual or authentic entrepreneurship only occurs when a change which was already latent in the wider context, but not yet identified, articulated or commercialized, is brought into being, and with it a wider change 'in-between' existing cultural or societal ways of living, working or being: for these authors, authentic entrepreneurship makes new worlds. While their framing of 'authentic' entrepreneurship may be narrow, Spinosa et al., provide a clear link between contextual conditions (the latent possibility for change) as well as generative of change at the societal level – and it has been employed to

explore entrepreneurship as a process of social change (Hjorth & Holt, 2016; Johnsen et al., 2018). However, Spinosa et al. do not explicitly discuss space (or the built environment), and we therefore extend their analysis, situating their theory of entrepreneurship among wider 'Lefebvrian' forces of *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived* space. The crucial connection between Spinosa et al. and Lefebvre is the in-between/lived element with its fleeting potential for novelty, and the role of entrepreneurship to recognize and articulate such novelty and by bringing it into being, in turn altering again the characteristics of space.

We apply these spatial and entrepreneurial theories in our study of the ongoing re-development of the 'Baltic Triangle', an inner-city post-industrial area in Liverpool, UK, mobilizing Lefebvre's (1991) triadic formulation of urban spatial production to explore its unfolding dynamics as three interrelated spatio-temporal 'epochs.' We then trace the Baltic Triangle's continuous development understanding the entrepreneurial as a transformational force, which we read through Spinosa et al.'s (1997) processes of sensing, articulating and realizations of novelty. These triadic forces stand in reciprocal relationship, and we identify three analytical epochs, each indicating a specific constellation of the three forces. We begin with an *epoch* of relative desolation, *conceptions* about the use of the space little developed, and *perceptions* of the space primarily of decay and minimal administrative oversight following many years of economic neglect. At the same time, however, the absence of plans, oversight or infrastructure provided the grounds for *lived s*paces, tentative entrepreneurial activity, often subversive, remaining hostile to commercialization or organized activity. Our second *epoch* sees a change in the triadic relations: Following the blossoming of largely artistic and non-commercial underground

activities, new *conceptions* for the space start to become manifest and more formal entrepreneurial activity begins to settle, accompanied by newly instituted planning principles which help change the perceptive space, dilapidated structures and infrastructures become gradually restored. In *epoch three*, as a result of continued commercial successes, the triadic elements shift again, seeing the landscape fill with high-rise accommodation following the by now established *conception* of the Baltic Triangle as a trendy place and investment opportunity. At the same time, however, these developments begin to crowd out those independent and often artistic entrepreneurial endeavours that first populated the space, with property prices, rents and tight regulations providing an increasingly prohibitive context for *lived* space and its possibilities, again altering the *perception* of the space as a site for high price apartments and glossy student accommodation.

Our findings concur with Spinosa et al. (1997) in their identification of a latent contextual change, which in our case takes the form of the regeneration of a decayed site, and the need for immersion in this site for entrepreneurs to sense, articulate and make something else of it. We also find the interrelation of Lefebvre's (1991) conceived, perceived and lived characteristics of urban space. But contrary to Spinosa et al.'s identification of world-making as a somewhat extraordinary event, performed by specific individuals and small groups of 'world makers', we find a more everyday process at work, involving a wide range of entrepreneurial outfits involved in these processes, from businesses to local artist collectives, skateboarders, or independent music venues, but also city planners, funders and many more who contribute toward the co-creation of this entrepreneurial space. Here our findings are more in line with Welter's (2011) suggestions.

Moreover, we find this space characterized by dynamic openings and closings of potential over time. This dynamism is inherent in Lefebvre's spatial triad (see also Beyes & Holt, 2020), which allows us to trace changes in the triadic elements over time, and how at each turn possibility for novelty opens up or closes down. These contextual conditions are constituted and altered through these everyday relations between entrepreneurial action and the built environment, suggesting also, *pace* Spinosa et al., that authentic entrepreneurship is at play in both the creation but also preservation, or continuous re-creation or protection of in-between, lived spaces against the forces of commercialization and planning. Embracing everyday diversity goes beyond a focus on single ventures (Davidsson & Gruenhagen, 2020), and offers an alternative to the Silicon Valley model of urban re-development (Kwon & Sorenson, 2021).

By investigating the contexts of entrepreneurship through spatial inquiry we contribute to the literature in three ways. First, we introduce a new conceptual and analytical apparatus, combining two theoretical approaches (McKeever et al., 2015), to offer a novel way of apprehending the interplay of context and entrepreneurial agency in the remaking of urban space (Welter & Baker, 2021). Our second contribution concerns the heterogeneity of everyday contextualized entrepreneurship (Welter et al., 2017), for example through non-commercial and artistic interventions (Barinaga, 2016; Hjorth & Holt, 2016; Holm & Beyes, 2022), also recognizing the latent potential held in more underground urban activities such as skateboarding and music subcultures (Audretsch et al., 2021a; Drakopoulou-Dodd, 2014). Finally, our analytical framing and accompanying suite of methodological procedures captures

the co-creation of this entrepreneurial space in fine-grain detail, situating various everyday entrepreneurial acts in their very specific time and place in the tradition of contextually inclined research (Audretsch et al., 2021b). But as well as observing this contextual variation we are also able to elaborate a broader theoretical contribution: offering a schema whereby different constellations of spatial forces lead to the emergence of different forms of entrepreneurial action at different times, thus "specifying how and when variations in context affect entrepreneurial processes and outcomes" (Van Burg et al., 2022: 8). We suggest that this theoretical fusing of approaches – which we elaborate as an always unfolding 'in-betweenness' – offers a dynamic frame for apprehending contextual influences of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial influences on context, which has broader applications for understanding entrepreneurial emergence and endurance in other contexts (Hjorth et al., 2015; Drakopoulou-Dodd et al., 2021).

4.2 Studying context in entrepreneurship

Welter (2011: 174) identified three challenges in contextualizing entrepreneurship research: applying a context lens together with an individual lens; considering bright and dark sides to context as something simultaneously enabling and constraining, as well as applying a multi-context perspective. Reflecting on these ten years later, Welter and Baker (2021: 1155) argue that few studies have adequately taken up these challenges:

> We were surprised to find that over 80% of articles citing Welter (2011) still
> portrayed contexts as "out there," treating contexts as given and as exhibiting
> a direct and unmediated influence on entrepreneurs, their behaviour, and their

outcomes. From this angle we do not, as a field, seem to have fully embraced the benefits of investigating the interplay of contexts and the agency of entrepreneurs.

The authors call for researchers to explore new theoretical and conceptual frontiers "to move beyond considering contexts as "out there" – as elements of the environment affecting entrepreneurship – and toward examination of how entrepreneurs engage with and construct contexts" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1155). To account for the interplay of context and agency, we subsequently outline Spinosa et al.'s (1997) theory of the in-betweenness of entrepreneurial world-making before connecting these with Lefebvre's conception of in-between, lived space based on a set of triadic relations.

4.2.1 Contextualizing entrepreneurship as an 'in-between' phenomenon
Spinosa et al.'s (1997) account of 'world-making' offers a specific definition of the entrepreneurial act, by suggesting that this exceeds business as usual and only happens in moments where looming changes in society become realized. Entrepreneurship is integral to such changes, as it is entrepreneurs who help give a latent idea form and articulation, and who do the organizing work to make these new worlds:

> The entrepreneurs worth thinking about are the ones who are sensitive to how the problem that they sense has its roots in our pervasive way of living, our lifestyle, either in our culture as a whole or in some more or less self-

> contained domain. The changes they bring about … change the way we see
> and understand things in the relevant domain (Spinosa et al., 1997: 41).

Spinosa et al. (1997) present Gillette's disposable razor as an archetypical example of entrepreneurship in its most authentic form. Its conception required sensing the change from an older regime of craftsmanship and care for products towards a new age of factory production, cheap plastic moldings and throw-away habits. Disposable razors exemplify an articulation and a giving of shape to something new that is bigger than the product itself; a mode of being which had hitherto not found its home in culture and language. In this, Spinosa et al.'s conception resembles processes of artistic production which may equally express novel or futuristic ideas, but the entrepreneurial then continues with a process of *contagion* in which the new is disseminated, replicated, and adapted, bringing about larger-scale, often commercial changes. As the example shows, 'authentic' entrepreneurship may not be ethical; it requires the right time and climate to happen; and is therefore not something that can be confined to the figure of the entrepreneur. Spinosa et al.'s version of entrepreneurship is also not merely the realization of extant opportunities, as the new is not 'out there,' waiting to be found or activated, requires a process of making, whereby a possible future – a world – is realized by taking a leap from the edges of the old into the unknown.

This also refines the characteristic of the entrepreneurial act as which now requires 'attunement' (Zundel, 2013) to the environment, gathered from long and intense immersion, so that a sensitivity to what is merely on the brink of happening can be developed. Possibility for the new emerges in-between habituated and articulated

forms of living, glimpsed merely through the openings and gaps that emerge amidst settled and established rhythms of everyday life, the entrepreneurial task then becomes one of working intensely to prise these cracks open, relating affirmatively to what may come to be, and to find words and images to give them form and so realize this potential (Hjorth et al., 2018). Such acts have already been described, for example in Holt and Hjorth's (2016) example of socially transformative practices or Johnsen et al.'s (2018) study of sustainable entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurially wrought change becomes actualized in-between what already is and what could become by taking people to the fringes of action, habits, tradition and custom (Farias et al., 2019).

However, whilst Spinosa et al. reveal to us the process by which entrepreneurs can make use of favorable contexts, they say little about how such transformations impact on the subsequent potential for entrepreneurial acts. For Farias et al., (2019: 555), entrepreneurial acts are always 'only provisional', and Welter (2011), more explicitly, suggests a *second* challenge for contextualized research, which is to develop a sensitivity to enabling (bright) but also constraining (dark) aspects of context. Animating entrepreneurial openings as well as closings presents conceptual challenges, requiring the rousing of multiple contextual factors affecting or affected by entrepreneurship (economic and social, but also institutional, cultural, historical), many of these are manifest in the transformation of living spaces, such as the factories, sales outlets, the growth affluence displayed in private dwellings and public infrastructure (at least for some, often in the West), changing habits and values, as well as the growing rubbish heaps, pollution and the global exploitation of natural resources to fuel the rise of plastics, and the mass-production of disposable

products. To understand the recursive relationship between entrepreneurial activity and context, we therefore turn to conceptions of space (e.g., Beyes, 2006; Hjorth, 2004; 2005).

4.2.2 The 'in-between' of urban spaces

Sociological inquiry has developed a rich theorizing for how new opportunities for urban living emerge in the city, especially 'in-between' idealized planning and architectural forms. Perhaps best known is Jane Jacobs's (1961) inquiry into why plans that pursue the 'ideal' conditions for urban life in American cities so often end up falling short of the mark reveals car-centric infrastructural projects, out of town shopping malls and the creation of high-rise residential complexes. Jacobs observes the neatness of planning for these city spaces continually running against how city architecture is actually used: plans conceived 'from above' so often fall apart 'on the ground' (see also Scott, 1998; de Certeau, 1984), so creating a space of a third kind in-between this neat idealization and untidy reality; the space occupied by urban inhabitants – which can become the focal point for oblique resistance, cunning intervention, but also fleeting moments of intimacy and community. Jacobs demonstrates this by showing how small and inconspicuous elements of a plan or blueprint, such as the location of a mailbox in a high-rise residential development, can function as an essential social hub: against the principles of overarching designs the mailbox afforded a natural congregation for inhabitants to interact socially; however seemingly insignificant it operated as an indispensable centre of urban community activity.

A more theoretically elaborate account of such concerns is Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual schema that incorporates this space in-between as the very essence of urban life (Stanek, 2011). Lefebvre's 'spatial triad,' which relates the idealized space of planning (conceived space) and the daily negotiation of the built environment (perceived space) with the 'lived space' of urban users and inhabitants (33; 38-39). Lefebvre's triad attempts to apprehend the city as a process of "endless production" (370), involving all three aspects of the triad in continuous interrelation. At the centre of this idea is "that a given plan must of necessity highlight either function, or form, or structure" (369), yet "no plan could conceivably maintain a perfect balance between these … as *use* corresponds to a unity and collaboration between the very factors that such dogmatisms insist on disassociating" (369, emphasis in original). So, whilst the abstract space of urban planning plays "a substantial role and specific influence in the production of space" (42), leading to the creation of specific urban layouts, streets and buildings, it is those that actually live and dwell in these spaces that make it their own, that fill up urban spaces and give them meaning. This contested process – always unfolding – is how we can understand the essence of urban living as manifest through lived space, which is the constant inability of plans for the city to be executed perfectly on the street-level:

> For an individual, for a group, to inhabit is to appropriate something. Not in the sense of possessing it, but as making it an oeuvre, making it one's own, marking it, modelling it, shaping it. This is the case with individuals and with small groups like families, and it is also true for big social groups that inhabit a city or region. To inhabit is to appropriate space, in the midst of constraints, that is to say, to be in conflict – often acute – between the constraining

powers and the forces of appropriation (Lefebvre, 1967, cited in Stanek, 2011: 87).

For Lefebvre (1991), urban space is always in the making; being produced in a process whereby all three triadic elements (the conceived, perceived and lived) are set in continuous play. As there is never equilibrium between these forces lived space cannot be understood simply "by means of a reference to authenticity, creativity, or presence shining through the commodified everyday" (Stanek, 2011: 128). Lived space therefore indicates a fleeting urban potential: it is always "space *as it might be*" (Shields, 1999: 161, emphasis in original); continually manifest in-between the ideal and the real, something "which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (Lefebvre, 1991: 39).

We suggest that Lefebvre's insistence that urban spatial production is a fundamentally unfinished process offers a way of apprehending the openings and closings of an urban space to entrepreneurial possibility over time, so generating a dynamic theoretical and analytical frame to study together phenomena often treated as separate by shifting attention from the study of "*things in space* to the actual *production of space*" (1991: 37, emphasis in original). Especially, it is the notion that lived space constantly "inaugurates the project of a different space (either the space of a counter-culture, or a counter-space in the sense of an initially utopian alternative to an actually existing 'real' space)" (349) – but crucially does not finish it – that suggests a dynamic relation in which we might witness particular spatial configurations (in terms of Lefebvre's triadic characterization) as particularly conducive to different forms of entrepreneurial work at different times. These

changing spatial configurations are animated by integrating multiple 'contexts' – the spatial triad incorporating the unfolding interplay of institutional, cultural, social and economic forces as they produce new constellations of relations – and thus, we consider this a theorizing that also satisfies Welter's (2011) *third* challenge: to apprehend the multiplicity of context.

Lefebvre's (1991) triad has been utilized widely in urban planning studies as a way of researching the contested spatial relations that constitute the ongoing development of inner-city districts (e.g., Buser, 2012; Leary, 2009). Also, in organization studies (see Beyes & Holt, 2020), researchers have mobilized the triadic forces to study how organizational spaces, such as university toilets (Skoglund & Holt, 2021), and buildings (Liu & Grey, 2018), can be continuously opened up to new hitherto concealed possibilities through the inherent capacity of lived space for "the unforeseeable, the surprise and the spontaneous" (Stanek, 2011: 105, see also Lefebvre, 2003a: 97). However, Lefebvre's spatial theorizing has not yet been widely applied to empirical studies of entrepreneurship (Beyes, 2006).

4.2.3 Connecting the in-between characters of entrepreneurship and (urban) spaces
We are now able to consider the relationships between the in-between characters of urban spaces and the transformational capacity of entrepreneurship. While Lefebvre's (1991) triadic formulation of spatial production does not elaborate the role of entrepreneurial activity, he nonetheless conceives of a dynamic by which growing conceptions about a space affect and transform the triadic spatial characteristics. Lefebvre (1991: 59) was well aware that the possibilities implied in lived space are meaningful precisely through their own erasure, thus driving the

unfolding development of every urban space (Stanek, 2011: 128). The city is produced by the lived space of urban inhabitants; constantly reinventing itself pushing against economic visions (*conceived* space) that seek to attract investment and development, in order to change the built environment and patterns of use (*perceived* space), and so, in turn, altering the possibilities imminent in the (*lived*) space. Our aim is to investigate the role of entrepreneurship in commercially realizing the potential held in lived spaces and thus, where lived spaces in turn "… gets crushed and vanquished by the conceived" (Merrifield, 2006: 111).

Setting lived space and entrepreneurial activity into relation shows a dynamic double play: the entrepreneurial creatively fulfils or realizes the potential of lived space, so bringing it into commerce by creating visions, attracting capital and realizing what was merely latent, but at the same time such activity erodes and saturates the potential held in lived space; doing and un-doing are set into patterns by which the re-imposition of structure and order at the level of conception erodes the potential held in this unformed and in-between. Subsequently, we investigate these patterns between space and entrepreneurship in our study of the Baltic Triangle, investigating how this urban space provides openings as well as restrictions for the continuous coming and going of entrepreneurial formations, producing physical, economic, social and cultural change.

4.3 Research and method

4.3.1 Empirical site

Our research site occupies a triangular-shaped area in Liverpool, UK, located immediately to the south of the city center next to the (now defunct) commercial

docks that run along the river Mersey. Jamaica Street runs through its center. This street and its surrounds were once an important location for international freight services and domestic manufacturing but experienced a sharp decline throughout the twentieth century. Today, the area is known as the 'Baltic Triangle,' and has become an important center for art, culture, and nightlife in the city, as well as a property development hotspot. We investigate the continued development of the Baltic Triangle over a period of 30 years: how entrepreneurial action in its various guises emerges from the wreckage of Liverpool's industrial past, witnessing how it changes, morphs and re-emerges, responding to changing spatial circumstances as growing commercial interests (such as residential development) follow in its stead.

Figure 4.1 Map of the Baltic Triangle

Source: author drawing

4.3.2 Research design

Primary research involved formal face-to-face in-depth interviews (taking place between 2019 and 2020) with entrepreneurs in the Baltic Triangle as well as other residents and visitors such as those frequenting the music and art establishments (13 in total). Formal interviews typically lasted between 2 and 3 hours and were audio recorded and partially transcribed before anonymization carried out by the first author. Due to the anonymization of interviewees as a condition of ethical approval for this research, primary interviews were conducted only with individuals that were not included in any subsequent public panel event/discussions or secondary documentary sources in the public domain.

Further formal site visits to the Baltic Triangle were also conducted (13 further visits). These included 1 walking tour of the Baltic Triangle (attended with 3 others), as well as 12 further formal research visits carried out by the first author, in which field notes and photographs were taken to produce descriptions and visual records of the space. 53 hours were spent conducting formal site visits and 95 photographs were taken during this time. In addition to these formal visits the first author has lived near the area and taken part in its music scene since early 2013, including frequent informal visits (approximately 50) to various independent music venues, which helped to furnish this research with further background knowledge.

The Baltic Triangle community frequently organize public panel discussion/roundtable events where invited speakers (often comprising local business owners, artists, musicians, residential developers as well as local media commentators) are invited to discuss contemporary issues concerning the past,

present, and future of the Baltic Triangle. 4 panel discussions in particular – all taking place between 2019 and 2020 – were identified that dealt with issues directly related to our research question: 1 emphasizing the emergence of entrepreneurship in the Baltic Triangle; 1 exploring the future of independent music venues in the face of increasing residential development; with a further 2 dedicated to exploring this issue specifically in the context of one particular venue/residential development. Video and/or audio recordings of panel discussions were made publicly available online by the organizers and these provided valuable research insights (one providing, for instance, the venue's owners in conversation with commercial developer). On average, each panel discussion lasted one to two hours, comprising of up to five panel members per event – panel discussions were partially transcribed from online recordings.

A further source of data was archival material (50), which consisted of planning documentation such as the sale of land and initial blueprints of the space in 1869, as well as various strategies for redeveloping the area and the wider waterfront/south docklands throughout preceding years – especially we located material focusing on these efforts throughout the twentieth century. Archival sources also included multiple photographs of the built environment and surrounding streetscapes, as well as marketing literature and brochures for artistic and music events.

Events surrounding the ongoing development of the Baltic Triangle continue to be widely documented, reported, and commented upon in the public sphere and throughout our research we drew upon a range of publicly available, secondary documentary sources (45). These sources included policy documents related to

public funding such as the administration of European Union development monies, as well as local authority meeting minutes, planning and policy publications such as local plans and strategic development frameworks, third party research reports, local and national newspaper reporting and other website material providing analysis, commentary or opinion on contemporary issues pertaining to the Baltic Triangle.

A further important secondary documentary source was publicly available interviews (11) published either directly online, in print, or broadcast on local radio stations (and archived on their website) with individuals involved in the Baltic Triangle including entrepreneurs – especially local artists and music venue owners – but also executives at residential development companies. A final source of secondary information was visual media (6), which included locally produced films and documentaries as well as nationally produced television programmes about Liverpool's south docklands. Books were also widely consulted – especially those written about the history of Liverpool and its built environment such as *Seaport* (Hughes, 1964) and *Liverpool: Pevsner architectural guide* (Sharples, 2004) as well as several others (e.g., Balderstone et al., 2014; Couch, 2003; Lane, 1987; Dunster, 2008). A full list of all data sources is produced in table 4.1 with a further detailed breakdown presented in Appendix A.

Table 4.1 Overview of primary and secondary data

Type	Description	Content
Primary interviews (13)	In-depth face-to-interviews (13)	Discussions with entrepreneurs and other individuals frequenting art and music establishments in the Baltic Triangle.
Other (4)	Public panel/roundtable discussion events (4)	Public debates surrounding the past, present and future of cultural and entrepreneurial activities in the Baltic Triangle.
Primary observations/site visits (13)	Walking tour (1)	Guided history tour of the Baltic Triangle, including scheduled meet and greets with local entrepreneurs/organizations, and tours of distinctive buildings.
	Formal site visits (12)	Individual site visits to the Baltic Triangle to produce descriptions and visual records (53 hours in total)
Primary archival (50)	Liverpool Records Office (50)	Trips to Liverpool Record Office (with the exception of archival sources publicly viewable online), to inspect historical documentation and locate historic images of the built environment.
Primary visual (95)	Photographs taken by first author (95)	Photographs taken during formal site visits: of buildings, music events, streetscapes etc.
Secondary documentary (45)	Liverpool City Council (9)	Local plans, development strategies, and urban area strategy reports.
	Liverpool City Council (4)	Licensing, gambling, planning committees and Mayoral Cabinet meeting minutes for organizations in the Baltic Triangle.
	Third party (6)	Research reports, advisory documents and vision manifestos related to organizations operating within, or prevailing issues in the Baltic Triangle.
	Liverpool Echo (9)	Local newspaper reporting on the Baltic Triangle. Including old photographs and commentary from residents.
	National reporting (8)	Reviews of artistic events, critique of development policy, national comparisons, and area guides of the Baltic Triangle for visitors.
	Other, documentary (9)	Website content from local organizations, commentary on the Baltic Triangle from architectural and skateboarding magazines.
Secondary interview (11)	Online interviews (6)	Online interviews with music-based entrepreneurs and artists in Baltic triangle.
	Radio interview (1)	Radio interview: local entrepreneur/music venue owner in conversation with musician.
	Video interviews (2)	Video recorded interviews with music-based entrepreneurs and artists in Baltic triangle.
	Print interviews (2)	Print interviews with property developer executives with significant operations in the Baltic Triangle.
Secondary visual media (6)	Other, secondary visual media (6)	Television programmes for terrestrial channels, online documentary and locally produced films that discuss the Baltic Triangle or the history of Liverpool's south docklands and waterfront.

After a preliminary analysis, key primary empirical material was gathered by the

first author (comprising mostly of interviews, both online and conducted in person,

as well as the panel discussions), producing a word document comprising 126,130 words, or 351 pages of double-sided text. We then worked with these empirical materials abductively, deepening our understanding of Lefebvre (1991) and Spinosa et al.'s (1997) ideas as we analyzed our data. The author team met 38 times to discuss the findings and to relate these to our growing understanding of the theory.

Our first analytical aim was to identify the spatial characteristics in accordance with Lefebvre's (1991) triad, and how these shifted over time. This allowed us to identify key time periods, which we call 'epochs,' in which we could see a predominant arrangement of the triadic relations. To delineate time periods for our study of the Baltic Triangle we organize our findings around stages that signal important moments of transition from one phase of spatial development to the next. We use the term 'epoch' to emphasize these key moments of transformational change, which are not of a pre-determined or uniform duration. This terminology we borrow from historical studies of entrepreneurship exploring its role in global capitalist society (e.g., Boje & Hillon, 2017; Jones & Spicer, 2009). This work builds upon the Marxian tradition of seeking theoretical explanations of societal change by periodizing how the primary activities of capitalism change over time (Weeks, 1985), to produce an analysis of 'epochal' changes in its specific features or characteristics (for instance, Marx assigned four epoch's of agricultural, merchant, industrial and state capitalism). We seek to emulate this technique by identifying and naming time periods that define *epochal* moments of change in the Baltic Triangle. For this, we followed the prescriptions of Lefebvre (who is incidentally a Marxist scholar). Lefebvre (1991) envisaged conceived space as the dominant space in society: whilst not driving the *social* production of space (which Lefebvre attributed

to the potent force of lived inhabitation), it is conceived forces (such as local authorities, residential developers) that nonetheless dominate the process of how abstracted plans for the city become manifest in the material environment. With this in mind, we organize our three 'epochs' of the Baltic Triangle around significant changes in its conception, which were announced by the local authority in a succession of policy reports outlining important changes to how the space would be governed. We start with the precursory epoch of 'The Jamaica Street Industrial Area'; moving then to its official designation as 'The Baltic Triangle'; before exploring the epoch of the 'Extended Baltic Triangle,' which it remains to this day. Our use of the term 'epoch' should therefore not be confused with Husserl's (1982 [1913]) concept of 'epoché – which refers to the specific act of suspending belief or trust (which Husserl also called 'bracketing') as a central methodological feature of phenomenological inquiry.

Our second aim was to trace key entrepreneurial activities, and how these interrelated with these spatial features. The Baltic Triangle was a late-stage recipient of largely European Union development funding, following the successful regeneration of other parts of Liverpool's city centre. However, as the Baltic Triangle lacked acknowledged historic monuments, quaint buildings that could easily be repurposed for gastronomy and cultural pursuits, and even basic infrastructure such including transport and lighting, we spent much time trying to trace the attempts of city planners to find solutions for this slowly decaying area, as well as engaging with funding documentation to understand how injections of capital were planned and with what purpose. We combined these documentary materials

with oral histories provided by residents and entrepreneurs to elicit discrepancies and changes between these accounts.

Following our identification of key epochs and important drivers of economic, planning and funding developments, we pieced together our below account of the reciprocal relationship between the production of space and entrepreneurship. Our challenge stemmed partly from the large timescale under consideration and the many changes that happened in this period, also including the redrawing, and relabelling of the area itself. We also dealt with entrepreneurial activity that was clandestine and sometimes illicit (at least in epoch one), as well as difficult to trace civic and regional politics, relating to planning, investment, and European funding. We also realize that the developments of the Baltic Triangle have to be set in wider relations with those of the Liverpool City region, as well as the UK as such, and that multiple influences, including the development of underground and mainstream music scenes, consumption patterns and levels of wealth and disposable income feed into the development of this area (see, for instance Lefebvre, 2003b), all of which exceeding the empirical and analytical scope of our paper. We are therefore careful not to present the reciprocal relation between spatial features and specific entrepreneurial initiatives as causally exclusive and acknowledge that wider patterns of influence are at play. Still, in working with Lefebvre's (1991) triadic conception we feel we were able to identify in these long-term development's particular changes in the ways in which conceived, perceived, and lived spaces altered, and in mobilizing Spinosa et al.'s (1997) analytical frame of world-making, our account of the growth and then decline of entrepreneurial potential and activity for which our examples stand as exemplary.

4.4 Findings

We present our analysis in two parts. First, we describe, and trace changes of the Baltic Triangle clustered into three epochs signifying differing spatial configurations of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad in which we then locate entrepreneurial activity.

4.4.1 Epoch one (2002-2008): 'Jamaica Street Industrial Area'

At the end of the twentieth century Liverpool was granted 'Objective 1' status, making it eligible for substantial structural funds for economic regeneration by the European Union. Once a port of global significance, many decades of decline meant that the Liverpool region had become one of the poorest areas in Europe with GDP per capita the lowest in the UK (Document 1: LCC, 2008: 9).

