Presenter Symposium

Careers in Cities: Improving Lives, Improving Communities

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Are the Career Patterns of City, Suburban and Rural Dwellers Different or Similar?

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Understanding Discursive Agendas in City Efforts to Build Innovation Ecosystems

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Entrepreneurial Careers for Urban Resilience in Legacy Cities: Narratives from Detroit

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'Feels Like Home': New City, Foreign Career Competencies, Crafting New Pathways to Migrant Career Success?

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Potential Sponsor Divisions: Careers, Entrepreneurship, Organization and Management Theory.

Participant Agreements: We have received statements from all intended participants agreeing to participate in the entire symposium, AND stating that they are not in violation of the "Rule of Three + Three".

OVERVIEW OF SYMPOSIUM

This symposium aims to advance research and theory on the topic of 'careers in cities'. By focusing on urban areas as a context for careers in the 21st century, it seeks to revive and extend interest in the societal and spatial contexts that shape, constitute and are constituted through careers. Careers and cities are both relevant to the overarching theme of the 2018 Academy of Management Meeting, as they illuminate the contexts through which organizations can contribute to the betterment of society by improving the physical, mental, social and financial well-being of its citizens. Building on an understanding of careers as constituted through people's movement through work and employment experiences over time (Arthur et al., 1989: 8), careers are the context through which people assess, enact and imagine their physical, mental, social and financial well-being in society. Cities present a specific, increasingly important societal context, where individuals and institutions intersect in the assessment, enactment and future imagination of people's physical, mental, social and financial well-being.

Careers are increasingly taking place within cities. More than half the people in the world live in urban areas, rising to as high as 80% in developed regions (The World Bank, 2015). Cities are a spatial nexus where work is organized by powerful institutions across diverse fields, such as commerce, education and public services. They also provide for high population density and a greater opportunity for social interaction across these fields. Cities compete for economic success and cultural prestige, seeking to attract talented people and innovative industries while also addressing issues of livability, economic inequality and sustainability. A career lens extends prevalent perspectives on these issues – such as economics, human geography and urban planning. Given the traditional foci of careers research – such as, the availability of appropriate

work over time, people's adjustment to employment opportunities over time, and the balance between work and non-work lives (De Vos and Van der Heijden, 2015; Lee, Kossek et al., 2011) – a career lens offers a way to examine the connections between micro- and macro-level aspects of people's lives in cities, and how to improve these lives. While a career lens attends to people's movement through work experiences in cities, it also explores how people's careers in cities are interrelated with their quality of life, family and community well-being, personal growth, identity, and local and national economic outcomes.

Our focus on cities and urban areas elaborates the 'contextual turn' in careers literature (e.g., Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011; Gunz, Mayrhofer, & Tolbert, 2011; Khapova & Arthur, 2011; Mayrhofer, Meyer, & Steyrer, 2007; Tams & Arthur, 2010). This 'turn' emerged in response to new thinking about careers. Beginning in the 1980s, economic shifts resulted in firms taking a more transactional view of employment relationships. Employing organizations are no longer providing security of employment and development over time (Cappelli, 1999). With alternative career models widening our perspective beyond organizations (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 2002; Savickas, 2005), the space within which careers unfold has broadened to other institutions and contexts (Gunz, Mayrhofer, & Tolbert, 2011). While career scholars have studied a wide range of occupational and cultural contexts (e.g., Barley & Kunda, 2006; Cappellen & Janssens, 2010; Dany, 2003; Duberley, Cohen, & Mallon, 2006; Ituma & Simpson, 2009; Mitra, 2015; Tams & Marshall, 2011; Valette & Culié, 2015), one spatial context for careers which has not been adequately addressed is that of cities – a context which enables exploration of careers at the intersection of geographical, material, economic, political, social and cultural spaces.

The topic of cities has attracted researchers from diverse disciplines – sociology, human geography, psychology, economics, history, architecture, ecology, political science and others.

Ideas generated by these disciplines directly affect many aspects of work and employment. Recent examples include explorations of cities as nodes of transnational urban networks (Sassen, 2011), knowledge-based urban development (Carrillo, Yigitcanlar, García, & Lönnqvist, 2014), innovative leadership and participative democracy for inclusive cities (Hambleton, 2015), and the influence of education and innovation on jobs and incomes across geographic regions (Moretti, 2012). These and similar works have the potential to reveal new insights into career theory development, research and practice. In this undertaking, contemporary researchers can revive the concerns of the early career studies conducted by members of the Chicago School of Sociology. In William Foote Whyte's (1943) *Street Corner Society*, the careers of Italian immigrants are shaped through their involvement in the local gangs, groups and communities of the North End of 1930s Boston. Similarly, Everett Hughes' (1958) *Men and their Work* acknowledges that careers are shaped by the technological, economic and spatial evolution of cities and their relationship to rural areas. These studies offer a sense of social roles, identities and career transitions as physically embodied and materially grounded in the geographical space and the social fabric of cities and their neighborhoods.

In this symposium, we present four examples of ways in which an exploration of interactions between careers and cities can enhance our understanding of both individual and institutional dynamics relevant to work and wellbeing. Setor, Joseph, and Chan present an empirical study which illustrates a technique for distinguishing career patterns, their differing prevalence in city and rural contexts, and the effect of these differences on career outcomes. Gill presents results of a longitudinal study of the emergence of a new innovation ecosystem, reflecting on tensions between economic priorities and acknowledgement of local identity in supporting entrepreneurs. Feltner, Pandzich, and Mitra explore ways in which entrepreneurs and

a broader entrepreneurial ecosystem can contribute to urban renewal. Zikic and Voloshyna apply intelligent career theory to the transition faced by migrants as accumulated career capital is disrupted, and ways in which new host cities influence career reestablishment.

Presentations

In the first paper, Setor, Joseph, and Chan explore career sequences involving shifts within and between city, suburban, and rural locations. Using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor 2014) dataset they identify clusters representing different patterns of residence (e.g., rural to urban migrants; city center dwellers). The NLSY79 data includes information on jobs held by participants each year over a 26-year period. Setor et al. constructed career sequences by coding these jobs as vocational, professional, and managerial. Using optimal matching analysis, they were able to identify a set of common career patterns. For example, some participants remained in vocational jobs throughout the 26-year study, while others moved into professional or managerial roles. By running this analysis separately for each of the residential patterns identified, differences in career paths between clusters (e.g., rural versus city) were identified. For example, rural dwellers who moved into managerial roles typically did so at a much later stage in their career than city dwellers. Using attitude and demographic variables in the dataset, Setor et al. are able to demonstrate differences in outcomes such as job satisfaction, turnover and occupation change rates related to careers in cities versus suburban and rural areas.

