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Bricolage in the urban cultural sector: the case of Bradford city of film

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses bricolage in the context of a social enterprise for urban development. It focuses on the case of BDK Limited, and discusses how this organisation contributes to the economic and social development of the British city of Bradford by promoting city-wide film-based cultural consumption and cultural pride. This research used semi-structured interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis to examine this organisation's different modes of material and ideational bricolage. The entrepreneurs serve as material bricoleurs as they transform the residuals of the city's industrial past from materials of no use and reminders of backwardness to sites for cultural consumption. This paper also identifies patterns of ideational bricolage. In Bradford, ethnic diversity has long been discursively associated with conflicts and backwardness by local businesses, potential investors, the media and even urban social entrepreneurs themselves. However, in this case study, diversity is re-perceived as a cultural asset for urban tourism and related industries.

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This paper examines bricolage in the context of a social enterprise start-up for urban development. It focuses on the case of BDK Limited (BDK)¹, which is based in the British city of Bradford. BDK was founded as a limited company in 2009, in connection with Bradford's status as a UNESCO Creative City. There are currently seven different categories of UNESCO Creative Cities. Bradford was the first UNESCO Creative City appointed under the category of film. BDK was established in this context, to use this designation to promote culture and film as a driver for urban development that addresses the city's social conflicts, poverty and economic decline.

This research seeks to contribute to several interrelated literatures. First, the existing literature of entrepreneurial bricolage focuses largely on material bricolage. This paper theorizes on the role of ideational bricolage as a process through which societal values, symbolic systems and other shared cultural elements serve as important resources for entrepreneurs, and demonstrates how this occurs. Secondly, this paper discusses bricolage in the context of social enterprises for culture-led urban development. This helps link bricolage theory to the discussion of entrepreneurial urbanism and applies bricolage theory to the rising cultural economy in many European cities.

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1. The context: entrepreneurial urbanism

The paradigm of urban governance has shifted since the late 1980s. Ward (2003) described this turn in urban governance as entrepreneurial urbanism. The literature argues that urban governance has been transformed from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989). While managerialist urban governance focuses on the distribution of public goods for urban dwellers, entrepreneurialist urban governance leads cities just as enterprises do. The latter promotes urban growth and capital accumulation, and requires resource seeking and resource recombining skills just as profit-seeking businesses do. This transformation emerged in late capitalism as a response to global competition among cities. The deregulation of global capital has intensified the needs of cities to be transformed into profit-seeking and growth-pursuing entities. Urban governance thus resembles an entrepreneurial enterprise, in terms of its innovative deployment and acquisition of resources in pursuit of development (Leitner and Garner 1993; Jessop 1997, 1998). According to Jessop and Sum (2000, 2289), this trend can be characterised as

[pursuing] innovative strategies intended to maintain or enhance its economic competitiveness vis-à-vis other cities and economic spaces. These strategies are real and reflexive. They are not 'as if' strategies, but are more or less explicitly formulated and pursued in an active, entrepreneurial fashion. The promoters of entrepreneurial cities adopt an entrepreneurial discourse, narrate their cities as entrepreneurial, and market them as entrepreneurial.

To pursue urban development using the paradigm of entrepreneurial urbanism, more flexible and efficient arrangements are required, thus decentralising the role of government and bringing other actors such as social entrepreneurs into the urban development process. Actors in entrepreneurial urbanism are plural in number. Some authors highlight the role of mayoral leadership, and portray individual political leaders as entrepreneurs (Harding 1995; Parkinson and Harding 1995; Le Gales and Harding 1998; see also Clarke and Gaile 1998). It should be noted, however, that the drive for a city's pursuit of development involves a process much more complicated than that of heroic political individualism. There are other key actors in entrepreneurial urbanism.

Social enterprises, local business associations, trade unions and voluntary and nonprofit organizations all play a significant role in entrepreneurial urbanism. Non-public sectors increasingly work with local authorities to talk up local economies (Harvey 1989; Jessop and Sum 2000; Ward 2003). Local governments' coalition with these non-public actors allows for the regulatory flexibility that brings the efficiency required by urban development. Competitive forces also necessitate multiple players in the development regime. Outsourcing to these non-public actors spreads local governments' financial risk (Carrol and Steane 2000).