The city centre in particular was the focus of substantial investment, such as the £12 million 'Ropewalks' makeover of the city's historic cultural and 'bohemian' quarter, completed in 2002 (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 23). Further enhancements took place in 2004, when the waterfront and many surrounding streets (incorporating the Royal Albert Dock and a triplet of historic buildings, 'the Three Graces', in its centre, extending out into the Ropewalks) were afforded UNESCO World Heritage status becoming one of the largest collections of listed buildings in England (Document 7: LCC, 2017: 9). These improvements to the public realm anchored by Liverpool ONE: an ambitious billion-pound complex comprising forty-two-acres of shopping and leisure facilities slated for completion in 2008 (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 23).

However, next to these salvageable areas, the decline of Liverpool's sprawling commercial port from a major exporting hub to a skeleton operation had also left

behind a carcass of decaying warehouses that stretched across large swathes of the city. The largest collection of these surviving warehouses was concentrated in Liverpool's traditionally industrial southern heartlands (Sharples, 2004) – a space that is known today as the 'Baltic Triangle' (Document 3: LCC, 2018: 51). But throughout what we define as our analytical *epoch one* the space was generally referred to as the 'Jamaica Street Industrial Area,' after its main thoroughfare.

Figure 4.2 A (once) cohesive space: aerial views of Jamaica Street in 1930

Source: Archival 4, Liverpool Records Office: LRO 352 PSP/1/43, 1930

The space that incorporates Jamaica Street and its surrounds had formed the industrial core of the city throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, initially conceived by urban planners to occupy a central role in coordinating Liverpool's ever-growing commercial port activities (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 7-13; Document 3: LCC, 2018: 51). The eminent architectural

commentator and activist Quentin Hughes described the experience of seeing these vast and uniformly coordinated structures from the pavement:

Few city streets of any period can equal Jamaica Street with its expression of powerful dignity and sombre colouring as block upon block of warehousing rises six or seven storeys from the pavement – towering fortress like structures, their names and dates proudly emblazoned in bold projecting brickwork along the line of parapet (Hughes, 1964: 11).

Figure 4.3 'Jamaica Street Monumental': The warehouses of the Baltic Triangle viewed from the pavement

Source: Archival 3, LRO 720.9 HUG 942.753 HUG (1963)

But throughout the time period that delineates our *epoch one,* urban planning, which had in the past played a dominant role in shaping the purposeful creation of warehouses and logistics structures, was merely able to muster the management of this space's decline as an 'area of obsolescence' (Document 4: LCC, 1965: 50).

Even though the Jamaica Street area had been earmarked for redevelopment since 2002, unlike Ropewalks or Liverpool ONE, these plans lacked a clear vision of purpose. At this time Liverpool remained blighted by comparatively low industrial output and the space stayed limited to haphazard and small industrial development; administrative efforts channelled into stimulating economic regeneration by encouraging new small business engaged in light industrial activities, which could use some of the existing infrastructure or build cheap metal structures to house their businesses, such as automobile repair workshops, builder's merchants, scrap yards and oil works. In the early 2000s, *conceptions* for the area were focussed on industrial use, restricting residential or hospitality activity, with city planners hoping that this would rekindle industrial growth in this much-maligned city-centre space (Document 5: LCC: 2002: 62-66).

Continually lacking *conceptions* for the area meant minimal investment and change, an environment as suffering from decades of neglect and decay and "post-war clearances" that salvaged reusable materials but "drained the life out of the area" (Document 22: LE, 2018: 1). By the mid-2000s, Jamaica Street was lined with "old crumbling warehouses and crinkly sheds" (1), its decline, it turned out, further hastened by regenerative efforts which saw more old brick warehouses pulled down making room for flimsy industrial sheds to accommodate light industrial activity

Archival 1 & 2: M352 MDC/2/1/12 & 15). The *perceived* space presented an increasingly ramshackle appearance with corrugated iron – whether new and painted bright or old with rusted patina – sitting awkwardly among broken rows of brick structures that had for decades presented a cohesive façade despite their descent into dereliction (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 7; Document 6: LCC, 2017: 4). As a local artist recollects:

> It was clear that the strategy, the city's strategy for all the good things that were going to happen from a lot of the European funding we were getting then was to focus it on the city centre and still the Baltic [Triangle] missed out (Interview 11).
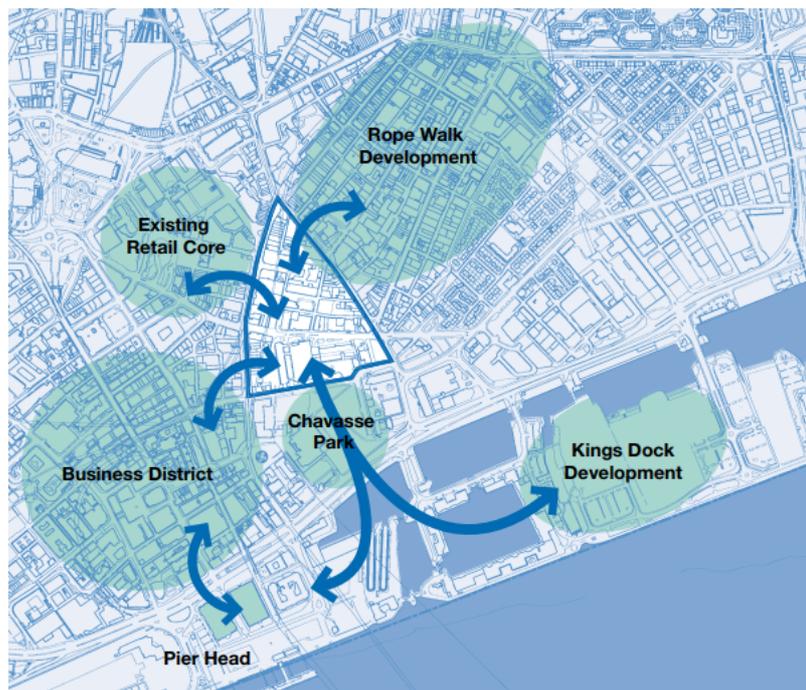
Figure 4.4 'Everywhere but the Baltic Triangle' - European funding flows into Liverpool city centre in 2009

Source: Document 17: BDP (2009: 32).

The third triadic element refers to the appropriation of the space by those dwelling or working in it. This *lived* space, was populated by small car repair shops, fence makers and other small businesses attracted motorized traffic throughout the day but, as one neighbouring resident entrepreneur recalls, for most:

> It was a place you didn't go to because it was too scary. There was absolutely no reason to come here at night, because there was nothing here at night … All those warehouses that are now apartments were just in ruins. The entire place was derelict, completely abandoned. All so close to the city centre. It was very, very odd (Interview 9).

In 2004, the space, referred to as the 'Jamaica Street Industrial Estate', was even shortlisted as a suitable location to establish the UK's first officially sanctioned red light district (Document 22: LE, 2018). Assessed as a sufficiently "deserted" industrial estate near to the city centre "but away from night-time businesses" (Document 29: BBC, 2004), it was deemed to be an ideal setting for police oversight despite not actually having any established prostitution activity at the time (Howell et al., 2008). One resident at the time complained to the local newspaper: "we thought they were going to invest in the area, not make it worse" (Document 22: LE, 2018: 1).

These large and under-utilized man-made structures provided an abundance of unused space, attracting a range of illicit and licit activity, but also attracting artists gathered around Liverpool's 'Biennial' series of contemporary visual art festivals. The director of the organization described how "the area was still totally industrial then, but we knew this was going to be a cultural hub":

I found great beauty in dereliction and I had always found this area

interesting … with the Biennial we always thought: 'where are critics going

to walk, how are they going to get from one gallery to another' and you knew

that they would have to walk past that one derelict building that you really

loved (Online interview 2).

In 2006, a disused warehouse was secured from the council by the Liverpool

Biennial contemporary visual art organization and made its permanent basis

(Document 22: LE, 2018), as an individual involved at the time remembers:

We didn't entirely believe in it, like a lot of people didn't, but we thought

'well let's have that bit because no-one's interested in it.' … For me, that's

when the Baltic started to become interesting. To have something to do there

… but it [the warehouse] was very, very rough and ready back then. It wasn't

clean at all (Interview 11).

Figure 4.5 Original Biennial warehouse, now a music and events space, today surrounded by residential developments

Source: author photograph

Jamaica Street and its surrounds subsequently featured heavily in the 2006 Liverpool

Biennial festival (Archival 48: LRO 708.2753 LIV), which attracted over four

hundred thousand visitors (Document 40: AL, 2007). This trend continued into 2008

(Archival 49: LRO 709.05DOM), with critics noting: "Liverpool's new artistic hub

is the independent quarter, a zone of un-regenerated industrial warehouses [located]

past a humming electricity substation and a place bearing the legend: 'Liver Grease

Oil and Chemicals – celebrating 100 years'" (Document 30: Guardian, 2008).

However, these activities were sporadic: bustling activity was driven by the

Biennial's two-year festival rhythm while at other times the space was vacant, bar

the dispersed light industrial and other forms of (sometimes illegal) activity. Despite

the successes of the Biennial, Jamaica Street was still covered by the overarching

policy of planning permission for primarily industrial use, hampering the rooting of

other arts or hospitality-based venues – whilst also lacking basic amenities such as

streetlighting or public transport links, and often blighted by fly-tipping of industrial

waste (Document 38: CM, 2016; Document 39: WMT, 2018;).

Nascent cultural activities continued to be overshadowed by redeveloped districts

nearer the city centre, especially the Ropewalks, which was by then populated by

many popular independent venues, including the dance super-club Cream. As the co-

founder of an early music venue in the space, the 'Picket Warehouse,' recalls:

> We opened down there in 2005 [which was] too early … Liverpool is a small
>
> city, but the Baltic Triangle in cultural terms seemed a distant galaxy from
>
> the musical epicentre which was thriving around the Ropewalks (Online
>
> Interview 3).

Jamaica Street's physical environment, its lack of visitors and residents, as well as its generally low street-level administrative oversight had inhibited the development of any legitimate nightlife scene that could compete directly with spaces like the Ropewalks, but these spatial characteristics did inaugurate the possibility of other forms of musical experimentation, as a founder of a now defunct music venue in the Baltic Triangle, 'Constellations' recalls:

> Illegal parties were passionate and active … back then there was a lot of people 'giving it a go.' It was much cheaper to book deejay's, to access venues and spaces (Radio Interview 7).

Clandestine warehouse parties tentatively started to emerge providing alternative programming for lesser served genres, UK bass themed nights as well as minimal techno from the hinterlands of Europe. The warehouses of Jamaica Street offered a different sonic experience to city centre neighbours where booking policies were experimental, set times often extended, interiors minimal, light shows non-existent and closing time equivocal.

4.4.2 Epoch two (2008-2017): 'Baltic Triangle Development Area'

By 2008, Liverpool city centre was hailed exemplary of institutional led urban regeneration, crowned by the opening of the Liverpool ONE, a project ten years in the making, which attracted businesses and footfall to the city centre, the shopping and leisure complex joining the Ropewalks in beginning to lever many millions of pounds in associated leisure, cultural and retail spend (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 23). In the same year, the city was awarded European Capital of Culture status, bringing with it a year-long series of events aimed to stimulate cultural and economic

development topping off a decade of significant EU investment (Document 1: ECCRP, 2008: 12-17). And, yet, Jamaica Street continued to lag behind, a bleak contrast to the adjacent buoyant redeveloped zones and from the emerging image of Liverpool as a modern cosmopolitan city.

A council authored report summarized the efforts to regenerate the space over the preceding five years:

> [The] area displays a very mixed land use pattern, lacking any sort of definition that has characterized adjacent areas … this has been the result of decades of economic decline as port related activities have moved elsewhere within the city and the replacement uses over time have increasingly been of a much lower value and appeal (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 7).

Jamaica street and its surrounds had, in *epoch one*, lacked *conceived* characteristics, with only limited planning initiatives apart from a rudimentary idea of an industrial space. However, from 2008, city planners designated a triangular area, encapsulating Jamaica Street and its surrounding environs, within the wider warehousing district which was named the 'Baltic Triangle Development Area,' and given a set of planning objectives rescinding the policy of primarily industrial use to encourage new developments (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 7).

This marked a transformation in the *conceived* character of the space, from managed decline and minimal-expectation industrial development towards a new vision for the Baltic Triangle as "a vibrant mixed-use area … underpinned by the introduction of new residential development" (Document 2: LCC, 2008: 7). However, while the

space's northern extremity was beginning to attract some commercial interest due to its proximity to Liverpool ONE, residential development figures remained markedly low overall; only three new projects had been completed in the time period that comprised our analytical *epoch one*, providing fifty-two new dwellings in total (Document 6: LCC, 2017: 18). Similarly, despite the relaxation of planning regulations, only a small handful of 'new use' developments came forth and apart from its new name, the Baltic Triangle still resembled its decaying neighbouring warehousing areas (Document 22: LE, 2018). Only gradually did small transformation appear, such as a DIY 'New Bird Skatepark' skateboard park, in 2009.

Figure 4.5 New Bird Skatepark

Source: Archival 11, LRO 770 RBR/1/191 (2014).

The combined effects of economic regeneration over the past decade (obtaining UNESCO status, Liverpool ONE, Ropewalks) had resulted in skateboarding being banished from many popular street spots located all over the city centre – on the pretence of preserving the material integrity of historically significant or newly constructed civic and private buildings and plazas and preventing what was deemed at the time to be antisocial behaviour in public spaces. But the authorities had no such concerns in the Baltic Triangle. One of the volunteers working on the park commented:

> The site was a fly-tipping spot … a real mess, so we thought why don't we just clean it up and use it to skate. We had no permission to build so three of us just went to the site wearing hi-vis jackets attempting to look like council workers … What drew us to that part of town was that it was all totally derelict. The byelaw that made it illegal to skate anywhere in the city centre had just been passed and it was being over zealously enforced. The only people down there on the site were gangsters and they left us alone. There had however (luckily for us) been an urban beach-themed art exhibition [part of the Biennial] on the site resulting in about ten tonnes of sand being left there, which we ended up using to build the parks earliest bits (Document 39: WMT, 2018).

The skatepark attracted and developed Liverpool's skateboarding scene, bringing regular visitors and day-time activity to the area, with the community looking after and caring for the park and its surrounds (Document 39: WMT, 2018). The positive influence of the skatepark community was also recognized by the Biennial organizers who volunteered to pay the park's insurance premium (Panel 2).

Figure 4.7 Backside Lipslide: Skateboarders at the New Bird Skatepark

Source: Document 45, Sidewalk (2015).

The growing popularity of New Bird skatepark coincided with and encouraged the continuous emergence of other cultural endeavours that had been stirring underground for a time. A small number of bars opened up to serve this new clientele (Online interview 2; Document 39: WMT, 2018). Alongside this, growing numbers of artists and other creatives took up residency in the space, often taking "something no-one else wanted … tin sheds" and refurbishing them into shared spaces (Document 22: LE, 2018). Nightlife continued to expand with some of the city's premier underground music promoters beginning to make consistent bookings in the aforementioned Picket Warehouse. These nascent developments changed the *perceived* character of the space; an originator of the skatepark claiming "the area definitely had a buzz starting around it. I think the park being there contributed a lot" (Document 39: WMT, 2018).

Through this realization of the latent potential of *lived* space, the Baltic Triangle began to gain a reputation as an independent space for cultural experimentation in the city. But it still lacked public or commercial investment and basic infrastructure, as a current local entrepreneur in the space recalls:

> At the time this area was completely disconnected from the city. No buses ran through it for example. Not that many people knew about it apart from a select few. Not that many people went there. It was a neighbourhood we really wanted to get into because it's not a city centre. It's got its own energy, its own vibe. It's rebuilt itself. There are no chain [stores] at all (Interview 1).

Around this time, between 2012 and 2013, a more established music scene started to emerge. The space's proximity to the city centre, its DIY ethic and an almost-anything-goes attitude towards cultural experimentation encouraging venues like 24 Kitchen Street:

> When we got 24 Kitchen Street in 2013, we bought a really cheap abandoned warehouse and much of the reason was basically that we saw all these small independents thriving behind the scenes (Panel 3).

24 Kitchen Street came into being both as an extension of ongoing warehouse parties, but it also chimed with, and garnered organizational and some financial support from, other cultural activities going on in the Baltic Triangle, which had collectively "encouraged a vibrancy that set the scene for the whole area." Crucially, the Baltic Triangle, still in nascent phases of development and awash with many dilapidated industrial buildings, was at this time a space where the opportunity for a

permanent bricks and mortar music venue was not expensive nor particularly difficult to come by. The owners describe how they initially encountered the venue in the course of "going door to door around the area … looking for warehouses that were either empty or that we could use over the weekend":

> The owner was 82 and basically trying to get rid of the building, the terms suited us, so we just got it! … We stripped it out and tried to make good of the building. We had to re-lay the floor, create an exit out the back – staircases and all. A lot of building materials were sourced from warehouses that were getting demolished in the area … because we didn't have money, we had to prematurely start doing [event] nights to make money to put back into improving the building. Our first night was in November 2013 and the venue was nowhere near ready. We didn't even have a licence (Online interview 1).

While a music venue was, in principle, permitted due to loosened planning permissions in the Baltic Triangle for mixed use, planning authorities nonetheless:

> … rejected [the application] on the grounds that there were already too many low quality, one-story developments in the Baltic Triangle, and there didn't need to be any more … that kind of pissed us off to be honest because our neighbors had just flattened two warehouses next door and turned them into car parks, we were trying to build an art space with cultural value for the local community (Panel 3).

Figure 4.8 A so-called 'low quality, one story development in the Baltic Triangle': the unassuming 24 Kitchen Street (middle building)

Source: author photograph

Against initial resistance from the city council, in a subsequent tribunal in which the founders represented themselves successfully, 24 Kitchen Street was eventually granted a license to operate as a commercial music venue in 2014:

> Throughout September 2014 we set about heavily programming the venue for 10 months; we lost tons of money on shows, despite often selling out the venue. Even though we made money on the bar, it only managed to balance out our artist and staffing costs. We were really treading water, we were thinking, "Oh shit, where's this going?" We were doing loads of work, not taking a wage out – it was threadbare existence – I was living upstairs for a lot of it (Online interview 1).

Despite this struggle to establish themselves in the beginning, 24 Kitchen Street "eventually… started actually getting somewhere! Fucking hell…Christmas and New Years Eve of 2015 was like, "Wow!" Since then, the venue has taken off" (Online interview 1).

These successes corresponded with shifts in Liverpool's music scene away from its previous centre of gravity, the Ropewalks. On that last day of 2015, Cream, along with other important independent venues located nearby such as the Kazimier, were forced to close to make way for a new residential development to be constructed in their stead (Document 20: LE, 2015). 24 Kitchen Street started to lead the way in re-appropriating late-night music culture in Liverpool providing a platform for underground and underrepresented music in a small and experiential space:

> 24 Kitchen Street really take up the mantle defining a whole new identity for
> what the city's night out economy is … Using music as a way to kind of
> regenerate a space in an area and create a completely different narrative
> (Panel 4).

Towards the end of our analytical epoch *two*, the Baltic Triangle is established as a well-known destination for alternative music and culture in Liverpool (Document 6: LCC, 2017). And throughout 2016, there is much intensification of economic, social and cultural activity, increasing numbers of independent bars, restaurants, cafés and shops and in particular, rapidly growing investment activity focused upon residential development:
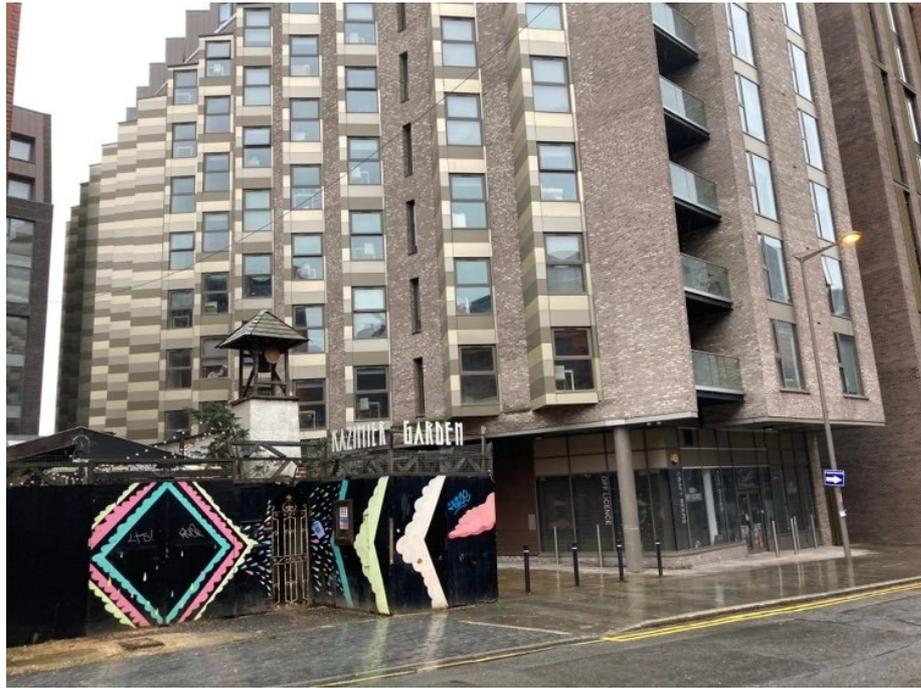
Figure 4.9 The Ropewalks, remains of its independent music scene showing Kazimier Garden (previously the neighbour of Cream nightclub), now overshadowed by domestic dwellings

Source: author photograph

> I went to a launch event and there were property developers there that I thought were dead … I hadn't seen them feeding on Liverpool in such numbers. They're like a species, and it was open season (Interview 11).

By the end of this year, a £40 million 200-apartment, nine-storey residential development was approved for construction immediately next-door to 24 Kitchen Street, despite the venue's objections (Document 21: LE, 2016). In particular, the venue argued that approval had been granted by the authorities despite the proposed development having what they deemed to be an inadequate level of noise insulation, which could lead to future complaints by residents that would jeopardise 24 Kitchen Street's musical operations. The approval, the venue suggested, was representative

of the local authorities pivoting towards a more aggressive pursuit of high-rise residential development to the detriment of the organizations that give the Baltic Triangle its cultural vibrancy:

> We are not anti-development at all. I mean, in a sense we are developing the area too. We are gentrifying the area as well. [But] we're trying to do it in a conscientious and organic way that respects the heritage of the area and the people who live locally, who have always lived locally and protect the architectural integrity of the building which we love (Online interview 1).

4.4.3 Epoch three (2017-2022, and beyond): 'Extended Baltic Triangle'

At the beginning of our analytical *epoch three*, the Baltic Triangle has undergone a transformation of spatial characteristics. It is now richly *conceived*, number one in the Times' list of '20 coolest places to live in Britain' (Document 31: Times, 2017), and a hotspot of property development in Liverpool (Document 9: LCC, 2017). Official figures suggest £128 million (yielding 1,000 new apartments) had been spent on completed projects in the last decade (time periods corresponding with our *epoch two*), with £62 million (448 apartments) in-progress and £600 million (2,570 apartments) in the pipeline (including schemes seeking approval) (Document 6: LCC, 2017: 6).

These new arrivals, with their modern materials rising upwards sometimes in excess of ten storeys, stand alongside the skeletons of many developments in-progress with tower cranes protruding from their centre, constituting a remarkable change to

perceptions of the space since the three short years since 24 Kitchen Street had

formally established themselves:

> Once a cultural island amid a sea of industry-fuelled warehouses, 24 Kitchen
>
> Street has recently become flanked by student-let high-rise developments …
>
> the cost of such rapid expansion has threatened the archetypal spaces of this
>
> rejuvenated environment and those that bought with them the ambitions of an
>
> artistic utopia are feeling the pinch of popularity, ironically, a popularity that
>
> has stemmed from such successful venues as 24 Kitchen Street (Online
>
> interview 1).

Figure 4.10 "The coolest place to live in the UK", work-in-progress residential development in the Baltic Triangle

Source: author photograph

The pace and scale of residential development continues to pose a considerable threat of crowding out the cultural activities within the Baltic Triangle. Acknowledging this, local authorities published a revised planning framework in 2017:

> Significant new investor interest in the Baltic Triangle … is worrying existing businesses operating from within the area who fear that they may be ultimately squeezed out of the Baltic … this framework document seeks to rectify the situation by demonstrating that the [Baltic Triangle] can be regenerated successfully with new developments … but also provide scope and space for growing the existing business community" (Document 6: LCC, 2017: 6).

The key proposal put forward was an extension to the spatial boundary along the entire southern end of the Baltic Triangle in order to prevent overcrowding of the space by providing more land area for residential development (Document 6: LCC 2017: 8). This extended spatial boundary became official council policy in 2020 (Document 8: LCC, 2020: 6).

But the city's independent music scene, much of it by now concentrated in the Baltic Triangle, was becoming increasingly fragmented and transient. Many of the city's most popular independent venues findings themselves in a cycle of temporary occupation and continuous re-location and/or closure at the hands of growing numbers of residential developments:

They [independent venues] have pretty well accepted that into their philosophy, haven't they? That 'oh well we'll always go quietly; we'll always find somewhere else' – and they do. But what about that sense of place? I think the place matters. There are important places in our city, and I think it kind of matters where they are … They're all just swept out of the way and the area just becomes like anywhere else … It's no way to make a city (Interview 11).

Figure 4.11 24 Kitchen Street courtyard with the imposing scaffolding of neighbouring development in-progress

Source: author photograph

But what had characterized many recent venue closures was the ease at which they could be 'swept away,' where lack of ownership of the building itself meant that once leases had expired and the land upon which the venue stands had been sold to developers, clearance was inevitable no matter the extent of local objection in order to make way for the multimillion-pound, high-rise residencies to be constructed in their stead.

Figure 4.12 24 Kitchen Street (tiny white building), viewed across the green, surrounded by neighbouring developments now completed

Source: author photograph

However, 24 Kitchen Street, which throughout the beginning of *epoch three* had been unable to agree a consensus with their neighbouring residential development

regarding acceptable levels of noise insulation, presented the possibility of resisting this process:

> Someone from the council asked: 'what if we get you a new venue?' I don't want a new venue … It takes years to become established as a music venue. It takes years to establish connections outside of the city, artists, artist managers, booking agent, the media. And then, if you have to then find another venue on the other side of town, you're starting again in many ways, and why should we have to always start again. We should be protected and cherished and supported as part of an integral part of the city's vision, not just on the Visit Liverpool website (Panel 3).

4.5 Discussion

4.5.1 Entrepreneurial context as multiple: the production of urban space

By mobilizing Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad we have revealed how constellations of the spatial triad change over time: lived space harbours the potential for new ways of urban living but is continually conspired against through the technical and commercial activities of city planners, architects, and residential developers; these conceived forces always seeking to reassert dominance over how the city's built forms are perceived and interacted with, to re-establish control of physical interactions and economic trajectories and therefore to dominate the process of urban spatial production (see also Merrifield, 2006). We have also shown the multiplicious and fleeting character of entrepreneurship (Hjorth et al., 2015), embracing cultural, economic, and historical elements (Welter, 2011) while yielding transient moments of meaningful urban engagement, like "the shadow of a future object in the light of

the rising sun" (Lefebvre, 1996: 148). Examples of this include the illegal warehouses parties in our analytical *epoch one*. Their temporary inhabitations of abandoned structures, the lack of financial viability, its cumbersome and dangerous location with poor infrastructure and transport links and nearby crime afforded a period of entrepreneurial activity away from the interests of city officials and investors. Similarly, the artistic installations of the Biennial and the New Bird Skatepark show the potential latent in empty warehouses or discarded building materials.

Spinosa et al. (1997) add to this a way of uncovering the work that went into the cultivation of the space and the entrepreneurial realization of its potential, in a basic sense, in the Biennial founders' sensing of the artistic potential inherent in the Baltic triangle, but even more so in the shift from illicit night-time warehouse parties in *epoch one* and the practices of 24 Kitchen Street in *epoch two*, which inaugurated a move from sensing and articulation towards commercial realization and dissemination of the new by extending the latent potential for a late-night cultural space to new audiences who assisted in bringing it into commerce (Farias et al., 2019).

But while Spinosa et al. (1997) stop here, our study shows continued entrepreneurial effort to hold open *lived* space and not just to make new worlds but also to preserve them against competing forces. 24 Kitchen Street remains embroiled in attempts to secure legal footing for its venture. At the end of 2019 they went public with their desire to secure protection to continue their musical programming without restriction or relocation:

We're not going to just arbitrarily change that because the developer doesn't

like it … All that we're asking is that we're included in the vision going

forward ten years, not just part of an early phase regeneration strategy … we

want to be able to operate in the heart of Liverpool; in the heart of the Baltic,

and we want to continue doing that … that's our position. So, that's why we

are going public that we want legal protection very soon (Panel 3: 24 Kitchen

Street co-founder).