In the next presentation, Gill reports on a multi-year participant-observer study into an emerging innovation ecosystem in Auckland, New Zealand. Cities and regions around the globe are seeking to foster such ecosystems, celebrating local dimensions of identity (e.g., physical place, history, or culture) while also aligning with global models of successful systems (e.g., Silicon

Valley). The nature of the ecosystem directly influences the kinds of jobs and careers opened up, and training and education requirements, as well as economic outcomes. Gill explores tensions between the interests of partners in developing the ecosystem (including government, business, and education). She notes how, in a process of mimetic isomorphism, influential stakeholders sought to replicate familiar overseas models, with priority placed on economic and business case arguments at the expense of local dimensions of identity (e.g., physical place, history, and culture). Overlooking these local dimensions may impoverish the ecosystem, and constrain job and career opportunities.

The third presentation, by Feltner, Pandzich, and Mitra, provides a counterpoint to Gill, examining an entrepreneurial ecosystem where place and concern for community take center stage. U.S. "legacy cities" dominated manufacturing and factory production through much of the twentieth century, but have suffered from economic decline. The loss of traditional industries and jobs has driven a number of attempts to revive the "Rust Belt" with limited success. Feltner et al. explore the potential role of entrepreneurial careers as a vehicle for creating urban resilience. They focus on recent efforts in Detroit, MI, to encourage the growth of community entrepreneurs for urban resilience. Adopting a long-term ethnographic approach, they investigate the structure of an "entrepreneurial ecosystem" comprised of diverse actors, and interview community entrepreneurs to unpack their involvement with this ecosystem. Their study sheds light on how community entrepreneurs draw from the ecosystem to build their careers, and on how they position urban resilience as central to their careers.

Finally, Zikic and Voloshyna report on an interpretative study of skilled migrants. Using the intelligent career theory framework (Arthur, Claman & DeFillippi, 1995), they explore the impact of migration transition on motivation and identification with a chosen career path

('knowing-why'), accumulated knowledge and experience ('knowing-how'), and networks of relationships ('knowing-whom'). Arrival in a new host city represents a disconnect with careers and lives in one's home country, and requires renegotiation of career competencies and sense of self in the completely new relational and spatial context of the host city. Zikic and Voloshyna use interviews with successful migrants, supplemented by secondary data, to answer new questions related to how foreign career competencies may be transformed, applied and valued in the new host city. They set their research in Toronto, a highly diverse city with well-developed immigrant integration infrastructure. While such support facilitates acceptance and connections to ethnic communities, questions remain as to how such support impacts migrants' careers and other outcomes in the long run.

RELEVANCE TO DIVISIONS

Cities represent an important context for contemporary careers and entrepreneurial expression. Cities, with their communities and institutions, are implicated in people's development of Bourdieu's (1986) economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals, and thus their capacity to find employment, be enterprising, and attain well-being and health. Thus, the symposium addresses the conference theme of 'improving lives', and is relevant to the concerns of the Careers, OMT and Entrepreneurship divisions.

Careers

While cities have been a neglected context of careers, this symposium highlights examples of insights opened up by considering the interplay between cities and careers. The papers illustrate that cities are relevant to a wide range of methodological approaches characterizing the interdisciplinary field of career studies – such as large-scale databases (Setor, Joseph & Chan),

interpretative research (Zikic & Voloshyna), and ethnographic field studies (Gill; Feltner, Pandzich & Mitra). As the papers demonstrate, studying careers within the context of cities can illuminate differential career outcomes based on residential (e.g., urban versus rural) status (Setor et al.), the competing tensions involved in creating an innovative ecosystem supporting entrepreneurial careers (Gill), the role of entrepreneurial career choices and a supportive career context in helping improve lives via urban regeneration (Feltner et al.), and transitional challenges faced by migrants as they seek to reestablish their careers (Zikic & Voloshyna). In addition to addressing core Careers Division themes, two papers in particular (Zikic & Voloshyna; Feltner et al.) are of direct relevance to the conference theme of 'improving lives'. We have structured the discussion section of the symposium in a way designed to encourage attendees to reflect on how the cities perspective can inform their own research agendas, and to elicit novel questions and future directions for research.

Entrepreneurship

Traditional approaches to the study of careers as taking place within organizations left little opportunity for considering 'entrepreneurial careers'. Indeed, the term could be considered almost an oxymoron. However, many entrepreneurs move into and out of organizational employment, and firms increasingly seek to create space for internal entrepreneurs (intrapreneurs). This symposium, by moving from organizations to cities as the context for careers, explicitly recognizes the importance of entrepreneurial careers. Gill's paper highlights the tensions inherent in creating an innovation ecosystem which balances global role models with local identity (place, history, culture). Feltner et al.'s longitudinal ethnography of Detroit's 'entrepreneurial ecosystem' seeking to improve urban resilience in Metro Detroit ties together themes relevant to the Entrepreneurship Division (entrepreneurial actors, actions, resources, and outcomes) with the overall conference

theme of improving lives. Zikic and Voloshyna's paper on migrant careers also contributes to this Division, since entrepreneurial careers have been a traditional avenue for migrants. As new arrivals and outsiders to the host country, the careers of migrants illuminate the resources and active efforts which they need to give to embed their entrepreneurial careers in a new location.

Organization and Management Theory

Finally, this symposium contributes to a number of areas of interest to the Organization & Management Theory (OMT) division. Cities are a spatial nexus where work is organized by powerful institutions across diverse fields, such as commerce, education and public services. Yet, cities are also a space for proximity, community organizations, resistance and social innovation. The four papers in the symposium recognize the importance of the cultural, institutional and social environment for shaping work and occupations, with a particular focus on the city. By presenting papers that study careers in cities, this symposium seeks to inspire research that examines careers through the lens of organization and management theories, such as, but not limited to (new) institutional theory, practice theory and organizational discourse studies. Thereby, the symposium seeks to shed light on ways in which cities constrain and influence individuals and organizations to influence work and occupations, and likewise on ways in which individual and organizational career-making is a micro-foundation of institutions.

