



A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of Entrepreneurship in *Entre-tainment*

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Abstract

Over the past decade entrepreneurship has featured heavily in spheres of entertainment such as television. The term “entre-tainment” (Down, 2010) has been coined to capture the merging of, entrepreneurship and entertainment (Swail et al, 2014). One form of “entre-tainment” that has become widespread through international and globalised replication by approximately forty different countries is the format of reality television programmes such as *Dragons’ Den* which was the first version of the series in the English language. This thesis critically unpacks (i) the discourses of entrepreneurship in popular culture surrounding this specific *entre-tainment* genre, and (ii) what these discourses do, through Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis. Three datasets are analysed, which will be referred to as ‘Layers’. *Layer 1* is the discourse within the episodes of three versions of the television show, which are (i) *Dragons’ Den* (UK), (ii) *Shark Tank* (USA) and (iii) *Planting Seeds* (Caribbean). *Layer 2* surrounds media produced by the show that is external to the episodes aired, and *Layer 3* focuses on content produced by others about the shows. Reviewing discourses across different *Layers* enhances the insight of the interdiscursivity of entrepreneurship as constructed across social, cultural, and institutional divides, as this research is not solely limited to the discourses confined within the television shows but expands to include those from and about the shows. *Entre-tainment* was found to legitimise a version of entrepreneurship that values wealth above all else. This was achieved by positioning the desire and attainment of extreme individual wealth as morally and socially acceptable, thus naturalising this ideology while obscuring alternative motivations and types of entrepreneurship. *Entre-tainment* was also found to give celebrity entrepreneurs the power to influence public opinion not only in areas of business, but also in areas of social life unrelated to business enterprise, such as academia, government policy, marriage, parenting, and managing personal finances. This work contributes to the area of critical entrepreneurship studies as it fills the gap for research concerned with the influence cultural representations have had on re-imagining the entrepreneur (e.g. Jones & Spicer, 2009).

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In essence, “thanks to all my people people”- Kes, the Band.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

In the early 2000s, there was a rise in the popularity and viewership of televised business content due to a new format that merged business content with reality-television. This was a stark contrast to the previous era for which televised business content was factual and formal with tones and formats similar to news and documentaries, and only appealed to a niche audience (Boyle, 2009; Kelly & Boyle, 2011). This new format of reality-television that has entrepreneurship at the core of its plot, has been coined “entre-tainment” (Down, 2010; Swail et al, 2014) to reflect the merger of ‘entrepreneurship’ with ‘entertainment’. This thesis aims to critically unpack the representations of entrepreneurship that constitutes and is constituted by the discourses of *entre-tainment*, based on its significance as popular, globalised, entertainment past time.

In 2001, a reality-television show titled “Money Tigers” originated in Japan. The premise of this show was that entrepreneurs would pitch their business and products in front of a panel of investors in order to receive funding, in a gameshow type format. It was a “low-budget, late-night show targeting a cult, niche audience” (Kelly & Boyle, 2011, p. 242). When I made the decision to study *entre-tainment* for my doctoral research, I attempted to review some clips and documentaries on “Money Tigers”, without understanding what was being said in Japanese I garnered from observing the tone and body language that the investors were often very critical and would tend to humiliate the contestant entrepreneurs on the show. Additionally, previous studies on Japanese media culture suggest that the central themes of their reality television programming tend to be voyeurism (e.g. Gailbraith & Karlin, 2012). Four years following on from “Money Tigers”, *Dragons’ Den* (UK) emerged as the second iteration of the show. Today, 39 different countries have an equivalent version of this show, with new versions being produced as recently as 2017 in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam, and Australia even has two different brands (*Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*) of the show’s franchise. The global spread of the “Dragons’ Den” format of the *entre-tainment* genre is illustrated Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Map showing “Dragons’ Den” format shows across the world



Figure 1.1 also pinpoints the versions of this television programme that comprises the dataset of this thesis, as indicated by the red arrows. This map illustrates the growth and popularity of the format globally. Boyle (2009) ascribes this trend to the transition of business content from the factual documentary type to that of reality television. Thus, *entre-tainment* shows are viewed as accessible to a wider audience compared to prior factual business formats that contained jargon which excluded some audiences. *Entre-tainment* allowed for concepts of business, entrepreneurship, and finance to reach a wider audience as it is a form of documentary without the serious tone (Boyle, 2009). Additionally, the content mixing that occurs in *entre-tainment*, has been cited as making these discourses of television more important than previous television eras (Mittel, 2004; Hill, 2007; Kavka, 2012). Hill (2007) conducted audience studies that found reality television to be popular and readily engaged with by a wider audience as compared to documentary formats, and though reality television was not considered a reliable source of information, it was found to be associated with influential constructions of reality. Therefore, the motivation for this study is grounded in the fact that *entre-tainment* plays a key role in influencing societal representations and understandings of entrepreneurship.

Boyle (2009) also alludes to the rise in *entre-tainment* as impacting the societal change in perception to business and entrepreneurship as a worthy form of entertainment based on the appeal and accessibility of the genre. The success and preference for this genre of entertainment has also been evidenced by the *Shark Tank (USA)* version of this show, which comprises the dataset of this thesis, winning awards six consecutive years in a row (2012-17) for ‘Outstanding

Reality Programme'. The societal proliferation of *entre-tainment* has also seen real-world consequences. In 2016, the *entre-tainment* programme, "The Apprentice" served as the political platform and gave rise to the United States President, Donald Trump. In 2017, Kevin O'Leary who is both a *Shark* on *Shark Tank* (USA), and a *Dragon* on *Dragons' Den* (Canada) used that platform to run for Prime Minister in Canada, he was however unsuccessful. In 2018, *Dragon*, Theo Paphitis was inaugurated as the Chancellor of Solent University, in addition to other *Dragons* having received honorary doctorates from universities. This phenomenon illustrates how *entre-tainment* has real-world impacts as the celebrity status and fame gained by entrepreneurs on television influences public opinion and is reflected by the societal recognition of placing these individuals in positions of power. This also suggests that *entre-tainment* is generally held in high esteem by society, that the television entrepreneurs are perceived as legitimate entrepreneurship experts, and the perception that the entrepreneurship expertise is transferable to other spheres of life such as leadership, politics, and higher education. This indicates that the values and ideals being promoted by the shows are respected in society more generally. Given this influence over societal beliefs and value systems, it is important for us to understand exactly what representations of entrepreneurship are in these shows and explore what effects these representations might have on business and society.

Fairclough (2013) discusses "discourse that is globalising and globalised", "which are specialised for transnational and interregional interaction...and that the 'flows' include flows of representations, narratives and discourses, such as neo-liberal economic discourse" (pp. 454-5). *Entre-tainment* fits this mould of a communication genre of a "discourse that is globalising and globalised" (ibid). The importance of critically analysing discourses of *entre-tainment* lies in its "legitimizing and endorsing the associated cultural changes in attitudes to business and finance" (Boyle, 2009, p.3). In addition to the call for critical researchers to consider research that surrounds the extent of influence cultural shifts and ideas have had on re-imagining the entrepreneur (Jones & Spicer, 2009).

The approach to unpacking the representations of entrepreneurship in and around discourses of *entre-tainment* that this thesis takes is critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013). Critical discourse analysis orients towards knowledge being discursively constructed, as such it is concerned with 'being critical' by analytically focusing on the relationship between discourse and society, and the ideological effects of discourses, which differentiates the approach from being purely descriptive (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Burr, 2003; Fairclough, 2013). Critical discourse studies have previously engaged with enterprise culture.

For the period of the early 80s and 90s, Fairclough (1995; 2013) noted the ideals, values, and subject positions of ‘enterprise’ infiltrating many aspects of societal discourses. It was also noted for that period there was a rise in research focusing on entrepreneurship as a discourse (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2005). This was an outcome of the increasing interest in ‘enterprise culture’ (e.g. Du Gay, 1996) (Jones & Spicer, 2009). Du Gay’s (1996) work on ‘cultures of enterprise’ focused on the construction of an ideal type of person who exhibits ‘enterprising’ qualities, as such validated the narrative that everyone should act entrepreneurially.

This thesis is situated in critical entrepreneurship studies (Calás et al, 2009). As the critical discourse analysis approach to popular discourses of entrepreneurship treats the assumption of entrepreneurship being inherently good as knowledge that is ‘taken-for-granted’ (Ogbor, 2000; Burr, 2003; Anderson, 2005; Smith, 2006; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2007). In addition to this ‘taken-for-granted’ knowledge of entrepreneurship obscuring unequal ideological and power dimensions of the phenomenon (Jones & Spicer, 2009; Essers et al, 2017; Verduijn & Essers 2013). This thesis comes a decade after, Jones and Spicer’s (2009) seminal work for critical entrepreneurship studies, on the entrepreneur as a ‘sublime object’, which they illustrate to be a category that is simultaneously empty and desirable based on cases of historical, cultural, economic and political shifts of the entrepreneur. *Entre-tainment* represents a popular cultural shift of the entrepreneur, and thus is a cultural artefact (Ogbor, 2000; Swail et al, 2014), which can serve “as a tapestry for unexamined and contradictory assumptions and knowledge about the reality of entrepreneurs” (Ogbor, 2000, p. 605).

1.1 Research Questions

I have made the decision to use the term “constitute” when addressing the relationship between “discourses of entrepreneurship” and “*entre-tainment*” in my research questions as well as throughout this thesis. This is to distinguish the social constructionist position that I am taking on phenomena such as *entre-tainment*, which does not function in a silo separate from the wider understandings of entrepreneurship of the viewers/readers of this cultural text, rather I am emphasizing that *entre-tainment* has the significant and powerful effect of simultaneously representing and contributing to, i.e. “constituting”, dominant cultural understandings of entrepreneurship. The research questions are as follows,

1. How does *entre-tainment* represent entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs?

- a. What discourses of entrepreneurship are constituted by the *television shows (Layer 1)*?
 - b. What discourses of entrepreneurship are constituted by the *external texts produced by the shows (Layer 2)*?
 - c. What are the societal discourses of entrepreneurship *about the shows (Layer 3)*?
2. What value systems are reproduced, reinforced, or contested by the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs?
 3. What are the ideological effects of the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs?

These research questions will be addressed through a multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) using Nvivo for three levels of datasets, which will be referred to as ‘*Layers*’. The ideological analysis component of MCDA will be guided by combining Fairclough’s dimensions of discourse with Boltanski and Thévenot’s orders of worth framework. The dataset consists of three versions of the show, *Dragons’ Den (UK)*, *Shark Tank (USA)*, and *Planting Seeds (Caribbean)* (indicated by red arrows on Figure 1.1). The use of three *Layers* enables the data collection and analysis to include content beyond the confines of the television show. Following on Jones and Spicer’s (2009) advice that future research in critical entrepreneurship studies should be more creative and innovative in design than prior studies that have taken functionalist and interpretive approaches. The three *Layers* of discourse texts are,

- *Layer 1*: discourses of entrepreneurship *within the shows*
 - Texts: television show episodes
 - (video data)
- *Layer 2*: discourses of entrepreneurship *produced by the shows* external to the television shows
 - Texts: shows’ websites, books, social media accounts
 - (text, visual, and video data)
- *Layer 3*: societal discourses of entrepreneurship *about the shows*
 - Texts: university websites, newspaper articles, and memes and parodies
 - (text, visual, and video data)

The chapters that follow this (1) introduction chapter are, (2) a literature review, that situates this thesis in social constructionist perspectives of entrepreneurship, critical entrepreneurship studies, reviews theoretical frameworks for discourse analysis and key themes of entrepreneurship, and studies of *entre-tainment*, (3) methodology chapter covering the data collection and analysis through multimodal critical discourse analysis and the theoretical frameworks applied. Chapters (4-6), which analyse each *Layer* of discourse. Lastly, chapters (7 and 8), in which I discuss my findings in reference to my research questions and conclude how this develops knowledge of entrepreneurship from critical and social constructionist understandings of discourse.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews existing knowledge in the research area of this thesis which is social constructionist perspectives of entrepreneurship, as well as key themes of entrepreneurship discourses, how this thesis contributes to critical entrepreneurship studies, and closes with a review of “entre-tainment”.

2.1 Entrepreneurship as a social construct

The social constructionist position on entrepreneurship challenges the more conventional understandings of entrepreneurship as being objective and unbiased (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Burr, 2003). Entrepreneurship as a social construct is marked by being inter-subjectively understood (Astley, 1985; Downing, 2005; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2007) through shared societal interpretations and beliefs (Berger & Luckman, 1966). Elements that are characteristic of this social construct include that understandings and assumptions of entrepreneurship are ‘taken-for-granted’ (Ogbor, 2000; Burr, 2003; Anderson, 2005; Smith, 2006; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Lindgren & Packendorff, 2007), incorporates myth¹ (Barthes, 1972; Ogbor, 2000; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005), and is a combination of fact and fiction (Anderson, 2005; Smith, 2006). Situating research in the context of social constructionism allows for “different layers of meaning and the production of these meanings that surround and form the idea of entrepreneurship” (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005, p.154) to be addressed. Other conceptions of entrepreneurship as a socially constructed field include that it,

“is constantly constructed and re-constructed as policy-makers change their ideological and legal views, scientists develop new theoretical notions and initiate new lines of inquiry, and practitioners launch new enterprises” (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2007, p. 31).

However, this definition omits the role that popular culture, a source more readily and frequently engaged with by a wider population (Hill, 2007; Boyle, 2009), plays in the construction and reconstruction of entrepreneurship which is the research gap that this thesis aims to fill. Hill (2007) also conducted audience studies which found that popular genres are associated with *constructions of reality*, while traditional factual genres are associated with *investigations of reality*.

¹ When the term ‘myth’ is used throughout this thesis it is in the context of Barthes.

Fairclough (1995; 2013) noted a rise in discourse about individuals being entrepreneurial during the 80s and 90s, which was the same period over which more research became focused on entrepreneurship as a discourse (Hjorth & Steyaert, 2005). This rise in research area was cited as a response to the increasing interest in and pervasiveness of ‘enterprise culture’ (e.g. Du Gay, 1996) (Jones & Spicer, 2009). Down (2010) also states that “the entrepreneur is a powerful cultural character who...is also a central aspect of the discourse of enterprise” (p. 168). The crucial aspect of these discourses of entrepreneurship was that they “represented the entrepreneur as unfailingly positive” and were offered as an all-encompassing “solution to almost any aspect of social life” (Jones & Spicer, 2009, p. 15). This thesis further develops perspectives similar to Ogbor (2000) that discourses of entrepreneurship are ‘reproductions of social myths’ (p. 614), which is “ideologically controlled, sustaining not only prevailing societal biases, but serving as a tapestry for unexamined and contradictory assumptions and knowledge about the reality of entrepreneurs” (p. 605). The following section explores the main themes in entrepreneurship discourses.

2.2 Themes in entrepreneurship discourses

Entrepreneurship has been described as Darwinian in nature (Ogbor, 2000; Smith, 2006), with the strongest entrepreneurs being those that survive, and the strongest entrepreneurs are presented as those that possess the ideal traits. The earliest and most significant contribution to the discourse of the ideal entrepreneur in the economic context has often been attributed to Schumpeter (Ogbor, 2000; Goss, 2005). Schumpeter (1934) constitutes discourses of the ideal entrepreneur as being extraordinary, favouring masculine qualities over feminine, and likening these traits to being American (Drakopoulou-Dodd, 2002). Schumpeter (1934) also argues that entrepreneurs must be extraordinary based on the reasoning that if everyone had the same entrepreneurial traits, then everyone would be entrepreneurs, which would increase competition in the same areas, greatly reducing profit-making opportunities, and eventually ending the desire to pursue entrepreneurship. McClelland (1987) has also been foundational in theorising key personality characteristics that make an entrepreneur, which included traits such as creativity, risk-taking, and mainly that high needs for achievement can be measured and used to predict the likelihood of pursuing entrepreneurship. However, these definitions of entrepreneurship present the ideal entrepreneur as possessing a vast array of traits and characteristics which implies that the entrepreneur is “someone so full of traits that (s)he would have to be a sort of generic ‘everyman’” (Gartner, 1988, p. 57). This paradox of the

entrepreneur being extraordinary yet ordinary is a key theme in literature of entrepreneurship discourses and ideal traits of entrepreneurs.

Nicholson and Anderson (2005) did a content analysis of metaphors used to represent entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in newspapers over the period of 1989-2000. They found an overall shift in tone towards entrepreneurs over the years which went from themes of reverence to ridicule. They found the later articles tend to lean towards ridicule because of the contradictions journalists faced trying to balance the “mythological surge and rational undercurrent” of entrepreneurship (p. 168). They attribute the evolution of the myth of the entrepreneur as being influenced by socioeconomic, political, and cultural contexts. This thesis examines discourses of entrepreneurship in the media following on the period reviewed by Nicholson and Anderson (2005), which is 2005 – 2017 in newspapers bound by the context of *entre-tainment*. Additionally, Nicholson and Anderson (2005) limited their scope of analysis to newspapers, whereas newspapers are one of the numerous texts that comprise the dataset of this thesis, which will be covered in more detail in the Methodology (Chapter 3).

Berglund and Johansson (2007a) did a discourse analysis of 19 articles, 10 of which were the most cited articles from the Journal of Business Venturing, and the remaining nine articles were from special issues in Entrepreneurship & Regional Development, and Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice, where the dominant versions of entrepreneurship research were challenged. One of the trends in discourse that they found was a “shift between the hero entrepreneur who conquers the world on the one hand...but also entrepreneurs in need of help and guidance” (p. 89). They concluded that even though there were inconsistencies and conflicts in the discourses of the entrepreneur, “the entrepreneur still appears as the kind of person who is very special compared to other people” as the “entrepreneur can do things that the non-entrepreneur cannot do” (p. 84), which makes it “extremely difficult to conceptualise entrepreneurship as something that every individual is capable of pursuing” (p. 92). Berglund and Johansson’s (2007a) review was limited to academic journals and formal educational materials, this thesis expands on this review by including content that is available and readily accessible to a wider audience.

Academic studies in the areas of management and economics have typically identified traits of entrepreneurs based on the distinction between entrepreneurs and managers (Mill, 1984; Kerr et al, 2017). Mill (1984) stated that it is the trait of ‘risk-taking’ which is the core difference that makes an individual an entrepreneur as opposed to a manager. Kerr et al (2017) conducted an extensive review of literature on the personality traits of entrepreneurs, from the year 2000

onwards. It was apparent that psychological studies of entrepreneurs do not appear to have consensus on which personality traits are unique to entrepreneurs, which reflects the heterogeneity of entrepreneurs (ibid). Throughout the literature the most pervasive trait for entrepreneurs has appeared to be a proclivity for ‘risk-taking’ (Knight, 1921; Kirzner, 1985; Mill, 1984; McClelland 1987; Bull & Willard, 1993; Bygrave, 1993; Du Gay, 1996; Ahl, 2004; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Kerr et al, 2017). Psychological tests also frequently feature ‘high need for achievement’ as a core entrepreneurial trait (McClelland, 1987; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Kerr et al, 2017). ‘Hard work’ is regularly cited as advice given to aspiring entrepreneurs, often combined with ‘optimism’ (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Berglund & Johansson, 2007; Verduijn & Essers, 2013). Similar to the combination of ‘hard work’ and ‘optimism’, ‘passion’ also appears as a favourable trait for entrepreneurs, often from positivistic studies that cite ‘passion’ as a favourable cue for gaining investment from business pitches on *entre-tainment* (Pollack et al, 2012; Ward, 2015). Drakopoulou-Dodd (2002) also found “entrepreneurship as passion” (p. 529) to be a distinctly American metaphor used in entrepreneurial narratives, in addition to other metaphors such as “entrepreneurship as parenting” (p. 527) based on a discourse analysis of entrepreneurial life stories. Nonetheless, the consistent theme has been that regardless of the combinations or types of traits, agency is always ascribed to the entrepreneur (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a). A counter-discourse to entrepreneurial ideals comes from Shane and Venkataraman (2000) as they argue that more value should be placed on the way individuals respond to opportunities as opposed to stable personality traits. They maintain that “since a large and diverse group of people engage in the transitory process of entrepreneurship, it is improbable that entrepreneurship can be explained solely by reference to a characteristic of certain people independent of the situations in which they find themselves” (p. 218).

2.3 Theoretical frameworks for discourse analysis

The studies reviewed in the previous section (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a) used different methods of discourse analysis to understand representations of the entrepreneur and found this was achieved using specific metaphors and common themes. However outside of entrepreneurs studies, and often when there are discourses in the public arena, or discourses surrounding public figures and celebrities, Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders of worth framework has been used in conjunction with discourse analysis (e.g.s Patriotta et al, 2011; Giulianotti & Langseth, 2016), as it allows for additional ideological components of discourse to be understood such as motivators based on value systems.

Boltanski and Thévenot's "orders of worth are legitimate forms of common good, which provide universal principles of logical coherence as well as justice" (Patriotta et al, 2011, p. 1809). Thus, it is a system of values which have been described as most comparable to discourses (Giulianotti & Langseth, 2016). Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) present six orders of worth, (1) market, (2) civic, (3) fame, (4) domestic, (5) inspired, and (6) industrial, which are as follows,

- 1) The *market* order of worth is centred on individualism where the "worthy persons are rich, *millionaires*, and *they live the high life*." (ibid, p. 196), as the key "beings of the market world are *doing business*" (p. 201).
- 2) The *civic* order of worth is founded on collective societal welfare. These values are concerned with solidarity, so everyone is considered worthy.
- 3) The *fame* order of worth is the value placed on individuals that use fame to gain recognition in society, attain celebrity status, and influence public opinion.
- 4) The *domestic* order of worth is based on traditional and societally accepted values such being family-oriented, which are considered to establish authority as trustworthy.
- 5) The *inspired* order of worth is driven by traits such as passion and enthusiasm and worthy persons are creative individuals.
- 6) For the *industrial* order of worth, working is a core aspect of the world which values competent and productive individuals.

(Thévenot et al, 2000; Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006; Giulianotti & Langseth, 2016).

Patriotta et al (2011), and Giulianotti and Langseth (2016) combined Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth with discourse analysis. Both studies used Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) analytical framework for studying public discourses by using newspapers as their data. Both studies also address the compatibility of Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth with discourse analysis as justifications of values often takes place in the public arena, such as the media. Patriotta et al (2011) used Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) framework to analyse how stakeholders managed public discourses surrounding an institutional controversy and the consequential public debates that arose surrounding nuclear power. They found that the use of orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) enhances the legitimacy of institutions which is maintained through public discourses. They also found that contradictions in discourses

between opposing orders of worth such as domestic versus industrial, and civic versus market tend to spark public debates.

Giulianotti and Langseth (2016) analysed the discourses of athletes in the media and found that all six orders of worth were present. They found that the orders of worth of (i) inspiration, (ii) fame, (iii) civic, (iv) domestic, (v) market, and (vi) industrial, corresponded to representations of the athletes as being “(i) creative, (ii) famous, (iii) fan-orientated, (iv) family-friendly, (v) highly marketable, and (vi) hard-working” (p.136, numerals added). The research from Patriotta et al (2011) and Giulianotti and Langseth (2016) illustrate the compatibility of Boltanski and Thévenot’s orders of worth with discourse analysis. In addition to the ways in which Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) framework is well aligned with critical discourse analysis by providing further insight as to the multiple value systems and ideologies that can co-exist for discourses. The application of Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) theoretical framework for critical discourse analysis in entrepreneurship studies enables a core tenet of Critical Entrepreneurship Studies, which is not to approach or portray entrepreneurship discourses as homogenous (Jones & Spicer, 2009) to be fulfilled. In light of this, the following section reviews Critical Entrepreneurship Studies.

2.4 Critical Entrepreneurship Studies

This thesis contributes to the field of critical entrepreneurship studies, the title of which was coined by Calás et al (2009) and addresses “that it is necessary to analyse entrepreneurship as more complex phenomena than is allowed by its narrow formulation as economic activity” (p. 553). This avenue of entrepreneurship research does not operate on the assumption that entrepreneurship is inherently good for individuals and society, as this belief obscures unequal ideological and power dimensions of the phenomenon (Jones & Spicer, 2009; Essers et al, 2017; Verduijn & Essers 2013). There are numerous streams of critical entrepreneurship studies focusing on social change and destabilizing hegemony in areas such as gender, ethnicity, identity, and class to name a few (e.g. Ahl, 2006; Essers et al, 2017; Verduijn & Essers 2013; Downing, 2005; Down & Giazitzoglu, 2014). The following sections review critical entrepreneurship studies literature in the areas of (1) entrepreneurship and nations, (2) entrepreneurship and gender, and closes with (3) entrepreneurship and popular discourse, as these areas are pertinent to the context of *entre-tainment*

2.4.1 Entrepreneurship and Nations

Entrepreneurship “has broad implications for individuals as well as for the transformation of societies, communities and regions” (Berglund & Johansson, 2007b, p. 499). Berglund and Johansson (2007b) found that understandings of the economic success of nations, companies, and individuals tend to be equated with being entrepreneurial, thus a “region in need of (economic) development is assumed to lack the ‘entrepreneurial spirit’” (p. 500). To gain additional insight on the connection between entrepreneurship and regional development, Berglund and Johansson (2007b) did a discourse analysis from a critical pedagogical perspective, where they studied the initiatives to develop entrepreneurship in a Swedish region considered to be economically vulnerable. This was done by reviewing project documents which was concerned with increasing ‘diversity in entrepreneurship’, as well as an ethnographic study of the meetings in which decisions on this initiative were made. They found that the connection between entrepreneurship and regional development constituted two streams of discourses: the enterprise discourse, and the equality discourse. They also found that while these two discourses constituted the entrepreneurship discourse, they were also oppositional in ideologies. The enterprise discourse was found to conflict with the equality discourse, as the prior “suppresses the ability for particular groups in society to view themselves as entrepreneurs” (ibid, p. 499). This was found to be the case with individuals who had small scale businesses, did not make high profits, or consider themselves to be change-makers, with notable instances being women who did not receive bank business loans as their businesses were considered to be too small scale. Berglund and Johansson (2007b) argued that economically vulnerable nations “are not necessarily lacking in entrepreneurial initiatives, but that certain discourses – in this case a dominant enterprise discourse – are suppressing such initiatives” based on “the region’s historical, social and political conditions” (p. 519). Hence, speculating as to the role social systems and interventions can take from wider conceptions of entrepreneurship understood through equality discourses.

Alternative to conceptions of nations lacking entrepreneurial spirit, the perspective of nationality being equated with entrepreneurship resonates strongly with the American Dream ideology. The American Dream ideology is the belief that in the American society everyone is guaranteed to succeed through hard work regardless of background, situational or environmental factors, more modern definitions of the concept has expanded to include material indicators of wealth as a component of the dream (Alvesson & Willmott, 2012; Gill, 2013; Combs, 2015; Armstrong et al, 2019). Gill (2013) conducted a critical postmodern

analysis of entrepreneurial discourses in US business articles from 2000 to 2009 and found that the entrepreneur was represented by three main discursive archetypes, 1) entrepreneurial capitalism, 2) ethical familiarity, and 3) traditional and alternative masculinity. Themes of “entrepreneurial capitalism” were found to place value on indicators of wealth, profit-making, and business decisions presented as financial figures. This theme was also found to feature entrepreneurs, who, in addition to being wealthy and in the technology sector, were also deemed innovators which “signaled alignment with American ideographic values like progress and patriotism” (p. 342). The second discursive trope was “ethical familiarity” which surrounds representations of the entrepreneur as a moral and trustworthy character, “thereby evoking ethical assumptions associated with the American dream” (p. 343). This was achieved with the use of origin stories which made the entrepreneurs appear familiar as opposed to “detached and elite” (p. 343). Gill (2013) also found the presence of origin stories related to popular cultural American stories of notable American inventors, innovators, and entrepreneurs which equated “being self-made” with “personal morality” (p. 338). Gill (2013) discusses that the vagueness and mystery surrounding ‘being self-made’ has the potential to portray the entrepreneurs negatively and as lacking in morals. However, the author found that the ways in which the business periodicals presented the trope of self-made “offered a way to view entrepreneurs in a largely positive light” (p. 344), which the author references as a genre that promotes a “rags-to-respectability mentality” (p. 338). The third and final trope refers to “traditional and alternative masculinity” which included traditional masculine archetype representations in addition to incorporating alternative descriptions of masculinity such as visual descriptors and lifestyles of the ‘tech Silicon Valley entrepreneur’, but in those instances efforts were made to remind the viewer that these entrepreneurs were heterosexual emphasizing the dominance of traditional representations. This trope contained immigrant entrepreneurs and saw American Dream ideology links with immigration and entrepreneurship in a new way. Gill (2013) found that “replicative immigrant ventures were seldom featured...instead, innovative immigrant ventures and their founders were featured at length” (p. 342). In these cases, the entrepreneurs’ elite education and work experience in elite companies and industries were emphasized, which Gill (2013) discusses as “profiles of entrepreneurs tempered difference based on foreign-born status by highlighting the alignments with entrepreneurial capitalism” (p. 343), thus finding that entrepreneurial capitalism and industry elitism “countered traditional discriminations based on...nation” (p. 343).

Gill's (2013) "analysis illuminates the American dream as at the center of a discursive struggle over how to define new economy individualism" (p. 349). The struggle of which is between two likelihoods, one, that the American Dream cannot be a reality for those who are disadvantaged, or, two, the version of the American Dream that is equated to entrepreneurship is more universally accessible than it has been in the past. However, Gill's (2013) findings of the entrepreneur archetype as one who is a wealth-generator, masculine, innovative, and technological "presents an elevated American dream ideology: It is the American dream for those who are already privileged" (p. 350)

2.4.2 Entrepreneurship and Gender

The extraordinariness of entrepreneurs has often been depicted through imagery, metaphors, representations and discourses of a hero, the theme of which is also primarily associated with masculinity (Collins & Moore, 1964; Ogbor 2000; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005; Ahl. 2006; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Essers & Benschop, 2007; Down, 2010; Anderson & Warren, 2011). Koiranen (1995) also found 'superman' as a metaphor for entrepreneurs, based on a metaphorical analysis among North-European participants belonging to three groups; entrepreneurs, managers, and persons who did not belong to either of the previous categories. In this same study, Koiranen (1995) found an additional metaphor used for entrepreneurs was 'mother', which gives rise to the phenomenon that the metaphors of 'hero' and 'mother' are mutually exclusive, emphasizing that hero exclusively connotes masculinity. These points reiterate "that this discourse not only constructs a heroic archetype, but that it is also gendered...biased" (Verduijn & Essers, 2013, p. 614).

Ahl (2006) also found "the entrepreneur as male gendered" (p. 598) as a strong discourse based on an analysis of 81 research articles, between 1982 and 2000, featuring women's entrepreneurship from four of the top entrepreneurship research journals. Ahl (2006) took a social constructionist feminist position utilizing a multimethod discourse analysis approach which incorporated methods such as content analysis, deconstruction, and genre analysis. The author also found other numerous discursive practices that help shape the discourse on women's entrepreneurship. Some of these discursive practices were "entrepreneurship as an instrument for economic growth" (p. 601), "men and women as essentially different" (p. 603), "the division between work and family" (p. 604), "individualism" (p. 605), and "theories favouring individual explanations" (p 606). The argument in favour for "entrepreneurship as an instrument for economic growth" was found to be a strong discursive practice. This discursive practice places emphasis on economic indicators and measures of success such as

profits and growth. This focus in the context of research on women's entrepreneurship tends to ignore social issues impacting on economic growth such as power, gender, and equality relations.

The discursive practice of "men and women as essentially different" operates on the assumption that there are essential differences in gender. Ahl (2006) states that previous literature has found more differences among entrepreneurs that are of the same gender, as opposed to finding differences when comparing male and female entrepreneurs. Many of the studies in Ahl's (2006) sample found few to no differences between female and male entrepreneurs but tended not to address this as a significant finding, and sometimes offered explanations as to why no differences could be found citing methodologies and sampling as the limitations. Ahl (2006) found texts about women's entrepreneurship tend to examine family issues, while texts on general entrepreneurship research do not. This "division between work and family" discursive practice was found to position family as either a source of conflict or as a source of strength for women entrepreneurs. This discursive practice conclusively reinforced that women's businesses were secondary to their family life. "Individualism" was the discursive practice for which shortcomings to being a successful entrepreneur is attributed to individual women and not hindrances of social systems. "Contextual and historical variables affecting the business such as legislation, culture, or politics are seldom discussed" (ibid, p. 605), and when these factors are considered, it is still the responsibility of the individual to personally amend them. Additional discursive practices that contribute to individuals being solely responsible for their entrepreneurial success included "theories favouring individual explanations". These were theories that attribute entrepreneurial success to an individual's psychological, behavioural, and attitudinal traits, regardless of social circumstance. The strong discursive practices covered by Ahl (2006) illuminate that studies of women's entrepreneurship focus "on gender as an individual characteristic rather than as something socially and culturally constructed that varies in time and space, the research tends to overlook structural factors and proposes that women have shortcomings" (p. 609).

2.4.3 Entrepreneurship and Popular Discourse

The niche area of research which this thesis is situated is in *entrepreneurship and popular discourse*, which comes a decade after Jones and Spicer (2009) made a call for "a critique of popular conceptions of entrepreneurship" (p. 113). To delve further into the importance and relevance of Jones and Spicer (2009) to this thesis pertains to reviewing entrepreneurship as a discourse, making the case for a critical approach to entrepreneurship, and the 'sublime object'

of entrepreneurship. Jones and Spicer (2009) refer to the shared agreement among researchers in the critical tradition of approaching entrepreneurship as a discourse. The authors state that some of their concerns surrounding this is that discourse tends to be treated as a homogenous concept, which can lead to the erroneous treatment of entrepreneurship as being homogenous. They further caution against this practice by acknowledging that it “leads to certain ways of thinking of resistance, in which resistance is treated as external to this constituted unity, rather than immanent to it” (p. 19), and often leads to the exclusion of different forms of ideology rejection and resistance such as humour and irony, which have been included in this study (see section 3.5.3). This is pertinent to research that is charged with “how entrepreneurship discourse is actively challenged, resisted and in some cases destroyed” (p. 25).

One of the research questions Jones and Spicer (2009) suggest critical researchers consider surrounds the extent of influence cultural shifts and ideas have had on changing the entrepreneurship discourse. To reiterate the need for criticality in entrepreneurship research, Jones and Spicer (2009) refer to the favoured study of successful entrepreneurs pursued by functionalist perspectives that excludes the majority group of unsuccessful entrepreneurs from the discourse. These traits of successful entrepreneurs were found to be rooted in Du Gay’s (1996) ‘cultures of enterprise’ work, which promotes the narrative that everyone should act entrepreneurially, this was marked by specific behaviours such as risk-taking and making yourself marketable by treating yourself as a business. It was found that these characteristics have been consistently presented positively and made synonymous with entrepreneurial success by the functionalist approach. Thus, critical approaches are required to investigate the role of entrepreneurship on a broader societal scale, which “involves showing how the entrepreneur is not a necessary or universal character, but a historically and spatially specific figure who is implicated in relations of domination” (Jones & Spicer, 2009, p. 26). As such this thesis focuses on how discourses of entrepreneurship continue to dominate society today through popular discourses.

Jones and Spicer (2009) emphasize that shared common knowledge included the ascribed positive cultural value to entrepreneurship, which was that an entrepreneur is presented as something good. This concept was supported by cases provided by Jones and Spicer (2009) where individuals involved in black-market economies or labelled as illegal immigrants though engaging in activities that could be considered entrepreneurial, would not receive the title of entrepreneur. This gives rise to the understanding that there is a moral and cultural evaluation of an entrepreneur. Other common associations of the extremely successful entrepreneur

surrounds behaviours of excess wealth. These behaviours revolve around common representations of the leisure class, that is activities for which the main aim is to enhance the status of the individual that engages in them, suggested examples of these behaviours included throwing lavish parties, regularly golfing, and private-jet type travel (ibid). “It is precisely because the entrepreneur attracts such a massive amount of resources for the purpose of excessive expenditure that their character is all the more desirable” (p. 68), and it is this aspect of desire that lends itself to entrepreneurship being perceived as a ‘sublime object’. Lastly, Jones and Spicer (2009) make the case that the entrepreneur category should be treated as Zizek’s concept of ‘sublime object’, that is as a figure of discourse that is simultaneously empty and attractive. They cite that it is this paradoxical characteristic of the discourse, as it is something you want but cannot define, which makes it an effective tool for enlisting potential entrepreneurs. Hence, society acknowledges that they can recognize an entrepreneur but are unable to agree on characteristic traits and common definitions of the concept.

This struggle for consensus on the definition of an entrepreneur is also faced by academic literature which contributes to the category being broad and miscellaneous (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000; Atherton, 2004). Overarching debates on defining the entrepreneur has surrounded definitions in terms of who the entrepreneur is or what the entrepreneur does. A summary of this is seen in Cunningham & Lischeron’s (1991) review of six different schools of thoughts on entrepreneurship which they categorised into four groups based on similar assumptions. These were 1) “assessing personal qualities”, which focuses on personality and psychological traits of individuals, 2) “recognising opportunities”, which is marked by actions taken indicative of creativity and innovation, 3) “acting and managing”, where entrepreneurs possess leadership behaviours, and can be trained to manage effectively, and 4) “reassessing and adapting”, which surrounds the ability of employees to be entrepreneurial within organizations, referred to as intrapreneurship (ibid, p. 46). These schools of thought also identify an individual as an entrepreneur at different stages of the business process, ranging from the start-up to early growth and maturity stages of the business, which also illustrates inconsistency and variations of understanding who qualifies as an entrepreneur. Shane and Venkataraman (2000) criticise definitions of entrepreneurship such as these that focus on the individual, and state that the definition needs to include the exploitation of situational opportunities that allow for entrepreneurship to occur. Some of these definitions allow for individuals who have inherited or bought existing businesses to qualify as entrepreneurs, while other definitions which require the entrepreneur to have created a new business clearly excludes

these individuals from the entrepreneurship discourse (e.g. Gartner, 1985) (Cunningham & Lischeron, 1991). Definitions of entrepreneurship provided by participants in the ELIE2 project “from more than 30 countries, tended towards *media-related interpretations* of entrepreneurship. They commonly included ideas such as innovator, risk-taker, investor, hero, leader and visionary” (Downs et al, 2011, p. 6, emphasis added). These debates in definitions of the entrepreneur, both academically and socially, reiterates that critical approaches to entrepreneurship are needed to address the assumed stability of the entrepreneurship category (Jones & Spicer, 2009). Considering that ‘media-related interpretations’ are used as a basis for understanding entrepreneurship, the next section reviews the *entre-tainment* phenomenon.

2.5 Entre-tainment

Expanding on the impact and range of societal ‘media-related interpretations’, Giazitzoglu (2014) found that American media was able to promote homogenous notions, as well as desires and aspirations of masculinity and middle class among their British viewers. This finding lends itself to the role the media has in influencing the desires and aspirations of its viewers and illustrates that this impact is not necessarily nationally-bound by corresponding show origination with the audience. This thesis focuses on how this is specifically achieved for entrepreneurship through *entre-tainment*. The term “entre-tainment” first appears in Down (2010) and is coined as a synonym replacement for “entrepreneurial reality show” (p. 185). Swail, Down, and Kautonen (2014) further defines the term “entre-tainment” as “televisual media that stage and perform entrepreneurship for entertainment purposes” (p. 859). *Entre-tainment* is the type of reality television that comprises the dataset of this thesis. One of the more pragmatic definitions of reality television comes from Kavka (2012), who defines it as “*unscripted shows with nonprofessional actors being observed by cameras in preconfigured environments*” (p. 5, emphasis added). The emphasized terms in this definition are especially characteristic of the *entre-tainment* genre, which will be further addressed in the Methodology Chapter.

In terms of taking a critical approach to reality television, television studies scholars outline the phenomenon intrinsic to the genre concerned with the blurring of fact and fiction. The combination of fact and fiction was also found to be common for entrepreneurship as a social construct (Anderson, 2005; Smith, 2006) which was previously outlined at the start of this

2 ELIE (Employability - Learning through International Entrepreneurship) Project

chapter. This common trait of combining fact and fiction could have aided in the suitability of entrepreneurship as the topic for reality television content. Roscoe and Hight (2001) address that reality television represents information as continuum of fact to fiction as opposed to a clear-cut dichotomy, while Turner (2001) addresses this phenomenon as the blurring of boundaries between fact and fiction, which also parallels other blurred boundaries at play such as construction and deconstruction, as well as between entertainment and documentary formats.

A brief historical review of reality television formats breaks it down into three noteworthy generations (Kavka, 2012), the first generation was identified as spanning 1989-99 and was marked as the *camcorder era*. The camcorder era included amateur levels of video production, often home video quality, and examples of which were those entered for “funniest home video” shows. The second generation was the *competition era* from 1999-2005, constructed around a gameshow type format where participants were also contestants. For the third generation, which begins in 2002, deemed *economies of celebrity era* shows are centred on the production of an ordinary person turned reality television celebrity, one of the more famous cases being the show “Keeping up with the Kardashians”, and an example from the *entre-tainment* sphere being “The Apprentice” which launched a United States President. The *economies of celebrity era* of reality television centres on “the production of celebrity. At this stage, reality TV disengages with its documentary roots and becomes a self-conscious participant in the rituals of self-commodification and self-legitimation that define contemporary celebrity culture” (ibid, p. 9). Additionally, this generation of reality television constitutes discourses “where the celebrity-making logics of representation, desire and commodification meld” (ibid, p. 147). Other factors that impact the discourses of *entre-tainment* is the overlap of the second and third generations of reality television, which is an overlap of the game-show format with content that focuses on celebrity. It is this point at which,

“these increasingly international formats merged with more traditional genres such as the gameshow it would be the business arena that would offer the possibility of re-imaging the world of commerce and the entrepreneur.”
(Boyle, 2009, p.7)

It is exactly in this overlap period (2002- 2005) that *Dragons’ Den* (UK) first airs, lending itself to the hybridised nature of *entre-tainment*, which combines the competition format with creating entrepreneurial celebrities. This hybridisation of reality television genres aids in facilitating the blurring of fact and fiction and reiterates the importance of considering concepts that would influence the entrepreneurship discourses due to the generational setting (Kavka,

2012). Additionally, it has been noted that the generational mixing that occurs for programmes such as *entre-tainment* makes these discourses of television more important than previous television eras (Mittel, 2004; Hill, 2007). The mixing of the television genres also impacts the identity of the entrepreneurial status distinctions on the *entre-tainment* programmes, as the participants' identities straddle entrepreneur/contestant versus investor/entrepreneur/celebrity. Furthermore, this generational background of *entre-tainment* lends itself to the operation of Fairclough's concepts of genre and genre chains. Fairclough's (2003) notions about 'genre' refers to the way in which discourse is connected to a specific social context or setting, while 'genre chains' is concerned with how one genre then comes to influence these different social contexts and settings, that is the passage from one genre into another through "interconnected texts which manifest a 'chain' of different genres" (p. 66).

Hill (2007) found that reality television formats tended to be popular though not valued by viewers as a reliable information source, while documentary formats were highly valued as being factual but were not popular among viewers. To delve into the rise of the business entertainment format Boyle (2009) reviews its development and popularity, using the British versions of the television programmes of *The Apprentice* and *Dragons' Den*. The book chapter recaps the history of *Dragons' Den*, and references that it originated in Japan and then expanded internationally resulting in the creation of English-speaking versions of the programme. Boyle (2009) addresses that the birth of *entre-tainment* has "helped shape a new and different interpretation of the role played by business and finance in the individual and collective lives" (p. 99) of the viewers and broader society. Boyle (2009) refers to '*entre-tainment*' as 'business entertainment format' or 'factual entertainment', both descriptors of which emphasize the boundary blurring of business facts with entertainment that occurs for the format. Boyle (2009) emphasizes that a noteworthy feature of *entre-tainment* is its ability to make concepts of business, entrepreneurship and finance reach a wider audience as previous factual business formats and jargons tended to exclude audiences. Boyle (2009) also acknowledges that television production decisions are commercially driven which frames the existing debate of whether there is any educational value from these types of programmes. Major contending points in favour of the educational value of *entre-tainment* include that it has proliferated tertiary education curricula and classrooms, and that the viewership does take entrepreneurial cues from these programmes (Swail et al, 2014). However, Boyle (2009) surmises that in terms of *entre-tainment*, "there is no mission here other than to entertain. By good fortune the entertainment requires a bit of educational fibre" (p. 10).

Kelly and Boyle (2011) also conducted research pertaining to how the business entertainment format was developed and the practicalities of its creation, they interviewed staff in the BBC involved with the production of these types of programmes. They describe these type of programmes as “entertainment-led factual programming” (p. 229) based on their findings that situates the format origination as business programming that places “an emphasis on drama, risk, and the casting of an accessible business expert” (p. 230). Based on their historical analysis of the business entertainment format, Kelly and Boyle (2011) found that an element of success was based on being an imported format, as imported formats tend to be favoured by the television industry, as they allow for a reliable estimation of the show’s success, based on its previous performances in various countries. The authors offer a critique of this practice of replicating and adapting international formats of business entertainment programming as a means of endorsing discourses of competition, individualism, and capitalism. Their findings on adapting business entertainment programming for specific national audiences, was outlined in the following extract from an interview with a producer for these shows,

“The Apprentice was a classic, extravagant exaggeration of American entrepreneurship, and we had big debates about could this possibly translate into the British landscape” (p. 241)

This interviewee then proceeds to say that the adaptation was achieved by altering the show’s tone by utilizing elements of documentary style for a UK audience. This interview excerpt highlights that there are nationally-bound understandings of the entrepreneur represented in these programmes, with reference to “extravagant exaggeration of American entrepreneurship”, which is deemed as a form of “extravagant exaggeration” from the perspective of the UK context. Kelly and Boyle (2011) also touch on the creation of *Dragons’ Den* for a UK audience, which addresses the production decision of replacing the traditional title of ‘business angel’ with that of ‘Dragon’, “thus introducing a more ruthless, and some would say cruel, streak to proceedings” (p. 242). Other interview findings included the belief that the BBC’s template and style of *Dragons’ Den* is the version that is being replicated internationally, an example of this statement is as follows,

“I think it is the BBC show that people use. I mean some of them, word for word, will use our...script at the intro of the show.” (p. 242)

This statement shows that *entre-tainment* is a genre that has been established and gets replicated globally. It also alludes to the phenomenon that these shows do not operate in silos, and that they have a competing hierarchy and awareness of one another for the validity of

representing entrepreneurship. Kelly and Boyle (2011) conclude by having proven that the business entertainment format is not a side-effect of the reality television genre but that it contains its own distinct history and thus societal relevance.

“Reality’ shows such as Dragons’ Den... are essentially etiquette guides, about how to be and behave in particular social contexts. Dragons’ Den shows people—both participant and viewer—what, and what not, to do in order to be a successful entrepreneur. The point of *entre-tainment* is to show us what the character of the entrepreneur is all about: it helps create a cultural stereotype.” (Down, 2010, pp. 185-186)

This statement summarises the necessity for understanding the ways in which (1) these shows represent entrepreneurship and, (2) how these representations are being understood at a societal level, as such the following section will review studies that used *entre-tainment* as data.

Previous studies that have been conducted using *entre-tainment* as data often tend to take a positivistic approach (e.g. Pollack et al, 2012; Maxwell and Lévesque, 2014; Ward, 2015; Smith & Viceisza, 2017) or used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods (e.g. García-Gómez, 2017). This is due to the weighting placed on variables that allow for specific traits, behaviours and actions of the entrepreneur to be identified, which support the founding assumptions of the various entrepreneurship schools of thought (Cunningham & Lischeron, 1991). Thus, prior studies are inclined to focus on the unidirectional content of interactions within the show, such as business pitches and decision-making (e.g. Maxwell et al, 2011; Ward, 2015), communication skills (e.g. Kinnick & Parton, 2005), behaviours and negotiating strategies (e.g. Pollack et al, 2012; Maxwell & Lévesque, 2014; Daly & Davy, 2016; García-Gómez, 2017) and in some instances using gender as a variable (e.g. García-Gómez, 2017). Other areas of focus have included reviewing the legitimacy of *entre-tainment* in fostering entrepreneurship in terms of whether the businesses that received investment existed post-show (e.g. Smith & Viceisza, 2017). Since Smith and Viceisza (2017) were concerned with life outside the confines of the television programme, their data also included content from magazine interviews and social media platforms but were reviewed quantitatively concentrating on views, likes and online traffic analytics. The other studies were mainly confined to using television content from programmes such as *Shark Tank* (e.g. Pollack et al, 2012; Ward, 2015; Smith & Viceisza, 2017), *Dragons’ Den UK* (e.g. Daly & Davy, 2016; García-Gómez, 2017), *Dragons’ Den Canada* (e.g. Maxwell et al, 2011; Maxwell & Lévesque 2014), *Dragons’ Den Spain* (García-Gómez, 2017), and *The Apprentice* (e.g. Kinnick & Parton, 2005). This thesis distinguishes itself from these previous studies of *entre-tainment* in

two ways, 1) providing critical insight as to the ways these shows represent entrepreneurship by analysing processes of social construction rather than correlations of variables, and 2) expanding the dataset to include discourses beyond the confines of the televised content.

A previous study that has similar research themes as this thesis is Swail et al (2014) which focuses on the concept of *entre-tainment* as a merger of two key concepts, entrepreneurship and entertainment. Their study uses “a detailed bespoke survey directly concerned with the influence of entrepreneurially specific cultural media” (p. 860) on 960 Newcastle University student participants. The survey investigated student perceptions influenced by *entre-tainment* mediums such as *Dragons’ Den* on their entrepreneurial intent. The first finding of the study was that viewers believed they can learn skills suitable for entrepreneurship by watching *entre-tainment*, which was illustrated by viewers,

“perceive that they are gaining pedagogic value, and as a result have more positive perceptions of an entrepreneurial career. Through observing the staged successes and failures of contestants, the viewer believes that they are learning effective ways of doing entrepreneurship, such as communicating business ideas, evaluating risk and how to negotiate effectively.” (p. 870)

The second finding was that individuals that felt *entre-tainment* was socially legitimate were more inclined to start a business. The third finding explored the impact the extent of social legitimacy attributed to *entre-tainment* had on the relationship between perceived skill-learning and entrepreneurial intention. It was found that the more positive associations and stronger legitimacy placed on *entre-tainment* was effective for encouraging viewers to pursue entrepreneurship. Swail et al (2014) also addresses the problematic outcomes that surrounds the confirmation of these findings. These consist of treating content made for entertainment purposes as a pedagogical tool and how that can produce skewed representations of the realities of entrepreneurship. The ways in which this occurs is by using *entre-tainment* as a learning tool which leads to a focus on developing an unrepresentative and lacking set of skills to achieve entrepreneurship, a highlighted instance includes the weighting placed on delivering a theatrical business pitch which is not the reality of daily entrepreneurship “but is a core activity in *Dragons’ Den*” (p. 870)

Downs et al’s (2011) case study of the lived experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs (ELIE Project) found additional problematic outcomes surrounding *entre-tainment*, which was discouraging persons from pursuing entrepreneurship based on the valuing specific, often

unsavoury personality traits. An excerpt that demonstrates this occurrence from an interview with one of the participants is as follows,

“the vision provided by television is something he sees as alien to successful business; *ruthlessness, selfishness, greed and risk-taking* are not attributes Mr C sees as common amongst successful entrepreneurs.” (ibid, p. 28, emphasis added)

This excerpt illustrates the personality types and values that viewers perceive as critical for entrepreneurial success based on their experience of watching *entre-tainment*. Furthermore, this deters individuals who do not consider themselves to have traits such as ruthlessness, selfishness, greed, and risk-taking from pursuing entrepreneurship. Overall, Downs et al (2011) found that their participants felt “that entrepreneurs were a different type of person, ‘Not like us’” (p. 6) based on representations in the media. Another occurrence of references to *entre-tainment* emerging in the interviews pertain to the social legitimacy the participants ascribe to such shows.