4.5.2 The spatially distributed nature of everyday entrepreneurship

We started our analytical *epoch one* describing what typically could be considered

fertile ground for entrepreneurship: large and well-built structures in an inner-city

location lying vacant and unused in a vacuum of administrative oversight – all

characteristics of an undeveloped urban space offering degrees of regulative,

financial and ideational freedom, and so brimming with entrepreneurial possibility

(Anderson et al., 2019; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; McKeever et al., 2015). But for

decades the spatial configurations of the Baltic Triangle did not result in economic or

infrastructural development. Only with the sensing and articulation of the space not

as a site for light industrial use, but for music, skateboarding and the arts, did a new

perception of the area as something desirable and ultimately trendy come into being.

And while its mushrooming clubbing scene was initially dwarfed by established

venues in the much more developed Ropewalks area, the growing commercialization

(the forces of *conceived* space) soon replaced these clubs with domestic dwellings

and shops, with punters migrating to the Baltic Triangle– at least for a while.

Pursuing Welter's (2011: 166), question of "who becomes involved" in entrepreneurship, we therefore found the processes of sensing and articulating in our case not only associated with individual entrepreneurs (Spinosa et al., 1997), but also part of wider spatial milieu in which things began to happen (Lefebvre, 1991). We also found little evidence that those involved in the remaking of this entrepreneurial space had any *ex ante* articulation of the growth or end product of the Baltic Triangle as a marketable cool place or revenue generating investment opportunity; even the early Biennale artists merely envisaging an artistic hub. Instead, the emergence the new was tightly linked to the spatial features of the lived space at each time, beginning with the potential that resided in the absence of conception based upon official perceptions of the space as undesirable.

Only towards the end of *epoch two* do we find a growing double conception of the area emerging together like two sides of a coin: the idea of an artistic hub begetting visions of the Baltic Triangle as a development opportunity for 'cool' residential property. Our argument is that this conceptual realization of the space was at the same time already the realization of the entrepreneurial process; where a new style was already articulated; where practices including local planning but also the involvement of property developers had already been reconfigured; and where what Spinosa et al. (1997: 28) calls 'cross-appropriation' between artistic practices and those who seek entertainment and living space amongst artistic communities were well underway, the artistic being taking over by commercial and gentrified interests which have come, in *epoch three*, to price out cultural activities in the Baltic Triangle, making way for residential developments and planning regulations that go on to restrict artistic entrepreneurial performances.

As well as emphasizing the entrepreneurial potential held in underground subcultures and music (Audretsch et al., 2021a; Drakopoulou-Dodd, 2014), we also observed the entrepreneurial process as including city planners who had the wit to mark out an area and label it the 'Baltic Triangle', not quite knowing what this space may become, as well as the Biennial and its organizing groups, whose artistic activities brought in footfall to the space (Barinaga, 2016), and attached to the area the glam of a bona fide visual art exhibition. Was it not for the Biennial art festival and community, which itself depended on the continued (especially European) regeneration funding, the Baltic Triangle's revival as a cool and trendy place would have scarcely happened; and similarly, without the equally funded improvements in other parts of the city (Ropewalks and Liverpool ONE as key examples) the artistic flight to the warehouses would not have occurred. And yet, at the same time institutional funding alone did not seem to do much on its own and neither did top-down changes in conceptions for the space. After all, our analytical *epoch one*, which saw the seedlings of artistic ventures through the Biennial festival, followed many decades of decline of the area, and on-and-off attempts at rekindling industrial production. This was the project of multiple spatially distributed everyday interactions between various actors, groups and institutions (Welter et al., 2017)

4.5.3 Spatial and entrepreneurial dynamics: contextual influence and influence on context

The spatially distributed everyday entrepreneurial activities that we observed throughout *epoch one* heeded the latent potential of lived space, eventually bringing this into commerce in *epoch two* – especially through the actions of music venues

like 24 Kitchen Street – which contributed towards the materializing of a cultural, social and economic awakening of the Baltic Triangle. By our analytical *epoch three,* entrepreneurial enactment had set in in motion the regrouping of conceived forces, which congregated around encouraging increasing numbers of residential development. Our theoretical fusing of Lefebvre (1991) and Spinosa et al., (1997) therefore uncovered the counterbalanced nature between lived space and entrepreneurship: one gave rise to the other but the rise of one diminished the other, and we can animate the fluidity of this continuous interrelating as an unfolding process of contextual influence and influence on context (Welter & Baker, 2021).

Unlike Spinosa et al., (1997) who see authentic entrepreneurship as the making of new worlds, we see not just the creation but also preservation or recreation of the new. *Epoch three* sees the Baltic Triangle become increasingly populated by residential development, and 24 Kitchen Street continuing their attempts at carving out creative space, for instance by rejecting offers of a new venue elsewhere in the city, instead opting to embark on the costly and time-consuming process of obtaining legal protection to continue their musical operations. So, whilst we have been able to show, through Lefebvre (1991) and Spinosa et al. (1997), the underlying processes of urban spatial development and their complex and idiosyncratic entanglements with entrepreneurial action, we also wish to highlight the fundamentally incomplete characters of urban space and entrepreneurship (Hjorth et al., 2015; Drakopoulou-Dodd et al., 2021).

4.6 Conclusion

Our study responds to calls to further investigate the contexts of entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011). Through our theoretical fusing of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad and Spinosa et al.'s (1997) formulation of entrepreneurship as world-making, we have offered one way of investigating the unfolding interplay of context and entrepreneurial agency in the remaking of an urban space (Welter & Baker, 2021). Our processual study has apprehended how changes in urban space are *continuously* animated by the spatially distributed everyday activities (Welter et al., 2017), locating the entrepreneurial neither entirely in the rubble nor entirely in well-developed spaces but rather 'in-between' always changing constellations of urban spatial relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Remembering (in) urban entrepreneurial spaces:
The renewal of the Cain's brewery, Liverpool, UK

Abstract

We study the entrepreneurial renewal of a dormant industrial brewery complex in Liverpool, UK, investigating how remembering pulls the past into the present endowing this urban space with potential for enabling new forms of entrepreneurial organizing. Drawing on conceptual and analytical techniques derived from Walter Benjamin's *A Berlin Chronicle*, we explore how memory as spatial lived experience shapes entrepreneurial practices and activities as they occur in and transform this space.

Key words

Entrepreneurship, urban space, memory, history, Walter Benjamin, materiality, architecture.

> "Here, I am talking of a space, of moments and discontinuities" (Benjamin, 1978: 316).

5.1 Introduction

Studies have shown that entrepreneurs mobilize memory to make sense of their present and to imagine possible futures (Elias et al., 2022; Hjorth & Dawson, 2016; Johnsen & Holt, 2021; Popp & Holt, 2013a, 2013b; Thompson, 2018). In particular,

a body of work is emerging that explores the intimacy between remembering and urban spaces in the process of formulating entrepreneurial action (Banks, 2006; Gheres et al., 2020; Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016). These studies acknowledge that "the history of a place generates collective memories … that shape and reshape how the past influences both the present and future" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1157). In this article, we study the entrepreneurial renewal of an old brewery in Liverpool, UK, investigating how remembering pulls the past into the present endowing this urban space with new potential. Our study explores the generative role of urban space for entrepreneurship by asking: how does the history of an urban space generate memories? And how does the act of remembrance, as it unfolds in urban spaces, shape and influence entrepreneurial practices and actions? We begin by foregrounding our conceptual and analytical framework.

First, we, like other writers in *Organization Studies*, envisage entrepreneurship as the creation of the new in an already organized world (Cucchi et al., 2021; Elias et al., 2022; Hjorth & Reay, 2018; Hjorth et al., 2018). We suggest that these emphasises on the cultivating of newness out of that which is already organized allows us to visualize entrepreneurship as the process of "intervening into a site and reconfiguring what can be perceived and expressed" (Holm & Beyes, 2022: 11); comprising creative and experimental attempts at "mobilizing traces of a site's past and present in order to recombine them and open up new experiences and, potentially, ways of acting" (11). And when entrepreneurship is envisaged as this situated act of marshalling the past to reimagine the present and future (Johnsen & Holt, 2021), it brings memory to the fore in the formulation of entrepreneurial action in urban spaces (Wadhwani et al., 2020; Welter & Baker, 2021).

A second consideration is how we understand the role of urban spaces in entrepreneurial processes (e.g., Barinaga, 2016). Studies have suggested that individuals strategically remember urban spaces for entrepreneurial purposes in the present; mobilizing their pasts through calculated acts of remembrance (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016). Cognizant with this, others have started to explore the idea that spaces can hold onto historical meaning affecting entrepreneurial efforts (Banks, 2006; Gheres et al., 2020). These observations dovetail with recent entrepreneurship studies that have started to theorize memory as an intrinsic part of human creativity, not formulated in detached isolation, but rather "wrought by social and material processes" (Thompson, 2018: 237), thus entangled with "immediate experiences as a person interacts with and interprets the world" (Elias et al., 2022: 14).

We suggest that these two developments foreground the need to further investigate how we might understand entrepreneurial action as intimately related to how the history of urban space is *experienced* (Wadhwani et al., 2020; Welter & Baker, 2021). Especially, calling for new conceptions able to apprehend entrepreneurship as comprising "embodied, partly unreflexive … and affectively charged actions that are interwoven with (and to some degree depend on) materiality" (Holm & Beyes, 2022: 5).

To investigate these lived and experiential dimensions to remembering urban spaces we turn to the work of Walter Benjamin, where we find a "deep connection between time, memory and spatiality" (De Cock & O'Doherty, 2017: 145). We draw on conceptual and analytical techniques derived from *A Berlin Chronicle* (Benjamin,

1978), which demonstrates a fragmentary, kaleidoscopic approach to exploring situated memory in Benjamin's home city of Berlin – apprehending the multiplicious, unscripted and unpredictable ways that the past is pulled into present through spatial experience. Through our own close reading we locate three conceptual and analytical themes derived from *A Berlin Chronicle*: memory as involuntary, memory as multiplictious, and memory as a form of 're-membering.' The first theme refers to Benjamin's attempts in his Berlin writings to show how memory is sparked (often involuntarily) by one's visceral encounters with urban space, the second is concerned with how these encounters lead to the reassembling of history in new possible combinations (multiplicity), and it is in this sense we see Benjamin's formulation of memory, as it unfolds through spatial experience, as a form of re-membering the past – and we read this transformational potential in an entrepreneurial spirit. We subsequently mobilize these themes into a set of methodological procedures that get close to the spatial experience of remembering by combining walking, talking, observing, sitting, and participating (Beyes & Steyaert, 2013, 2021; Johannisson, 2018; Zundel, 2013).

Our empirical site is the Cain's brewery complex, located in Liverpool, UK. Cain's was a significant regional brewer in the Victorian era yet experienced decades of post-war decline and multiple ownerships, with the eventual demise of brewing operations in 2013. Today, the Cain's brewery provides a space in which new entrepreneurial activities are gathering; new ventures include bars, restaurants, shops, nightclubs and artist studios that are together articulating a new present and future for this previously defunct post-industrial space. With Benjamin (1978) as our conceptual and analytical guide, we investigate how the Cain's brewery is being

entrepreneurially renewed through affective practices of situated remembering that give this urban space new entrepreneurial form.

Our paper makes three contributions. First, we reveal new ways of understanding how an urban space can generate memories (Welter & Baker, 2021). Through our conceptual and analytical focus on spatial lived experience, we provide insights into the occurrence, form and intensity of remembering in the formulation of entrepreneurial action (Banks, 2006; Gheres et al., 2020; Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016). Second, our dual treatment: exploring how memory unfolds in an urban space also tracing resultant entrepreneurial practices and actions, adds to existing theorizing of the interrelatedness of memory and entrepreneurial creativity (Elias et al., 2022; Johnsen & Holt, 2021; Thompson, 2018), and we contribute specifically here through our focus on a specific material site (Holm & Beyes, 2022). Lastly, we offer a methodological contribution. By operationalizing conceptual and analytical themes from Benjamin (1978), we present a method for studying and representing memory as formed in and gives new form to urban spaces. We thus demonstrate the efficacy of spatial inquiry for disentangling the double play of entrepreneurship as the cultivating of newness out the already organized (Hjorth & Reay, 2018), apprehending remembering as relational phenomena that is multiple, overlapping, contested, non-linear, heroic *and* mundane, resistant to ordering, and therefore rich in contrariness and entrepreneurial potential.

5.2 Literature review

In entrepreneurship studies, the past has often been treated as something that manifests itself physically in the material legacy of the built environment: distinctive

entrepreneurial practices and activities emerge as a result of everyday spatial negotiations of material inheritances (Korsgaard et al., 2020). Recently however, scholars are exploring how entrepreneurial individuals interact with built spaces through more subjective forms of engagement (Anderson et al., 2019; Barinaga, 2016; Gill & Larson, 2014; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; Muller & Korsgaard, 2018). These studies understanding that urban spaces might persist materially through time, offering physical infrastructures for entrepreneurship, but how they come to be entrepreneurially enacted in the present and future also involves important questions of how this persistence is experienced (Wadhwani et al., 2020; Welter & Baker, 2021).

Similar to recent trends in organization studies (Wadhwani et al., 2018; Foroughi et al., 2020), research exploring the significance of memory for understanding entrepreneurial phenomena is becoming more frequent (Elias et al., 2022; Hjorth & Dawson, 2016; Johnsen & Holt, 2021; Popp & Holt, 2013a, 2013b; Thompson, 2018). However, there have been only limited studies exploring how these processes unfold in relation to urban spaces (Welter & Baker, 2021). Reviewing the spatial literature, we begin with two opposing approaches to understanding how urban spaces are remembered in the process of formulating entrepreneurial action (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016; Gheres et al., 2020), moving to examine a study that apprehends memory as more closely associated with lived historical experience (Banks, 2006). A brief discussion follows where we trace connections between these spatial studies and adjacent works theorizing the relations between entrepreneurship and memory, but without explicitly discussing space (Elias et al., 2022; Thompson,

2018; Johnsen & Holt, 2021). Here, we problematize our research questions before linking forward into our conceptual and analytical framing.

5.2.1 Bringing the past into the present in urban entrepreneurial spaces

Lippmann and Aldrich propose that remembering past entrepreneurial successes can sustain urban spaces into the future: organizational leaders mobilize past events to establish an 'aura' around a space encouraging flows of new arrivals "hoping to replicate the famous success stories that live on in the collective memory" (2016: 670). The authors elaborate this through the Hewlett Packard garage, the so-called 'birthplace of Silicon Valley,' where Bill Hewlett and David Packard began their enterprise, describing how in 2005, HP re-purchased the land where the since demolished garage had stood in order to build a memorializing replica, re-inscribing time back into a space from which it had been stripped. The replica garage was able to successfully invoke specific historical associations celebrating hard work, embracing risk, and persevering with scant resources. The garage mythologized Silicon Valley as an archetypal entrepreneurial space (Audia & Rider, 2005).

Lippmann and Aldrich (2016) demonstrate the power of memory for mobilizing the past to realize new entrepreneurial futures. At the HP garage – a dead space in terms of entrepreneurial organizing in the present – the past is brought into the present through the "construction of specific memoryscapes … [that] organize a relationship with the past" (Edensor, 2005: 830). Here, the relationship between urban spatiality and entrepreneurship resides in the intentful, calculative, and strategic leverage of memory in which spatial cues are fabricated to reinforce the desired message. Their emphasis thus falls on purposeful, agentic attempts to inscribe historical meaning

into a space, overlooking the subjective experience of remembering (Rowlinson et al., 2010).

In contrast, Gheres, Vorley and Brooks (2020) suggest that it is not so easy to mold how people remember the past to make sense of their present and envisage entrepreneurial future(s). Through a study of Doncaster, a town in northern England that has experienced significant deindustrialization in recent decades, they explored why, in their attempts to articulate a post-industrial future for the town premised on entrepreneurship and digital technologies, administrative leaders and public-private consortiums encountered local resistance. Attempts to define a new entrepreneurial narrative for the town met opposition in the form of local sentiment that continued to characterize the space in relation to its industrial heritage: "in Doncaster's case, the memory of traditional industrial activity has endured the passage of time through place meanings firmly anchored in the locality's industrial past" (16). These authors thus observe older collective memories persisting, despite concerted efforts to bring about a break. Residents still identified their town as a mining community, even though Doncaster no longer retained any active mines, producing resistance to visions of future entrepreneurship as "remote and unappealing" (14).

In the case of the HP garage, organizational leaders were able to select and strategically remember past events from beyond living memory, mobilizing these for entrepreneurial purposes in the present because they could manufacture the space to align with their vision. In Doncaster, civic leaders failed to refashion the town around a new entrepreneurial vision because they met resistance from collective memories arising from below. Thus, whilst Lippmann and Aldrich focus on 'what'

gets remembered for the purposes of entrepreneurship, Gheres et al. re-orientate this question to *how* memory unfolds through experience (Lubinski, 2018). The contrast between these two approaches emphasizes the complexity of the relationship between urban spaces, memory, and entrepreneurship.

5.2.2 Towards memory as spatial lived experience

We have located two opposing ways of understanding the relationship between urban space and memory in formulating entrepreneurial action: from the agentic and intentful to the undirected and collective; the imposed and the spontaneous; from enabling to the constraining; successful to unsuccessful; an attempt to reinsert the past to an attempt its erasure; one attempt meeting little resistance the other encountering much. Where we find agreement, however, is in the notion that urban spaces can invoke memories that can work with or against entrepreneurial intentions.

Banks (2006) offers a way forward in his study of cultural entrepreneurs in Manchester, UK. He describes how entrepreneurs formulated action in the present by drawing on "an abundance of collective memories … cultivated through historical immersion in Manchester's various social, political and cultural 'scenes'" (Banks, 2006: 464). He discusses the 'Madchester' era and entertainment spaces that were closely associated with this cultural movement such as Affleck's (a retail and workspace for small cultural firms) and Hacienda (an events space); describing how entrepreneurs' memories of participating in these spaces became "incentives for action" (464) manifest as the "desire to 'give something back'" (464). Here, how people remember the past to envisage their present and future is intimately related to their lived experiences (Cutcher et al., 2016). Banks shows how cultural

entrepreneurs remembered the central role of Affleck's and Hacienda in cultivating a spirit of community and togetherness that helped Manchester's music scene to thrive – a music scene that they participated in directly – to make sense of their present and imagine new entrepreneurial futures: contributing with their own ventures towards the cultural fabric of the city by devoting their services for free to local arts and entertainment venues or providing youth centres with use of their musical production studios.

Concluding our review of the spatial literatures we identify two areas of interest. First, we have seen how memory is experienced powerfully in relation to urban spaces like Doncaster and Manchester, affecting how they are entrepreneurially enacted in the present (Banks, 2006; Gheres et al., 2020). However, each of these studies describe inward experiences and memories of spaces and times gone by: the demise of Doncaster's coal mining took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s; timescales similarly corresponding with the peak of the Madchester era and the height of popularity for spaces like Hacienda and Affleck's. What they do not deal with is how memory is prompted or invoked in the present moment as ongoing spatial lived experience. This possibility of unorganized or spontaneous dimensions to memory has been shown to be significant for understanding how entrepreneurial action is formulated (Elias et al., 2022; Johnsen & Holt, 2021; Thompson, 2018), but how this unfolds in relation to specific urban spaces remains a hitherto unexplored area. Thus, our first research question – how the history of an urban space generates memories – remains unanswered.

Second, we are not only interested in how memory is formed in urban spaces, but also how the creative act of remembering gives these spaces new form (Wadhwani et al., 2020; Welter & Baker, 2021). This, we suggest, concerns the double play of understanding entrepreneurship as the cultivating of newness out of that which is already organized (Hjorth & Reay, 2018). It begs the question of how we might understand the spatial experience of memory as shaping entrepreneurial practices and activities as they occur in but also produce transformations to urban spaces – and researchers have theorized that both sides of this equation require further conceptual as well as empirical attention (Holm & Beyes, 2022). However, the spatial studies that we have reviewed privilege either how memories of a space as it is experienced shape perceptions of it as non-entrepreneurial (Gheres et al., 2020), or emphasize the agency of individuals in mobilizing the past to achieve desired outcomes (Banks, 2006; Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016). In our search for a synthesis, we re-state our second research question: how does the act of remembrance as it unfolds in urban spaces shape and influence entrepreneurial practices and actions?

5.3 Conceptual and analytical framework

To explore our research questions, we turn to the writings of Walter Benjamin. Prior research has revealed how Benjamin's work offers insights into how spatial experience can produce "a reactivation of the memory of a circumstantial past" (De Cock & O'Doherty, 2017: 145) through affective encounters with the past that can "open up a space where new possibilities for the future can be imagined and where we can read our present condition other than simply as the continuation of a preceding series; what history could have been, yet did not become" (145). Inspired by this, as well as other interpretations (Beyes, 2017; De Cock et al., 2013; De Molli

et al., 2020), we present our reading of Benjamin's (1978) *A Berlin Chronicle*. We identify three conceptual and analytical themes in order to devise our method: involuntary memory, memory as multiple, and memory as the process of 're-membering' the past.

5.3.1 Walter Benjamin on space and memory: Three themes from A Berlin Chronicle

For Benjamin (1978: 300) urban spaces constitute not only the backdrop to our life but are active agents in how we make sense of our continuously unfolding present and imagine the future. In *A Berlin Chronicle,* Benjamin presents a series of passages constituting "individual expeditions into the depths of memory" (Scholem, 1982:190, cited in Gilloch, 1996: 65) that are triggered by his encounters with the city. His approach toward apprehending the working of memory is inspired by Marcel Proust's notion of *memoire involontaire* (Benjamin, 1978: 295-297). Benjamin describes how "I owe insights into my life that came in a flash, with the force of an illumination ... it made so apparent what kind of regimen cities keep over imagination (318).

Throughout the *Chronicle*, Benjamin (1978) conjures up images of specific sites across Berlin, experimenting with how different streets, buildings, people, objects and interior scenes can produce these "moments of sudden illumination" (343). His project is concerned with exploring how memory is sparked by the aesthetic and affective *experience* of Berlin, and he emphasizes involuntary memory as a way of understanding historical meaning as not simply emanating from built forms, but nor as solely the naturalized property of individual perception either. Thus, we take Benjamin's notion of involuntary memory as our first conceptual theme. The urban

subject remembers through their spatial encounters with the city in a process where "remembrance and metropolis become porous; they interpenetrate" (Gilloch, 1996: 66).

Benjamin (1978) leaves clues as to how we might study involuntary memory in the city. He advocates for encounters with the "stray, hidden or dilapidated" as it is these "odd things in the city [that] help you to find your place" (Tonkiss, 2005: 120). For Benjamin, it is not so much the monuments, museums and civic buildings (that look to preserve an official version of history) that require our attention, but rather the more everyday spaces we encounter in the city such as "signboards and street names, passers-by, roofs, kiosks, or bars" (1978: 298). It is these sites and sights, he suggests, that are the most affective at sparking recollections, sometimes able to "speak to the wanderer like a cracking twig under his feet in the forest" (298).

What follows from Benjamin's (1978) conception of memory as involuntary is the idea that it is also multiple and not singular. Indeed, when remembrance unfolds through everyday spatial encounters it forges ever-new connections between past, present and future, disrupting linear notions of a singular historical meaning in a process that is instead characterized by unruliness and disorder:

> He who has once begun to open the fan of memory never comes to the end of its segments; no image satisfies him, for he has seen that it can be unfolded, and only in its folds does the truth reside; that image, that taste, that touch for whose sake all this has been unfurled and dissected; and now remembrance advances from small to smallest details, from the smallest to the

infinitesimal, while that which it encounters in these microcosms grow even
mightier (Benjamin, 1978: 296).

For Benjamin, remembrance involves numerous complex interactions between the
city and the subject, the social and the individual, the personal and the collective, the
historical and the momentary. And it is in this image of the always-unfolding 'fan of
memory,' he suggests, that we begin to comprehend this multiplicity in the
"mysterious work of remembrance – which is really the capacity for endless
interpolations into what has been" (1978: 305). Critical in this image of the fan is the
possibility of a multiplicity of interpolations across non-adjacent moments in time,
where individual memories can develop a collective dimension, accruing the ability
to be passed on, to resonate more widely, multiplying the possible interpolations,
extending them through time. It is in these multiple interpolations that we envisage
generative entrepreneurial potential, provoking new constellations of actions in a
space. This intricate relation between individual and collective memory and meaning
is woven through *A Berlin Chronicle*, Benjamin's Berlin is therefore a social realm
in the concentric circles of which nest his own memories. Analytically, we locate the
multiplicity of memory among Benjamin's richly populated Berlin, through the
names of those he considers his guides – friends and family, his teachers, his nanny
but also architects, prostitutes, and people he passes in the street – some of these are
people he has known but others have never been directly present in his life.

We have so far discussed two conceptual and analytical themes that we have located
in *A Berlin Chronicle*: involuntary memory and memory as multiple. These two
themes come together to help us to visualize Benjamin's view of the city as a site

that is littered with historical meaning like "precious fragments … in a collectors gallery" (314). Benjamin suggests that memory is the creative act of encountering, but also gathering and then reassembling these multiple fragments, in this process creating new constellations between past, present and future amidst the "prosaic rooms of our later understanding" (314). Thus, his remembrance is an act that is also pregnant with new possibility where previously abandoned or outmoded things are encountered, combined and transformed into something that is new and valuable. It is precisely in this sense that we introduce our third theme of memory as a form of 're-membering' the past (Gilloch, 1996: 88-92). This idea is crystallized most clearly in Benjamin's metaphor of the urban archaeologist (Gilloch, 1996). Mimicking the analytical procedures of archaeology, Benjamin proposes that repeated excursions into the same urban spaces is how one elicits new expressions. He "who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging" (1978: 314), and "must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter" (314). Indeed, Benjamin's writing is rife with excavation metaphor, and he also suggests that the inherently unexpected and multiplictious character of remembrance calls for "assaying the spade in ever-new places, and in the old ones delve to ever-deeper levels" (314).

This metaphor of the archaeologist also permits for movement from our conceptual and analytical mode to our representational form. Benjamin understood that literary representation should be in sympathy with this understanding the experience of remembering in space: "language shows clearly that memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre. It is the medium of past experience, as the ground is the medium in which dead cities lie interred" (1978: 314). He adopts a method of

fragments as the literary representation of his memories of Berlin, presenting a kaleidoscopic montage of multiple shards of memory sitting alongside one another, sometimes awkwardly, often suggestively, jarring or stimulating, but nonetheless always resisting any notion of linearity or completeness.

5.4 Research design

We study the Cain's brewery complex, located on Stanhope Street in the Baltic Triangle neighbourhood in Liverpool, UK. Beer was brewed on this site for over two hundred years. Commercial brewing ceased in 2013, when the present tenants entered administration. After a period of vacancy, the brewery site is entering into a new phase where entrepreneurial activities are gathering; the space brought back into productive use by local entrepreneurs, different parts of the brewery becoming occupied by a growing mix of fledgling organizations across a range of industries including shops, bars, restaurants, and artist studios. This ongoing entrepreneurial transformation is acting as a catalyst for the regeneration of the surrounding area, currently one of the fastest growing districts in the city.