SYMPOSIUM FORMAT

We plan a 90-minute symposium. Jeffrey Kennedy will open the session and introduce the theme of *Careers in Cities: Improving Lives, Improving Communities*. The symposium then includes four paper presentations (*13 minutes each*), as indicated in the table below. Following on, we dedicate about 30 minutes for discussion of the presentations and the overall theme of careers in cities. Initially, short "buzz groups" (*5* minutes) provide the audience with an opportunity to share in small groups observations and ideas about how their future research could relate to the theme of careers in cities. Next, our Discussant, Professor Michael Arthur, whose scholarly work has contributed to interdisciplinary career studies from boundaryless and intelligent careers perspectives, will identify key themes across the presentations and lead an interactive dialogue together with the presenters and the audience. Finally, we explore future research directions and questions with all participants.

Schedule

Symposium Overview & Introduction by Jeff Kennedy	8 minutes
Paper Presentations	
Paper 1: Tenace Setor	13 minutes
Paper 2: Rebecca Gill	13 minutes
Paper 3: Rahul Mitra	13 minutes
Paper 4: Jelena Zikic & Viktoriya Voloshyna	13 minutes
Buzz Groups – Symposium Attendees	5 minutes
Overall Integration and Discussion led by Michael Arthur	15 minutes
Questions & Answers and Exploration of Future Research	10 minutes
TOTAL	90 minutes

PRESENTATION SUMMARIES

Are the Career Patterns of City, Suburban and Rural Dwellers Different or Similar?

Tenace Setor, Damien Joseph & Kim-Yin Chan

> *With the advent of American industrial society at the end of the nineteenth century, cultural changes occurred in the institutions of work, school, and family. Jobs were relocated from farms to urban areas. As people moved from farms to the hubs of modern industry they, together with a throng of immigrants, formed large metropolitan cities. Rather than working for themselves or a small business, more and more people moved to cities, many of them securing employment in large, bureaucratic organisations. These organisations gave birth to the concept of career as individual work lives followed a predictable course up an organisation's ladder. Career path replaced vocation as the dominant metaphor. (Savickas, 2000, p. 53)*

The above quote highlights an important historical relationship between careers and the urban economy; yet it suggests we may have lost sight of this macro-to-micro relationship because of the rise of bureaucratic organizations in the last century. With increased recognition of post-organizational career forms (cf. Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 1996), it is timely to examine the nature of careers at a level beyond that of organizations, e.g., the urban versus rural level of analysis: Are career patterns different in cities compared to the suburbs or rural areas?

Step 1: Classify Individuals by Residential Status over a Career Lifetime

Optimal Matching Analysis (OMA) is a method used to identify and compare patterns in sequences over a period of time, and has been used by careers researchers to study occupational trajectories (e.g., Biemann, Zacher & Feldman, 2012; Dlouhy & Biemann, 2015; Gubler, Biemann & Herzog, 2017). However, individuals' residential profiles may also change, as their careers unfold over a working lifetime. Thus, OMA can be used to explore differences in career patterns across city, suburban, and rural locations.

Our first step was to use OMA to identify patterns of residential status over a career lifetime for participants in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 (NLSY79) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor 2014) dataset. We limited our analysis to 5,742 (out of the 12,686) respondents above the age of 18 who had held a full-time job for at least 10 out of the 26 years. Using the metropolitan statistical area (MSA) variable in NLSY79, we identified four distinct clusters (residential trajectories). The largest cluster was "Suburban dwellers" (i.e., people living in non-Central City areas; n = 3038; 52.9%; majority white), followed by "Suburban-to-City shifters" (n = 998; 17.4%), then "Rural dwellers" (of whom about 60% moved to suburban regions around the 16th year; n = 928; 16.2%). "City dwellers" (or people living in Central-City areas) were the smallest cluster (n = 779 or 13.6%; majority non-white).

Step 2: Identify Career Patterns by Residential Status Clusters

Next we conducted OMA of the career sequences of members of each of the four residential-status clusters. This involved categorizing the job held each year of the survey as vocational (V), professional (P), or managerial (M), and identifying clusters of similar sequences with OMA. Jobs belonging to the 2010 SOC's Management Occupations category were classed as managerial. Vocational occupations were defined as requiring a high school qualification,

with professional occupations defined by the requirement for a minimum of an associate's degree. Four common career patterns were found among City and Rural dwellers and five clusters emerged for the Suburban dwellers (see Figures 1, 2 & 3). OMA revealed 3 career clusters for the Suburban-to- City shifters (see Figure 4).

When comparing the career patterns of city dwellers with suburban and rural dwellers, the most interesting result was the emergence of a managerial career path in addition to the four similar career paths of city dwellers. This managerial career path consisted of both managerial and professional careers that began in the early career stage and persisted into late career. It is possible that workers in the managerial career path perceive more job stability and, thus, decide to settle in the suburbs for family reasons. Finally, significant differences were also observed across the career patterns on demographic variables, job mobility and attitude indicators but not in terms of real wages. A key finding is that central-city and suburban persistent professionals had the highest levels of job satisfaction and the lowest turnover and turnaway (occupational change; cf. Joseph, Boh, Ang & Slaughter, 2012) rates.

Discussion

This study employed OMA-clustering with both career and residential status and found differences in the career patterns of city, suburban, rural dwellers, and suburban-to-city migrants. This finding suggests that there may be meaningful relationships between careers and the urban-rural level of analysis, or "Careers in Cities" – beyond that of organizations.

The NLSY79 dataset employed in the present analyses – which while comprehensive and nationally representative – is bound by the historical period of the cohort studied. In that sense, the specific career patterns observed in the present analyses may not necessarily apply to urban-rural differences in future generations/cohorts.

More importantly, we suspect that the career patterns observed in the present analyses may reflect current coding of jobs as vocational (V), professional (P) or managerial (M) – all of which tend to be associated with traditional models of careers (e.g. Schein, 1978) and with work performed in organizational settings with implied notions of upward mobility (Van Maanen, 1977). As Vinkenburg and Weber (2012) caution: "the nature and number of unique career patterns identified is strongly influenced by where and when the data were collected (i.e. empirical access), and how career patterns are measured" (p. 592). Hence, our subsequent effort will attempt to code jobs in terms of entrepreneurship variables to allow for the possibility of more individual/protean (i.e., not just organizational) career patterns to emerge, which would be more relevant to careers in the new economy (cf. Chan et al., 2012) and at the level of analysis beyond that of organizations, i.e., cities, regions, nations (cf. Kanter, 1989).