BDK is such a case – a social enterprise start-up whose objectives for urban development are largely consistent with those of the municipal state. Aligned with the Bradford city government's vision for the UNESCO designation of a Creative City, BDK aims to utilize its branding as a film city to revitalise the city, both economically and socially. With its board members include members of the local council, leaders in the film and media industry, representatives from local educational institutions and business associations, this start-up serves as an ideal example of entrepreneurial urbanism actors in the non-public sector.

Social enterprises as key actors in entrepreneurial urbanism may innovate in several ways. There are several models of innovation in entrepreneurial urbanism (Jessop and Sum 2000). It can produce new types of urban spaces, such as a multicultural city. A city may also employ

new methods of place production, by installing required physical apparatuses, such as those that are part of the concept of an information and communications technology (ICT)-smart city. Furthermore, entrepreneurial urbanism may innovate with regard to sourcing. For example, a change in immigration patterns can encourage a city to draft a strategy to find new resources for further development. A city can also redefine its own status in a regional or global urban hierarchy, from that of a local city to a cross-border city, or a city with a global position.

Entrepreneurial urbanism may also aim to create new markets (Jessop and Sum 2000). A city can be marketed in a new area, such as culture, spectacle and entertainment. In the past decade, cultural economy has emerged in the urban landscapes of several European cities (McRobbie 2002 for London; Lange 2005 for Berlin; Ellmeier 2003 for Vienna). The cultural economy is increasingly being theorized as an efficient driver for urban economic and social revitalisation (Scott 1998, 2006; Landry 2000; Florida 2005). This perspective is often identified as the creative city discourse, which views the creative sector as one of the leading forces for urban social and economic development.

This rationale of developing cultural industries to revitalise a city's economy and social synthesis has been seen in several cities that are using mega-events to promote and redirect cultural consumption in cities, and to produce new branding for cities in a global tourism market (Owen 2002; Hall 2006). There are at least two aims of using cultural events to regenerate cities. On the one hand, the renewed brand name of a city brings community pride and cohesion (Bailey, Miles, and Stark 2004; Deeke and Walter 2011). On the other hand, this cultural branding also brings monetary returns to a city's hospitality, cultural and creative.

This is where the case of BDK fits in. The aims of BDK demonstrate the pursuit of urban social and economic development through a series of investments in cultural activities, such as film events and film spectacles. Bradford's decades-old film legacy has been 'rediscovered' and deployed in the city's new branding strategy.

2. Bricolage: making do with the resources at hand

It is worth noting that the literature on entrepreneurial urbanism is largely grounded in urban studies and primarily focuses on the macro political economic changes associated with the logics of entrepreneurial urbanism. This includes the ways in which entrepreneurial urbanism excludes certain subjects from the new modes of distribution of public goods, and the ways in which it transforms the process of urban governance (see for e.g. Harvey 1989; Jessop 1998; Ward 2003; Ponzini and Rossi 2010). This literature less links itself to the conventional entrepreneurship literature that analyses the entrepreneurial processes, such as opportunity discovering and resource seeking and utilizing. Thus, this paper seeks to link a case of entrepreneurial urbanism with the literature on these entrepreneurial processes.

In particular, this paper focuses on the entrepreneurial process of resource seeking and utilizing, and draws on the theory of bricolage. Bricolage is one of the leading theories that analyse the process through which entrepreneurs identify and utilize resources. It highlights the resource constraints faced by most entrepreneurs. When discussing resource seeking and utilizing, bricolage theory views entrepreneurial processes as making do with what is at hand (Baker, Miner, and Eesley 2003; Baker and Nelson 2005; Baker 2007). Entrepreneurs creatively re-combine their resources at hand that are seemingly insufficient or useless, and produce new values out of resource constraint.

Bricolage theory examines how entrepreneurs perceive, combine and use resources in the ways that other individuals neglect, thus demonstrating the socially constructed nature of a resource environment. For some authors, the concept of bricolage implies a constructivist approach to the resource environment one encounters. According to Baker and Nelson (2005, 342), 'the social construction of the resource environment involved reframing or outright rejection of prevailing definitions of resources'. This constructivist view of available resources was identified as bricolage originally by Levi-Strauss (1966), who coined this concept in anthropological research.

It is worth noting that when theorizing bricolage, Levi-Strauss (1966) distinguished between ideational bricolage and material bricolage. While the latter focuses on tangible resources such as technologies and buildings, the former refers to the use of cultural resources. According to Levi-Strauss, ideational bricolage was a process of recombining 'older myths to create new myths serving new functions' (Baker 2007, 697).