To explore how the past is implicated in the present entrepreneurial renewal of the Cain's brewery we now look to mobilize our three conceptual and analytical themes from *A Berlin Chronicle* (1978) into a commensurate methodology. The themes that we locate in Benjamin's work advance a set of conceptual propositions about the relationship between remembering and space (for example, that memory relates space in ways that are non-linear), whilst simultaneously offering analytical clues for advancing and exploring this proposition through research (for example, that the non-linearity of the relationship between remembering and space is prompted by

experiential encounters most appropriately explored by walking and communicated through fragmentary, allusive approaches to writing). We now develop these insights as a method.
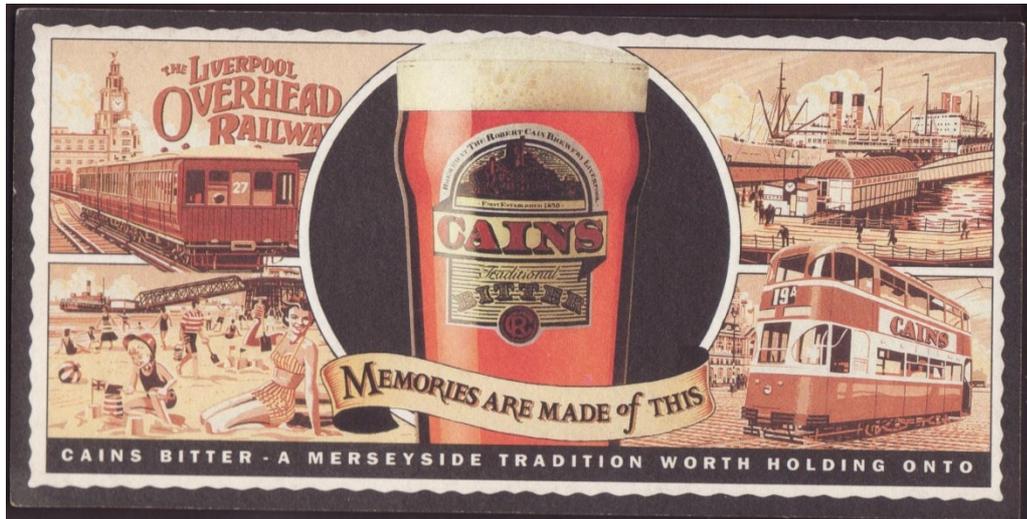
Figure 1.1 Memories are made of this: Cain's beermat

Source: Archival 9: Liverpool Record Office, (n.d.), LRO 352 PSP/36/67

5.4.1 Data collection

Data collection was organized around four principal modes of spatial engagement: interviewing, including conventional face-to-face techniques as well as walking interviews, which included what we call 'interview encounters'; site visits and observational work; archival and documentary sources including local newspaper articles, planning policy reports, property development literature, and historical architectural texts. Data collection took place throughout 2019 to early 2020 (interviewing), with formal site visits (for observations and primary photography) continuing until early 2022.

Primary interviewing was conducted by the first author and organized around 8 'interview days' with entrepreneurs involved in the initial renewal of the Cain's brewery. Interview days began with a walking interview (also, when 'interview encounters' took place) and were followed up by a face-to-face interview conducted on site, either in the participant's premises or at another venue within the brewery complex. In total 8 walking interviews were conducted, incorporating 17 interview encounters, which were followed up with 8 further face-to-face interviews. The first author took field notes during interview walks and the interview encounters. All face-to-face interviews were audio recorded and then partially transcribed, producing 180 double-spaced pages (57,089 words) of material.

Walking interviews were a central component of our data collection strategy. The first author began each interview day by conversing whilst on the move – usually walking interviews were of 2-hour duration – around the brewery and its surrounding streets, visiting various entrepreneurial establishments, including, where appropriate, those operated by the participant. Our use of the interpretive method of walking interviews conveyed crucial insights into the lived experience of our participants that cannot be so easily afforded by conventional interviewing alone. We now highlight three advantages of using walking interviews as this form of *mobile* method (Buscher & Urry, 2009).

Firstly, employing mobile methods confers specific advantages for capturing experience as the interrelation of self and material (Yanow, 1998). This is founded on the notion that any experiential process of relating to one's surroundings occurs through situated movements that are always unfolding and therefore 'of the moment'

(e.g., Buscher & Urry, 2009). These moments are better stimulated and accessed whilst inquiring on the move instead of relying solely on interviewing techniques that attempt to access experience from a static position, and this is especially true when inquiry is situated in the specific material surrounds that formed an inherent part of the experience under investigation (Yanow, 1998). As we walked the space with our participants, we shared in the (re)creation of lived acts of remembrance as they unfolded in the moment, our discussions prompted as they were by our collective encounters with many different architectural features, historical objects, street furniture, and other material paraphernalia of the brewery. This first benefit of our walking is important for our purposes as it encouraged our interviewing to embark on *multiple* discussions of experience as they unfolded, often unexpectedly, in relation to material aspects of the brewery; each time presenting a unique opportunity to inquire into how our participants relate to space. It is in this sense that the multiplicity of experiential relating animating by walking "challenges the inhibitions of sedentary modes of being" (O'Doherty, 2013: 212). This is key theme we read in Benjamin's (1978) work: Benjamin argued that memory always unfolds through one's visceral spatial *encounter*; this demands movement through space, in order to embrace the multiplicity of remembrance rather than seek notions of historical linearity and singularity often be articulated through more detached forms of abstracted recollection, which we see as associated more with static interviewing (and therefore orientated more towards what O'Doherty calls these 'sedentary' forms of being). Walking was therefore crucial for our method as it maintained an openness to our interviewing that enabled discussions on the lived experience of memory to flow in all of its unscripted, disorderly glory.

Second, walking interviews, at least of the duration we have described, involved our sustained 'co-presence' with research subjects (Buscher & Urry, 2009). Sharing this prolonged time travelling together helped us to form a deeper appreciation of their view of the world, and develop meaningful research relationships (e.g., Cucchi et al., 2022), which both proved vital for tracing how present experiences become implicated in the process of formulating meaningful action. Translating this into a language in sympathy with Benjamin (1978): by walking with our participants, we were able to become more intimately acquainted with the *transformational* potential of how they remembered the past to rearticulate their present circumstances and imagine their possible future(s). As Benjamin demonstrates in his writings on Berlin – the city of his childhood – the way that present experience can crystallize the meaning of past events is deeply personal. This places much importance on establishing trust in our inquiry so that we are able to unpack these reflective processes, and the power of walking interviews as a shared endeavour – with its roots in health-based research (e.g., Carpanio, 2009) – has been well documented in its usefulness for establishing a deeper mutual understanding between researcher and participant (e.g., Buscher & Urry, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). Thus, by spending a prolonged period of time moving along with our participants – sharing in their view of the world in an informal, transient setting – we cultivated relationships that might not have been so easily afforded by face-to-face interview alone, attached as they are to more formal ways of interacting (involving tables, rooms, chairs, allotted times, etc.). It is precisely in this sense that walking with our research subjects encouraged the sharing of intimate personal experiences, whilst also simultaneously providing us with incidental knowledge and insights that heightened the sensitivity of our inquiry, assisting in framing our questions in ways that were sympathetic to the world view

of the interviewee (Buscher & Urry, 2009). So, whilst we have elaborated above how our walks were useful in stimulating how memory is sparked by multiple encounters with the brewery, they also helped us to devise situated techniques for getting in closer to the reflective processes that immediately followed these lived moments of experience, so that we could begin to meaningfully interpret what entrepreneurial articulations they amounted to (Cucchi et al., 2022).

Thirdly, walking rarely takes place in isolation. In urban contexts, especially, it nearly always involves interactions with social others, and this means that our mobile method confers further benefits in its ability to capture the various experiential 'moves' that make material but also *social* realities – in ways that immobile methods are unable (Buscher & Urry, 2009: 99). Walking around the brewery with our research subjects revealed how their memories were co-constructed through interactions with employees, family members, employees, and other entrepreneurs (e.g., Elias et al., 2022). This sociality is an inherent part of what it means to inhabit space, yet conventional interview techniques too often exclude the possibility of any involvement of others in their attempts to access spatial experience (Yanow, 1998). Our method of walking therefore ran counter to the methodological individualism that can afflict conventional approaches to interviewing and which has remained a persistent impediment to studying relational processes of entrepreneurship (Steyaert, 2007; Watson, 2013).

In summary, walking interviews (and the additional 'interview encounters' they generated) were essential for getting close to experience in a way that was in harmony with Benjamin's (1978) conceptual themes on how memory unfolds, but

also in accessing the relational processes of entrepreneurial creation that we wish to study. Our approach to interview days can therefore be summarized as an attempt to retain an openness towards remembrance as flowing from spatial experience by pursuing less structured and more open techniques; permitting the primary data collection process to become more participant led – and thus get in closer to their experience of the space – as well as appreciate how this is co-constructed with other individuals encountered along the way. Animating Benjamin's image of the urban archaeologist, we would often physically cover the same ground multiple times with our participants, prompting repeated journeys back-and-forth through history, each time encountering material, learning about our participant, interacting with others, and thus excavating new and deeper interpretive meaning that further elucidated how they experienced the history of the brewery in the present and articulated its entrepreneurial future.

Following walking interviews were detailed face-to-face interviews with each participant. These were typically approximately 2 hours and numbered 8 in total. By choreographing our interview days in this way (walking, followed by face-to-face) we were able to glean further, detailed knowledge of our participants experiences through lines of questioning that were organized thematically around the insights gained from walking the space beforehand (Yanow, 1998).

We conducted 7 formal site visits, in addition to interviewing days, during which the first author walked the space, surveying buildings and architectural features and taking visual records, while also familiarizing themselves with the range of entrepreneurial organizations and associated activities unfolding in the space. Site

visits involved sitting in café's, bars, and restaurants, visiting shops, and observing spatial (entrepreneurial) practices and atmospheres. 22 hours were spent conducting site visits by the first author, producing 27 photographs. Our approach to site visits can be understood as a form of 'hanging-around' (Johannisson, 2018); where amassing multiple empirical insights can enhance interpretative understanding of complex entrepreneurial phenomena by tracing multiple trajectories across the space itself, eliciting tangential connections to how it is being entrepreneurially enacted in the present (Beyes & Steyaert, 2021).

Documentary material comprised our final source of data. These resources enabled us to become conversant with history of the space, providing knowledge of the era of its construction, the brewery's various past owners, and of key events in its history, as well as familiarity with the many entrepreneurial tenants enacting its present-day renewal. Documents consulted included archival material (14), which included company records for Cain's as well as the site's later owners Walker Cain and Daniel Higson, marketing and promotional materials such as beermats, coasters, and advertising hoardings, and historic photographs of the Cain's brewery complex and especially the red brick building on Stanhope Street. We also drew extensively upon secondary documentary materials (67), including local authority planning documentation and meeting minutes, commercial property development brochures, architectural designs and other investment literature, alongside local and national newspaper reporting, blogs authored by real ale enthusiasts, and other (often locally produced) website material. Additional secondary documentary source were publicly available interviews (4) published either online or broadcast on local radio stations (and archived on their website) with individuals involved in the renewal, including

entrepreneurs as well as the owners of the brewery building. A final source of secondary information was visual media (1). We also supplemented our understanding by consulting books, especially Christopher Routledge (2008) *Cain's: The Story of Liverpool in a Pint*, as well as articles that have explored the brewing history of Cain's, Higson's, or Walker Cain (e.g., Mutch, 2006). A full list of all data sources is produced in Table 5.1 with a further detailed breakdown presented in Appendix B.

5.4.2 Data analysis

In *A Berlin Chronicle,* Benjamin arranges individual expeditions into memory into montages of juxtaposed fragments that reflect not only his belief about the nature of situated memories, but also represent his analytical techniques. Analytically, montages allow fragments of memory experienced in-situ to hang together, sometimes awkwardly, often suggestively, jarring or stimulating, but always resisting completeness. We analysed our data in a process characterized by a repeated back and forth between Benjamin (1978) and our primary and secondary data, and against ongoing visits to the site (e.g. De Molli et al., 2020). After anonymization of primary data and a preliminary synthesis of the empirical material, the first author compiled a thematic document for the second author, who worked as a 'critical discussion partner' (Skoglund & Holt, 2021: 1015). The research team met (online) 17 times in the process of analysing and writing up the data.

Table 5.1 Overview of primary and secondary data

Type	Description	Content
Primary interviews (8) and interview encounters (17)	Walking interview and in-depth face-to-interview (8)	Planned discussions with entrepreneurs involved in the renewal of the Cain's brewery.
	Interview encounters (17)	Unplanned discussions with entrepreneurs as well as other individuals 'encountered' (e.g., employees, partners, customers) that are involved in the renewal of the Cain's brewery.
Primary observations/site visits (7)	Formal site visits (7)	Individual site visits to Cain's to produce descriptions and visual records (22 hours in total).
Primary archival (14)	Liverpool Records Office (13) University of Liverpool Archive (1)	Trips to Liverpool Record Office (with the exception of limited archival sources publicly viewable online) as well as the University of Liverpool Archive to inspect historical documentation of Cain's and its many iterations through time, and to obtain historical images of the brewery building.
Primary visual (27)	Photographs taken by first author (27)	Photographs taken during formal site visits: of architectural features, shops, and stores, etc.
Secondary documentary (67)	Liverpool City Council (6)	Licensing, gambling, planning committee and building and control meeting minutes on the topic of the Cain's brewery renewal.
	Commercial organizations – various (5)	Architectural designs, investment advertisements and brochures and other literature, mostly focused on the failed re-development attempt of 2013.
	Liverpool Echo reporting (33)	Local newspaper reporting on the Cain's brewery, including its administration in 2008 and 2013, and subsequent entrepreneurial renewal that followed.
	National Newspapers (13)	National newspaper reporting on the Cain's brewery.
	Other websites (10)	Website reviews of entrepreneurial organizations at Cain's, comments on the site's historical legacy, as well as quality of ale.
Secondary interview (4)	Radio interviews (2)	Radio interview with local entrepreneurs, as well as an interview with Chris Routledge promoting his book *Cain's: The story of Liverpool in a Pint.*
	Online interviews (2)	Online interview with local entrepreneurs, as well as an interview with the current owner of the Cain's Brewery.
Secondary visual media (1)	Online video (1)	Footage of the derelict Cain's Brewery, prior to renewal, being used to host multiple artistic installations for the Liverpool Biennial 2016 Arts Festival.

Our analysis seeks to account for how Cain's' present and future have been imagined and pursued through affective practices of remembering that were formed in and gave new form to its material aspects. Staying true to Benjamin's rejection of memory as an orderly, linear account of historical events, but aware of the need for

our findings to maintain a sense of coherence and accessibility, we began our analysis by organizing our data thematically, looking for memories that were encountered most often in the course of data collection. This allowed us to identify key moments in the history of the brewery that were remembered by entrepreneurs in the course of formulating and enacting its entrepreneurial future. We cross-examined interview transcripts with field notes to locate material aspects of the space that had 'sparked' these specific memories (for instance, how recollections of the founder would often unfold in the presence of the original red-brick building). Understanding how memories were formed in the space allowed us to understand how participants gave new form to the space in the present. For example, our informants used memories of the founder to cast themselves as modern equivalents in their attempts to articulate a new entrepreneurial future for the brewery. Similarly, we also identified themes of dormancy/vacancy, often remembered in association with derelict parts of the brewery, as well as memories of the less successful decades of the late twentieth century attached to some of the more modern buildings on the complex. This produced a scaffolding of thematic non-linear fragments comprising multiple accounts of how the persistence of the brewery through time was experienced in the present, around which we have constructed our account.

A montage of fragments provides the representational form through which we present our findings. Following Benjamin's (1978) image of the unfolding fan of memory, we thematically arrange our findings into four aforementioned sections – Robert Cain, dormancy/vacancy, the difficult post-war years, as well as the renewal – these segments, derived from our data, offer our perspective of the entrepreneurial

renewal of the Cain's brewery in a way faithful to Benjamin's rejection of linearity and singular meaning.

Figure 5.2 Visiting the Cain's brewery: A view over the Mersey

Source: author photograph

5.5 Findings

Visiting the Cain's complex on foot involves a short journey from the city center, through Chinatown and the intriguing landscape of large nineteenth century red brick warehouses next to modern student high rise developments that make up the Baltic Triangle district, before crossing Parliament Street – a major artery leading into the city from the south – arriving at a light industrial estate signposted as the Waterfront Business Area. Initial impressions are of an unassuming place; on the right is a sheet-metal fabricator with hand-painted wooden signage next to a builder's merchants constructed out of corrugated iron, painted a gaudy yellow. On the other

side of the road groups of people are gathered, some seated eating and drinking, whilst others stand chatting on the pavement, a large building looming behind them. This is the Cain's brewery complex. The site is made up of several large buildings constructed across different eras. Most striking is the Stanhope Street Brewery, a five-story Victorian-era red brick structure constructed in a Renaissance architectural style, comprised of a series of towers, adorned with elaborate terracotta tiling, stepping upward toward a tall-stack tower rising from the center. The building rears up impressively from the sociable pavement scene and looks out over the expanse of the river Mersey.

Passing through the gated entrance into the complex, one encounters a busy scene comprised of a variety of shops, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, and work and studio spaces. There are businesses tucked away in small courtyards and old offices but also in larger warehouses, where inconspicuous entrances open up into cavernous spaces populated by a variety of small businesses selling bicycles, furniture, clothing, vinyl, and other wares. There are obvious traces of an industrious past. Large loading docks have become outdoor seating areas for bars and restaurants located in old brewing rooms. A storage cellar has become one of the larger pubs in the city, situated entirely underground. These examples of creative re-use of existing material elements of the brewery are juxtaposed with unreservedly modern developments, either recently completed or still in-progress. Nonetheless, there are many remnants from the Victorian era: brewery equipment in various stages of decay; a deep well along with its rusted machinery is displayed under plexiglass in the cellar pub, as if one was standing on a viewing platform at an excavation; pulleys and old mechanical motors stick out of sections of the red brickwork; vintage

advertising hoardings line the walls, with 'Cain's' displayed in a bright red font set against a yellow background. Inscribed above the entrance to one establishment reads the following:

> The Stanhope Street Dispensary sits proudly at the cornerstone of Robert Cain's original Mersey Brewery. The great man would be proud to know that the fine ales that bear his name still emanate from within his very own 'terracotta palace.' So, come in and raise a glass to the man and his vision.
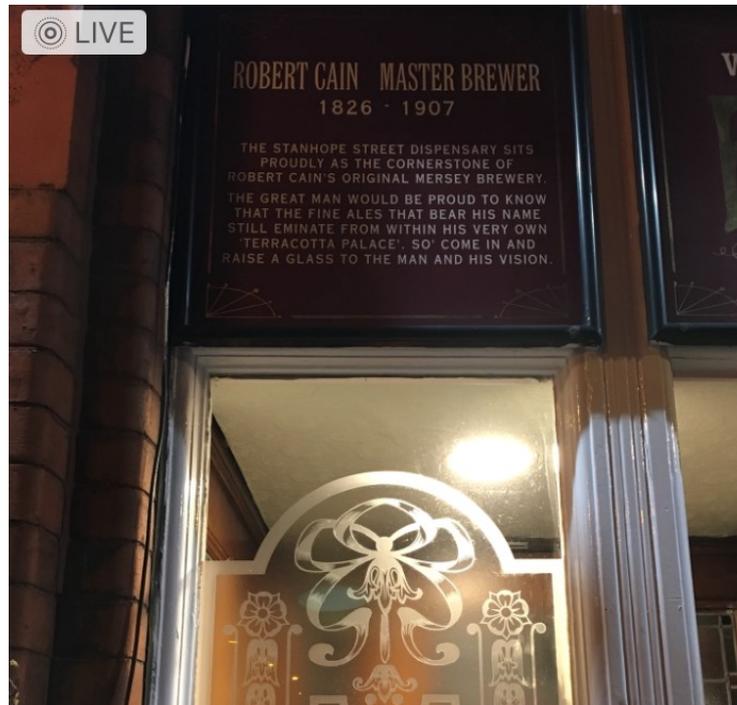
Figure 5.3 'Come on in': the Stanhope Street Dispensary

Source: Author photograph

5.5.1 Robert Cain

As his terracotta palace still towers over Liverpool's waterfront, so Robert Cain is a persistent presence in many discussions about the entrepreneurial renewal of the

brewery today. For two participants, who were among the first entrepreneurs to rediscover the space, establishing their new venture in the brewery in 2017, their experience of the building was entangled with memories of its founder:

> When we did our press release for this place, we said: 'we can't wait to contribute to the next chapter of Cain's, to write its next chapter.' I think the story of Robert Cain is quite powerful. I know he came here with very little, lived in slums, so for him to have that vision is amazing. To have made Cain's what it was (Interview 1).

What is this story for which they want to write the next chapter? It is a tale of an Irish immigrant who arrived in Liverpool at a young age and was raised in crowded slums north of the city center, but who went on to found his brewing business in 1850, and over the course of the next few decades enjoyed considerable commercial success as a brewer of 'superior ale' (Archival 6: LRO 050 LIV). He commissioned and oversaw the design and construction of the Stanhope Street Brewery during a time of ambitious growth and expansion (Archival 11: LRO 720 KIR/2939). Informants often shared tales of Cain as a remarkable businessman who "went from nothing to enormous wealth really rapidly" (Interview 5) becoming the proprietor of a brewing empire that would have "one of the top 50 UK businesses, equivalent to being in the FTSE 100 today" (Online interview 4). Memory is stretched across the gulf that separates Cain, who died in 1907, from today's entrepreneurs.

Memories of commercial success were often accompanied by gestures towards the physical stature of the brewery. Some signaled upwards to the tower, whereas others

used facial expressions when invoking the scale of the space in which we were standing, their eyes, mouths, and arms opening wide in expansive gestures. The Stanhope Street Brewery was designed to be one of the largest and most technologically advanced in the country, tripling its production capacity (Archival 2: LRO M380PWK/18/6). A capacity evoked today:

> They generally measured breweries in barrels. The capacity for this was like 400,000 barrels. It was massive … I don't know if it ever ran at that capacity, but that was what its capacity was. It was huge (Interview 5).

The building has a latency.

Cain was a man of commercial acumen who amassed tremendous wealth by brewing increasingly large quantities of beer. The brewery he designed speaks to notions of market power and economies of scale. Many brewing processes relied on gravity, giving the towers a functional purpose. But towers have other affects. Visually, they command panoramas and streetscapes. They anchor and impose. It is easy to be impressed by this building, to be beguiled by the pretensions of market dominance that accompanied its design. Today, the brewery accommodates a variety of small new ventures that occupy pockets of this cavernous space (though much remains unused). The scale of the old building resonates with the occupants, even if their own ambitions do not aspire to similar heights. The scale of Cain's success – and its physical manifestation – a source of pride.

The Stanhope Street Brewery (completed in 1902) was designed to accommodate this vastly increased production output but is also constructed in a then fashionable Renaissance style (Sharples, 2004). The fabric of the building expressed not only corporate power communicated through scale but also cultural aspiration and personal social mobility through the fashionability and splendor of its architecture. Robert Cain's family monogram and symbol adorn much of the decorative terracotta tiling: images of a Gazelle and hop flowers suspended above five crosses (stylistically represented as 'xxxxx'). The Stanhope Street Brewery was an architectural statement of a commercially successful businessman, now the owner of his own 'terracotta palace':
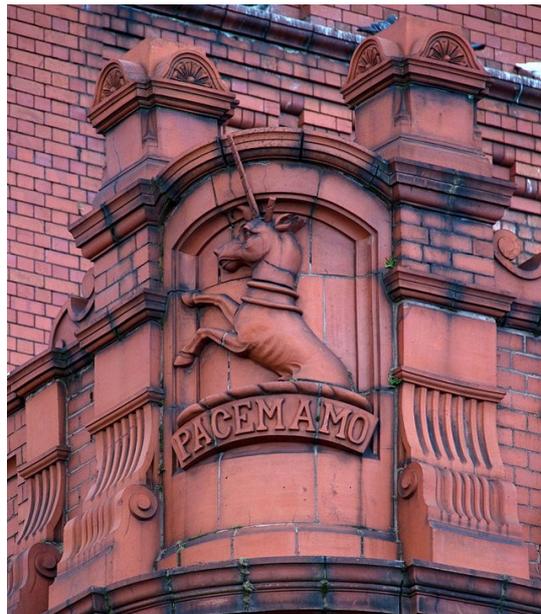
Figure 5.4 Cain Family symbol etched into the redbrick

Source: Author photograph

> He wasn't happy to have a small brewery. He wanted to have a big brewery and to live in a big house and have a lot of status. I think he's that sort of person. And Victorian cities rewarded that (Interview 5).

For some informants, these historic resonances compelled their own engagement with the space: "of course, we were attracted by the fundamentals: big space, cheap rent, but what made us choose this place was the history of Cain's" (Interview 3). Other entrepreneurial participants concurred, and elaborated how the story of Robert Cain helped them make sense of their own circumstances and drove them to pursue entrepreneurial ambitions:

> The amazing thing is that Robert Cain was only twenty years old when he came over here from Ireland. He was a young radical entrepreneur. He built this brewery. He ended up becoming one of the wealthiest entrepreneurs in Liverpool. Having that in the background is really powerful. It's funny with us now having taken it on being twenty-something year olds ourselves. It all just fits. That's why we chose this place (Interview 1).

The entrepreneurial renewal of Cain's is refracted through stories of the founder. We recall Benjamin's (1978: 300) remarks that the medium of memory is the present, cutting a path through the linearity of history, presenting fragments in new articulations. Entrepreneurial individuals located in the Cain's brewery recall aspects of its history to suit their circumstances.
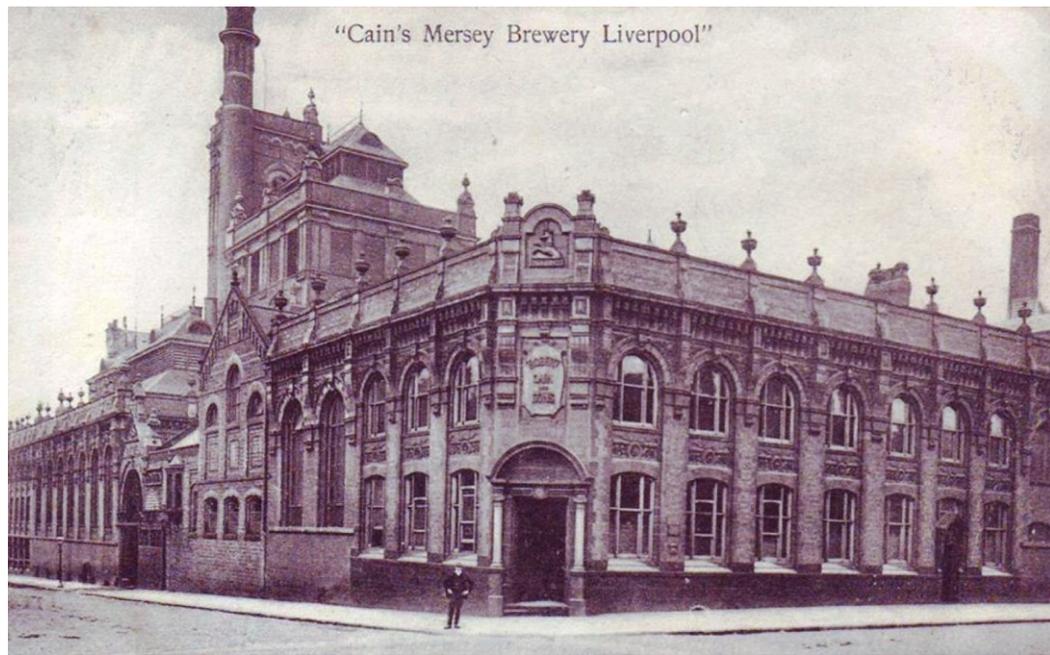
Figure 5.5 Robert Cain standing outside his recently completed brewery at the turn of the nineteenth century

Source: Archival 11, LRO 720 KIR/2939 (1903-1914)

Robert Cain is the first point at which there forms a constellation between past and present, summoned as a source of classic tropes of entrepreneurial success, deployed for the purpose of entrepreneurial renewal. But his summoning takes place across expanses of time that contain multiple temporal disjunctures. Cain's role occurred in a small window of the building's existence. A span of more than one hundred years imposes itself between then and now. The material persistence of the building pushes entrepreneurs to disrupt the linearity of time by placing themselves close to Cain, manipulating the folds of Benjamin's fan of memory to reorder discrete points in time. The material persistence of the building disguises a sleight of hand, even if the new entrepreneurs do feel there is something intrinsic to the building that remains. Informants make sense of their present and imagine their future in this space *through*

this space. The building compels these entrepreneurs to physically locate there in order for these associations to feel genuine or meaningful. In the process, some things are revealed, and others occluded.

5.5.2 Dormancy/vacancy

For all that, at the moment when a group of people walked into the Cain's complex for the first time in 2016, the Stanhope Street Brewery was vacant, a dead space far removed from its Victorian splendour (Document 36 & 37: LE, 2016). But the experience of being in the 'iconic' Cain's brewery sparked a sense of latent entrepreneurial possibility. The space, even absent its founder, attracts somehow, and another constellation begins to form as the present recognizes and redeems a different moment in history. As one informant elaborated: "We were looking for a permanent space and, in the beginning, we just happened upon Cain's … When we visited this place, we just fell in love instantly" (Interview 1). Here is the sense of something stumbled upon; unlooked for and unexpected. But if Cain's was found by accident, it had not been hidden, for in the words of our informant, "But of course, we knew Cain's, I grew up with my dad drinking Cain's beer. We … used to have an office over the road, and I would look at Cain's every single day. It was always an iconic building" (Interview 1) It took a moment of surprise to see it again, but differently. The iconic was held within the ordinary, the revelatory moment bringing back memories of glimpses through an office window and a father drinking beer.