Figure 1: Career Patterns of City Dwellers

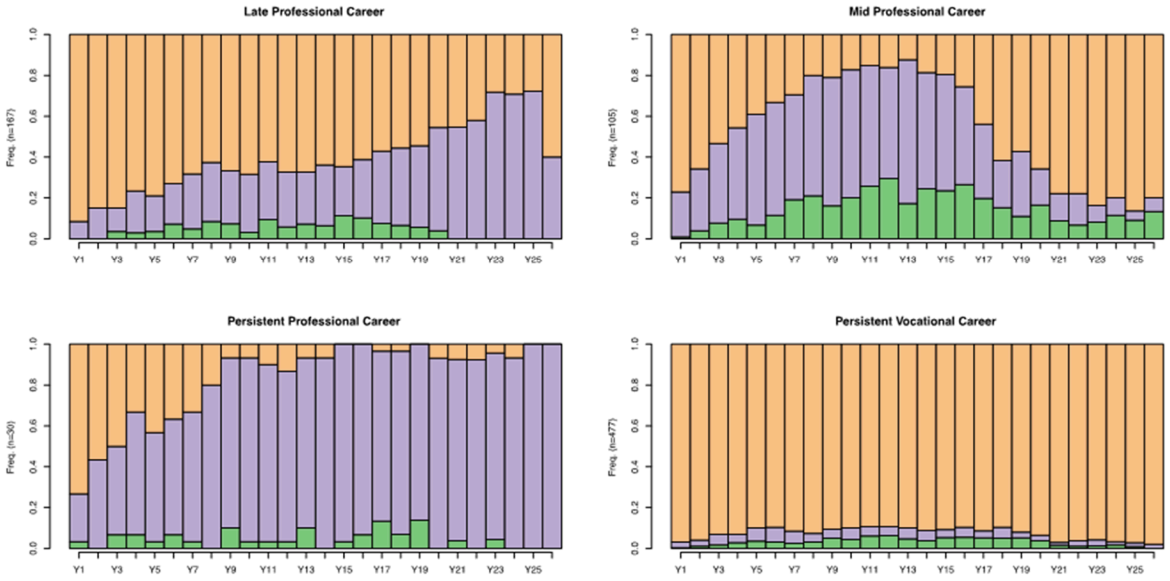
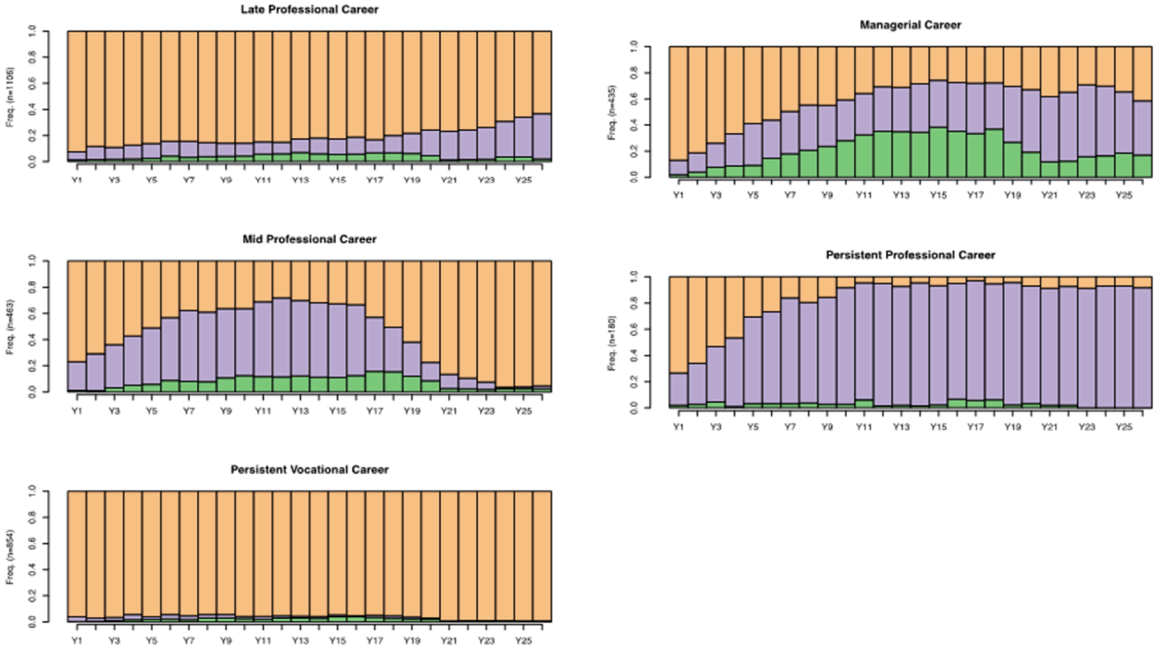