Current entrepreneurial bricolage studies focus largely on material bricolage, leaving out the important role of ideational bricolage that discusses cultural resources (Mair and Martí 2009). Baker, Miner, and Eesley's (2003) research on entrepreneurial bricolage, together with subsequent empirical studies that apply this concept, examine several types of resources, including funding, technologies, social networks and manpower (Baker, Miner, and Eesley 2003; Baker and Nelson 2005; Baker 2007; Steffens, Senyard, and Baker 2009 among others). However, focusing on these resources may serve to narrow the conceptual scope of resource and limit the analytical power of bricolage, as this does not discuss cultural elements as a resource, such as values, symbolic systems and traditions.

3. Ideational bricolage: culture as resources

Cultural elements – such as cultural values, shared meanings of symbols and public perceptions of traditions – can be critical to an entrepreneurial process for several reasons. Existing studies have already pointed out that cultural elements are important because they shape entrepreneurial processes (Berger 1991; Hayton, George, and Zahra 2002; Huggins and Thompson 2014). For example, it has been found that cultural values such as individualism and one's level of trust in a community affect entrepreneurial processes (Shane 1993; Neergaard and Ulhøi 2006). Shared community norms and place-based group affinities also shape an enterprising person's entrepreneurial self (McKeever, Anderson, and Jack 2014; McKeever, Jack, and Anderson 2015). These studies note that both entrepreneurial activities and cultural values are place-based. Thus, an entrepreneurial process is always shaped by locally informed cultural elements. These studies highlight the significance of the cultural-spatial aspect of entrepreneurial processes (Steyaert and Katz 2004).

While these studies treat local culture as a context or a factor that 'shapes' or 'predicts' entrepreneurial activities, an alternative perspective on culture may also be required. From individualism, the level of trust to other locally shared values, these cultural elements serve not only as a context that shapes entrepreneurial activities, but also as a resource for the use of entrepreneurs.

As the case of BDK will show, local cultural elements are critical resources for urban entrepreneurs working in the arts and creative sectors. Urban entrepreneurs often commercialise cultural meanings, making products out of these cultural beliefs and perceptions. For example, many urban spaces in Berlin, another UNESCO Creative City, have been culturally coded

by design industry entrepreneurs (Lange 2011). Design shop owners use the local cultural interpretations of spaces to form their products. Owning a shop in certain areas signifies Bohemianism, while other use of locations and materials evokes and commercializes feelings of the socialist past. These entrepreneurs use, and sometimes transform, shared local cultural meanings into services or products that fill market gaps, in terms of the cultural needs of urban lifestyles. Cultural elements, such as community values, group affinities, affections, and public perceptions, serve not only as an environment or a factor that shapes entrepreneurial processes. They also become services to be delivered or products to be sold. These enterprises provide communities with the arts, music, and other cultural experiences, which often require entrepreneurs to identify, re-perceive, and re-combine cultural and symbolic resources (Preece 2013).

While current discussions on urban entrepreneurs in the arts focus largely on for-profit scenarios, entrepreneurial activities in the form of social enterprises is also emerging in urban contexts. Like their for-profit counterparts, social entrepreneurs in the urban cultural sector also require skills and knowledge to enable the utilization of cultural resources. Social entrepreneurs in the arts and creative industries play a significant role in culture-led urban development, since these industries have long been viewed as reserved primarily for elite urban dwellers. It should be noted that social entrepreneurs have begun to deliver these cultural experiences, and they typically enrich entire local communities across all socioeconomic backgrounds, with the arts, including music, and film, as well as other creative products (Feder and Katz-Gerro 2012; Preece 2013).

This paper documents a case study that illustrates how social entrepreneurs reinvent and recombine cultural resources to pursue societal gains. In doing so, it becomes apparent that in addition to material resource management, cultural resource management is also critical to entrepreneurial innovation.

4. Methodology

This research adopted a case study methodology based on a qualitative interpretation of both primary and secondary data. The data sources were threefold. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the directors of BDK, to examine how entrepreneurs envisioned and constructed the process of combining and reusing available resources. Informal talks were also conducted during the fieldwork. Secondly, participant observation was conducted at several sites, mainly to obtain place-based information. This included visiting buildings that had been promoted as key film destinations by BDK, and those venues where events associated with BDK were held. These data provide information on how these places have been reshaped, transformed, and recombined into material and cultural resources.