However, physical persistence does not guarantee the persistence of memory. In *A Berlin Chronicle*, Benjamin (1978: 315) tells how "it is true that countless facades of the city stand exactly as they stood in my childhood. Yet I do not encounter my

childhood in their contemplation … What it says to me today it owes solely to the edifice itself." Thus, alongside memory and persistence, vacancy and dormancy were important motifs in our informants' language. Vacancy and dormancy punctuate time, as in the words of this informant:

It's interesting to think about what this place was in the past, and how it was lying dormant - and what it is now. It's become a hive of activity again. When this first opened it would have been a massive hive of activity. Then it became just nothing. And now it's something again (Interview 3).

Figure 5.6 From a hive of activity to 'nothing' – the dormant brewery in 2016

Source: Document 36, LE, 2016.

Something, nothing, something again. The story is simple in many ways; past ventures had failed, and the space had become economically inactive. The continuities implied by the physical persistence of the building are overlain with radical discontinuities; in the juxtaposition of the two, some saw potential, the space for movement.

Against this, the transformations that might be wrought through an entrepreneurial renewal came to have a redemptive or rejuvenating quality – from 'nothing' to 'something' again.

> Cain's has got this atmosphere, this space is important to people, but not in the way that it just represents a location to make money in, it represents a space to make a difference … I don't think this could work in a nondescript warehouse. Perhaps it could have been popular if we'd done this elsewhere, but it wouldn't have the atmosphere ... Its Cain's isn't it. You look up at the tower and you think 'I'm in it'. You get that sense 'I've arrived'. You have to walk through the gates. It's like walking into another world (Interview 1).

The sense of embodied movement is palpable. The movement brings the people and the life back into the once empty building. Making a difference becomes possible.

The present entrepreneurial renewal of Cain's has involved the rekindling of an old entrepreneurial story and the reclamation of a vacant industrial building. But the renewal is not reducible to simply this. We continue to open up the folds of Benjamin's (1978) 'fan of memory,' lifting up above the surface other moments in

the history of Cain's that are significant for how the space is entrepreneurially
enacted in the present.

5.5.3 Failed re-development, Higson years, administration

The site of the Stanhope Street Brewery accommodated a functioning brewery for
nearly 250 years. The site was purchased by Robert Cain in 1858 from the Hindley
family, who had themselves acquired the brewery as a going concern in 1786
(Archival 6: LRO 050 LIV). Some records have suggested brewing could have first
commenced on this site around 1775. The brewery has since been through many
iterations: purchased, sold, merged. Each time subject to material alteration: "You
can see the stages. You see, that brick is different from that brick, which is different
from that brick … you can see … it was built at different times" (Interview 5).

**Figure 5.7 'That brick is different from that brick' - layers of time in the
building**

Source: author photograph

Layers of time are stacked on top of each other, an archaeological record of the aspirations of different eras and circumstances:

> If you go a bit further along here, you'll see it, there's a building that's made with chalk stones in the wall. That's the brewery that he bought; I think. It's difficult to work it out exactly, but I think that's the 1858 part … The red brick part is built on top of whatever was there before … and the bit that is now painted grey at the end that's … a bar and restaurant, that was originally the entrance, but that was bombed. That was the Liverpool Blitz got that bit …. Then it was bought by Higson's in the 20th century, so it was Cain's until 1921, although they hadn't brewed in it for a bit, and then it was bought by Higson's, and then Higson's changed the terracotta signs to say Higson's in 1923 … Then in the 1980s, they did that massive re-vamp of the brewery under Boddingtons … Then the reintroduction of Cain's (Interview 5).

Decisive moments in the history of the building were imbued with a desire to harness the scale of Cain's achievements and legacy. Each resulted in failure. Thus, the site has experienced periods of vacancy many times. Some of these moments in history proved significant for understanding its entrepreneurial renewal in the present.

The most recent period of vacancy was in 2013 (Document 31: LE, 2013). In the preceding years, the brewery had been eking out its life producing budget beer for supermarkets, obligated to produce a homogenous product and to continuously drive

down costs to manage increasingly thin profit margins (Online Interview 4). The old red brick building was not equipped to fulfil these demands, unable to compete with purpose built modern facilities (Online Interview 4). Throughout 2013, Cain's lost key contracts, becoming financially unviable, and eventually being forced into a compulsory winding-up order by Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs with over 5 million pounds owed in unpaid taxes and a further 3 million to other creditors (Document 44 & 45: BBC, 2013).

Plans for re-development of the space as a repurposed 'Cain's Brewery Village' were quickly drawn up. The plan proposed to transform the red-brick structure into a high-end destination for leisure and tourism, including extensive remodeling of the historic building to accommodate a 94-bedroom boutique hotel, a designer retail market, an artisanal food hall, a courtyard bistro, and a roof-top 'sky-bar' (Document 1: LCC, 2013). These modifications were to take place alongside the demolition of less attractive buildings, such as the canning facility, to build a new art-house cinema, a supermarket, a health, beauty and fitness centre, a multi-storey car park, and 775 high quality homes, or 2,500 student bedrooms (Document 3: LCC, 2013). This blueprint for the Cain's Brewery Village was broadly in line with established practices for re-developing post-industrial spaces in UK cities: a façade of heritage retained, but divested of the patina which testified to its previous usage, holding onto selected historic aspects on the basis of aesthetic appeal – especially celebrating the image of Robert Cain as the quintessential Victorian entrepreneur and his iconic 'terracotta palace' – while disposing of those parts of the site that were deemed burdensome (e.g. Edensor, 2005). Planning permission was granted by the Liverpool City Council Planning Committee in November 2013 (Document 1 & 3: LCC,

2013). But the plan went cold as it sought investment. Despite much fanfare,

especially in local newspapers, the proposed re-development stalled as prospective

investors baulked at the location and degree of refurbishment required (Document

38: LE, 2016).

Figure 5.8 A high degree of 'refurbishment' required: the (unrealized) £150m re-development plans from 2013

Source: Document 7: FCH, (2013).

After 250 years of continuous brewing, the final reckoning for the Stanhope Street

Brewery was an evaluation of the building as no longer fit for its original purpose.

At the same time, the site, located approximately one mile from the center of gravity

of urban re-development in the city, focused on the Liverpool ONE retail complex,

lacked established footfall and surrounding environs were themselves at nascent

stages of re-development, predominately industrial and not yet established as a

destination able to attract key demographics, such as students and young

professionals (Document 1 & 2: LCC, 2013). A huge gulf separated a dilapidated

nineteenth century brewery and the aspirational plans for its luxury re-development. At this point the gates were locked, and everyone walked away.

These are the most recent events preceding the current entrepreneurial renewal. They are characterized by a sense of scale that could not be realized. In this, history seemed to be repeating itself. In 1923, fifteen years after his death, Robert Cain's sons, Charles and William, found themselves uninterested in running a brewery, and the Stanhope Street Brewery was sold to Daniel Higson Ltd, a local rival (Archival 1: LRO M380 PWK/4/1). One of informant recounted how:

> Higson's was a small brewery by comparison … but it's kind of a triumph, isn't it? It's triumphalism … before they bought it they took over a brewery on the other side of Parliament Street, so they would have been able to see Cain's brewery … there must have been some sort of, 'right, you bastards, we've got you now' (Interview 5).

Figure 5.9 Daniel Higson etched into the brickwork

Source: author photograph

Higson's produced beer at the Stanhope Street Brewery for six decades from 1923 to 1985 (Archival 4: LRO Acc. 5538). Participants that recalled how "there was no such thing as Cain's beer in Liverpool" during this time (Interview 7). Higson's beer was not well remembered: "The beer is really … It was just such a bitter, almost a burnt taste."

Under Cain, the Stanhope Street Brewery was a model of Victorian industrialism: ambition, innovation, growth. Under Higson, the story became one of mediocrity and eventual failure, which took place alongside Liverpool's own decline (Archival 4: LRO Acc. 5538).

Figure 5.10 The mediocre 'Higson's Years' – the boarded-up Stanhope Street Brewery in 1968

Source: Archival 13: LRO 353 PSP/111/2123/3 (1968).

After Higson's, there were multiple attempts to revitalize Liverpool's oldest and largest surviving brewery. Boddington's (1985-1990) took over and invested in modernizing brewing operations but eventually decided to focus on pub ownership and sold the brewery to Whitbread (Document 32: LE, 2013). The brewery was sold to GB Breweries in 1991, who re-introduced Robert Cain branded beer for the first time in 70 years in a move that was well-received in the city (Document 23: LE, 2002), and attracted the attention of Faxe Bryggeri A/S, a Danish brewer, who saw Cain's revived heritage branding as a route into the UK market (Online Interview 4). Faxe took over the brewery in 1992 and set about rebuilding the brand around the image of Robert Cain, remembered as a Victorian gentleman who brewed ale of quality (Routledge, 2008). Faxe poured over ten million pounds into the brewery over ten years, successfully re-establishing Cain's among the social fabric of the city, but ultimately failing to turn the brewery into a sustainable enterprise (Online Interview 4). The brewery was put up for sale again in 2002 and purchased by its current owners (Document 21: LE, 2002). A new plan was hatched to transform the brewery's fortunes with a full-throated redeployment of Robert Cain's heritage, introducing new branding and product lines invoking the brewery's Victorian heyday coupled with aggressive marketing and sponsorship campaigns, putting Cain's back into Liverpool's consciousness (Document 24, 25, 26: 2005 & 2006). It is to this period that we can date the younger entrepreneurs' memories of their parents drinking Cain's. Rapid expansion was the ambitious aim.

After a few years of success an ambitious thirty-two-million-pound reverse takeover of Honeycombe Leisure was completed, taking on an extra 92 pubs (Document 52:

FT, 2008). This proved to be fateful. The company fell into administration in 2008 and it was during this time that it became apparent that the organization had been restructured to separate ownership of the brewing business from the brewery building itself (Document 28 & 29: LE, 2008). As a consequence, there was no money for redundancy pay or creditors, many of whom were the publicans included in the recent reverse takeover (Document 45: BBC, 2013). This was controversial in the city:

> Yeah, that period was just horrendous. It was just really horrendous … When this place collapsed as a brewery, and they laid off all the workers and all the rest of it, there was outrage in Liverpool … and they didn't feel proud of it anymore (Interview 5).

For this participant, the brewery held memories of betrayal and worry for those caught up in the administrative process, whose plight had been well documented in newspapers:

> I was sitting up in bed drinking coffee, watching sea eagles hovering over the bay … and they were there trying to save their businesses. It was terrible (Interview 5).

Between 1985 and 2013, every attempt at revitalizing the site seemed to be overmatched by its physical size, and perhaps also by the scale of Robert Cain's achievements. In the process, the history became tarnished: "The … old beer I remember was terrible beer, so it was no surprise when they stopped being able to

sell that. And then … the [later] Cain's brewery, from what I remember, always badly run, so it was no surprise when they couldn't run it" (Interview 7). It seemed as though the only remaining strategy was a process of stripping back to basics, physically but also psychologically and emotionally. As this informant expressed eloquently, it had got the point where they could "remove everything, and we've actually got something" (Interview 7).

5.5.4 Renewal

Remove everything to reveal something. A string of corporate failures coupled with the failure of the forces of urban re-development meant that in the years preceding its entrepreneurial renewal, the brewery had become "a derelict nightmare" (Interview 3), a space that "no-one was interested in" (Interview 2).

> Three or four years ago it was just a ruin, the gates were locked, it was nothing. It was dead … It was falling apart … Half the brewery was derelict … We were the first ones in here who saw its potential (Interview 1).

Or, others had only seen the potential in a form that no longer worked. Entrepreneurship reimagined the brewery's latent potential, restoring feelings of pride that the space had been renewed at their hands. Early entrepreneurial inhabitants were undaunted, despite their slight resources, were more willing to do the archaeology, taking up the opportunity "to contribute towards a new future for this space, for Liverpool" (Interview 3):

Oh, lots of work had to be done. This space was literally two rooms when we got here. Two refrigeration rooms separated by a wall. We knocked that down. There was an extra ceiling. So, we took out the ceiling. We took off the big fans around the wall that used to cool the kegs in here … We came in, we saw it all, and yeah, a lot of work had to be done, but we did it (Interview 1).

The origins of this sense of latent potential were felt as much as calculated, sparked by the experience of being present in the space, where a sense of new possibility flowed naturally. This was a new and radical form of engagement with the brewery:

It was all in a really bad condition, all just falling apart when we first got here, but we came in here and we just loved it. We had this feeling that we were in the iconic Cain's brewery and although there was no life in it at the time, we just felt that we could breathe the life back into it. We just felt that way. The fact that it was built in the nineteenth century, the red brick still looking amazing. I couldn't believe it hadn't been done sooner really (Interview 1).

Thus, our respondents often described a moment of movement into the space – through once locked gates behind which it had lain "dead" – that was also a movement across time, evoking spans of history.

Failed attempts at renewal had been captivated by the scale of the brewery, but in doing so worked against the grain of the intervening history. In contrast, the recent,

more successful regeneration has worked with the detritus of sedimented time, acceptance of the building as it now presented itself. Acknowledging the way in which the passage of time had voided the building of many of its past associations, they were able to create something "out of nowhere."

> Once you got in, there was huge amounts of the building that were unusable, because it was a brewery. You know, I remember people saying, 'Oh, we're going to extend into that wing and that wing,' and then I went into one of them one day, and it was kind of like, 'well, how are you getting that out of here?' All these massive vats … (Interview 7).

This renewal of the brewery was more incremental, constituted of many collective attempts to provide temporary fixes and patchwork attempts to get small parts of the building back into productive use, such as "the temporary felt on the roof, instead of tiling, just to keep the rain out" (Interview 5). Whereas the failed projects had been characterized by an ambition to tackle the entire site, one participant saw the subsequent, entrepreneurial inhabitation as "more of a story about real renewal rather than big-business renewal … this seems to be more sustainable" (Interview 5).

This collective, DIY approach to the renewal was rooted in and conveyed an important sense of ownership, both to those who opened businesses and those who arrived as customers: "it's a space that means so much to us and means so much to others because it supports so much. It supports so many people and everyone has their own ties with it" (Interview 1/3). Participants, entrepreneurs and customers, talked of how they were attracted to Cain's precisely because of its successes,

failures, survivals and transformations through time: "I find it really fascinating that the kind of brand has somehow come through that, and it's come out the other side, and it's owned by Liverpool now, in the way that it hasn't really ever been, which is funny, isn't it?" (Interview 5). Some meanings persisted, some fell away over time, some to be re-found and re-transmuted.

Figure 5.11 And now, something. An entrepreneurial renewal

Source: author image.

The original Cain's brewery was built to serve an idea of capacity. The loose collective of entrepreneurs who led the renewal found in themselves and the old red brick building a new, more modest form of capacity, one that has, for now, proved more effective. The process has involved contradictions and multiplicities. They

have figured the building as both iconic, redolent of Robert Cain, Liverpool, and their conjoined successes, and simultaneously as a ruin or a void – "nothing" and "nowhere." They have stretched, folded, and pleated the history of the site. They have scraped away at surfaces, revealing brick, chalk rubble, and the memories of a gate destroyed in an air raid more than seventy years ago. They have situated their small new businesses in old entranceways, loading bays, and cellars, butting up against the remnants of the building's original purpose, reoccupying nooks and corners. Whilst remembering Robert Cain, positioning the business and the edifice he built as iconic, they have not remained enthralled by a singular historical image. They are knowing and playful, yet sincere, about the subsequent history - the poor beer, the failures, the decay. They have found in the building and its history a capacity to which they have responded with capacities of their own.

5.6 Discussion

5.6.1 The generative potential of spatial encounter

The 'Cain's Brewery Village' proposal sought to remember selected aspects of the brewery's 150-year history: especially, to retain the red-brick façade of Robert Cain's 'iconic' terracotta palace, but to dispose of other buildings or features of the brewery that could not be so easily leveraged for commemorative purposes. This selective strategy was reminiscent of the principles underlying the manufacture of the HP garage (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016). Indeed, less aesthetically pleasing parts of the brewery complex such as the tin-roof canning facility and refrigeration rooms were not included in the re-development proposal because they were not so useful for organizing a relationship with the past that was premised upon a triumphant notion of Victorian industrialism (Edensor, 2005). These remains were burdensome

to these ends standing as testament to multiple commercial failures; inconvenient material traces of various unsuccessful attempts to continue the brewery as a going concern across the latter half of the twentieth century.

However, the entrepreneurial renewal of the brewery that followed was less associated with the intentful imposition of memory but rather with historical associations that were formed through spatial encounters. These often arose spontaneously and/or unexpectedly and forged new connections between the past, present and future. Our finding echoes Banks's (2006) observations in his study of cultural entrepreneurs in Manchester, where individual memories of past experiences became important "source[s] of inspiration and value" (464). However, unlike Banks, our participants were not operating in an environment of purely inward experiences of remembering. How our participants remembered the past to make sense of their present and imagine their entrepreneurial futures was a deeply embodied and sensory process prompted by the materiality of the brewery. For the aforementioned participant, the brewery complex compelled entrepreneurial engagement – it invoked notions of the space as iconic – but this feeling was held within quite ordinary and everyday memories that until the moment of encounter had remained concealed. How this person remembered the past to make sense of their present and imagine their entrepreneurial future was not predetermined or strategic, not solely a product of individual cognition premised upon inward-looking retrospective processes, but rather was *formed in* the brewery as it was experienced (e.g., Holm & Beyes, 2022).

So, whilst we do not discount entirely the efficacy of intentful practices of remembrance advocated by Lippmann and Aldrich (2016), our findings suggest caution about the theorizing of entrepreneurial spaces in "which fragments and spaces of memory are incinerated, dumped or buried and which pass into social and institutional memory" (Edensor, 2005: 831). A selective approach is likely to overlook the generative role of urban space because it misses the latent entrepreneurial possibilities that can reside within spatial encounters, in the more spontaneous and unorganized dimensions to memory as lived experience (Thompson, 2018). Through Benjamin (1978), we have revealed the latent entrepreneurial potential residing in seemingly innocuous or inconsequential material encounters that can spark memory (Elias et al., 2022). For our subjects, the Cain's brewery was littered with these potent fragments that sparked memory and often it was the ordinary or the unremarkable that proved to be the most affective: inscriptions carved into the brickwork or derelict refrigeration rooms with a false ceiling. We have uncovered how multiple moments in history hang together, allowing time to be reconfigured in an array of different shapes, and it is precisely in this "capacity for endless interpolations into what has been" (Benjamin, 1978: 305) that new entrepreneurial possibilities were brought to light.

5.6.2 Memory as giving new entrepreneurial form

Immediately prior to the entrepreneurial renewal, the Cain's brewery was dormant and vacant, filled with absences and erasures; and in dormancy and vacancy there was loss. Like post-industrial Doncaster, which had for many decades been "organized around coal mining and associated large scale production factories" (Gheres et al., 2020: 907), the Cain's brewery had similarly lost its long-held sense

of "coherence between materiality, meaning and practice" (907). In addition to the breakdown of brewing practices there had also been an acrimonious administration. The brewery had not only become commercially impotent but also something that residents in the city "didn't feel proud of anymore." However, there was a latent sense of new entrepreneurial possibility among the ruin once celebrated but now painfully remembered industrial heritage. For one group of entrepreneurs, the felt impositions of the space as something that had become 'a derelict nightmare' spurred rather than discouraged their engagement. They saw an opportunity to give this redundant urban space new entrepreneurial form. We therefore understand the entrepreneurial renewal of the brewery as involving a curious transfiguration – a rearrangement and recombination of historical events.

Through Benjamin (1978), we have shown the generative potential of an urban space, where the formulation of new entrepreneurial action flowed from spatial encounter; the sparking of long-forgotten memories forged new constellations between past, present and future through which new entrepreneurial possibilities come to light. What we further emphasize is how this process becomes manifest as entrepreneurial action, thus "opening up the issue of history and the power of narrating the past so as to make space for creative movement into the future" (Hjorth & Dawson, 2016: 1092). We understand this giving of new entrepreneurial form to the Cain's brewery as the creative process of re-membering the space.

Like the rich tapestry of Benjamin's (1978) Berlin, how the Cain's brewery was remembered by respondents was always being reimposed, resisted, reimagined and reinterpreted. Re-membering the Cain's brewery was an act of archaeology.

Participants scraped away at layers, sometimes literally, to locate and then reassemble fragments, presenting history in new combinations. Illustrative of this is how Robert Cain is re-membered. Some of our participants compared themselves to Cain, but crucially this was not because they had attempted to "replicate the famous success stories that live on in the collective memory" (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016: 670). Similarly, our entrepreneurs were beguiled by the scale of the brewery, but they were not beholden to it. Recalling the many failed attempts of the brewery to live up to Robert Cain's achievements in the past, they looked to harness small transformations rather than seek totalizing statements; to occupy spaces throughout the complex not just focusing on the red-brick. One respondent felt that these actions they had turned the brewery from "nothing" to "something again," however, what we have showed is that this was not so much the creation of something from nothing, as it was the situated act of cultivating newness or novelty from the already existing (Hjorth & Reay, 2018). It was in the sense that they were "writing the next chapter" for the brewery that our respondents saw themselves in the image of entrepreneurs like Cain and this, we suggest, is what defines Benjamin's (1978) notion of 're-membering,' illuminating why this entrepreneurial renewal would not have worked in a "nondescript warehouse" devoid of history.

What we therefore wish to emphasize here is that alongside the transformational potential of spatial experience, there were also boundaries to acts of remembrance. We should not overlook prior intent by our entrepreneurs, which motivated them to visit the brewery in the first instance. This is clearly evidenced in our findings: 'We were looking for a permanent space and, in the beginning, we just happened upon Cain's … When we visited this place, we just fell in love instantly.' Thus, it is not

so much that remembrance of the space *alone* can spark entrepreneuring in the cracks, but rather that it is through one's spatial experience of the brewery that this nascent and hitherto unarticulated entrepreneurial intent finds its articulation: entrepreneurial futures crystalized in the moment of encounter. Following Benjamin, we suggest that focussing on the transformational potential of memory offers one theoretical explanation for how this process unfolds, revealing how entrepreneurship comes into being through a curiously chance concoction in which material is encountered in ways that reveal the past as meaningful for formulating creative entrepreneurial movement into the future (Holm & Beyes, 2021).

5.6.3 Studying memory in urban entrepreneurial spaces

Our subjects' everyday encounters with the brewery disrupted notions of singularity or linearity by suddenly and fleetingly calling to mind multiple historical associations and dormant, long-forgotten experiences that had left their physical traces in the building. We have apprehended the multiplicity of how the Cain's brewery is remembered: encountering Robert Cain's 'terracotta palace' but also Daniel Higson's brewery; a building that brewed superior beer and mediocre beer; a celebrated company as well as a failure; a re-development opportunity but also an investment risk. Reminiscent of Benjamin's (1978) image of the fan with many folds, our mode of representation, like our research practices, allowed fragments of memory as experienced in-situ to hang together in a kaleidoscopic fashion.

We have studied memory as entrepreneurial phenomena wrought by material and social processes (Thompson, 2018). Our question has concerned less 'what' should be remembered for entrepreneurial purposes in the present (Lippmann & Aldrich,

2016), more *how* we might witness memory unfolding in relation to everyday entrepreneurial experience (Johnsen & Holt, 2021), however unruly and unorganized (Elias et al., 2022). Through Benjamin (1978), we have elaborated how researchers might find these unexpected, unorganized and spontaneous dimensions to memory as they flow from material encounters, how they might deal with the multiplicity of memory and how they might trace its transformational potential. We have therefore endeavoured to show what it takes to study how the past is mobilized to open up an existing space to new entrepreneurial possibility (Holm & Beyes, 2022).

Treating memory as spatial lived experience demanded a requisite methodological approach, which we suggest is captured in Benjamin's (1978) metaphor of the urban archaeologist. Archaeology manifested through interrelated notions of the real (actual bricks and mortar), but also metaphor (going back through memory and history) as well as method (ourselves as archaeologists). Our research subjects dug under the surface of facades to explore the multiplicity of meanings that can lie beneath. We traced how these manifold connections between the past, present and future were construed from the layering of different times through the work of memory; a methodological invitation for us as researchers to trace these memories back to their source. Our methods revealed the brewery as a site of memories that are multiple, overlapping, contested, non-linear, heroic and mundane, resistant to ordering, rich in their contrariness and entrepreneurial potential. In line with Benjamin (1978) we represent this in an account that doesn't follow a linear structure but rather pieces together multiple fragments of memory; arranging them in segments. Our paper is not a timeline; by weaving and putting together segments we have produced an account which is more than the segments themselves – this is how

we have made the space speak; where memory and space become porous, and interpenetrate (Gilloch, 1996).

5.7 Conclusion

Our account of the entrepreneurial renewal of the Cain's Brewery has revealed how memory unfolds in relation to an urban space possessing transformative potential. Through our conceptual and analytical techniques derived from Benjamin (1978), we have attempted to represent the character of memory as spatial lived experience as something that is formed in but also gives new form to urban spaces (Welter & Baker, 2021). We have studied – and attempted to represent – how memories occur spontaneously through spatial encounter, how they are then taken, analysed, and re-organized, telling and retelling multiple histories of a space that are always rooted but never identical. It is in this ever-newness, we suggest, the latent possibility of an urban space becoming entrepreneurial resides.

CHAPTER SIX

Concluding discussion

6.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I discuss the key findings and contributions of my thesis. I start with a reflection on the potential of my empirical sites: what they bring forth in regard to studying urban entrepreneurial spaces. I then discuss conceptual insights focusing on the contributions of Walter Benjamin and Henri Lefebvre, before reflecting on what these two authors have offered in terms of addressing my research questions. Following this, I trace connections between my work and entrepreneurship literatures, starting with my contributions to spatial and lived experiential approaches to studying contextualized entrepreneurial action, before considering broader insights I offer mainstream entrepreneurship research. After that, I answer my theoretical and empirical research questions, accompanied by a reflection on my methodological contributions and policy recommedations. I conclude with the limitations of my study and possible future avenues of inquiry.

6.2 Key insights and contributions from empirical sites

The timing of my arrival in my empirical sites was invaluable in its contribution to what I was able to 'witness,' entrepreneurially speaking, and therefore subsequently study. The entrepreneurial renewal of the Cain's brewery started in 2017, by the end of the year it had just a handful of entrepreneurial tenants, and the fact that this coincided with the commencement of my PhD studies meant that I was present during the earliest entrepreneurial renewal of this urban space. To be able to witness

entrepreneurship emerge like this, seeing first-hand the tentative first steps toward

renewing the brewery, and then watch this build momentum and grow into

something bigger, is probably not something that can always be achieved by research

through pure intention alone. For instance, when I was writing my application to the

University of Liverpool to study for this PhD, there was not any entrepreneurship in

the Cain's brewery, and it was still closed to the general public since going into

administration. I was quite fortunate 'be in the right place at the right time' in that

regard. The fact that the brewery complex was so large, able to support subsequent

flows of new arrivals bringing with them their creative engagement, meant that I had

many opportunities to get in close to more recent attempts at renewing the brewery

in 2019: whether that involved watching people knocking through walls in old

storage warehouses, re-inhabiting loading docks, or hauling crateful's of ten-year-old

beer out of refrigeration rooms to make room for their own ventures. For me, it was

important that I was able to participate in the space as it transformed as these

permitted insights in the process that relying solely on retrospective interviewing

would likely be unable to provide.

At the Baltic Triangle, I began researching this site when it was close to its tipping

point – around the moment at which the entrepreneurial seemed to be giving way to

more commercialized forces, and perhaps this moment was initially marked by the

space receiving the dubious accolade of 'the coolest place to live in Britain' by the

Times newspaper in 2017. So, whilst I had been to the site before (back in 2013),

happily participating in at least one of the entrepreneurial epochs that contributed to

the transformation of this space (attending one of 24 Kitchen Street's first nights,

when they were an unlicensed venue), I had missed those that had taken place before

that, owing to the fact that I would have been residing in Market Harborough. What this meant is that I found myself conducting my research (in 2019) right in the middle of a fierce debate about what the future of this space should look like. The Baltic Triangle was (and I think, still remains) a vibrant entrepreneurial space in transition – its future trajectory is still uncertain – but what I witnessed first-hand was the various attempts of commercial developers, planners, and incumbent entrepreneurial ventures to enact their vision of what the present and future of this space should be *after* entrepreneurship had successfully established itself, yet before a definitive course had been set. This was another fleeting window for inquiring into entrepreneurship rarely afforded to researchers.