Figure 2: Career Patterns of Suburban Dwellers



Color Coding of Jobs

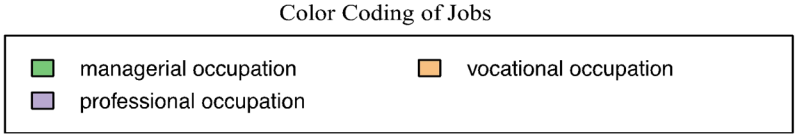


Figure 3: Career Patterns of Rural Dwellers

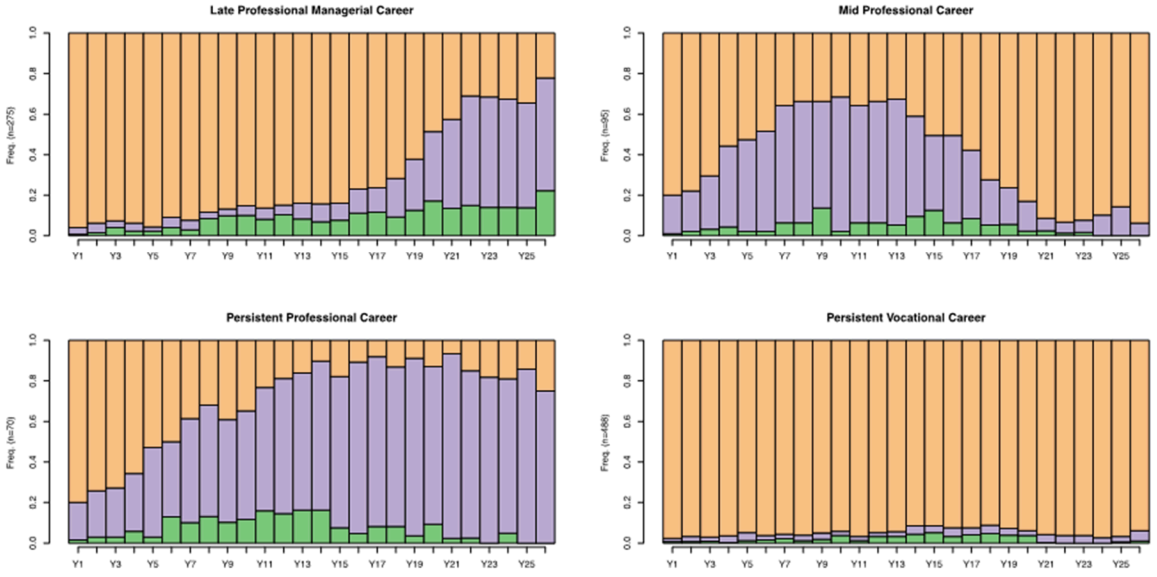
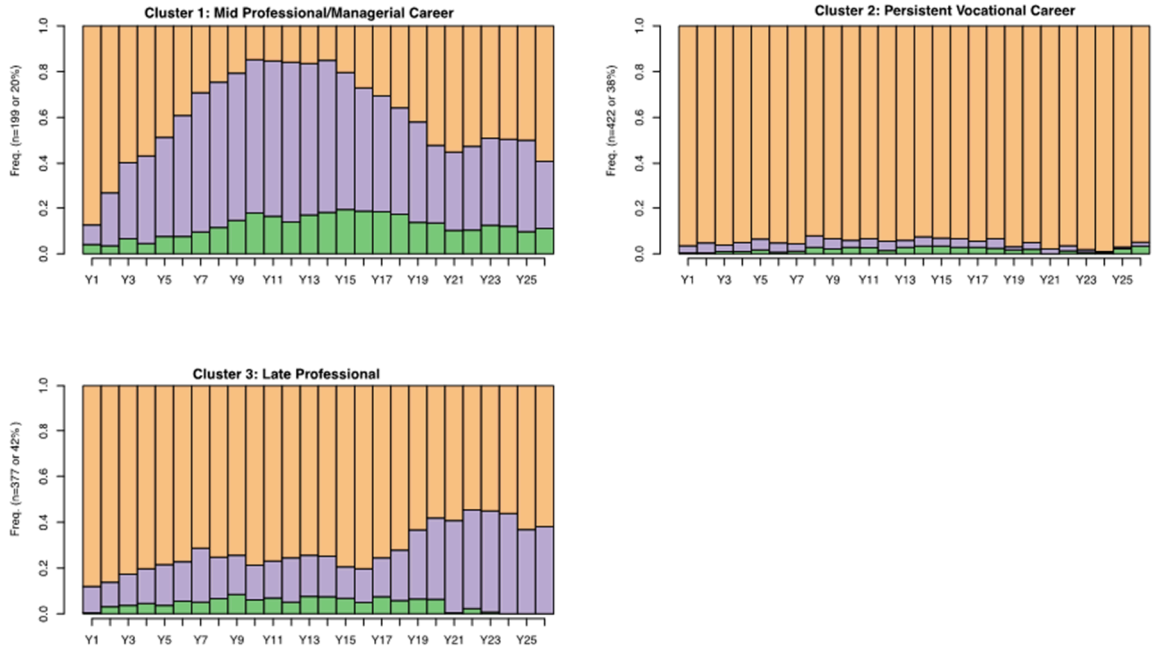


Figure 4: Career Patterns of Suburban-to-City shifters



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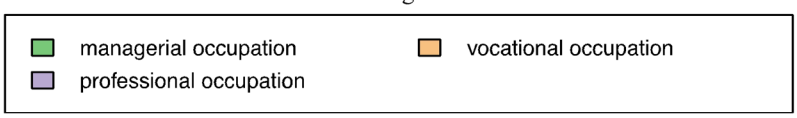

Understanding Discursive Agendas in City Efforts to Build Innovation Ecosystems

Rebecca Gill

It is commonplace now for cities and regions to seek to develop or reinvigorate by fostering local innovation ecosystems (Katz & Wagner, 2014), creating opportunities to advance new kinds of "creative" careers, and (re)branding around the rhetoric of innovation (Florida, 2008). In the United States, for instance, the rise of mayors as being of central importance to economic development underscores this (see Barber, 2014), as does the increase of locales that have created innovation "quarters" or have embraced monikers that evoke places like Silicon Valley (e.g. the "silicon slopes" in Utah; Gill & Larson, 2014). Such efforts have real-life consequences for the kinds of jobs that are available, the focus of secondary and tertiary education, and community quality of life overall. Indeed, there are a variety of benefits that suggest that the shift towards local innovation ecosystems is worthwhile (Delgado, Porter, & Stern, 2010).

That said, as is often the case with economic development initiatives, tensions arise amongst a variety of interests and agendas. The key partners assumed to be responsible for building innovation ecosystems comprise the "triple helix" of government, industry/business, and education. Yet, scholarship has demonstrated that in economic development partnerships such as these, different agendas may negatively affect the possibility of constructing meaningful change (see Shumate & O'Connor, 2016), and that these agendas are often subtle, unspoken and unaddressed. It is possible that the unspoken assumptions that each party brings to the table lie at the centre of failed or struggling innovation ecosystems.

Moreover, mainstream scholarship and practice has tended to overlook the discursive elements of place that arguably play a significant role in the success (or failure) of local ecosystems (Saxenian, 1996). These elements tend to include the "invisible" aspects of social relations and history that, although manifesting in or influencing material elements of place, are nonetheless ignored when it comes to "best practices" for developing innovation ecosystems. Best practice advice instead tends to emphasise the availability of material resources such as funding, gathering spaces, mentoring events, and so forth. This is not to say that such material resources are not vital, but to point out that regardless of the material resources, some locales will be able to develop successful ecosystems while others may not. Either way, each ecosystem will "look" different, as influenced by local place (James, 2006).