Thirdly, documentary analysis was used to examine BDK publications that outline the company's structure, strategy, past and future events, achievements, objectives and self-evaluation. These documents also provide information regarding how BDK perceives, promotes and constructs the image of itself, film and Bradford. The sources included print documents and materials on BDK's online platforms. This study includes both the company's internal publications on strategies and objectives, as well as external, promotional publications written for outside readers. To obtain a broad picture of the history and current political economic structure of the city, part of this research also involved analysing documents published by

the City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council. This included basic population data, details concerning the local economy and industries and Bradford's social and cultural composition. Existing studies on Bradford's socioeconomic synthesis are also utilized to form the analysis of the background where the BDK projects emerged.

5. The resource constraints: the context in which BDK emerged

The case of BDK is embedded in the context of a specific desire and vision for urban regeneration. This section analyses the economic and social background of the city's regeneration and then identifies BDK's objectives which emerged from this background.

First, in terms of the economic context in which BDK emerged, Bradford has for more than three decades experienced the decline brought about by Britain's transition to a post-industrial society. In the mid-nineteenth century, Bradford was crowned the 'wool capital of the world', which led to the development of an engineering and manufacturing base. This manufacturing-led urban economy emerged as one of the most populous cities in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, when textile production and trade brought wealth to this region. However, by the 1980s, with increasing foreign competition, the city faced a rapid rate of mill closures, and pressing issues of unemployment.

Secondly, with regard to the social context, a better urban social life is also portrayed as the main objective of Bradford's various development projects. In the second half of the twentieth century, waves of migration arrived with the peak of the textile industry (Amin 2003; Jackson 1992). Large numbers of immigrants from South Asia and Eastern Europe joined the city's wool-based industries. As a result, Bradford became one of the key places in Britain and Europe where multiculturalism and racial diversity are studied (Carling 2008). In 2001, a conflict occurred between the city's local white community and the Asian population, a conflict that has often been described as one of the major racial 'riots' in Britain's recent history. The city of Bradford has been represented repeatedly as a locale of Asian criminality in the media (Alexander 2004; Goodey 2001). It was found that the city is thus connected to a series of negative connotations that contradict the pride and loyalty found among local residents (Killingbeck and Trueman 2002; Trueman, Klemm, and Giroud 2004).

The economic deprivation and racial conflicts are not only perceived as impeding the development of local hospitality and related industries, but also interfering with potential investors' decisions related to this region (Hope and Klemm 2001). This social texture and economic formation has been synthesised into the background in which BDK constructs its objectives about redevelopment and local pride. According to a BDK promotional publication, its aim was not only to facilitate recovery of the local economy, but also to encourage a 'renaissance' of the quality of living – social and cultural living – in the city. This echoes the shift over the past decade of urban development from the pure pursuit of profits to a balanced consideration of economic gains for the city and the quality of residents' daily social experiences.

In a promotional document, BDK emphasises that its aims are to deliver 'a full programme of activities and initiatives for businesses, individuals and communities – contributing to Bradford's economic, social and cultural development'. Urban entrepreneurs in the arts and creative sector are no longer exclusively tied to economic development. Rather, they highlight local, social and cultural wellbeing and the quality of life. The economy is viewed as

Time	Event	Implications
Mid 19th Century	Rise of textile industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Bradford obtained the status as one of Britain's manufacturing centres.
1950s	Waves of immigration arrived as labour was required in textile industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A further diversified background
1980s	The decline of textile and related manufacturing industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Context of regeneration
2001	Racial conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Context of regeneration
2008	Bidding for European Capital of Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Like UNESCO City of Film, this bidding was one of Bradford's attempts to regenerate the city using culture. ● This bidding was unsuccessful.
2008	Onset of global financial crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Funding and potential investors for the project and the city dried out.
2009	Successful bidding for UNESCO City of Film	
2009	BDK Limited founded	

Figure 1. Background and constraints.

being intertwined with the locale's social and cultural fabric, and cannot be isolated when envisioning future directions for a city's development.

The socio-economic synthesis was further complicated when Bradford received the UNESCO City of Film designation in 2009. According to BDK's director, the approaching general election, together with the sudden onset of the financial crisis, led to the withering of potential funding sources after Bradford had received this status. Monetary resources were more constrained than expected. Innovative resource management methods were thus required to deal with the constraints BDK faced (Figure 1).