“Many students who liked the idea of working for themselves were led down the path of thinking this could never occur unless they could obtain a large capital sum from a bank or a *television competition*. However, many ELIE participants started out by investing only time and effort not money, and indeed, often did not consider themselves to be entrepreneurs because they had not invested money in their enterprise.” (p. 75, emphasis added)

This excerpt outlines the social legitimacy ascribed to *entre-tainment* in terms of representing a supposed norm of entrepreneurship, of starting with a large sum of money, in addition to being an available vehicle for getting access to such capital. This belief is so strongly adhered to by the participants that they do not consider themselves as entrepreneurs since they have not used large capital sums in starting their businesses. Downs et al’s (2011) findings for the ways in which *entre-tainment* deters persons from identifying as entrepreneurs demonstrates an outcome of *entre-tainment*, which takes “a strong, positive stance in support of the legitimacy of a particular form of entrepreneurship” (Swail et al, 2014, p. 870). This legitimate form of entrepreneurship is one where ruthless, selfish, greedy, and risk-taking persons are successful entrepreneurs, and is validated by investing large sums of money into one’s business.

This chapter has illustrated that “entre-tainment, like all cultural artefacts, is a vehicle for the transmission of ideologies, beliefs and values (Ogbor, 2000)” (Swail et al, 2014, p. 870). Additionally, *entre-tainment*’s ability to transmit ideologies, beliefs and values is enhanced by its popularity, accessibility and widespread discourse of entrepreneurship that is being

replicated globally (Boyle, 2009; Kelly & Boyle, 2011). As such this thesis examines a sample of these globally replicated formats. This chapter has also demonstrated that *entre-tainment* fulfils the characteristics of a ‘genre’ (Fairclough, 2003) which informs viewers’ ideas and understandings of entrepreneurship (e.g. Swail et al, 2014; Downs et al, 2011). Audience studies have also found that viewers associate reality television with constructions of reality (Hill, 2007), which illustrates the ways in which *entre-tainment* is a socially constructed discourse of entrepreneurship. *Entre-tainment* was also found to blur boundaries of business facts with entertainment as an outcome of combining formats of the game show with entrepreneurial celebrity (Boyle, 2009; Kavka, 2012; Roscoe & Hight, 2001; Tuner, 2001). The *entre-tainment* format of boundary-blurring fact and fiction reinforces entrepreneurship as a ‘sublime object’ which makes it an effective tool for enlisting a specific type of entrepreneur (Jones & Spicer, 2009; Mittel, 2004; Anderson, 2005; Smith, 2006). To recap the importance of research in this area, the myth of the entrepreneur was found to evolve in the media based on cultural contexts (Nicholson & Anderson, 2005) of which *entre-tainment* is a product and produces. Additionally, Anderson and Warren (2011) make the case that the “analysis of the representation of entrepreneurship in the media suggests that entrepreneurs have a distinctive presence in society that is shaped by cultural norms and expectations” (p. 589). All these features highlight why *entre-tainment* is a critical text for the study of entrepreneurship discourses.

In addition to *entre-tainment* as a site of study, Jones and Spicer (2009) have cautioned against the critical study of discourses that tend to exclude alternate forms of rejection and resistance to ideology, such as humour and satire. The rejection and resistance to the ideology of *entre-tainment* being present within the television shows is counterintuitive, so the dataset of this thesis expands beyond the content within the shows to include discourses of entrepreneurship about the shows. To conclude, this chapter has situated the area of research that this thesis contributes to, namely entrepreneurship as a social construct, specialising in critical entrepreneurship studies. It has also identified the research gap that it aims to fill and how it will further develop previous research, specifically by analysing entrepreneurship discourses of popular culture within the past decade and expanding beyond the confines of the television shows. This chapter has also reviewed the background and development of *entre-tainment* as well as studies of *entre-tainment*. This thesis answers the calls made by Jones and Spicer (2009) for “a critique of popular conceptions of entrepreneurship” (p. 113), and Swail et al’s (2014) call for further research in this area as,

“Scholarly interest from within entrepreneurship in such entrepreneurially-focused popular culture has not been extensive...There is an obvious practical imperative for more detailed research in this area....” (p. 860)

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter covers the methodological process of this thesis, which outlines how I arrived at the methodological decisions made.

3.1 The Journey

The original plan was to do an ethnography combined with conversation analysis of an *entre-tainment* programme which was *Planting Seeds*. I selected *Planting Seeds* because it was from my home country and I had noticed that it recently launched as a new show. I was able to gain access to the show through mutual contacts of the show's production team. Followed by the formal processes for gaining official access, the relevant letters from Newcastle University were sent and approved by the *Planting Seeds*' production team. The data to be collected for conversation analysis was unedited on-stage interactions, which required me to film from the side-lines. On arriving on the first day with an industrial level camera the team decided that that filming was no longer allowed but that I can have access to roam all the areas as I pleased (filming room, contestant entrepreneur waiting room, control room, etc). On conducting fieldwork of filming for season 2 of *Planting Seeds*, I learnt that filming took about three days over three weekends which was not enough content to provide any meaningful findings for a PhD. I then started to research the genre itself and found that there were numerous international versions, so I expanded my dataset to include television episodes of *Planting Seeds*, *Shark Tank* and *Dragons' Den* for a conversation analysis. However, I had conflicting feelings about the methodology, as I felt it was not comprehensively reflecting all the intriguing components of the discourse, and not best suited to doing justice to the richness of the data. As I tried to take breaks from my PhD by scrolling social media and watching Netflix, I started to feel haunted by *entre-tainment* content as it kept appearing on all these platforms. I decided that the pervasiveness of this discourse in society was a critical aspect for the ways in which entrepreneurship was being understood, and that my thesis needed to reflect this aspect of the phenomenon outside the confines of the televised content as well. This is what led me to a multi-modal critical discourse analysis of *entre-tainment* in three *Layers* which is unpacked and explained in the following sections.

3.2 Epistemology

The epistemological position of this thesis is social constructionist, which is “to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world” (Burr, 2003, p. 2). This includes accounting for the historical and cultural contexts that

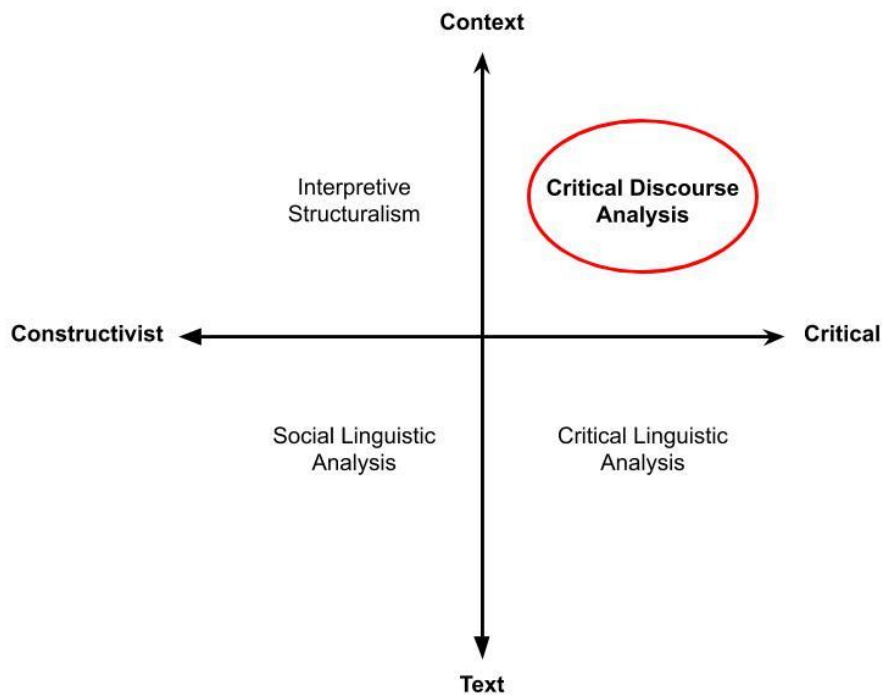
influence how knowledge is constructed through inter-subjective social processes, such as popular culture and media, the contexts for which are readily myth laden (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Barthes, 1972; Ogbor, 2000). Social constructionism is primarily concerned with how knowledge is constructed and not with establishing any form of ‘truth’, as the stance on ‘truth’ is that “there is always a diversity of versions, each telling a different story about the object in question” and “some versions tend to become more dominating, fixed, and taken-for-granted than others” (Lindgren & Packendorff, 2007; p. 79). It is because of this phenomenon that social constructionism takes a critical approach to ‘taken for granted’ discourses that constitutes and is constituted by ‘taken for granted’ knowledge (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Burr, 2003; Fairclough; 2013). Thus, social constructionism underpins critical discourse studies orientation to knowledge as being discursively produced (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

3.3 Critical Discourse Studies: Faircloughian position

Critical Discourse Analysis³ serves as both the theory and method for this thesis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), as this research is centred on the *context* as well as *content* of language use (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Wodak & Meyer, 2015). To situate the position of CDA, I will begin from the umbrella header of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis diverges into two dimensions, (i) the amount of focus placed on texts and the surrounding contexts, and (ii) the amount of focus placed on ideologies and power that surround the discursive process (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). These dimensions result in the methodologies of discourse analysis being placed along different points on a continuum ranging from context-to-text, and constructivist-to-critical. This is represented in Figure 3.1 as a continuum, and not dichotomies.

³ I use the term ‘analysis’ for CDA/MCDA when referring to application of the theory

Figure 3.1 Discourse Analysis Continuum



[Source: Phillips & Hardy (2002, p.20, figure 2.1)]

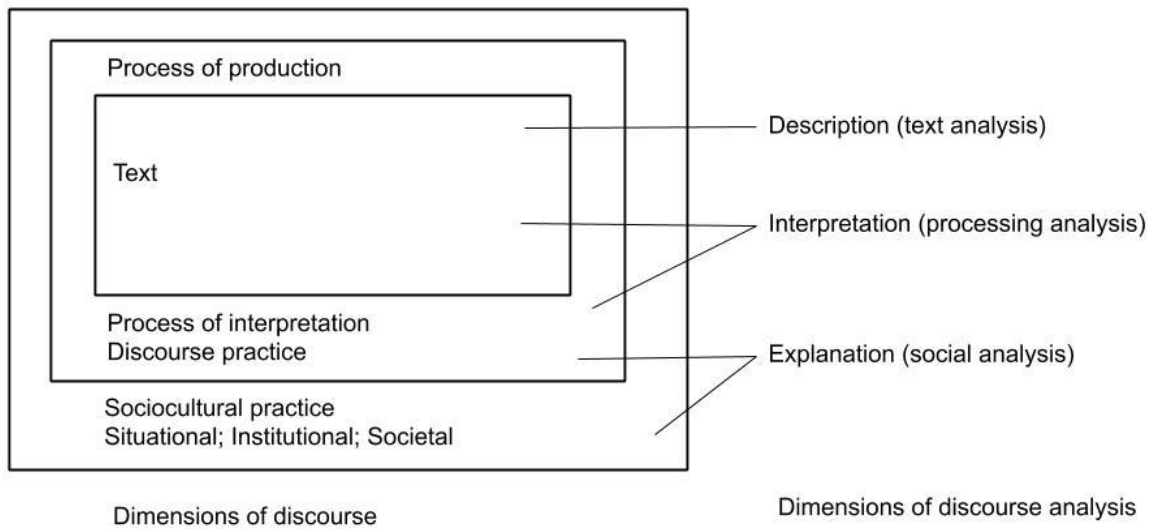
This research falls under the *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) region of discourse analysis as outlined in Figure 3.1 and takes the theoretical foundations from Fairclough. Fairclough (2013) is concerned with discourse analysis *being critical*, as opposed to merely descriptive. The concept of ‘being critical’ aligns with being issue-oriented, having a stance, and is marked by a conscientious and in-depth approach of investigating the ‘taken for granted-ness’ of discourses (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Burr, 2003; Fairclough, 2013). The stance of this thesis is concerned with the way in which the popularised cultural discourse of entrepreneurship is commercialising and representing the path to successful entrepreneurship. Additionally, being critical focuses the analysis on the relationship between discourse and society, and how the discourse has power effects on those who produce and consume it, which is addressed in this thesis by delving into how the discourse is being reinforced and reproduced in a way that is tailored for specific geographical regions. To summarise, the adoption of critical research goals is the overall attempt to unpack what is socially understood as ‘common sense’ knowledge and to make clear “the effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants” (Fairclough, 2013, p.31).

Fairclough’s approach to CDA is founded on the interrelated relationship between micro to macro discourses, this approach focuses on the impact micro-actions in discourse (texts) have

in reproducing and reinforcing macro level social structures (e.g. socioeconomic stratifications such as class). This research aims to unpack this in two spheres, firstly, how the discourse of entrepreneurship produced by *entre-tainment* programming may serve to perpetuate, legitimate, change or re-imagine these macro level social structures. The reinforcement of macro level social structures functions on the perpetuation of ideologies. Secondly, through an ideological analysis, which focuses on the shared assumptions about aspects of the world through which beliefs, meanings, and relations of power “are established, maintained, enacted and transformed” (ibid, p. 26). The naturalisation of ideology occurs when it is accepted as a form of common sense, which tends to be a part of background knowledge. Essentially when these assumptions are not readily perceived as an ‘ideological’ stance they become naturalised. The aim of CDA is then to denaturalise ideologies, which “involves showing how social structures determine properties of discourse, and how discourse in turn determines social structures” (ibid, p. 30), which is to be achieved through a micro-macro explanatory framework. This would further serve in the process of denaturalisation by addressing how the ideology was naturalised and how this naturalisation is sustained, since ideologies are considered crucial in the maintenance of power relations. Though Fairclough (2013) alludes to cases of power relations with references to “problems” and more so “wrongs” (p. 226), power in CDA has been, and can be treated in terms of its role in producing reality and truths, which can be linked to Foucault’s understanding of discourse as producing rather than reflecting ‘truths’.

Fairclough (2013) outlines the methodology of CDA as simultaneously reviewing three dimensions of discourse, (i) description (text analysis), (ii) interpretation (processing analysis), and (iii) explanation (social analysis). This is diagrammatically represented as follows:

Figure 3.2 Fairclough's dimensions of discourse



[Source: Fairclough (2013, p. 133)]

These dimensions will serve as the framework for analysis of the texts that comprise each of the three *Layers*, the *Layers* will be defined in the section 3.5 Datasets. The specific approach to CDA that this research takes is *Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies* (MCDS) (Van Leeuwen, 2013; Machin, 2013; Jancsary et al, 2015).

3.4 Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies

Considering the context and nature of *entre-tainment*, Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies⁴ (MCDS) proved to be a suitable method for analysis as it is concerned with “texts that incorporate semiotic resources beyond verbal language...in particular, on the relationship between the verbal and the visual mode of communication” (p. 181, Jancsary et al, in Wodak & Meyer, 2015). MCDS also recognizes that discourse is readily communicated through entertainment forms of media (Machin, 2013), such as reality television. The concept of multimodal analysis was already in practice for over a decade in other social science fields such as media and film studies, as well as psychology, however it entered linguistics through the work of Kress and van Leeuwen in the mid-nineties (ibid). Machin (2013) also reiterates that there is value in borrowing this transdisciplinary resource of previously studied multimodal communication for the application of MCDS. It is also important to note due to the differing

⁴ I use the term ‘studies’ for CDS/MCDS when referring to the body of work/school of study, and CDA/MCDA when addressing analysis. CDS/CDA, and MCDS/MCDA are interchangeable based on context

backgrounds, and research contexts of multimodal data, there appears to be no standardized way to apply multimodal analysis. However, the main focus illustrated by Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) that include multimodal concepts is to acknowledge the multiple communicative resources that are used in constituting discourses and the distribution of meaningful signs, especially for understanding discourses in a way that does not solely prioritize the importance of spoken verbal text (Jancsary et al, 2015). Van Leeuwen (2013) also notes that the field of CDS “needs to pay more attention to the multimodality of contemporary communication, because the discourses that need the scrutiny of a critical eye are now overwhelmingly multimodal and mediated by digital systems that take multimodality entirely for granted” (p. 5).

An analysis supported by MCDS uses the concepts of *modes* as the resource, which is used to represent communicative resources such as, music, gesture, movement, and the overall editing of visual materials. Thus, each mode is responsible for a specific contribution to the overall communicative event (ibid). There are challenges of identifying and binding categories of modes but this is not the concern of MCDS, as its focus lies “with how different kinds of semiotic resources can play a part in realizing discourses since they are good at doing different things” (Machin, 2013, p. 349). Machin (2013) also states that the themes for MCDS do not necessarily have to encompass traditional aspects of power concerned with marginalization, but that “people may feel their power in different ways, these may be experienced as fun, play, leisure, and simply as part of the almost invisible micro details of our sociality” (p. 354). This is the way in which the ideological effects of *entre-tainment* manifests as it is primarily a source of entertainment.

The summative concerns of modes for MCDS are outlined as follows (Jancsary et al, 2015):

- The different functions of each mode (text, visual, and audio) and their inter-relations to one another for representations of entrepreneurship.
- The use of maximum modes, which is the use of all modes that are available for the type of resource, to exploit persuasive potential of the entrepreneurship discourses.
- The creation of *entre-tainment* based on modes available and deemed appropriate for the specific social situation (as governed by social and cultural conventions of the setting).

- What the predominance of one mode over another other means for representations of entrepreneurship.
- How modes are used in *entre-tainment* to generate ideological effects.

The value for analysing modes in detail is founded on the main contribution from Kress and van Leeuwen's initial work on multimodality in CDS as differing,

“from other semiotic traditions in that they were not so much interested in individual visual elements and how they symbolised or connoted ideas and values, but in the underlying repertoire of choices, of meaning potentials, that communicators could draw upon” and “...calls us to understand the way that different semiotic resources are deployed to communicate ideas, values, and identities” (Machin, 2013, p. 348)

The following elements of analysis are specific characteristics that previous MCDS studies have used to understand how scripts⁵ of discourses are communicated and recontextualised⁶ (ibid, pp. 352-3):

1. *Deletion*: Representation cannot represent all the aspects of a social practice, so it is important to ask what has been deleted.
2. *Addition*: Three important forms of addition that play an important role in representation are legitimisation, purpose, and reactions.
3. *Substitution*: The details and complexities of activities can be substituted by generalisations or abstractions, or vice versa. For example, social actors can be represented by types, either through functionalisation, described by their role, or identification, by what they look like.
4. *Evaluation*: In texts recontextualisation always also involves evaluation of the social practice that it concerns. Events and people in each recontextualisation are represented according to the goals, values, and priorities of the participants.

To reiterate the importance and suitability of MCDS and the role of multimodality to CDS for this thesis surrounds the “need to trace how discourses are translated into other semiotic forms and into social practices asking why this is done and what this accomplishes” (Machin, p. 351).

⁵ The term ‘script’ is used to describe the sequence of behaviour associated with a discourse.

⁶ The way in which something is presented/produced for different discourse texts.

While also recognising that “...discourses and the ideas, values, and identities that comprise them will always have a multi-semiotic nature and it is this that makes discourses and ideologies compelling and appear as naturalised...” (ibid).

I used Machin and Mayr’s (2013) multi-modal critical discourse analysis of crime factual television shows as a guide to inform the use of this methodology for this thesis. They did a systematic analysis which first reviewed the language in the television show followed by the images. This is the same order in which I approached *entre-tainment* television data, language first, images second, and audio third, and then brought them all together to review the ways in which they combined to constitute discourses. Machin and Mayr’s (2013) use of MCDA demonstrated that the methodology “can make an important contribution and addition to such observations through a more systematic functional approach to language and images. This can help us to draw out the semiotic means by which certain discourse...are legitimised and naturalised across society” (p. 358). Though it is possible to have taken a different approach for analysing the visual data for this thesis, such as semiotics combined with critical discourse analysis, those forms of approaches to visual data tend to show *what* is taking place, while MCDA “can show *how* this is accomplished by focusing on slightly different roles played by the visual and the linguistic as social practices become ideologically recontextualised” (p.356, emphasis added). The question of ideology is a central concern of this thesis.

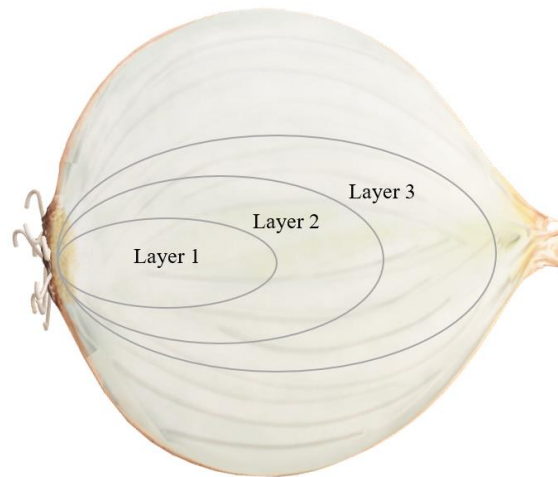
3.5 Datasets

The analysis was conducted following Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) (Van Leeuwen, 2013; Machin, 2013; Machin and Mayr, 2013; Jancsary et al, 2015) to qualitatively code entrepreneurship discourses constituting and surrounding *entre-tainment* using NVivo software. Three datasets of *entre-tainment* discourses are analysed, which will be referred to as ‘Layers’ and are as follows,

- *Layer 1*: discourses of entrepreneurship ***within the shows***
- *Layer 2*: discourses of entrepreneurship ***produced by the shows***
- *Layer 3*: discourses of entrepreneurship ***about the shows***

A diagrammatic representation of these *Layers* and their interdiscursivity is visualised as the layers of an onion in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 Diagrammatic representation of 3 Layers of entre-tainment discourses



3.5.1 Layer 1

Layer 1 data is comprised of a sample of reality television episodes of the “Dragons’ Den” format of *entre-tainment*. To recap the definition given for reality-television from Kavka (2012) in Chapter 2 was,

“*unscripted shows with nonprofessional actors* being observed by cameras in *preconfigured environments*” (p. 5, emphasis added)

To outline how these three emphasized elements, comprise the *entre-tainment* programmes is as follows,

1. *Unscripted shows*: The shows have unscripted segments such as the interactions between contestant entrepreneurs and the panel of investors, as verified by interviews of past contestant entrepreneurs in *Layer 3* newspaper articles. However, the business pitches tend to be well rehearsed, and unscripted does not include unedited.
2. *Nonprofessional actors*: The contestant entrepreneurs and the panel of investors are not professional actors. The panel of investors are business owners, and the contestant entrepreneurs are persons who apply to be on the show. Applications to be on the show are made publicly available and advertised.
3. *Preconfigured environments*: This is a key characteristic of the “Dragons’ Den” format as the proxemics of the way in which the set is layout is consistent across the genre, with the panel of investors being seated, and the contestant entrepreneur having to enter the set and stand. The following Figure 3.4 illustrates the pre-configured environment of the genre.

Figure 3.4 Preconfigured environments of "Dragons' Den" format shows



(a) Japan – *Money Tigers*



(b) UK – *Dragons' Den*



(c) USA – *Shark Tank*



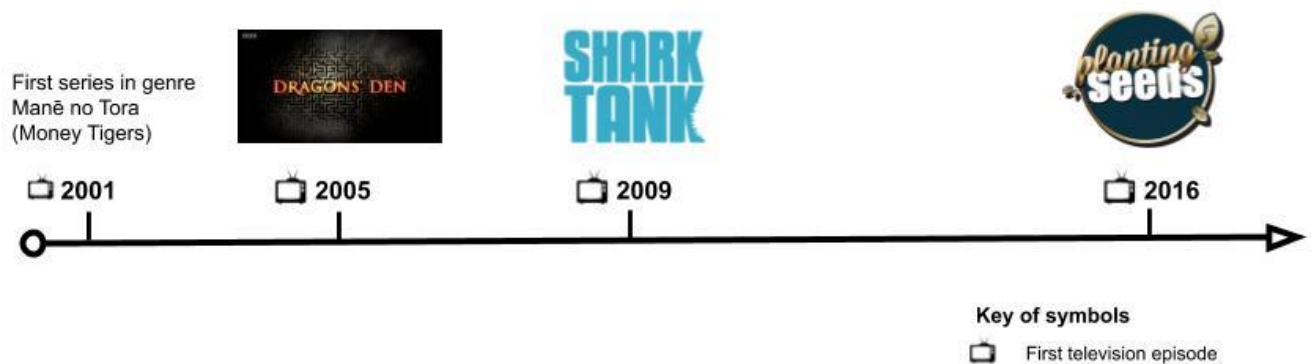
(d) Caribbean – *Planting Seeds*

There are numerous versions of the “Dragons’ Den” programme due to it being exported and replicated globally, thus establishing a genre (Fairclough, 2003) which is a popular source for entrepreneurship discourses. This thesis uses three versions of the television show for its dataset, (1) *Dragons’ Den* (UK), (2) *Shark Tank* (USA), (3) *Planting Seeds* (Caribbean) and acknowledges that the findings are limited to the contexts for which these versions were tailored. It is possible to conduct this study with other versions and combinations of shows. This study could have benefited by including the parent version of the “Dragons’ Den” format from Japan but I was limited by language fluency. The study could have also used other English-speaking versions of the show available from countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. I did try to include Canada’s *Dragons’ Den* in my dataset but was unable to source the television episodes. The three show versions used were selected for pragmatic purposes of availability and being English-speaking versions. It was difficult to systematically collect episodes from YouTube as they were uploaded sporadically and sometimes poor quality versions that were not available from the official channels. I therefore

purchased DVDs of *Dragons' Den* to obtain the episodes, *Shark Tank* was available on Netflix, and *Planting Seeds* episodes are available on their website⁷.

Each show premiered roughly five years after one another. *Dragons' Den* (UK) aired four years following the first version of the television format from Japan (Money Tigers) and was the first English-speaking and longest running version. *Planting Seeds* is the most recent versions of the three, broadcast roughly ten years after *Dragons' Den* aired, with *Shark Tank* falling in between the two shows in the timeline of having first aired. A visual of this timeline is as follows,

Figure 3.5 Timeline of shows premiere



Based on the extensive volume of television episodes, a sample of episodes were qualitatively coded using NVivo software, these episodes were randomly selected based on a randomized list generator from random.org. All available episodes for *Planting Seeds* (seasons 1 and 2) were coded because there were fewer seasons compared to the other show versions. For *Shark Tank*, two episodes were coded per season for 7 seasons (as total number of episodes per season ranged from 9-29). For *Dragons' Den*, one episode was coded per season for 14 seasons. Therefore, fourteen television episodes were coded per version of *entre-tainment* show, sampled across seasons to review evolution of entrepreneurship discourse, this breakdown is in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Breakdown of sampled television episodes coded

	<i>Planting Seeds</i> (PS)	<i>Shark Tank</i> (ST)	<i>Dragons' Den</i> (DD)

⁷ <https://plantingseedscaribbean.com/>

Seasons sampled	1 – 2	1 – 7	1 – 14
Footage coded	255 mins	588 mins	840 mins
Total number of episodes	14	14	14

The coding process

I began by inductively deducing codes based on the structural format of the television shows for content pertaining to discourses of entrepreneurship. The chronological structure for an episode was as follows,

- Part 1: Introduction of the investors
- Part 2: Contestant entrepreneur profile (segment on *Shark Tank* only)
- Part 3: Business pitch
- Part 4: Negotiation segment
- Part 5: Host debriefing/summary of events

Part 3, the business pitch segment was approximately 2 minutes in length for all show versions, and all the business pitches in my sample were limited to technical information and demonstrations of the business or product, and as such did not contain many themes relevant to my research questions and was excluded from the data analysis. Additionally, business pitches in *entre-tainment* has been extensively studied in previous research (e.g.s Pollack et al, 2012; Maxwell and Lévesque, 2014; Ward, 2015; Daly & Davy, 2016; García-Gómez, 2017). Following this, I did a first round of coding for Parts 1, 2, 4 and 5, tagging the videos on Nvivo for “things said about entrepreneurship” by the three groups of actors on the shows, which was (i) the narrator (referring to any host/voice over/third party), (ii) the contestant entrepreneur, and (iii) the investor. These three macro-groups of “things said about entrepreneurship” were then inductively divided into eight micro-codes. These eight micro-codes were further organised by similar themes for their discourses of entrepreneurship which led to a final four

code categories which are 1) how the investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols, 2) how ‘contestant entrepreneurs’ are represented, 3) entrepreneurial ideals, and 4) nationalistic narratives and show version, the following Table 3.2 outlines the descriptions for each code.

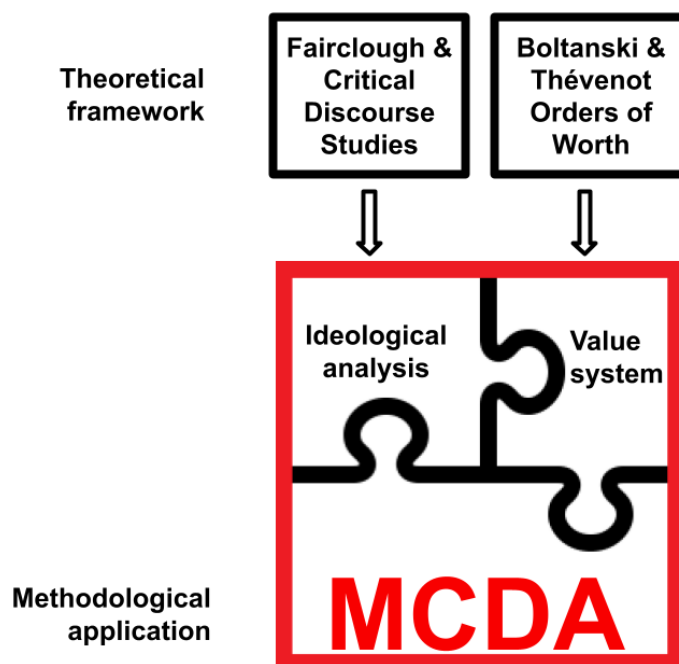
Table 3.2 Description of Code Categories

Code 1	<i>How the investors are ‘entrepreneurial celebrity idols’</i>
Description	This occurs in the opening sequence of the shows where the investors are introduced by a narrator/host.
Code 2	<i>How ‘contestant entrepreneurs’ are represented</i>
Description	This refers to the way in which the ‘contestant entrepreneur’ profile segment is produced.
Code 3	<i>Entrepreneurial ideals</i>
Description	This is a collection of the traits considered indicative of an ideal entrepreneur which is produced in interactions between the contestant entrepreneurs and investors following the business pitch.
Code 4	<i>Nationalistic narratives and show version</i>
Description	This refers to themes of nationalistic narratives for the geographical region in which the show was produced, and often due to the different structures in show version.

From these codes, I noticed that different claims to values were being made for discourses of entrepreneurship, in that a combination of wealth, improving domestic life, or even civic contribution were often given as the motives and desires of entrepreneurship. This finding illustrated that the third dimension, which is “explanation/social analysis” of Fairclough’s (2013) dimensions of discourse (see Figure 3.2) was not homogenous. Additionally, the misrepresentation of discourses of entrepreneurship as homogenous is a practice that Jones and Spicer (2009) strongly caution against for critical research. After discussing these findings with my supervisors, I revisited the literature and found that Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders of worth resonated with my findings based on my MCDA of the television shows. Hence, combining MCDA from a Faircloughian position, with Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders

of worth enriches and deepens the ideological analysis of this study. Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth framework illuminates the different ideologies that constitute the entrepreneurship discourse by advancing insight into the multiple and different value systems present. Thus, incorporating Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth were inductively derived for the analysis process. Unfortunately, I did not have enough time to recode the data for 'orders of worth', so I do not have systematic evidence, and cannot make claims as to the frequency with which specific orders of worth are referenced in the discourse. I made conceptual connections with the framework and my codes, for example, where I had labels of 'net worth' I translated to 'market order of worth', and where I had 'family values' I translated to 'domestic order of worth'. If I had more time or was able to repeat this study, I would have recorded for the orders of worth, this is a limitation of my analysis process. A diagrammatic illustration of how I combined the theoretical framework of Fairclough with Boltanski and Thévenot and applied it to MCDA is seen in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6 Diagram illustrating relationship between theoretical framework and methodological application



Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to television clips

Step 1: Video clips were tagged on Nvivo using the four codes (see Table 3.2) that were derived inductively

Step 2: For every video clip tagged per code, I transcribed⁸ spoken word (conversations, narrations etc) including descriptions such as body language, pauses, tone, and emotional displays (e.g crying)

Step 3: This was followed by a visual analysis of the clip (inclusive of props, camera focus and angle)

Step 4: The final step in the MCDA of the clip was an analysis of the music and added in sound effects

Step 5: The text, visual, and audio analysis were combined to understand how *entre-tainment* was representing entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs

Step 6: These findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth

Reflexivity as an entre-tainment viewer

The social constructionist epistemology is not exempt from the critical stance it purports, as such it includes reflexivity as part of the process. Reflexivity refers to acknowledging personal and cultural perspectives of the researcher that could shape the research (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Burr, 2003). After watching 1683 minutes of *entre-tainment* programming, I must confess that as a viewer I found *Shark Tank* to be the most entertaining to watch of the three versions. The *Sharks* felt so much like caricatures and the way they ridiculed contestant entrepreneurs felt so hyperbolic that it did not impact on me negatively as I felt that it was unrealistic and the same as watching a fictional show. I found the lack of background music in *Dragons' Den* made it less entertaining than *Shark Tank* and more similar to factual television shows. Also, the stoic and serious tone of *Dragons' Den* did not make it an enjoyable and relaxing watch for me. The ways in which the *Dragons'* chastised contestant entrepreneurs felt a lot more realistic and reminded me of real-life authority figures, like stern high school teachers, and was more stressful to watch. My reactions as a viewer are likely influenced by my familiarity with American media as I, similar to many other people who grew up in the Caribbean, have been much more exposed to American media compared to British media based on geographical proximity and television network providers. Also, I felt incredibly guilty and questioned my level of patriotism as I found *Planting Seeds* to be the most boring of the versions. I felt that I should be more supportive of the educational format and interested in the

⁸ I transcribed all speech in video data in this manner

themes of developing the Caribbean region since its produced in and for my home country. However, it just did not hold my interest, and that is as a viewer who should ideally be invested in that content far less for holding the attention of an international viewing audience.

3.5.2 Layer 2

I use the same content (*Dragons/Sharks/Investors*) and timeframe (the years for which the selected episodes aired, which gives an end date of November 2017) of *Layer 1* data as the boundary for collecting data for *Layer 2*. The four codes found for *Layer 1* (see Table 3.2) were used as guiding themes going forward to categorise and analyse the entrepreneurship discourses for *Layers 2* and *3*. This was done by collecting data that reproduced, reinforced, questioned or challenged the four code categories. *Layer 2* comprises of texts *produced by the show*, aside from the television episodes, these are (i) the shows' websites, (ii) books, and (iii) their social media accounts.

i. The shows' websites

Each show had an official website as follows:

- ***Dragons' Den:*** <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006vq92>
- ***Shark Tank:*** <https://abc.com/shows/shark-tank>
- ***Planting Seeds:*** <https://plantingseedscaribbean.com/>

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to websites

Step 1: Reviewed the content of the websites using the four codes (see Table 3.2) for elements that were similar and different across the shows and against *Layer 1* findings

Step 2: Found a similar "investor profile" section on all three websites, which reinforced and expanded upon Code 1- *How the investors are 'entrepreneurial celebrity idols'*

Step 3: Found outlier structural components of *Planting Seeds* website (digital magazines and blogs) which reflected Code 4- *Nationalistic narratives and show version*

Step 4: Imported the web page for each "investor profile" that belonged to an investor that appeared in *Layer 1* data, into Nvivo using NCapture

Step 5: Textual analysis of investor profiles using the four codes (see Table 3.2) and taking note of outliers

Step 6: Conceptually mapped discourse code findings on to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth, e.g.s mentions of charity mapped on to civic orders of worth, mentions of family values mapped on to domestic orders of worth

Step 7: Visual analysis of images of investors- lighting, colours, clothing, pose, spatial, photograph backdrop/background

Step 8: Combined textual and visual analysis to assess which discourses and their ideologies and value systems were being reproduced, reinforced, or contested through outliers or contradictions

A breakdown by show version of investor profile collection and analysis is as follows,

Dragons' Profiles: The *Dragons' Den* website only had the profiles for the *Dragons* that feature on the most recent season of the show. There were five *Dragon* profiles in total, three of which were of *Dragons* that appeared in the television episode data sampled in *Layer 1*.

Sharks' Profiles: The *Shark Tank* website had profiles for ten *Sharks*, six of which featured in the television episodes analysed in *Layer 1*.

Planting Seeds Investors Profiles: The profiles for all seven of the *Planting Seeds'* investors that appeared in the *Layer 1* dataset was available on their website.

Table 3.3 Number of investor profiles collected and analysed from websites

	<i>Dragons' Den</i>	<i>Shark Tank</i>	<i>Planting Seeds</i>
No. of profiles	3	6	7

The *Planting Seeds* website was the only version that had structural differences compared to the other two shows' websites which was the inclusion of a) digital magazines, and b) blog posts.

a) ***Digital magazines:*** As of 2020 there were four digital magazines available on the website as magazines are released accompanying the seasons of the show. Since I have set the boundaries of my data to coincide with the timeline of the television seasons sampled, I analysed the accompanying magazines for seasons 1-2 of *Planting Seeds*.

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to digital magazines

Step 1: Imported the magazines that accompanied the television seasons analysed in *Layer 1* into Nvivo using NCapture

Step 2: Visual analysis of the magazine covers and pinpointing the lead article featured on cover

Step 3: Textual analysis of the lead article for each magazine (totalling two articles) using the four codes derived in *Layer 1* (see Table 3.2), no images were included with the lead articles

Step 4: These findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders of worth

b) **Blog posts:** There were 36 blog posts available at the time of data collection, all 36 were collected and analysed.

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to blogs

Step 1: Imported all 36 blog posts into Nvivo using Ncapture

Step 2: Categorised the type of blog posts to gain insight as to the most common themes of blog posts as well as outliers

Step 3: Textual analysis followed by visual analysis (focusing on images, font sizes/colours/placement) using the four codes (see Table 3.2)

Step 4: The findings from combining the textual and visual analysis were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders of worth

Table 3.4 Additional content collected and analysed for Planting Seeds website

	Digital Magazines	Blog Posts
Number	2	36

ii. Books

This section only included books produced by *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*, and their entrepreneurial celebrity idols. This section does not include *Planting Seeds* as it has not produced any books. The categories of books took on two forms a) autobiographies of the *Dragon/Shark*, and b) educational books.

1) Autobiographies

The sample of autobiographies was selected based on those that were branded as ‘best-sellers’ and the boundary was set as autobiographies of *Dragons* and *Sharks* that featured in the episodes sampled for *Layer 1*. I searched for the *Dragons’ Den* best-selling books by key word searching ‘best-seller/ing*’ with the ‘*Dragons’* names’ on Google and Amazon searches. This allowed me to find the relevant books on Amazon, as the site labels best-selling books accordingly. I was able to source autobiographical books for *Shark Tank*, as their official website listed all their best-selling autobiographies under the *Sharks’* profiles.

Dragons' Den

Five autobiographical books were analysed for *Dragons' Den* these are,

- 1) "Tycoon" by Peter Jones
- 2) "Enter the Dragon" by Theo Paphitis
- 3) "Anyone can do it: My story" by Duncan Bannatyne
- 4) "The Real Deal": by James Caan
- 5) "Common Sense Rules": by Deborah Meaden

Shark Tank

Ten autobiographical books were analysed for *Shark Tank* which are,

- 1) "Shark Tales" by Barbara Corcoran
- 2) "How to win" by Mark Cuban
- 3) "Invest it, sell it, bank it" by Lori Greiner
- 4) "Driven" by Robert Herjavec
- 5) "The will to win" by Robert Herjavec
- 6) "You don't have to be a Shark" by Robert Herjavec
- 7) "The power of broke" by Daymond John
- 8) "Rise and grind" by Daymond John
- 9) "Men, women and money" by Kevin O'Leary
- 10) "Family, kids and money" by Kevin O'Leary

2) *Educational Books*

The educational books were analysed based on their genre of being educational, so the analysis focused on the content and central themes of those books. I chose to exclude the book cover images from the analysis as I found it to be repetitive imagery of the shows' brand which was previously addressed in *Layer 1*. In addition to being concerned with the ideological effects of the educational component so I prioritised those themes as the focus for educational books. The educational book for *Dragons' Den* was selected in the same manner as the autobiographical books, it emerged as a 'best-seller' on Amazon. I was unable to find a 'best-

seller’ for *Shark Tank* educational books and as such sourced from those listed on their website section labelled “books” under the category “business tips”.

The books analysed are as follows,

- 1) Dragons’ Den: Success from pitch to profit
- 2) Shark Tank: Secrets to success

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to books

Step 1: For the autobiographies, the book covers were imported as images into Nvivo

Step 2: A combined textual and visual analysis was done for the autobiographical book covers

Step 3: The four codes from *Layer 1* (see Table 3.2) were used to select chapters from the table of contents of these books which had similar or contrasting themes to those codes

Step 4: A textual analysis was done for the selected book chapters

Step 5: Findings for the book covers and their respective chapters are combined

Step 6: Critical discourse analysis (textual analysis only) done for educational books, as I excluded the book covers to reduce repetition, so the multimodal aspect for this dataset was not applicable

Step 7: Findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders of worth

Table 3.5 Number of books analysed

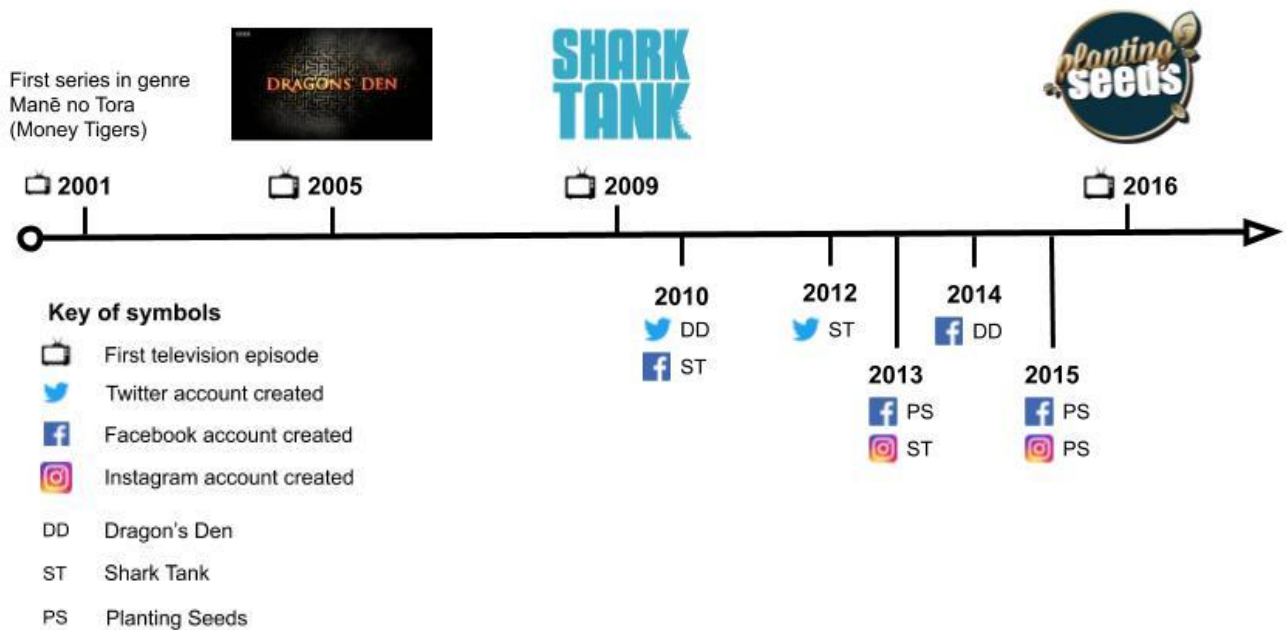
	Autobiographical Books	Educational Books
<i>Dragons’ Den</i>	5	1
<i>Shark Tank</i>	10	1

iii. Social Media

The social media platforms of a) Twitter, b) Facebook, and c) Instagram have been selected due to the shows’ having social media accounts on these platforms, in addition to the different ways in which each platform contributes to discourse due to their respective formats and communicative norms which influences the style and content of their posts. The following

Figure 3.7 is an expansion of the timeline provided for *Layer 1* (see Figure 3.5) to include when the shows' opened their relative social media accounts.

Figure 3.7 Timeline of social media account created by show overlaid with shows premiere



a) Twitter

Nvivo was only able to download the most recent 100 tweets from the shows' Twitter accounts which did not provide meaningful insight as to the trends in discourse and did not coincide with the time period covered by the *Layer 1* data. To be able to download tweets for the relevant time period, I applied and was granted access to use Twitter's "Full-Archive API⁹" which is available for researchers and businesses to conduct social media research. To download the tweets from the shows for the time periods that the episodes aired into an Excel spreadsheet, I needed a software program to be developed. I got my husband, who is a professional software developer, to create the program which allowed me to download all the tweets from the year the shows' accounts were opened until November 2017. I then did a MCDA of the tweet with the highest engagement per year, where I have defined 'engagement' as the total retweet and like counts combined.

b) Facebook

⁹ API: Application Programming Interface

I collected the Facebook posts by using the advanced setting of the Facebook search filter to show posts from the official show accounts from the year the account was opened until November 2017. I was only able to save these posts as images, and as such had to manually record the “number of reacts received” to arrange the posts from highest number of reacts to lowest. I did a MCDA of three posts that emerged at the top of the list based on the highest number of reacts. The MCDA of each post reviewed the text first, followed by any attached images and video content.

c) Instagram

I used a software program designed for viewing and downloading content from Instagram called ‘InstaBro’ to collect the shows’ posts from their first post up until November 2017. The program downloaded all the posts into a tabular format that allowed me to filter them by number of likes. I did a MCDA of the ten posts with the highest number of likes per show account.

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to social media posts

Step 1: Used the four codes (see Table 3.2) to collect cases that reproduced, reinforced, or contested those categories

Step 2: Did a textual analysis, followed by visual analysis, then audio analysis of the posts (accordingly based on instances when images and videos were included) of these cases

Step 3: Text, visual, and audio analysis was combined

Step 4: The MCDA findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot’s (2006) orders of worth

Table 3.6 Number of posts MCDA for show’s social media accounts

	Twitter	Facebook	Instagram
<i>Dragons’ Den</i>	6	3	N/A
<i>Shark Tank</i>	6	3	10
<i>Planting Seeds</i>	N/A	3	10

3.5.3 Layer 3

As *Layer 3* is concerned with discourses about the show, the data collected has been extended to include years until 2019. This decision was made to include more recent discourses about

the shows and to reflect how it is proliferating current-day discourses into the analysis. *Layer 3* comprises of data that covers the societal discourses *about the shows*, data was collected for the following texts, (i) university websites, (ii) newspaper articles, and (iii) memes and parodies.

i. University websites

I did a Google search for the appearance of *entre-tainment* on university websites. The search keywords were as follows,

- First level keywords:
 - show name + “university” + geographical region
 - e.g.: Dragons’ Den + university + UK

I did not limit the first level keyword search to the correlating geographical region of the shows. I also searched for “Dragons’ Den” in “US universities”, and “Shark Tank” in “UK universities”. I followed the first level keyword search with a second level keyword search, adding the following keywords,

- Business+ / competition, pitch, entrepreneur

I downloaded the findings for the first 20 university websites that appeared in search results each for *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*. For cases where more than one search result was generated for the same university website, the additional webpage was included in the analysis but was counted under the same university website, so the count of 20 websites by show (40 websites in total) was limited by university. I downloaded the findings for the first 20 university websites that appeared in search results and did not filter for type/standing of university. In section 6.1 University websites, the university from which the data is sourced is listed, and the collection spans a range from colleges to Russell Group universities such as Durham University. *Planting Seeds* only generated one finding for university websites, likely due to only having started in 2016 in comparison to its show counterparts that are running for over a decade, and there being a much smaller number of universities in the Caribbean due to smaller population size compared to the other regions.

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to university websites

Step 1: University webpages containing keywords were imported into Nvivo using Ncapture

Step 2: Used the four codes (see Table 3.2) to collect cases that reproduced, reinforced, or contested those categories

Step 3: Did a textual analysis, followed by visual analysis, then audio analysis (accordingly based on instances when images and videos were included) of these cases

Step 4: Text, visual, and audio analysis was combined

Step 5: The MCDA findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth

Table 3.7 Number of university websites collected and analysed

	University websites
<i>Dragons' Den</i>	20
<i>Shark Tank</i>	20
<i>Planting Seeds</i>	1

ii. Newspaper articles

The Nexis database was used to source newspaper articles for *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank*, with both shows searched for in both US and UK newspapers. The Nexis database was unable to find relevant articles for *Planting Seeds* and as such newspaper articles for *Planting Seeds* had to be sourced using Google search and appropriate keywords based on my personal knowledge of the Caribbean region to filter out agricultural related news. Since the research questions are concerned with representations of entrepreneurship and how these may be reproduced or challenged, the sample of newspaper articles have been selected from the years that reflect the beginning, middle and current-day timeline parallel to the show. For *Dragons' Den* the three timeslots are (i) 2005-6, (ii) 2012, and (iii) 2019, for *Shark Tank* these are (i) 2009-10, (ii) 2014-15, and (iii) 2018-19, and since *Planting Seeds* first aired in 2016 all the available articles are sampled. For the more mature show versions of *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank* twelve articles per show have been reviewed in total, four articles were randomly selected based on a randomized list generator from random.org for each of the time periods selected. All five articles found for *Planting Seeds* were included. The format of the newspaper articles was purely text, and did not contain any images, as such there was no need for the multimodal aspect of critical discourse analysis, so a critical discourse analysis was carried out.