Thus, this study addresses two tensions apparent in the ecosystem literature: conflict amongst the agendas of different parties involved in the development of the ecosystem; and a lack of attention to the discourses that may be present (or conspicuously absent) in such conflicts or agendas. The research questions emerging from this focus are:

RQ1: How do different partners in the ecosystem express support for different agendas?

RQ2: How are local and deep-seated elements of place (e.g., history, culture) included, or overlooked, in decisions regarding the process of ecosystem development?

Research Site and Methods

In this paper, I address a local effort to build an innovation ecosystem in Auckland, New Zealand. Per the Waterloo ecosystem lifecycle diagram (Compass, 2015), this Auckland initiative could be said to be in an "organic" phase of development, where various, but mostly disconnected, groups are engaged in projects that advance technology or otherwise implement innovations, constructing communities (of camaraderie, of learning, and so forth) around these

efforts. The team that is constructing this ecosystem is comprised of government, industry, and education partners, but their task is arguably beyond even bringing their own interests to the table: the team must also consider the complex historical, place-bound, and cultural elements that shape New Zealand identity. And, particularly given that New Zealand is a small and geographically distant country, this ecosystem has the potential to impact the future of this region, if not the country, in terms of economic gains (or losses), the kinds of careers and jobs that are fostered in the area, and the "look" of local education and how it interacts with industry.

Data for this paper are drawn from a multi-year, engaged research study in which the author headed up a research project aimed at determining the potential for a local innovation ecosystem to be successful in the area. The data consists of interviews with over 60 local business persons and 15 local councillors and educators, as well as ethnographic attention to the process in which the study, and later on, the development steering committee, emerged.

Findings and Implications

The study findings focus on the role that cities play in developing innovation ecosystems, which, in turn, influence local attitudes towards certain occupations (i.e., as "outdated" or perhaps "cutting edge") and shape efforts to shift the trajectory of occupations to be more "future-ready".

Initial analysis indicates that several communicative factors are involved in how different ecosystem partners express support for agendas associated with their interests (i.e., government, industry, education). An economic interest, spearheaded by industry agents, overwhelmingly took centre stage, despite calls from the education and government agents for the ecosystem to embrace a social, community-oriented agenda. Factors that encouraged an emphasis on economic gain included: taking economic interests for granted; strongly implying that

community or social interests justify themselves according to the "business case"; selecting pro-industry champions to offer input at the expense of others; and focusing on practice and outcome rather than visions and ideals.

Discussions around the goal of the ecosystem initiative tended to both: a) champion elements of New Zealand that were pro-economic, pro-industry, and which resonated with global agreement regarding entrepreneurship and innovation ecosystems; while also b) eliding elements of place that may provide a discursive competitive advantage but which are less well known, overly local, or associated with diverse and minority populations in New Zealand. The mechanisms that supported this dual support for and rejection of place included: placing emphasis on the need to "get [the ecosystem] right" from the beginning, and thus embracing status quo or mainstream elements of practice and discourse; and relatedly, selectively highlighting elements of the history and place of New Zealand in such a way that "New Zealand" is strategically evoked as innovative and cutting-edge and elements of exclusion in New Zealand are rhetorically erased.

Implications of this study are two-fold. First, there is a need to complicate what ecosystem scholars have labeled the "triple helix", which argues that government, industry, and education must be involved in ecosystem development in order for it to be successful—and moreover, that each party plays a particular role. This study demonstrates, however, that discourses of place and culture must also be taken into account as additional key "players" in ecosystem development.

Second, the presence of the "business case" in ecosystem development needs to be challenged. To be sure, challenges to the business case exist, and it is not the intention of this paper to question the concept itself. However, leaders who call for the building of innovation

ecosystems often envision a semi-utopia characterised by inclusion, creativity, involvement, and community. This stands in contrast with the findings of this study, which demonstrate how, early on, economic interests can become a focus, possibly at the expense of social and community-oriented interests. The way this is done is by combining "the business case" with selective attention to history and culture—thus creating a streamlined rationale for innovation ecosystems that belies the messy, social, and contradictory realities of both place and innovation.

Conclusion

In the natural world, impoverished ecosystems are less able to adapt, and are more susceptible to failure. Similarly, for an innovation ecosystem, a narrow focus on the business case leaves out elements of place and culture which may be crucial for long-term viability. Job creation and the opportunity for meaningful careers requires longevity - a sustainable, dynamic, process which meets individual, community, and societal (as well as business) needs. Sustainable careers balance economic outcomes and quality of life outcomes (De Vos & Van der Heijden, 2015). In the same way, sustainable ecosystems must balance economic priorities with broader consideration of the society, communities, and individuals the system serves.

Entrepreneurial Careers for Urban Resilience in Legacy Cities: Narratives from Detroit

Dorothy Feltner, Elizabeth-Ann Pandzich, & Rahul Mitra

Wayne State University, Detroit

Overview

Entrepreneurial careers are highly valued for two key reasons (e.g., Burton et al., 2016; Giannantonio & Hurley-Hanson, 2016; Dyer, 1994). First, they afford role flexibility, autonomy, and creativity that are hard to come by in traditional, salaried positions. Second, such ventures reportedly create additional jobs, tax revenues, and downstream businesses that benefit society. While research has heralded the notion of "community entrepreneurs" and "social entrepreneurs" (Feldner & Fyke, 2016; Selsky & Smith, 1994), who use their ventures to serve their neighborhoods, few studies have examined how entrepreneurial careers in general may be shaped by these local contexts and community relationships. This is especially important in the current era, when several U.S. states and cities attempt to rejuvenate ailing economies through policies centered on building entrepreneurial cultures (e.g., Glaeser et al., 2015).