As soon as UNESCO granted Bradford the designation of the first City of Film, BDK emerged with the objective of using this designation for urban development, and 'picked up where the city government left off', according to its founding director. One of BDK's promotional documents describes its objectives as

[This is] an ambitious project using the popularity and accessibility of film to everybody, whatever their age and background, as a means of creating a unique sense of place for Bradford and addressing a wide range of issues, including education and skills, cultural and economic participation and civic pride.

BDK envisions the main stakeholders in its project on three levels: individuals, communities and businesses. At least seven stakeholders have been identified, including businesses in the creative industries' cluster, tourism and hospitality sector businesses, citizens of Bradford, school children, further education students, university students and employers based in and around Bradford.

6. Material bricolage of BDK

BDK serves as a bricoleur in how it re-perceives and reuses its limited existing materials and non-materials to achieve its aims of combating urban decline and social conflicts during a financial downturn. According to the director of BDK, upon designation of the UNESCO status in the mid of the financial crisis in 2009, it became clear that it was a time when monetary resources for the development of cultural projects were scarce. BDK thus developed strategies that utilized limited existing resources.

Both material and ideational bricolage are found in this case. With regard to material bricolage, materials left in the city by the textile industry are being rediscovered and reframed. The director of BDK identifies that, since the founding of BDK, one of its central strategies has been to highlight heritage tourism. There are at least two examples that demonstrate the company's efforts to brand Bradford as a tourist destination for film-related heritage consumption using formerly deserted industrial materials. That are, film events at heritage landscape and nostalgic film trails.

6.1. Film at heritage landscape

Firstly, film activities are incorporated into former industrial sites. One major event is film at Saltaire, an event in a village founded in the heart of Bradford's former woollen industry, comprised of woollen mills and houses built for workers. BDK's director provides details on how and why it schedules film screenings at the former woollen mills. According to his interpretation, as the woollen mills closed in 1986, the site of the mills became a major symbol of this region's economic downturn. While woollen mills are no longer used for manufacturing, and have long been associated with backwardness and industrial decline, BDK took its film-related cultural events into the industrial site.

By involving local narratives produced by film talent based in the city, local cultural elements have been further integrated into the landscape of the past. The former industrial property has been reworked into a cultural site, and is being used as a marketing site itself, specialising in providing a Bradford-based cultural spectacle, and combining Bradford's contextualized history with contemporary local specificity.

6.2. Nostalgic film trails

Another strategy also elucidates BDK's use of previously redundant industrial materials to create values in the style of material bricolage. While the above strategy uses dated industrial

buildings, this strategy utilizes old industrial technologies that are no longer in use. That is, reworking of the city's legacy of industrial machinery technologies into resources for heritage tourism. The director of BDK explains the rationale underlying the use of deserted industrial technologies from the industrial period:

We were once the industrial centre of England. We were one of the biggest centres in the world. Bradford hosted the biggest printing company back then. We were the biggest maker of film posters ... That is our tie to the film industry. People ask why Bradford [received the UNESCO designation]. We are not London. [But our] history goes back.

During the peak of the textile industry, the city was an industrial centre, and served as a hub for England's mechanical engineering processes. Printing, projection and a range of machinery technologies common to the film industry were pioneered and developed in this city. These traces of old technologies from the city's industrial past remain in various urban spaces today. They are recombined by BDK into urban assets in support of heritage tourism. Bradford cinema heritage trail is one such example. This programme takes visitors to various locations in Bradford where film-related machinery was used and stored during the city's industrial days, including the National Media Museum, and historical buildings around the city centre. BDK then sought to encourage local businesses in the hospitality industry to use this trail to form package deals to attract urban tourists. The film posters, and their linkages with the city's machinery, tie in with Britain's past film industry, and were exhibited as an integral part of the trail.

In summary, BDK reinvents leftover materials into resources that contribute to urban economic gains, including old textile industrial sites and the old machinery technologies invented during the industrial period. While the declining manufacturing industry is the very reason the city required regeneration and development in the first place, materials it brought to the city which are no longer in use are utilized by BDK not as redundancy in urban development. The reframing and recombining of tangible materials from the city's industrial past demonstrates how social enterprises innovate when faced with limited resources. The material bricolage of BDK re-perceives the supposedly redundant and useless materials that symbolise exactly what brought the city to its economic disadvantage in the first place. These materials are then reworked into useful resources for urban cultural tourism.