Procedure for applying critical discourse analysis to newspapers

Step 1: Newspaper articles imported into Nvivo

Step 2: Critical discourse analysis (textual analysis) using the four codes (see Table 3.2) to analyse data that reproduced, reinforced, questioned or challenged those categories

Step 3: Those findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth

Table 3.8 Number of newspaper articles collected and analysed

	Newspaper articles
<i>Dragons' Den</i>	12
<i>Shark Tank</i>	12
<i>Planting Seeds</i>	5

iii. Memes and Parodies

Though I used a systematic keyword (and hashtag) search method on the relevant platforms to retrieve the respective memes and parodies, I decided to also include those that I happened to come across as this is evidence that the discourse is present and ongoing in public discussions.

Sourcing memes proved to be challenging, I was able to retrieve memes created by the viewers through a Google image search and Instagram. The challenges surrounded that I can only view memes if persons social media accounts were set as public, and only if the users actually tagged these posts, and tagged these posts with the search terms I was using, all facets which appeared to be uncommon. The Facebook and Twitter search engine was only able to filter for and showed memes posted by the official shows, so these did not include those made by viewers that offered critiques which is the category being examined in this section. Key search words and hashtags used:

- 'meme/s'/template/generator' + 'show name' +/- 'I'm out'

After finding that a popular template for memes used the "I'm out" format of the show, I included that term in my search for memes. The memes collected and analysed were based on Google image search and Instagram. The Google image search provided the most memes, some of which it was able to pull from social media accounts that were set as public. The Instagram hashtag search came up with "less than 100 posts" for memes. Also, I was able to find more

memes ridiculing *Shark Tank* as opposed to *Dragons' Den*, and none for *Planting Seeds*. I sourced parodies by searching the 'shows' names' + 'parody' on YouTube.

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to memes

Step 1: Memes imported into Nvivo as image files

Step 2: Used the four codes (see Table 3.2) to guide a combined textual and visual analysis

Step 3: These MCDA findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth

Procedure for applying multimodal critical discourse analysis to parodies

Step 1: Parodies imported into Nvivo as video files

Step 2: The four codes (see Table 3.2) were used to guide a textual analysis followed by visual analysis, then audio analysis

Step 3: Text, visual, and audio analysis was combined

Step 4: These MCDA findings were conceptually mapped on to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth




Table 3.9 Number of memes and parodies analysed

	Memes	Parodies
<i>Dragons' Den</i>	1	2
<i>Shark Tank</i>	4	2

Chapter 4. *Layer 1 Analysis: Discourses within entre-tainment*

This chapter reviews the first *Layer* of data (*Layer 1*) which is the discourses of entrepreneurship *within the television shows*. This dataset is comprised of television episodes from *Planting Seeds (Caribbean)*, *Shark Tank (USA)*, and *Dragons' Den (UK)*. Firstly, the name of each show sets the tone and packages the entrepreneurship discourses within the television shows. Data Excerpt 1 displays the logos for each show.

Data Excerpt 1: Logos for each version of the show sampled

<i>Planting Seeds</i>	<i>Shark Tank</i>	<i>Dragons' Den</i>
		

The respective show titles position which of the entrepreneurs is central to the discourse. The name “Planting Seeds” indicates that focus is on the contestant entrepreneur, while “Shark Tank” and “Dragons’ Den” are named after the entrepreneurs that serve as judges on the show, who are called “Sharks” and “Dragons” respectively. The connotations of these titles are enhanced by the visuals in their logos. For “Planting Seeds”, this title alludes to entrepreneurship discourses of nurturing and growth, in addition to the imagery in the logo of dollar signs growing as leaves which connotes themes of entrepreneurship for economic growth. The use of symbols of dollar signs also emphasizes that the main goal of entrepreneurship even in a nurturing context is about gaining wealth. Whereas “Shark Tank” and “Dragons’ Den” are represented as hostile and aggressive discourses of entrepreneurship using imagery that reinforces their predatory metaphors. “Shark Tank” has a toothy shark bite mark in the logo, and “Dragons’ Den” has visuals of smoke and fire in front of a dark and ominous maze. Both logos depict threatening and violent environments for contestant entrepreneurs, and consequently constitutes discourses that it is necessary to survive such environments to make it as an entrepreneur. This also furthers Kelly and Boyle’s (2011)

arguments that these elements introduce a more cruel and ruthless tone of entrepreneurship as opposed to traditional settings and titles such as ‘Business Angel’.

Secondly, I coded the television episodes for content that pertained to discourses of entrepreneurship (refer to 3.5.1) and arrived at four code categories which are 1) how the investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols, 2) how ‘contestant entrepreneurs’ are represented, 3) entrepreneurial ideals, and 4) nationalistic narratives and show version (see Table 3.2). The findings for each code are as follows.

4.1 How investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols

This section presents the findings for *how investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols*. I use both terms ‘celebrity’ and ‘idol’ as descriptors because ‘celebrity’ covers the associated fame orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) of *entre-tainment*, and accounts for the context of the reality television generation which aims to produce celebrities (Kavka, 2012), while also acknowledging that celebrities do not always become be idols. However, these entrepreneurial celebrities are positioned as idols through the shows’ constitutions of entrepreneurship discourses. I ordered the descriptors in their title to show that they were considered entrepreneurs in their daily lives before joining *entre-tainment*, then joining *entre-tainment* made them celebrities, and due to the popularity of the show they achieved idol status. Thus, the category of ‘entrepreneurial celebrity idol’. A consistent structural trait in the format of these shows is the official introduction of the investors in the opening sequence of every episode. These introductions are presented below and are reviewed in terms of the entrepreneurship discourses they constitute, how the discourses have changed over seasons, and the ways in which the discourses are similar and differ across the shows sampled. Additionally, in keeping with the tenets of Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies (MCDS), the multiple communicative modes that were used for these discourses are included (Machin, 2013; Jancsary et al, 2015).

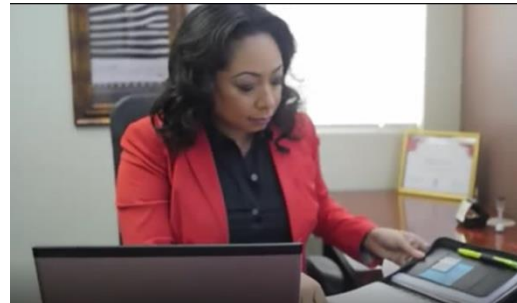
4.1.1 On Planting Seeds

Data Excerpt 2: Planting Seeds introductions of investors (seasons 1-2)

Season	Introductions
Season 1	<p>“Joseph Rahael joins us with an impressive portfolio of successful real-estate development through his family business the Amera corporation, this Wharton graduate says that when he invests, he invests in personality and drive.”</p> <p>“With over 14 years in management consulting, Raquel Moses has ample experience in strategy, marketing and sales, operations, mergers and acquisitions, so naturally she knows exactly what she’s looking for.”</p> <p>“Joe Pires is definitely known for his vivacious and outgoing personality, which also leaks over into his style of investing, Joe dabbles in a little bit of everything from nightclubs to agriculture and is always up to a new challenge.”</p> <p>“At 17, Sheldon Stevens started with a small kiosk that would grow into the Lollabee group of companies specialising in selling mobile devices and developing real estate, this young self-made investor is looking for stable and sustainable ventures.”</p>
Season 2	<p>“Hi, I’m Teri-Leigh Bovell, and welcome to season 2 of Planting Seeds where entrepreneurs pitch their business ideas to a panel of investors in order to gain cold hard cash in exchange for an equity stake in their business, now let’s take a look at today’s investor panel.”</p> <div data-bbox="357 1480 1123 1637"> </div> <div data-bbox="357 1700 1110 1856"> </div>

Season 1 describes the investors through their credentials that enable them to enact this role, for example educational and experiential qualifications by using descriptors such as “Wharton graduate” and “14 years in management consulting”. The last introduction of the investor, Sheldon Stevens, follows the narrative of ‘building from scratch’ illustrated through the storytelling style of his ‘journey from...to...’, e.g. “started with a small kiosk that would grow into the Lollabee group of companies”, promoting the “self-made” narrative that positions the investors as idols. While, this first investor introduction contrasts with the last introduction in themes of being ‘self-made’, as it states that the “impressive portfolio of successful real-estate development” was achieved “through his family business”. This may have influenced the decision to mention his educational qualifications as the descriptor that follows the reference to inheriting the “family business”. The investor introductions in *Planting Seeds* are less glamourized and a more achievable depiction of successful entrepreneurs compared to *Shark Tank* and *Dragons’ Den*. This was further enhanced through the type of visuals that showed the *Planting Seeds* investors engaged in regular daily mundane tasks such as working in an office and sending emails, which is seen in Data Excerpt 3.

Data Excerpt 3: Images of Planting Seeds investor introductions




These images present the *Planting Seeds* investors as authentic entrepreneurs and idols as they are continuing to work hard even though they have achieved entrepreneurial success. These visuals of them working in offices as opposed to revelling in luxury items also serves to portray them as being worthy of having earned extreme wealth. The way the investors are introduced changes for the second season of the show, where there is just an image of the investor and their respective professional titles, this is the same format of introductions for investors in season 14 of *Dragons’ Den*, both seasons of which air in the same year, 2017 (see Data Excerpt 13). This constitutes fame orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) due to the shift to the celebrity status following season 1, as the assumption is made that the audience has become familiar with the profile of the investors and an extensive introduction is no longer required.

4.1.2 On Shark Tank

Data Excerpt 4: Introduction of the Sharks (seasons 1-7)

Season 1	Season 2	Season 3
<p>“Five powerful self-made investors worth billions, tonight they will make or break the dreams of hopeful entrepreneurs.” [dramatic music]</p> <p>“Who are the Sharks?”</p> <p>“Kevin O’Leary knows how to make money, he started a software business in his basement which he eventually sold for 3.2 billion dollars.”</p> <p>“Barbara Corcoran, this fiery real-estate mogul turned a thousand-dollar loan into a real estate empire worth hundreds of millions in the shark-filled city of Manhattan.”</p> <p>“Kevin Harrington is the King of infomercials, his genius marketing of products such as the Obama coin and the rock and roll stepper have amassed billions of dollars in sales.”</p>	<p>*same as season 1, but without Shark- Kevin Harrington, replaced by new Shark- Mark Cuban.</p> <p>“And tonight Mark Cuban, this self-made billionaire started out as a paperboy and now is a media mogul and the outspoken owner of the Dallas Mavericks.”</p>	<p>“Who are the Sharks? They are five self-made, filthy rich investors.”</p> <p>“Kevin O’Leary is a Venture Capitalist who started a software business in his basement which he eventually sold for 3.2 billion dollars.”</p> <p>“Lori Greiner is the Queen of QVC, she holds 108 patents and has launched over 300 products grossing 500 million in worldwide retail sales.”</p> <p>“Damon John is a fashion and branding expert who grew his homemade hats and t-shirts into the globally recognised fashion brand, Fubu.”</p> <p>“Robert Herjavec, the son of an immigrant factory worker is now a technology mogul who sold his first internet companies for over 350 million dollars.”</p>

<p>“Damon John literally turned rags to riches with his clothing brand Fubu which has grossed over 6 billion dollars in worldwide retail sales to date.”</p> <p>“And Robert Herjavec who sold his internet companies for over 350 billion dollars now this self-made technology magnate is a Venture Capitalist and runs his own software company.”</p>		<p>“And Mark Cuban a self-made billionaire entrepreneur and the outspoken owner of the 2011 NBA Champion Dallas Mavericks.”</p>
<p>Season 4</p>	<p>Season 5</p>	<p>Season 6 & 7</p>
<p>“Who are the sharks? They’re self-made millionaire and billionaire investors who are entrepreneurs themselves.”</p> <p>“Kevin O’Leary is a Venture Capitalist who turned a 10 thousand dollar loan into a software business worth 4.2 billion dollars.”</p> <p>“Lori Greiner, the Queen of QVC, holds over 100 patents, launched over 300 products grossing over a half a billion dollars in retail sales.”</p>	<p>*same opening line and description of Kevin and Lori, as season 4</p> <p>*first appearance of twitter handles, e.g.</p> 	<p>“Who are the Sharks? They are self-made business experts worth billions.”</p> <p>“Kevin O’Leary is a shrewd Venture Capitalist who made his fortunes selling a children’s educational company for over 4 billion dollars.”</p> <p>“Damon John dominated the fashion world with Fubu, now he’s the branding expert behind multiple global brands generating billions in sales.”</p> <p>“Robert Herjavec, son of an immigrant factory worker founded one of the world’s pre-eminent cyber security firms.”</p>

<p>“Damon John is a fashion mogul and branding expert who grew his homemade clothing line into the globally recognised fashion brand, Fubu.”</p> <p>“Robert Herjavec, the son of an immigrant factory worker is now a technology mogul who sold his first internet companies for over 350 million dollars.”</p> <p>“And Mark Cuban notorious billionaire entrepreneur and the outspoken owner of the Dallas Mavericks.”</p>	<p>“Barbara Corcoran went from waiting tables in Manhattan to building the city’s pre-eminent real estate empire.”</p> <p>“Damon John is a fashion mogul and branding expert who grew his homemade clothing line into the globally recognised fashion brand, Fubu with over 6 billion dollars in retail sales to date.”</p> <p>*same introduction for Robert</p> <p>“And Mark Cuban notorious billionaire entrepreneur, tech guru and the outspoken owner of the NBA’s Dallas Mavericks.”</p>	<p>“Lori Greiner, the Queen of QVC, holds over 100 patents, and has launched over 400 products grossing over a half a billion dollars in sales.”</p> <p>“And Mark Cuban renowned billionaire tech mogul and the outspoken owner of the Dallas Mavericks.”</p>
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In contrast to *Planting Seeds*, a predominant and often the opening descriptor used to position the *Sharks* as entrepreneurial celebrity idols was net worth. Another common descriptor was the ‘self-made’ narrative regularly illustrated through the ‘rags to riches’ journey, this descriptor was also used in the literal sense in the season 1 and 2 introductions of *Shark*, Damon, acting as a pun as he gained his position through the creation of a clothing brand, but nonetheless leading to the explicit inclusion of this theme. Data Excerpt 5 outlines other cases of this ‘rags to riches’ descriptor.

Data Excerpt 5: The Sharks’ ‘rags to riches’ Journey

From ‘rags’	To ‘riches’
“started a software business in his basement”	“sold for 3.2 billion dollars”
“turned a thousand-dollar loan”	“into a real estate empire worth hundreds of millions”
“started out as a paperboy”	“now is a media mogul”
“grew his homemade hats and t-shirts”	“into the globally recognised fashion brand, Fubu”
“the son of an immigrant factory worker”	“now a technology mogul who sold his first internet companies for over 350 million dollars”
“the son of an immigrant factory worker”	“founded one of the world’s pre-eminent cyber security firms”
“turned a 10 thousand-dollar loan”	“into a software business worth 4.2 billion dollars”
“went from waiting tables”	“to building the city’s pre-eminent real estate empire”

Data Excerpt 5 shows that the common trend of the ‘rags to riches’ accounts used for introducing the *Sharks* tends towards ending in a literal description of riches via net worth. The structure of the narrative used also lends itself to the commodifying entrepreneurship as the route to the ‘American Dream’. The American Dream ideology will be discussed further under “*nationalistic narratives and show version*” (section 4.4). Additional descriptors reinforcing the display of investors as entrepreneurial celebrity idols positioned on pedestals of greatness took the form of idolised categories of “mogul”, “magnate”, “guru”, “King”, “Queen”, and the owners of “empires”. There is also the narrative of the *Sharks* being portrayed as ordinary people who started off small and succeeded through hard-work, such as starting their businesses at home, in basements, through taking small bank loans, and beginning their careers with jobs of paperboys and waitresses. The term “entrepreneur” being used in reference to a *Shark* appears in season 3, with reference to *Shark*, Mark, the title of which he keeps until

season 6. The *Sharks* as a group are first referred to as “entrepreneurs” (Season 4), where the answer to the question, “who are the *Sharks*?” becomes:

Data Excerpt 6

“They’re **self-made** millionaire and billionaire investors **who are entrepreneurs themselves.**”

Thus, indicating that the previously outlined categories used in describing the *Sharks* are synonymous with entrepreneurial celebrity idols. The following table shows the evolution of the answer to the question, “who are the *Sharks*?”:

Data Excerpt 7: Answers to “Who are the Sharks?” (seasons 1-7)

	“Who are the Sharks?”
Season 1&2	“Five powerful self-made investors worth billions , tonight they will make or break the dreams of hopeful entrepreneurs. ”
Season 3	“They are five self-made, filthy rich investors.”
Season 4&5	“They’re self-made millionaire and billionaire investors who are entrepreneurs themselves. ”
Season 6&7	“They are self-made business experts worth billions. ”

For this summative description of the *Sharks* as a group, the ‘rags to riches’ theme still prevails by beginning the answer to the question with “self-made”. This consistency of the ‘self-made’ theme is treated as an accurate representation of all the *Sharks*, while in *Planting Seeds* this description was only ascribed to one investor (see Data Excerpt 2). This indicates that all seven different *Sharks* that appeared across the seasons sampled are being represented as ‘self-made’ further reinforcing tenets of the ‘American Dream’ success. The first two seasons refer to the contestants as “hopeful entrepreneurs”, though referring to them as entrepreneurs but distinguishing the power dynamic in terms of a hierarchy of entrepreneurs, in that they are “hopeful” and that the *Sharks* have the power to “make or break” their “dreams”. This positions the *Sharks* as predators to the contestant entrepreneurs, who in turn take up the subject position of vulnerable prey. These status distinctions of entrepreneurship further endorse the *Sharks* as the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, which is the end goal of these contestants. The first appearance of the *Sharks*’ twitter handles debut in season 5 (see Data Excerpt 4), allowing for a platform where the *entre-tainment* discourses interactions with society is being recorded,

connecting the discourse of 'Layer 1: *entre-tainment* television shows' to that of 'Layer 2: discourses surrounding the *entre-tainment* shows'.


4.1.3 On Dragons' Den

Data Excerpt 8: Introduction of the Dragons (seasons 1-14)

Season 1	Season 2	Season 3
<p>“So who are our 5 millionaires? The Dragons in the Den?”</p> <p>“Our first Dragon is Duncan Bannatyne he is worth more than a hundred and thirty million pounds, this Glaswegian entrepreneur has set up and sold several businesses and currently owns Bannatynes, the health club chain.”</p> <p>“Doug Richards is a Californian entrepreneur who made millions buying and selling software companies, he now runs library house, a high-tech investment company in Cambridge.”</p> <p>“Rachel Elnaugh is one of the UK’s leading businesswomen her company, Red Letter Days takes experiences like driving luxury sports cars and sells them as gift packages, its valued at 25 million pounds.”</p>	<p>“So who are our 5 investors? The Dragons in the Den?”</p> <p>*Duncan introduction same as season 1, except “casinos and bars” included at end.</p> <p>*Doug Richards introduction same as season 1</p> <p>“Rachel Elnaugh built Red Letter Days, a pioneering 20 million pound business selling gift experiences, but she hit the headlines when the company collapsed only for the brand to be bought out by two fellow Dragons. She’s now using her personal wealth to invest in new businesses.”</p> <p>“Peter Jones extraordinary business fortune began at just 16 when he started his own tennis academy since</p>	<p>“Together the Dragons are worth over half a billion pounds, they are powerful individuals who built up their own fortunes from scratch, so how did they make their money?”</p> <p>“Peter Jones’ remarkable business career began when he was just 16 and set up his own tennis academy. Today his 250 million pound empire includes leisure, telecoms and media businesses.”</p> <p>“New Dragon, Deborah Meaden made her fortune in the holiday and leisure industry where she’s just sold a stake in one of her companies in a 30 million pound deal.”</p> <p>“Glaswegian entrepreneur, Duncan Bannatyne is worth over 170 million pounds and currently owns Bannatyne’s health clubs, casinos and hotels.”</p>

<p>“Simon Woodroffe left school with just three O-levels, and spent years working in the music business before launching Yo Sushi, a Japanese style restaurant chain which made him millions.”</p> <p>“At 38, Peter Jones is worth more than 300 million pounds, his extraordinary business fortune began at just 16 when he started his own tennis academy, he now runs Phones International, a thriving telecoms company.”</p>	<p>then he has built a 250 million pound empire with interests ranging from telecoms to publishing and leisure.”</p> <p>“Our new Dragon is Theo Paphitis, he made his 150 million pound fortune by buying failing companies and transforming them into multi-million pound businesses, he currently owns the La Senza and Contessa Lingerie chains, and Partners and Ryman the high street stationers.”</p>	<p>“Theo Paphitis made his fortune by buying failing companies and transforming them into thriving businesses including Partners and Rymans the high street stationers.”</p> <p>“Our second new Dragon is Australian-born Richard Farleigh he made millions as an investment banker and hedge fund manager and is now renowned as a prolific investor in UK start-up companies.”</p>
<p>Season 4</p>	<p>Season 5</p>	<p>Season 6</p>
<p>“The Dragons know what they are talking about, powerful and wealthy now they all built up their own fortunes from scratch.”</p> <p>“Deborah Meaden made her millions in the holiday and leisure industry in the west country.”</p> <p>“Duncan Bannatyne is a Glaswegian entrepreneur whose 170 million pound empire includes health clubs, hotels and casinos.”</p> <p>“Theo Paphitis is a retail magnate whose transformed the fortunes of high street brands like Ryman, La Senza, Partners and Contessa.”</p>	<p>“The Dragons have all it takes to be successful, five of Britain’s most enterprising and wealthy business people, they’ve all built up their own fortunes from scratch.”</p> <p>“New Dragon, James Caan made his millions building a global business in the recruitment industry and he now heads an international private equity firm.”</p> <p>“Glaswegian entrepreneur, Duncan Bannatyne’s 200 million pound business empire includes hotels, casinos and health clubs.”</p>	<p>“The Dragons know how to succeed, five of Britain’s most enterprising and wealthy business people, they built up their fortunes from scratch.”</p> <p>**Dragon introductions remain the same as season 5, only change is Duncan’s wealth increases to 310 million pound</p>

<p>“Richard Farleigh is based in Monaco and made his fortune as an investment banker and hedge fund manager and he is now a prolific investor in UK start-up companies.”</p> <p>“Peter Jones is one of Britain’s most successful entrepreneurs, his multi-million pound business empire ranges from telecoms and property to the media.”</p>	<p>“Deborah Meaden earned her fortune in the holiday and leisure industry in the west country.”</p> <p>“Theo Paphitis is a retail magnate whose transformed the fortunes of high street brands like Ryman, La Senza, Partners and Contessa.”</p> <p>“And one of Britain’s best-known entrepreneurs Peter Jones has built up a multi-million pound empire with a business portfolio that ranges from telecoms and leisure to property and media.”</p>	
<p>Season 7</p>	<p>Season 8, 9 & 10</p>	<p>Season 11 & 12</p>
<p>“The multi-millionaire investors have each built up their fortunes from scratch.”</p> <p>“Theo Paphitis specialises in transforming the fortunes of some of Britain’s biggest high street chains.”</p> <p>“Glaswegian, Duncan Bannatyne has a reported 320 million pound empire including hotels and health clubs.”</p>	<p>*same opening line as season 7</p> <p>“Retail Magnate, Theo Paphitis.</p> <p>Hotel and Health Club Owner, Duncan Bannatyne.</p> <p>Leisure Industry Expert, Deborah Meaden.</p>	<p>[Opens with imagery of mythical creature Dragons, similar imagery continues to season 14]</p> <p>“Leisure & Marketing Expert, Deborah Meaden.</p> <p>Telecoms Giant, Peter Jones.</p> <p>Hotel and Health Club Owner, Duncan Bannatyne.</p> <p>Who between them struck deals worth more than 7 million pounds in the Den, but ready to fight for the next shrewd investment is creator of her own world</p>

<p>“Serial entrepreneur, Deborah Meaden originally made her fortune in the west country leisure industry.”</p> <p>“Having built up a global recruitment business, James Caan now heads a private equity firm investing millions each year.”</p> <p>“Peter Jones has a business portfolio that ranges from telecoms and leisure to property and media.”</p>	<p>Private Equity Investor, James Caan.</p> <p>Telecoms Giant, Peter Jones.”</p> <p>“The Dragons have the credentials, the contacts, the commitment and the cash ready to invest but only in the right business.”</p> <p>**Addition to season 9: “And new Dragon Hilary Devey who made her millions in the haulage industry.”</p> <p>**update to season 10: “Logistics Queen, Hilary Devey”</p>	<p>renowned interior design brand Kelly Hoppen, and cloud computing pioneer Piers Linney.”</p> <p>**update to season 12: “Founder of her own global interior design brand, Kelly Hoppen</p> <p>Cloud Computing Expert and former City financier, Piers Linney”</p>
<p>Season 13</p>	<p>Season 14</p>	
<p>“These are the Dragons, there’s new fire in the Den, joining formidable giants Peter Jones and Deborah Meaden are,</p>		

Global Fashion **Tycoon** with over 40 years retail experience, Touker Suleyman

The woman who turned her passion for food and drink into a **multi-million pound business empire**, Sarah Willingham

And the man who sold his online greetings card business for **120 million pound, Nick Jenkins.**”



Similar to *Shark Tank*, net worth was used as the main indicator to establish the *Dragons'* position as entrepreneurial celebrity idols. The theme of being 'self-made' was also prevalent throughout, although *Dragons' Den* did not outright use the terminology of 'self-made' like *Planting Seeds* and *Shark Tank*. *Dragons' Den* seasons 3-10 describe the *Dragons* as a group of persons "who have built up their fortunes from scratch" which connotes the similar theme of being 'self-made'. While this description is made in the summative introduction grouping all the *Dragons*, this theme is not strongly reiterated in the individual introductions of each *Dragon*, which was exclusively done for *Shark Tank* (see Data Excerpt 5). There is a degree of allusion towards 'building from scratch', for example *Dragon*, Peter, "his extraordinary business fortune began at just 16 when he started his own tennis academy"/ "remarkable business career began when he was just 16 and set up his own tennis academy" (see Data Excerpt 8, seasons 1-3). This description of the *Dragon's* achievement is framed as being impressive but not quite along the same narrative of 'rags to riches'. A similar 'building from scratch' description can also be seen with *Dragon*, Simon, who,

Data Excerpt 9

"left school **with just three O-levels**, and **spent years working** in the music business before launching Yo Sushi, a Japanese style restaurant chain which **made him millions.**" (Season 1)

This description of Simon's journey is more similar to the 'rags to riches' journey framing seen for *Shark Tank*, however *Shark Tank* marked these journeys through the entrepreneurial trait of 'hard-work'. The inclusion that the *Dragon* had only three O-levels indicates that he did poorly in high school, and is an attempt position him as relatable, inspirational, and motivational. Since it is still possible to become a successful entrepreneur even if you do not do well academically, which situates the *Dragon* as an entrepreneurial celebrity idol. This profile is a case of the 'success through adversity narrative' which furthers ideologies of 'anyone can do it' for the entrepreneurship discourse. It is important to note that while the 'rags to riches' narrative is not extensive in the *Layer 1* data collected for *Dragons' Den*, it is prevalent in the *Layer 2* data collection of books produced by the same *Dragons* that appear in the *Layer 1* dataset, with book titles such as "*Duncan Bannatyne: From an Ice-Cream Van to Dragons' Den: Anyone can do it, My Story*" and "*The Real Deal: James Caan, My Story, From Brick Lane to Dragons' Den.*"

Within *Layer 1*, other similarities across representations of *Sharks* and *Dragons* surround the use of terminology such as “empire” and the title of “Queen”, however the term “Queen” does not appear until season 8, and these terms are used much more infrequently on *Dragons’ Den* compared to *Shark Tank*. Also, more apparent in *Dragons’ Den* is the positioning of the *Dragons* as entrepreneurial celebrity idols through themes of heroism. This is evident in an outlier introduction of *Dragon*, Rachel in season 2,

Data Excerpt 10

“Rachel Elnaugh built Red Letter Days, a pioneering 20 million pound business selling gift experiences, but she hit the headlines when the company collapsed only for the brand to be bought out by two fellow Dragons.”

Other similarities across *Shark Tank* and *Dragons’ Den* entrepreneurship discourses include this theme of heroism, though presented in a more denotative sense as compared to the connotative approach *Shark Tank* took for the same theme. An example of this is presented as the speciality of one *Dragon*, Theo, who is regularly introduced as having,

Data Excerpt 11

“made his fortune by buying failing companies and transforming them into thriving businesses” (Season 3).









In contrast to *Shark Tank*, the term “entrepreneur” is assigned to a few of the *Dragons* from the very first season and throughout the series (c.f. Data Excerpt 7), with *Dragon*, Duncan being titled as an “entrepreneur” from seasons 1-7, which then changes to the title of “owner”. Since, *Dragon*, Peter has been present in all fourteen seasons sampled, Data Excerpt 12 will outline the evolution of his descriptor titles as an example of the evolution of the *Dragons’* introductions over time.

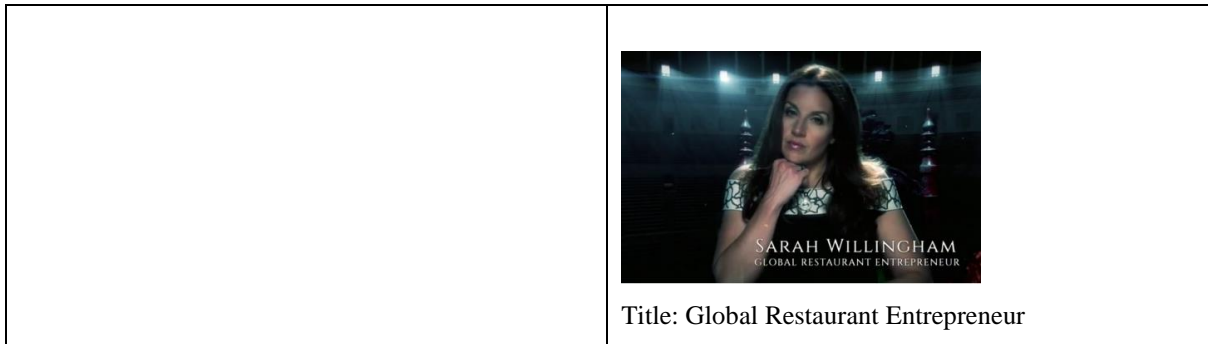
Data Excerpt 12: Dragon, Peter’s title across seasons 1-14

Season	Title
4	one of Britain’s most successful entrepreneurs
5 & 6	one of Britain’s best-known entrepreneurs
8-12	Telecoms Giant
13	formidable giant
14	Technology Titan

Data Excerpt 12 demonstrates that it is from season 8 (also see Data Excerpt 8) that the *Dragons* start being positioned with titles of grandeur which are being made synonymous with the entrepreneur category. *Dragons' Den*, season 14, is the most parallel in style of introducing the entrepreneurial celebrity idols to *Planting Seeds*, season 2. Both these seasons aired in the same year, 2017, and illustrates the evolution of how the entrepreneurial celebrity idols are introduced. These introductions are compared in Data Excerpt 13.

Data Excerpt 13: Comparison of introductions in Planting Seeds and Dragons' Den, for 2017

<i>Planting Seeds</i>	<i>Dragons' Den</i>
 <p>Title: Partner</p>	 <p>Title: Technology Titan</p>
 <p>Title: Restaurateur/ Agriculturist</p>	 <p>Title: Serial Investor</p>
 <p>Title: Chief Marketing Officer</p>	 <p>Title: Online Innovator</p>
 <p>Title: CEO & Founder</p>	 <p>Title: Fashion Retail Tycoon</p>



Data Excerpt 13 shows that the titles assigned to the investors in *Planting Seeds* are traditional professional titles commonly used in job descriptions, whereas those used in *Dragons' Den* position entrepreneurship as a 'sublime object' (Jones & Spicer, 2009) with idolised titles, such as "Titan", "Innovator" and "Tycoon", while still ascribing a *Dragon* as an "entrepreneur". This demonstrates the boundary blurring features of *entre-tainment*, as it blurs factual job titles with the category of the entrepreneurship, and 'sublime object' titles of grandeur. There are also clear differences in imageries and lighting, portraying the *Dragons* as stern predators in intimidating positions of power, whereas for the clips of *Planting Seeds*, viewers can extrapolate that those entrepreneurial celebrity idols seem to be engaged in friendly-toned conversations with contestant entrepreneurs.

4.1.4 Summary of Findings: How investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols

Overall, the ways in which the investors were given the subject position of entrepreneurial celebrity idol in the discourse had to do with the different ways they were represented as being successful. This was achieved through the use of the 'built from scratch' and 'self-made' narratives which makes the subject position of entrepreneurship available to anyone regardless of circumstances provided that they work hard. To recap, a summary Table 4.1 of the introductions of entrepreneurial celebrity idols with these descriptors is as follows.

Table 4.1 Entrepreneurial celebrity idol themes of 'self-made'/'built from scratch' across show openings

<i>Planting Seeds</i>
"this young self-made investor is looking for stable and sustainable ventures."
<i>Shark Tank</i>
"Five powerful self-made investors worth billions , tonight they will make or break the dreams of hopeful entrepreneurs." [dramatic music]
"Who are the Sharks? They are five self-made, filthy rich investors."

“Who are the sharks? They’re **self-made millionaire and billionaire** investors who are **entrepreneurs** themselves.”

“Who are the Sharks? They are **self-made business experts worth billions.**”

Dragons’ Den

“Together the Dragons are **worth over half a billion pounds**, they are powerful individuals **who built up their own fortunes from scratch**, so how did they make their money?”

“The Dragons know what they are talking about, **powerful and wealthy now they all built up their own fortunes from scratch.**”

“The Dragons have all it takes to be **successful, five of Britain’s most enterprising and wealthy business people**, they’ve all **built up their own fortunes from scratch.**”

“The Dragons know how to **succeed, five of Britain’s most enterprising and wealthy business people**, they **built up their fortunes from scratch.**”

“The multi-millionaire investors **have each built up their fortunes from scratch.**”

Additionally, the imageries used to represent the investors’ success as entrepreneurs were similar for *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*, but differed for *Planting Seeds*, as outlined in the Data Excerpt 14 through illustrative examples,

Data Excerpt 14: Visual symbols of success for the entrepreneurial celebrity idols

<i>Dragons’ Den</i>	<i>Shark Tank</i>	<i>Planting Seeds</i>
		

The red circles outline the materials used as visual and physical indicators of success. The example shows that a common practice for *Dragons’ Den* was to have piles of money on a table next to each *Dragon*, and *Shark Tank* has their *Shark* having meeting on her yacht. Both of these shows focused on financial and material indicators of wealth to emphasize success and placing value on the market order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). Though *Planting Seeds* success indicator appears to be mundane looking office work, represented by being in an office with a desktop and laptop computer, the imagery creates the job position of being at the

top level, which is running their own business by not being shown doing menial work in the company. Though the discourses are presented differently they all represent images of what entrepreneurship success looks like, and they all portray the status distinction of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol as being obtainable but exceptional. The entrepreneurship discourses for all three shows presents the *Dragons*, *Sharks* and *Planting Seeds* investors as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary, which makes the subject position of entrepreneurship accessible to anyone, as these entrepreneurial celebrity idols are portrayed as having started off as ordinary. The discourses of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols also fostered ideologies of ‘anyone can do it’ through their narratives of ‘being self-made’, ‘built from scratch’, generally succeeding despite adversity and the use of the ‘rags to riches’ myth. Going forward I take the position of ‘rags to riches’ as being an instance of a myth (Barthes, 1972), since in the entrepreneurship discourses it has a dimension of power and authority that serves to normalize the belief that entrepreneurial celebrity idols are worthy of their statuses which they have earned based purely on merit, and the naturalisation of this belief leads to ideological effects.

4.2 How contestant entrepreneurs are represented

This discourse was done in a way unique to *Shark Tank* as it was the only version of the shows in the dataset that had a contestant entrepreneur profile segment to introduce the contestant entrepreneurs to the viewers before showing their business pitch. Though *Dragons’ Den* and *Planting Seeds* tends to give a snippet of contestant entrepreneurs background story in the question and answer segment following the business pitch (i.e. Part 4, see section 3.5.1). However, *Dragons’ Den* and *Planting Seeds* do not have a dedicated segment for the contestant entrepreneur profile that is produced in an extensive way with an interview inclusive of home visits and the use of family photographs as practiced by *Shark Tank*. Notably, not every contestant entrepreneur that appears on *Shark Tank* receives a profile segment which brings into consideration aspects of *deletion*, as it is likely that the contestant entrepreneurs who do not compellingly reinforce or represent the entrepreneurship discourses being put forward have been excluded from this segment. I found that these segments consisted of three main ways in which the contestant entrepreneurs were presented (i) as an ordinary person, (ii) as pursuing the American Dream, and (iii) as being in the start-up stage of entrepreneurship, this section outlines illustrative examples of each.

4.2.1 Contestant entrepreneurs as ordinary persons

For the representation of the contestant entrepreneurs as being ordinary, the most predominant ways in which the contestant entrepreneurs were represented throughout the series were as ordinary persons and characterized by emotional affects. These profile segments were recorded in the contestant entrepreneurs' home settings, which included visuals of their hometown, or house they lived in and with their families. Data Excerpt 15 is an illustrative example of such a profile where a home office doubles as the children's playroom.

Data Excerpt 15: Profile of contestant entrepreneur as ordinary





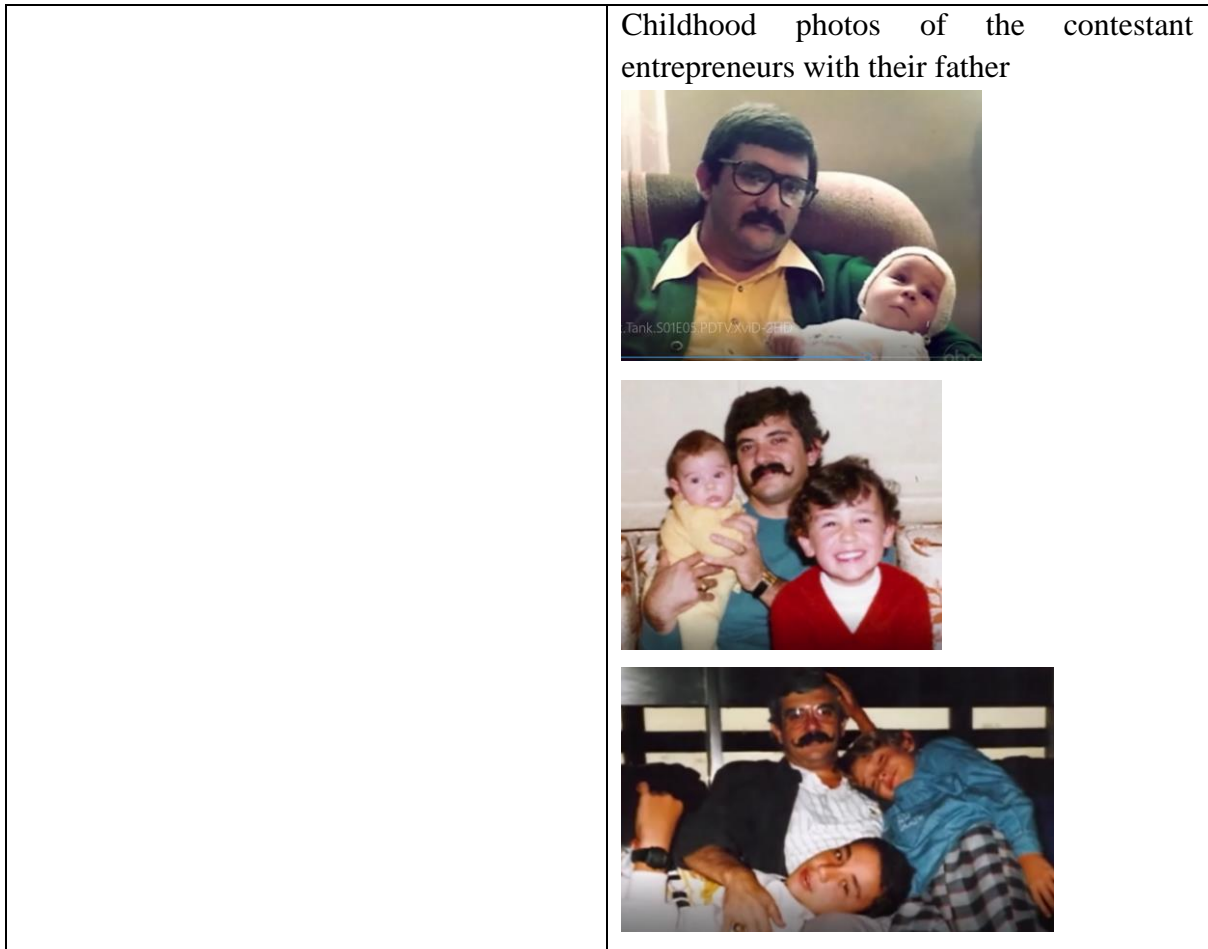
This venue choices selected for filming these interview profiles applies the practice of *addition* that plays an important role in the purpose of the discourse being created. In addition to this, the modes are also being used to enact *substitution* as this contestant entrepreneur is represented through the generalised role of a middle-class father that works from home, taking on a position that can be accessible to the viewer. Similar to this profile, the ways in which *Dragons' Den* and *Planting Seeds* contestant entrepreneurs allude to being ordinary in the "Part 4 segment" of the show, is by referencing themes of their businesses starting small, by describing their operations as being in their homes, with specific mentions of locations such as garages, kitchens, bedrooms, basements. This representation does two things, it serves to create a stark contrast in power dynamics between that of the 'ordinary contestant entrepreneur' versus the 'entrepreneurial celebrity idol'. While, also implying that these contestant entrepreneurs have the possibility of going from ordinary entrepreneur to extraordinary entrepreneur as the *Sharks* did, and through the judgement and guidance of said *Sharks*, emphasizing that being an extraordinary entrepreneur can be attained by the ordinary person.

4.2.2 Contestant entrepreneurs as pursuing the American Dream

The second way in which contestant entrepreneurs were presented were as a means of pursuing the American Dream. The following is an illustrative example of contestant entrepreneurs profiled through the cultural script of the American Dream.

Data Excerpt 16: Contestant entrepreneur profile as pursuing the American Dream

<p>Contestant Entrepreneurs' Interview:</p> <p>"We started in Brazil and were there pretty much until the age of 6 and 10, and then that's when my father made his big break, he started as a factory worker in Brazil working his way through high school and then college and then to a master's degree. He knew that he wanted Alexis and myself to learn English because if we learned English then eventually we could get to the US. An investment from the Sharks will justify our parents sacrifice, over 14 years since I landed in the US to create something beautiful and finally we can taste a bit of this American Dream."</p>	<p>Corresponding Images:</p> <p>Childhood images of the contestant entrepreneurs in chronological aging order</p>   <p>Following image appears when they say "6 and 10" years of age</p>  <p>Followed by current image of them being interviewed</p> 
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This contestant entrepreneur profile is presented as a promising and suitable fit for the cultural script criteria of the American Dream, which includes immigrating to America with themes of generational hard work and sacrifice. This discourse is presented with emotive overtones due to the pairing of music and childhood and familial images used with the verbal narrative. This entrepreneurship discourse is presented in a way to encourage the viewer to be invested and rooting for the success of these contestant entrepreneurs through evoking feelings of sympathy, empathy and inspiration through the humanizing narrative that is created. This segment also closes with an overt reference to the American Dream through a statement of hopefulness, “and finally we can taste a bit of this American Dream.”

4.2.3 Start-up stage of entrepreneurship

The following contestant entrepreneur profile is an illustrative example of a case of being an entrepreneur at the early business stage, post start-up and approaching growth. This discourse of being a small business entrepreneur is demonstrated through the imagery of the actions of

the contestant entrepreneur and is not verbally addressed in the narrative provided for this profile.

Data Excerpt 17: Visual representation of start-up stage of entrepreneurship

Image A: Peeling potatoes



Image B: Taking pies out of the oven



Image C: Ordering inventory



Image D: Accounting



Image A: Making coffee for customers



Image F: Working behind counter



Data Excerpt 17 is a collection of video images that were used in the contestant entrepreneur profile that shows the contestant entrepreneur working in every part of his business. This entrepreneurship discourse serves as a stark contrast to the glamorized entrepreneurship discourse for the *Sharks*. In doing this, it also reinforces hard work as an entrepreneurial ideal

which is presented as an aspect of common-sense knowledge of the entrepreneurship discourse. Although this segment is from *Shark Tank* when it is compared to the representation of the investors in *Planting Seeds*, it outlines that in the entrepreneurship discourse that solely working in an office as opposed to working in every part of the business is a representation of entrepreneurial success.

4.2.4 Summary of Findings: How contestant entrepreneurs are represented

Table 4.2 is a summary recap of the ways in which contestant entrepreneurs are represented.

Table 4.2 Summary of how contestant entrepreneurs are represented

Profile	Representations
Ordinary Persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Filmed working from home settings/visuals • Home offices as kitchens, living rooms, garages • Substituting identities of ‘entrepreneur’ with ‘parent’, ‘middle class’ • Stark contrast between ‘ordinary contestant entrepreneur’ and ‘entrepreneurial celebrity idol’
Pursuing the American Dream	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrants in America can achieve the American Dream through entrepreneurship • Themes of generational hard work and sacrifice • Childhood photograph visuals and emotive background music
Start-up stage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contestant entrepreneurs shown working in all areas of the business (e.g.s cooking, packaging, shipping, accounting) • Working in an office, and having/managing staff is a representation of entrepreneurial success

How contestant entrepreneurs are represented was unique to the *Shark Tank* series and thus presented entrepreneur profiles that could easily be “*substituted*” with the position of the viewer. This was a crucial component for upholding, reproducing, and reinforcing ideologies of the ‘American Dream’.

4.3 Entrepreneurial Ideals

This section covers what was presented as the ideal traits for an entrepreneur. Forty-two television episodes were coded in total, and of those there were 121 instances where entrepreneurial ideals appeared in the discourse. ‘Entrepreneurial ideals’ is the umbrella term I use to refer to a combination or collections of traits, while I refer to individual ideals, such as “hard-working” as a trait. The core themes in discourse of entrepreneurial ideals were possessing characteristics of (i) passion, (iii) hard-working, (iii) risk-taking and resilience. While these themes often overlap and intertwine, the following are illustrative examples centred on a specific trait, the first of which is for passion.

4.3.1 *Passion*¹⁰

Table 4.3 Examples of 'passion' as an entrepreneurial ideal

<i>Planting Seeds</i>
<i>Data Excerpt 18: Example of passion in Planting Seeds</i>
<p>INV: “People get into business for two main reasons, 1) you want to make money or 2) you want to make a difference, you sound like you want to make a difference.”</p> <p>[INV Judge Deliberation segment follows]</p> <p>INV1: “At the end of the day they can be coached and mentored to the point of excelling”</p> <p>INV2: “but passion also has to drive that...”</p>
<i>Shark Tank</i>
<i>Data Excerpt 19: Example of passion in Shark Tank</i>
<p><i>Shark:</i> “Kevin (other Shark) is wrong if you are emotional and you are great at something the money will follow, I think you are not doing this for the money, you did this to prove something, and you are successful because you are passionate about it, let the guy cry about it, the guy loves what he does, what’s wrong with that?”</p>
<i>Dragons’ Den</i>

¹⁰ [Abbreviation key: INV- investor, ENT- Entrepreneur]

Data Excerpt 20: Example of passion in Dragons' Den

ENT: ***crying*** "You know when you've **got passion for something it involves emotion**"

[Post behind the scenes interview with Dragon on this incident immediately follows]

Dragon: **I don't think she was crying because of passion**, I think she was crying because she realised she was going to lose her money, she was in big trouble and I think that was the problem."

The excerpts present passion as a desirable entrepreneurial ideal required for successful entrepreneurship. Data Excerpt 18 particularly treats passion as a decisive factor in selecting an entrepreneur to invest in/ be the winner. While, Data Excerpt 19 addresses the entrepreneur as already being successful because of their passion and alludes to other connotative qualities of passion such as love which physically manifests in crying. However, in Data Excerpt 20, the entrepreneur is the one who deems themselves as passionate, while the *Dragon* is not convinced. Though both entrepreneurs in Data Excerpt 19 and Data Excerpt 20, were brought to tears, the judges (*Shark* and *Dragon* respectively) had counter dispositional stances as to whether that was due to passion. This implies that passion has qualities that aid in its authenticity, furthermore for Data Excerpt 18 and Data Excerpt 19, the assessment of entrepreneurial passion came from the judges, whereas the entrepreneur in Data Excerpt 20 self-assessed herself as crying due to passion, suggesting that entrepreneurial passion is legitimated by the judges, which simultaneously serves to uphold the unequal power relations between the interactants. While passion proves to be a shared ideological construct of an ideal entrepreneur, an entrepreneur stating "I am passionate" does not appear to be enough for the discourse, but an entire narrative of actions is required to pass the assessment of authenticity and legitimacy.

4.3.2 Hard-working

'Hard-work' appeared as a pertinent entrepreneurial ideal especially for *Planting Seeds* and *Shark Tank*. Illustrative examples of 'hard-working' in these two show versions are in Table 4.4 as follows.

Table 4.4 Examples of 'hard-work' as an entrepreneurial ideal

<p><i>Planting Seeds</i></p> <p><u><i>Data Excerpt 21: Example of hard-working in Planting Seeds</i></u></p> <p>[Education Segment: Interview with successful contestant entrepreneurs at their place of business]</p> <p>Host: "What did we learn today? The trick is when it comes to entrepreneurship is to always stay hungry, that's like these two girls here they come out every day and no matter how much success they have experienced, they still give it their all, and that's what Planting Seeds is all about."</p>
<p><i>Shark Tank</i></p> <p><u><i>Data Excerpt 22: Example of hard-working in Shark Tank</i></u></p> <p>Shark: "I'm going to write you a cheque for \$150,000USD on an idea that is embryonic, behind a really good guy that's willing to work like a dog."</p>

Both excerpts, Data Excerpt 21 and Data Excerpt 22, allude to hard-working entrepreneurs as crucial to having business success. Data Excerpt 21, portrays hard-work as an entrepreneurial ideal through an education segment of an interview with successful entrepreneurs at their place of business, very much showing them in action and being hard-working, thus living the working version of the entrepreneurial dream, these entrepreneurs are also portrayed as just past the start-up phase of the business cycle. The recap of what was learnt from this segment surrounds the entrepreneurial ideal of consistently being hard-working no matter the stage of business cycle or success incurred. This discourse indicates that authentic entrepreneurs are always hard-working through all phases of their business development cycle. While Data Excerpt 22, shows that hard-working was attributed to as the main quality deemed investable as the business was seen to be at the embryonic phase, which similarly to Data Excerpt 21, suggests that the consistency of this 'hard-working' entrepreneurial ideal is what makes a successful entrepreneur. Both excerpts also used idioms in their style of alluding to hard work, with imageries of always staying hungry and working like a dog. The fact that this hard-working *entrepreneurial ideal* in Data Excerpt 21 appears in an education segment for *Planting Seeds* indicates that while the entrepreneurship discourse is still individualistic, this version demonstrates an explicit awareness of civic duty.