Our study thus fills an important gap in extant literature, by unpacking how entrepreneurial career narratives are shaped by urban contexts. We situate our study in Detroit, MI, which has seen recent efforts to build—through the concerted effort of state and regional agencies, private companies, philanthropies, financiers, and nonprofits—a self-styled "entrepreneurial ecosystem," to connect new and existing small businesses with vital resources. Prior research suggests that entrepreneurial ecosystems provide entrepreneurs competitive advantages through geographical proximity, knowledge networks, and community support (Spigel & Harrison, 2017)—but scholars have hitherto not traced their impact on career

meaning-making by entrepreneurs, or in depressed socioeconomic urban locations. Mindful of past failures of urban renewal, the actors of the ecosystem we examine cite as their goal, resilience—a concept that necessitates a hard and honest look at underlying social conflicts, and adaptation to crises in ways that reimagine conventional organizing (Handmer & Dovers, 1996)..

We are thus guided by two interrelated research questions: First, *how do urban entrepreneurs draw from the ecosystem to build their careers?* (RQ1) Second, *how do entrepreneurs position urban resilience as central to their careers?* (RQ2)

Methods

We engaged in a long-term ethnography (from January 2017), conducting fieldwork at public workshops and events organized by ecosystem actors. In addition to observations, we gathered key texts (e.g., policy documents, pamphlets), scoured relevant social media, and engaged in informal ethnographic interviews. We also interviewed 35 community entrepreneurs, for 45-60 minutes each, using semi-structured protocols. Specifically, participants were asked to discuss their journey as an entrepreneur, challenges encountered and lessons learned, connections and resources they had found useful, experiences with actors of the ecosystem, what it meant to be a Detroit-based entrepreneur, and their perceived next steps as an entrepreneur. Data were analyzed using Charmaz's (2006) constructivist version of grounded theory, which is attuned to how everyday practices and meaning-making shape broader social structures and actions. We discuss some preliminary findings below.

Preliminary Findings

Below, preliminary results for RQ1 (i.e., how entrepreneurs draw from the entrepreneurial ecosystem for their career narratives) are presented.

Identity negotiation. The entrepreneurial ecosystem enabled individuals from low-income neighborhoods and marginalized social groups (e.g., Black, Hispanic) to realistically consider setting up their own business. However, even as nascent and successful entrepreneurs crafted career narratives of strength and "beating the odds," several of them expressed unease about adopting the identity of "entrepreneur." This label elicits images of high-tech startups, rather than owning a neighborhood store or diner serving their local communities, so that these participants often referred to themselves as "small business-owners", rather than entrepreneurs, and preferred the term "community" to "ecosystem."

Knowledge communities. The concept of career communities (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984; Parker et al., 2004) was foregrounded in entrepreneurial stories, as they described the role of ecosystem actors. One way that the entrepreneurial ecosystem acted as a career community was providing access to key knowledge: first, helping participants *learn about the entrepreneurial process* (e.g., what kind of permits were needed); second, helping participants *learn about specific aspects and details of starting up* (e.g., whether a particular storefront was right for their business); third, *connecting participants with other actors in the ecosystem* if they were unable to help them directly, or if they needed specialized or time-specific support (e.g., end-versus-early stage entrepreneurs); and fourth, *connecting participants with other entrepreneurs*, so that they could share information, encouragement or cautionary advice.

Delivering space. Another way the ecosystem acted as a vital career community was in providing physical space, whether for a cupcake or biotech startup. This meant *providing shared or dedicated operating space* (e.g., co-working or lab space); and, *providing event space for networking* (e.g., galas, fundraisers) with other ecosystem actors and entrepreneurs.

Communicative practices. Ecosystem actors helped groom participants' communicative practices, to help their outreach with diverse audiences (e.g., government officials, funders) with different goals in mind (e.g., gaining permits, financing). Specific support included: first, *branding their products, services, and overall business* for consumers and interested parties (e.g., logos and slogans, visibility at key events, social media); second, *communicating with their own partners, team members or employees* in order to run an effective business (e.g., delegation, team meetings, discussing business plans); and third, *pitching their startup* to other ecosystem actors (e.g., elevator pitch sessions, preparing business plans, taking part in investor summits).

Sustaining start-ups. While entrepreneurial ventures are popularly seen as temporary, with entrepreneurs selling or moving to other ventures, our participants and the ecosystem emphasized longevity. Participants' goal was to sustain their start-ups and existing businesses ("been-ups") for as long as possible, making money for themselves while helping sustain their community. The ecosystem as career community supported this: first, by helping entrepreneurs *identify specific market niches that they could fill for the mid-to-long term* (e.g., a particular up-and-coming neighborhood lacking a specific type of business might make a great match); second, *connecting the entrepreneur with local associations and groups* to help sustain growth (e.g., with neighborhood associations and surrounding businesses to create a "mini-ecosystem" in that area); and third, by *helping entrepreneurs expand and grow* in ways beneficial to long-term revenues, while often adding momentum in newly growing neighborhoods (e.g., scanning for locations, creating business plans for expansion).

Contributions

Our project contributes to research on entrepreneurship and careers, by tracing how entrepreneurial careers may be shaped by urban contexts. Specifically, we examine how the

Detroit entrepreneurial ecosystem operates as a career community, forging entrepreneurial careers in specific ways. Owing to space limitations, we have described preliminary findings for RQ1 here; Table 1 briefly lists preliminary findings for RQ2.

It is our hope that our work causes a re-evaluation of two key concepts in career research—boundaryless careers, and responsible careers. First, while research suggests that boundaryless careers are not entirely free of restrictions and may not always benefit workers (e.g., Dany et al., 2011), our study argues that career experiences are "bounded" by urban contexts in profound ways. Participants, for instance, talked about being stymied not only because of their socioeconomic conditions, but because they were perceived as being "inner-city" inhabitants who might not have anything special to offer. Our findings also show that while entrepreneurial careers may be relatively flexible, lower-income urban individuals might be loath to label themselves "entrepreneurial" in the first place. Thus, further work needs to be done, probing the intersections among urban locations, socioeconomic conditions, and boundaryless careers (Tams & Arthur, 2010). Second, while the notion of responsible careers has previously been invoked to discuss practitioners in social change fields (e.g., environmental sustainability) (Tams & Marshall, 2011), our findings suggest that responsibility of career is a deeply profound, collectively shaped social construct. In our study, for instance, entrepreneurs in fields unrelated to social change (e.g., bakeries, app development) saw themselves as closely connected to their communities, and contributing to the resilience and resuscitation of a city they loved. They drew on many of the themes connected to responsible careers, such as systemic reflexivity of their place as entrepreneurs and careerists, prompting us to suggest that responsible careers are shaped not necessarily by field, but by the underlying values that career communities emphasize (e.g., diversity and inclusion).