7. Ideational bricolage of BDK: re-envisioning cultural traditions

In addition to material bricolage, BDK demonstrates the essential role of ideational bricolage in social entrepreneurship. The data of this research suggest that not only tangible materials such as buildings and technologies serve as resources in bricolage. In the case of BDK, cultural elements also function as resources in bricolage. The following findings illuminate how culture could be analysed not only as a context that shapes entrepreneurial activities but as a resource for entrepreneurs to utilize. Existing studies of entrepreneurial bricolage focus largely on material bricolage and less discuss ideational bricolage. However, in the context of socially motivated entrepreneurs, cultural resources and ideational bricolage might be critical.

According to Levi-Strauss, ideational bricolage involves a strategic reversal and re-deployment of existing cultural knowledge. The reconceptualization and reincorporation of ethnic cultural elements in BDK's City of Film projects demonstrates these features (Figure 2).

	Re-perceive non-resources	Reuse non-resources	Help achieve bricoleurs' goals	Case of BDK
Material bricolage	✓	✓ Reuse physical resources (buildings, technologies, tools.....)	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Formerly deserted industrial materials utilized reused as heritage spectacle - Film events at former industrial sites - Film heritage trails visiting dated industrial technologies
Ideational bricolage	✓	✓ Reuse intangible resources (Cultural traditions, societal values, societal norms, group solidarity.....)	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Racial diversity formerly treated as sources of conflicts and now re-conceptualized as cultural resources - Traditional Asian cultural events as film activities for all cultures - Asian film screening in wider public spaces - Cultural bonding with Bollywood

Figure 2. Material bricolage and ideational bricolage.

Ethnic minorities in Bradford's inner city have long been discursively associated with the region's deprivation and backwardness in the discourses of local authorities and urban investors. As early as the 1980s, concerns about the failed integration of Muslim immigrants into the local community can be found in the media and the wider public arena (Bolognani 2007). This led to heated debates around multiculturalism and the urban politics of cultural homogeneity in Bradford. The conflict between white and Asian communities intensified in 2001,

and has had a detrimental effect on Bradford as a brand name among urban stakeholders, including investors, local businesses, residents and public service providers such as city council, educational institutions and healthcare.

In the interview, the director of BDK suggests that one of the company's main objectives is to challenge these negative perceptions of the city brought about by the racial conflict in 2001 which leads to a lack of interest among investors and business partners:

The perception of Bradford is partly the problem of our economic recovery. We had problems in the past. Have you read about the riot? A lot of that informed the investors that we have troubles. This constantly reminds them. Every time they talk about racism or racial tension, they send a camera team here and say this is the scene of the Bradford riot 2001. It takes the city a long time to get over that ... [I am saying] the positive perceptions that UNESCO City of Film has won. It's really important to change people's mindset about the city. We tell people that this city's got a lot to offer.

These comments highlight a popular assumption regarding the negative impacts the city's local history of ethnic conflicts has had on its economy. They elaborate on the rationale of a cultural project that seeks to achieve economic regeneration. That is, cultural projects are understood as branding tools that redirect perceptions of the city and its ethnic diversity among investors. In so doing, ethnicity is not only considered a social phenomenon. It is, more significantly in the eyes of the developmentalists, an economic issue.

BDK has developed several projects to challenge the supposedly negative connotations of Bradford's ethnic diversity. These projects seek to transform ethnic diversity from a perceived negative influence on local economy to a cultural resource for the development of cultural and leisure industries. In BDK's designs of events and in its several event promotion documents, the above discursive problematisation of racial conflicts is transformed into a celebratory narrative, portraying ethnic plurality as a cultural asset that is beneficial for a culture-led urban economy. There are two types of practices that exemplify this.

7.1. The design and discursive promotion of Asian cultural events

First, BDK incorporates traditional ethnic events, along with 'non-ethnic' activities, and promotes the former as cultural experiences for all. The designs and the discourses in the promotional documents of many BDK events demonstrate this technique. The collaboration between BDK programmes and Bradford's annual event of Mela is an example. Mela is a long-standing South Asian festive celebration. It originated in the Indian sub-continent, and is now widely celebrated among Asian diasporas around the world. A promotional document of Bradford's status as a UNESCO City of Film addresses the relationship between Mela and Bradford's film activities:

There are growing opportunities for everyone in Bradford to become involved in various aspects of film – whether through joining the Bradford Film Network, taking part in community- and school-based competitions, setting up film societies or attending screenings at community events such as Europe's largest Mela held in Bradford.