4.3.3 Risk-taking and resilience

The risk-taking code covers the general theme of sacrifice incurred by the entrepreneurs, this included concepts surpassing financial risk, such as those surrounding ethical/moral dilemmas faced by an ordinary person. For *Planting Seeds*, the themes surrounding risk-taking were few and there were more cases of resilience, aligning with the overall discourse of the show, the mission of which is presented as to encourage and educate about entrepreneurship. The presence of the education segments that provide information on how to effectively set up businesses, as well as workshops offered by the television production company on the same, lends itself to an entrepreneurial discourse of avoiding a degree of risk-taking. Illustrative examples of risk-taking and resilience are as follows.

Table 4.5 Examples of 'risk-taking and resilience' as an entrepreneurial ideal

<p><i>Planting Seeds</i></p>
<p><u><i>Data Excerpt 23: Examples of risk-taking and resilience in Planting Seeds</i></u></p> <p><i>[On resilience]</i></p> <p>Host: "Caesar appeared before the Planting Seeds panel of investors in season one and while he was not able to secure an investment, he has not given up, Caesar has returned as he believes that after a year of additional work and progress, he can win an investment on the show."</p>
<p><i>Shark Tank</i></p>
<p><u><i>Data Excerpt 24: Examples of risk-taking and resilience in Shark Tank</i></u></p> <p>Shark: "Let me ask you the most difficult question, you have two beautiful children, and it's a birthday, the CEO of a major corporation wants you to come out and make a presentation to all their buyers, and the only day that they can see you is on that birthday, what happens?"</p> <p>Entrepreneur answer: "I will go and be part of that meeting and I'll tell you why, I shower my kids with unconditional love, they are my life, they are my everything, they know how much I love them, it doesn't matter where I am, they love me so much and want me to succeed so much they would push me on the plane, my husband is so supportive of me I would not be here right now if it weren't for all that support, I am not standing here alone I'll tell you that."</p> <p><i>[On resilience]</i></p> <p>Entrepreneur answer continued: "...My husband and I got hit hard with the recession, I've never been through anything like that in my life, we have had four really rough years *takes deep breath* and I have to say every tear I cried and every pray I prayed brought me to this moment right here and I wouldn't change any of it."</p>
<p><i>Dragons' Den</i></p>

Data Excerpt 25: Examples of risk-taking and resilience in Dragons' Den

[On risk-taking]

Dragon: "You can't expect me to invest in a business where you dip your toes in as in when you got an hour here, a lunch break, or in the evening I mean it's really not a business."

ENT: "I don't see it like that I invested £8000 of my own money, which I borrowed from my wedding fund so I'm not sure my wife is too happy about that and so you know I've made a commitment myself, teaching is a tough job but I do work hard to make the business work."

Dragon: "Nobody is doubting you don't work hard, all I'm trying to say is you want to enter an arena of wholesale that just needs full-time people to run a business."

[Later questioning from another Dragon]

Dragon2: The question you have to ask yourself is are you really sure you want to give up your day job?

[Cut to dramatic music and sceptical expression from other *Dragon* for appearing to hesitate on answering question, ENT gives non-committal answer along the message of- I can't answer that right now I'll have to see]

Data Excerpt 23, Data Excerpt 24, and Data Excerpt 25, exhibit that the themes of hard-work, risk-taking, and resilience are often intertwined to produce discourses of entrepreneurial ideals. Similar to the previous theme of hard-working (4.3.2), this trait once again appears in Data Excerpt 25, but is performed differently than those cases. The contestant entrepreneur defends himself by alluding to be a hard-working individual, it appears to be presented firstly to act as a defence, and possibly a selling point second. However, the *Dragon* dismisses the attribute of being hard-working as the issue but the application of this trait towards the business, outlining that he is more concerned with the lack of risk-taking than general qualities of being able to work hard. Data Excerpt 23, also shows connotative themes of hard-working being intertwined with resilience to represent entrepreneurial ideals.

On the theme of risk-taking, *Planting Seeds*, Data Excerpt 23, conceives risk-taking differently than the other excerpts, it manages to treat risk-taking as a motivational quality and driving-factor for entrepreneurship, as the risk being referred to is the risk of competing on the television show. While, the themes of risk-taking in Data Excerpt 24 and Data Excerpt 25 are concerned with the entrepreneurs' sacrifices and being fully emotionally and temporally invested in their businesses. Data Excerpt 24 finds the entrepreneur selling that her entirely

family is supportive, thus in themselves also an entrepreneurial family. This contrasts with Data Excerpt 25, where the entrepreneur suggests that his wife is not overly supportive of the way in which he invested in his business. The questioned posed in Data Excerpt 24 is a case of gendered entrepreneurship discourses, as the *Shark* asks that question to a woman contestant entrepreneur. This question also implies that being maternal can be a hindrance to entrepreneurial ideals as it is positioned as being a potential issue. That particular question is also a case of an *evaluation* as the contestant entrepreneur is being evaluated for whether she is a ‘proper’ or ‘good’ entrepreneur.

4.3.4 Summary of Findings: Entrepreneurial Ideals

The following Table 4.6 summarises the findings for entrepreneurial ideals per show for *Layer 1*.

Table 4.6 Summary of entrepreneurial ideals in Layer 1

	<i>Planting Seeds</i>	<i>Shark Tank</i>	<i>Dragons’ Den</i>
Passion	✓	✓	✓
Hard work	✓	✓	
Risk-taking & Resilience	✓	✓	✓

Coding of the data sample found that the ‘hard-working’ theme was not explicitly emphasized as an entrepreneurial trait that contestant entrepreneurs or *Dragons* tended to explicitly address in the *Dragons’ Den* discourse. It is possible that it is present in episodes that were not examined, but this systematic analysis suggests that ‘hard-work’ is not as pertinent a theme for *Dragons’ Den Layer 1*. This may have been the result of *deletion* of ‘hard-work’ from the show’s discourse as themes of ‘hard-work’ did not fit with the stoic, serious tone of *Dragons’ Den*. Additionally, the presence of hard work as an entrepreneurial ideal in *Planting Seeds* and *Shark Tank* may likely be due to the promotion of the national narratives of these show versions. For *Planting Seeds*, ‘hard-working’ entrepreneurs can help the Caribbean economy through diversification, whereas as for *Shark Tank* this aids individualistic goals of achieving the ‘American Dream’. Nationalistic narratives do not appear for *Dragons’ Den* in *Layer 1*. Thus, overtly emphasizing hard work as an entrepreneurial ideal may not have been a critical component for the discourse of entrepreneurship in the *Dragons’ Den* context. Nationalistic narratives will be covered further in following section 4.4 .

4.4 Nationalistic narratives and show versions

The formats chosen for *Shark Tank* and *Planting Seeds* lent itself to *nationalistic narratives*¹¹. *Shark Tank*'s format included introductory video profiles of the entrepreneur contestants in their home environments portrayed them as ordinary, and that successful entrepreneurship was the means to achieving the 'American Dream', which was alluded to by name on various accounts. Promoting the discourse of entrepreneurship as individualistic goals and commodifying the 'American Dream'. The *Planting Seeds* show model included education segments which gave advice to entrepreneurs about the logistics of setting up a business, such as filing patents, creating bank accounts for businesses, and information on tax laws. The discourse of entrepreneurship for this show advocates for the regional economic benefits which explicitly demonstrates an awareness of civic duty. This discourse promotes the civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) that can come from entrepreneurship though it is not addressed as being the main motivator.

4.4.1 On *Shark Tank*

Shark Tank is a conflation of the American Dream that endorses entrepreneurship. Themes of the *Sharks* as entrepreneurial celebrity idols who have achieved the 'American Dream' are seen in cases such as qualifying *Shark*, Robert as "the son of an immigrant factory worker" from season 3 onwards. Also, the narrative of the *Sharks* being portrayed as having ordinary origins is similar to the 'contestant entrepreneur as ordinary profile', as it features the *Sharks* starting off small and succeeding through hard work. This is illustrated through narratives such as starting their businesses at home, in basements, through taking small bank loans, and beginning their careers with jobs of paperboys and waitresses (see Data Excerpt 5). The *Sharks* are also visually positioned as representing the achievement of the 'American Dream' as from season 4, imagery of the American flag (circled in red) is included through *addition* in the opening scene introducing the *Sharks*, as seen in Data Excerpt 26.

¹¹ When I use the term 'nationalistic narratives' I am not limiting the term to narratives bound by a single country, but I have extended it to incorporate wider political regions, that allows for this theme to cover concepts such as being a 'Caribbean national'.

Data Excerpt 26: Nationalistic symbols on Shark Tank



This use of *addition* creates an imagery which visually positions the *Sharks* with their end-result of ‘riches’ from their respective ‘rags to riches’ journeys as they are surrounded by luxury items of a private helicopter, plane, and high-end cars. This provides an *evaluation* of the successful entrepreneur discourse which is recontextualised through the physical manifestation of material indicators of success which represents goals of entrepreneurship. A more overt example of *Shark Tank* explicitly promoting and owning the American Dream ideology occurs in a segment that covers an event at the White House where one of the *Sharks* is assigned as a “Presidential Ambassador for Global Entrepreneurship”, as illustrated in Data Excerpt 27.

Data Excerpt 27

“Shark Tank has become an American phenomenon and us being here, with the support of the President just goes to show you that the American Dream is alive and well and I think Shark Tank has a lot to do with that.”



Data Excerpt 27 is filled with nationalistic themes, with *Shark Tank* proclaiming to be an “American phenomenon” that is responsible for keeping the American Dream “alive and well”

and that this belief is legitimised due to being endorsed by the American President (President Obama). This statement is accompanied by the imagery of the *Sharks* in front of the White House, which emphasizes the overall legitimacy of the show as three *Sharks* have been invited and are participating in panels for the event, not just Daymond, the *Shark* who has received the title and position of “Presidential Ambassador for Global Entrepreneurship”. This excerpt highlights discourses of entrepreneurship as a nationalistic goal as it is shared and prioritised by the government. Furthermore, that governments recognise *entre-tainment* as having elements of legitimacy as they have included *Sharks* to consult on policy decisions related to entrepreneurship.

Data Excerpt 28 is a table of statements that illustrate the nationalistic discourses of entrepreneurship on *Shark Tank*, which equate entrepreneurship with being American. They are categorised into three themes (i) about being American, (ii) the American Dream, and (iii) supporting the American economy.

Data Excerpt 28: Examples of nationalistic discourses in Shark Tank

Themes about being American
<p>“Its un-American what you're asking, you don't want to take any risk, you want us to spend all of our dollars, give you equity and get a royalty, don't you see the problem with that.”</p> <p>“ENT: I didn't want to get orders and promise deliveries until I had the capital to get them done. Shark: Daniel what you just said was un-American.”</p> <p>“Let's toast these American hustlers.”</p> <p>“It's the goal of every American to be able to own and run their own company.”</p>
Themes of the American Dream
<p>“Kevin, I feel so bad for you, My Mum and Dad and I came, we're immigrants to the country, we came here with nothing on a boat and I'll tell you my Dad is a factory worker, never made any real money but I learnt something from him you always have to save your money so you don't put your family at risk, here is belief and here is being a fool, don't cross that line, I'm out”</p> <p>“Did you come to this country to have somebody control your business? [followed by dramatic music]”</p> <p>“Our American Dream since we were little kids, today! Became a reality and all the work and sacrifice has paid off, and now we're going to soar, thank you Shark Tank.”</p> <p>“We wanted to prove that if you had a good idea, you could still use the American Dream to build something great.”</p>

"We are fortunate to be able to live the American Dream cooking the American cuisine, there is nothing more American than two guys with a really good idea being able to create something from nothing"

"The Sharks focused way too much on my personal bankruptcy, **this is a great country we get a second chance here**, it's just a shame they are not going to be participating in mine."

Themes surrounding the American economy

"Help us put some **velocity back into the American economy.**"

"They only jumped back in because I said what I said about believing in you, and **about bringing back retailers and life in America.**"

The themes about being American in the discourse also identified the phenomenon of being "un-American" which the discourse defines by the unwillingness to take risks. This description is also echoed through the celebration of 'hustlers', the title of which connotes expectations of work ethic such as hard working, the idea of 'grinding', risk-taking, being profit focused and possibly unconcerned with moral values. The last statement in that category is that "the goal of every American" is to own their own business, this statement serves to equate entrepreneurship with being American, indicating that entrepreneurship and American nationalistic discourses are one and the same. The trend in discourse for the second category was comprised of the main tenets of the American Dream, inclusive of immigrant imageries, second chance narrative, and themes of freedom. This discourse reinforces the ideology that everyone is guaranteed success through hard work, once they have good ideas, so in the context of America the contestant entrepreneur is solely responsible for their life outcome and fate. A counter-discourse of entrepreneurship appears in the first statement in this category. The first statement uses imageries common to the immigrant narrative associated with the American Dream such as the 'arriving with nothing' arc. However, this statement goes on to produce inconsistencies in the *entre-tainment* discourse of presenting risk-taking as an entrepreneurial ideal, as it provides a contrasting perspective on risk-taking as having non-negotiable boundaries when it comes to putting family at risk. Although 'risk-taking' in the discourse has also otherwise been presented as a form of entrepreneurial authenticity when the risk extends to personal and familial spheres of the entrepreneur's life. This excerpt introduces the concept of 'too risky' as negative, while this is simultaneously and alternatively presented as being positive and necessary in the entrepreneurship discourse (see 4.3 section). The final category for nationalistic entrepreneurship discourses surrounds revitalizing the American economy.

This demonstrates how the discourse of economy is being nationalized by the show as it uses “America” as a descriptor with the economy, while in my dataset *Dragons’ Den* did not address the economy with national markers, and I have no cases of reference being made to “the British economy” or anything similar. This style of national identity and branding throughout the entrepreneurship discourse is characteristic of *Shark Tank* and *Planting Seeds*. The *Shark Tank* discourse positions the revitalization of the American economy as an advantageous side effect of entrepreneurship and not the main goal, thus mainly continuing to portray the entrepreneurship discourse as individualistic from the show’s standpoint.

4.4.2 On Planting Seeds

Nationalistic narratives were heavily concentrated on discourses of entrepreneurship as a tool for developing the economy. The following excerpt is from an episode in which high-school students participated as contestant entrepreneurs and serves as an example of such a discourse.

Data Excerpt 29: Examples of nationalistic discourses in Planting Seeds

Host: Today’s students are going to shape tomorrow’s world as our next generation of thinkers, leaders and **entrepreneurs, Planting Seeds in collaboration with BPTT is on the mission** to ensure our next generation is equipped with the **necessary tools to create a better economy** today to then ensure a better tomorrow.

Data Excerpt 29 functions to show that *Planting Seeds* explicitly aligns with the promotion of entrepreneurship as their mission, but the discourse represents entrepreneurship as part of a larger collective goal of creating a better economy. Here the *evaluation* of the social practice of entrepreneurship is represented according to the show’s values and priorities. While ‘BPTT’ would be mentioned based on sponsorship protocols, it also lends itself to the extrapolation of connotative meanings that the discourse of promoting and encouraging entrepreneurship among high-school students, given their subject position of the next generation of entrepreneurs is likely a relevant corporate social responsibility goal for the company, which shapes the nature of the entrepreneurship discourse being put forward.

The *Planting Seeds* show genre also included an educational component that influenced its overall structure, which included segments on regional specific information for entrepreneurship such as tax laws and legal documents required for setting up a business. One of the segments unique to the format of *Planting Seeds* was an advice-giving segment that reviewed the previous business pitch. Although earlier seasons of *Dragons’ Den* included

interviews with contestant entrepreneurs and a host following their business pitch, that took the format of a debriefing and recap session, while the *Planting Seeds* segment differs as it is a monologue with a host that is centred on advice-giving and aims to be educational and motivational for both the contestant entrepreneurs and viewers. Data Excerpt 30 is an illustrative example of this *Planting Seeds* segment.

Data Excerpt 30: Advice-giving segment on Planting Seeds

"We may not have had the best investor panel for you, but **I'm sure with the exposure on Planting Seeds** someone is going to take you up on this invention, **continue to work at it, continue to look for an investor because this has huge potential for a country where our disabled is not always taken care of.**"



Data Excerpt 30 includes an image of the segment, which shows the host as being represented as an authority on entrepreneurship and business strategy by listing her job title as her expertise credentials. The image also visually sets up the segment in the format of a monologue where the host is speaking directly to the viewer. The narration excerpt with the image shows *Planting Seeds*' self-awareness and acknowledgement of not funding a product of high civic order of worth values (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006), but justifies this outcome by expressing that their overall goal is to help, which can still be achieved through "exposure on Planting Seeds". This also demonstrates the show's stance on moral values of doing business and offers a counter-discourse for the entrepreneurship discourse of being purely profit-motivated. This discourse also acknowledges the show's self-reflexive awareness of other means of *entre-tainment* such as a free advertising and marketing tool but represents this as a spill over effect of the genre that the show is promoting. The verbal excerpt also outlines the inspiring and motivating efforts of the segment when the host is addressing the contestant entrepreneurs who were unsuccessful at receiving investment on the show by saying "continue to work at it, continue to look for an

investor because this has huge potential...”, she then states that the potential is for the “country” reinforcing the discourse of entrepreneurship oriented towards civic duty. Other samples of this segment also included business advice-giving on the ways in which contestant entrepreneurs could have improved their business plans, and where else they can apply for investment. Other elements of the *Planting Seeds* show included the use of inspirational background music being played whenever investors gave advice to the contestant entrepreneurs. These features highlight ‘advice-giving’ as a key part of the show’s *entre-tainment* discourse which is consistent with its theme of nurturing entrepreneurs.

Some key themes for the nationalistic narratives on *Planting Seeds* surround discourses of collectivism and economic diversification, as seen in Data Excerpt 31 which provides some illustrative examples of these statements.

Data Excerpt 31: Discourses of collectivism and economic diversification

Themes of collectivism and economic diversification
<p>“The fact that you could have a local producer in these times with limited foreign exchange as we were taking about earlier.”</p>
<p>“From the Bank perspective there is a real opportunity here when you talk about replacing imports with local products...”</p>
<p>“Everybody knows me on this show, I like to support manufacturers and locally grown and anything to do with agriculture and supporting Trinidad and Tobago, and I REALLY liked...I Would have been REAL excited if you came out and said we will be manufacturing here [overlap with two other investors loudly agreeing with similar sentiments, e.g. “if we were going to make it”] so you sort of got me a little bleh *exaggeratedly looks down sadly* cause you said you were going to be importing.”</p>
<p>“Believe it or not our country needs entrepreneurs like yourself to set an example for other entrepreneurs and that’s how we’ll help to create a better Trinidad & Tobago in the end.”</p>
<p>“When I see businesses like this, I am amazed by the creativity we have locally.”</p>
<p>“Anything from me to help exports and help develop local things.”</p>

"We visited thirty schools across the nation to educate students on entrepreneurship and diversification."

"Our Planting Seeds workshops are geared to ensuring that all entrepreneurs learn and understand how to run a business. Our strategic partners are committed to helping them to improve and play their role in revitalizing the Caribbean economy."

Data Excerpt 31 contains themes of ‘localness’ throughout the discourse which promotes collectivist ideals with mentions of regional solidarity through ‘localness’ as illustrated by being addressed as “we”. The theme of localness is also used to form part of the economic diversification narrative, where the discourse positions imports as being bad, while producing locally is good, emphasizing the desire to reduce imports as a goal for the region. The final excerpt example closes by stating that entrepreneurs play a “role in revitalizing the Caribbean economy”, this outlines the understood and accepted belief that Caribbean entrepreneurs have a duty to help the region. This is also alluded to in the fourth excerpt in the table, which states “our country needs entrepreneurs like yourself to set an example for other entrepreneurs and that’s how we’ll help to create a better Trinidad & Tobago in the end.” Both examples create an entrepreneurship discourse that prioritises civic orders of worth as an entrepreneurial ideal, the first through collectivist concerns for benefiting the region’s economy, and the second through entrepreneurs being role models for other. Overall, this collection of excerpts outlines some of the ways in which *Planting Seeds* creates discourses of entrepreneurship as a form of collectivism that will benefit the region’s economy.

4.4.3 Summary of Findings: Nationalistic Narratives and Show Version

The following Table 4.7 summarises the main findings for nationalistic narratives and show versions of *Shark Tank* and *Planting Seeds*.

Table 4.7 Summary of findings for nationalistic narratives and show version

	Nationalistic Narratives	Show Version
<i>Shark Tank</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> American Dream endorses entrepreneurship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contains a contestant entrepreneur profile segment

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharks represent the achievement of the ‘American Dream’ • Patriotism and being American equated to being entrepreneurial <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ American flag imagery • ‘rags to riches’ myth 	
<i>Planting Seeds</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collectivism • Economic Diversification • Civic duty • Community • Local 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains educational segments • Pitches followed by an advice-giving, motivational, and educational recap segment

4.5 Layer 1: Summary of Findings

A summary of the conceptual connections made between the codes inductively derived using MCDA and Boltanski & Thévenot’s orders of worth provided insight as to the value systems of the entrepreneurship discourses as seen in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Conceptual connections between codes from MCDA and Boltanski & Thévenot's orders of worth for Layer 1

Codes from MCDA	Conceptual connections	Value Systems (Boltanski & Thévenot's orders of worth)
<i>How the investors are 'entrepreneurial celebrity idols'</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ST & DD</i> 	Net worth, visuals of-money, luxury items, mainly profit-driven	Market
	Celebrity, idol status, mentor, public figure	Fame
<i>How contestant entrepreneurs are represented</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ST</i> 	Hard-working, passionate, parents, ordinary beginnings aspiring for extraordinary/achieving American Dream	Domestic Inspired
<i>Entrepreneurial ideals</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>PS</i> • <i>ST</i> • <i>DD</i> 	Passion, emotional displays (crying), hard-working, risk-taking and resilience, families as entrepreneurial	Industrial
<i>Nationalistic narratives and show version</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>PS</i> 	References to nations, region, community, patriotism, civic duty	Civic

It was evident that the roles of modes were utilised to enable both different and similar cases of entrepreneurship discourses. The ways in which these shows represented entrepreneurship, and the ideological effects of these representations, were tailored for each show version. The choices made for representing the discourses of entrepreneurship outlines the ways in which different modes were used together to put forth different discourses of entrepreneurship, a summary of this is as seen in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Differences across the three show versions

	<i>Planting Seeds</i>	<i>Shark Tank</i>	<i>Dragons' Den</i>
Tone of show	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational • Inspirational 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theatrical • Voyeuristic • Ridiculing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serious/stoic • Traditional expectations of televised business content
Sound effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some dramatic music but less frequent <i>than Shark Tank</i> • Inspirational background music for advice-giving moments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most use of dramatic background music and sound effects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No background music or sound effects
Nationalistic narratives	✓	✓	
Counter discourses to 'self-made' entrepreneurs	✓		
Contestant entrepreneur profile segment		✓	

However, there were similar overarching tenets about the ideological stance of entrepreneurship as being a desirable and attainable life path for all. The main findings for common entrepreneurship discourses for *Layer 1* are,

1. Ordinary versus extraordinary entrepreneurs
2. Extraordinary entrepreneurs were once ordinary
3. Entrepreneurship discourses for individuals versus regions

Chapter 5. *Layer 2 Analysis: Discourses produced by entre-tainment*

The previous *Layer 1* covered the discourses that exist within the confines of the three versions of the television show. I found four major themes surrounding the way the entrepreneurship discourses were presented marked by (i) how the investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols, (ii) how contestant entrepreneurs are represented, (iii) what was ascribed as entrepreneurial ideals, and (iv) how this was portrayed based on nationalistic narratives and show version. Expanding from *Layer 1*, *Layer 2* focuses on discourses *produced by the show*, external to the airing of episodes, which refers to accompanying content produced by the show. *Layer 2* is explored through (i) the shows’ websites, (ii) books and (iii) their social media accounts.



5.1 The Websites

After watching these shows if a viewer wanted to know more about these investors and searched on the internet for them, one of the top search hits would be for their profiles on the shows’ websites. Common to all three shows’ websites was the template of an introductory “investor profile”. The introduction of the investors was structurally common to both *Layer 1* and 2 for the theme of *how the investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols*, and as such are compared to review whether these discourses of entrepreneurship reinforce or contradict one another. The following are illustrative examples of the “investor profiles” from the shows’ websites as well as their respective introduction profiles from the television show in *Layer 1*.

5.1.1 *Dragons’ Den: The Dragons*

There were three profiles in total for *Dragons* who appeared in *Layer 1*, which are structured as the biography of the *Dragons*, with two of the three profiles including the *addition* of being involved in charity work. I will outline Deborah Meaden’s profile as an example, as out of the three profiles it was the only one that was not structured with an overt ‘built from scratch’ narrative.

Data Excerpt 32: Excerpts from Dragon, Deborah Meaden’s Investor Profile

<i>Layer 2</i> : Profile on website	<i>Layer 1</i> : Profile from television show
 <p>“Destined to be a successful entrepreneur, Deborah Meaden launched her first business straight out of college...”</p>	 <p>DEBORAH MEADEN SERIAL INVESTOR</p>

<p>“A Dragon since series 3, Deborah business sense emerged at age 19 when she launched a glass and ceramics import company...”</p> <p>“She later joined her family business - Weststar Holidays, and eventually became Managing Director.”</p> <p>“Outside the world of business, Deborah is a fellow of the WWF, and an Ambassador for Lendwithcare, the Marine Conservation Society and the Roundhouse...Deborah lives in Somerset with her husband, two cats, three dogs, six horses, three pigs, five sheep, ten chickens, six ducks and three very angry geese!”</p>	<p>(Image from Season 14)</p> <p>“The Dragons know what they are talking about, powerful and wealthy now they all built up their own fortunes from scratch. Deborah Meaden made her millions in the holiday and leisure industry in the west country.”- (Season 4)</p>
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The imagery of *Dragon*, Deborah is consistent across both *Layers*, where she is presented in a business formal jacket with a stern expression placing her in that powerful predatory position given to the *Dragons*. Both profiles also serve to construct Deborah as a celebrity idol, this is achieved in *Layer 2* through outlining her successful journey marked by ‘destiny’, which enables it to start as early as age nineteen. This concept of ‘entrepreneurship through destiny’ implies that individuals are born entrepreneurs whose success is predetermined. Another noteworthy descriptor that has been selected for this profile is the reference of charitable characteristics. This mention of charitable involvement serves to idolise the celebrity through civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006), by giving moral grounding to the discourse of personal enrichment. This feature also justifies wealth and entrepreneurial success as it allows for such charitable activity. The profile ends with a section that seeks to humanise the *Dragon* by emphasising that the aggressive imagery used is limited to a front stage persona with the “world of business”, while the ‘real-life’ persona is simple and relatable due to having numerous farm animals so the viewers can now associate the *Dragon* with rural life imageries which often connotes humbleness, this also makes her life appear to be more achievable to the ordinary person. However, the contrast in investor profiles shows that when the description is limited to one sentence as it is in *Layer 1*, net worth and the ‘built from scratch’ narrative emerges as the most crucial bit of the successful entrepreneur discourse. The selection of these descriptors suggests that positioning the *Dragon* status as attainable to the viewer and



contestant entrepreneur through the ‘built from scratch’ narrative, as well as the net worth as an indicator for the market order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) presents the *Dragon* as being special and worthy of the idol status.

There are also contradicting discourses across the *Layers* due to Deborah’s investor profile in *Layer 2* including more details of her biographical entrepreneurial journey. The main contradicting discourses are within the ‘built from scratch’ narrative which is ascribed to the *Dragon*. However, details of her biography show that she pursued entrepreneurship after college, while imageries associated with ‘starting from scratch’ do not typically evoke the idea of a college educated individual. These also leads to contradiction within her *Layer 2* investor profile as being destined for entrepreneurship but pursuing it after a college education are concepts that clash, if destiny as used here implies that there is not a need for any formal training. Another contradicting discourse that emerges across *Layers 1-2* in relation to the ‘built from scratch’ narrative is the information that *Dragon*, Deborah becomes a Managing Director at her family business, which shows the reader that she already had an existing family business that she could simply join. In addition to a likely source of family wealth, all of which are features that stand in contrast to the ‘built from scratch’ narrative. These schisms in the discourse are potentially the outcome of blending the *Dragon’s* biography with the cultural script of the entrepreneurship journey. Particularly in this case, where the introduction in *Layer 1* serves to introduce the entire panel of *Dragons*, where some of the *Dragons*, though not all, belong to the ‘built from scratch’ category, but the show has deemed this as this most important indicator to solidify the idol status of the *Dragons*.

5.1.2 Shark Tank: Shark Biography

The *Shark Tank* website had profiles for ten *Sharks*, six of which featured in *Layer 1*. Five out of the six profiles begin with a summary of the *Sharks’* ‘rags to riches’ journeys, and all six profiles mention the autobiographical books written by *Sharks*, which are reviewed in section 5.2.2 . I provide Robert’s profile as an illustrative example as he is the *Shark* the show positions as the poster *Shark* for the ‘American Dream’ cultural script.

Data Excerpt 33: Excerpts from Shark, Robert Herjavec's Investor Profile

Layer 2: Profile on website	Layer 1: Profile from television show
 <p>“SHARK BIOGRAPHY”</p> <p>“Robert Herjavec is one of North America's most recognizable and respected business leaders. Born in Eastern Europe, he arrived to North America on a boat with his parents after escaping Communism in the former Yugoslavia. From delivering newspapers and waiting tables, to launching a computer company from his basement, his drive to achieve has led him to the fulfillment of a better life for himself and his family.”</p> <p>“To Robert, running a business is a lot like one of his greatest passions, racing cars...”</p> <p>“Herjavec is married to Dancing with the Stars pro Kym Johnson and splits his time between Toronto and Los Angeles. He is the proud father of three children. Robert is involved with many charities, including....”</p>	 <p>(Image from Season 5)</p> <p>“Who are the Sharks? They are self-made business experts worth billions....Robert Herjavec, son of an immigrant factory worker founded one of the world's pre-eminent cyber security firms.”-</p> <p>(Season 6-7)</p>

Similar to *Dragons' Den*, the visual imagery of the *Shark* as an entrepreneurial celebrity idol surrounded by luxury items and business formal attire, with their powerful predatory position emphasized through the use of dark colour tones, emerges as a discourse that is consistent across the *Layers 1-2*. Though in contrast with depictions of the *Dragons'* facial expressions in images for this section, the *Layer 2* photograph for the *Shark* has a friendly facial expression, which indicates that happiness is a representation of successful entrepreneurship for the *Shark Tank* discourse. For *Shark*, Robert his description in *Layer 1-2* supports and reinforces the cultural script of the American Dream by referencing his journey from immigrant to entrepreneurial celebrity idol. The details of this journey in the “*Layer 2*” column of the table references many ideologies and imageries in the account of his immigrant journey. One of these

being “escaping Communism”, introducing a clash of nationalistic ideologies, inclusive of the demonisation of one ideology over the other, by positioning capitalism as a superior economic system and communism as a dangerous ideology. There is also the imagery of arriving “on a boat” and when juxtaposed with “escaping” can connote the context of immigrating as a refugee.

This segment in *Layer 2* is categorized as a “Shark Biography”, this is the only show that uses the term “biography” for this label, which alludes to the discourse of entrepreneurship being perceived as a way of life in the American nationalistic narratives. *Layer 2* then proceeds to tell the story of Robert’s journey from an immigrant arriving on a boat escaping a hostile country environment, followed by his career journey “from delivering newspapers and waiting tables to launching a computer company from his basement”. This incorporates the elements of an immigrant who went from ‘rags to riches’ thus achieving the American Dream, of which “his drive to achieve has led him to the fulfilment of a better life for himself and his family.” This also taps into the cultural script that ‘anyone can make it’ in America, as well as in entrepreneurship, as this *Shark* started by working mundane jobs available to everyone, which can justify the inequality in society in that the onus to succeed is entirely on the individual. The excerpt that follows this segment, Robert uses one of his passions that arises from his “riches” lifestyle, which is racing sports cars as a metaphor for running a business. This positions Robert as an entrepreneurial idol by presenting entrepreneurship as an object of desire laced with luxury commodities and hobbies, though the use of racing sports cars as a business metaphor can also simultaneously serve to exclude the average viewer by being an unrelatable experience.

The last excerpt in *Layer 2* serves to humanize the *Shark*, it begins by informing the reader that Robert is married to a fellow reality-television celebrity and his wife’s name is listed as though it is expected that the viewer would be familiar with her, which emphasizes the fame order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) in this discourse, as celebrities also have celebrity spouses. The mention of this information would also serve as an advertisement as the reality-television show his wife is on is owned by the same network. This excerpt also further expands on Robert’s backstage identity by informing the reader of his valuing civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) by being involved “with many charities”. I have found that referencing civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) surrounding themes of ‘giving back’ often tend to follow mentions of extreme personal enrichment in the discourses of *Layer*



2. In this case, Robert’s sports car racing hobby is later followed by referencing his extensive involvement in charities which acts to justify attaining extreme wealth.

The segment that attempts to humanise Robert also states that he is a “father of three children” which gives rise to this segment of the biography template. However, for the previous *Dragon* that I reviewed, this bit in her profile was filled in with details about her farm animals, where typically information related to having children is provided. This outlines the value placed on maternal and paternal qualities as necessary for humanizing an entrepreneurial celebrity idol, in that if women entrepreneurs do not have children they need to be humanized by having pets. This personal familial trait also serves as an indicator for success as it shows that the entrepreneurial celebrity idols have not sacrificed personal lives for business accomplishments but have managed to achieve both. These features also aim to juxtapose the ordinary aspects of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols with their extraordinariness making for a desirable yet attainable discourse of entrepreneurship.

5.1.3 Planting Seeds: Our Investors

The profiles for seven of the *Planting Seeds*’ investors that appeared in *Layer 1* was available on their website. All those profiles were structured similarly with biographies of the investors limited to their entrepreneurial enterprises. Unlike the profiles for *Dragons* and *Sharks*, *Planting Seeds* profiles did not include additional information on the investors’ personal lives or mentions of involvement with charity. I provide the following excerpts from an investor profile as it is an illustrative example of the schisms in entrepreneurship discourses of being ‘self-made’.

Data Excerpt 34: Excerpts from Planting Seeds, Joe Pires Investor Profile

Layer 2: Profile on website	Layer 1: Profile from television show
 <p>“Our panel boasts of a diverse, and highly-experienced team of self-made professionals...”</p> <p>“Joe Pires Jr.'s business experience started at age 5, when he began working various jobs at his father's Trinidad-based company during school holidays. The company, Caribbean Chemicals and Agencies Limited (CAA), was founded by Joe Pires Sr. in</p>	 <p>(Image from Season 1)</p> <p>“Joe Pires is definitely known for his vivacious and outgoing personality, which also leaks over into his style of investing, Joe dabbles in a little bit of</p>

<p>1966. In 1984, after graduating from the University of Guelph, Canada...Joe returned to Trinidad to join CAA. Following the death of his father in 1993, Joe became the Managing Director of CAA at age 30. Since then, the company has expanded its operations...it now has offices in Suriname and Jamaica, exporting to countries across the Caribbean...As a serial entrepreneur, Joe has started and acquired more than 35 companies over the last 25 years...”</p> <p>“Planting Seeds asked: To what do you most attribute your success? Hard work, gut feelings and good people”</p>	<p>everything from nightclubs to agriculture and is always up to a new challenge.” (Season 1)</p>
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The image of the *Planting Seeds* investor used for *Layer 2* is friendlier than those used in the *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank* examples (see Data Excerpt 32 and Data Excerpt 33). This image reinforces discourses of happiness as a marker of entrepreneurial success. The image also places the *entre-tainment* brand’s logo as the backdrop which portrays a warmer atmosphere than the backgrounds of the other two shows that appear reminiscent of threatening interrogation room settings. These images reproduce and reinforce the discourses of the relationship dynamics between the entrepreneurial celebrity idols and contestant entrepreneurs across the respective shows. The profile of the *Planting Seeds* investor for *Layer 2* produces rifts in the entrepreneurship discourses of being ‘self-made’. The summary on the website for the investor profiles categorises them all as “self-made professionals”, though Joe’s profile that follows outlines his inheritance of the family business, but agency is discursively ascribed to him instead of his father. This is achieved through the way in which the profile describes Joe’s success by expanding the company and as a “serial entrepreneur”.

This *Layer 2* investor profile also contributes to my finding a trend in the discourse of entrepreneurial celebrity idols, where mentions of inheriting family businesses will often include references to their university and college education. This has also previously been illustrated in the *Layer 1* introduction for another *Planting Seeds* investor (see Data Excerpt 2) as well as for *Dragon*, Deborah (see Data Excerpt 32). This trend in the discourse acts to establish their legitimacy and credibility as entrepreneurs, though they have inherited

businesses this theme positions them as being qualified and worthy of the role. Thus, college and university qualifications serve as an alternative validation when the entrepreneurial celebrity idol does not quite fit into the ‘self-made’ narrative. In *Layer 2*, Joe states that he mainly attributes his success to “hard work, gut feelings and good people” as opposed to inheriting the family business, this constitutes discourses of entrepreneurial ideals and perpetuates the ideology that ‘anyone can do it’ by downplaying that he did not ‘start from scratch’. In comparison to *Layer 1*, Joe’s style of entrepreneurship is described as “dabbles in a little bit of everything” which suggests doing entrepreneurship passively by likening it to a hobby, subtly connoting that he operates from a place of privilege as opposed to connoting themes of being ‘self-made’. Additionally, for *Layer 1* of *Planting Seeds* all the investors were not grouped under the umbrella category of being ‘self-made’, so this inconsistency in the discourse for *Planting Seeds* is more pronounced when *Layer 2* discourses are reviewed and paired with *Layer 1*.

5.1.4 Summary of Findings: Website Profiles

To recap, a summary of the findings for investor profiles on the shows’ websites is as follows.

Table 5.1 Summary of findings for investor profiles on websites

<i>Dragons’ Den</i> “ <i>The Dragons</i> ”	<i>Shark Tank</i> “ <i>Shark Biography</i> ”	<i>Planting Seeds</i> “ <i>Our Investors</i> ”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dual identities: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Frontstage identity = <i>Dragon</i> ii. Backstage identity = Ordinary person • Contained personal life discourses (e.g. married/children/pets) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Shark</i> as sole identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Mainly extraordinary • American Dream endorsement of entrepreneurship • Contained personal life discourses (e.g. married/children/pets) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discourses of entrepreneurial ideals • Ascribed entrepreneurial agency to the investor • Did not contain personal life discourses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ only mentions family if inheriting family business

The overall comparison of the ways in which the investors are positioned as entrepreneurial celebrity idols showed that there are similar discourses across *Layers 1-2* such as the ‘building from scratch narrative’, the American Dream, and entrepreneurial ideals including traits of hard-work, dedication, and perseverance. Reinforcing and reproducing these cultural scripts are the ways in which *Layer 2* discourses support those in *Layer 1*. However, the review and pairing of *Layer 2* discourses with *Layer 1* allowed for schisms in the entrepreneurship discourse to become apparent. Due to *Layer 2* providing more biographical details which implied or outright alluded to some entrepreneurial celebrity idols inheriting the family business led to contradictions in discourses of ‘built from scratch’ and being ‘self-made’. This created fractures in the discourses that sustain the ideology that simply possessing the necessary entrepreneurial ideals is all that is needed to become a successful entrepreneur. It also demonstrates that narratives of being ‘self-made’ are so crucial for sustaining ideologies of entrepreneurship discourses, that even when the biographies of entrepreneurial celebrity idols do not fit into these cultural scripts, the discourse still attempts to present it as part of that narrative. This indicates that *entre-tainment* has deemed discourses of being ‘self-made’ as an important indicator to solidify the idol status of the entrepreneurs.

The ‘investor profile’ was the only other category on the websites for *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*, aside from the ability to stream episodes, and a brief about the show and its rules. However, the *Planting Seeds* website had the most different format in keeping with its added educational component, by having (i) digital magazines and (ii) blogs available on their website.

5.1.5 Planting Seeds: Digital Magazines

I analysed the accompanying magazines for *Planting Seeds* seasons 1-2, included in *Layer 1*. This is in Data Excerpt 35.

Data Excerpt 35: Planting Seeds' digital magazines



The central theme of the first magazine issue presents entrepreneurship as a collectivist goal with the outcome of “building sustainable growth” for the Caribbean region. The imagery selected for the front cover is a road running through a forested area connoting development and advancement, through the industrialised imagery of a road, but in a way that is sustainable as most of the trees remain. These trees also serve to reiterate the plant imagery of the show’s brand and title of “*Planting Seeds*”. The central theme of the second magazine expands the traditional discourse of entrepreneurship to include “intrapreneurship” which is explained as intrapreneurs being individuals that possess the same characteristics intrinsic to “entrepreneurial thinking” but can be distinguished from entrepreneurs as they continue to work in organizations as opposed to running a business. The front cover imagery for the second magazine issue emphasizes its intrapreneurship theme by equating an entrepreneurial mindset with being evolved within a flock, through the metaphor of an elder penguin among baby penguins. Interestingly both magazines’ covers use imagery of flora and fauna that is not native to the Caribbean region which contradicts the previous nationalistic positioning of the television programme’s discourses.

The opinion piece advertised on the magazine cover for issue one is titled “What if I could be an entrepreneur?” some illustrative examples of excerpts from this article is as follows in Data Excerpt 36 and Data Excerpt 37.

Data Excerpt 36

“The human condition, and the insatiable need to want more, drives the entrepreneurial spirit and mind to create.”

This discourse claims that entrepreneurship is a universal part of being human, i.e. “the human condition”, which creates a wider and more inclusive subject-position of entrepreneurship that is accessible to anyone, and not necessarily reserved for the exclusive few that possess the entrepreneurial ideal traits such as being hard-working. Data Excerpt 37 is centred on discourses of how to become an entrepreneur.

Data Excerpt 37

“The first step in achieving a conversion is having the right mindset. There has to be a lot of academic discussion around the ability to learn entrepreneurship. Let us for a moment assume it can be taught, and we don’t have to be born with it. When the characteristics of an entrepreneur were googled, the following were listed: disciplined, goal oriented, confident, determined, creative, self-starting, and of course passionate. Passion is considered to be the most important factor in successful execution. However, none of these characteristics are unique to entrepreneurship. There are many professionals that share these qualities, but work for other people. There are passionate lawyers, teachers, and doctors. Passion is that energetic force that pushed an individual to accomplish. So these qualities alone do not differentiate the entrepreneur. How does entrepreneurial thinking convert a lucid idea into a profit-making venture? What is different? Risk! Entrepreneurs are not afraid of failure and they are not afraid to give up a stable profession or an Ivy League university to pursue their idea.”

Data Excerpt 37 offers a counter-discourse of entrepreneurship through addressing the possibility that entrepreneurship can be learnt, which contrasts with the discourses that entrepreneurship is the result of destiny or the human condition. It also uses the metaphor of “a conversion” to explain the process of becoming an entrepreneur which elicits religious imageries surrounding conversion. In my data, this is the first case of a religious metaphor to represent entrepreneurship, but it reinforces my previous findings of discourses which position entrepreneurship as a way of life and overall belief system as opposed to a job or career. The excerpt goes on to list the “characteristics of an entrepreneur” which echo the ideal entrepreneurial traits I have found in throughout my data such as being hard-working and passionate. However, this excerpt addresses that these ideal traits are not unique to

entrepreneurs but are attributes ascribed to persons that are successful in any career path. What the excerpt identifies as the trait unique to entrepreneurship is “risk”. Thus, authenticity appears to be awarded to those entrepreneurs that risked security, which then excludes those entrepreneurs who had pre-existing wealth from taking up the subject position of being a “true entrepreneur”.

The equivalent headlining article on the second magazine’s cover is titled “How does Trinidadian culture contribute to work ethic?”. The article presents “work ethic” as an entrepreneurial ideal which it addresses as being a culturally bound trait for which the Trinidadian society is disadvantaged. The article states that the cultural norm is poor work ethic and references features such as Trinidad being a country with one of the highest number of annual public/bank holidays in the world as well as the cultural festival of Carnival which often slows productivity. The article summarises the Trinidadian societal values as prioritising leisure over work which contrasts with the discourses of entrepreneurial ideals that I have found in my data of being hard-working and making sacrifices. The article does not offer a clear solution or suggestions for increasing “work ethic” but closes with the idea that there is potential to improve work ethic as a means for individuals to fund leisure.

5.1.6 Planting Seeds: Blog Posts

All 36 blog posts available at the time of data collection were analysed. The categories of blog posts are represented in the Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Number of blog posts by category

Category of blog posts	Number of posts
Show recap focused on contestant entrepreneurs	10
Educational material	7
Planting Seeds related news/Press Events	7
Profiles of investors on the show	6
Advertising businesses of contestant entrepreneurs that featured on the show	3
Profiles of investor-level entrepreneurs (not featured on the show)	2
Opinion piece on entrepreneurship	1

Most of the blog post content is geared towards and focused on the contestant entrepreneur, in keeping with the genre of the show inclusive of its “Planting Seeds” moniker. The second highest number of posts were seen for news and press events, as well as ‘educational material’. The blog posts for educational material covers legal information relevant to entrepreneurs starting their businesses in the Caribbean, as well as advice on stress-management and motivating employees. The ‘profiles of investors on the show’ contained verbatim content of the “our investors” profile segment previously covered (see section 5.1.3). This section on blog posts will review the (i) profiles of investor-level entrepreneurs that were not featured on the show, the outlier (ii) opinion piece on entrepreneurship, and a (iii) show recap of data that was in *Layer 1*.

i. Profiles of investor-level entrepreneurs (not featured on the show)

There are two profiles of ‘investor-level entrepreneurs’ not associated with the show, one is a congratulatory post for a Trinidadian entrepreneur for receiving an award for entrepreneurship, and the other is a memoir to a successful Jamaican entrepreneur who passed away. Some excerpts from the memoir are as follows,

Data Excerpt 38

“ My greatest desire is not to make a lot of money for myself...
But to have a clean heart and a pure spirit ”

Data Excerpt 39

“Her life proves that success is indeed a journey – for her starting point, many years ago as a struggling single mother with five mouths to feed was a world away from her ultimate position of Managing Director of one of Jamaica’s most profitable and fastest growing investment brokerages.”

Data Excerpt 40

“When Joan Duncan died at the age of 58, her dream, her company had realized a solid capital base of \$190 million and boasted four branches with over 20,000 accounts. Joan Duncan’s success, however, should not be attributed simply to business ‘savvy’ but also to the deep spirituality that guided her in whatever she chose to do. And what she chose to do was to build her company based on family, literally and figuratively speaking. Not only did she nurture and support each member of her staff; she also involved all her own children in the business;

- and eldest daughter Donna succeeded her as Managing Director of the company.”

Data Excerpt 38, Data Excerpt 39, and Data Excerpt 40 demonstrate that the blog post memoir is a biography of the entrepreneur, Joan Duncan. The first excerpt is a quote from the entrepreneur which is used to headline the post as it features as the largest text and in a different colour compared to the rest of the post. The quote demonstrates that her “desires” were not concerned with pursuing wealth, thus suggesting that her entrepreneurial journey was not fuelled by market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) but by themes of spirituality. The themes of spirituality being juxtaposed with destiny of entrepreneurship is present in both Data Excerpt 38, and Data Excerpt 40. However, Data Excerpt 40 lists the financial gains made by her business as a measure of success which is then justified by her spiritual and familial values being her core motivators, which are listed as the approach she used to run her business. Data Excerpt 39 takes the form of a ‘rags to riches’ journey described “as a struggling single mother with five mouths to feed was a world away from her ultimate position of Managing Director of one of Jamaica’s most profitable and fastest growing investment brokerages”, reinforcing discourses that this level of entrepreneurial success can be achieved by anyone, and as a means to alleviate poverty. Data Excerpt 40 consists of gendered entrepreneurship discourses where being entrepreneurial for a woman is equated with traits of being maternal, such as providing “nurture and support” for her staff. This excerpt closes with mentioning the phenomenon of inheriting entrepreneurial familial success. This echoes previous discourses that I found depicting that entrepreneurship traits and mindsets should extend to an entrepreneur’s family, this also simultaneously raises the question of whether her daughter would be considered an authentic entrepreneur or if that status is limited to the mother who started the company from nothing.

ii. Opinion piece on entrepreneurship

The following are excerpts from the ‘opinion piece on entrepreneurship’.

Data Excerpt 41: Blog post title and image

The Superheroes of Society



Data Excerpt 42: Samples from blog post in Data Excerpt 41

"The owners of SMEs are some of **the most undervalued people in society. They remind me of Superman, blending in amongst us as average human beings, but possessing great powers and tenacity of purpose, that soar far above the average.** They **work the longest hours;** they sometimes make the smallest profit margins; and they can usually count all of their employees on one hand."

"...Every day we pass people like her without realising they are **the backbone of our society. As a community, we must support and encourage our entrepreneurs**—because believe it or not, **80 per cent of the jobs created over the past five years in Trinidad and Tobago came from SMEs.**"

Data Excerpt 41 illustrates the title of the blog post, "The Superheroes of Society" and opens with the image of Superman changing from his secret identity of average persona to his role of superhero. Reference to this imagery and its use as a metaphor for entrepreneurs is explicitly outlined in Data Excerpt 42, attributing themes of heroism to the entrepreneurship discourses. As well as the intentional selection of the hero, Superman, due to his ability of "blending in amongst us as average human beings". Thus, enabling the Superman metaphor to represent entrepreneurs as simultaneously being ordinary and extraordinary, thus relatable while still superior to anyone who is not an entrepreneur based on their "possessing great powers and tenacity of purpose, that soar far above the average", much like Superman to those not gifted with superpowers. Data Excerpt 42 also expands the entrepreneur discourse to include SME

owners, which enables this category of persons to access the subject position of an entrepreneur. Thereby this discourse serves to remove SME owners from the position of “the most undervalued people in society” by recognising their societal contributions through their position in the entrepreneurship discourses. The excerpt prioritises values related to civic orders of worth, illustrated through the themes of collective welfare e.g. “our society. As a community”. This is further emphasized through the use of the statistic at the end of Data Excerpt 42 to solidify the importance of the civic order of worth of entrepreneurship as a quantifiable outcome in society.

iii. Show recap of data that was in Layer 1

The blog posts that belong to the category of ‘show recap focused on contestant entrepreneurs’ reiterated themes that I previously found in the television episodes (*Layer 1*) surrounding the entrepreneurial ideals of being passionate, hard-working and of perseverance. I will provide some excerpts from one of these blog posts as it is a recap from one of the episodes that I coded in *Layer 1*, so I am able to comment on whether there is a difference in the way the show was recapped versus the version that aired. While most of the blog post is a descriptive synopsis of the event that occurred, for example,

Data Excerpt 43

“Kevan Sinanan walked onto the set of Planting Seeds **anxiously clenching** the invention that **he had engineered in his garage...**”

The excerpt provides insight as to the bits of information the show deemed noteworthy to recap. They described the contestant entrepreneur as “anxious” making him ordinary and relatable as many persons may feel nervous in a similar situation. The excerpt also repeats the background story that was previously stated in the episode, which includes the “building from scratch” narratives of entrepreneurs whose businesses tend to start in places such as “his garage”. The following is an excerpt from the blog recap that was not present in the episode aired on television.