My empirical sites therefore occupied two different moments in the process of spatial transformation and I found this contrast that I was able to work in-between to be fascinating: the Cain's brewery in its entrepreneurial infancy, and just incorporated into the extended limits of the Baltic Triangle, which otherwise was reaching its entrepreneurial maturity.

I found that data was quite forthcoming in both sites, despite their contrasting circumstances both were nonetheless undergoing transformational change, with this process igniting passionate debates about their past, present and futures. The entrepreneurs at the Baltic Triangle were vocal about their resistance to commercial forces and very keen to point out the work they had put in and making clear their reluctance to move elsewhere, as some had recently been encouraged to do by the local authorities. Those operating in the Cain's brewery were quite rightly proud of what they had collectively achieved in a relatively short space of time – excited,

even – and therefore willing to show this off and discuss at length. The findings I presented in Chapter Five were the product of being shown many hand-drawn ideas for various dusty or dilapidated parts of the brewery, being taken to visit many work-in-progresses, accompanied on many walks to different parts of the complex, as well as time spent in neighbouring ventures – all the while, 'encountering' multiple others involved in the renewal along the way.

Whilst the inhabitants of the Cain's brewery were happy to let me share in their celebration of their entrepreneurial moment. At the same time the entrepreneurial inhabitants of the Baltic Triangle were organizing for resistance, and keen to recruit others to rally behind their cause. Leading up to this, I witnessed for myself how Lefebvre's (1991) triadic forces can play out in the Baltic Triangle: lived spaces emerging, brought into commerce; encouraging conceptions for residential development, these plans then becoming manifest in the built environment; sometimes 'vanquishing' the lived spaces that made such developments possible in the first place. This happened several times (thinking of The Kazimier, Constellations), but when it was 24 Kitchen Street's turn to be threatened by residential development, it seemed that the inhabitants of the Baltic Triangle had decided enough was enough. The various events organized between 2019 and 2020, and especially public panel discussions that I draw upon in Chapter Four, reflected this sentiment. These events were well attended and lively, providing interesting insights. In some instances, I could almost watch Lefebvre's triadic forces play out in a single room, and I am reminded of an especially heated exchange between an entrepreneur, who was facing the likelihood of losing his venue, in discussion with a

representative from the commercial developer, their residential tower recently approved to be constructed next door.

Perhaps a further contribution of these sites would be how much has been written and documented about their histories. I found archival sources for the Cain's brewery to be particularly rich, not only had a book been written on the brewery and its relations with the city of Liverpool over a period of nearly 150 years (e.g., Routledge, 2008), it also had intact historical records throughout this time. The archival material was remarkable: including many historical photographs, detailed records of production, minutes of every board meeting, and market strategies of the many different owners of the brewery for well over a century. The same is true of the streets that make up the Baltic Triangle where I was able to trace the origins of the creative rebirth of this space by going back to the very moment of its inception in 1869, and then see how the various unsuccessful attempts to renew this space had played out through local authority meeting minutes, policy documentation, and visual records (which were especially rich covering the last five decades).

Further to this, there was also considerable debate going on in the public sphere throughout my inquiry. As far as urban transformations in Liverpool go, the emergence of the Baltic Triangle was perhaps one of the more significant events of 2010-2020, with the completion of large planned projects like the Ropewalks and Liverpool ONE happening in 2002 and 2008 respectively. Because of this, I found happenings in the Baltic Triangle to be widely reported on by the local press – especially the Liverpool Echo – who had also been following the various trial and tribulations of the Cain's brewery for decades and seemed particularly excited about

its entrepreneurial renewal, publishing multiple extended special reports containing commentary and interviews (e.g., Liverpool Echo, 2018). This helped to further contextualize the primary interview, observation, panel discussion and archival data I had collected.

There have been recent calls for entrepreneurship research to make greater attempts at getting in close to the phenomena under investigation, to capture the 'the 'nitty-gritty' work of "all the meetings, the talking, the selling, the form-filling and the number-crunching" (Thompson et al., 2020: 247). I have shown in my study one way that this might be done, but without having to negotiate some of the more difficult issues of access that might be associated with focussing on a single entrepreneurial venture in an office environment, as the above extract implies. The varied sources of data that I was able to draw on here, made easily accessible due to my long association with each site, allowed me in each instance to make the space itself the unit of my analysis to apprehend "the dance of entrepreneurship" (Beyes, 2006: 252).

An important contribution of these sites resides in my freedom to visit them more-or-less anytime and genuinely participate in them throughout my research (admittedly, within the constraints of COVID-19). They offered multiple opportunities to speak to entrepreneurs but also many others involved in entrepreneurship, but also to read articles to gauge wider public sentiments, trace historical developments through archival visits, and watch the clashing of vested interests unfold at panel events. Witnessing this really allowed me to depart from methodological individualism in my insights, to make something of the idea that entrepreneurship and spatial

transformation can't possibly be determined solely by governance, or be distilled down to the act of one single individual.

6.3 Key insights and contributions from Walter Benjamin

At the commencement of my study of the renewal the Cain's Brewery, I collected a lot of archival and observational data as a way of becoming acquainted with the history of this space, to assist in eventually apprehending its present entrepreneurial form. This history of events was useful, but overall revealed little of how I was going to actually study the entrepreneurial renewal of the brewery. The central issue was how would I begin conceptualize how things can get started? From my preliminary analysis, it was clear that history was important, but how to connect the history of this space to how it is employed in a creative entrepreneurial movement into the future?

Through my reading of Benjamin (1978), I offer insights here in my interpretation of his work, which directed me towards what to go looking for (my data collection strategy) as well as how I might then begin to make sense of it all (data analysis techniques).

The first point to emphasize here is that in *A Berlin Chronicle,* Benjamin (1978) writes personally. The broad project of his work is to detail how his own encounters with the physical landscape of the city produce involuntary flashes of memory from his childhood and adolescence, and how being 'forced' to relive these experiences as an adult in the present can by jarring and disturbing, stirring within him new forms of engagement with the material landscape of the city. Benjamin therefore sets out to

reveal in this work how historical features of urban space have an invariably *lived* dimension: invoking memories that are sensual, embodied and affective. Sometimes the moments he describes throw up long forgotten fragments of his past that are clearly uncomfortable for him to recall from the present: crossing a bridge over train tracks transporting him back to his daily journey to the 'narrow-chested high-shouldered' red-brick school that he hated attending and has 'not retained a single cheerful memory of it' (Benjamin, 1978) – or how the gates at the entrance of the zoological gardens reminded him of his first experience of rejection. However, he also encounters recollections of more joyous times, such as how the colour of a building reminds him of holidaying in the northern coastline of Germany, or how a particular style of cast iron interior column reminds him of raucous nights in the various cafés of Berlin that often stretched long into the early hours.

For Benjamin (1978) memory is not a detached activity, a linear account of historical events, and I read in his work the need to focus my data collection efforts on not just the more well-known aspects of the Cain's brewery (which are, of course, also important) but to try and emulate Benjamin's walks through the backstreets of Berlin so that creative 'sparks' or 'flashes' of personal recollection might emerge through encounters with smaller and sometimes seemingly inconsequential material forms and architectural features. I then endeavoured to trace these encounters through to new creative engagements with the brewery to elucidate how entrepreneurship emerges in relation to space. As I showed, these many fragments of material – such as the gates, changes in the brickwork, but also other discarded items such as structural damage, even rubbish – were potent, forming historical connections that compelled the participation of entrepreneurial subjects in the brewery's renewal.

What I therefore add in my interpretation of Benjamin (1978) is a set of detailed analytical procedures for mobilizing his ideas, as well as a way of emulating his literal representation of how memory rearranges history in new combinations. The presentation of my findings, as a kaleidoscope of acts that re-member the Cain's brewery, is itself entrepreneurial.

In terms of what I bring to existing research (in organization studies) that has employed Benjamin's (1978) ideas. There are extensive discussions about the 'destructive' potential of his work: research has highlighted his attempts to interrupt notions of history out of comfortable and linear notions of straightforward progression. this work is primarily confined to conceptual discussions on his more explicitly critical works, such as *Theses on the Philosophy of History* (e.g., De Cock, O'Doherty & Rehn, 2013). What I look to specifically add to this organizational scholarship, already working with Benjamin, is how a reading of *A Berlin Chronicle* can reveal the transformational potential of memory for reassembling the history of an urban space to conduct a creative movement into the future. I therefore articulate a new way of engaging Benjamin in the spirit of his desire for historical disruption, but orientated toward revealing, through my focus on entrepreneurship, how engagement with ideas can creatively turn outmoded things into something different and valuable (e.g., Gilloch, 1996).

Perhaps because of Benjamin's (1978) characteristically elusive approach to writing, I also see in work that has employed his ideas only limited attempts to conduct detailed empirical inquiries. Some of these studies have discussed in depth what an

inquiry that is built around Benjamin's famous figure of the *flaneur* could involve (Beyes & Steyaert, 2021). Or, they researchers have emphasized the potential in looking at how history becomes manifest in the 'detritus' and 'refuse' of urban spaces as a way of inquiring critically into the present (Swanton, 2012), which Benjamin (2002) talks about extensively in the *Arcades project*. However, these accounts have mostly stopped short of mobilizing these ideas into a fully formed empirical study. My interpretation of Benjamin's work, and attempts at devising an explicit analytical scheme for empirical work as analytical method, is thus a key contribution to this literature.

6.4 Key insights and contributions from Henri Lefebvre

Researching urban space can be quite a messy affair. Whilst this was indeed the case in my study of the Cain's brewery, it was especially true for a much larger area like the Baltic Triangle. I had a lot of data on this space from a variety of different sources: including entrepreneurs, artists, planners, other business owners, commentators, skateboarders, punters, musicians, producers, promoters, architectural historians, and commercial developers. Henri Lefebvre's (1991) triadic conceptualization of spatial production was especially useful as a configuring frame for making sense of all this variety. Through Lefebvre, I was able to give things labels and categories, and whilst these would often spillover as they interrelate, I nonetheless found his tripartite model of conceived, perceived and lived space as a way to catalogue constellations of relations that characterized key moments of epochal change at the Baltic Triangle.

So, whilst Lefebvre's (1991) writing could probably still rival Benjamin's (1978) in evasiveness and difficulty in discerning clear meaning at times, he nonetheless does offer a more instructive set of analytical tools for studying urban space as a process of 'endless production' set within the flow of history (Lefebvre, 1991: 370). His technique honed over time through his detailed empirical work in various rural and urban spaces, often through engagements with various public bodies to conduct spatial studies of how cities, townships and buildings are used and inhabited (for a historical account of Lefebvre's various public studies, see Stanek, 2011). Most famously, the efficacy of Lefebvre's analytical techniques was highlighted by Jean-Paul Sartre (1960) in his *The problem of Method*. Here, Sartre effuses about a specific method provided by Lefevre in one of his earlier rural studies, which is worth reproducing here:

> "Lefebvre begins by pointing out that a living rural community appears first as a *horizontal complexity*; we are dealing with a human group in possession of techniques and with a definitive agricultural productivity related to these techniques, along with the social structure which they determine and which conditions them in return. This human group, whose characteristics depend in large part upon great national and world-wide structures … offers a multiplicity of aspects which must be described and fixed (demographic aspects, family structure, habitat, religion, etc.). But Lefebvre hastens to add that this horizontal complexity also has as its counterpart a "vertical" or "historical complexity": in the rural world we observe the "coexistence of formations of various ages and dates." The two complexities "react upon one another" (Sartre, 1960: 51)

With this extract in mind, the key insight I see afforded by Lefebvre (1991) is how to study a space that one has arrived in and is therefore already very much *in flight* – which characterized my own experience of arriving in the Baltic Triangle as it was tipping into commercialization – and how to trace backwards from this point of entry to understand the origins of this movement; to furnish our understanding of present-day spatial production set within its historical context. For this task, Lefebvre is quite explicit. Again, reproduced from Sartre:

> "In order to study such complexity (in cross section) and such a reciprocity of interrelations – without getting lost in it – Lefebvre proposes "a very simple method employing auxiliary techniques and comprising several phases: (a) *Descriptive*. Observation but with a scrutiny guided by experience and a general theory … (b) *Analytico-Regressive*. Analysis of reality. Attempt to *date* it precisely. (c) *Historical-genetic*. Attempt to rediscover the present, but elucidated, understood, explained." (Henri Lefebvre: "Perspectives de sociologie rurale," *Cahiers de sociologie*, 1953.)" (Sartre, 1960: 52, emphasis in original).

In this sense, all of Lefebvre's past research, engagements and experience come together in his later *The production of space*. He also re-emphasizes these procedures in his *Preface to the new edition* (Lefebvre, 2003b). I identified the methodological extract I reproduced above by reading a biographical account of Lefebvre's life provided by Merrifield (2006). However, I do not often see these specific prescriptions discussed or adhered to in research than employs Lefebvre's ideas. I

have spoken at length about these prescriptions. I provided a set of methodological principles and processes for spatial inquiry in Chapter Three, where I read Lefebvre's methodological recommendations through his more urban concerns in *The production of space*. I then later employed this method in Chapter Four.

I tried to faithfully mobilize Lefebvre's (1991) spatial theory, according to the methodological principles that he clearly outlines (reproduced by Sartre, 1960), by going through three iterations of epochal change at the Baltic Triangle – three different constellations of Lefebvre's tripartite of spatial relations – to reveal how entrepreneurship drives the transition from one to the next. This processual emphasis, as I have shown, lies at the heart of Lefebvre's theory of urban spatial production. Concerned primarily with how small spatial moves, as they are distributed among the everyday actions of multiple actors occupying lived spaces, can grow and morph into something much bigger. A key insight from Lefebvre (1991) was therefore how to translate what I witnessed into an *unfinished* processual formulation of spatial change in the Baltic Triangle situated in history: transformations never settled, just the endless transition from one state to the next, 'dated precisely,' but nonetheless continuing *ad infinitum* as a 'propulsive but undirected triadic awareness' (Beyes & Holt, 2020: 11). Doing justice to Lefebvre's ideas has proven difficult in organization studies (see Beyes and Holt, 2020), and showing one way how this might be done forms a central contribution to Lefebvrian scholarship in this area.

With exceptions (e.g., Skoglund & Holt, 2021) many existing studies employing Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad do not take up this processual aspect so seriously,

preferring to set up their findings section with three headings with their titles usually along the lines of 'conceived,' 'perceived' and 'lived' aspects of the site under investigation (e.g., Petani & Mengis, 2016; Liu & Grey, 2018). This can miss, or sometimes not adequately address, the core tenet of Lefebvre's that the "space of lived experience gets crushed and vanquished by an abstract conceived space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 175). Not only do I take this idea seriously as the hallmark of my study, I do it by showing a new way that the 'lived gets vanquished' by bringing Lefebvre into conversation with the entrepreneurial theory of Spinosa et al., (1997).

I also employ Lefebvre's (1991) triad to empirically study a city space rather than the preferred approach in organization studies to look at a building (e.g., Giovannoni & Quattrone 2018; Liu & Grey, 2018; Petani & Mengis, 2016). That is not to say that Lefebvre was not interested in buildings, having studied them many times in his career (e.g., Stanek, 2011), but it is nonetheless harder to animate the sheer vastness of his theory without using it to look at large waves and big societal changes (Merrifield, 2006). Lefebvre is again explicit about this. He invokes the image of a "flaky *mille-feuille* pastry" (Lefebvre, 1991: 86, emphasis in original) to help us to envisage space as comprised of these multiple layers where "the local, the regional, the national and the world-wide interweave and overlap" (2003b: 211). He cautions that if we do not trace these wider connections there is a risk that research "separates what is connected" (211) by treating local studies as isolated phenomena which can "break up spatial networks, links and relations" (211). I see these ideas employed in environment and planning literature (e.g., Buser, 2012; Leary, 2009), but not so much in organization studies. Of course, the Baltic Triangle is not so big as an entire city, being a district within it, but what I have tried to do is draw a ring around the

Baltic but show also to understand that you have to look at other spaces too –
bringing developments happening in Liverpool ONE, the Ropewalks, the Pier Head,
to bear on the entrepreneurial phenomena I observed.

6.5 Reflections on insights and contributions from conceptual and empirical work

Reflecting on the logic of having two spatial thinkers in my thesis, I have shown that
Lefebvre (1991) and Benjamin (1978) are both concerned with capturing spatial
change through multiple everyday spatial interactions. But as I have discussed they
emphasize the multiplicity of these space acts in different ways. The same is true of
how they reconcile spatial experience with historical material or planned/objectified
aspects of space. As I have shown, Lefebvre (1991) is very instructive on a methods
side, whilst Benjamin (1978) is perhaps more helpful for getting in close to lived
experience through his more aesthetic spatial sensitivity.

I see important advantages in this two-pronged approach. To have one study
employing the more rigorous historical analysis of Lefebvre (1991), with precise
dates and detailed procedures that lends itself more to the messy spatial reality of the
Baltic Triangle. Conversely, Benjamin (1978) offers a theory for apprehending a
more imaginative spatial engagement, which is, fittingly, more open to being filled
by my own interpretive reading, and therefore better suited for getting close to the
lived experience of how things can get started. If Lefebvre provides the analytical
tools, it is Benjamin who offers a way of honing the senses to get in close to how a
space's history is experienced in 'flashes' and 'sparks,' provoking creative
entrepreneurial responses.

Specifically, through Lefebvre (1991) I have showed that the lived space of urban inhabitants is the kernel of entrepreneurial possibility, small creative acts comprising novel urban engagement, the commercial potential of such acts then realized, generating wider reaching change which creates ever-new spatial characteristics. Lefebvre therefore showed me a way of seeing what was possible in one spatial epoch was not in the other, as these are always interacting and changing in relation to one another. What I really tried to show here is how entrepreneurship is the historical catalyst for urban spatial change – it drives the process of urban spatial production, remaking space 'in-between' constellations of relations – but these relations do not stabilize once entrepreneurial conception is realized – everything keeps changing, and this can threaten the possibility of an entrepreneurial unmaking, requiring new formations.

Benjamin (1978), on the other hand, shows a different back-and-forth, or recursivity, by putting the spotlight on lived space. In his work I read a way of apprehending what it means to inhabit a space in the moment; to witness in real-time *how* entrepreneurship picks up on a latent potential: how entrepreneurial possibility is formed in and gives new form to the materiality of space through acts of remembrance. Benjamin is still intimately concerned with how small things can stand for and then become something much larger, but his focus is less at spatial movements and the history of change, and more the latent entrepreneurial possibilities that reside in artefacts and architectural features.

Reflecting on these contributions and insights, the contrasts in the spatial writings of Benjamin (1978) and Lefebvre (1991) were useful for conceptualizing the empirical concern of this thesis. One was personal, more phenomenologically inclined towards understanding lived spatial experience (Benjamin); the other was more structural, orientated towards apprehending a history of spatial change, and more methodologically developed (Lefebvre). Put together, they achieve much. But that is not to say there is not more these two theorists could reveal in regard to offering further insights on entrepreneurial phenomena in the future (which I will elaborate on later).

6.6 Key insights for and contributions to lived experiential and spatial entrepreneurship research

In my introductory chapter, I reproduced Welter and Baker's (2021) request for entrepreneurship research to begin to *move contexts onto new roads*. Through my two analytical studies I have contributed to this project, which involved slicing the existing contextualized entrepreneurship studies in two ways, then using each 'slice' as a springboard into my subsequent empirical work. I will now outline what insights I bring to this research through my respective analytical studies.

This discussion coalesces around three key insights I offer for lived experiential and spatial entrepreneurship research. First, I contribute by developing the conceptual elements I find in Benjamin (1978) and Lefebvre (1991), who have looked closely at the theoretical aspects of spatial memory and historical constellations of urban spatial production, then applying their theories in an analytical study of entrepreneurship. By doing this work, I added in-depth empirical insights to further

develop the more conceptually informed arguments that I observed in both spatial studies of entrepreneurship (e.g., Beyes, 2006, 2009; Hjorth, 2005), as well as more recent work extolling a focus on the more lived dimensions to memory as a constituent of entrepreneurial creativity (e.g., Welter & Baker, 2021; Wadhwani et al., 2020), this was my second contribution. My third contribution to these two literatures is my addition of precise methodological techniques and procedures for studying urban entrepreneurial spaces. In spatial studies, scholars have prompted this work but held back on offering the 'how to' aspects (e.g., Beyes, 2006), which I provided through my engagement with the precise methodological prescriptions of Lefebvre (1991). Conversely, in studies that have already explored more lived and experiential dimensions to entrepreneurial creativity I found already detailed methods (e.g., Barinaga, 2017), and I added insights here by digging back into spatial theory (in this case, Benjamin) to consider more explicitly a role for urban space itself in the entrepreneurial process. I achieved this by constructing an analytical method for studying memory as spatial lived experience out of my reading of Benjamin (1978). I will now unfold these contributions in more detail.

In Chapter Five, I picked up on the idea that contextualized entrepreneurial acts can be studied as acts of remembrance, which is the idea that the old and the new can be related through the prism of lived historical experience to understand more about the process of entrepreneurial creation (Elias et al., 2022; Hjorth & Dawson, 2016; Popp & Holt, 2013a). Recent work in this area has built on this fundamental idea to conceptualize the act of remembrance as something that is invariably *sited*, where entrepreneurial efforts to mobilize "traces of a site's past and present in order to recombine them" (Holm & Beyes, 2022: 238) is unavoidably "affectively charged"

(238), in the sense that it is "interwoven with (and to some degree depends on) materiality" (238). Here, memory, as a constituent of entrepreneurial creativity, can be envisaged as not a detached act but as unfolding in relation to social and material interactions (Thompson, 2018). Bringing these ideas together, commentators have recently pointed towards the importance of bringing built forms to the fore in empirical work:

> "the history of a place generates collective memories, expressed through and by narratives, buildings, monuments, and other symbols – frequently subject to contestation through many forms of discourse and manoeuvre – that shape and reshape how the past influences both the present and future. Narratives and memory are not the whole story of the influence of history on place, but they are the primary mechanisms of this influence" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1157).

However, as I pointed out in Chapter Five (also the introduction and literature review), there is not a substantial amount of empirical work that makes the experienced history of urban space, and the 'primary mechanisms' of this process and its influence upon entrepreneurship, the central feature of entrepreneurial inquiry. I showed that in empirical research these ideas had been gestured towards, by the likes of Banks (2006) and Gheres et al. (2020), who trace links between acts of remembrance and entrepreneurship (or, in Gheres et al., lack thereof) in Manchester and Doncaster respectively. Both of these studies suggest that the entrepreneurial efforts of their participants carried traces of the space's history (consistent with aforementioned studies of memory and entrepreneurship that do not

mention, or study empirically, specific spatial sites), but neither author really elaborated on this much more. I further developed these ideas, taking inspiration from the detailed empirical work of Barinaga (2017), as well as others (in organization studies). I therefore contributed to this literature by revealing how to study precisely one 'mechanism' through which memory and entrepreneurial creativity interrelate in the renewal of the Cain's brewery. My aesthetically charged investigation offered new ways of:

"understand[ing] places as contexts for entrepreneurship … by examin[ing] historical narratives and collective memories that shape peoples' sense of what is desirable and what is feasible for the future, which is to ask, what are the opportunities for entrepreneurship" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1157).

I can now to return to my research question for Chapter Five, which asked: How does the history of space generate memories? And how does the act of remembrance, as it unfolds in urban spaces, shape and influence entrepreneurial practices and actions? I answered this by drawing on the work of Walter Benjamin (1978), which I employed to reveal how memory is formed in the Cain's brewery, giving it new entrepreneurial form. This was how I addressed the core themes of this thesis, which are a concern for spatial history and recursivity, to contribute to contextualized entrepreneurship research: I traced multiple encounters with its built forms to show how its history was experienced, worked with and on by its entrepreneurial inhabitants, in their attempts to renew the space. Inspired by Barinaga's (2017) precise methodology, I took these ideas into a more aesthetic domain that clarified what to go looking for (small, inconsequential things), as well as how to analyse this:

by tracing how unexpected personal encounters with the past can reassemble history in the present-day enactment of the brewery. I represented this entrepreneurial process literally in my presentation of my findings as fragments of memory.

The second way I have contributed to contextualized entrepreneurship research is through my development of existing spatial studies. This research has already attempted to engage spatial theory to situate entrepreneurial action among wider social, material, cultural and institutional forces (e.g., Beyes, 2006, 2009; Hjorth, 2004, 2005; Lange, 2011; Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). These studies showing how entrepreneurship 'poaches in the cracks' in-between the established orders of organizational life (Hjorth, 2005: 420), provoking spatial transformations in disadvantaged places where "old values, symbols and institutions transcend into new ones" (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018: 376).

I contributed to this work through my analysis of the Baltic Triangle, in Chapter Four, where I historically situated collective entrepreneurial acts among the multiple spatial characteristics that made such acts possible, and then used this historical knowledge to discern how *new* constellations of spatial relations are formed (and reformed) by continuous entrepreneurial efforts over time. In this study, my research questions were: how does an urban space provide openings, as well as restrictions, for the continuous coming and going of entrepreneurial formations, producing physical, economic, social, and cultural change? As I have discussed, researchers operating in this area have suggested the analytical tools that might be used to studying these recursive relations (e.g., Beyes, 2006, 2009), but these tools have not yet been used in an in-depth empirical study that processually animates how spatial

change becomes entangled with the *continuous* coming and going of entrepreneurial formations (see, for instance Hjorth et al., 2015; Farias et al., 2019).

To do this work, I employed Spinosa et al.'s (1997) formulation of entrepreneurship as 'world-making' (often used in spatial studies, see for instance: Hjorth, 2004) to complement spatial theory. At the core of Spinosa et al.'s (1997) formulation is that the entrepreneurial act generates a "change in the way in which we understand and deal with ourselves and with things" (2). My key contribution to this literature is that I showed how this change is never final. To do this I mobilized Lefebvre's (1991) triad to set entrepreneurship within an unfolding flow of historical events, my methodological procedures revealed how entrepreneurship is a fluid transformational force for spatial change as the *constant* facilitator of the transmission of the past into the future (Spinosa et al., 1997).

Crucially, to study this process of entrepreneurship as maker of space, but also its own unmaker as facilitates transitions between social, material, cultural and institutional epochs, I employed methods that downgraded the possibility of spatial determination or causality as well as the role that any single individual can play in creating such epochal entrepreneurial movement. I therefore contributed, conceptually and analytically, towards concerted efforts at taking entrepreneurship out of a primarily economic concern and into a debate on its social, cultural, material and institutional context (Beyes, 2006). Successfully conducting this movement away from methodological individualism is a task that has proven persistently difficult for entrepreneurship studies (Steyaert, 2007; Watson, 2013). But the importance of this work is clear when we reconsider the central plank of Spinosa et

al.'s (1997) theory of world-making – a guidebook for contextualized research – whereby entrepreneurship involves articulating substantial historical changes that hitherto lay latently in waiting, then making these opportunities manifest, bringing them into the world. By stepping out of a concern for the individual entrepreneurship, showing the multiplicity of concerns involved in any entrepreneurial act (i.e., social, material, institutional), I have uncovered that such worlds are never just entrepreneurially 'made': each time entrepreneurship happens it creates a *new* world, bringing forth new spatial sets of relations, requiring an altogether *different* response. Thus, by bringing Spinosa et al., (1997) together with Lefebvre (1991), I animated a '*perennial* gale' (Schumpeter, 1942, *emphasis added*) of creative destruction.

6.7 Key insights for and contributions to 'mainstream' entrepreneurship and space literature

Earlier in this thesis, leading up to my two analytical studies, I posed a question in Chapter Two (literature review) that prompted my search for an appropriate theoretical and analytical approach for apprehending recursivity, as well as the furnishing of a mode of empirical enquiry for this form of work. Specifically, I asked: What is the current state of knowledge of how urban space shapes and is shaped by entrepreneurship. As I outlined in my literature review (also partially discussed in the introduction), the mainstream approaches I consulted have studied urban entrepreneurial spaces by promoting the spatial 'embeddedness' of entrepreneurship. Other approaches employed interpretive principles to explore how entrepreneurs cognitively enact spatial change. And some focussed on the

mechanisms that cause entrepreneurship, looking at inputs provided for spatial clusters.