In promoting Bradford's film consumption, it blends together traditional Asian cultural events and wider scenes of cultural consumption, and promotes them as leisure events for everybody. This is done by bringing together film events and traditional ethnic cultural events, and then discursively portraying and promoting the ethnic event as 'for everybody' alongside other wider film and cultural consumption.

Another BDK event further demonstrates this technique of blending ethnic minority leisure experiences into mainstream cultural consumption in the setting of hospitality and the leisure industry. That is, the Launch Weekend event. This event also weaves together Asian cultural practices and wider film consumption. This is done both through the design of events and through discursively promoting the events. With regard to the design of event, the Launch Weekend event took place in local hotels and a number of shops. This event included film symposiums, film character dressing featuring ‘from Bond to Bollywood’, a Bollywood cookery class and screenings of both Hollywood and Bollywood films. This ‘mainstreaming of ethnicity’ mixes Asian cultural elements into the white middle-class settings of consumerism. When asked about the rationale behind the role of Asianness and the mixed use of Bond and Bollywood in this event, the former director of BDK explained:

I wanted that when everything else was tearing people apart in Bradford – the thing people are generally depressed about Bradford, the perceptions of Bradford. I wanted the thing to be cool, and trendy and happening and exciting.

Ethnic diversity was once understood as having a tearing-apart effect, leading to depressed expectations for the city’s economic outlook. BDK’s programmes include and reconstruct ethnic minority leisure activities to reshape prevalent perceptions of the city’s ethnic plurality. According to the former director, BDK aims to promote a perception of the ethnically diverse city as ‘trendy, cool and happening’. She seeks to redefine the cultural connotation of ethnic leisure activities.

The rationale underlying the terms ‘from Hollywood to Bollywood’ and ‘Hollywood meets Bollywood’ is further elucidated by the former BDK director:

The most obvious way for us to do it [the branding of Bradford as a UNESCO City of Film] is to develop stuff that we’ve already done which is the work of Bradford in the Hollywood writing. One way I’d look at it is how Bradford had been written in Bollywood writing as well. And I wanted to do a lot of work about our Bollywood connection.

In summary, cultural elements from Hollywood, Bollywood and British film legacy are mixed and reused in various leisure settings.

7.2. Diversifying the spatial connotations of ethnic cultural consumption

Alongside the technique that designs and discursively promotes Asian cultural events as leisure activities for all, BDK also reconstructs the connotation of ethnic diversity by reshaping the spatiality of ethnic film watching. According to the director of BDK, watching Bollywood films in Bradford had long been constrained to certain limited commercial spaces of local cinemas including Cineworld and Odeon. The boundaries of these ethnic cultural enclaves are challenged and publicised by BDK’s spatial plans for several events. The director explains how he expands the spatiality of Asian films into wider urban spaces. One such example he talks about is the pop-up cinema scheme that screens Bollywood-themed films in the city’s Centenary Square using mobile cinema apparatuses. While Indian film watching in Bradford has long been contained within a number of semi-private commercialised spaces, Centenary Square is a public space, a major landscape and a tourist attraction in the city.

Another example about publicising the spaces of Asianness is *100 Years of Indian Cinema*. A series of events were held including screenings and exhibitions in various city venues, which are outside the semi-private spaces where Bollywood cultural elements used to be

contained. It was intended to highlight Indian cinema's impact on Bradford, and Bradford's influence on Indian films in 2013, the 100th anniversary of the first Indian feature film. Urban spaces outside the traditional 'ethnic cultural enclaves' were used to hold screenings, flash mob performances and exhibitions for this event. This includes National Media Museums and main streets in the city centre. Once again, Asian cultural elements are reused in the development of the city's cultural spectacle in wider urban spaces.

In summary, ethnic diversity in Bradford has long been discursively associated with conflicts and backwardness by local businesses, potential investors, the media and even urban social entrepreneurs themselves. BDK seeks to reinvent this negative cultural connotation of the city's ethnic plurality into resources for development. On the one hand, Asian cultural traditions including cooking, cinema and festivals are blended with 'non-ethnic' cultural events and are promoted as 'for all everybody' or 'for all cultures'. On the other hand, the spatiality of Asian cultural traditions such as Indian film watching is reshaped. Such cultural displays and consumption are publicised into wider urban spaces and used as resources for urban leisure consumption. Diversity was once perceived as useless, negative influence on urban development, but is promoted by BDK as positive to a city's development. It constructs a form of ethnic exoticism to re-brand a city's tourism and related industries.