Data Excerpt 44

“Rahael began thinking about the **potential of the young engineer**, and wondered to himself, “**if he can create such a product, what else is he capable of?**”

“Rahael” is the investor who invested in the contestant entrepreneur’s business pitch. The excerpt frames this opinion as the inner thoughts of the investor as displayed through “began

thinking” and “wondered to himself”, which implies that this occurred as an internalized dialogue. Based on my review and coding of the respective video data this sentiment and direct quote of “if he can create such a product, what else is he capable of” was not overtly expressed in the aired version of the episode. This indicates that this information may have either been excluded from the aired version or attained by an interview with the investor post-event for the purposes of posting the blog entry. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the inclusion of this direct quote from the investor is part of the entrepreneurship discourse that the show wishes to put forward, regardless of how it was constructed or attained. This emphasizes the discourse of valuing entrepreneurial ideal traits and the actual person/entrepreneur as opposed to the specific business venture. This entrepreneurial ideal trait of “potential” is framed in such a way that prioritises the market order of worth as a feature of the investor’s decision to invest, which is one of the first cases of prioritising the market order of worth in the entrepreneurship discourses for *Planting Seeds*.

5.1.7 Summary of Findings: *Planting Seeds* additional website content

The following is a summary of the main findings for the addition website content of digital magazines and blog posts for *Planting Seeds*.

*Table 5.3 Summary of main findings of *Planting Seeds* additional website content*

<i>Digital Magazine</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entrepreneurship for sustainable growth • Non-native images to region contradictory to nationalistic narrative themes • Risk as the trait that distinguishes entrepreneurs from generally successful people in different career paths • Counter-discourses to entrepreneurial ideals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ entrepreneurship as part of “the human condition” ○ a wider and more inclusive subject-position of entrepreneurship that is accessible to anyone ○ first case of religious metaphor for entrepreneurship ○ entrepreneurship can be learnt • Work ethic as nationally bound
<i>Blog Posts</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top 3 most common blog post categories in ascending order: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Show recap focused on contestant entrepreneurs

2. Educational Material / *PS* News

3. Profile of investors on show

Reviewed:

- (i) Profiles of investor-level entrepreneurs that were not featured on the show
 - spiritual and familial values as core motivators and not wealth
 - ‘rags to riches’ themes
 - discourse of families being entrepreneurial
 - gendered entrepreneurship discourses for woman entrepreneur
 - maternal, providing “nurture and support” for staff
- (ii) Opinion piece on entrepreneurship
 - Superhero imagery/Superman
 - Representing simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary
 - Masculine and American choice of imagery
 - Statistic used to illustrate the civic order of worth of entrepreneurship as a quantifiable outcome in society
- (iii) Show recap of data that was in *Layer 1*
 - themes reinforced
 - contestant entrepreneur as ordinary
 - valuing entrepreneurial ideals and the contestant entrepreneur as opposed to the specific business venture
 - themes *added*
 - wealth potential of business investment
 - first case of prioritising the market order of worth for *PS*

5.2 Books

This section reviews the books produced by *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank* and the entrepreneurial celebrity idols on those shows. This section does not include *Planting Seeds* as it has not produced any books. There are two categories of books analysed which are (i) autobiographies of the *Dragon* and *Shark*, and (ii) educational business guidebooks.

5.2.1 *Dragons' Den: Autobiographies*

The following are the book covers of the best-selling autobiographies of *Dragons' Den* and were limited to *Dragons* that appeared in *Layer 1*.

Data Excerpt 45: *Dragons' autobiography book covers*



The main themes in the books were the (i) ‘anyone can do it’ narrative, (ii) ‘built from scratch’ myth, and (iii) outliers that did not fit into those two categories. The ‘anyone can do it’ narrative was the central theme as illustrated in the following book titles,

Data Excerpt 46

“Theo Paphitis: **Enter the Dragon: How I transformed my life and how you can too.**”

Data Excerpt 47

“Duncan Bannatyne: **Anyone can do it: My story: From Ice Cream Van to Dragons' Den.**”

Though it was not as clear from the title of Peter Jones’ autobiographical book, “Tycoon”, in comparison to Theo and Duncan’s autobiographies which explicitly use phrases that are clearly indicative of the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative, with Duncan’s title having the identical “anyone can do it” phrase and the use of “how you can too” in Theo’s title. The central theme of *Dragon*, Peter Jones’ book is also the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative for being a entrepreneurial celebrity idol. His book begins by outlining the definition of a tycoon as shown in Data Excerpt 48.

Data Excerpt 48: Definition of 'tycoon' in Peter Jones' book

tycoon

• noun. 1 a wealthy, powerful person in business or industry; 2 magnate.

This definition constitutes the discourse of the celebrity entrepreneurial idol and the success indicators of being wealthy and powerful, therefore making that subject position a desirable status. This definition then structures the rest of the book which surrounds “Anybody can become a Tycoon”, which is the same ‘anyone can do it’ narrative, but glorifying and glamourizing the role of ‘it’ through the use of the “Tycoon” label. The discourse in the book equates being a Tycoon with the concept of being a rock star as illustrated in Data Excerpt 49.

Data Excerpt 49

“..he described **business as the new rock ‘n’ roll** claiming that **being an entrepreneur was just as sexy and alluring now as being a pop star has been for decades**. Teenagers in particular, he argued, are just as likely to pick up a laptop and a business guidebook as they are a guitar **to set them on the path to riches, fame and glory.**”

Data Excerpt 49 constitutes the entrepreneurship discourse that positions entrepreneurship as a sublime object of desire (Jones & Spicer, 2009) which leads to achieving fame and market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). Overall, these three autobiographies that feature the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative at their core provide similar entrepreneurship discourses centred on the ideology that entrepreneurs are not born but can be made, which is offered through the guidance of these celebrity entrepreneurial idols.

Dragon, Duncan Bannatyne’s autobiographical book straddled both themes of the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative as well as the ‘built from scratch’ myth to promote discourses of entrepreneurship that position entrepreneurship as being accessible to anyone. This is illustrated in the Data Excerpt 50.

Data Excerpt 50

<i>‘Anyone can do it’ narrative</i>
“Duncan Bannatyne: Anyone can do it: My story: From Ice Cream Van to Dragons’ Den. ”
<i>‘Built from scratch’ myth</i>
“Duncan Bannatyne: Anyone can do it: My story: From Ice Cream Van to Dragons’ Den. ”

Data Excerpt 50 outlines how the ‘built from scratch’ myth is used in conjunction with the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative to emphasize that the narrative is legitimate. This is further aided by labelling this narrative in a personal way of “my story” thus emphasizing that the *Dragon*, Duncan has truly lived this narrative. *Dragon*, James Caan’s autobiographical book is also constructed in a similar way as presented in Data Excerpt 51.

Data Excerpt 51

‘Built from scratch’ myth
<p>“Duncan Bannatyne: Anyone can do it: My story: From Ice Cream Van to Dragons’ Den.”</p> <p>“The Real Deal: James Caan: My Story from Brick Lane to Dragons’ Den”</p>

James’ book title uses the ‘built from scratch’ myth to legitimize his position as a celebrity entrepreneurial idol based on the moniker ascribed to him of “The Real Deal”. “The Real Deal” title also emphasizes his authenticity, and thus worthiness of being an entrepreneurial celebrity idol. Both autobiographical book titles are constructed similarly with the use of “my story” to emphasize the ‘reality’ component of the reality television programme juxtaposed with the ‘built from scratch’ myth to reinforce the legitimacy of this entrepreneurship discourse. The use of “my story” also serves to humanize the *Dragons* by making them simultaneously relatable and inspirational, enabling them to straddle both the ordinary and extraordinary dichotomies of the entrepreneurship discourse. The ‘built from scratch’ myths are also framed with the end of the journey to success being marked as “to Dragons’ Den” which aids in establishing their status as entrepreneurial celebrity idols, in addition to legitimizing the show as a reliable discourse of entrepreneurship. Both the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative and the ‘built from scratch’ myth enables the *Dragons* to be entrepreneurial celebrity idols as it portrays them as legitimate advice-giving experts and authentic entrepreneurs. These themes also act as inspirational and motivational tools by making the subject position of entrepreneur accessible to anyone.

One of the autobiographical books was an outlier as it presented a counter-discourse to the previous cultural scripts used in the presentation of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. This is

Dragon, Deborah Meaden's autobiography titled "Common Sense Rules". My previous analysis of Deborah's profile on the Dragons' Den website (see Data Excerpt 32) saw that the outcome of trying to blend her biography with cultural scripts such as 'built from scratch' led to schisms in the discourse, as her biography included her inheritance of a family company which indicates the support of family wealth. This potentially influenced the decision to present a counter-discourse to the 'built from scratch' myth in her autobiography, where she attempts to debunk this myth under a section titled "What makes an entrepreneur?", as shown in Data Excerpt 52.

Data Excerpt 52

"They come with **unlikely stories** of how they grew up sleeping rough in a rolled-up newspaper and yet somehow broke away from this wretched poverty and misery to become the businessman or woman they are today. They would have us believe that their desperately sad childhood **spurred them on to succeed against the odds**. Of course, it makes a great story, but ultimately it is just that: **a story.**"

The previous autobiographies used 'stories' in an entirely contradictory way to how 'stories' are presented in this excerpt and book. The previous discourses used 'stories' to verify entrepreneurial authenticity, while this excerpt though acknowledging that 'built from scratch' makes for good stories, it treats 'stories' as fable and not fact, therefore openly considering it to be a myth. This book presents "common sense rules" as the guide to achieving the status of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, which falls along the spectrum of the 'anyone can do it' narrative but with caveats, because this category of 'anyone' belongs to those who possess the following qualities as listed in Data Excerpt 53.

Data Excerpt 53

"simply **work harder than the rest**"

"...have **the drive to succeed** and **an entrepreneurial spirit**; they know how to make things happen because they know that the success or failure of their business **is always down to them.**"

The qualities outlined in Data Excerpt 53 parallel those in my code of 'entrepreneurial ideals' where 'hard-working' has emerged as a key theme in the entrepreneurship discourse, which is a trait that this excerpt continues to portray as being attainable to anyone. Deborah's book offers a counter-discourse to the 'built from scratch' myth by positioning it as making for a

good entrepreneurial fable but being void of fact, however her book does uphold the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative once entrepreneurial ideals are fulfilled.

The discourses of *Dragons’ Den* autobiographical books favour the ideology that entrepreneurs are not born but can be made. Overtly, taking the stance of nurture, in the nature versus nurture debate of entrepreneurship, and this is the belief system on which sales of these books function. These autobiographies claim to share the details of how these celebrity entrepreneurial idols became successful, which implies that the information required to achieve this success is readily available for public consumption and is not a trade secret. Hence, this narrative promotes the idea that if you are not a wealthy and successful entrepreneur it is entirely your fault regardless of circumstance. This reinforces the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals as being solely responsible for gaining entrepreneurial success. Therefore, any shortcomings in pursuing entrepreneurship are to be blamed on a lack of entrepreneurial ideals, such as the individual is not passionate, hard-working, persistent, resilient, or risk-taking enough. Laying this responsibility entirely on the individual portrays entrepreneurship as a just and meritocratic social construct, and therefore blameless for any individual struggles to succeed in that system.

5.2.2 Shark Tank: Autobiographies

The following are the book covers of the best-selling autobiographies of *Shark Tank* and were limited to *Sharks* that appeared in my *Layer 1* dataset.

Data Excerpt 54: Sharks’ autobiography book covers



There is a visual outlier in the book cover imageries as *Shark*, Barbara Corcoran, as there is an *addition* of holding a dog in her photograph. This reinforces the theme of women entrepreneurial celebrity idols being portrayed as ordinary and softened through maternal indicators such as having pets, previously illustrated for the profile of *Dragon*, Deborah Meaden (see Data Excerpt 32). The core persisting theme throughout these *Shark Tank* books was framing discourses of entrepreneurship as competitive with references for “how to” “win”, “succeed” and “compete”, as illustrated in the book titles listed in Data Excerpt 55.

Data Excerpt 55

1. “The Power of Broke: **How** Empty Pockets, a Tight Budget, and a Hunger for Success **Can Become Your Greatest Competitive Advantage.**”
2. “**How to Win at The Sport of Business:** If I Can Do It, You Can Do It.”
3. “The Will to **Win:** Leading, **Competing** and Succeeding.”

The entrepreneurship discourse as a competition reinforces discourses of the show’s genre as it is in the format of a gameshow. This also implies that these books will tell you how to win in the competition of entrepreneurship and positions the American Dream as the prize to be won for successful entrepreneurship. The main themes in these books that contribute to the winning at entrepreneurship discourse are similar to those from *Dragons’ Den* with the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative and the ‘built from scratch’ myth at the centre of their entrepreneurship discourses. The *Shark Tank* autobiographies have expanded the discourse of the traditional ‘anyone can do it’ narrative with books that are overtly focused on advice-giving not only for entrepreneurship but extends to other aspects of life. The other common trend in entrepreneurship discourse was the ‘built from scratch’ label which was self-ascribed by the *Dragons’ Den* television show as found in *Layer 1*. However, for *Shark Tank* this same theme took on the moniker of ‘rags to riches’ in its respective *Layer 1* data, which is consistent with narrative arcs of the American Dream in the show’s discourse. Data Excerpt 56 groups the books by the entrepreneurship discourses that they constitute.

Data Excerpt 56

‘Rags to Riches’
“Shark Tales: How I turned \$1,000 into a Billion Dollar Business. ”

"The **Power of Broke: How Empty Pockets, a Tight Budget,** and a Hunger for Success Can Become Your Greatest **Competitive Advantage.**"

'Anyone can do it'

A) Traditional Approach:

"How to **Win** at The Sport of Business: **If I Can Do It, You Can Do It.**"

"**You don't have to be a Shark: Creating your own Success.**"

B) Framed as Advice-giving:

"Invest It, Sell It, Bank It!: **Make Your Million-Dollar Idea Into a Reality.**"

"Driven: **How to Succeed in Business and in Life.**"

"The Will to **Win:** Leading, **Competing** and Succeeding."

"Rise and Grind: **Outperform, Outwork, and Outhustle your way to a more successful and rewarding life.**"

Expanded discourses on advice-giving

"Cold Hard Truth on **Men, Women & Money.**"

"Cold Hard Truth on **Family, Kids & Money.**"

These *Shark Tank* autobiographies reinforce the entrepreneurial celebrity idol discourse from the television show with the book titles strongly mirroring the *Sharks'* biographies and television show personas. I found that the television show data in *Layer 1* introduced *Shark*, Daymond John as the 'rags to riches' entrepreneur (see Data Excerpt 4, Season 1 introduction of Daymond), and his book title of the "Power of Broke: How Empty Pockets, a Tight Budget, and a Hunger for Success Can Become Your Greatest Competitive Advantage" echoes similar themes of this 'rags to riches' myth. Daymond's autobiography does much more than establishes his brand as the 'rags to riches' entrepreneurial celebrity idol, it also justifies wealth inequality, by constituting the discourse that poverty does not disadvantage an individual but that it can in fact be "your greatest competitive advantage". The following books listed under the 'anyone can do it' narrative framed this discourse in two ways, a traditional approach

surrounding a biographical story re-telling, and the other more skewed towards overt advice-giving based on the biographical life lived. An illustrative example of a book that used the traditional ‘anyone can do it’ narrative, was “How to Win at The Sport of Business: If I Can Do It, You Can Do It”. This autobiography uses the metaphor of business as a sport as it upholds the brand of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, Mark Cuban, as the business area his television/*Shark* persona is known for is in sports, and this is referenced in all his introductions in *Layer 1* (see Data Excerpt 4, Seasons 2-7). The books under the traditional approach to the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative makes the subject position of entrepreneurship available to the ordinary person as these biographies constitute the discourse that the entrepreneurial celebrity idols were once just like any ordinary person. The books that framed the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative through advice-giving places this discourse in the genre of semi-educational material, thus positioning the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as experts. An illustrative example of the table of contents for one of these books is shown in Data Excerpt 57.

Data Excerpt 57

Book title: “Invest It, Sell It, Bank It!: Make Your Million-Dollar Idea Into a Reality.”

Shark: Lori Greiner

Table of Contents:

- 1)Are you ready?
- 2)Is your idea a hero or a zero?
- 3)You’ve got a great idea, now what?
- 4)Research your market
- 5)How to get funding
- 6)The truth about patents
- 7)Pitch Perfect
- 8)The dream becomes tangible-Manufacturing and Packaging
- 9)Driving the business
- 10)Beyond brick and mortar
- 11)Marketing that really works
- 12)Keep the dream going- expand and diversify

As seen by the section headers in Data Excerpt 57 this is the discourse of entrepreneurship self-help books, with logistical guides of how to start and run a business. All the books in the category had a section specifically focusing on the ‘business pitch’ which is a critical component of the *entre-tainment* genre and is presented as a key factor in the success of the contestant entrepreneurs, as well as the main influencer of the decision-making process for the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. Daymond John’s book in this category, called “Rise and Grind”

had a different format from the other books as each section was written by other popular cultural icons (celebrities, musicians, entrepreneurs etc) not associated with the *entre-tainment* brand and genre. A theme in this book and title is “hustling”, which is a recurring entrepreneurial ideal for the *Shark Tank* show version, and is also present in my Layer 1 data related to nationalistic narratives (see Data Excerpt 28, themes about being American). In the *Shark Tank entre-tainment* context, ‘hustling’ has positive connotations of being an astute entrepreneur, this idea functions to create images of an individual that works all the time and is an aggressive salesperson, which glorifies the ideal of being ruthless. This persisting entrepreneurship discourse of hustling appears as an entrepreneurial ideal for *Shark Tank* and is represented as a component for achieving the American Dream. This category of book constitutes the discourse that entrepreneurship can be learnt, but more importantly that it can be learnt from these entrepreneurial celebrity idols.

The final theme in the *Shark Tank* autobiographies surround those books that have extended the discourses of advice-giving beyond entrepreneurship. The following books are cases in which the discourse of entrepreneurship has expanded beyond the set of ideas concerned with business enterprise to a wider and more generalised notion of how to be a ‘successful’ person, the specific aspects of a person’s life that are being subsumed within these ideas surround marriage, raising children, and personal finances. These are the two books from Kevin O’Leary titled “Cold Hard Truth on Men, Women & Money” and the “Cold Hard Truth on Family, Kids & Money.” Once again, the book title uses the branding of the *Shark* television persona, as Kevin is ironically referred to as “Mr. Wonderful” because he is infamous for being harsh and cruel but an honest judge on the television show, thus known for giving “cold hard truths”. Kevin’s books frame non-business realms such as marriage and kids as directly impacting the success of entrepreneurship, the discourse of these books are that to be a successful entrepreneur you need to be good at all forms of decision making including those in personal life. The specific advice given with respect to raising kids is that teaching your children how to manage, value, spend, and save money is at the core of good parenting. The guidance given on romantic relationships is to select a partner based on compatibility of financial decision making, with specific warnings not to marry persons who have large debts and if you must, get a prenup. The advice given on marriage is to “treat marriage like a small business”, this is where the domain of marriage gets interwoven with the entrepreneurship discourse. To summarise the guidelines of ‘treating marriage like a small business’ recommends having legal contracts and prenups in relationships to protect your personal and potential future assets, the

same way you would entering a joint business venture. Data Excerpt 58 is from Kevin's second book is another case of the interweaving of the marriage and entrepreneurship discourses.

Data Excerpt 58

"I'm not against love, but if you're getting married three or four times, you might want to consider that you're bad at being married. That's okay. I'm sure you have other talents. There's a direct comparison to entrepreneurs who drive every business they helm into the ground. Maybe they're better off getting a job than running a company."

Data Excerpt 58 equates the persons who are unable to stay married with entrepreneurs who have many failed businesses, suggesting that what these endeavours have in common is purely being based on passion, which implies that the entrepreneurial ideal of passion on its own is not enough for success. These final two *Shark Tank* autobiographies under review demonstrate strong market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) being applied to realms of personal life, in terms of romantic relationships and child rearing. The summative advice being given here is that best decision making when it comes to selecting a significant other and raising children occurs when it is carried out in the same manner as making financial investments, which is a selfishly motivated discourse that prioritises being concerned with yourself. These books are also an example of how these entrepreneurial celebrity idols use the power of celebrity and the fame order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) to expand their advice-giving expertise to general financial advice not limited to the areas of entrepreneurship. The discourses in Kevin's books supports the ideology that being an entrepreneurial celebrity idol makes you an expert in all things related to finances and personal life. This belief functions on the assumptions that these entrepreneurial celebrity idols are not only successful in entrepreneurship but in all aspects of life, and that entrepreneurship is a generalised expertise that can be transferred to other barely related areas of life, such as finances, personal relationships, leadership and politics.

5.2.3 *Autobiographies: Dragons' Den vs Shark Tank*

To review the entrepreneurship discourses being put forth by the *Dragons' Den* autobiographies compared to the *Shark Tank* autobiographies, I will start with a visual comparison of the book covers in Data Excerpt 59.

Data Excerpt 59: Comparison of book covers for Dragons' autobiographies compared to Sharks

Dragons



Sharks



The different layout of the book covers per show, emphasize different aspects of what they deem to be of importance to the entrepreneurship discourse. The *Dragons' Den* books place the *Dragons'* names at the forefront, as such their entrepreneurial celebrity idol status is the main focus and way in which the entrepreneurship discourses of the books are framed. The *Dragons'* names are also part of the book title, while the *Sharks'* names are positioned separately from the title on the book cover more akin to being the author as opposed to being included in the story narrative. These different approaches in presenting the discourse shows *Dragons' Den* upholding the discourses of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol in an overt way, though *Shark Tank* does the same but attempts to present it more subtly. For the *Shark Tank* book covers more visual focus is placed on the title as it is more prominent (i.e. positioning, text size, font, and colour) than the *Shark's* names. This decision places the biographical story or the topic selected for advice-giving at the forefront of the entrepreneurship discourse which uses the entrepreneurial celebrity idol identity to deliver this discourse in a nuanced way. However, the *Shark Tank* book titles are phrased in ways that use metaphors that echo traits of the *Sharks'* televised personas, as I found in *Layer 1*. *Dragons' Den* best-selling autobiographies celebrates and sells the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, while *Shark Tank's* equivalent books frames their discourse as self-help books for aspiring entrepreneurs which also reiterates the status of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol but as an expert on an array of things.

The book covers for each show also visually frame the discourses by using different communicative modes that reinforce the discourses of the respective show and its style. The photographs of the *Dragons* on the book covers mostly have stern expressions, while all the *Sharks* have smiling photos, also the *Dragons' Den* book covers favoured darker and neutral background colours in comparison to the *Shark Tank* books. This combination of communicative modes in presenting the *Dragons'* personas is consistent with the discourse in television shows in *Layer 1*, as well as the overall tone of the show in which the *Dragons* are more serious, stoic, and traditionally business-like compared to the other television programmes. These facial expressions present the *Dragons* and more generally the entrepreneurship discourse as being aggressive, tough, and cut-throat. However, the book cover imagery of the *Sharks* presents them as being friendlier and warmer than the discourse of their television show. This choice in facial expression and demeanour also presents the *Sharks* as 'being happy' which suggests that if you become a successful entrepreneur you can also be this happy. These two approaches to framing the entrepreneurial celebrity idol discourses in books

positions the entrepreneurship discourse as either coming from a known authority figure, the *Dragon* versus from a friend, the *Shark*. The fact that autobiographical books for *Dragons* and *Sharks* exist and are popular, as evidenced by being best-sellers, are all features that enhance and sustain their position of entrepreneurial celebrity idols. These books constitute the ideology that entrepreneurship can be learnt, which was also reinforced through the use of the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative, the ‘built from scratch’ and ‘rags to riches’ myths respectively, and the expansion of the discourse of advice-giving extending beyond entrepreneurship. These themes portray the economy as being a meritocratic system and justifies wealth inequality, by upholding the discourse that an individual is solely responsible for their wealth despite circumstance. This is done through the discourse placing the weighting of success in entrepreneurship on the individual, and their possessing and learning how to develop entrepreneurial ideals. The ideological effects of which is the belief that entrepreneurship is a just and meritocratic social construct, that cannot be held accountable for any persons who may struggle to succeed in this system. These messages are not only targeted at the contestant entrepreneurs but consumers and viewers of *entre-tainment*. Overall, all these autobiographical books constitute the discourse of entrepreneurship as a way of life opposed to a career that can operate in a silo.

5.2.4 The Educational Books

The following books are the books reviewed that were produced by the shows as educational tools. The *Dragons’ Den* book emerged as a best-seller, and the *Shark Tank* book was sourced from those listed on their website as providing “business tips”.

Data Excerpt 60: Dragons’ Den & Shark Tank book titles

- 1) *Dragons’ Den: Success from pitch to profit*
- 2) *Shark Tank: Secrets to success*

This category of books uses the show genre as an educational template. Both the *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank* books are utilizing the narrative of how the contestant entrepreneurs who received investment progressed, as case studies to educate on entrepreneurship. This practice legitimizes the validity of the show as a discourse on entrepreneurship, which simultaneously introduces the danger of perceiving *entre-tainment* as solely a factual source and learning tool, thus ignoring its aim to entertain in framing the overall discourse. Producing educational material founded on content that straddles a fact-fiction continuum (Roscoe & Hight 2001; Turner, 2001) is problematic in terms of reliability and creating realistic expectations and

understandings of entrepreneurship. This outcome generally impacts the consumers of *entre-tainment* but the danger is incurred by those that use this as a basis to pursue entrepreneurship and those future students who will pursue entrepreneurship in higher education based on these discourses that have the ability to be misleading, glamorized, over simplified and falsely presented versions of entrepreneurship. On the other hand, these discourses can also put off potential future entrepreneurs who may feel as though they do not fit the qualities being represented by the *entre-tainment* discourse such as being aggressive, wanting to own massive businesses, or having extroverted personalities that would make them suited to part-taking in a high-pressured public event such as a reality television competition. The discourses of these books also surround two extremes for outcomes of entrepreneurship, either success or failure, as the middle ground outcome of small-sized, sustainable entrepreneurship presumably was judged by the authors or publishers to not make for entertaining educational material.

5.2.5 Summary of Findings: Books

The discourses of both the autobiographical and educational books aid in making the subject position of entrepreneurship accessible to anyone, through the use of the ‘anyone can do it’ narrative which presents entrepreneurship as an attainable ‘sublime object of desire’ (Jones & Spicer, 2009). The autobiographical books achieve this using ‘built from scratch’ and ‘rags to riches’ myths, and discourses of advice-giving for entrepreneurship which expands to wider general life successes. Though the educational books overtly use the show template as a teaching tool, both categories of books constitute the ideology that entrepreneurship can be learnt, aligning with the argument for nurture, in the nature versus nurture debate for entrepreneurship, especially as the entrepreneurship discourse positions itself as a way of life as opposed to a career. The characteristic of entrepreneurship being accessible to anyone is important for the entrepreneurship discourse to function, as this concept enables the discourse to be subscribed to by everyone. The entrepreneurship discourse being able to have a wide-ranging societal appeal is a crucial component for the *entre-tainment* genre to be consumed and profitable as these books are products being sold.

5.3 Social Media Platforms

Table 5.4 summarises the platforms on which each show has a social media presence.

Table 5.4: Social media presence of each show

	<i>Dragons' Den</i>	<i>Shark Tank</i>	<i>Planting Seeds</i>
Twitter	✓	✓	
Facebook	✓	✓	✓
Instagram		✓	✓

Each social media platform contributes to discourse in different ways due to their respective formats and communicative norms which influences the style and content of their posts. For these reasons and based on the chronological order in which the social media accounts were opened by the shows (refer to Figure 3.7). The following sections review the trends of discourses for each of the social media platforms by show, which is in the order of (i) Twitter, (ii) Facebook, and (iii) Instagram.

5.3.1 Twitter

This section reviews the discourse of tweets with the highest engagement, where I have defined 'engagement' as a combination of retweet and like counts, from *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank's* official Twitter accounts over the time period for which the shows aired, followed by an in-depth analysis of the three tweets with the highest engagement which are bolded. The Twitter data, Data Excerpt 61 and Data Excerpt 64 in this section shows the tweet that received the most 'engagement' by year.

Dragons' Den

Dragons' Den created its Twitter profile in 2010, however the tweets in the years 2010-2011 had very low engagement with an average count for retweets and likes of "1", as such Data Excerpt 61 begins with the highest tweet engagements from 2012.

Data Excerpt 61: Tweets with most engagement by year for Dragons' Den

No.	Tweet	Engagement	Year
1	We are thrilled to announce the return of Dragons' Den!	Total: 220 Retweets: 197 Likes: 23	2012

	Series 10 starts on Sunday 9th September at 9pm on BBC Two. 9/9 @9pm! #dragonsden		
2	So it's official - Theo Paphitis has left the Den after nine series. We wish him all the best for the future #dragonsden	Total: 157 Retweets: 151 Likes: 6	2013
3	Duncan has decided to hang up his Dragon boots and is leaving the Den. Thanks for 12 great series @Duncanbannatyne!! http://t.co/IZG9Jult6Y	Total: 200 Retweets: 117 Likes: 83	2014
4	If you would like to apply to be in the Den you can do so here: http://t.co/iVn8nOIB79	Total: 599 Retweets: 234 Likes: 365	2015
5	It's Sunday...you know what that means! It's Den Day! @dragonjones #dragonsden https://t.co/JAehiYczBU	Total:360 Retweets: 81 Likes: 279	2016
6	The moment @Harry_styles reveals he was STAR STRUCK when he met @dragonjones on #HarrystylesAttheBBC on @BBCOne https://t.co/Pu1DtUMCwc	Total: 791 Retweets: 228 Likes: 563	2017

The bolded number for tweets highlights the top three tweets of the table that received the most engagement. The trends in *Dragons' Den* tweets show that the highest engagement surrounds discourses of celebrity. Tweets 2 and 3 share news about long-term *Dragons* leaving the show which demonstrates that this is a critical announcement that is worthy of posting. These tweets illustrate that the relationship between the followers and the entrepreneurial celebrity idol are a core part of the discourse occurring on the Twitter platform. This also emphasizes that the discourse of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol is one of the major aspects of the *entre-tainment* discourse. Tweet 6 has the highest engagement and also surrounds discourses of celebrity. This tweet is about a young pop-cultural singer saying in an interview that he is a fan of the *Dragon*, Peter and when he saw him in a restaurant he asked for his autograph, a video clip of the interview is included with this tweet and a transcription of this interview is in Data Excerpt 62.

Data Excerpt 62: Video transcription linked to Tweet 6

Harry Styles: "And I lost my...I lost it. I lost it"

[background audience laugh track]

Interviewer: "What did you do? Did you go over to him?"

Harry Styles: "I asked him for an autograph like after the meal. And he wrote like—"

Interviewer: "And what did you say to him? Were you like 'Big fan of *Dragons' Den*'?"

Harry Styles: "...like 'keep dreaming, work hard' or something"

Interviewer: "Do you think that Peter Jones from *Dragons' Den* is the reason for your success?"

Harry Styles: "Maybe"

[background audience laugh track]

"I kept dreaming and tried to work hard."

Interviewer: "Yeah and now look"

Ironically, in *Dragon*, Peter's autobiography published years prior to this tweet and interview (see Data Excerpt 49), Peter equates his fame, and the fame of being an entrepreneurial celebrity idol as being on par with that of a pop star to young people. This interview surrounds a young pop star being in awe of Peter and reacting to him as a celebrity by being "STAR STRUCK" and asking for his autograph, which retroactively validates that previous analogy that entrepreneurs have the same fame capital and appeal as pop stars, and in this case even to pop stars. The interview is framed light-heartedly and the consideration of *Dragon*, Peter Jones being responsible for Harry Styles' success is meant to be comedic, which is further indicated by the use and placement of the "background audience laugh track". However, it does reference

the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals as Peter's autograph included comments around 'dreaming and working hard', and the continuation of those traits of 'dreaming and working hard' throughout the interview as possibly being responsible for Harry's pop star success. This demonstrates an overlap of the entrepreneurial ideals discourse with wider discourses of success and specifically successful celebrity, which shows how much this narrative has proliferated society that it emerges as accepted common sense knowledge.

Tweet 4 is the tweet with the second highest engagement, which is a call for applicants to *Dragons' Den* including the link to apply. This indicates that the *entre-tainment* discourse is highly subscribed to as a legitimate vehicle for pursuing entrepreneurship, or at the very least marketing entrepreneurship, for those that approach the opportunity as free advertising, which still reinforces the power the show has over discourses of entrepreneurship. This also suggests that the show has followers who are not solely watching for entertainment purposes but want to participate as contestant entrepreneurs. Tweet 5 has the third highest engagement and is show in Data Excerpt 63.

Data Excerpt 63: Tweet 5



The image is of an annoyed looking *Dragon*, Peter asking “Have you come here for investment- Or counselling?” This statement combined with the visual elements of the backdrop and lighting which makes the setting appear like an interrogation as opposed to an interview or discussion, aligns with representations of the *Dragons* as predatory, aggressive, and hostile. This statement also makes it clear that Peter considers his only role in that moment to be that

of an investor and not to provide emotional support, such as counselling. This continues to reinforce the discourse of entrepreneurship and doing business as being cold and pragmatic. Additionally, this is the tweet with the highest engagement for that period which displays that the show’s followers also enjoy voyeurism-based content where contestant entrepreneurs are embarrassed.

Shark Tank

Shark Tank opened its Twitter account in 2012, and this is the year that I found the show series (season 5) began including the *Sharks’* Twitter handles in the opening sequence for the show (see season 5 in Data Excerpt 4) which demonstrates the interdiscursivity that occurs across the *Layers*. Data Excerpt 64 outlines the tweets with the highest engagement in each year, with the three highest interacted tweets bolded.

Data Excerpt 64: Tweets with most engagement by year for Shark Tank

No.	Tweet	Engagement	Year
7	It's time to get in the Tank! Retweet if you're watching #SharkTank right now!	Total: 188 Retweets: 181 Likes: 7	2012
8	RETWEET if you're joining us for #SharkTankWeek, beginning Sunday, September 8 at 8 7c on ABC! http://t.co/IVshldHWIR	Total: 561 Retweets: 456 Likes: 105	2013
9	Congratulations to #SharkTank on winning the Critics' Choice Award for Best Reality Competition Series!	Total: 348 Retweets: 111 Likes: 237	2014
10	Ashton Kutcher enters the tank TONIGHT! Don't miss his #SharkTank debut at 9 8c on ABC.	Total: 3903 Retweets: 968 Likes: 2935	2015
11	Growing up, no one believed in @mcuban, but he hustled & proved	Total: 1593 Retweets: 380	2016

	them wrong. As a Shark, he gives others someone to believe in https://t.co/3pRle7hBJg	Likes: 1213	
12	Sink your teeth into an all-new season of #SharkTank. Starts Sunday with a two-hour premiere at 8 7c on ABC! https://t.co/Z1dFAGxgAh	Total: 2943 Retweets: 480 Likes: 2463	2017

The *Shark Tank* tweets with the highest engagement are tweets 10, 12 and 11 in descending order. Tweet 10 is an announcement of Ashton Kutcher taking on the position of a *Shark* for one episode. Ashton Kutcher gained his wealth and fame from being a television actor who became a movie star, who then became infamous for using the wealth he accumulated from his acting career to invest in tech companies. This shows that the power of celebrity combined with wealth, that is fame and market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006), can provide access to the entrepreneurship discourse, either as investors or as entrepreneurs themselves, even when their career speciality is not remotely related to business or entrepreneurship they are still being treated as legitimate in the entrepreneurship discourse.

Tweet 12 is an announcement about the airing of a new season, which commits to the *Shark Tank* imagery as the statement begins with “sink your teeth into...” This metaphor also serves to align the viewer with the standpoint of the *Shark* and creates images of damage and destruction as opposed to a nurturing and supportive discourse of entrepreneurship. The following is included in a video clip with the post.

Data Excerpt 65: Narration and visuals of video linked to Tweet 12

Narration:

“Shark Tank just won the Emmy for the fourth time in a row and ABC Sunday is a new season, a new night, and new Sharks making a splash.”

Sample of images:



The content from the video clip highlights the main points the tweet aims to cover, opening with *Shark Tank* has won its fourth consecutive Emmy, emphasizing that the show is of award-winning calibre and legitimizing discourses of entrepreneurship that it constitutes. This visual of trophies combined with the image captioned “new season” works intertextually to juxtapose themes associated with watching sports such as winning and celebratory fans with the

gameshow component of *entre-tainment*. The video also recaps the new features of the show as having a new airtime, new season, and new *Sharks*. All the video images included are of the *Sharks* being jovial, joyful, and smiling towards the contestant entrepreneurs, including the images introducing the “new Sharks”. These imageries of the *Sharks* are consistent with the way in which they have been presented throughout *Layer 2* (see section 5.2.2), but contrasts and attempts to soften the connotative imageries related to the predatory animal of a shark. Thus, providing a mixed set of metaphors and symbolic images of the *Sharks* as being both friends and adversaries to contestant entrepreneurs. The visual of a new *Shark* throwing a glass of water at an old *Shark* (circled in red) is narrated with “and new Sharks making a splash”. In addition to reiterating the show’s commitment to shark related symbolism by the descriptor of “splash”, this act is very theatrical and entertaining for viewing purposes but does not echo traditional settings for making business deals or expected behaviours of entrepreneurial celebrity idols. This collection of clips portrays that for the new season of *Shark Tank*, the *Sharks*’ aggressive behaviours are directed towards each other and not at the contestant entrepreneurs. The video closes with the image of the original cast of *Sharks* represented ominously, as they are all dressed in black and their chairs appear to be lined with shark teeth, positioned over a glass floor of shark infested water.

Tweet 11 is the third most interacted with tweet, and it positions *Shark*, Mark Cuban as an entrepreneurial celebrity idol through a self-made narrative and the summative statement “As a Shark, he gives others someone to believe in them.” The following is some illustrative examples from the video profile included with the tweet,

Data Excerpt 66: Video profile linked in Tweet 11

Part	Profile Structure
1	<p><u><i>Humble Beginnings</i></u></p> <p>Excerpts:</p> <p>“I was raised in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania my Grandparents came over from Russia...”</p> <p>“I grew up in a working-class family with my Dad did upholstery on cars, my Mum did every kind of job imaginable.”</p> <p>Images:</p>



2

Early Entrepreneurial Potential:

Excerpt:

“**Nobody had high hopes for me, but I was a hustler**, I’ve always been selling, from reselling baseball cards to stamps and coins, I always had something going on [laughs] **that was just my nature.**”

Images:



3

Entrepreneurial Success

Excerpt:

“In April 2000 we closed our deal with Yahoo! for 5.7 billion dollars in Yahoo! stock.”

Images:



Spent earnings on purchasing a sports team



4

Discourse of giving back

Excerpt:

"**I care a lot about influencing kids**, because I have 3 young kids, I care about the world they're going to live in, **I love entrepreneurship because that's what makes this country grow** and if I can help companies grow, creating jobs, setting foundations for future generations, **it sends the message that the American Dream is alive and well.**"

Images:



[Mark speaking as an alumnus to an auditorium of high school students]

This *Shark* profile of Mark is done in a format similar to the *Shark Tank* contestant entrepreneur profile I reviewed in my *Layer 1* findings (see Data Excerpt 16). Both profiles are structured in a similar fashion with the use of family and baby photos, as a strategy for presenting the individuals as ordinary, making them relatable in addition to evoking emotive feelings in the

viewers. This *Shark* profile was structured by four parts 1) humble beginnings, 2) early entrepreneurial potential, 3) entrepreneurial success, and 4) discourse of ‘giving back’. Part 1 begins with immigrant imageries which is a common feature of the American Dream. Mark’s immigrant narrative is executed similarly to *Shark*, Robert Herjavec’s website profile (Data Excerpt 33), by alluding to migrating from Russia. This juxtaposes clashing nationalistic ideologies of communism versus capitalism, specifically the migration from communism for better opportunities enabled by capitalism. This narrative implies that one ideology is economically superior to the other. Part 1 structures the start of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol’s narrative with humble beginnings which aids in the positioning the entrepreneurship discourse as being available to anyone. Part 2 surrounds Mark’s entrepreneurial potential at a young age which is marked by the skill of being a “hustler”. Once again hustling appears in a positive light as an entrepreneurial ideal for *Shark Tank*, this time framed as “just my nature” leaning towards the stance that hustling is a skill earned through nature versus nurture, as it is something you are just born with. The excerpt in part 2 illustrates that “hustler” is synonymous with selling, thus making a distinction between the entrepreneurial ideal of hustling compared to hard-working. Part 3 outlines the *Shark’s* entrepreneurial success earning him the position of entrepreneurial celebrity idol. The background of his business success and attainment of market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) are shared, and then the accumulation of this wealth allowing him to make outlier luxury purchases, such as buying a sports team. This is followed by the discourse of ‘giving back’ in part 4, presenting the values of civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) which serves to give moral grounding to the discourse of extreme personal enrichment exhibited through superfluous purchases of a sports team and serves to justify wealth. Images of “Mark’s childhood home” and “high school” are used to reposition the *Shark* as ordinary and relatable following the unrelatable section on his wealth, and also emphasizes the stark contrast in his entrepreneurial journey from ordinary to extraordinary. The form of giving back is illustrated through the imagery of Mark giving advice to an auditorium filled with students at the high school he attended, paired with his statement of “I care a lot about influencing kids”. Part 4 also reiterates that *Shark Tank* is a conflation of the American Dream that endorses entrepreneurship. This *Shark’s* video profile is structured in these ways to make the entrepreneurship discourse inspirational and available to anyone, it also serves to present the entrepreneurship celebrity idol as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary.

The remaining tweets are 7, 8 and 9. Tweets 7 and 8 are interactive tweets asking to be retweeted if the followers are watching or are going to watch the show, since these tweets have the highest engagement for that period this demonstrates the followers are engaging with the televised content. Tweet 9 is an announcement that the show has received an award which is similar to the opening content of Tweet 12, thus surrounding a similar discourse of awards serving as an indication of *Shark Tank* constituting legitimate the discourses of entrepreneurship which are being socially accepted and even rewarded.

The discourses of tweets on the Twitter platform showed that the tweets with the highest engagement for both *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank* were concerned with discourses of celebrity, which suggests that the fame order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) is one of the most engaging aspects of *entre-tainment* to social media users. For *Dragons' Den* none of the tweets with highest engagement surrounded discourses of business or entrepreneurship. However, for *Shark Tank* one of the highest interacted with tweets, with a count in the thousands, constituted discourses of self-made narratives, American Dream ideologies, justified wealth, and positioned the *Shark* as both ordinary and extraordinary. Both shows had a trend of a rise in tweet engagement over time which indicated the growing popularity of the *entre-tainment* genre until 2017, proving that these discourses of entrepreneurship are not dying out, but that it is a discourse that is prevailing.

5.3.2 Facebook

The three shows, *Planting Seeds*, *Shark Tank* and *Dragons' Den* all have official Facebook accounts. This section covers the discourses of posts with the highest number of reacts from the first post up until November 2017.

Planting Seeds

The *Planting Seeds* Facebook account is the only one of the three shows that lists itself as a “service” and as such the account format includes a “reviews” section. This selection of being a ‘service’ as opposed to a ‘television show’ which is the category the remaining two shows selected for their profile, aligns with the educational and supportive mission the *Planting Seeds* discourse purports. The following are the top three posts in terms of receiving the highest number of reacts from *Planting Seeds*.

Data Excerpt 67: Facebook Post 1



Planting Seeds

November 2, 2016 · 🌐



Are you ready Trinidad and Tobago?! On NOV8 Daymond John from ABC's Hit TV Series Shark Tank will be joining The Planting Seeds Team as the Key Note Speaker at our official Masters of Industry Event. In collaboration with BPTT we will be hosting the most trendy business event of the year and ending our Season with a blast.

Get ready to see an upgrade in the way we do business in Trinidad and Tobago as we host the top [#corporations](#) [#investors](#) [#entrepreneurs](#) & thanks to BPTT we are bringing entrepreneurship to our nations youth with the launch of our Junior Master of Industry Campaign.

[#plantingseeds](#) [#trinidadandtobago](#) [#raisingthebar](#) [#fosteringcreativity](#) and [#economicgrowth](#)

Data Excerpt 67 is post 1 which includes an attached video. The purpose of this post is to advertise an event being held by *Planting Seeds* where the keynote speaker is a *Shark*. However, this post is also an instance of an interdiscursivity event illustrating that the shows, *Planting Seeds* and *Shark Tank*, have an awareness of one another and a relationship that is hierarchal with *Sharks* being positioned as superior to *Planting Seeds*' investors. The high number of reacts shows the pervasiveness of the *entre-tainment* genre as well as the subscription of the discourse of the celebrity entrepreneurial idol, in this case specifically *Shark*, Daymond John. Illustrative samples from the video attached to the Facebook post is as follows. The following texts were included as images in the video, but the image resolution quality made the text blurry and difficult to read when transferred to this document, so I have transcribed them as follows,

Data Excerpt 68: Samples from video for Facebook Post 1 (Data Excerpt 67)

"Masters of Industry- **Creativity and innovative thinking are defining characteristics of successful entrepreneurs.** Now more than ever, however, **corporate leaders are recognising that entrepreneurial thinking isn't just for entrepreneurs-** don't miss out."

"Daymond John, ABC's Shark Tank Host: **one of the most notable entrepreneurs in the U.S.-** uses personal examples **from his phenomenally successful rags-to-riches journey to explain how he honed his entrepreneurial mindset.**"



(Image attached to text)

"The Masters of Industry presentation it's all about creativity, resourcefulness, and the ability to think outside the proverbial box are skills that are just as valuable in large corporations seeking to gain, or keep, a competitive edge as they are in start-ups."

Data Excerpt 68 are discourses of entrepreneurial ideals featuring traits of “creativity”, “innovative thinking” and “resourcefulness”. Data Excerpt 68 also alludes to the “entrepreneurial mindset” as part of the entrepreneurial ideals discourse that is positioned as such a desirable trait, that it is a transferable discourse that is critical for success in any business environment not just being an entrepreneur. This is specifically outlined by the statements, “recognising that entrepreneurial thinking isn’t just for entrepreneurs” and “just as valuable in large corporations seeking to gain, or keep, a competitive edge as they are in start-ups”. Data Excerpt 68 focuses on the discourse of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol and the narrative of “his phenomenally successful rags-to-riches journey” and includes images of the *Shark* visually representing this ‘success of his rags-to-riches journey’ by being dressed business formal in suits with a background that suggests his office is on a high building floor and has a good view. In addition to the imagery of him giving talks which presents him as an entrepreneurial expert capable of educating on the same. Based on the high react count to this Facebook post and the similar outcome for the tweet 11 (see Data Excerpt 66) that contained a *Shark* profile, this suggests that these narratives and myths are prevailing discourses that gain the attention and generate engagement from the audience of *entre-tainment*. This Facebook post also closes with the inclusion of the “economic growth” hashtag which continues to reiterate the *Planting Seeds* discourse of entrepreneurship for economic growth.

Data Excerpt 69: Facebook Post 2



Post 2 (Data Excerpt 69) is an update of the progress being made with a contestant entrepreneur who received investment on the *Planting Seeds* show. The image is a photograph of the winning contestant entrepreneur with his *Planting Seeds* investor, both looking very happy while the investor holds the business product, which is kale. In terms of self-reflexivity, I am noting that I was one of the many persons who ‘liked’ this post, as can be seen by the “you” listed in persons who reacted. I “liked” this post because I saw this contestant entrepreneur’s pitch at the taping of the show, and thought that his business idea was good, so I felt happy to see this post that shows him progressing and succeeding. I only started following *Planting Seeds*’ social media accounts after deciding to study the show for my PhD, however *Planting Seeds* is the only *entre-tainment* show that I follow on social media which may be influenced by patriotic interest and obligation to be supportive. The high number of reacts, all of which are ‘likes’ or ‘loves’ and therefore positive reactions on this Facebook post indicates that these followers are rooting for the contestant entrepreneur to succeed, which outlines one of many motives for consuming *entre-tainment*, in addition to enjoying seeing contestants fail (as seen in Data Excerpt 63). The discourse of this post being put forward by the show serves to legitimize *entre-tainment* as a feasible means to entrepreneurship, while validating the

intentions and purpose of the *Planting Seeds*’ “service”. The hashtags used, “make a change” and “developing Trinidad and Tobago” continue to reinforce the *Planting Seeds* discourses of entrepreneurship for developing the region.

Data Excerpt 70: Facebook Post 3

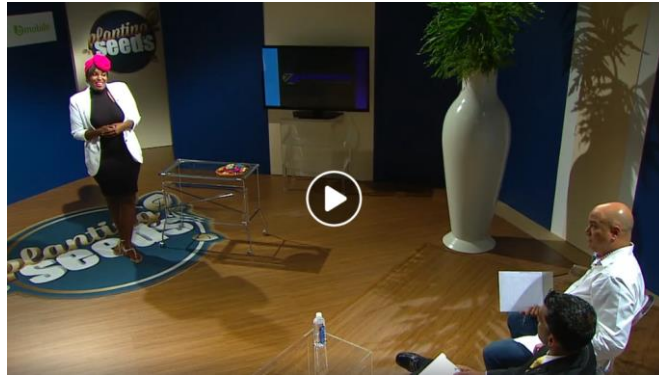


Post 3 (Data Excerpt 70) was the discourse of overcoming poverty through entrepreneurship. This portrays poverty as being positive as in this contestant entrepreneur profile it fuelled the need to financially survive through entrepreneurship. This theme of poverty as positive is a recurring theme in the entrepreneurship discourse, which has been consistently referred to for discourses surrounding the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, *Shark*, Daymond (see Data Excerpt 55). The video profile attached to this post, for the contestant entrepreneur differed in format to the standard *Shark Tank* profile, which is the only other show version that contains a contestant entrepreneur profile. The structural differences surrounded that this profile was filmed in the contestant entrepreneur’s place of business (store) and the storyline focused on the business, there were not any imageries of her home or childhood photographs which are characteristic of the narrative *Shark Tank* produces. An excerpt from the video profile is in Data Excerpt 71.

Data Excerpt 71: Samples from video for Facebook Post 3 (Data Excerpt 70)

“Just like life has ups and downs so does a business and after all those wonderful ups the down period came again earlier this year was one of the hardest times of my personal and professional life I literally wanted to give up everyday I had to dig deep and find hope but in finding hope, I found Planting Seeds.”

[upbeat music plays and following image]



"They pushed me and helped me in so many different ways, so you guys need to make sure and tune in to *Planting Seeds* TV series to see Zaveza (name of business) and what happens next."