My first contribution to this research is my tracing of each of these approaches back to their intellectual source. For instance, I observed in Granovetter (1985) a promising way of theorizing human interactions within wider environs in which they are 'embedded,' as not a one directional influence but a continuous interrelating. I identified similar tendencies in the interpretive principles that underscored Weick's (1979) theory of enactment, which animated how individuals interact repeatedly with selected aspects of organizational environments. And I found in Alfred Marshall (1890) a concern for the multiple relations that characterized the aura or atmosphere of Sheffield, which transcended economic reductions. I therefore detected much promise each of these intellectual sources. However, I discovered that empirical studies translating their ideas (whether Granovetter, Weick, or Marshall) for their own studies of urban entrepreneurial spaces, could often end up losing sight of the recursivity of relations that their intellectual sources originally attempted to apprehend. Reflecting on this, perhaps there is something to be said about how one might go about employing analytical tools when studying entrepreneurial spaces (which I will return to in my reflection of methodological contributions).

Now turning to translation of these sources for empirical research, in order to elaborate my second contribution to this literature, I found research that promoted the embeddedness of entrepreneurship to be closest to the spatial research I subsequently used as a springboard for my own analytical studies. Whilst I detected promise in the focus on un-developed spaces, and consideration for social, material,

institutional and historical dimensions of space as influences upon entrepreneurship (e.g. McKeever et al., 2015). A key issue I had with embeddedness research is that it ostracized any potential for an influence that disrupts the status quo (e.g. Korsgaard et al., 2015). I found that this approach risked producing accounts of entrepreneurship as a spatial conformity, and space itself as a stable contingency as 'regulator' of action (Wigren-Krisoffersen et al., 2022). In my two analytical studies that eventually followed this review, the entrepreneurs that I studied were undoubtedly embedded, keenly aware of distinctly local issues, but were nonetheless able to articulate or remobilize space in a novel and disruptive way. For instance, I showed how the Cain's brewery was a renewal that demonstrated a considerable 'deviation' (e.g., Lindgren & Packendorff, 2006) from tradition, which was to brew beer, but their articulation of a quite specific from of entrepreneurial engagement, embodying a DIY ethic and a distinctly local form of self-sufficiency, gained traction in part because it appealed to the desire among aspects of the Liverpool populace for their own 'town centre' that was independently owned, free of chains and multinational enterprises. This insight may permit for future studies of entrepreneurial embeddedness to look beyond 'islands' and 'fishbowls' to conduct broader spatial analyses that might better apprehend the delicate balance of entrepreneurship as a distinctly local involvement, but nonetheless pregnant with the possibility to conduct a movement away from the status quo.

Perhaps in this regard, recent attempts to 'rethink embeddedness' (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019) might acknowledge the possibility of multiple spatial levels of analysis. I contribute to this aspect especially in Chapter Four, where I demonstrated a novel way of combining spatial theory with entrepreneurial theory to

account for a broader perspective when studying the recursive relations that characterize urban entrepreneurial spaces, and perhaps authors promoting the embeddedness of entrepreneurship will be inspired to continue to do the same (e.g., McKeever et al., 2015).

My third contribution to this literature concerns interpretive studies of urban entrepreneurial spaces, this time coming back to examples from the Cain's brewery in Chapter Five, I showed not so much the projection of the entrepreneurial imagination onto a space, where enactment was internally formulated and unproblematically realized, even if such acts were done in isolation (Anderson, 2000). Rather, I showed how acts of remembrance, as they unfolded in relation to the building, shaped and reshaped how the entrepreneurial renewal of the brewery was enacted. I have shown that there is still something missing in this account. Through my aesthetic investigation of the renewal of the Cain's brewery, I filled up the space between nothing and the enactment of a new venture (as in Anderson's case of the Scottish castle) with the entrepreneurial potentiality that emerges from lived experiences of spatial encounter. So, whilst not taking my eye of the potential for entrepreneurial individuals to produce novel responses, it was not so much that they chose to select material aspects for attention and enlisted them for their desired entrepreneurial work (e.g., Fletcher, 2004). Rather, the entrepreneurship I observed was less 'heroic' or individualistic and this was principally because I was able to acknowledge that the brewery itself was 'generative' (e.g., Kornberger & Clegg, 2004) in the process of its entrepreneurial renewal. Through Benjamin (1978), I showed the potentiality that resides in material encounters, starting small but getting infinitely bigger, tracing new constellations between past, present and future across

space(s), and thus acknowledge the multiplicity of spatial relations (whether social, material, institutional) that make up 'the real world' (Fletcher, 2006: 421), and which characterize the full spectrum of entrepreneurial (re)enactment (e.g. Holm & Beyes, 2022). By restricting the possibility of the brewery existing as the blank canvas, or personal 'goldmine' (Berglund et al., 2016) for entrepreneurship. How its architectural features and material aspects were potent fragments sparking memory, leading to the formulation of a new future for the building.

I therefore revealed a way of pulling interpretive studies closer towards Weick (1969) original theorizing, where he sought to show how enactment was a repeated act. Whilst there have already been efforts to do this, much of the enactment literature emphasizes the continuous back and forth that is involved in persuading 'the market' to partake in an entrepreneurial idea: a process that involves multiple attempts before acceptance is achieved (see for instance, Alvarez & Barney, 2007; Wood & McKinley, 2010). I contribute to this work by showing a new way of thinking about recursiveness for studying urban entrepreneurial spaces.

My fourth contribution resides in my encounter with approaches that had investigated the various mechanisms that can be used by those charged with urban governance to realize desired rates of entrepreneurship (e.g., Adler et al., 2019; Dean & Meyer, 1996; Woolley, 2014; Van de Ven, 1993). I traced the origins of this research to Marshall (1890), and before that, in my introduction, to Schumpeter (1942). What I found in both of these seminal authors was a strong sense of recursivity: both focussed on the economic but nonetheless interested in how things grow, develop, and change, understanding the role of social interactions (in

Marshall), as well as how research might conceptualize a broader 'perennial gale' of creative destruction (in Schumpeter). If both of these theorists had a strong processual orientation, and a penchant for apprehending multiplicity, this has become lost in their translation into mainstream research – most obviously in Marshall's theory being used as a schema of three key inputs to provide for entrepreneurship (e.g., Glaeser & Kerr, 2009).

I offer insights in this literature by dissuading research that looks only for tight and precise policy providing the inputs and mechanisms that will cause entrepreneurship. Of course, at the Cain's brewery and the Baltic Triangle, commercial business is now thriving, creating revenue for the council that previously wasn't there, in no small part due to their recently published reactive policies of further investment and support. The key thing I want to emphasize he is the *reactive* aspect: getting to this point was not because entrepreneurship was an inevitable response to urban governance. It was not that the council provided the things entrepreneurship needed (e.g. Baker & Nelson, 2005), but rather the inherent capacity of entrepreneurial action for creativity, surprise or spontaneity that contributed to this spatial transformation – which as I pointed out in the introduction, is something Schumpeter (1942) had explicitly sought to promote (and which researchers employing his theory often miss).

So, whilst I am not proposing that there is not some aspect of space that needs to be technically or managerially configured through the lens of economic gain (e.g. Johnstone & Lionais, 2004), what I have showed is that entrepreneurial renewal is indeed a process – as Marshall and Schumpeter originally argued – and that perhaps

there are aspects of policy that could not so much try to determine, through precisely defined infrastructures and the like, but rather also try and leave open spaces for possibility as a more deliberate approach to governance (e.g., Hospers et al., 2008). This is embodied in the DIY New Bird skatepark, discussed in Chapter Four, which is a creative engagement with space that does not make revenue and therefore by pure economic logic should be torn down. I note that for nearly ten years after its creation, the council are still paying for fencing and insurance to permit the skatepark to stay – likely for a cost that is considerably cheaper than paying for land on a new site and designing one themselves, whilst also avoiding unnecessary consternation with the skateboarders and their supporters.

6.8 Answering my theoretical research question

The theoretical question I posed in the introduction was how can we animate how a space interrelates recursively in the process of entrepreneurial renewal? To answer this question, I will discuss each of my two analytical studies in-turn.

In Chapter Five, I looked closely at the entrepreneurial renewal of an urban space, which in this case was a building, or set of buildings, that made up the Cain's brewery complex located within the Baltic Triangle. I focused on how entrepreneurial subjects as well as others that were involved in entrepreneurship engaged with its history to reimagine the present and future of this space; unpacking how they mobilized the past to set this space on a new trajectory. I emphasized especially how the history of the Cain's brewery is not always singular and agreed upon and, in this sense, the history of space is not so much a linear journey through time but rather is something that is *experienced* differently by individuals – and it is

precisely in this multiplicity in attributing and articulating historical meaning that new entrepreneurial forms were initially formulated and then pursued. I elaborated on this through my analytical focus on remembering: showing how the everyday act of remembrance as it was *formed in* its material aspects gave *new entrepreneurial form* to the Cain's brewery.

In Chapter Four I also investigated the entrepreneurial remaking of urban space. But this time, I was not so much focused on the renewal of just one building or site, but rather on studying how urban space is *continually* re-made by entrepreneurial efforts, and how entrepreneurship is unmade in this process. Here, the focus was on witnessing how spatial characteristics and entrepreneurship transform one another other over time – the analytical task was therefore to uncover the history of entrepreneurial spatial transformation in the Baltic Triangle. I emphasized in this chapter how entrepreneurship was a fluid transformational force always emerging and re-emerging 'in-between' changing spatial constellations of relations. The recursive element here, similar to the above, resided in the diversity of relations occurring and overlapping in this space: entrepreneurship realized through the collective acts of multiple spatially distributed actors – whether artists, skateboarders, musicians, crowds, planners, commercial developers or indeed others – and thus, not something that could ever be distilled down to the abilities of one singular individual or act.

Reflecting on the theoretical implications of my answer. Perhaps Cain's was a question of depth and the Baltic Triangle one of breadth: Benjamin (1978) goes on a deeply personal journey from the present into the past; Lefebvre (1991) goes broad

by emphasizing spatial elements as a tripartite formulation. As spatial theorists they are both eclectic and therefore, in putting them together I too have pieced an eclectic sensory constellation together. This could go on – I could add more, go deeper, like Benjamin's (1978) "remembrance [that] advances from small to smallest details, from the smallest to the infinitesimal, while that which it encounters in these microcosms grow even mightier" (296). Or I could go broader, like Lefebvre (1991) who proposes ever new folds in the study of space, like a "flaky *mille-feuille* pastry" (86, emphasis in original) to help us to envisage space as ever *superstructure* where "the local, the regional, the national and the world-wide interweave and overlap" (2003b: 211).

My overall point here is that I have shown that these spatial workings cannot be simply abstracted and reduced to economistic or individual characteristics or drivers (as I observed in mobilizations of Weick and especially, Marshall, for empirical work). There is a situatedness to entrepreneurship in which space itself is an important element. I have also shown how time, and transformation over time, is important – not a snapshot, but recursive patterns over time – from wasteland to the formation of delineable forms, which become objects for opportunity searchers, thereby again transforming the space and erasing the potential for genuine novelty. It is as perhaps de Certeau (1985) says, a mingling of views from above and from the street – but these are not just views, but performative elements: entrepreneurship 'sees' the potential of urban space and in so doing it, also changes it.

6.9 Answering my empirical research question

In the opening of this thesis I asked, how does the Baltic Triangle and Cain's spring to life? Move from wasteland to a space of commercial opportunity? That 'mysterious' something in the middle is now no longer missing.

At Cain's we saw how this space had lost its conception and fallen into ruin, with its owners unsure of how to bring the brewery back into productive use. The site was encountered by individuals seeking to establish a venture, the experience compelling them to work with it. It's not that they wanted to turn around its tarnished recent history, or do anything to satisfy its owners, but they felt the building had a latency that could be engaged with and this resided in how it sparked personal and collective memories. Being in the space transported them to moments in their past, the architecture was once grand, now faded, once commercially successful on a huge scale, now empty. In their attempts to articulate a new independently minded trajectory for Liverpool's inner-city spaces, it comprised an ideal setting for making a statement – turning around the history of a space to move forward in a different direction. It was this connection between the past and present that filled up the 'liminal space' between nothing and something, setting the brewery on a new trajectory into the future.

At the Baltic Triangle the process of its development was also set within history, but not so much and individual experience. The development of the Baltic Triangle started with small moves, without commercial gain in sight, pushed there due to the lack of space in the adjacent town centre. These were still entrepreneurial, changing how people saw this space and its structures, but they were done without

administrative oversight or permission. These early moves set in motion a movement, skateboarders and artists gathered, and soon there was a crowd to serve. The authorities cottoned on to this and started handing out licenses, they gave the space a name, and soon these early activities found themselves joined by nascent commercial music venues. The popularity of the space grew – music venues started attracting greater audiences and made more ambitious – students wanted to get involved in this new space, and it started to become cool. Soon there was much opportunity to commercialization, and for a while a cohesiveness or balance of interests. Over time the continued successes of the Baltic encouraged further residential development, the extension of its boundaries to accommodate this, and eventually the entrepreneurship that made it an exciting cultural space started to fade away. However, some resisted, formulating a new entrepreneurial response …

… which in the spirit of recursive cycles, is as far as I can go.

6.10 Reflections on methodological contributions

I have produced a longitudinal study of urban space in its entrepreneurial transformation from within: having spent much of the last few years immersed in these spaces I can now see how they have entrepreneurially transformed. The understanding I have now arrived at highlights the usefulness of the methodological principles and processes that I outlined in Chapter Three, and then followed (more loosely, due to my focus on Benjamin) in Chapter Five, and (more precisely) in Chapter Four.

So, What methodologies/analytical techniques are required for empirical inquiries into urban entrepreneurial spaces? (returning to my research question). By mobilizing the principles, I outlined in Chapter Three, I have showed in each of my empirical studies the need for researcher immersion and historicized methods: beginning in a present space where entrepreneurial practices and activities are gathering, then going back to investigate the historical origins of their entrepreneurial beginnings "to rediscover the present, but elucidated, understood, explained" (Lefebvre, 1953, cited in Merrifield, 2006: 4). Through my analytical reading of both Benjamin (1978) and Lefebvre (1991), the specific method that I employed to do this work differed each time. But there are parallels to be made nonetheless: both empirical studies involved detailed work in archives; the scrutiny of architectural decoration and material of buildings; interviewing; consulting documentary evidence; further reading of historical studies of the city; consulting planning policies and meeting minutes – and these all come together in the more structured methodological procedures I outline in Chapter Three.

But whilst these methodological techniques might outline a *general* procedure for doing the work that the likes of Beyes (2006) have gestured towards. There were many chance encounters (and not just in my Benjamin study), leading to fortuitous discussions, unexpected findings, and unique insights. This is perhaps demonstrative of the importance of all the 'hanging around' (Johannisson, 2018). But reflecting further, perhaps I also offer insights into how an urban space can be studied through what could be called, and to borrow a little from Weick (1976), a 'disciplined looseness' of style. This is embodied in Benjamin's (2002) *flaneuring* tendency, as he remarks: "the flaneur, as is well known, makes "studies"" (454). These ideas

combine with Lefebvre's (2003b) prescriptions that, despite the precision of his techniques and attentiveness to the small details, one must at the same time retain a certain openness and willingness to let the space speak on its own accord to be able to 'trace what is connected' (see also, Merrifield, 2006). Both authors therefore occupy (to different degrees) a fault line between method (or what can be identified as such) and random wandering. I suggest that this idea of a disciplined looseness in methodological application is a way of straying far enough to take in a space, to make sense of the arrival in the middle of things, while still holding on to a way of corralling such insights into a spatial constellation (i.e., Benjamin), or historical account of change (i.e., Lefebvre). Techniques that let recursive tendencies unfold naturally, without being on the one hand perturbed about the logical impossibility of rigorously tracing such relations, nor being just carried along with them, without gaining traction or heft.

This idea of a disciplined looseness is therefore more of a methodological style than a defined approach – and so it transcends the limits of existing studies of urban entrepreneurial spaces (whether embeddedness, individual enactment, or cluster) by being able to play fast and loose with things as they relate in a phenomenological way – by which I mean without seeking to reduce patterns to abstract and codifiable structures (Juhlin & Holt, 2021). The downside is that this style is not something that can be taken off the shelf and applied, but it needs working with the sources, or in this case, walking with Benjamin and Lefebvre in space, and to write up (and read) these impressions without having an explicit manual for doing so.

6.11 Recommendations for policy

The mainstream literature that I have reviewed in this thesis displayed a tendency to promote precise configurations of measurements and design specifications likely to produce desirable (usually high-growth technological orientated) entrepreneurship (e.g., Adler et al., 2019). However, I also identified a smaller subset of literature that offered fewer policy prescriptions on the premise that entrepreneurship (which in this case, is usually more culturally inclined) emerges and thrives in the voids left by a lack of planning; the essence of what it means to be entrepreneurial actually *evades* design negating the possibility of any productive co-relationship (e.g., Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). By emphasizing spatial transformations *in* entrepreneurship my dissertation looks to occupy the space between these two extremes. My respective empirical studies have revealed entrepreneurship as something that does not take place entirely by design, but they both correspondingly also throw caution on the idea that entrepreneurship can thrive entirely in the administrative abyss. My final contribution is to unpack this position by teasing out some examples from my two studies. I begin by reproducing a plea from Welter and Baker, which I presented in the introduction to this dissertation:

> "Despite all of our descriptive knowledge of what high technology
> entrepreneurial ecosystems and hotspots look like, when it comes to offering
> any sort of advice about how to create built environments—that is,
> intentional places—to promote organic development of diverse sorts of
> entrepreneurship, we are pretty much reduced to remaining quiet or relying
> on common sense. Our research appears remarkably silent on what seems

such a theoretically interesting and practically important commonplace challenge" (Welter & Baker, 2021: 1168).

On this fundamental issue of how we might better promote the *organic* development of diverse sorts of entrepreneurship, I see two key insights from my research. The first concerns the question of how we might initially design spaces that are conducive to diverse sorts of entrepreneurship, the second concerns the challenge of formulating policies capable of maintaining the vibrancy of these spaces into the future.

Beginning with how things get started a central finding from my two spatial studies is that whilst they in their nascent phases of entrepreneurial renewal the extent of administrative involvement at first sight was not so substantial. My findings therefore support existing research that has argued against tightly organized spaces for entrepreneurship (e.g., Kayanan, 2022). A good case in point is my study of Cain's: very few were interested in the site when it was advertised as a multi-million-pound location for institutional-investor-led entrepreneurship – despite this plan having many of the principles commonly associated with successful designs for entrepreneurship. On the contrary, the space actually only become conducive to entrepreneurship *after* this ambitious and detailed plan was abandoned, and all it took was to offer some temporary licenses for a few of the complex's derelict outer buildings, which had been ironically slated for demolition in the proposed re-development.

But if the success of Cain's was premised upon abandoning policy the inverse is true in regard to the Baltic Triangle. Notwithstanding this my argument remains the same: it is the seemingly trivial or inconsequential policy moves – often low involvement absent of any grand design or plan – that can have the greatest impact. Perhaps it could be argued that the initial entrepreneurial outfits in the Baltic Triangle, such as 24 Kitchen Street and the New Bird Skatepark as well as the Biennial, operated for some time in what some might call an 'institutional void' (Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2018). Yet, it is worth recalling that it was the local council that gifted the Biennial their first warehouse and permitted, albeit very reluctantly, for 24 Kitchen Street to get a license to operate and the DIY New Bird Skatepark to remain. As 'The Jamaica Street Industrial Area,' very little thrived in this space whilst the overarching approach to its governance was mostly orientated *against* diverse forms of entrepreneurship. This only changed in Epoch Two, once a plan was formulated encouraging mixed-use entrepreneurial developments. A key question to ask here is where did the plan come from, if not from a predetermined or overarching design? And how might it be replicated for the successful renewal of other spaces?

What I want to emphasize here is my studies demonstrate that there is no silver bullet: no single answer for how to replicate spatial designs for nascent forms of entrepreneurship. Rather, as events in my two empirical sites reveal, the act of promoting diverse spaces for entrepreneurship instead demands a dynamic and flexible approach to urban governance: knowing when to tighten (i.e., The Baltic Triangle) or loosen (Cain's) plans. This requires people on the ground, close to the action, developing what some have called 'deeply contextualized' knowledge of

entrepreneurial spaces (Korsgaard et al., 2020. But perhaps, most importantly, having the political will to change course, even if only slightly. The original plan for re-development of Cain's was expensive, and the council invested significant capital (political and economic), involving many planning concessions for the partial destruction of a listed building. Also, 24 Kitchen Street and the New Bird skatepark had to struggle for their existence (and to some extent still do). In both instances it was public sentiment that helped sway the council's position. Yet the crucial thing is their position *did* change. Lefebvre (1991) offers lessons here: the essence of vibrant city space is not so much the material manifestation of abstracted plans but more so how these spaces are inhabited by those that dwell in the city. Indeed, 24 Kitchen Street has since amounted to much more than the 'low quality, one-story development' that was used as a premise for rejecting their first license.

This brings me to final point. That is, when it comes to any vibrant artistic-led entrepreneurial space, much larger issues surrounding residential development are always going to raise their head. This points to a much greater challenge of how to *maintain* entrepreneurial spaces in the face of competing commercial interests. The beginnings of what this sort of policy approach could look like were observable in some of the meetings that I attended in the latter stages of 24 Kitchen Street's feud with its neighbouring residential development. This is the type of approach that I see as crucial for promoting diverse entrepreneurship: it is commendable that roundtables highlighting the plight of 24 Kitchen Street in the face of residential development were attended by members of the Liverpool City Council department. But of course, as I have shown, much work in this area still remains.

6.12 Limitations and considerations for future research

I have studied the spatial transformation of the Baltic Triangle (including the Cain's brewery) and my research is now concluded, in line with the expiry of my student registration and the submission of this thesis. But the transformation of these spaces carries on, if anything they have recently become more politicized, more developed, and more commercial. This is something that I touch upon in my work (for instance, in Chapter Four) but perhaps not as much as I could have. Cain's has changed drastically since 2017-2019, now subject to multi-million-pound investment in new chain store businesses which its earliest inhabitants initially set out to oppose – and now will have to try and learn to co-exist alongside. Similarly, whilst 24 Kitchen Street has so far resisted being closed down and relocated, the next-door residential development (which was in-progress during my research in a moment captured beautifully in the painting on the insert of this thesis) is now completed. Whether the various entrepreneurial outfits I have studied will be able to continue is uncertain. But the time constraints of my own PhD studies have meant that I have not had the chance to stretch out into those questions and give them as much attention as they deserve.

How might I study what happens next? Perhaps I could move into other areas of Benjamin's work like *The Arcades project*. As Benjamin (2002) told us the story of nineteenth century capitalism and the folly of progress through his sprawling and unfinished study of the Parisian Arcades, what critical insights could recent events at the Baltic Triangle tell us about the twenty-first? Today, the defining image is less of crumbling warehouses, revealing traces of a faded sense industrial prowess that presided the area over a century ago, and much more of a crowded space of

reflective glass, imitation bricks and cladding that makes up the increasing numbers of residential towers that now dwarf the once 'monumental' warehouses of Jamaica Street (e.g., Hughes, 1964). Emulating Benjamin (2002), what might these materials say about notions of progress and development in present times? And how might we additionally trace connections to a role for entrepreneurship as 'enabler' of such development? Of course, I could also follow a continuation of the unfinished spatial production developed by Lefebvre (1991), draw up another epoch, perhaps one honing in on Lefebvre's observation that "it is obvious, sad to say, that repetition has everywhere defeated uniqueness, that the artificial and contrived have driven all spontaneity and naturalness from the field" (75). These two critiques of how the development of cities can so often converge on sameness, pointing to the need for future studies to further question entrepreneurship and the change it brings to cities. This puts the spotlight on the often-overlooked issue of gentrification in entrepreneurship studies, and maybe both Benjamin and Lefebvre have something further to offer.

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APPENDICES

8.1 Appendix A Chapter Four: primary and secondary data

Type	Description	Detail		Reference, web address (if applicable), or additional notes
Primary interviews (13)	In-depth face-to-interviews (13)	1.	12th April 2019	Entrepreneur
		2.	17th May 2019	Resident artist
		3.	21st June 2019	Music event promoter
		4.	7th July 2019	Entrepreneur
		5.	26th July 2019	Entrepreneur
		6.	15th August 2019	Music event promoter
		7.	4th September 2019	Entrepreneur
		8.	6th September 2019	Entrepreneur
		9.	10th September 2019	Resident
		10.	5th October 2019	Entrepreneur
		11.	7th October 2019	Resident artist
		12.	14th January 2020	Entrepreneur
		13.	17th February 2020	Music producer
				Interviews partially transcribed, making up 79,567 words (250 pages) of primary empirical interview material.
Other (4)	Panel discussions/ roundtables (4)	1.	'Liverpool's Independent Venues Screening and Panel Discussion,' hosted by Constellations on 17th January 2019, w/ Becky Wild (Managing Director of Constellations), Chris Torpey (Editor of Bido Lito), Kevin McManus (Head of UNESCO City of Music), David Pichilingi (Owner Sound City Festival and Modern Sky record label), and Rich O'Flynn (Musician – All We Are).	Online recording: https://www.skiddle.com/news/all/Watch-Liverpools-Independent-Venues/53764/ Last accessed 10/05/2021
		2.	'Baltic Triangle 10 Year Manifesto Launch Party' 26th September 2019, hosted by Content (Cain's Brewery) w/ Jayne Casey (Biennial and Baltic CIC Co-founder and Director), Professor Michael Parkinson CBE (Associate Pro-Vice Chancellor for Civic Engagement at the University of Liverpool), Kate Vokes (Director of Social Impact at Bruntwood), and Liam Kelly (CEO of the Baltic Creative CIC).	Online recording: https://baltictriangle.co.uk/vision-manifesto/ Last accessed 10/05/2021
		3.	'Friday Vision Agent of Change Panel Discussion,' 28th November 2019, hosted by District w/ Ioan Roberts (Founder of 24 Kitchen Street), Clara Cullen (Music Venue Trust), Kevin McManus (Head of UNESCO City of Music), and Paul Farrell (Environmental and Planning Office at Liverpool City Council).	Online recording: https://www.mixcloud.com/ melodicdistraction/friday-vision-november-19/ Last accessed 10/05/2021
		4.	'Open Eye Gallery Save Some Space (The Time to Call Our Own Online #4),' 13th July 2020,	Online recording: https://openeye.org.uk/whatson/save-some-space-the-time-we-call-our-own-online-4/

			virtual panel w/ Saad Shaffi (Founder of 24 Kitchen Street), Chris Torpey (Bido Lito), Emma Warren (Author of Make Some Space).	Last accessed 10/05/2021
			Online recordings of panel discussions partially transcribed, making up 40,626 words (89 pages) of empirical material.
Primary observations/site visits (13)	*Formal* Walking tour (1)	1.	Four-hour walking tour through the Baltic Triangle, 5th October 2019.	Attended with three other people.
	Additional formal site visits (12)	2.	5th May 2019	7 hours, 15 photographs
		3.	14th May 2019	2 hours
		4.	13th September 2019	5 hours, 11 photographs
		5.	24th October 2019	6 hours, 2 photographs
		6.	2nd November 2019	7 hours, 2 photographs
		7.	20th August 2020	4 hours, 3 photographs
		8.	6th February 2021	2 hours, 15 photographs
		9.	14th February 2021	3 hours, 9 photographs
		10.	14th March 2021	2 hours, 4 photographs
		11.	28th March 2021	4 hours, 3 photographs
		12.	31st July 2021	7 hours, 1 photograph
		13.	30th October 2021	4 hours, 30 photographs
Primary archival (50)	Liverpool Records Office (50)	1.	Liverpool Waterfront Strategy Area (Mar 1995)	M352 MDC/2/1/15
		2.	The Regeneration of Liverpool's Waterfront 1981-1998 (2003)	M352 MDC/12
		3.	The DH warehouse, Jordan, and Jamaica Street (1963)	720.9 HUG 942.753 HUG
		4.	Aerial Views - View of Jamaica Street (1930)	352 PSP1/43
		5.	View of Brick Street, L1, looking westwards from the junction with Jamaica Street (1968)	353 PSP/111/321/2
		6.	Jamaica Street and Park Lane Aerial Photograph (1930s)	352 ENG/2/9077
		7.	Various images of Jamaica Street (1968)	352 PSP/111/1203 /1 & /2 & /3 &/4 &/5
		8.	Alfred Warehouse on Jamaica Street (1974)	770 ECH/1/1/2917
		9.	Jamaica Street L1 (2014)	770 RBR/1/189
		10.	Jamaica Street L1 (2014)	770 RBR/1/190
		11.	Jamaica Street Skatepark (2014)	770 RBR/1/191
		12.	Jordan Street from Jamaica Street (1965)	942.7206
		13.	Jordan Street from Jamaica Street (1965)	942.7206 HIS
		14.	Sale of land to build Jamaica Street (1869)	333 COR
		15.	St James Street (1968)	352 PSP/111/1952/12
		16.	DH Warehouse (1968)	770 ECH/1/1/2501
		17.	New Bird Street (2001)	352 PSP/111/1592/2