8. Ideational bricolage of BDK: rethinking cultural bonding

In addition to cultural events, cultural bonding can also be re-perceived in ideational bricolage. An example is the re-perception of cohesion between Bradford's local community and the community of Asian cultural industries in South Asia.

Human capital – people with the right skill sets for the film production industry – is one of the major resource limitations faced by Bradford's film-informed regeneration project. According to its director, BDK has been encouraging film production teams to be based in Bradford. However, the lack of convenient transportation both nationally and internationally has largely precluded the likelihood of having internationally or nationally renowned teams establish strong geographic linkages in the city. An alternative strategy has been to train locally based talent, and encourage them to stay after their training. However, monetary and other material training resources are insufficient, due to a lack of funding in post-2008 Bradford, and because the apparatuses and hardware required for media industries are largely based in London and southern England.

BDK has developed several strategies to address these constraints. Firstly, BDK plans to develop projects that support joint production teams between Bradford-based and foreign-based talent. Secondly, BDK has also developed talent exchange and joint training programmes with foreign industrial or educational institutions. Both development strategies adopt a perspective of internationalisation. The director of BDK explains that, with limited resources for development, he envisions that its best chance of success is to establish networks outside the region, or, to be more specific, outside the country.

With the word internationalization written in BDK's document that promotes its joint talent training programmes partnered with foreign institutions, it is often Asianization in its implementation of organizational policies. A strong linkage between local communities and the film communities in South Asia is integral to BDK's talent training and cross-border joint production projects. One such example is the joint programmes initiated to offer film-related training at Bradford's higher education and Mumbai's Writsling Woods International Institute

(WWI). These programmes offer courses on film making and working closely with the Asian production teams.

Utilizing these resources – group affinity among the skilled workforce in the global film industry – requires a prior re-perception of the role of Asianness in the growth of the local economy. In so doing, the perception of ethnic diversity is shifting. The imagery of diversity is transformed from a localised urban pathology to a globally connected community whose emotional group attachment, mobility, identity and affinity contribute to the competitiveness of the city on a global scale.

9. Conclusion and discussion

This paper argues that cultural traditions and public perceptions serve as key resources in entrepreneurial processes. Current entrepreneurship studies treat culture more as a context that shapes entrepreneurial processes and less as resources themselves. Previous bricolage studies also largely focus on material bricolage and tangible resources. The case of BDK demonstrates that ideational bricolage and cultural resources play a key role in social entrepreneurial activities. BDK as an ideational bricoleur demonstrates that cultural elements that are previously viewed as impeding the goals of the social enterprise can be reconstructed into a cultural asset for the development of urban leisure industries. These findings illuminate how cultural perceptions and societal values could be treated as resources that are reconstructed and reused by entrepreneurs. It responds to the call within entrepreneurial bricolage studies to include empirical discussion of ideational bricoleurs who use and reconstruct cultural resources (Mair and Marti 2009).

Further research may be required to explore the following dimensions of ideational bricolage. Firstly, it is critical to understand the ethical questions raised by the strategic ideational reversal of existing cultural narratives. For example, the discursive reconstruction of race and ethnicity demonstrates a potential dilemma between ethics and development. The use of racial exoticism in urban tourism may bring about unintentional consequences. Some authors argue that weaving the cultural elements of ethnic minority groups into a city's mainstream culture will engender confidence and a sense of belonging among minority individuals, and produce harmony (Taylor 2010; see also Bolognani 2012). However, it should also be noted that the use of racial elements in the promotion of urban consumption also provokes questions regarding the commodification and objectification of diversity (Goonewardena and Kipfer 2005). Minority cultures and ethnic landscapes become spectacles – with the uncomfortable construction of an ethnic 'theme park' (Bolognani 2012). Further research is required to examine the consequences of the ideational reversal in ideational bricolage, and how these consequences are received by ethnic minority groups and by the city's wider population.

Moreover, ideational bricolage outside the context of social enterprises also warrants further attention. Profit-seeking businesses may also benefit from the exercise of ideational bricolage. While the reinvention of collective memories and public perceptions of a cultural phenomenon are crucial to social enterprises with a wide range of social objectives, it could be equally important in commercial organizations seeking profitability. For example, branding is an area in which the innovative reconstruction of public perceptions and collective memories is required.

Note

1. This is a pseudonym.

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