The video profile serves as a promotional advertisement to watch the show, which aims to make the viewer connect with and root for the contestant entrepreneur and want to follow up on the outcome of her story by tuning into the show. The image also shows the contestant entrepreneur standing on the *Planting Seeds* logo, which places her as the centre of attention in this business pitch and negotiations segment, which reiterates *Planting Seeds*' entrepreneurship discourses of being centred on the contestant entrepreneur. The video excerpt constitutes discourses of entrepreneurship as a way of life as opposed to a career, as it begins with her equating the experience of entrepreneurship to paralleling the journey of life and the allusions to personal and professional life being intertwined. This excerpt also ends with portraying *Planting Seeds* as a saviour, reiterating the discourse of the role of entrepreneurial celebrity idols on *entre-tainment* programmes as heroes. To return to this Facebook post caption as a whole, it closes with the hashtag "real people doing real things" which is a component of the discourse of authentic entrepreneurship, and the ideology that to be an authentic entrepreneur the person must have overcome poverty or experienced a 'rags to riches' journey.

Shark Tank

The posts with the most reacts from *Shark Tank* were announcements that the show will be airing that night which is similar to some of the top Twitter posts, since I already addressed that this finding demonstrates that *entre-tainment* followers are heavily subscribed to the televised content and regularly look forward to viewing, in addition to the content of these posts (Facebook and Twitter) being identical I have removed those posts from this section. *Shark Tank* had far more posts than *Planting Seeds*, and many posts with the same number of

reacts, so selecting posts based on the highest number of reacts did not work for this section. All the posts that had reacts of “1000” and more were collected and then three posts were randomly selected, they are as follows.

Data Excerpt 72: Facebook Post 4



This post includes an attached article on “Why Shark Tank is bigger than ever” excerpts from this article are as follows,

Data Excerpt 73

“What better way for them to escape their economic woes than to watch a -reality show where the stars are a bunch of one-percenters?”- Article Author

Data Excerpt 74

Shark Tank debuted in the summer of 2009 and started slowly in the ratings. "When you hear the premise, you don't think, 'I'm going to tune in to see that,'" says executive producer Clay Newbill. "I always tell people, if you watch an episode, you're hooked."

Data Excerpt 75

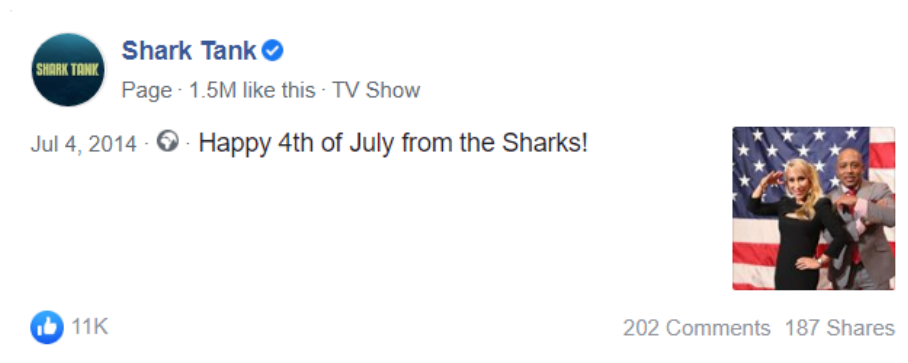
"There used to be a perception that if you wanted a safe career, you worked for a big company, stayed there for 25 years and got a pension. That's a lot of crap. There's more risk now being in a big company as they downsize and jobs are taken offshore. If you have any entrepreneurial streak in you today, you say to yourself, 'I'm going to take risks and have the potential to become wealthy and create my own business.'" - Shark

Data Excerpt 76

"I came to this country with \$200 and an American dream," he says. "This nation was built on small businesses and ideas. What can be more American than trying to find the next Post-it Notes?"- Shark Tank Show Producer

Data Excerpt 73 addresses that the show allows for a form of escapism from the viewers' economic woes, which is enhanced further through the entrepreneurship discourse being available to anyone. It also emphasizes the status distinctions of entrepreneurs, by referring to the Sharks as "one-percenters" acknowledging that only one percent of persons tend to achieve that level of success and wealth through entrepreneurship. Data Excerpt 74 refers to the content of entrepreneurship as not making for an interesting show, but that the discourses within the show is what captures the audience. Data Excerpt 75 purports that the entrepreneurship discourse is the best and most stable means to becoming wealthy. Data Excerpt 76 is the show producer subscribing to the American Dream ideologies and that a show based on the same is the most American thing, which is another case supporting that *Shark Tank* is a conflation of the American Dream that endorses entrepreneurship.

Data Excerpt 77: Facebook Post 5



Post 5 (Data Excerpt 77) demonstrates that nationalistic narratives are a core part of the entrepreneurship discourse for *Shark Tank*. This post is a celebration of the national holiday for America's Independence Day, the image used with the post is of two happy and patriotic looking, based on Lori's pose of saluting, *Sharks* in front of the American flag. This image uses the *Sharks* as representing the commodification of the American Dream, also the two *Sharks* selected for this image are those belonging to minority groups, one of which has been

branded as the ‘rags-to-riches’ *Shark*, further connoting that the American Dream can be attained by everyone regardless of background or circumstance.

Data Excerpt 78: Facebook post 6



Post 6 (Data Excerpt 78) constitutes the discourse that presents entrepreneurship and the American Dream as being synonymous, this time from the context of the contestant entrepreneur. An illustrative excerpt from the video included with the post is as follows,

Data Excerpt 79

Shark: "You're just the perfect example of if you just bust your ass and cut your cost, you can save and so [applauds] bravo man, that is awesome, that is the American Dream right there."

Data Excerpt 79 supports the discourse that through entrepreneurial ideals such as hard work and resilience, success and more specifically the American Dream can be achieved.

Dragons' Den

Dragons' Den Facebook posts received far less reacts as regularly as *Planting Seeds* and *Shark Tank* posts, removing the posts that announce the show's airtimes which similar to *Shark Tank* accounted for many of the posts with the highest react counts, the following are the top three posts with the highest number of reacts.

Data Excerpt 80: Facebook Post 7



Post 7 (Data Excerpt 80) surrounds the entrepreneurial expertise of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols, the *Dragons*, as qualifying them to advise on general financial decisions, similar to the discourses found in autobiographical books from *Shark*, Kevin (see section 5.2.2). A video is included with the post in which the *Dragons* answer the question posted “how would you invest £1000”. Four out of the five answers are about using it to make more money, by investing or buying products and reselling for a profit. The one outlier answer is illustrated in Data Excerpt 81.

Data Excerpt 81: Video images from Facebook Post 7 (Data Excerpt 80) for Dragon 1 answer



The outlier advice given surrounds using the money to improve yourself, which is “I think the best investment is in yourself. I’d use that money to improve my knowledge...”. This was phrased generically enough that it could be applied formal education. This is the one response that surrounds the discourse of investing in yourself for self-improvement, while the majority of advice given are focused on and prioritise market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) of how to grow the £1000 to more money. Both the first and final advice is given by long-term, recurring *Dragons*, Deborah and Peter, their longevity in this role aids to legitimize this advice-giving discourse as it is coming from trusted sources that the viewer has a lengthy

relationship with based on their established statuses of celebrity entrepreneurial idols. Peter gives the closing piece of advice, which is shown in Data Excerpt 82.

His advice constitutes the entrepreneurship discourses of ‘anyone can do it’ by building from scratch, as he states that anyone “can build a business from a thousand pounds” and grow it into “a few hundred thousand”.

Data Excerpt 82: Video images from Facebook Post 7 (Data Excerpt 80) for Dragon 2 answer



Data Excerpt 83: Facebook Post 8



Post 8 (Data Excerpt 83) is the post with the second highest number of reacts, the caption for which is that filming for season 14 is beginning. This post includes an image of the set, specifically where the *Dragons* are seated with piles of cash on their tables which reinforces

the market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) as a core desirability of the entrepreneurship discourse.

Data Excerpt 84: Facebook Post 9



Post 9 (Data Excerpt 84), similar to post 8 (Data Excerpt 83) is concerned with creating hype around the television episodes. This is achieved using a scene from the show which has an ominous tone that reiterates the predator prey relationship between the *Dragons* and contestant entrepreneurs. This is achieved through the use of a few oppositional imageries to enforce the status distinctions between the contestant entrepreneurs and the *Dragons* such as dark versus colour, back-facing versus forward, and emerging from darkness to light. These components work together to make the contestant entrepreneurs indistinguishable as the view is of their backs and they are in the dark, while the *Dragons* are the focus due to being lit, which prioritises the discourse and power of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol as the aspect of the show that is interesting and entertaining.

The *entre-tainment* shows used their Facebook platforms to selectively highlight the discourses of the show that they felt would engage with their followers, and I reviewed the posts that received the most engagement. For *Plantings Seeds* I found that the entrepreneurship discourses that received the most engagement from followers were those of that had themes of going from rags to riches and 'anyone can do it' narratives, which were packaged and presented as discourses of entrepreneurship for economic growth and developing the region, indicated through the use of hashtags. For *Shark Tank* the posts that received the most engagement were entrepreneurship discourses that constituted ideologies of the American Dream, and for *Dragons' Den* the discourses of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol as a powerful, intimidating,

authority on entrepreneurship which has been extrapolated to an expert on financial management was reinforced.

5.3.3 Instagram

Instagram is an image-based platform, where photographs are at the forefront of the post with captions being secondary. Due to the nature of this social media platform 10 of the posts with the highest number of likes were collected to review the trends in discourses that gained the most attention from followers.

Planting Seeds

Data Excerpt 85 is a collection of the top 10 posts that received the most engagement by the highest number of ‘likes’ on the *Planting Seed’s* Instagram account.

Data Excerpt 85: Most liked Instagram posts for Planting Seeds





5

plantingseedsribbea • Following ...

plantingseedsribbea Are you ready? It's a new episode of Planting Seeds tonight at 8PM on TV6 - #bigdeals happening; you don't want to miss this one #signed #sealed and #delivered brought to you by @jmbtt @bmobileifeison @thebeaconinsurance @veryexcitingthingsltd

128w

♥ 💬 📌

Liked by s.bed_oh and 163 others

NOVEMBER 20, 2017

Add a comment... Post



6

plantingseedsribbea • Following ...

plantingseedsribbea Because we ❤️ our #entrepreneurs Season 2 Entrepreneur Rawle Anand Singh Founder of @travelmeetat will be attending the @tech.beach conference in Jamaica JM to represent Planting Seeds this year and to gain invaluable insights into the Tech Industry we love #empowering our #entrepreneurs and re-investing in them #empower #entrepreneurs #trinidadandtobago #letsdothis

129w

travelmeetat It's an honor and a pleasure to represent @plantingseedsribbea at the upcoming @techbeachretreat Very excited to network with

♥ 💬 📌

127 likes

NOVEMBER 20, 2017

Add a comment... Post



7

plantingseedsribbea • Following ...

plantingseedsribbea Special Congratulations to Emerging Market Category Winner - Jules Sioban : CEO/Founder of @caesarsarmy for the EY Entrepreneur of the Year awards held in collaboration with the Chamber of Commerce : Champions of Business Annual Gala.

131w

sobiontt Sobion* lol but yes big up! @juliusofrome

130w 1 like Reply

♥ 💬 📌

120 likes

NOVEMBER 13, 2017

Add a comment... Post



8

plantingseedsribbea • Following ...

plantingseedsribbea Had a great day teaching the girls about business! Our awesome group of future BPIT Junior Masters of Industry Students from #stjosephsconvent #portofspain Listening to their plans and teaching them about #Entrepreneurship was amazing! Can't wait to see the end results :)

149w

♥ 💬 📌

98 likes

JULY 5, 2017

Add a comment... Post

2009: Facebook turned down Brian Acton for a job. Later that year he created WhatsApp

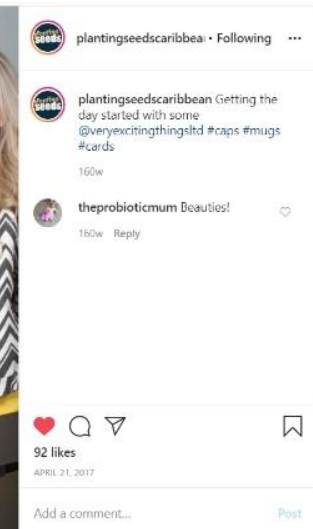
2014: Facebook paid \$19 Billion for WhatsApp

There are no Failures, only lessons. What can you do with your lessons?

9



10



From Data Excerpt 85, the most engaged with trends of discourses in the previous Instagram posts were found to be i) images of attractive women, ii) encouraging viewing of the show, iii) celebrating entrepreneurs, iv) ‘giving back’, and v) inspirational entrepreneurship narratives. Most of the posts (1,2,3 and 10) are professionally staged images focused on attractive women, based on attaining higher number of likes this demonstrates that this is the type of content gets a lot of attention and engagement on the Instagram platform. This is a likely strategy to gain popularity of the show and takes into consideration the aspects of entertainment in the discourse. Post 3 is a picture of the show’s season 2 host, and the woman in the centre of post 10, was the season 1 host, which demonstrates an awareness of *Planting Seeds* intentional selection of attractive women as hosts in the show. These two hosts are also pseudo-celebrities, the host in post 3 is known for formerly being married to a popular and well-loved Trinidadian musician, and the host in post 10 previously represented Trinidad and Tobago in a Miss World competition. Two posts (4 and 5) include images from the show’s footage of their investors on set, with both captions opening with “are you ready?”, the purpose of which is to create excitement and encourage viewing of the show.

Posts 6 and 7 are images of entrepreneurs. Post 6, is an image of a contestant entrepreneur that was on the show, holding a sign that is thanking *Planting Seeds* for enabling him to attend a tech entrepreneurship conference in Jamaica. This post serves as a form of evidence that *Planting Seeds* provides support to the winning contestant entrepreneurs, and that its discourses of fostering entrepreneurship are legitimate. Post 7 congratulates a Caribbean entrepreneur, who is not associated with the show, on receiving an award, this post constitutes the show’s entrepreneurship discourses of supporting the regional community. Post 8 focuses on the civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) of the entrepreneurship discourses of ‘giving back’. This is demonstrated through the caption and photograph which tells the story of the *Planting Seeds*’ production team visiting an all-girls’ high school to teach them about entrepreneurship. The image in post 9 is of text that produces an inspirational entrepreneurship narrative, the main takeaway lesson of which is to ‘never give up’ especially when you fail, which reinforces the trait of perseverance in discourses of entrepreneurship ideals. This inspirational entrepreneurship narrative also illustrates that companies connected with entrepreneurial idols, such as “Facebook” are capable of making incorrect judgements which enhances the themes of being an inspirational tale by alluding to the potential of overcoming rejection and overall failure. In terms of self-reflection, it appears I ‘liked’ posts 4, 5 and 6, and this was based on familiarity and having a relationship with each of these posts. Post 4 was an

episode that I watched as part of my dataset, post 5 I was in the studio for that episode's filming, and post 6 is of a contestant entrepreneur that I met and saw pitch in the studio, when I saw that post I felt happy to see him progressing, it felt as though he was my friend and someone I knew.

Shark Tank

The following is a collection of the posts that received the most number of likes on *Shark Tank's* Instagram account.

Data Excerpt 86: Most liked Instagram posts for Shark Tank



15



sharktankabc • Follow

sharktankabc • Get ready for an emoji-filled episode tonight with guest shark, @rohanaoza! 🤪🤪🤪🤪🤪🤪 #SharkTank

129w

personaljarlem Very cool

3,987 likes

NOVEMBER 26, 2017

Add a comment... Post

16



sharktankabc • Follow

sharktankabc • Wishing you a happy and prosperous 2017! #SharkTank

175w

foundr • Allstars 🏆 3/6 sharks have blessed the front cover of @foundr

166w 1 like Reply

3,806 likes

JANUARY 8, 2017

Add a comment... Post

17



sharktankabc • Follow

sharktankabc • Probably the most epic pillow fight ever. #SharkTank

131w

troubledthecatandluckyloa Bethenny a permanent shark.

41,692 views

NOVEMBER 6, 2017

18



sharktankabc • Follow

sharktankabc • Come on in, the water's fine! #SharkTank

181w

cubillosinc Such a great branding photo

170w Reply

handytissueorgnizr Love love love this!

166w Reply

rpenab Lmao

3,584 likes

NOVEMBER 22, 2016

Add a comment... Post

19



20



All of the highest liked posts on *Shark Tank's* Instagram (Data Excerpt 86) account are those that feature the *Sharks*. These posts present alternative discourses of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols that solely focus on presenting the *Sharks* in a non-serious manner. The trends of discourse in these posts surround light-hearted, playful, and comical content, apart from post 18 which is the same show poster imagery used on their Twitter and addressed in that section (see Data Excerpt 65). Majority of the posts contribute to the discourse of the *Sharks* as ordinary persons. Posts 11 and 12 do this by creating a relationship of fondness and an illusion of friendship between the *Sharks* and the viewers, with the content of a childhood photograph and a post that surrounds birthday wishes for a *Shark*. Two of the posts are videos. Post 13 is a video clip of a few seconds from an episode that shows the *Sharks* all getting into a bed together, which is part of the contestant entrepreneur's demonstration to showcase their product which is a pillow. The clip ends with one of the *Sharks* saying "I haven't been in bed with so many billionaires in at least a couple weeks" which is a pun used for entertainment value and comedy while also referring to metaphors where business partnerships have been equated to 'getting into bed with someone'. The second post that has a video is post 17 which includes footage from the same episode and is a clip of the *Sharks* having a pillow fight after the contestant entrepreneur leaves. Both of these posts, in addition to being entertaining for viewers, presents the *Sharks* as capable of being silly with one another, the caption in post 14 even uses the term "Shark silliness". Post 14, along with posts 19 and 20 are portrayed as backstage moments, these are framed as moments that occur when they are not filming which presents that *Sharks* as ordinary people, as though they are just a regular group of friends that take silly pictures and selfies together. The entrepreneurship discourses on *Shark Tank's* Instagram platform suggests that being an entrepreneurial celebrity idol can lead to happiness, that it is fun, and that form of success is stress-free, while reinforcing that the *Sharks* are simultaneously ordinary yet extraordinary.

The Instagram accounts of both *Planting Seeds* and *Shark Tank* put forward discourses that seek to encourage viewing and engagement with the television shows. Only four of the posts (3,4,5,6) on the *Planting Seeds* account were directly related to the television programme content in that the pictures featured persons that are on the show. While the remainder of posts from *Planting Seeds* were activities somewhat related to the show or entrepreneurship and often included professionally staged photographs of attractive women who make up the *Planting Seeds* production team. The entrepreneurship discourses that were evident on their platform

were those related to community in terms of celebrating Caribbean entrepreneurs and ‘giving back’ through educating high school students on entrepreneurship, as well as a case of an inspirational anecdote on ‘never giving up’. All the posts from *Shark Tank* had a consistent theme throughout which focused on the discourse of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. For my findings, this was done in a new way of portraying them as ordinary which was achieved through minimizing their intimidating position of “*Shark*” by presenting them as silly, fun, and friendly, which positions them as likable idols enhancing popularity and fame. The Instagram platforms showed that the business content within *entre-tainment*, such as business pitches and negotiations on the show, were largely absent for the discourses of the most liked posts. This implies that the business ideas are not the content that followers most engage with on the Instagram platform, as well as business-related content of entrepreneurship not being selected as the main content to post on the platform.

5.3.4 Summary of Findings: Social Media Platforms

Across the social media platforms for the posts found to be the most engaged with by followers there was an overall lack in presence of discourses surrounding the business aspects of entrepreneurship. Social media followers appeared to find two competing aspects of *entre-tainment* engaging which is (1) the success of contestant entrepreneurs as well as (2) their embarrassment. The most prevalent discourses on the social media platforms were found to be as follows. For both shows that had Twitter accounts, *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*, discourses of celebrity in connection with *entre-tainment* were at the forefront. This indicates that fame order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) appears as one of the most engaging aspects of *entre-tainment* on the social media platform. The themes in discourses for *Shark Tank* were consistent across all their social media accounts which saw the highest engagements for discourses of ‘self-made’ narratives, American Dream ideologies, and those that positioned *Sharks* as both ordinary and extraordinary. On Facebook, the *Planting Seeds* discourses that received the most engagement was those that positioned entrepreneurship as available to everyone, through the use of ‘rags to riches’ myths and ‘anyone can do it’ narratives, which were also portrayed as discourses of entrepreneurship for economic growth and developing the region. The entrepreneurship discourses from *Planting Seeds’* Instagram were those of entrepreneurial ideals of persistence, as well as discourses of civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) as it relates to regional support, celebration and ‘giving back’. The presentation of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols of *Dragons* on all social media platforms as being powerful, intimidating, aggressive, authority figures was consistent with their

presentations throughout *Layer 2* (i.e. in autobiographical books, profiles on websites) and *Layer 1* (on television). However, the presentation of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols of the *Sharks* diverged from their predatory representations in *Layer 1*. The representations of the *Sharks* on social media took the forms of being heroes, and specifically that of being friendly through the discourses on Instagram, which enhanced their ability to be portrayed as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary in a new way.

5.4 *Layer 2*: Summary of Findings

This chapter analysed *Layer 2* which covers the discourses constituting entrepreneurship produced by the *entre-tainment* shows, by reviewing content external to the television series in the form of their websites, books, and social media. The main findings for *Layer 2* by code category are as follows.

Table 5.5 Summary of Layer 2 findings by code category

<i>How the investors are ‘entrepreneurial celebrity idols’ (ECI)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Justifies market order of worth as being oriented to civic orders of worth, e.g. charitable and themes of ‘giving back’ • Power of celebrity and the fame order of worth enables the ECIs to be experts in areas not limited to entrepreneurship • Entrepreneurs as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary in new ways <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ ordinary- e.g.s domestic orders of worth, ‘regular’ person on social media ○ extraordinary- ECIs are not only successful in entrepreneurship but in all aspects of life • Competing discourses of ECI as adversary and friend to contestant entrepreneurs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ the aggressive and predatory representation of <i>Sharks</i> from <i>Layer 1</i> was downplayed in <i>Layer 2</i>
<i>How contestant entrepreneurs are represented</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representations reinforce and reproduce those in <i>Layer 1</i> • New aspects- framing poverty and adversity as competitive advantages for contestant entrepreneurs
<i>Entrepreneurial ideals</i>

- Discourse of entrepreneurial ideals as being solely responsible for entrepreneurial success
 - Failure in entrepreneurship is attributed to an individual lacking entrepreneurial ideals

Nationalistic narratives and show version

Shark Tank

- Discourses of American Dream ideologies received highest engagement on social media

Planting Seeds

- Provides additional website content (digital magazines and blogs) to facilitate this theme, reinforcing and reproducing those findings in *Layer 1*

The main findings common for entrepreneurship discourses for *Layer 2* are,

1. Schisms in the discourses of ‘being self-made’
2. Portraying entrepreneurship as available to anyone,
 - a. as entrepreneurship can be learnt through the narratives and guidance of entrepreneurial celebrity idols
 - b. that possesses entrepreneurial ideals
 - c. obscuring other aspects of how entrepreneurship success has been achieved which ideologically portrays entrepreneurship as a meritocratic system

Chapter 6. *Layer 3 Analysis: Societal discourses of entre-tainment*

This chapter covers the societal discourses *about the shows* (*Layer 3*) which is reviewed in the following texts, (i) university websites, (ii) newspaper articles, (iii) memes, and (iv) parodies.

6.1 University websites

This first section reviews the appearance of the *entre-tainment* genre on university websites. This clear use and association of *entre-tainment* discourses within discourses of universities leads to the naturalisation of the ideology that entrepreneurship is a civic order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). The university discourse emphasised the *entre-tainment* format as a means of crossing over from theoretical university training to real-world application of said training and was found to generally valorise *entre-tainment*. *Entre-tainment* discourses on university websites emerged in the following forms:

a) “Dragons’ Den” Format Competition

- Events and competitions offered by the university structured in similar format to the television shows.

b) University Courses

- Courses that branded training elements, often presentations or pitches, to that of the television show.

c) University News

- Students and alumni university news announcements, where alumni/students succeed/participate on show.
- *Dragon & Shark* university news announcements surrounding *Dragons/Sharks*
 - e.g.s news where *Dragons* are giving keynotes or show casting calls.

Most findings in the sample were the most common appearance of *entre-tainment* on university websites were in reference to “Dragons’ Den” format competitions/events, followed by university news, and lastly university courses which were a less common in my sample. This could be accounted for due to the specific search keywords of ‘name of the show’ not being used on the curriculum websites, or due to university module information that is simply not publicly available. Additionally, it is important to recall that *Planting Seeds* only began airing in 2016 and as a result has less findings in this category of discourse in comparison to its show counterparts that are running for over a decade. The previous overarching themes I have found for the entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment* (*Layers 1&2*) will continue to be used to

address the discourses of the university websites, which are (i) nationalistic narratives and show version, (ii) how the investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols, (iii) how contestant entrepreneurs are represented, and (iv) entrepreneurial ideals. The categories of *entre-tainment* discourses on university websites will be reviewed as follows, 1) “Dragons’ Den” format competition, 2) university courses, and 3) university news.

6.1.1 “Dragons’ Den” format competition

This discourse surrounded university-based competitions and events which self-ascribed and branded as being structured in a similar fashion to the reality television format of *Dragons’ Den*.

1. *Dragons’ Den* in universities

a) Nationalistic narratives and show version

Events framed as *Dragons’ Den* competitions were often found on the business school websites under the category of “entrepreneurship” a sample of which is provided in Data Excerpt 87.

Data Excerpt 87: *Dragons’ Den* Competition on Durham University Business School website



These event pages tended to leverage this shared popular cultural frame of reference by referencing this form of *entre-tainment*,

Data Excerpt 88: Description 1 of event for Data Excerpt 87

“*If you have not seen 'Dragons' Den' on TV ('Shark Tank' in the USA), just go to Youtube.”

The above statement was listed in the description of a *Dragons’ Den* competition on the university events webpage. This indicates that the show versions are being used as a template for understanding the competition, however it was followed with the disclaimer in Data Excerpt 89.

Data Excerpt 89: Description 2 of event for Data Excerpt 87

“Please note that the ‘Dragons’ are people with practical experience. Unlike the famous TV Dragons, they provide constructive feedback, not insults!”

Providing a disclaimer reinforces that the show is serving as a template, and not being taken wholesale, the pairing of these modes acknowledges the conflicting interests of *entre-tainment* versus the university, though *entre-tainment* still manages to simultaneously serve as the pedagogical framework. The disclaimer further distinguishes the ‘Dragons’ in this university competition as being different from the “famous TV Dragons”, as university ‘Dragons’ provide “constructive feedback” while “famous TV Dragons” bestowed with hierarchical power difference in *entre-tainment* are marked by giving insults. The act of providing “constructive feedback” is oriented towards the civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) of universities.

Images for the *Dragons’ Den* competitions further support that the format has been adapted to a more traditional presentation/pitch format in the sphere of UK based universities, as seen in the following image in which the pitch occurs in a boardroom type setting.

Data Excerpt 90: Dragons’ Den Competition Contestant Entrepreneur Business Pitch, University of Bath



Entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment* in university competitions featured more references to *nationalistic narratives* in comparison to the *Dragons’ Den* television content. The event pages for *Dragons’ Den* competitions had statements such as,

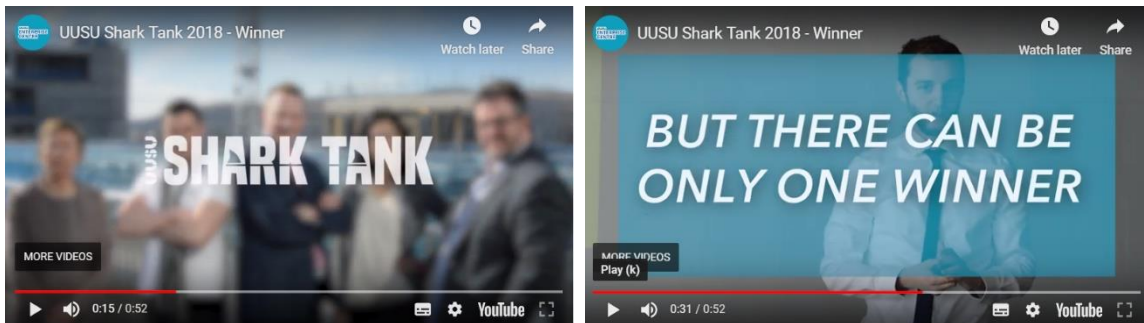
Data Excerpt 91: Description of competition for Data Excerpt 90

“Events like these are really important in stimulating opportunity and economic growth in the local economy”

The combination and execution of the modes used support the incorporation of the *entre-tainment* discourse to suit the civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) embodied by the university institution, where it is common sense knowledge that entrepreneurship is as a civic good and societal goal.

There was a case of an outlier, where a university in Ireland emerged in the sample with a *Dragons' Den* structured competition but was titled as a “Shark Tank” competition. This difference in TV show branding was reflected in the way in which the discourse was presented, it included a promotional video which very much recreated the way in which modes are used in the television show version, with parallels in dramatic and emotionally fuelled background music, video edits and images as seen,

Data Excerpt 92: "Shark Tank" competition in Ulster University, Ireland



This “Shark Tank” branded competition in the UK area promoted the discourse of entrepreneurship as individualistic and supported competitive ideals, as seen in the phrasing “but there can only be one winner”. Thus, drawing on the nationalistic narratives found for the USA and ST in *Layer 1* despite the geographical location of the university in a different region.

b) How the investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols

For this theme in the discourse, the position of ‘venture capitalist/Dragon’ for the competition was taken up by alumni, creating an idol position that is accessible to the ‘contestant entrepreneur’ as the pathway was through university education and specifically in the case of alumni, education received from the same institution. The ‘Dragon’ position was also sometimes assumed by lecturers or professors, and sometimes specifically entrepreneurship professors. Descriptors given to these *Dragons’* often surrounded their strong interested and involvement in areas of enterprise, entrepreneurship and innovation.

There was an outlier case in which a *Dragon* from the TV show served as a *Dragon* judge in a university competition. The following is from the about the *Dragons' Den* event.

Data Excerpt 93: TV Dragon invited to host Dragons' Den competition in Staffordshire University

"The former star of BBC show *Dragons' Den* was made an Honorary Doctor of Staffordshire University last summer and returned to host..."

The discourse in Data Excerpt 93, frames the *Dragon* in the construct of university achievement by addressing her "honorary doctor" legitimizing the entrepreneurial celebrity idol positioning by combining it with academic markers of achievement, to aid in achieving idol status and appeal to student entrepreneurs that they are in a system that rewards and valorises *Dragons*. This is done with juxtaposing the concept of earning a doctorate title with real-world successes outside of the university institution.

Data Excerpt 94: Student testimonial for Dragons' Den event in Staffordshire University

"Tom Lewis, studying BA (Hons) Business Management, was part of the winning team. He said: "It was nuts because **I know Sarah from the TV** but I've presented before and kept my nerve! It's very cool because **it justifies that our business is a good idea**, it gives you **a big confidence boost.**"

In Data Excerpt 94 a contestant entrepreneur explicitly positions the *Dragon* as an entrepreneurial celebrity idol for himself as her approval justifies and provides positive logistical and emotional feedback that he has a good business idea. Here the fame order of worth of celebrity are seen in its characteristic ability to influence public opinion (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) thus providing the contestant entrepreneur with "a big confidence boost."

Data Excerpt 95: Testimony of TV Dragon who aided in university competition, Staffordshire University

"These days are the best days that I have, when I meet inspiring young people who are just starting out. To come back to Stoke has been amazing, it's going back to grassroots for me and I love it."

Sarah Willingham, Entrepreneur and Honorary Graduate

In this testimony given by the TV *Dragon* the entrepreneurial ideal of the civic order of worth in terms of 'giving back', with "going back to grassroots" and "loving it" serves in strengthening her position as an entrepreneurial celebrity idol, and framing her journey to

Dragon in an attainable and relatable way as “these inspiring young people who are just starting out”, are starting out in the same location she did.

c) *How contestant entrepreneurs are represented*

Student entrepreneurs assumed the role of contestant entrepreneurs. These contestant entrepreneurs as similarly found in the previous *Layers* continue to show trends of being represented in terms of civic orders of worth, which include traits of being hard-working with a self-made/rags-to-riches type narrative. There were instances of introductory profiles for contestant entrepreneurs in this discourse, samples of these excerpts are as follows.

Table 6.1 Samples of introductory profiles for student entrepreneurs

<p><u><i>Data Excerpt 96</i></u></p> <p>“Masters student Dominika, originally from Liège, came to Southampton in 2018 having completed an undergraduate programme in Knowledge Engineering and Data Science at Maastricht University. Speaking five languages, Dominika hopes to secure funding in the Den to grow a unique solution to a problem she has faced herself.”</p>
<p><u><i>Data Excerpt 97</i></u></p> <p>“Second year student and self-taught full-stack developer Cade is entering the Den having built his product alone by "putting in a lot of late nights and early mornings" since coming to University from Bedfordshire.”</p>

Source: University of Southampton

In Data Excerpt 96, allusions are made to the contestant entrepreneur being a migrant, which is a trait common to the ‘built from scratch’ entrepreneurial narrative and was also evident in the previous *Layers*. In addition to this and in keeping with the university context her degree qualifications are also mentioned, which acts as a component of what is deemed part of the ideal entrepreneurial traits in the university discourse. Data Excerpt 97, introduction of a contestant entrepreneur continues with the ‘self-made’ traits in representing the competitors, this is done through use of terms such as “self-taught” and “built his product alone”, intertwined with being extremely hard-working by “putting in a lot of late nights and early mornings”.

Additionally, an outlier in contestant entrepreneur representation throughout the *Layers* is as follows, as this competition winner was described as,

Data Excerpt 98

“Joshua is the latest example of the **exceptionally talented** student founders emerging from the University of Southampton **who are going on to change the world with their ideas.**”

(University of Southampton)

Previous elements of the discourse of entrepreneurship tended to shy away from explicitly labelling as “exceptionally talented” and focused more on traits of passion and hard work. However, the description of this winning entrepreneur also groups this quality with aspects of societal civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) as this entrepreneur will “change the world”.

d) Entrepreneurial Ideals

For the discourse of *Dragons' Den* competitions in the university, the main entrepreneurial ideal focused on, in addition to those that emerged due to the way in which contestant entrepreneurs are represented, is the entrepreneurial ideal of having university qualifications. For contestant entrepreneurs this took the form of being enrolled at university, for alumni and university staff that acted as *Dragons* this was in the form of having received degrees, while for the television *Dragons* this took the form of recognition from the university institution sometimes through honorary accolades or being recognised as an expert in the entrepreneurial area by being invited to aid in running *Dragons' Den* competitions. Thus, recognition or qualifications from the university institution served as an entrepreneurial ideal. A sample of this entrepreneurial ideal being explicitly alluded to was through a contestant entrepreneur being described as “she credits the “modern” content of her degree programme” for her success in winning the *Dragons' Den* competition.

2. Shark Tank in universities

The section covers the appearance of “Shark Tank” on university websites.

a) Nationalistic narratives and show version

Descriptions of the university ‘*Shark Tank*’ format competitions are as follows.

Table 6.2 Descriptions of 'Shark Tank' format competitions at universities

<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Data Excerpt 99: Description of Shark Tank Competition 1</i></u></p> <p>"We strongly suggest you take a look at ABC's Shark Tank Pitch to get an idea of the presentation style"</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(University of Colorado)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Data Excerpt 100: Description of Shark Tank Competition 2</i></u></p> <p>"...and took a page from reality television to launch their own Startup Pitching Competition, modeled on the popular ABC show <i>Shark Tank</i>."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Purchase College, State University of New York)</p>

The advice given in Data Excerpt 99 and Data Excerpt 100 to familiarise oneself with the show to understand the competition is similar to statements given on Dragons' Den event pages in UK universities (see Data Excerpt 88 and Data Excerpt 89). There are also cases in which the show is referenced to with the assumption that the reader is familiar with this popular cultural frame of reference. Both aspects which once again reiterate that this form entre-tainment serves as a pedagogical template. However, the differences that emerged for the discourse was that Shark Tank competitions in universities showed cross over from being solely business school based, with events being found in nursing and medical sciences, which are areas of study traditionally associated with civic duties and not necessarily enterprising. This highlights the show's genre spreading and infiltrating new areas of the social world. Unique to the implementation of the Shark Tank template was the frequent use of shark visuals on event pages, the use of 'dragon' imagery did not appear in the sample. Examples of shark imageries are as follows in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Collection of 'shark' visuals for Shark Tank competitions at universities

Data Excerpt 101: Shark Tank Event in Nursing School, University of Washington

Nursing Shark Tank

Join us for Nursing Shark Tank where nurse researchers try to convince our audience – YOU – the Sharks – to give them the funding they need to turn their projects into reality. Sharks ensure that the UW continues its work to make the world a better place, and further prove that Together, we are boundless.

Date/Time: Thursday, March 7, 2019 5:30-7:30 p.m.

Location: Center for Urban Horticulture
3501 NE 41st St., Seattle, WA 98105

Registration

We are excited to hear from our featured faculty presenters below:

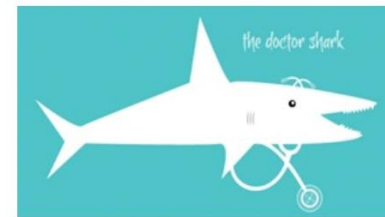


Data Excerpt 102: Shark Tank Event at Department of Medicine, University of Colorado

The sharks are back and hungry!

They're on the hunt for innovative projects designed to increase high value care

It's time to feed them your cutting edge projects



Data Excerpt 103: Shark Tank Event at Business School, Minnesota State College



Data Excerpt 104: Shark Tank Event at Centre for Entrepreneurship, New Mexico State University



These imageries in Data Excerpt 101, Data Excerpt 102, Data Excerpt 103, and Data Excerpt 104, show the different ways in which the template has been applied to suit the discourse of the different schools. The Nursing *Shark Tank* still used aggressive shark imageries similar to those favoured by business schools, however the winners are determined by the audience as the description states “where nurse researchers try to convince **our audience- YOU- the Sharks**”. Other schools outside of the business discipline tended to favour using the audience as ‘Sharks’, with descriptions such as “the audience will get the chance to **invest** in their favourites”, hence incorporating the pitching and competition aspect of *Shark Tank* but repurposing the concept of “investing” as popularity votes instead of actual financing. The shark imagery for the medical school was one of the least threatening shark imageries in the data sample, the image is captioned “the doctor shark” and the shark is wearing a stethoscope, these communicative modes aid in the logo being cartoon-like and comical while the other shark logos used are closer to being anatomically accurate sharks. The last imagery used by an entrepreneurship centre at a business school highlights the metaphor of the sharks being in menacing and predatory positions of power. The diver can act as representing the contestant entrepreneur and must wear heavy duty protective gear to survive in the shark’s natural habitat, emphasizing the power difference between the two and that the contest entrepreneur is merely a guest in the shark’s world.

In contrast to the university *Dragons’ Den* event counterpart, where the layout of the event sometimes took on a more traditional boardroom presentation setting, the *Shark Tank* competition layout better mirrored the television format.

Data Excerpt 105: Shark Tank competition layout with contestant entrepreneur pitching to a panel of judges, Purchase College, State University of New York



The university mission guided by civic orders of worth also persisted throughout the description of these *Shark Tank* competitions evidenced by statements such as,

Data Excerpt 106

"We can enhance the economy of our state by fostering an entrepreneurial atmosphere among our most innovative young residents."

(University of Missouri)

Descriptions of these events also expanded beyond *entre-tainment* to include other popular cultural frames of references of best-practice ways of delivering presentations, such as "TED Talks", suggesting that these resources contain elements that are respected by the university institution. An example of such a description was,

Data Excerpt 107

"In addition to the "Shark Tank" competition, attendees will listen to three TED Talk-style keynotes that explore the frontiers of integrative medicine, brain science and machine learning."

(The University of Arizona)

b) *How investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols*

University staff were allocated the positions of 'Sharks' for these competitions, an example of such a case is as follows,

Data Excerpt 108

"Innovative ideas will be pitched to a panel of "sharks," a cast of UA celebrity judges who include UA President Robert Robbins, MD"

(The University of Arizona)

Data Excerpt 108 shows that university staff given the subject position of *Sharks* were equated to "celebrity judges", this directly borrows from the television show template, and applies the term 'celebrity' to position the competition judges as idols.

For cases where the *Shark Tank* competition occurred in areas outside of business schools, the *Shark* position tended to be ascribed to the audience. This action combined elements of *deletion* and *substitution* practices of discourse, as the celebrity investor and relevant connotative aspects of being a *Shark* was removed and then replaced with new motives for being selecting entrepreneurship winners as a *Shark*, as seen in,

Data Excerpt 109

"Sharks ensure that the UW continues its work to make the world a better place, and further prove that **Together we are boundless.**"

(University of Washington)

The responsibility of an audience-based *Shark* is outlined as being concerned with civic orders of worth which are more in line with ideologies of schools such as nursing and medical sciences. This is exemplified through the emphasis of "make world a better place" and the use of "Together" promoting ideals oriented towards civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) contrary to the narrative of the *Shark Tank* TV show. For the data in the sample information was not provided on contestant entrepreneurs or themes of entrepreneurial ideals, the discourse was mainly focused on the activity of the event and made a call for contestant entrepreneurs to apply.

6.1.2 University Courses

This category of university discourses surround the use of *entre-tainment* within courses as a pedagogical template for skills development, particularly for pitching as a skill needed by entrepreneurs. Thus, this category of discourse is mostly concerned with the theme of *entrepreneurial ideals* and how the university institution can develop them. No cases of these were found for "*Shark Tank*" possibly due to the specific search keywords containing the 'name of the show' not being used on the curriculum websites, or due to university module information simply not being publicly available. Illustrative examples for university courses centred on 1) *Dragons' Den*, and 2) *Planting Seeds* are as follows.

1. Dragons' Den

Data Excerpt 110

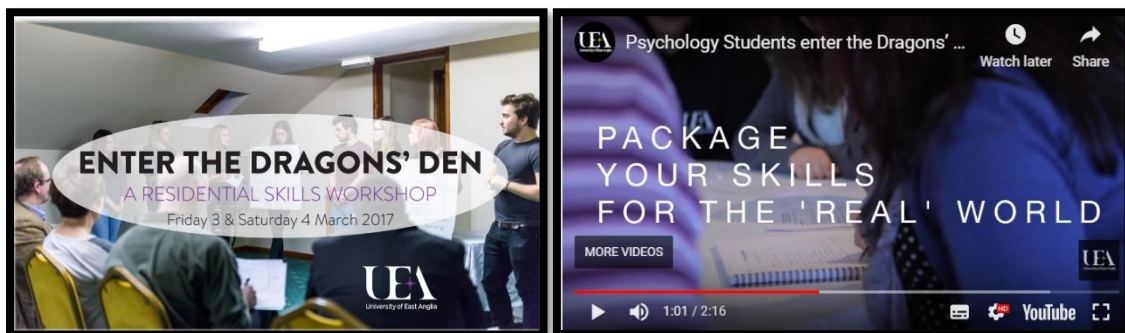
"For the **Dragons' Den activity**...the idea was to vote for **best presentation** in relation to:

- Communication- **how clear was the pitch?** Did it make sense?
- **Competence** in relation to the **pitchers** with regard to **selling/promoting** their profession.
- Whether they felt the **pitchers could be trusted.**"

(University of Liverpool)

Data Excerpt 110 emphasizes pitching as a necessary skill needed for entrepreneurship, and the concept of pitching not being limited to selling business ideas but expanding it to selling oneself, in terms of “their profession”. This alludes to the ideal of being ‘entrepreneurial’ as a characteristic for success even outside of the business arena, which is then coupled with the criteria of “trust” emerging as a trait of entrepreneurial ideals.

Data Excerpt 111: “Dragons’ Den” workshop from University of East Anglia



The previous images in Data Excerpt 111 are cases of *Dragons’ Den* being packaged as a practical skills development template in the form of workshops offered by the university. These images show some of the ways in which the discourse emphasised the *entre-tainment* format as possessing valuable lessons in the form of “skills” as a means to gaining “real world” training from the university. The second image is a screenshot from a promotional video, which contained narrations and interviews from university staff making statements such as,

Data Excerpt 112

“people buy people”

(University of East Anglia)

This excerpt serves as another case supporting the theme in this category of discourse about being an entrepreneurial individual, that is defined by portraying the relevant entrepreneurial ideals. Another statement made in the video was,

Data Excerpt 113

“education is about lighting a fire not filling a bucket and I think **things like this light the fire and get the imagination going.**”

(University of East Anglia)

Here a justification is given for applying the non-traditional template of *entre-tainment* as an educational tool in terms of its value in being inspirational and innovative. The statement also alludes to entrepreneurial ideal imagery with the use of the metaphor for passion with expression of “light the fire”. Some other descriptions of courses were,

Data Excerpt 114

“Dragons’ Den Business Masterclass- Investing in young people in Luton...You will learn first-hand from lecturers and successful business people:

- 1)how to successfully plan for business
- 2)the essentials of marketing and communication
- 3)understanding how to make money
- 4)building a competitive brand and company
- 5)network with lots of other entrepreneurs and business people”

(University of Bedfordshire)

Data excerpt 114 outlines a “Business Masterclass” that states its mission as being concerned with the civic order of worth of “investing in young people”. The points of learning that will be covered mirror the criteria needed to leave the *Dragons’ Den* television show as a winner and outline some of the key values of entrepreneurship such as “making money”, reiterating the orientation of the market order of worth for the discourse, and “networking with other entrepreneurs and business people” placing entrepreneurs and business people in positions of idols.

2. Planting Seeds

The discourse in this category for *Planting Seeds* surrounds workshops actually being held by *Planting Seeds* in collaboration with the university’s business school, unlike the previous section where course content was modelled after the *Dragons’ Den* show template. This is the result of the *nationalistic narratives and show version* themes of the *Planting Seeds* television show of being an educational resource. Data Excerpt 115 is an outline of the workshop offered.

Data Excerpt 115: Planting Seeds workshop outline in Arthur Lok Jack Global School of Business



The first topic listed as being covered is “presenting and pitching your business” once again emphasizing the theme that in the entrepreneurship discourse produced by the university as influenced by *entre-tainment*, presenting and pitching continue to be seen as one of the key entrepreneurial ideals that is teachable.

6.1.3 University News

I categorised university news into two groups based on the content, this was 1) student and alumni news, and 2) news associated with *Dragons/Sharks*.

1. Student and alumni news

This category of discourse mostly encompasses the theme of *how contestant entrepreneurs are represented*. Some sample statements that were found under this section often referenced common entrepreneurial ideal narratives which had been found in previous *Layers*. These emphasized ‘building from scratch’ type journeys marked by qualities of being hardworking which emerged in the contestant entrepreneur’s testimonials through descriptions such as,

Data Excerpt 116

"The **company started** as an experiment from **my bedroom.**"

(Brunel University London)

Data Excerpt 117

"We **spent nights and weekends working** on it."

(Grand Valley State University)

a) Planting Seeds

The only case found for *Planting Seeds* in the category of student and alumni-based university news is the following image, which is as a notice of when the episodes that included fellow university students as contestant entrepreneurs were airing.

Data Excerpt 118: Student notice from University of the West Indies, Trinidad.



The student notice in Data Excerpt 118 demonstrates that having their peers participate on the show as contestant entrepreneurs as being newsworthy to the university community. The main information highlighted on the notice is the show times and the prize money which indicates that this act is to be supported and celebrated with an emphasis on the market order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006).

b) *Dragons' Den*

The following image continues to frame *how contestant entrepreneurs are represented* through the 'building from scratch' narrative. These descriptors were found to often be produced in the formulaic construction of the "from...to..." journey. Notably, in the context of university discourses the 'building from scratch' narrative contain different nuances in that this version involves enrolling in university and gaining that university degree training. In this instance going "**from Business Studies to Dragons' Den success**".

Data Excerpt 119: University news from University of Derby



"Graduate Ed Hollands went on the BBC's Dragons' Den TV show and used the skills he gained on our Business Studies course to win..."

(University of Derby)

This excerpt from the caption in the previous image reiterates the common theme of the university providing training in the skills set of entrepreneurial ideals, explicitly reinforced through the action of the term "business studies" being a hyperlink that redirects to the university's page to enrol in the business studies degree programme. Key themes of how this contestant entrepreneur was represented is outlined in the following samples, the opening line of, "this is **his story**". The use of 'his story' references the cultural expectation that contestant entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs in general come with "stories" and narrative scripts. The university takes credit for fostering the development of a successful entrepreneur by stating, "how **we helped Ed tame a Dragon**". This is further elaborated in Data Excerpt 120 where presentation skills are equated to pitching skills, and pitching is identified as a necessary skill and thus entrepreneurial ideal.

Data Excerpt 120

"Ed says **studying at the University gave him more confidence and better presentation skills, skills that were vital** when he was making his two-hour pitch on Dragon's Den. Yes, two hours. Not just the 20 minutes you saw on TV."

Data Excerpt 121

"**Lecturers constantly challenged us.** We were encouraged to speak in front of more and more people, **which made speaking in front of five 'dragons' a piece of cake!** OK, maybe not a piece of cake, but it definitely helped me win over Jenny Campbell."

"Ed says **his degree has proved useful in many areas of his business,** from being able to do his bookkeeping to understanding the importance of brand and intellectual property."

More testimony from the contestant entrepreneur included in Data Excerpt 121 serves as an advertisement for the university's degree programme but in presenting this as newsworthy and using the format as a marketing template simultaneously engages in the discourse of representing the successful contestant entrepreneur on *Dragons' Den* as being attainable through university training. This category of university news discourse also saw some elements of the impact of the *nationalistic narratives and show version*.

Data Excerpt 122

"The **highlight of my career** so far must be **going to pitch to the multi-millionaire investors on the BBC show Dragons Den.** Growing up it was **always one of my favourite shows.** I loved watching entrepreneurs pitch their idea to try and get investment."

(Brunel University London)

Data Excerpt 122 outlined the impact the longevity of the show has had on influencing the entrepreneurship discourse.

c) *Shark Tank*

The following sample for alumni-based university news follows the trend in *how contestant entrepreneurs are represented* through the journey of 'building from scratch', "**From the Classroom to Shark Tank**". Once again pinpointing the start of the entrepreneurial journey being within the university.

Data Excerpt 123: University news of Babson College alumni on Shark Tank



How the contestant entrepreneur is represented by the University:

"Feber **has accomplished a dream:** being featured on Shark Tank"

Entrepreneurial ideals tend to be characterised by terminology such as "dream" which connotes passion, in this case one of these entrepreneurial dreams was to simply be featured on *Shark Tank*.