		18.	Liverpool Baltic Triangle: Business Plan 2014-18 (2014)	711.40942753/LIV
		19.	Baltic Fleet next to disused building (1970s/1980s)	770/ ECH/1/1/1976
		20.	Baltic Fleet next to disused building (1970s/1980s)	770/ ECH/1/1/1976/1
		21.	Baltic Fleet next to disused building (1970s/1980s)	770/ ECH/1/1/1976/2
		22.	Photograph of Alfred Warehouses on Jordan Street with derelict buildings (1974)	770/ ECH/1/1/2509
		23.	Photograph of Alfred Warehouses on Jordan Street with derelict buildings (1974)	770/ ECH/1/1/2511
		24.	Photograph of Alfred Warehouses on Jordan Street with derelict buildings (n.d.)	770/ ECH/1/1/2500
		25.	Three close-ups of Derelict buildings on Jordan Street - exposed spiral staircase (1974)	770/ ECH/1/1/2512
		26.	Housing clearances in Jordan Street Poor State or repair (1960)	352 ENG/2/20569-20581
		27.	Jordan Street poor road surface (1905)	352 ENG/2/687
		28.	Dwellings next to warehouses (1920)	352 ENG/2/3592
		29.	Corrugated iron images of Jordan Street (1968)	352 PSP/111/1216/5
		30.	Jordan Street Warehouses (n.d.)	770 ECH/1/1/2502
		31.	5 Views of Jordan Street (1920-2001)	352 PSP/111/1216/5
		32.	Jordan Street (1968)	352 PSP/111/1216/2
		33.	Derelict dwellings with corrugated iron (1927)	352 ENG/2/5248
		34.	Boat Builders in the Baltic (1954)	352 ENG/2/14028
		35.	The rubble of Jamaica Street (1964)	770 ECH/1/1/2510
		36.	Rubbles and remnants of Liverpool Waterfront (1974)	770 ECH/1/1/0362
		37.	Warehouse on Love Lane (n.d.)	770 ECH/1/1/2541
		38.	Liverpool Waterfront Area Strategy (1990)	338.942753
		39.	Liverpool - View from Tower (1949)	352 ENG/2/9684
		40.	Liverpool Tenements in extremely poor state of repair (1927)	352 ENG/2/5221
		41.	Managed sex zones proposals (2008)	306.74 MAN
		42.	Unfamiliar Journeys Continued: Reconstruction in Baltic/Ropewalks (2008)	779.9942753 MACK
		43.	Cream nightclub (1999)	352 PSP/111/1713/11
		44.	Photographs of Liverpool (Cream) (1977-2003)	306 HUG/8/8/1
		45.	Wolstenholme Sq w/ Cream nightclub (2016)	770 RBR/1/356

		46. Liverpool Biennial: International 2002 (14th Sept - 24th Nov 2002)	367 BLU/16/448
		47. Liverpool Biennial: International 2004 (18th Sept – 28th Nov 2004)	367 BLU/16/461
		48. Liverpool Biennial: International 2006 (16th Sept – 26th Nov 2006)	708.2753 LIV
		49. Liverpool Biennial: International 2008 (20th Sept – 30th Nov 2008)	709.05DOM
		50. Liverpool City Planning Department. Liverpool South Docks Principles of Re-development 1972	711.76 CIT
Primary visual (95)	*Photographs* taken by first author (95)	95 photographs taken during formal site visits between 2019 and 2022.	A combination of digital (mobile phone) and print (disposable camera) images.
Secondary documentary (45)	*Liverpool City Council* Local plans, development frameworks, and urban area strategy reports (9)	1. Liverpool City Council, (2008). Creating an impact: Liverpool's experience as European Capital of Culture. *European Capital of Culture Research Programme.*	Online report: https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/media/ livacuk/impacts08/pdf/pdf/Creating_ an_Impact_-_web.pdf Last accessed: 26/05/2021
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	Licensing, Gambling, Planning Committees, and Mayoral Cabinet meeting minutes (4)	10. Liverpool City Council, (2014). Objection to Temporary Event Notices 24 Kitchen Street. *Licensing and Gambling Sub-Committee.*	Online minutes: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/ documents/g14207/Printed% 20minutes%2020th-May-2014%2009.00%20Licensing %20and%20Gambling%20Sub-Committee%2020201718.pdf?T=1 Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		11. Liverpool City Council, (2014). Premises License – 24 Kitchen Street. *Licensing and Gambling Sub-Committee.*	Online minutes: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk /ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=876&MID =14505#AI101607

			Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		12. Liverpool City Council, (2020). Approval for Residential Development – Kitchen Street. *Planning Committee*	Online minutes: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/ documents/s245923/Item%20No.%20%204%20-%20Site%20on%20corner%20of%20Blundell%20StreetKitchen%20Street%20Simpson%20Street%20Liverpool%20L1%205HA%20.pdf Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		13. Liverpool City Council, (2019). *Mayoral Announcements – item 219.* Cabinet.	Online minutes: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=1201&MID=17357#AI140405 Last accessed: 26/05/2021
	Third-party research reports (6)	14. Liverpool John Moores University (2017). Liverpool, Music City?	Physical publication accessible via: www.bidolito.co.uk Last accessed: 20/10/2019
		15. University of Liverpool (2015). Baltic Triangle Scoping Report.	Online report: https://www.engageliverpool.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Baltic-Triangle-Report-UoL-2015.pdf Last accessed: 25/06/2021
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		17. Building Design Partnership (2009). Liverpool: Regeneration of a city centre	Online report: https://www.bdp.com/globalassets/about/publications/liverpool_one_book.pdf Last accessed: 25/06/2021
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	Newspaper reporting Liverpool Echo articles (9)	20. Liverpool Echo, (2015). Cream club nation to close.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/whats-on/music-nightlife-news/nation-close-replaced-new-underground-9520760 Last accessed: 25/06/2021
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	Other, documentary Websites (9)	37. Architects Journal, (2013). Liverpool: 'A tale of two cities'	Online article: https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/liverpool-a-tale-of-two-cities Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		38. City Monitor, (2016). In 2008, the Baltic Triangle barely had streetlights. Now its Liverpool's most cutting-edge creative quarter.	Online article: https://citymonitor.ai/economy/2008-baltic-triangle-barely-had-street-lights-now-it-s-liverpool-s-most-cutting-edge Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		39. We Made That, (2018). The Making of New Bird DIY Skatepark.	Online article: https://www.wemadethat.co.uk/journal/view/the-unlimited-edition-vii-the-making-of-new-bird-diy-skatepark Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		40. Art in Liverpool, (2007). Liverpool Biennial continues success.	Online article: https://www.artinliverpool.com/news/liverpool-biennial-continues-success/ Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		41. Baltic Triangle Creative, (2018). Open letter: Culture for sale.	Online article: https://baltictriangle.co.uk/open-letter-culture-for-sale/ Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		42. The Quietus, (2017). Liverpool Music Week 2017, and the gentrification of Merseyside Music.	Online article: https://thequietus.com/articles/23603-liverpool-music-week-2017-review-24-kitchen-street-baltic-triangle-gentrification

338

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		43. The Skinny, (2016). 24 Kitchen Street: Concerns for future venue.	Online article: https://www.theskinny.co.uk/music/news/concerns-for-the-future-of-24-kitchen-street Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		44. Fidelity to resistance, (2016). The demand for creative space: 24 Kitchen Street and the exploitation of independent culture.	Online article: https://fidelitytoresistance.wordpress.com/2016/12/15/the-demand-for-creative-space/ Last accessed: 25/06/2021
		45. Sidewalk, (2015). DIY or Die – some of the UK's best Guerrilla 'Crete	Online article: https://sidewalkmag.com/skateboard-news/diy-or-die-some-of-the-uks-best-guerilla-crete.html Last accessed: 25/06/2021
Secondary interviews (11)	*Online interview* With entrepreneurs (6)	1. 24 Kitchen Street Co-founder Ioan Roberts interview with Melodic Distraction, 25th November 2016.	Online transcript: https://www.melodicdistraction.com/24-kitchen-street-ioan-interview/?fbclid=IwAR3ZVcVtbUIa_Wka2k-PxIfuM_w4FO0k1mjUH-0F5P0lxbP7tN7gdcIuyo4 Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		2. Liverpool Biennial Director and Baltic CIC Founder Jayne Casey interview with Liverpool Baltic Triangle, 26 April 2019.	Online transcript: https://baltictriangle.co.uk/baltic-profiles-jayne-casey/ Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		3. The Picket's Phil Hayes interview with Liverpool Echo, 14th April 2016.	Online transcript: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/real-lives/pickets-phil-hayes-mental-health-11138580 Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		4. 24 Kitchen Street Co-founder Ioan Roberts, interview with Liverpool Baltic Triangle, 31st May 2019.	Online transcript: https://baltictriangle.co.uk/baltic-profile-ioan-roberts-founder-of-baltic-weekender-24-kitchen-street/ Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		5. 24 Kitchen Street Co-founders Ioan Roberts and Saad Shaffi, interview with Get Into This, 12th March 2015.	Online transcript: https://www.getintothis.co.uk/2015/03/24-kitchen-street/ Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		6. Circus Founder Yousef, interview with Change Underground, 22nd July 2014.	Online transcript https://change-underground.com/yousef-liverpool/ Last accessed: 26/05/2021
	Radio interviews With entrepreneurs (1)	7. Constellations Founder Becky Wild interview with ASOK and Melodic Distraction, 28th January 2019.	Online recording: https://www.mixcloud.com/worldwidefm/ww-liverpool-melodic-distractions-with-rebecca-wild-and-asok-28-01-19/ Last accessed: 26/05/2021
	Video interviews With entrepreneurs (2)	8. 24 Kitchen Street Founder Saad Shaffi, interview with City Sounds, 24th November 2017.	Online recording: https://www.youtube.com/ watch?_v=CFii7AAxLV4 Last accessed: 26/05/2021
		9. Liverpool Biennial Director and Baltic CIC Founder Jayne Casey interview with Cohiba, 22nd May 2019.	Online recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=BwFaXAGzfgw Last accessed: 26/05/2021
	Print interviews With developers (2)	10. Elliot Group Managing Director Elliot Lawless, interview with The Essential Journal, issue 39.	Physical print: *The Essential Journal, issue 39*
		11. Peel Group Strategic Planning Director Peter Nears, interview with Graham Cairns (2017).	Physical print: Nears, P., & Cairns, G., (2017). Finance, planning and architecture: a developer's perspective. In Cairns (ed.). *Reflections on architecture, society, and politics* *Secondary interviews partially transcribed, making up 5,397 words (12 pages) of secondary empirical material.*
Secondary visual media (6)	*Visual media* Films (1)	1. Almost Liverpool 8, (2021).	Screening at the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic, 1 September 2021.

	Documentary (1)	2.	Long and Winding Road: A Journey into the Heart of Independent Venues (2020).	Screening at The Zanzibar Club, 28 January 2020.
	Television programmes (2)	3.	Urban Secrets (2013): Liverpool	Originally aired terrestrial Television on 19th February 2013, available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Z6ouADnWek Last accessed: 20/04/2022
		4.	Time Team (2008). The Lost Dock of Liverpool: A Time Team Special.	Originally aired on terrestrial Television (Channel 4) 22nd April 2008, available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l1kBnXHuMlg Last accessed: 21/04/2022
	Online videos (2)	5.	Liverpool Corporation Public Relations Office (1967). Turn of the Tide.	Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xDbF__YbM40 Last accessed: 20/04/2022
		6.	The Baltic Documentary (2015).	Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Biy6RH8RktM Last accessed: 20/04/2022

8.2 Appendix B Chapter Five: primary and secondary data

Type	Description	Detail	Reference, web address (if applicable), or additional notes
Primary interviews (8) and interview encounters (17)	*Planned* Including an in-depth face-to-interview (8) and a walking interview (8)	1. 12th April 2019	Entrepreneur
		2. 17th May 2019	Resident artist
		3. 26th July 2019	Entrepreneur
		4. 4th September 2019	Entrepreneur
		5. 10th September 2019	Resident
		6. 5th October 2019	Entrepreneur
		7. 7th October 2019	Resident artist
		8. 14th January 2020	Entrepreneur
			In-depth face-to-face interviews partially transcribed, making up 57, 089 words (180 pages) of primary empirical interview material. Field notes taken during walking interviews.
	Unplanned Interview encounters (17)	9. 12th April 2019	Interviewees brother
		10. 12th April 2019	Interviewees business partner
		11. 17th May 2019	Music event promoter
		12. 17th May 2019	Musician
		13. 17th May 2019	Artist
		14. 26th July 2019	Interviewees spouse
		15. 4th September 2019	Employee at venue
		16. 10th September 2019	Employee at venue
		17. 10th September 2019	Owner of venue
		18. 5th October 2019	Entrepreneur
		19. 5th October 2019	Entrepreneur
		20. 5th October 2019	Customer
		21. 5th October 2019	Customer
		22. 5th October 2019	Entrepreneur
		23. 7th October 2019	Artist
		24. 14th January 2020	Interviewees business partner and spouse
		25. 14th January 2020	Customer
Primary observations/ site visits (7)	Formal site visits (7)	1. 21st May 2019	3 hours, 1 photograph
		2. 18th July 2019	4 hours, 1 photograph
		3. 14th December 2019	5 hours
		4. 6th February 2021	3 hours, 4 photographs
		5. 23rd February 2021	2 hours, 3 photographs
		6. 26th February 2021	3 hours, 13 photographs
		7. 3rd April 2022	2 hours, 5 photographs
Primary archival (14)	Liverpool Records Office (13)	1. Walker Cain Ltd Corporate Records (1) inc share (2), financial (3), property (4), staff (5), production (6), photographs (7), Misc (9) & photoalbum (10), (1921-1962).	M380 PWK /4/1 & /2 & /3 & /4 & /7 & 9/ & 10

		2. Robert Cain & Son Ltd Corporate Records (1) inc. financial (2), share (3), property (5) & production (6), (1897-1930).	M380PWK/18/1 & /2 & /3 &/5 & /6
		3. Walker-Cain Ltd Corporate (1) and Property (2) records (1921-1970).	M380ALL/1 & /2
		4. Higson's Ltd Corporate, Financial, Production, Staff and Publicity Records (1888-1986).	Acc. 5538
		5. Prospectus of Peter Walker & Robert Cain and Son's (1921).	720 KIR/2940
		6. Life of Local Brewer Robert Cain, in Liverpool Review (Sept 17, 1887).	050 LIV
		7. Higson's Annual Reports and Accounts (1957-1978).	338.1 HIG
		8. 1 View of Robert Cains (n.d.).	352 PSP/36/67
		9. Robert Cain Postcard (n.d.).	353 PSP/36/67/1
		10. Correspondence, papers and plans concerning valuation for Robert Cain and Son's (1920-1921).	720 KIR/2155
		11. Stanhope Street, Liverpool: correspondence, papers, photographs, and drawings for R Cain development of Mersey Brewery (1903-1914).	720 KIR/2939
		12. View of Stanhope looking Westward showing Higson's Brewery (2nd Sept 1968).	353 PSP/111/2123/5
		13. View of Stanhope showing Higson's Brewery (28th Aug 1968).	353 PSP/111/2123/3
	University of Liverpool Special Collection and Archive (1)	14. Daniel Higson's Brewery, Stanhope Street (n.d.).	D71/12/1/9
Primary visual (27)	*Photographs* taken by first author (27)	27 photographs taken during formal site visits between 2019 and 2022.	A combination of digital (mobile phone) and print (disposable camera) images.
Secondary documentary (67)	*Liverpool City Council* Licensing, Gambling, Planning Committee, and Building and Control meeting minutes (6)	1. Liverpool City Council, (2013). The Cain's Brewery: application for partial demolition, alteration, and extension of the brewery complex. *Planning Committee.*	Online minutes: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/documents /s127629/Item%20No.%205%20-%20Robert%20Cain%20And%20Co%20Ltd%20Stanhope%20Street%20Liverpool%20L8%205XJ%20Riverside%20Ward.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		2. Liverpool City Council, (2013). The Cain's Brewery: proposed new layout. *Planning Building and Control Service.*	Online document: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk /documents/s127630/Item%20No.%205 %20-%20Site%20Plan%20-%20Robert%20Cain%20And%20Co %20Ltd%20Stanhope%20Street%20 Liverpool%20L8%205XJ%20Riverside%20Ward.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		3. Liverpool City Council, (2013). The Cain's Brewery: Consideration of hybrid application planning committee minutes.	Online minutes (item 332): https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/ie ListDocuments.aspx?CId=307&MID=13766#AI96894 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		4. Liverpool City Council, (2013). The Cain's Brewery: hybrid application, additional documents. *Planning Committee.*	Online document: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/ documents/s127627/Item%20No.%204%20-%20Robert%20Cain%20And%20Co%

			20Ltd%20Stanhope%20Street%20Liverpool%20L8%205XJ%20Riverside%20Ward.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		5. Liverpool City Council, (2013). The Cain's Brewery: hybrid application proposed new layout. *Planning Building and Control Service.*	Online document: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/documents/s127628/Item%20No.%204%20-%20Site%20Plan%20-%20Robert%20Cain%20And%20Co%20Ltd%20Stanhope%20Street%20Liverpool%20L8%205XJ%20Riverside%20Ward.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		6. Liverpool City Council, (2014). Temporary Event Notice, The Loading Bay, Former Cain's Brewery (mUmU Boxing Day all-nighter).	Online document: https://councillors.liverpool.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=876&MID=14720#AI106381 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
	Commercial organizations Architectural designs, investment brochures and other development literature (5)	7. Falconer Chester Hall, (2013). Brewery Village, Liverpool, Architectural Designs.	Designs available online: https://www.fcharchitects.com/project/brewery-village/ Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		8. Cain's Brewery Village, (2013). Artist impressions of proposed designs.	Designs available online: https://www.breweryvillage.com/history/visuals.html Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		9. Turley Planning and Development Consultancy, (2017). Creating Cain's Brewery Village.	Online report: https://www.turley.co.uk/sites/default/files/public/project/pdf/2018-04/CainsBreweryLiverpool_Dec17_web.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		10. Invest Liverpool (2018). Property Opportunities: Cain's Brewery Village.	Online report: https://www.investliverpool.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/LCR-Property-Brochure-FEB-18.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		11. Colliers International Commercial and Real Estate (2014). Colliers drive vision for revived brewery destination in Liverpool, UK.	Online report: https://Colliers.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/533bf1dfb6366-cains-brewery-village-liverpool.pdf Last accessed: 19/03/2021
	Newspaper reporting Liverpool Echo articles (33)	12. Liverpool Echo, (2002). We must drink to future of Cain's.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Mar 21, 2002.
		13. Liverpool Echo, (2002). Brewery will still be saved: Bosses claim Cains sale collapse is not the end.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, May 5, 2002.
		14. Liverpool Echo, (2002). New hope for city brewer; Buyer could save 140 jobs at Cain's.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Jan 1, 2002.
		15. Liverpool Echo, (2001). Cain's brewery up for sale.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Dec 29, 2001.
		16. Liverpool Echo, (2002). Sun must not set on Cain's	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Feb 20, 2002.
		17. Liverpool Echo, (2002). All hands to the pump as buyers line up for Cain's	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Apr 18, 2002.
		18. Liverpool Echo (2002). Still proud to be born and brewed in Liverpool.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Apr 17, 2002.
		19. Liverpool Echo, (2002). Drink to the future of Cain's	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Apr 17, 2002.
		20. Liverpool Echo, (2001). Order, order; MPs get a taste for fine Cains Ale.	Physical print Liverpool Echo, Nov 9, 2001.
		21. Liverpool Echo, (2002). Cain's stays in Liverpool: New owners pledge on future.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Jul 3, 2002.
		22. Liverpool Echo, (2004). Cains lands big M&A deal.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Oct 11, 2004.

		23.	Liverpool Echo (2002). What made Cain's a city institution?	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Jan 7, 2002.
		24.	Liverpool Echo, (2005). Cains strikes £1m culture sponsor deal.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Nov 11, 2005.
		25.	Liverpool Echo, (2005). Cain's to be official 08 culture beer supplier.	Physical Print: Liverpool Echo, Nov 11, 2005.
		26.	Liverpool Echo (2006). Ale and arty: Cain's signs up to Tate deal.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Nov 3, 2006.
		27.	Liverpool Echo (2006). Something special is brewing for the city: Cains brewing is matching the cities renaissance with a combination of faith, hard work and excellent beer.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Aug 21, 2006.
		28.	Liverpool Echo (2008). Brothers aim to buy back brewer within 48 hours, Cains part of complex ownership deal.	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Sep 20, 2008
		29.	Liverpool Echo, (2008). Brothers regain control of stricken city brewery; new owners to keep company a going concern	Physical print: Liverpool Echo, Sep 22, 2008.
		30.	Liverpool Echo, (2013). Cains on the brink.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/cains-on-the-brink-3482236 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		31.	Liverpool Echo, (2013). Cains brewery mothballed and pins hopes on brewery village plans.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/liverpools-cains-brewery-mothballed-38-3605440 Last accessed: 19/03/2021.
		32.	Liverpool Echo, (2013). The history of the Cains brewery	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/history-liverpools-cains-brewery-3320356 Last accessed: 19/03/2021.
		33.	Liverpool Echo, (2013). Cain's announce £50m 'Brewery Village' plan to breate new life into historic Liverpool site.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/cains-announce-50m-brewery-village-3320359 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		34.	Liverpool Echo, (2013). £150m Cains brewery village plans on track as bosses hope for new city rail station	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/150m-cains-brewery-village-plans-8484473 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		35.	Liverpool Echo (2015). Investors keen on 150m Cains Brewery Plan.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/150m-cains-brewery-village-plans-8484473 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		36.	Liverpool Echo, (2016). Cains Brewery frozen in time in urban explorer's eerie photographs	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/cains-brewery-frozen-time-urban-11109575 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		37.	Liverpool Echo, (2016). 15 pictures exploring the empty Cain's brewery building in the Baltic Triangle	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/15-pictures-exploring-empty-cains-11999255 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		38.	Liverpool Echo (2016). Cains bosses vow to bring iconic brewery building back to life	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/cains-bosses-vow-bring-iconic-12000836 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		39.	Liverpool Echo, (2017). 10 restaurants sign up for Liverpool's new food hall in former Cain's brewery	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/whats-on/food-drink-news/baltic-triangle-first-food-hall-12816836 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		40.	Liverpool Echo, (2017). A Tale of two markets: St John's Struggles whilst Baltic Market in Cain's powers ahead.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/tale-two-markets-st-johns-13304653 Last accessed: 19/03/2021

		41.	Liverpool Echo, (2018). 12 reasons to visit Red Brick Vintage in Cain's Brewery	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/whats-on/12-fantastic-reasons-vist-red-14584427 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		42.	Liverpool Echo, (2018). Bright new future for iconic Liverpool pub the Brewery tap.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/whats-on/whats-on-news/bright-new-future-iconic-liverpool-14783678 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		43.	Liverpool Echo, (2018). Cain's is back – and its much-loved raisins beer will be too.	Online article: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/business/cains-back-much-loved-raisin-14901223 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
	National newspaper reporting (13)	44.	BBC, (2013). Cains Brewery - Time called on Liverpool Brewers.	Online article: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-23030010 Last accessed: 21/04/2021
		45.	BBC, (2013). Cains Brewery redundant workers protest at treatment.	Online article: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-22607764 Last accessed: 21/03/2021
		46.	BBC (2013). Plan for Liverpool Cain's Brewery approved.	Online article: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-25000992 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		47.	BBC (2018). Cain's Brewery: Beer brand to return to Liverpool.	Online article https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-44808132 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		48.	The Guardian, (2003). Down in one: Cain's Fine Raisin Beer.	Online article: https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2003/nov/08/foodanddrink.shopping3 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		49.	The Guardian (2006). Flying off the shelves at … the pub.	Online article: https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2006/mar/29/consumerpages Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		50.	The Guardian (2021). The Mersey Eat: Liverpool's ten best	Online article: https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2021/nov/12/liverpool-10-best-restaurants-and-food-halls Last accessed: 21/04/2022
		51.	The Times (2013). Brewery pumps £50m into new look.	Online article: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/cains-brewery-pumps-pound50m-into-new-look-05lhkv6nclk Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		52.	Financial Times (2008). FT Business School Case Study: Cains Beer	Online article: https://www.ft.com/content/d03452aa-2c07-11dd-9861-000077b07658 Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		53.	Financial Times (2007). Cains Beer Company: Brothers Brew for Success.	Online article: https://www.ft.com/content/7ac0e2f0-80c4-11dc-9f14-0000779fd2ac Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		54.	The Times (2008). Cain's may not survive as going concern.	Online article: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/cains-may-not-survive-as-going-concern-hr728s0rb2x Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		55.	Food Manufacturer (2010). Cains Brewery Owners Optimistic but Auditor Serves Survival Warning.	Online article: https://www.foodmanufacture.co.uk/Article/2010/12/23/Cains-Brewery-owners-optimistic-but-auditor-serves-survival-warning Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		56.	Telegraph (2001). Robert Cain goes up for sale.	Online article: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/2747078/Robert-Cain-goes-up-for-sale.html Last accessed: 19/03/2021
	Other, documentary Websites (10)	57.	Confidential Liverpool (2016). Introducing Ryde, Cain's Village.	Online article: https://confidentials.com/liverpool/review-ryde-cafe-cains-brewery-yard Last accessed: 19/03/2021

345

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		59.	The Guide Liverpool (2018). Cain's brewery Village we love you.	Online article: https://theguideliverpool.com/cains-brewery-village-we-love-you-heres-everything-you-need-to-know/ Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		60.	Confidential Liverpool (2018). Massive £2m Irish pub opens in Cain's Brewery	Online article: https://confidentials.com/liverpool/massive-irish-pub-punch-tarmeys-opens-in-cains-brewery Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		61.	Confidential Liverpool (2018). Cain's Brewery Village: A bustling mashup of booze.	Online article: https://confidentials.com/liverpool/cains-brewery-village Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		62.	St James Cemetery (n.d.). Robert Cain (1826-1907).	Online article: http://www.stjamescemetery.co.uk/index/category/robert-cain Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		63.	Brookston Beer Bulletin (2021). Historic Beer Birthday Robert Cain.	Online article: https://brookstonbeerbulletin.com/historic-beer-birthday-robert-cain/ Last accessed: 21/04/2021
		64.	28 days later (2015). Abandoned Cain's brewery images.	Online article: https://www.28dayslater.co.uk/threads/the-robert-cain-brewery-liverpool-june-2015.98651/ Last accessed: 21/04/2021
		65.	Protz on Beer (2013). Cain's Brewery closes and sacked workers call for Merseyside boycott	Online article: https://protzonbeer.co.uk/news/2013/05/22/cain-s-brewery-closes-and-sacked-workers-call-for-merseyside-boycott-of-beer-pubs Last accessed: 19/03/2021
		66.	Resident Advisor (2014). Chez Damier at the Cain's Brewery event tickets.	Online event advertisement: https://ra.co/events/630210 Last accessed: 21/04/2022.
		67.	Baltic Triangle (n.d). Northern Lights.	Online article: https://www.baltic-creative.com/spaces/developments/northern-lights/ Last accessed: 21/04/2021.
Secondary interview (4)	*Radio interviews* With entrepreneurs (1)	1.	Independent Liverpool and Baltic Market Co-founders Oliver Press and David Williams, interview with BBC Radio Merseyside 28th February 2019.	Originally aired on 28th February 2019.
	With other commentators (1)	2.	Cain's: The Story of Liverpool in a Pint author, Christopher Routledge, interview with BBC Radio Merseyside, 20th December 2008.	Originally aired on 20th December 2008.
	Online interviews With entrepreneurs (1)	3.	Independent Liverpool and Baltic Market Co-founders Oliver Press and David Williams, interview with Lancashire Life, 11th September 2017.	Online interview: https://www.greatbritishlife.co.uk/food-and-drink/how-independent-liverpool-is-changing-the-social-scene-in-the-7011366 Last accessed: 21/03/2020
	With brewery owners (1)	4.	Cain's Brewery co-owner Ajmail Dusanj, interview with Food Manufacture 5th October 2005.	Online interview: https://www.foodmanufacture.co.uk/Article/2005/10/06/Cain-is-more-than-able Last accessed: 21/03/2021
Secondary, visual media (1)	*Other visual media* Online videos (1)	1.	360-degree tour of the Cain's Brewery: 15 works of art for the Liverpool Biennial 2016.	Online video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ERxWckUSo1E Last accessed: 21/03/2021.