Table 1: Preliminary themes for RQ2 (Urban resilience as central to entrepreneurial career narratives)

1. Importance of community, friends and family for emotional and financial support
2. Parallels between urban and career renewal… in it for myself AND because I wanted to help my community in some way…
3. Career goal of "trickle-down" helping my community and city
4. Neighborhood development as objectively key to ensuring business resilience

‘Feels Like Home’: New City, Foreign Career Competencies, Crafting New Pathways to Migrant Career Success?

Jelena Zikic and Viktoriya Voloshyna

“I love New York, even though it isn't mine, the way something has to be, a tree or a street or a house, something, anyway, that belongs to me because I belong to it.”

—Truman Capote

Skilled migration and resulting career disruptions bring a new set of complex questions to the field of careers studies. Recent research has started to uncover the impact of these major career and life transitions on migrants’ career success (e.g., Zikic & Richardson, 2016). However, what is still little understood is how these established professionals re-negotiate their career competencies and sense of self against a completely new relational and spatial context of the host city. In this study we are interested in the subjective interplay between skilled migrants’ sense of belonging to a new host city and their need to re-establish themselves professionally. By focusing on migrant careers we seek to extend the i*ntelligent career framework* (Arthur, Claman & DeFillippi, 1995) to answer new questions related to how foreign career competencies may be transformed, applied and valued in the new host city. Moreover, given the relationship between careers and well-being, our study will also contribute to the little understood connection between a sense of belongingness and one’s career pathways (Baumeister& Leary’s, 1995).

Skilled migration and the pursuit of international careers is commonly fraught with challenges and poses an increased risk for undesired career outcomes such as unemployment and underemployment (Shaffer, Kraimer, Chen & Bolino, 2012; Zikic, Bonache, & Cerdin, 2010).

These new migrant career pathways are intricately linked to the context and particular geographical location where skilled migrants choose to settle. Receiving cities become hubs for new career opportunities and/or challenges, for developing relationships with locals and foreigners and overall the city becomes the new context for economic and social development of newcomers (Walton-Roberts, 2011). Yet, as migrants settle in the host city and strive to achieve new career goals locally, they are also forced to reevaluate their motivations and their human and social capital. In this context, we begin to examine migrants' careers through the lens of the intelligent careers framework, also described by three individual-level competencies (Arthur, Claman & DeFillippi, 1995). These include *knowing-why*, i.e. motivations and identification with a chosen career path, *knowing-how*, or accumulated knowledge and personal/professional experiences, and *knowing-whom*, namely, migrants' networks of relationships. These competencies reflect different forms of knowing accumulated in the course of a career, and are particularly relevant and come into question during a migration transition (Zikic, 2015). Yet, there is little empirical evidence related to the role of these competencies in a career world without boundaries (Eby, Butts, & Lockwood, 2003), namely on the role of this career capital (Inkson & Arthur, 2001) in the context of migrant career success.

As migrants settle in the new host city, many will face a complete disconnect between their careers and lives in their home country impacting their sense of belonging and the need for new attachments and security in the host city (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In this exploration, we focus on understanding the career of the autonomous individual (Inkson & Arthur, 2001), in this case migrant, without losing track of the embeddedness of migrants' lives in the local context. Similarly to work on job embeddedness (Holtom, Mitchell & Lee, 2006), we explore the opposite context, namely how migrants' cope with a complete loss of embeddedness in the new

host city. Thus, we seek to understand how migrants go about establishing new attachments, and seek to create new fit with the local community and city. We ask questions related to the interplay between migrants' careers and the larger opportunity structure of the receiving city in which migrants hope to continue their careers.

Given that the three ways of knowing are dynamic and the interplay between them is just as important as each career competency on its own (e.g., Parker, Khapova et al., 2009; Zikic & Ezzedeen, 2015), we will also explore how migrants' evolving sense of self, *knowing-why* for example, may impact migrants' new understanding and efforts related to their foreign human capital (*knowing-how)*, in the new local labour market (*knowing-why -> knowing-how*). Similarly, this new motivation towards establishing themselves in a new city (*knowing-why*) may lead to seeking new relationships, ethnic or local, (*knowing-why -> knowing whom*) and these new connections in turn may feedback and impact migrants' motivations and sense of self in the context (*knowing-whom -> knowing-why*). In addition, given existing research about structural barriers and hurdles related to credential recognition for example (Zikic & Richardson, 2016), migrants' new understanding of their '*knowing-how*', or their human capital in the new labour market, is also likely to change the way they perceive themselves and their motivations (*knowing-how->knowing-why*). Thus, our qualitative exploration will seek to understand migrants' subjective interconnections between three types of career competencies, all against the backdrop of the new host city with its new requirements and migrants' belongingness needs. More illustration of these links will be provided in the symposium.

Methodology

This interpretative study examines a sample of skilled migrants living in Toronto who have received migrant achievement award in the past 10 years. This award is sponsored by a

major financial institution in the city and is administered by a local magazine. These individuals represent a unique and theoretically interesting population as they seemed to have overcome various barriers in the host country environment, and present an extreme case of migrant career success (Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006). We have started conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews and are planning to interview about 30 to 40 migrants from this group (volunteers among the sample 200 award winners). In addition to interviews, we will analyse the 200 bios of award winners to provide a context for the career narratives and to clarify how career competencies may be negotiated in the new host city.

Research Context. Toronto is an ideal site for this study, being known for its multiculturalism and its welcoming approach to a diverse population of newcomers. In 2013 it obtained the status of 'sanctuary city' (Toronto Star, 2017) or 'safe haven' even for people arriving outside of legal channels. The city is a unique example of multiculturalism in action and a Canadian success story (Reitz, 2012). There is an inherent assumption that diversity in Canadian cities is a strength, leading society (and individuals working and living in these cities) to generate a context conducive to quicker and more successful adaptation for newcomers. Moreover, Toronto in particular, being one of the most diverse cities in Canada, has extremely well-developed immigrant integration infrastructure; from the moment a migrant arrives in the city, there are many institutional and community-based structures (e.g., free settlement services) in place to facilitate integration and adaptation. However, it remains to be explored how multiculturalism and connections to ethnic community affect migrants' ability to live in a highly diverse city and how these may impact migrants' careers and other outcomes in a long run.

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