Data Excerpt 124: Statements made by contestant entrepreneur for Data Excerpt 123

1. "Babson did **really prepare** me for Shark Tank"
2. "**Being comfortable pitching** and talking openly about the metrics and financials, **helped me prepare** mentally"
3. "When they ask you really detailed questions about your financials, **Babson prepares you** for that"
4. "When you are asked a really complicated question, **you know how to answer it because of the Babson curriculum**"

In addition to serving as alumni testimony of the university programme for marketing purposes, these statements also simultaneously serve to enhance university training as an entrepreneurial ideal for making it as an entrepreneur.

2. Dragon/Shark news

Due to the context of this area of discourse, the dominant theme was *how investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols*.

a) *Dragons' Den*

Data Excerpt 125 constitutes discourses of rewarding the entrepreneurial celebrity idol through valorising the *Dragon* as an expert. The combinations of communicative modes serve to exploit the persuasive potential of the discourse that *Dragons* have respectable and noteworthy value in the university arena. The modes selected for the visual representations produce a discourse of the *Dragon* seamlessly fitting into and among the top hierarchy of the university setting, especially through the symbols of similar clothing that have academic accolades associated with them. Essentially, these are standard and traditional images that would be expected to be seen from any university ceremony, thus nothing out of the ordinary would stand out to a reader from these images if they did not know he was a *Dragon*.

Data Excerpt 125: Inauguration of Dragon as Solent University's Chancellor



Furthermore, the discourses emphasize that the expertise of a *Dragon* can be easily translated to the missions and needs of the university institution. This news also contained the following statement which continues to reinforce such ideals of transferable skills, as seen in their statement,

“Solent plays a key role in **supporting local and regional economies, sharing knowledge, skills and resources with the local community.** With **his knowledge and experience from industry,** Theo will also help us to strengthen partnerships and further enhance our commitment to **real world learning.**”

Throughout the other categories of university discourses the engagement with *entre-tainment* was regularly framed as the university showing value for ‘real world’ experience, and this news event of making a *Dragon* a Chancellor in the university is also framed using the same justification. Another case of university news surrounding an event centred on a *Dragon* is as follows,

Data Excerpt 126: News about a Dragon visiting University of Dundee’s Centre for Entrepreneurship



The caption of Data Excerpt 126 categorises the audience seeking the advice of the expert *Dragon* as “enterprising students and budding business hopefuls.” This difference in categorisation of position on the entrepreneurial journey serves to emphasise and make status distinctions of entrepreneurs, thus positioning the *Dragon* as an entrepreneurial celebrity idol. The news post contained the following statements,

1. "This is a **great opportunity** for our students and staff to hear from **one of the country's best-known entrepreneurs.**"
2. "We have a **whole host of budding entrepreneurs** on campus who **will all have to test their business ideas and pitch to potential funders** if they are **to be successful in the future.** So, it is great for them to gain an insight from **someone as prominent as Peter Jones.**"
3. "He is such **an inspiration to our cohorts.**

(University of Dundee)

These excerpts serve to position the *Dragon* as an idol with statements such as, "one of the country's best-known entrepreneurs", "someone as prominent as Peter Jones", "an inspiration to our cohorts." These descriptors establish the position of entrepreneurial celebrity idol by aligning with characteristics that help to establish the worth of fame, where relationships of fame are gained through achieving celebrity status and are accompanied by the ability to influence public opinion (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006), in this case the opinion of the university. The news post closes with the following statement,

Data Excerpt 127

"Ultimately, we're creating the next generation of Peter Jones'."

(University of Dundee)

This statement is the most explicit and succinct case of *how investors on entre-tainment are entrepreneurial celebrity idols* for budding entrepreneurs.

b) Shark Tank

For the sample all university news regarding *Shark Tank* was in reference to casting calls for the television show, and used standard stock images used for the television show as seen in Data Excerpt 128.

Data Excerpt 128: Call for auditions for Shark Tank at University of Utah



A common theme in the casting calls was that *Shark Tank* was often described as “business-themed reality show”, a common lengthier description is as follows,

“Shark Tank, the critically acclaimed, business-themed show is continuing the search for the best entrepreneurs with the best businesses and products that **America** has to offer. The Emmy-winning show features **The Sharks - tough, self-made**, multi-millionaire and billionaire **tycoons** who give **budding entrepreneurs** the chance to make **their American dreams come true**; potentially securing deals **that could make them millionaires.**”

(University of Utah)

This excerpt positions the *Sharks* as entrepreneurial celebrity idols through the *nationalistic narrative* of the ‘American Dream’ emphasizing that *Sharks* have the ability “to make their American dreams come true”. This establishes their grandeur as entrepreneurial celebrity idols, who not only can do this for budding entrepreneurs, but who themselves have achieved the ‘American Dream’ by being “tough, self-made” “tycoons”. This casting call excerpt also serves in the promotion of the ideology that the ‘American Dream’ is synonymous with successful entrepreneurship.

Other excerpts of sample casting calls that engaged in the discourse of *how contestant entrepreneurs are represented*,

“It’s really more about the quality than the quantity. **That’s when people’s back stories come into play**. About 50 percent of it is about the business and product and **the other 50 percent is about the entrepreneurs and their stories.**”

(University of Utah)

The discourse in this excerpt supports discourses of entrepreneurial ideals and the overall common-sense belief that certain values and traits that create an origin story for an entrepreneur is important for the path of successful entrepreneurship.

"Whether you're a saddle maker from Scottsbluff, an ag equipment inventor in Kansas, or a craftsperson living in rural Iowa and selling on Etsy, we want everyone to come"

(University of Utah)

This excerpt shows further descriptions of who this casting call is open for and lists a wide range of activities that are considered entrepreneurial. The following excerpt continues along this theme,

"We want everybody in the state who has an idea, a product, or a concept to come to this event...If you're making great furniture, a great sauce, new software or ag technology, or you're a farmer in your 80s developing something in your farm shop, you belong here."

(University of Utah)

The additional inclusive descriptors for types of budding entrepreneurs fits in with the tenets of the 'American Dream' being accessible to anyone. It is apparent that for this casting call the university is being used as the physical site for auditioning, but in this instance, it seems that applications are not limited to university affiliated persons.

6.1.4 Summary of Findings: University Websites

To conclude university discourses of *entre-tainment*, some key differing traits across was that *Shark Tank* regularly used universities news for casting calls for the show, this case was also evident for *Planting Seeds*, while explicit casting calls at universities were not seen in the sample for *Dragons Den*. For *Shark Tank* and *Planting Seeds*, this use of the university news medium shows a link in the discourse between the actual shows and the universities, while UK universities created similar discourses with *Dragons' Den* by having actual *Dragons* participate as expert sources in university events and reward them with academic accolades and positions. These actions constituted entrepreneurial discourses that legitimized and valorised the *entre-tainment* format as a favourable means for entrepreneurship, especially by making competing on the show available to university students.

The inclusion of the *Dragon's Den* format as a pedagogical template was justified as enabling universities to include a preparation component for the "real-world" in their training

programmes, with the main focus on training students to do a 'pitch'. There were cases in which the template was adjusted to align with the university's civic orders of worth, but there were also discourses of maximizing on the values of the fame orders of worth that the *Dragons/Sharks* enacted. The application of these templates in the university curriculum also showed that the *entre-tainment* discourse has expanded beyond the business school, as the shows genre infiltrated new areas of the social world. One of the key discourses arising from the university's engagement with *entre-tainment* appeared to be that essentially a university that respects *Dragons/Sharks* can produce the students that will amount to statuses of the same because,

"Ultimately, we're creating the next generation of Peter Jones'."

(University of Dundee)

6.2 Newspaper Articles

This section of analysis covers the entrepreneurship discourse of *entre-tainment* that has been deemed newsworthy. The main themes I found for this area of discourse based on newspaper articles focused on *entre-tainment* were (i) *metaphors* which reinforced the shows' imagery, (ii) *cultural scripts of entrepreneurship*, these were the representations, norms and values ascribed to entrepreneurship, and (iii) *fake versus real*, this debate occurred in two forms, one form was concerned with the show, and the other with the entrepreneurial celebrity idols.

6.2.1 Metaphors

Metaphors were found throughout the newspaper discourse and were used to reinforce the imagery of entrepreneurship presented by the show. The use of aggressive metaphors in *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank* reinforced the imagery of the *Sharks/Dragons* being predators in keeping with the linguistic category of titles assigned to them, and contestant entrepreneurs being positioned as prey incurring violence, death, or abuse. However aggressive metaphors were not used in news surrounding *Planting Seeds* but instead appeared to be replaced by supportive metaphors reinforcing the show's nurturing imagery. Data Excerpt 129 outlines examples of these metaphors.

Data Excerpt 129: Metaphors in newspaper articles

Aggressive metaphors <i>(Dragon's Den & Shark Tank)</i>	Supportive metaphors <i>(Planting Seeds)</i>
<p>"firing squad TV"</p> <p>"The Dragons ate me alive"</p> <p>"Businessman branded 'delusional' in Dragons' Den roasting"</p> <p>"taking a battering in the Dragons' Den"</p> <p>"Young entrepreneurs who were brutally slammed on Shark Tank"</p> <p>"His no-nonsense approach has earned him the reputation of a rottweiler."</p> <p>"I'm a smiling assassin"</p> <p>"Come to my office: I have every entrepreneur in frames on my wall. The minute I realize I'm not gonna ever make money on THAT one, I flip him over to remind me not to spend more time on it. (Laughing.) It's dead to me!"</p> <p>"Telly entrepreneur Peter Jones is ready to breathe some fire into the US version of Dragons' Den."</p>	<p>"Trini inventor finds success on Planting Seeds"</p> <p>"watch as T&T's very own up-and-coming entrepreneurs vie to turn their business dreams into reality"</p> <p>"Planting seeds, financing futures"</p> <p>"Planting economic seeds"</p> <p>"bMobile helps "Planting Seeds"</p> <p>"Shark Tank star credits Trini father for success"</p>

Sources: The Independent, London, 2005; Examiner UK, 2019; Mail Online, 2014, 2019; Sunday Mirror, 2006; Express Online 2019; Mirror, 2018; Trinidad & Tobago Guardian, 2016; Trinidad Express, 2018; Trinidad & Tobago Newsday, 2016; Tech News TT, 2016; Loop Trinidad & Tobago, 2014.

The contrasting metaphors of aggressive versus supportive present different discourses of what is newsworthy. The aggressive metaphors enhance aspects of voyeurism in this type of entertainment as the highlights are occasions where contestant entrepreneurs miserably and embarrassingly fail. The positive metaphors are used to encourage contestant entrepreneurs and put forth civic duties. Therefore, the supportive metaphors aid in the themes of nurturing entrepreneurs, while the aggressive metaphors are focused on destruction of contestant entrepreneurs through violent imageries.

6.2.2 Cultural Scripts of Entrepreneurship

The elements of cultural scripts of entrepreneurship emerged in the following forms, (i) representations of the ideal entrepreneur (ii) *entre-tainment* as a template, (iii) entrepreneurship as means of saving the economy, and some instances of (iv) gendered entrepreneurship discourses.

(i) Representations of the ideal entrepreneur

The following table 6.4 contains examples belonging to the theme of entrepreneurship representations of ‘building from scratch’ narratives.

Table 6.4 Examples of ‘building from scratch’ narratives in newspapers

<p><u>Data Excerpt 130</u></p> <p>“Having launched her first business aged 19”</p> <p>[State News Service, 2012]</p>
<p><u>Data Excerpt 131</u></p> <p>“On her website, she describes how her business came into being: “Crafter's Companion started life as a big dream in my little university bedroom.”</p> <p>[Express Online, 2019]</p>
<p><u>Data Excerpt 132</u></p> <p>“anxiously clenching an invention he had engineered in his garage”</p> <p>[Trinidad & Tobago Guardian, 2016]</p>
<p><u>Data Excerpt 133</u></p> <p>“Kevin discusses his multifaceted career from his humble beginnings as an ice cream scooper to weaving his way through his investment successes and failures.”</p> <p>[Market wired, 2014]</p>

Data Excerpts 130-133, use descriptors that connote imageries of humbles beginnings such as being very young, starting a business in small living spaces such as “little university bedroom” and “garage”. Data excerpt 133 even denotatively uses the term “humble beginnings” and then alludes to a modest first job of an “ice cream scooper” all these descriptors aid in creating the ‘building from scratch’ narrative of entrepreneurship. In addition to the ‘building from scratch’

journey which is presented as being indicative to entrepreneurship, specific personality traits are alluded to as being best suited to the identity of a successful entrepreneur. Table 6.5 shows excerpts of personality types that are ideal for entrepreneurs.

Table 6.5 Examples of personality types ideal for entrepreneurs

<p><u>Data Excerpt 134</u></p> <p>"Elnaugh became interested in a business and entrepreneurial career as a child, living over her father's electrical shop. "I always remember my dad saying 'don't go into business, you're making a rod for your own back'." She decided not to take his advice, starting her company aged 24, on a shoestring. It grew to a £14m operation over the next 15 years."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[The Guardian, London, 2005]</p>
<p><u>Data Excerpt 135</u></p> <p>Q: "Why did you get into business?" A: I always knew I was going to go into business. I think I just don't like taking instruction from anybody else."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[State News Service, 2012]</p>
<p><u>Data Excerpt 136</u></p> <p>"Why it's NEVER too late to make a mint: Multi-millionaire and Dragons' Den star Deborah Meaden's tips on how to be a successful entrepreneur"</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[Mail Online, 2019]</p>

The entrepreneurial ideals outlined in excerpts Data Excerpt 134 and Data Excerpt 135 surround the personality trait of being stubborn and headstrong, and that these types that reject hierarchical authorities are best suited to entrepreneurship. Data Excerpt 136 applied market and fame orders of worth as descriptors through wealth and celebrity in referencing the *Dragon*. This excerpt also further establishes entrepreneurship as an identity category and not a job or career that can be bound by concepts such as retirement. This characteristic of embracing entrepreneurship as an aspect of one's identity is presented as an ideal trait that an entrepreneur tends to possess. In addition to reinforcing cultural scripts of entrepreneurship across the *Layers*, there were also cases when some of the cultural scripts of entrepreneurship were challenged, such as measuring success through the market order of worth (e.g. net-worth) as seen in Data Excerpt 137.

Data Excerpt 137

"Overall, when it comes to entrepreneurs today, younger people, particularly women, **are rebelling against the old vanguard** and doing it for themselves, as the song goes. Nearly all of the people who work with, or for, me are either **successful freelancers who are sick of being bullied**, under-valued and under-paid in the wider workplace or **people trying to get their work/life balance right**. Now I'm not saying any of these people will ever be multi-millionaires but is that the only mark of a truly successful entrepreneur? And should we dismiss their contribution to the economy because they don't want to?"

[The Independent, London, 2005]

Data Excerpt 137 questions the 'taken-for-granted' knowledge that the value of entrepreneurship should be assessed in purely monetary terms. This excerpt also presents an alternative ideological stance that perhaps all entrepreneurs do not want to become "multi-millionaires" but are motivated by the logistics that can be attained through entrepreneurship such as working for themselves in attempts to achieve a preferred "work/life balance". This presentations of alternate discourse of motives for entrepreneurship also illustrated which representations of entrepreneurship have been *deleted* from *entre-tainment*.

(ii) Entre-tainment as a template

Another recurring theme is the use of *entre-tainment* as a template for a cultural script for organizing other spheres of the social world. This finding was similar to those for the way in which the university websites also used the *entre-tainment* template. For newspapers, this template was applied to other aspects of the social world such as within government institutions and towards policy decisions, Data Excerpt 138 provides illustrative examples.

Data Excerpt 138

1. "I'll let Dragons' Den-style gurus guide me in Cabinet."
2. "The **entrepreneurs**, who I hope will be in place by early next year, **will come with me to Cabinet meetings** and be **genuinely involved in small business issues and decisions**."
3. "We need to know what really works for businesses - **we will be road-testing all small business policies and schemes on them first**."

[Mail Online, 2012]

Data Excerpt 138 outlines how the discourse *substitutes* the complexities of activities conducted by all small companies with the generalised abstraction of an entrepreneur. Thus, stating that an entrepreneur can reasonably represent all small businesses to test out government policies.

(iii) *Entrepreneurship as means of saving the economy*

I also found that the discourse in the newspapers promoted deeply held cultural scripts around nations. One notable theme was the cultural script of entrepreneurship as a means of boosting the respective country's economies. While this specific cultural script was not present in the television episodes of *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank (Layer 1)*, the newspapers articles that focused on these shows did. However, this theme has been persistent for *Planting Seeds* as it has appeared in all the texts examined. An example of these cultural scripts around nations is seen in Data Excerpt 139.

Data Excerpt 139

"Shark Tank" **should appeal to Americans because "small businesses are the lifeblood of the country, and right now people can barely get a mortgage, much less a small business loan."**

[The Tampa Tribune, 2009]

Data Excerpt 139 positions entrepreneurship to being uniquely applicable to Americans, while the following context provided is objectively not unique to America and is a discourse that is applicable to many and any nations. Yet it is presented in this way that connotes tenets of the American Dream, with the imagery of "lifeblood" and 'blood' which is often linked to patriotism. Data Excerpt 140 is an example that explicitly references the "American Dream".

Data Excerpt 140

1. "Shark Tank's Kevin O'Leary to Appear on eQuest's **American Dream Interview Series for Armed Forces Radio...**"

2. "O'Leary Sheds Light on **What Ingredients Entrepreneurs Must Have to Be Successful.**"

3. "**AMERICAN DREAM** with Kristin Best **tells the inspiring true stories of men and women who have achieved the American Dream. The 'never say die' stories** its guests share **encourage, instruct, amaze and fire up Armed Forces Network's** vast listening audience each week."

[Market Wired, 2014]

Data Excerpt 140 plays with the concept of equating entrepreneurship with patriotism. The "never say die" story being shared by *Shark*, Kevin O'Leary who is defined as having

“achieved the American Dream” is presented as a narrative that has the potential to “encourage, instruct, amaze and fire up” the Armed Forces. This statement positions O’Leary’s entrepreneurial narrative as being inspirational to the Armed Forces, which then juxtaposes that entrepreneurship like serving in the Armed Forces are all different routes that lead to the same promised utopic outcome of the “American Dream”, as soldiers and entrepreneurs share common qualities and ideals.

Data Excerpt 141

“He was named a **Presidential Ambassador for Global Entrepreneurship** under the **Obama Administration**”

[Business Wire, 2019]

Data Excerpt 141 demonstrates the importance of entrepreneurship on a political agenda through the need for a “Presidential Ambassador for Global Entrepreneurship” and furthermore that this role can be and was filled by a *Shark*. This once again displays an occurrence of the value placed on the crossing over of entrepreneurial expertise and into other social worlds, in this case specifically governmental as a means to enhance a country’s economy. This same case also appears in *Layer 1* (see Data Excerpt 52) which indicates the importance of this case for the discourse. Data Excerpt 142 is an illustrative example that references entrepreneurship as crucial for the development of a nation’s economy and to ensure its competitiveness.

Data Excerpt 142

"After all, **entrepreneurship is the economic engine of our economy. It is through entrepreneurs, like our students, that we will recover from the recession.**"

[PR Newswire, 2010]

The discourse presented in Data Excerpt 142 explicitly addresses entrepreneurship as “the economic engine of our country”, and further frames entrepreneurship as a long-term goal that can be achieved through the next generation, that is “students”. Thus, entrepreneurship in relation to a country is presented as being concerned with the temporal context of the future. I also found this ideology framed in terms of the future being achieved by students to be very common on the university websites. This discourse was also prevalent in the television episodes for *Planting Seeds*, but less so for the episodes of *Shark Tank*, though there was mention of small businesses revitalizing the economy and aiding in the recession, but the driving-force tended to be framed as the American Dream, and this narrative was non-existent for the episodes of *Dragons’ Den*. However, the newspaper reference used in Data Excerpt 142

comes from the context of *Shark Tank*. The mention of entrepreneurship as an “economic engine” in this excerpt parallels the sentiments of the ‘supportive metaphors’ found to be used in *Planting Seeds* (see Data Excerpt 129).

(iv) *Gendered entrepreneurship discourses*

An outlier theme that emerged was gendered entrepreneurship discourses, which were sometimes woven throughout the cultural scripts.

Data Excerpt 143

“The paper spoke to former employees who said she humiliated colleagues, they said. She was a "tyrannical boss in bespoke pencil skirts, cut to the knee," they added.”

[Dragon’s response to the allegations]

“I just looked at it and thought, 'this is so untrue'. In general she accepts she'll have made enemies. **"I don't think there's any way you can start a business from scratch and build it up into the size of Red Letter Days through sheer determination and grit without being hard and tough,"** she says. **"If I were a man those would be seen as good, masculine characteristics, but I'm a woman so I get called a bitch, a dominatrix, this kind of predatory female who's some kind of monster."** There's no such thing as a nice businessperson, she believes...**"You're not there to be namby-pamby and nice, you're there to make the business work."**

[The Guardian, London, 2005]

There is evidence of overt sexist discourse in the first paragraph of Data Excerpt 143, where the details of the clothing worn by the *Dragon*, Rachel Elnaugh, is made as a relevant point in describing her as a boss. Her follow up response to these allegations, rejects the concept of gendered images of doing business, with her closing point of “there’s no such thing as a nice businessperson”. This excerpt also outlines the “predatory” imagery being presented as negative and a trait equated to being that of a “monster”, even though predatory imageries are used in template of the *Dragons’ Den* television show. Rachel Elnaugh is a *Dragon* on the television show but this enactment of being a *Dragon* in real life is criticized in this newspaper article. Some more nuanced cases of gendered entrepreneurship discourses are seen in Data Excerpt 144 to Data Excerpt 147.

Table 6.6 Gendered entrepreneurship discourses- framing of family life vs work

<u>Data Excerpt 144</u>
<p>"But take him out of the Dragons' Den and the 57-year-old Scot, who's worth a cool pounds 200million, is a doting dad to six kids, a tireless charity worker and a hopeless romantic."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[Sunday Mirror, 2006]</p>
<u>Data Excerpt 145</u>
<p>"So, no pulling back, no time for family - in fact no time for Rachel? She shrugs. "This is me," she says. "It's what I do."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[The Guardian, London, 2005]</p>

In Data Excerpt 144, *Dragon*, Duncan Bannatyne is humanized through the description of his backstage identity which is marked by being “a doting dad to six kids” and “a hopeless romantic”. While these emotionally evocative descriptors are used in a positive light for Duncan, my findings for this sphere of discourse shows when women entrepreneurs are attributed with similar descriptors they are presented in a ‘matter of fact’ type phrasing, indirectly suggesting that when women possess these descriptors in a romanticised fashion they are viewed as weaknesses as opposed to strengths for a businessperson. This contrast is seen with Data Excerpt 145, where *Dragon*, Rachel Elnaugh when questioned about spending time on her family and personal life, responds by indirectly stating that she will not be focusing on these aspects of her life with her answer of “this is me...its what I do”.

Table 6.7 Descriptors of entrepreneurial celebrity idols as parents

<u>Data Excerpt 146</u>
<p>"The mother-of-two first launched the business with savings of just £5,000 after she undertook a placement during her degree with a craft company and spotted a gap in the market."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[Express Online, 2019]</p>
<u>Data Excerpt 147</u>
<p>Viewers will be delighted to hear the dad of five's excitement for the show hasn't waned over the years"</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[Mirror, 2018]</p>

Data Excerpt 146 provides an example where a female *Dragon*, Sara Davies is introduced through the descriptor of being a mother, but it is presented as a factual bit of information in a stoic type tone. Data Excerpt 147 shows a similar introduction description for a male, *Dragon*, Peter Jones, which illustrates that having children has been used as a descriptor to humanize both men and women entrepreneurs.

To summarise my findings for the use of cultural scripts for the entrepreneurial discourses of *entre-tainment*, I found that deeply held cultural scripts were promoted around nations. A key finding was the narrative of entrepreneurship as a means for boosting a nation's economy which held consistent for all three versions of the show in newspaper articles, while this was not the case for the television episodes, where this narrative was mostly shown only for *Planting Seeds*. The "American Dream" continues to be made relevant and positioned as achievable through entrepreneurship for *Shark Tank* based articles, which is a narrative that has consistently appeared throughout the different modes of discourse being explored. Other common cultural scripts in this discourse also emerged in a similar fashion to my previous findings such as entrepreneurial ideals related to 'building from scratch' and other qualities that are presented as being indicative of the ideal type of person that should be an entrepreneur. One of the cultural scripts that emerged in an explicit nature for the first time in my dataset was the presence of gendered entrepreneurial discourses, there was some cases of explicit sexism where there was conflicting ideology in criticizing a female *Dragon* for essentially continuing to act like a *Dragon* in her actual place of business. There were also cases that showed that children are used as descriptors to humanize entrepreneurial celebrity idols through their backstage identity regardless of gender.

6.2.3 Fake versus real: The show

The *fake versus real* theme in relation to the *entre-tainment* television shows indicates that revealing the 'fake' aspects of these shows is newsworthy. This theme thereby invites a sceptical stance towards the discourses they promulgate, which attempts to encourage society to then question the espoused motives of the show. Some illustrative examples are Data Excerpt 148 to Data Excerpt 150.

Data Excerpt 148

"The BBC's mission to support entrepreneurs is, without a doubt, admirable but now, having been given a fairly intimate insight into the methods of the people they've aligned themselves with, I would question whether or not they are going about it in the right way. I took part in Dragons' Den because I

believed it championed entrepreneurs. BBC2 has always been renowned as a channel that pioneered business television..."

"In the real world you would never find yourself in a position where you had to sell something in three minutes (without the benefit of being able to showcase your product to boot) or in such an aggressive atmosphere. It's this 'firing squad TV' element to Dragons' Den that can't help but make you feel they are after ratings not the reputation of helping budding entrepreneurs get a leg up or boosting the economy."

"Or should a show such as Dragons' Den be offering entrepreneurs like them genuine advice on how to pitch, create a business plan and deal with aggressive and hostile situations like the one I faced?"

[The Independent, London, 2005]

Data Excerpt 148 focuses on the narrative of whether the motives and goals of the television show for developing entrepreneurship are fake or real. The assessment of this debate in the previous newspaper article unearths conflicting ideologies of the motives of the owning channel station pre-*Dragons' Den* airing, as being one that fosters entrepreneurship through truly assisting entrepreneurs, but by creating *Dragons' Den* it appears as though these motives have switched from the 'entre' half of 'entre-tainment' to now being more concerned with the 'tainment' half of the show genre, focused on producing content that is purely entertaining and would gain ratings. This bit of discourse engages with the *fake versus real* theme through the practices identified within MCDS of *addition*, *evaluation* and *recontextualization* working together. This is also where the conflicting ideologies are seen at play, the body responsible for the show origination is positioned as originally having 'legitimate' motives and actions for fostering entrepreneurship. This then leads to questioning the overall purpose of the show, that is fake or real, entrepreneurship or entertainment, and the social practice has been *evaluated* as either entrepreneurship or entertainment centred and does not ascribe to the possibility of both co-existing. This is all achieved through the *recontextualization* of the show and the *evaluation* of the social practice which is achieved by *adding* the element of an account from the perspective of a contestant entrepreneur who feels scorned by the experience. The final paragraph of this excerpt serves as a concluding *evaluation* of *Dragons' Den*, addressing the goals, values, and priorities of this social practice. The *evaluation* appeals to the civic orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) with respect to the *entre-tainment* genre, as the *evaluation* made is that this show would be better suited to providing support for entrepreneurs through advice-giving and teaching, which mirrors the educational component aspect that *Planting Seeds* has incorporated in their format.

Data Excerpt 149 is another illustrative example that provides *evaluation* through the *added* perspective of academics pertaining to *entre-tainment*.

Data Excerpt 149

1. **Headline: "Dragons' Den and Apprentice give wrong idea of business, say academics"**

2. **"The need for "an unhealthy level of ruthlessness and arrogance", not to succeed in business but to provide enjoyable conflict for the watching public, risks putting potential businessmen and women off."**

3. **"The study, Employability - Learning through International Entrepreneurship, uses the views and experience of business students and 200 entrepreneurs from 30 countries, to show that the programmes foster misconceptions about the characteristics needed for business success. Viewers are led to believe that only certain - and not very appealing - 'types' will succeed and that significant start-up capital is an essential."**

4. **"I don't think 'reality' business TV programmes necessarily give a true portrayal of what it takes to be an entrepreneur, although they can encourage people to look at innovative ways of doing business."**

[Guardian, 2012]

Data Excerpt 149, outlines that the *entre-tainment* television shows under investigation in this newspaper article are framed as dangerous distortions of reality. This *evaluation* of the motives of the show is given through the assessment that the hostility of *Dragons* is unnecessary to the development of contestant entrepreneurs and mostly serves as “enjoyable conflict” for viewers. Data Excerpt 149 refers to *entre-tainment* naturalising the ideology that certain unappealing ‘types’ will succeed in entrepreneurship, such as the *Dragons*. My findings in *Layer 1*, that focused solely on the television show content found that these ‘types’ of successful entrepreneurial celebrity idol were somewhat different across show versions. For the episodes I sampled, *Dragons* were mostly stoic and hostile, while *Sharks* were also hostile and at times outright insulting to contestant entrepreneurs but contained elements of ‘Good *Shark* versus Bad *Shark*’ with some *Sharks* being sympathetic and giving advice. Whereas *Planting Seeds* investors were mostly friendly and supportive to contestant entrepreneurs. Data Excerpt 149 challenges the discourse of entrepreneurship put forward by *entre-tainment* and argues that the motives for producing reality television do not align with fostering entrepreneurship and assesses it as not giving “a true portrayal of what it takes to be an entrepreneur”, thus placing it closing to the ‘fake’ spectrum of the ‘fake versus real’ debate.

Other exposés of the show being ‘fake’ review the expectations and actual practices of the show when it comes to providing the financial investments offered to contestant entrepreneurs on air. Data Excerpt 150 is an illustrative example of this.

Data Excerpt 150

1. **Headline: "Nearly half of Dragon's Den winners got no money from tycoons after cameras cut; EXCLUSIVE: Once the cameras stopped rolling on the BBC 2 show, the budding entrepreneurs got nothing despite being promised thousands in investment."**

2. **"One contestant who bagged an offer of £50,000 for a 20 per cent stake in his baked beans firm which never took off said: "Dragon's Den is very much a game show before it is an investment vehicle."**

3. **"But many show fans cheering on their favourites and their new inventions or zany ideas will never know the investment offered by Dragons may not materialise."**

4. **"Of 45 contestants offered money, 18 ended up going it alone."**

5. **"But official files show £1,344,500 of the investment offered to other companies was never invested."**

[Mirror, 2019]

This article is framed as being newsworthy by revealing that *entre-tainment* shows are deceiving their viewers. However, it is important to note that there is conflict in evaluating the priorities of *entre-tainment*, which tends to go back and forth between having or not having value for entrepreneurship. This is illustrated by the article still feeling the need to outline the show as being beneficial to the contestant entrepreneurs, through providing publicity in the form of free advertising and marketing. This was shown via statements such as “some said the publicity they got from the show was enough to see their businesses take off without the Dragons” and “the publicity generated helped raise awareness of my product and the condition.” Data Excerpt 150 also offers the *evaluation of entre-tainment* as solely being a game-show, which also coincides with Kavka’s (2012) breakdown of eras in reality television where *entre-tainment* overlaps with the competition and celebrity centred eras of the genre. The newspaper article sampled for Data Excerpt 150 is thus portraying that the wider society and contestant entrepreneurs are not entirely passive receivers of the *entre-tainment* genre, but that they are able to perceive that the format therein influences the way in which entrepreneurship is represented. Though, also acknowledging that the medium still has value in fostering entrepreneurship, though not in the manner that it claims, but as a form of advertising rather than a form of investment and/or an experience to gain advice from experts.

Overall, the fake versus real debate in regard to the *entre-tainment* television show was concerned with whether *entre-tainment* prioritises entertainment over entrepreneurship. This debate in the form of newspaper articles occurred with the *addition, evaluation* and *recontextualization* through the assessments of different participants such as contestant entrepreneurs that were on the show and expanded to include the expert opinion of academics.

6.2.4 Fake versus real: The entrepreneurial celebrity idols

I also found that the ‘fake versus real’ debate positioned as being newsworthy was not only limited to questioning the motives of the actual show, but also whether the entrepreneurial celebrity idols were ‘fake or real’ as entrepreneurs and as persons. One angle of this discourse surrounded the questioning of the legitimacy of these entrepreneurs, which took the form of questioning their credibility as business experts. This often took the form of contestant entrepreneurs that were rejected by the entrepreneurial celebrity idol later finding entrepreneurial success, as seen in Data Excerpt 151 taken from a newspaper heading that emerged in my sample.

Data Excerpt 151

“Rosé sold in plastic cup **that was dismissed by Dragons' Den as 'tacky' has last laugh after winning wine Oscar**”

[Mail Online, 2012]

The newspaper article headline is framed as a redemption story. This way of framing offers a competing discourse to those produced by the televised medium, as found in my *Layer 1* analysis as the televised discourses tended to position the entrepreneurial celebrity idol as a ‘hero’. This newspaper article positions the *Dragons* to the starkly contrasting position of that of ‘villains’, who the contestant entrepreneurs succeeded ‘in spite of’ as opposed to ‘because of’. Data Excerpt 152 is an illustrative example of questioning the business expertise legitimacy of these entrepreneurial celebrity idols.

Data Excerpt 152

“One of the allegations in the Daily Mail piece, made by a former director, was that Elnaugh **became more interested in being a TV personality than a business owner.**”

[The Guardian, London, 2005]

The allegation made in this excerpt is in light of *Dragon*, Rachel Elnaugh having her business publicly fail. This excerpt offers an *evaluation* of whether being an entrepreneurial celebrity

idol on *entre-tainment* reflects motives that should make one question the credibility of this person being a legitimate businessperson or a ‘true’ entrepreneur. The incident of business failure for this *Dragon* is also dealt with in *Layer 1*, with a new introduction for this *Dragon* (see Data Excerpt 10). However, *Layer 1* is comprised of discourse that is purely produced by the show and this business failure is framed as a normal and natural part of entrepreneurship, whereas this newspaper article challenges whether this failure is indicative of the entrepreneur being a fraud, by questioning whether the way she presents herself on the show as an expert entrepreneur is false. For this excerpt it is apparent that business failure makes for a dramatic story that further makes something newsworthy. Another aspect of the ‘fake versus realness’ of the celebrity entrepreneur took the form of comparing whether their televised personas were their real-life personas.

Data Excerpt 153

1. "**FEARSOME tycoon** Duncan Bannatyne **doesn't suffer fools gladly**. He can **savage the ideas** of a budding entrepreneur **and crush their dreams in a breath**."

2. "Duncan has become a **household name** thanks to his **Simon Cowellesque manner** in dealing with young business types on the hit BBC Two show *Dragons' Den*."

3. "His **no-nonsense approach** has earned him the reputation of a **rottweiler**. **But take him out of the *Dragons' Den* and the 57-year-old Scot, who's worth a cool pounds 200million, is a dotting dad to six kids, a tireless charity worker and a hopeless romantic**."

[Sunday Mirror, 2006]

Data Excerpt 153 begins with the representation of the televised persona of this *Dragon* and then contrasts it with the descriptors of the real-life persona ‘behind-the-scenes’, the purpose of which serves to humanize the *Dragon* which then further promotes the entrepreneurial celebrity idol status. This is a case of *substitution* where the role and complexities of the social actor is represented through generalised types which was enacted in the following way. The televised *Dragon* persona is represented as being ruthless which is also credited as an aspect achieving his celebrity status. He is described with the use of a ‘person as verb’ by another infamously harsh reality-television judge, “Simon Cowelle”, which allows the *Dragon*’s actions to be described using a cultural reference of a typical character trope, which frames this behaviour as acceptable, appropriate for a television judge personality, which is presented as overall common-sense knowledge. This descriptor also further reinforces the celebrity aspect of the fame order of worth as the *Dragon* is a “household name”. That *Dragon* identity is positioned as being television-bound as the description then expands to describe who he is in daily life, i.e. the ‘real-world’ arena, thus inviting the reader to ‘not believe what is seen on

television'. The categories ascribed via *substitution* are age, nationality, net worth, good father with many children, very charitable and "a hopeless romantic". The real-world categories of ascribed identities allude to different values of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot, 2006), with one of the first referenced being the market order of worth which is measured through monetary value and represented by giving the net-worth of the *Dragon*. The following descriptors refer to the civic and domestic orders of worth that surround being family-oriented and charitable, and the last being the inspired order of worth referencing the "hopeless romantic" which implicates qualities of being passionate.

In my data sample, it appeared that the *Sharks* tend to approach this theme of identity representations differently, by claiming that there is not much of a difference between their front stage and back stage identities as seen in Data Excerpt 154.

Data Excerpt 154

"Real estate mogul Barbara Corcoran says that **her biggest priority is to make money** and that how she looks on TV is the least of her worries. **"What makes great TV is just to be yourself."** How freeing was that! So my first concern is always: "Am I gonna lose **money**?" Second concern: "Can I **MAKE money**?" A distant third: "Is this good TV?" And no one's in our ear saying, "Do this, say that." Doesn't happen."

[Mail Online, 2014]

Data Excerpt 154, shows descriptors being heavily focussed on the market orders of worth, in addition to alluding to there being little or no differences in identity leading to a frontstage persona versus a backstage persona. This difference may be due to the result of the *Sharks* incorporating the qualities that the *Dragons* have treated as backstage identities into their frontstage identities. As I found in *Layer 1*, that *Sharks* would reference traits such as "being the son of an immigrant factory worker" as well as being parents in their own dialogues with the contestant entrepreneurs. Thus, concepts of entrepreneurial celebrity idol are presented differently across the shows and the discourse put forward by the shows is reinforced in the discourse put forward by the newspapers. The differences being a clearly defined front stage (on the television show) versus backstage (real-world) identity for *Dragons*, but *Sharks* are treating all these aspects as front stage qualities and making them relevant to being an entrepreneur, while *Dragons' Den* represents different and contrasting identities for the business arena versus daily life.

To sum up, the analysis of the theme of ‘fake versus real’ for the sphere of entrepreneurial celebrity idol emerged in three ways. Firstly, the concept of ‘fake-ness’ was used when commentators questioned their credibility as legitimate business experts and entrepreneurs, and secondly whether being a ‘TV entrepreneur’ reduces said credibility. Thirdly, the ‘fake or real’ debate also centred on the front stage and backstage identities of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. This discourse presented the backstage identity as more ‘real’ by referencing orders of worth such as market, civic, domestic, fame, and inspired. This contrast between the frontstage ‘fake’ identity and the backstage ‘real’ identity created a contrast between the humanized, ordinary backstage identity and the televised character performance put on by the *Dragons*. However, in contrast, the *Sharks* presented themselves as having one consistently homogenous frontstage entrepreneurial identity.

6.2.5 Summary of Findings: Newspapers

To conclude the overall analysis of the discourses of newspapers, the key finding was what these articles deemed as being newsworthy, which was whether *entre-tainment* shows are deceiving their viewers. The newspapers chose to explore this deception through the theme of ‘fake versus real’ in terms of the actions and operations of the show, and then that of celebrity identity on and offstage. This ‘fake versus real’ debate in the newspapers took on two streams in approach, one being that of scepticism, and the other being critical. The sceptical stance tended to be concerned with whether the show was actually financially investing in their contestant entrepreneurs as it was portrayed on the show. However, the sceptical perspective still acknowledged the counterpoint that *entre-tainment* proved to be a valuable vehicle for entrepreneurship in other ways, such as providing a form of free advertising through exposure. While the critical stance taken focused on whether *entre-tainment* is problematic. Some of the ideologies and messages that were addressed as being problematic were the ways in which the show misrepresents entrepreneurship and the potential consequence that this makes entrepreneurship unappealing to people who feel they do not fit the recommended ideal types for an entrepreneur. Another ideology viewed as being problematic included the discourse selling capitalist measures of valuing success, such as monetary and symbols of luxury class indicators. Thus, the critical stream of the ‘fake versus real theme’ was found to challenge the discourse put forward by *entre-tainment*. The other themes in the newspaper articles such as the use of cultural scripts were found to mostly reinforce the discourse of *entre-tainment*. For cultural scripts there were also some elements of added narratives that further reinforced the

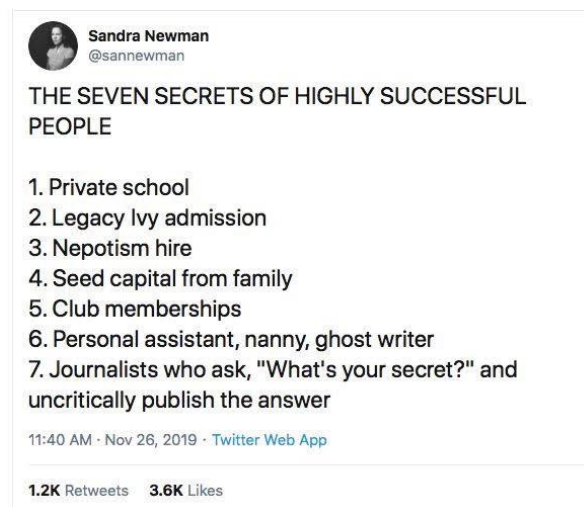
positives of *entre-tainment*, such as the inclusion of entrepreneurship for boosting a nation's economy. Additionally, cultural scripts also included some degree of challenging the *entre-tainment* discourse such as questioning whether *Dragon*, Rachel Enlaugh could be considered a legitimately successful entrepreneur (see Data Excerpt 143). The final theme, which was first addressed in this chapter section was metaphors, which were found as serving to reinforce the imagery of the shows. To summarise, the roles of the three themes that were examined, (i) 'fake versus real' challenged the *entre-tainment* discourse, while (ii) cultural scripts mostly reinforced the *entre-tainment* discourse with aspects of also challenging the discourse, and (iii) metaphors were used in ways that solely reinforced the discourse of the shows.

Along the theme of challenging the *entre-tainment* discourse, the following section examines discourses put forward and created by the viewers of *entre-tainment* through (i) memes and (ii) parodies.

6.3 Memes

The third section covers the societal discourse of *entre-tainment* as produced by the viewers. Though I used a systematic keyword (and hashtag) search method on the relevant platforms to retrieve the respective memes and parodies, I decided to also include those that I happened to come across as this is evidence that the discourse is present and ongoing in public discussions. The following meme is one of those that was being shared by my network and appeared on my Facebook newsfeed, which I found to be a very fitting transition from the newspaper articles to the feedback of their readers.

Figure 6.1 Meme about highly successful people



The entrepreneurial celebrity idols are core to the *entre-tainment* discourse, and they serve as part of that category in the public popular cultural discourse of “highly successful people”. Points 1-6 in Figure 6.1 are criticising the meritocratic ideas as well as the American dream, and the concept that these discourses put forth a common-sense knowledge that ‘anyone can be a successful entrepreneur’ by listing the systemic traits of belonging to a privileged system of elites. The seventh point made on the previous meme shows that the audience that read the journalists’ interview recounts of the entrepreneurial ‘building from scratch’ journey and other common cultural scripts are not reading them passively and are holding the journalists accountable for publishing that story uncritically. This mirrors the ‘fake versus real’ discourse that emerged in the newspapers section of this chapter by showing a scepticism towards the discourse promulgated by journalists and book publishers that ‘anyone can make it’.

On the overarching themes of some major tenets core to the *entre-tainment* discourse, I also came across an advertisement that aired during the 2018 Super Bowl that alluded to an area of public perception of entrepreneurship. The premise of the advertisement is about a translator, who translates the meaning of idioms and cliché statements, there is a specific scene where the translator deciphers the meaning of the biography description on someone’s dating profile, the exchange is as follows,

Reader: “entrepreneur”
Translator: “unemployed”



[Advertisement scene with captions on]

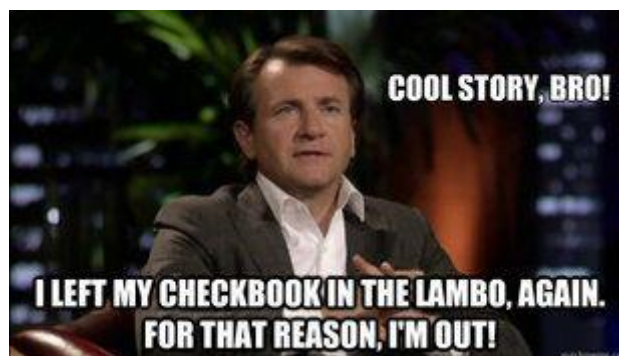
This is a generalised case that shows counter-discourses as well as scepticism exist with respect to perceptions of entrepreneurship, as this joke implies that it is a well-known trope that people use the title of ‘entrepreneur’ to disguise the fact that they are unemployed. Also, the fact that this counter-discourse is aired in America during a culturally significant and highly viewed event such as the Super Bowl enhances the significance of the presence of this comedic

counter-discourse. I will now review memes and parodies that were directly created in relation to the *entre-tainment* shows being examined in this thesis (i.e. *Dragons' Den*, *Shark Tank*, *Planting Seeds*).

The main themes that I found to have emerged in memes were (i) memes that ridicule the celebrity entrepreneur, (ii) memes that ridicule the contestant entrepreneur, (iii) that ridicule the premise of the *entre-tainment* programming, the following are illustrative examples for each theme.

6.3.1 Memes that ridicule the entrepreneurial celebrity idol

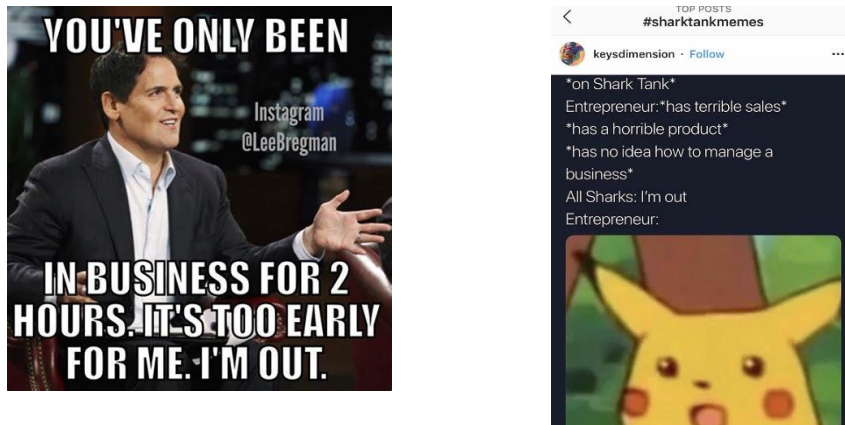
Data Excerpt 155: Meme 1



One of the more common trends in *entre-tainment* memes revolves around the meme creator writing in the reason given by the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, in this case the *Shark* for not investing. I found this template to be regularly available on many meme generator websites, the template uses the formulaic way characteristic on the show of ‘giving a reason’ being followed by the statement “I’m out”, and uses the scenes of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols interacting with the contestant entrepreneurs as the base imagery for that text. The previous meme positions the *Shark* as being elite in a way that makes him unrelatable to a viewer, with reference to the luxury status symbol of “lambo”. There is also the potential subtext for an avid viewer as this meme is written over the *Shark* who is branded as “the son of an immigrant factory worker” (see Data Excerpt 4 and Data Excerpt 5), which positions him as the epitome of the American Dream. Additionally, the reason ascribed to him for not investing is one that is a frivolous and privileged response creating even more distance between a viewer and the *Shark*, thus challenging their ‘idol’ status and likelihood of being ordinary in addition to extraordinary.

6.3.2 Memes that ridicule contestant entrepreneur

Data Excerpt 156: Meme 2 (left) and 3 (right)



Mememes that ridicule the contestant entrepreneurs were found to be critical of contestant entrepreneur legitimacy as businesspersons by referring to their naivety and unpreparedness. In Data Excerpt 156 the memes are concerned with the contestant entrepreneurs lack of legitimacy as displayed by lacking knowledge and actions relevant to creating a business. Meme 2 ridicules the contestant entrepreneur for a commonly occurring error they make on the show of seeking investment prematurely, via the hyperbole assessment of ‘being in business for two hours’. Meme 3 is a template known as “shocked Pikachu” and it is used for instances to mock persons who are shocked by information that should be common knowledge, hence depicting their shock as unwarranted and generally foolish. This meme mocks the contestant entrepreneurs for having the audacity to be shocked that they have been rejected, especially when the basis for rejection is common sense knowledge criteria for businesses such as “has terrible sales”, “has a horrible product”, and “has no idea how to manage a business”. It is also likely that these criteria for a business to function has become a form of common knowledge through the *entre-tainment* discourse, as these are the exact reasons often given on the show. This also illustrates the orientation of *entre-tainment* for purely entertainment purposes by selecting entrepreneurs that are not ready to do a business pitch to ridicule on the show.

6.3.3 Memes that ridicule the premise of the *entre-tainment* programming

Data Excerpt 157: Meme 4 (left) and 5 (right)



Mememes that ridicule the premise of *entre-tainment* programming do so by challenging the values and purpose of the show as seen in Data Excerpt 157. Meme 4 serves as a commentary on the types of business investments that are revered as being those that are concerned with market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) as opposed to businesses that can benefit collective societal welfare. This meme achieves this counter-discourse by creating the hypothetical scenario that if a contest entrepreneur pitched the cure for aids, they would not receive investment. This is illustrated through a common justification for rejection given on the show, “that’s only going to sell to a **niche market**”, emphasizing the show’s preferential treatment of businesses with a market value of worth as opposed to civic. Meme 5 template is known as the “not sure...if” meme, the tone which is supported by the cartoon facial expression is meant to be used for scepticism and suspicion of ideas. The pattern of the text format is to include a statement that you are suspicious/sceptical of, and then follow it by an alternate possibility or reasoning for understanding the idea which is expressed by beginning the phrase with “if”. This meme surrounds the viewers self-reflective transition of their progress from passive viewers to active viewers of *Dragons’ Den*. This is portrayed through the viewer’s realization after regularly watching the show, that they are now noticing the trend of the voyeuristic nature of the show where the premise surrounds ‘**millionaires** picking apart **poor desperate** people’. This counter-discourse also creates a clear ‘us versus them’ distinction with the description and juxtaposition of “millionaires” versus “poor desperate people”. The memes ridicule the core concepts of the *entre-tainment* plotline by presenting the investors as false ‘idols’ due to their elitism and abhorrent values centred on market orders of worth caricaturised

by being profit-driven above human life, the contestants are ridiculed as well but in a way that mocks the overall premise of the show.

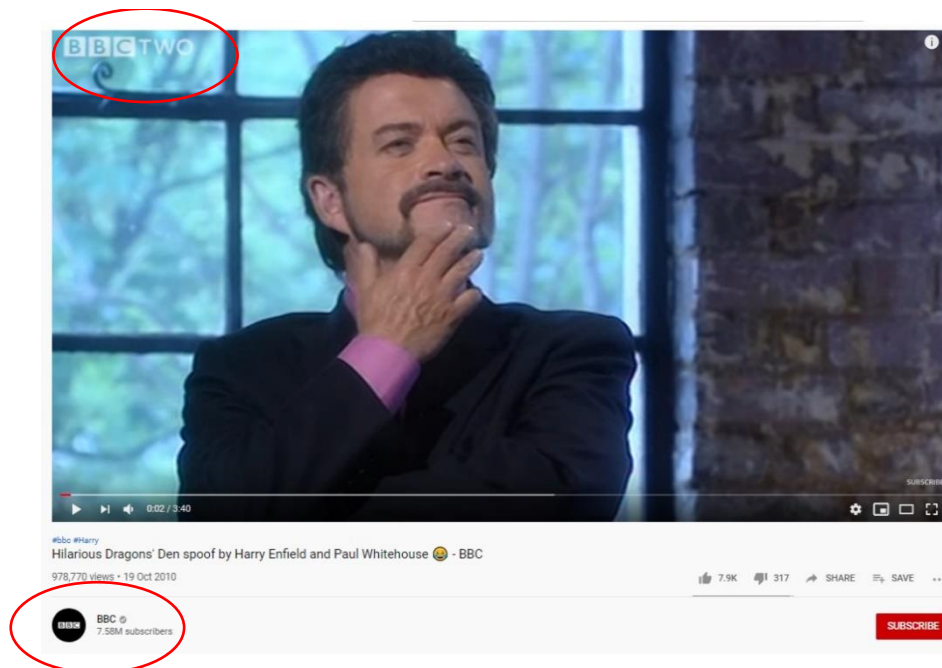
6.4 Parodies

Parodies gave rise to the same themes of jesting as those that I found for the memes, these themes were (i) ridiculing the celebrity entrepreneur for *Dragons' Den*, (ii) ridiculing the contestant entrepreneur for both *Shark Tank* and *Dragons' Den*, and little ridiculing the premise and template of the *entre-tainment* programming for *Shark Tank*. The following are illustrative examples for *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank*.

6.4.1 *Dragons' Den* Parodies

BBC Two creates and airs *Dragons' Den* and was also the site which aired the comedy parody and posted it on their official YouTube channel, illustrated in Data Excerpt 158.

Data Excerpt 158: *Dragons' Den* parody clip 1



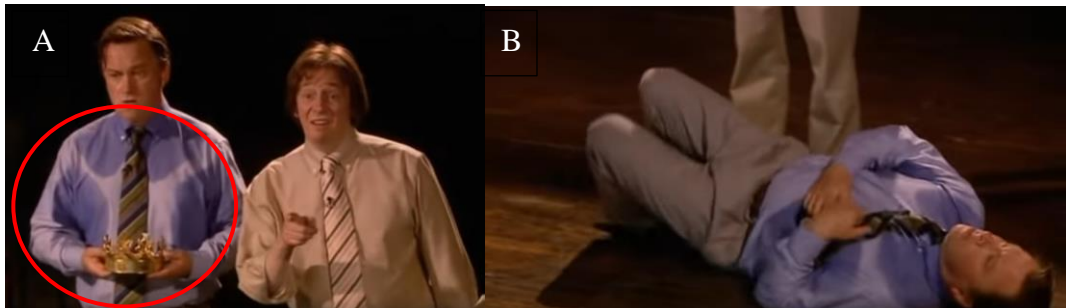
Given that this parody is created by the same channel that also produces the official show, it is likely that the scope of mockery could have been contained or edited. The fact that this parody is being produced by the *entre-tainment* discourse producing body allows them to take control of the narrative of critique, as they have now mocked themselves and have allowed for the counter-discourse of not taking the *entre-tainment* genre too seriously and acknowledging the clichés within the genre. The production of this parody also lends itself to the previous debates

that the production of *entre-tainment* may be more concerned with being entertaining as opposed to sharing insights into the entrepreneurship discourse.

I found that the *Dragons' Den* parody video focused on mocking the contestant entrepreneurs as the main theme, although it also mocked the *Dragons*, the ridiculing of the contestant entrepreneurs felt harsher in comparison. From my findings in *Layer 1* where I analysed the shows, *Dragons' Den* did tend to present the contestant entrepreneurs in a context of 'jester' at times, while in addition to that aspect of the show *Shark Tank* did sometimes do contestant entrepreneur profiles which were framed in a way that aimed to put the viewer on the side of the contestant entrepreneur and root for their success, so this style of parody is fitting of the format of *Dragons' Den*. While this parody does ridicule the plot of the show as a whole, it did not offer a critique of the premise of the *entre-tainment* programming, and certainly not in the explicit manner that the memes approached this third theme of the counter-discourses. The following are illustrative examples of how the parody (i) mocked the contestant entrepreneurs, and (ii) mocked the *Dragons*.

(i) Ways in which the parody mocked the contestant entrepreneurs

Data Excerpt 159: *Dragons' Den* parody clip 2



Data Excerpt 159 serves to mock both the contestant entrepreneur and the *Dragons*. Image A is a screen capture of the contestant entrepreneur profusely sweating when getting grilled by a *Dragon* on the business' financials, in image B, he then falls to the ground and has a heart attack and there is the host's narration over this bit emotionlessly stating, "Ken's had a heart attack". While the contestant entrepreneur is on the floor having a heart attack all the *Dragons* are unbothered and have expressions of indifference to what is happening, thus caricaturing the apathetic nature of the *Dragons* practiced on the show.

Other caricatures of contestant entrepreneurs, Data Excerpt 160 and Data Excerpt 161, included the exaggeration of outlandish business ideas which also served as ridiculing the plot of the show, since the show does give similar contestant entrepreneurs airtime.

Table 6.8 Parody- caricatures of contestant entrepreneurs

Data Excerpt 160: Dragons' Den parody clip 3 pitching product "The Nazi Kettle"



Data Excerpt 161: Dragons' Den parody clip 4 pitching product "Hip-Hop Alphabet Song" including curse words for children to learn



These caricatures of business ideas and products serve as an example of obviously 'unsellable' products, poking fun at the legitimacy of entrepreneurship/business ventures on the show, as well as questioning the legitimacy of all features involved such as the contestant entrepreneurs, the quality of the business idea, and the show's vetting process.

(ii) Ways in which the parody mocked the Dragons

The following are examples of how the parody mocked the *Dragons*. In Data Excerpt 162 there is a caricature of *Dragon*, Deborah Meaden, the only of the *Dragons* in the parody who has not

been given an actual name. Furthermore, this title is the antithesis of the titles of grandeur ascribed to her that I found in *Layer 1*, which was “serial investor”. This choice of style in parody also brings to the forefront the concept of there being a ‘token woman’ on the panel of *Dragons* as the men had parody names that matched the *Dragons* actual names.

Data Excerpt 162: Dragons’ Den parody clip 5



Similar to findings for this theme for memes was the style of mocking the assessment act that the *Dragons* do when making their decision to invest or not. The statements in the parody were as follows,

- 1 Peter ‘Nick Clegg’ Jones: “You have colossal levels of stupidity and you had a very high profile during the last banking crisis and for those reasons, and those reasons alone, I’m in.”
- 2 Theo Thefoetus: “You two are a couple of old fools and horses [indiscernible jargons] innit, **but you’re posh, so you’re head fund managers, I’m in.**”
- 3 The grumpy woman: You make my flesh creep, [ENTs: thanks very much, means a lot] shut up! I haven’t finished, and my blood boil, I hate you and **furthermore I hate you, but you will make me money so I’m in.**”

All of these statements are phrased in ways that are insulting and seem as though the obvious decision would be “I’m out”, but the parody says “I’m in”, because of the nature of parody but also to introduce the component of ridiculing the investment decisions the *Dragons* tend to make on the show and implying that these decisions may be poor. Also statement 3, ends with “but you will make me money so I’m in”, not only critiquing the *Dragons* for solely being concerned with market orders of worth, but also ridiculing their lack of morals and ethics when it comes to making money. Those three statements also serve as an overall mockery of elitism and the belief that good business ideas will receive investment regardless of the background of the contestant entrepreneur.

6.4.2 Shark Tank Parodies

The *Shark Tank* parodies I found were from the “Saturday Night Live” sketch comedy show which is produced by a different channel and ownership than that of *Shark Tank*. Similar to the previous *Dragons’ Den* findings the parodies ridiculed the contestant entrepreneurs in terms of having outlandish business ideas but presented the contestant entrepreneurs in a less caricaturised way. There was not much ridicule and caricaturising of the *Sharks*, the opening sequence was recreated in the parody, but it very much mirrored the original, with the titles given to the *Sharks* remaining the same as on the original show, and the statements made by the parody *Sharks* were also in keeping with the way in which they speak on the show. Data Excerpt 163 and Data Excerpt 164 are examples of the way in which the parody ridiculed the contestant entrepreneurs.

Data Excerpt 163: Shark Tank parody clip 1 product “Reverse Vest”



It also poked fun at the common informational sharing aspects of the contestant entrepreneur profile through the following,

Data Excerpt 164: Shark Tank parody clip 2

ENT: “Let me run the numbers for you...

1, the age of my son.

Billions, the number of collection agencies after me”



For this bit of the parody, the contestant entrepreneur uses their ‘sob story’ in place of actual financials, the action of which offers ridicule of the premise of the show in terms of legitimacy of doing business.

6.4.3 Parodies of the *entre-tainment* genre

I also found parodies that ridiculed the use of the *entre-tainment* template for decision-making, an example is Data Excerpt 165.

Data Excerpt 165: Shark Tank parody clip 3

Narration: “Now it’s time for Shark Tank Legal Edition where celebrities in legal trouble make their case to see if any of our Sharks will represent them.”



The “Shark Tank, Legal Edition” parody is targeting the American legal system and celebrity but uses the *entre-tainment* show template to do so. Thus, treating the template as a ridiculous way to make serious and important decisions, overall poking fun at the way *Shark Tank* makes decisions for entrepreneurship, business ventures, and people’s livelihood as things that should not be televised for entertainment.

To close the section on parodies, I will include one that I came across called “Pond Scum” which is an imaginary show within a fictional American sitcom, called “Great News” on Netflix that was produced in 2017 and spans the storyline of two episodes. To reiterate I made the decision to include examples found external to my data sample as it shows that this discourse is circulating in the public discussion even if you are not looking for it. On searching for the “Pond Scum” reference, I found an online magazine that recaps and reviews television shows. The summary of the episode describes the parody within the sitcom as follows,

“Mildred, who’s sort of a lady Rupert Murdoch type. (She’s also a panelist on the British Shark Tank, which in Great News world is called Pond Scum – in real life, it has the even dorkier moniker of Dragon’s Den.)”

This is a parody of the “British Shark Tank” which is the way the author describes it based on the standpoint of *Shark Tank*’s American viewership. Data Excerpt 166 contains images of the parody scenes for “Pond Scum” within the sitcom.

Data Excerpt 166: Fictional version of “Dragons’ Den” called Pond Scum



The imagery is a caricaturised version of the *entre-tainment* format riddled with British stereotypes and clichés, which mocks two main concepts class and British culture.

Data Excerpt 167 is the imagery of a character watching “Pond Scum” on Netflix, the description and imagery of which is nearly identical to the *entre-tainment* format, emphasizing that this is a recognizable and well known popular cultural reference for the viewing public.

Data Excerpt 167: Pond Scum depicted on a streaming service



These tiny snippets of parody also manage to include the ridiculing of an outlandish business idea of a megaphone that converts sound into fart noises being pitched by a contestant entrepreneur, thus ridiculing the show in its entirety as both the investors and the contestants are mocked.

6.4.4 Summary of Findings: Memes and Parodies

To sum up the analysis of the societal discourses of *entre-tainment* that were the outcome of external content created by the viewing audience in the form of memes and parodies. Memes were found to critique themes of the *entre-tainment* genre such as the celebrity entrepreneur being an idol, presenting the contestant entrepreneur as a pawn for entertainment, and the legitimacy of the *entre-tainment* as educational business content. While parodies offered similar counter-discourses but in more in the form of ridicule and not overt critiquing as some memes did. Parodies were found to strongly mock the lack of legitimacy surrounding contestant entrepreneurs for both *Shark Tank* and *Dragons' Den*. I found the trends of discourse in parodies as ridiculing the celebrity entrepreneur for *Dragons' Den* but less so for *Shark Tank*. There was also some presence of ridiculing the premise and template of the *entre-tainment* programming for *Shark Tank* in parodies, but this was not done in as explicit a manner as was done by the memes. Overall, the categories of counter-discourses being offered by memes and parodies allude to viewers not being a passive audience, and society is being sceptical and critical of the *entre-tainment* discourse being put forward by the show.

6.5 Layer 3: Summary of Findings

This chapter analysed *Layer 3* which covers the the societal discourses about the shows by reviewing university websites, newspaper articles, memes, and parodies. The main findings for *Layer 3* by code category are as follows.

Table 6.9 Summary of Layer 3 findings by code category

<i>How the investors are ‘entrepreneurial celebrity idols’ (ECI)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University discourses valorised ECIs • Newspaper discourses questioned whether the ECIs were ‘real’ or ‘fake’ entrepreneurs • Memes presented the ECIS as false ‘idols’ due to their elitism and abhorrent values centred on market orders of worth • Parodies ridiculed the ways in which ECIs behave on the show
<i>How contestant entrepreneurs are represented</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University discourses represented their ‘students’ as ‘contestant entrepreneurs’ in ways similar to the previous <i>Layers</i> • Newspapers discourses were concerned with whether <i>entre-tainment</i> is deceiving their contestant entrepreneurs • Memes and parodies presented the contestant entrepreneur as a pawn for entertainment
<i>Entrepreneurial ideals</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University education as an entrepreneurial ideal • Newspapers, memes, and parodies question whether possessing entrepreneurial ideals is enough to attain ECI status
<i>Nationalistic narratives and show version</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural scripts of entrepreneurship for boosting a nation’s economy for all three show versions • Additional cases of American Dream ideology for <i>Shark Tank</i> • Metaphors reinforcing <i>Layer 1</i> tone of shows

- *Shark Tank & Dragons' Den*: aggressive metaphors focused on destruction of contestant entrepreneurs through violent imageries
- *Planting Seeds*: supportive metaphors aiding themes of nurturing contestant entrepreneurs

The main overarching findings for *Layer 3* are,

1. The *entre-tainment* template being appropriated and used to organise other spheres of the social world (e.g.s. University, government policy)
2. Entrepreneurial celebrity idols transferring to real world positions of power (e.g.s. University Chancellor, government policy advisors)
3. The presence of a non-passive viewership- ridiculing, challenging, sceptical, and questioning the moral premise and educational value of *entre-tainment*

6.5.1 Finding across the Layers: *Entre-tainment as an interdiscursivity event*

A finding that reviewing discourses across the three *Layers* gave rise to was the shows' awareness of one another as an interdiscursivity event, which alludes to *entre-tainment* being a genre of communication (Fairclough, 2003). Cases for which are presented in Data Excerpt 168.

Data Excerpt 168: Interdiscursivity events of shows' awareness of one another

<i>Dragons' Den</i>
<p>“Dragons' Den star Peter Jones in talks to enter US version Shark Tank but slams its tycoons as 'pussy cats'”</p> <p>“Telly entrepreneur Peter Jones is ready to breathe some fire into the US version of Dragons' Den.”</p> <p>[Data from <i>Layer 3</i>, Newspaper Articles, Mirror, 2018]</p>
<i>Shark Tank</i>
<p>“(She’s also a panellist on the British Shark Tank, which in Great News world is called Pond Scum — in real life, it has the even dorkier moniker of Dragon’s Den.)”</p> <p>[Data from <i>Layer 3</i>, <i>Dragons' Den</i> Parodies]</p>
<i>Planting Seeds</i>
Example 1



Example 2



[Data from *Layer 2*, Posts from *Planting Seeds*' Facebook account]

A theme throughout this interdiscursivity event is the use of the respective *entre-tainment* brand to contextualise the other versions of the show based on the audience. For the UK audience, *Shark Tank* is described as the “US version of *Dragons’ Den*”. While, for the US audience, *Dragons’ Den* is described as “British *Shark Tank*”, illustrating that the *entre-tainment* brand for the respective country takes precedence as the main cultural marker, which also reinforces the pervasiveness of the discourses of *entre-tainment*. In contrast, *Planting Seeds* is described as a “local spin on *Shark Tank*” (circled in red) to the Caribbean audience, which in addition to the other example in Data Excerpt 168, demonstrates that there is a hierarchal relationship between the two which positions *Shark Tank* as being superior to *Planting Seeds*. This hierarchal relationship is also reflected in the way *Planting Seeds* respects and treats *Shark Tank* as an authority in the area of *entre-tainment*, whereas there are tones of ridicule, competitiveness and hostility from a *Dragon* and *Shark Tank* viewer when referring to one another. The example for *Dragons’ Den* quotes *Dragon*, Peter as ‘slamming’ the *Sharks* for being “pussy cats” and offering “to breathe some fire into the US version of *Dragons’ Den*”.

This is a criticism of the entrepreneurial authenticity of the *Sharks* and the way they represent entrepreneurship on *Shark Tank*, which is based on the lack of hostility and toughness of the *Sharks* in comparison to the *Dragons*. This reiterates the discourse that these types of traits are connoted as entrepreneurial ideals that create status distinctions between the average entrepreneur and the entrepreneurial celebrity idol.

This interdiscursive event also demonstrates that there is competition across nations for the ‘right way’ of representing entrepreneurship, and in this case, it is outlined as being aggressive and confrontational. The criticism also displays that Peter, and by extension *Dragons’ Den* views itself as the authority and expert on the *entre-tainment* genre, as they are willing to lend their expertise to bring *Shark Tank* up to their level of operating. A *Shark Tank* viewer also scoffs at *Dragons’ Den* by describing the show’s name of “Dragons’ Den” as not only being ‘dorky’ but considering it “dorkier” than the name given to the parody which was “Pond Scum”. For *Shark Tank* and *Dragons’ Den* there is pride in their respective national *entre-tainment* brand and preference for their own version over others, whereas *Planting Seeds* emulates *Shark Tank* as a brand but does not mimic their discourses or show format. This finding illustrates that the three show versions are ‘genre chains’ (Fairclough, 2003) due to the shows having opinions of one another, not operating in silos, and competing discourses for the status of representing entrepreneurship legitimately.

Chapter 7. Discussion

In this chapter I discuss my findings in reference to my research questions, how this contributes to previous literature, and develops knowledge of entrepreneurship from a critical and social constructionist perspective of discourse. The chapter sections are presented in the order of the research questions, (i) representations of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in *entre-tainment*, (ii) value systems of the entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment*, and (iii) ideological effects of the entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment*.

7.1 Representations of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in *entre-tainment*

The first research question was as follows,

RQ1: How does *entre-tainment* represent entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs?

- a. *What discourses of entrepreneurship are constituted by the television shows (Layer 1)?*
- b. *What discourses of entrepreneurship are constituted by the external texts produced by the shows (Layer 2)?*
- c. *What are the societal discourses of entrepreneurship about the shows (Layer 3)?*

This was answered by a multi-modal critical discourse analysis of entrepreneurship in *entre-tainment*, **within the show (Layer 1), produced by the show (Layer 2), and about the show (Layer 3)**. The use of three *Layers* made it possible to analyse the discourses of *entre-tainment* beyond the confines of the television show, to review whether and how these entrepreneurship discourses were being reinforced, reproduced, and challenged by society. The three *Layers* also made it clearer as to which entrepreneurship discourses and ideologies were prevailing or inconsistent, which is discussed in the following sections, 1) show version and representations of entrepreneurship, 2) nationally bound discourses of entrepreneurship, 3) discourse of entrepreneurial ideals, 4) the extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur, 5) discourses critiquing *entre-tainment*, 6) *entre-tainment* for entertainment and education, and 7) interdiscursivity of the *Layers*.

7.1.1 Show version and representations of entrepreneurship

Shark Tank and *Dragons' Den* were found to represent entrepreneurship as ruthless and aggressive, which may be the outcome of the replication of the show format rooted in the style of its originator, "Money Tigers", as voyeurism is a core theme for Japanese reality television

programming (Gailbraith & Karlin, 2012). A metaphorical status distinction made between the two entrepreneur categories influenced by the “Dragons’ Den” format was that of ‘predator’ and ‘prey’. This was achieved using violent imageries to instil themes of threat and fear which reinforced a ruthless type of entrepreneurship wrought with hostility and aggression. This finding illustrates how pervasive this theme is for two versions of *entre-tainment* which lends weight to Kelly and Boyle’s (2011) argument that the titles used, in this case ‘Dragon’ and ‘Shark’, in place of traditional titles such as ‘business angel’, impacts the execution of the genre. This impact on the genre was systematically illustrated as the *Layer 1* discourses perpetuated a version of entrepreneurship that was aggressive and confrontational, and although this is downplayed for *Layers 2 and 3* compared to *Layer 1*, the predatory images and symbols continued to dominate all three *Layers*. Even, for *Layer 3* when the *entre-tainment* template is appropriated for the medical school (see Table 6.3) a comical and cartoon-like image of a shark was used, but the imagery still remained as the predator, shark.

This thesis illustrated the ways in which the discourses of entrepreneurship were represented as ruthless and aggressive multi-modally, in terms of language, lighting, symbols, proxemics, and additions of dramatic music. Swail et al (2014) states that “these programmes take a strong, positive stance in support of the legitimacy of a particular form of entrepreneurship...” (p. 870). This thesis found that the legitimate form of entrepreneurship is one that is aggressive and confrontational for *Shark Tank* and *Dragons’ Den*. This also provides supporting evidence for Swail et al (2014) and Downs et al (2011), as to the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents a specific type of entrepreneurship that is ruthless and can deter potential entrepreneurs. *Layers 2 and 3* were found to soften and humanise the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as ordinary persons offstage, which reinforces that it is the entrepreneurship aspect that requires them to be ruthless and aggressive. While this was the case for *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*, it was not the case for *Planting Seeds* which had nurturing and supportive discourses of entrepreneurship consistently through all three *Layers*. In contrast to *Dragons’ Den* and *Shark Tank*, *Planting Seeds* did not engage in ritualised humiliation of contestant entrepreneurs and had segments and elements on their show version and website that actively hedged against hostility and ruthlessness by providing educational and motivational support. This highlights a way in which this thesis contributes to knowledge by illustrating through a systematic analysis that there are culturally constructed components to the entrepreneur. Furthermore, the entrepreneurial celebrity idols for *Planting Seeds* were demonstrated as being successful with traditional imageries of success in business. This was business offices associated with

managerial statuses, and shown doing office work, once again reiterating a hierarchal managerial position. Since the *Planting Seeds* entrepreneurial celebrity idols were not presented as aggressive and ruthless, the comparisons of the three show versions indicates that ruthlessness and aggression are paired with representations of extreme personal wealth, and that those behaviours are driven by greed.

7.1.2 Nationally bound discourses of entrepreneurship

The nationally bound discourses of entrepreneurship were found to fall along a continuum of being oriented towards individuals versus regions. For all three *Layers*, *Planting Seeds* produced entrepreneurship discourses that were oriented towards benefitting Caribbean region second but the entrepreneur first, and for *Shark Tank* entrepreneurship was conflated with achieving the American Dream. *Layer 3*, newspaper and university discourses also promoted deeply held cultural scripts around nations for all three show versions, such as entrepreneurship for boosting the economy. This finding sheds light on the globalisation and naturalisation of the discourse of entrepreneurship for the economic development of nations. This also adds to Berglund and Johansson's (2007b) finding that a prevailing entrepreneurship discourse is that the economic development of regions depends on the entrepreneurial spirit of its nationals. However, this specific cultural script was largely absent in *Layer 1* of *Dragons' Den*, this could be present in television episodes not included in the sample. However, this systematic analysis suggests that this cultural script of entrepreneurship for improving a nation's economy for this show version is not as pervasive or common on television as compared to *Planting Seeds*. Entrepreneurship oriented towards a region was consistent for *Planting Seeds* discourses throughout the three *Layers*, aided by the educational component and differences in structure of its show version, such as the advice-giving segment that follows the business pitch.

I also found that the entrepreneurial ideal of 'hard-work' was sometimes framed through nationally bound discourses of entrepreneurship. *Layer 2* discourses of *Planting Seeds* allude to 'hard-work' as being incompatible with Trinidadian societal values which were stated as prioritising leisure over work, as previously discussed in section 5.1.5 . The suggestion made by *Planting Seeds* to adapt to 'hard-work' required for entrepreneurial success was a discourse of motivations of working hard to fund leisure. This case further highlights the absence of the discourse of motivations of extreme personal wealth through entrepreneurship in *Planting Seeds*. Expanding on Drakopoulou-Dodd's (2002) findings for markedly American metaphors of entrepreneurs based on interviews, I found 'hustler' to be a positively framed metaphor for

entrepreneurs in *Shark Tank*, often in reference to the *Sharks*' origins, and for the contestant entrepreneurs.

For all three *Layers*, the *Shark Tank* profiles for both entrepreneurial categories (i.e. contestant entrepreneur and entrepreneurial celebrity idols) was the only version that referenced being an immigrant as part of the 'self-made'/'rags to riches', and general overcoming adversity narratives. This is a notable characteristic of the American Dream ideology. (Alvesson & Willmott, 2012; Gill, 2013; Combs, 2015; Armstrong et al, 2019). Gill (2013) found the immigrant aspect of entrepreneurs tended to be downplayed and instead focus was placed on the entrepreneurs' alignment with values of market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). However, my findings show that *Shark Tank* discourses continue to emphasize this aspect of the American Dream as a representation of humble origin and being hard-working. It is possible that this discrepancy in focusing versus downplaying immigrant status may differ based on home-country or ethnicity of the entrepreneur and is an area for future research. *Layer 2* discourses of *Shark Tank* also saw themes of clashing nationalistic ideologies of communism versus capitalism, which demonised communism in narratives of migrating from communist nations for better opportunities enabled by capitalism, implying that one ideology is economically superior to the other. These are the ways in which these discourses reproduced and reinforced myths and the cultural stereotype of the entrepreneur (Ogbor, 2000; Down, 2010).

7.1.3 Discourse of entrepreneurial ideals

The literature on entrepreneurial ideals outlined the key traits for success as 'high need for achievement' (McClelland, 1985; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Kerr et al, 2017), 'hard work' paired with 'optimism' (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Verduijn & Essers, 2013), and 'passion' (Drakopoulou-Dodd, 2002; Pollack et al, 2012; Ward, 2015), with majority consensus surrounding 'risk-taking' as the trait that truly distinguishes an entrepreneur (Knight, 1921; Kirzner, 1985; Mill, 1984; McClelland 1987; Bull & Willard, 1993; Bygrave, 1993; Ahl, 2004; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Kerr et al, 2017). Additionally, Mill (1984) stated that the core difference between a manager and an entrepreneur is the 'risk-taking' behaviours of an entrepreneur. Similarly, for *entre-tainment* discourses 'risk-taking' continues to be reinforced as distinguishing the entrepreneur from other professions. This was emphasized in *Layer 2* discourses of *Planting Seeds* (see Data Excerpt 37) which stated the other entrepreneurial ideals, such as passion and hard work, were not unique to entrepreneurs and that those traits would enable success in any career path. Thus,

emphasizing ‘risk-taking’ as the distinguishing feature of entrepreneurs. However, conflicts in the discourses of entrepreneurial ideals included the ambiguity and inconsistency as to how much and what forms of ‘risk-taking’ is considered a strength before it becomes a weakness. In *Layer 1*, ‘risk-taking’ is often listed as the basis for making decisions on which contestant entrepreneur deserves investment. The exact type of risk-taking, for example, spending children’s college funds on entrepreneurial ventures was sometimes praised, and other times berated for different contestant entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, ‘risk-taking’ continues to be a core feature of entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment*, illustrating that this theme in literature from 1984 continues to dominate current day, popular discourses of entrepreneurship. Additional contradictions were also apparent for the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals ascribed to the entrepreneurial celebrity idol versus the contestant entrepreneur. This is where being maternal is portrayed and reproduced throughout the *Layers* as a positive entrepreneurial trait of women entrepreneurial celebrity idols but not so much for women contestant entrepreneurs. The example of this that was present in my dataset (see Data Excerpt 24) positioned being maternal as a potential flaw for a woman contestant entrepreneur, and discourses of women contestant entrepreneurs being maternal as a trait of entrepreneurial ideals were otherwise absent in the discourse. This develops on Ahl’s (2006) finding that a strong discursive practice of entrepreneurship is the treatment of gender as an individual characteristic.

Adding to existing literature on entrepreneurial ideals, the entrepreneurial ideals for *entre-tainment* discourses were found to be risk-taking, passion, and hard-work. The ‘need for high achievement’ was not explicitly alluded to in the discourse potentially due to this trait being based on psychologically measurable scales (McClelland, 1985; Kerr et al, 2017), what emerged as a dominant discourse in its place was the extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur (see 7.1.4). In the *entre-tainment* discourse ‘optimism’ was subsumed by themes of resilience and perseverance. Drakopoulou-Dodd (2002) found ‘passion’ to be a distinctly American characteristic of entrepreneurship, and Ward (2015) found that demonstrations of ‘passion’ enabled receiving investments on *Shark Tank*. However, Pollack et al (2012) had similar findings to Ward (2015) surrounding ‘passion’ for both *Shark Tank* and *Dragons’ Den*, which in addition to my findings illustrates that passion is no longer unique to the American discourse of entrepreneurs. Since, the social constructionist approach of this thesis found ‘passion’ to be a key trait of entrepreneurial ideals for discourses across the three different regional versions (USA, UK, Caribbean) of the *entre-tainment* genre. This illustrates that

'passion' has infiltrated popular discourses of entrepreneurship and reproduces romanticised representations of entrepreneurship in the media. This is achieved by reproducing 'taken for granted' knowledge that decisions to be an entrepreneur are based on love of business ideas, and not just driven by profit-making. This also excludes other potential reasons for pursuing entrepreneurship such as to be one's own boss, or to have a better work/life balance. The discourse of entrepreneurial ideals illustrated that the three show versions reinforced existing ideals about what makes someone a successful entrepreneur, rather than challenging or trying to change these ideals.

7.1.4 The extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur

Berglund and Johansson's (2007a) discourse analysis of academic and educational entrepreneurship literature found that there was a shift from the dominant category of "hero entrepreneur" to include "entrepreneurs in need of help and guidance" (p. 89). This thesis found that these two categories and status distinctions of the entrepreneur co-exist in popular discourses as they form the basis of the plot of the *Dragons' Den* format of *entre-tainment*. The entrepreneurial celebrity idols were positioned as the 'hero entrepreneur' and the contestant entrepreneurs were the 'entrepreneurs in need of help and guidance'.

In *Layer 1*, the entrepreneurial celebrity idols being extraordinary is normalized due to the role assigned to them based on the format of the show. It is understood that the extraordinariness of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols is what qualifies them to act as judges of future entrepreneurship ventures and their likelihood of success. As such the show presents them as experts in entrepreneurship and has entrusted them with the power to invest, guide, mentor, challenge, destroy or ridicule the business aspirations of contestant entrepreneurs. The discourses of *Layer 1* focus on displays of extraordinariness by glamorizing market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) such as net worth, luxury items, and working in business offices. This extreme personal wealth is also what Jones and Spicer (2009) outline as making entrepreneurship desirable and ultimately a 'sublime object'. *Layers 1* and 2, discourses of *how investors are entrepreneurial celebrity idols* used narratives of 'self-made/built from scratch' and 'rags to riches' myths to indicate that they were once ordinary. The ways in which the contestant entrepreneurs were represented focused on portraying them as ordinary. For *Layer 1*, *Shark Tank* did this overtly with the contestant entrepreneur profile segments, which was filmed at venues such as their homes and small businesses, and also used childhood photographs to present a collection of visuals that emphasized ordinariness. This status distinction of entrepreneurs enabled *entre-tainment* under the investment and relative guidance

of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols to be a vehicle that can take a contestant entrepreneur from ordinary to extraordinary, establishing the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as the ‘hero entrepreneurs’.

In *Layers 2* and *3* presenting the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary was intensified compared to *Layer 1*, with their journey from ‘ordinary to extraordinary’ being a regular theme for many autobiographies. However, fractures in the discourses of being ‘self-made’ were made apparent through features such as inheriting family businesses and having access to familial wealth, which made it seem unlikely that they had ordinary beginnings. This indicated that being simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary was paradoxical. *Layer 2* discourses of *Shark Tank* positioned the *Sharks* as heroes by portraying them as being friendly in contrast to their aggressive representations in *Layer 1*, which enhanced their ability to be simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary in a new way of being relatable.

This finding of the ‘extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur’ furthers previous work on metaphors of entrepreneurs (e.g. Koironen, 1995; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a) through the examination of entre-tainment discourses. This thesis found that metaphors of heroism continue to be very much critical to the discourse to position the entrepreneur as extraordinary. Berglund and Johansson (2007a) found that older representations of the entrepreneur, particularly around the 80s, tended to be a “picture of the entrepreneur as a heroic economic superman” (p. 89). However, this thesis found this exact representation and imagery of superman representing the entrepreneur in *Layer 2* discourses of *Planting Seeds* in a blog posted in 2016 (see Data Excerpt 41 and Data Excerpt 42). The use of ‘superman’ imagery is the quintessential representation of a hero that is simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary. This finding also shows that ‘superman’ metaphors of entrepreneurship continue to be used current day and its cultural relevance has expanded beyond its American origination and context. This demonstrates that even when entrepreneurship discourses are tailored for different geographical regions there are still elements that are gender and ethnocentrically biased (Ogbor 2000; Ahl, 2006; Verduijn & Essers, 2013). This also alludes to hero metaphors appearing as primarily masculine (Collins & Moore, 1964; Ogbor 2000; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a; Essers & Benschop, 2007; Down, 2010; Anderson & Warren, 2011). For *Layer 1* the entire panel of entrepreneurial celebrity idols, both the men and women, are presented as a group of heroes for the contestant entrepreneurs, but for *Layers 2* and *3* the women entrepreneurial

celebrity idols are no longer explicitly referenced as heroes, and the focus has shifted to representing them as ordinary by portraying them as ‘maternal’. This lends weight to Koironen’s (1995) finding that ‘hero’ and ‘mother’ are mutually exclusive categories of metaphors for entrepreneurs. However, *entre-tainment* does a good job of bringing these two metaphors together to achieve the extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur. Similar to Berglund and Johansson’s (2007a) findings for academic literature, the extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur in this popular discourse also outlines inconsistencies in the discourse of the entrepreneur, but nonetheless portrays the entrepreneur as being extraordinary in some way, which makes it extremely difficult to conceptualise entrepreneurship as something an ordinary individual can achieve.

7.1.5 Discourses critiquing entre-tainment

Layer 3 allowed for insight into discourses that challenged, offered scepticism, and ridiculed representations of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in *entre-tainment*. This gave insight to an audience that is not passive and has picked up on fractures in the entrepreneurship discourse, as well as contradictions in the value systems of entrepreneurship. This illustrates an awareness of the format influencing the way in which the entrepreneurship is portrayed. Nicholson and Anderson (2005) found that in newspapers over 1989-2000 the tone surrounding entrepreneurs shifted from reverence to ridicule. However, this thesis found new trends for discourses that critique entrepreneurship, as from 2005-2017 newspaper discourses of *entre-tainment* were sceptical and critical but did not explicitly ridicule. I found that the ridicule of *entre-tainment* was taken up by new texts of discourse which were memes and parodies. This illustrates that more recent discourses of ridiculing the entrepreneur are coming from viewers as opposed to journalists.

Those newspaper discourses that were found to be sceptical and critical towards *entre-tainment* centred on a *fake versus real* debate pertaining to the premise of the television shows and the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. This debate showed that revealing the ‘fake’ aspects of the shows, questioning its motives, and the credibility of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols was considered newsworthy. However, the sceptical stance also acknowledged that the genre could promote entrepreneurship, though not in the way of providing investment and guidance from expert entrepreneurs as it claims, but in the form of advertising for contestant entrepreneurs. There was also a more critical stance which focused on whether *entre-tainment* is problematic. The discourses that were addressed as being problematic was the portrayal of one legitimate form of entrepreneurship that was ruthless and aggressive, for which a stated outcome was that

this deters people who do not relate to those characteristics from pursuing entrepreneurship (see Data Excerpt 149). Another aspect of the *entre-tainment* discourse that was raised as being problematic was the focus on capitalist measures of valuing success, and the exclusion of alternate reasons for entrepreneurship such as people “who are sick of being bullied, undervalued and under-paid in the wider workplace or people trying to get their work/life balance right” (Data Excerpt 137). Overall, the *Layer 3* discourses of newspapers deemed the topic of whether *entre-tainment* is deceiving their viewers as being newsworthy.

Memos and parodies were found to ridicule the entrepreneurial celebrity idol, the contestant entrepreneur, and the premise of the *entre-tainment* programming. Adding to Patriotta et al’s (2011) finding that contradictions in discourses between opposing orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006), such as domestic versus industrial, or market versus civic, tend to fuel public debates. Memos and parodies ridiculed the entrepreneurial celebrity idol by mocking the dominance and priority of the market orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) in the *entre-tainment* discourse, and how this priority makes the portrayal of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as ordinary appear paradoxical. Those that ridiculed the contestant entrepreneurs were found to be critical of the legitimacy of contestant entrepreneurs as businesspersons based on the common themes of them being badly unprepared and having outlandish business ideas. This mocked the overall premise of the shows that select contestant entrepreneurs that are clearly not ready for a business pitch purely for entertainment purposes. Those that ridiculed the premise of the *entre-tainment* programming challenged the values and purpose of the show by ridiculing the premise of the show in terms of legitimacy of doing business, the *entre-tainment* template for important decision-making, and presented the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as unworthy of ‘idol’ status due to their abhorrent values centred on market orders of worth. Discourses critiquing *entre-tainment* framed the genre as a dangerous distortion of entrepreneurship and encourages society to question the espoused motives of the show.

7.1.6 Entre-tainment for entertainment and education

This multi-modal critical discourse analysis of *entre-tainment* provides evidence in support of Boyle’s (2009) synopsis that the mission of the genre is purely to entertain, and that any educational component of the entrepreneurship topic is coincidental for *Layer 1* of *Shark Tank* and *Dragons’ Den*. This was illustrated by the analysis of the ways in which the shows combine communicative modes (Jancsary et al, 2015; Machin; 2013) that contribute to ‘putting on a show’ inclusive of theatrics and dramatics. This included aspects such as the stage setting and lighting, the layout and proxemic positioning of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols versus the

entrance made by contestant entrepreneurs, the building of tension through dramatic pauses, the addition of dramatic and suspenseful music, theatrical displays of anger and confrontation, and showing contestant entrepreneurs crying with joy and sorrow. The sole focus on entertainment was the least for *Planting Seeds* which actively included educational segments, though as a viewer I did find that version to be less entertaining than *Dragons' Den* and *Shark Tank*, but the entertainment factor was also present due to the gameshow format of the genre (Kavka, 2012).

Additional findings that support the main purpose of *entre-tainment* being to entertain, was that the discourses of social media (*Layer 2*) that had the highest engagement often lacked content surrounding the business aspects of entrepreneurship. Social media followers were also found to engage most with two competing aspects of *entre-tainment* which is the success of contestant entrepreneurs as well as their embarrassment. The finding lends weight to Down's (2010) statement that *entre-tainment* "is entertaining because we see people succeeding and failing to meet the grade, to fit the stock character of the entrepreneur. In the process we also see and enjoy people being humiliated and rejected or validated and accepted" (p. 186). This also lends itself to how entrepreneurship makes for suitable and successful content for reality television programming. Other possible reasons include the compatibility of entrepreneurship as a social construct with reality television as both favour discourses that combine fact and fiction (Anderson, 2005; Smith, 2006; Roscoe & Hight, 2001; Turner, 2001), and engage with myth laden discourses of entrepreneurship (Barthes, 1972; Ogbor, 2000; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005). These characteristics of entrepreneurship discourses allow for content that is entertaining in addition to being desirable. Data Excerpt 73 from *Layer 2* also states that the appeal of *entre-tainment* as a source of entertainment is that it allows for escapism from the realities of wealth inequality.

While *Layer 1* discourses of *entre-tainment* are entertainment focused, *Layer 2* and *3* discourses of *entre-tainment* actively transitioned to promote the educational components of the genre. This was portrayed by the 'self-help' category of books from the entrepreneurial celebrity idols, and educational books from the shows' brands in *Layer 2*. Boyle (2009) makes the statement that "by good fortune the entertainment requires a bit of educational fibre" for *entre-tainment* (p. 10). This feature of the genre made it a natural fit for the template to be borrowed for educational purposes. For the *Layer 3* discourses, I found the university appropriation of *entre-tainment* as a pedagogical template. This also demonstrated that the *entre-tainment* discourse has expanded beyond the business school infiltrating new areas of the

social world, due to the use of this template in various schools, including medical sciences. The university discourses also positioned the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as having educational merit by valorising them as business and entrepreneurship experts through acts of having them as guest speakers, awarding them honorary doctorates and accolades, and idolising them with messages such as “ultimately, we’re creating the next generation of Peter Jones” (Data Excerpt 127).

7.1.7 Interdiscursivity of the Layers

Layers gave rise to the phenomenon of *entre-tainment* being a ‘genre’ of communication (Fairclough, 2003). In addition to the three show versions being ‘genre chains’ (Fairclough, 2003) due to the shows having opinions of one another, not operating in silos, and competing discourses for the status of representing entrepreneurship legitimately. Bringing *Layers 1* and *2* together exposed fractures in the entrepreneurship discourses due to fitting entrepreneurial celebrity idols’ biographies into cultural scripts of ‘being self-made’. The biographies in *Layer 2* were lengthier than those in *Layer 1* and as such included more detail which alluded to instances of inheriting family businesses and having access to familial wealth. These allusions to not starting off as ordinary causes schisms in the discourses of being ‘self-made’ and also implies that the average person simply possessing entrepreneurial ideals is likely not enough to attain entrepreneurial success at the level of the entrepreneurial celebrity idol. *Layer 2* also provided the first instance, in my data, of a counter-discourse to the themes of ‘rags to riches’ explicitly categorising it as a myth (see Data Excerpt 52). *Layer 3* provides insight as to how the entrepreneurship discourses are being challenged and reinforced within society beyond the confines of the show. The ways in which *Layer 3* challenges the entrepreneurship discourses of *Layers 1* and *2* includes scepticism of ‘being self-made’ based on the schisms in this discourse, as well as questioning the ethics and legitimacy of the way *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurship and business through discourses that mock and ridicule, i.e. ‘parody and meme’. In contrast to challenging discourses, *Layer 3* also reinforces the discourse that entrepreneurship can be learnt, specifically through higher education in universities where *entre-tainment* is used as a pedagogical template. Additionally, there were conflicting discourses within *Layer 3* pertaining to the educational value of *entre-tainment* which is criticised by academics in newspaper articles as offering misleading and off-putting representations of entrepreneurship (see Data Excerpt 149).

7.2 Value systems of entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment*

The second research question was as follows,

RQ2: What value systems are reproduced, reinforced, or contested by the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs?

I found that there were multiple value systems for discourses of entrepreneurship which utilized all six of Boltanski & Thévenot's (2006) orders of worth. I found that different orders of worth were combined to counteract and downplay negative interpretations of market orders of worth. This develops on Jones and Spicer's (2009) finding that the market order of worth makes entrepreneurship desirable, by illustrating that additional orders of worth are required to make this desire socially acceptable. The ways in which all six orders of worth were combined for discourses of entrepreneurship were that (7.2.3 *civic* and (7.2.4) *domestic* collaborated with (7.2.2) *market* to morally ground justifications and desires of the market order of worth. The market order of worth worked with the (7.2.1) *fame* order of worth to reinforce the desirability of entrepreneurship, and the power of celebrity was used to establish legitimacy of expertise, and the consequential ability to influence public opinion. The (7.2.5) *inspired* and (7.2.6) *industrial* orders of worth were used in the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals to make entrepreneurship appear attainable to all despite social circumstance. Thus, entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment* incorporated all six orders of worth to present the entrepreneur as the ultimate worthy individual and 'sublime object', this was achieved as follows.

7.2.1 Fame order of worth

Fame as a value of entrepreneurship was not discussed in previous literature but emerged as a consequence of the *entre-tainment* genre. This finding highlights the importance and value of studying representations of the entrepreneur in cultural texts such as the media as outlined in previous literature (e.g.s Ogbor, 2000; Nicholson & Anderson, 2005; Anderson & Warren, 2011; Swail et al, 2014). For Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) the fame order of worth is the value placed on individuals that use their celebrity status to gain recognition in society and influence public opinion. This fame order of worth gave the entrepreneurial celebrity idols power to transcend and infiltrate spheres of life beyond business and entrepreneurship as experts. The fame order of worth was found to facilitate the celebrity status of the *Dragons/Sharks/Investors* and reinforced their ability to influence public opinions as idols. This was illustrated by the ability of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols to influence public opinion in government and policy development (see *Layer 1- Data Excerpt 27, Layer 3- Data*

Excerpt 141). This also included the valorisation of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols as experts in university discourses demonstrated by honorary doctorates, accolades and even the position of University Chancellor (see Data Excerpt 125). Additionally, the fame order of worth received the most engagement in *Layer 2* social media discourses of Twitter, which suggests that discourses of celebrity is one of the most engaging aspects of *entre-tainment* for their social media audience. It is apparent that the fame order of worth is a crucial component of *entre-tainment* that makes entrepreneurship and business concepts more appealing to varied audiences.

7.2.2 Market order of worth

According to Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) the market order of worth is when “worthy persons are rich, *millionaires*, and *they live the high life*.” (p. 196). *Entre-tainment* was found to represent entrepreneurial celebrity idols as the epitome of worthy persons that were rich, millionaires, living the high life. In addition to portraying the primary motive of entrepreneurship as the desire and attainment of huge amounts of personal wealth. This builds on Jones and Spicer’s (2009) findings that entrepreneurial success is commonly associated with excess wealth and a luxurious lifestyle, and that it is this aspect of desire that lends itself to entrepreneurship being a ‘sublime object’. This is further developed by the way in which *entre-tainment* was found to legitimise and morally ground the market order of worth further establishing entrepreneurship as a socially acceptable ‘sublime object’. This was achieved by the market order of worth having its own built-in symbolic system, which was created using narratives such as ‘building from scratch’/‘being self-made’, and ‘rags to riches’ myths. These narratives and myths were prevalent for *Layer 2* and was a common premise of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols’ autobiographies and their personal celebrity brand. However, *Layer 2* exposed fractures in the discourse as the full-length biography of the entrepreneurial celebrity idols did not fit cultural scripts of ‘being self-made’, and alternatively revealed inconsistencies of such narratives as there was information surrounding the inheritance of the family business, and connoting access to familial wealth for start-up capital. This demonstrates that the symbolic system for the market order of worth centred on ‘self-made/built from scratch’ narratives was used to justify the extreme individual wealth and morally ground the attainment and desire of this market order of worth by portraying it as justly earned based on merit, was so critical to the discourse ideologically that it was still used even when it did not fit the script for entrepreneurial celebrity idols and created clear rifts in the discourse.

7.2.3 Civic order of worth

The civic order of worth is portrayed by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) as having collective societal welfare at its centre. For *entre-tainment* discourses when the market order of worth was referenced as a descriptor for entrepreneurial celebrity idols, concerted efforts were made to follow this with references to civic orders of worth through themes of ‘giving back’ such as engagement with charity and mentoring youths (e.g. Data Excerpt 33, Data Excerpt 66). This finding provides evidence for Down’s (2010) statement that “a more globalised, heroic and less morally ambiguous character is today culturally dominant” for entrepreneurship (p. 184), as the civic order of worth in the *entre-tainment* discourse actively works to minimise moral ambiguity of the entrepreneur. This also develops on Jones and Spicer’s (2009) existing findings of there being a moral evaluation of who qualifies as an entrepreneur, which they found based on a review of black-market economies and illegal immigrants participating in enterprising activities. The finding of using the civic order of worth for *entre-tainment* to morally situate the entrepreneurial celebrity idol illustrates that the moral evaluation of the entrepreneur has expanded to encompass more nuanced dimensions of what constitutes moral entrepreneurship, such as entrepreneurs who give back to society. In terms of the hierarchy of orders of worth that places the market order of worth in the first position, even for *Planting Seeds* where civic orders of worth are a crucial component of the discourse of motivations for entrepreneurship, this is promoted as a positive a side-effect of attaining the market order of worth, which is still alluded to as the main goal for pursuing entrepreneurship.

7.2.4 Domestic order of worth

The representations of the entrepreneur in previous literature did not allude to values of domestic orders of worth. Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) define the domestic order of worth as traditional values that make authority figures appear trustworthy which includes being family oriented. In discourses of *entre-tainment*, the domestic order of worth was portrayed in the ways the entrepreneurial celebrity idols were humanized by having familial values and being nurturing through representations of being ‘parents’. Except for *Planting Seeds*, once the entrepreneurial celebrity idols, both men and women, had children this information was included as descriptors in *Layers 2* and *3*. However, for women entrepreneurial celebrity idols descriptions of market orders of worth were often followed by references to domestic orders of worth, such as being maternal and nurturing, so much so when they did not have children, animals were used as a replacement token to reiterate the presence of those traits. For *Layer 1*, the domestic order of worth appeared as a competing demand to the market order of worth

based on the type of questions related to entrepreneurial ideals within the shows. An illustrative example previously addressed (see Data Excerpt 24) is that a woman contestant entrepreneur is asked to choose between her children's birthday party or a business meeting. This is presented as a normal and acceptable question to ask following a business pitch and furthermore portrays the appropriate response as choosing the business meeting. This finding echoes Ahl's (2006) finding of the discursive practice of "division between work and family" as positioning family as either a source of conflict or as a source of strength for women entrepreneurs. However, Ahl (2006) found that this discursive practice conclusively reinforced that women's businesses were secondary to their family life, while on *entre-tainment* the woman contestant entrepreneur responds contrary by saying her entire family puts her business first. This outlines the contradiction in the entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment* pertaining to the domestic order of worth for women, as it is necessary criteria for an entrepreneurial celebrity idol but positioned as a potential flaw for a contestant entrepreneur. Whether the women entrepreneurial celebrity idols for *Planting Seeds* were mothers or possessed any connotations of motherliness was not divulged. However, the memoir of a successful Caribbean woman entrepreneur (see Data Excerpt 38 to Data Excerpt 40) in *Layer 2* used 'mother' as a metaphor for successful entrepreneur (Koiranen, 1995) for *Planting Seeds*. This case alludes to the use of the metaphor of "entrepreneurship as parenting" (Drakopoulou-Dodd, 2002, p. 527) as opposed to using 'parenting' for humanizing entrepreneurs.

7.2.5 Inspired order of worth

The main themes in entrepreneurship discourses for previous literature has focused on specific traits that make an ideal entrepreneur (e.g.s McClelland, 1987; Kerr et al, 2017). Some of the traits of successful entrepreneurs were found to be 'passion' (Drakopoulou-Dodd, 2002; Pollack et al, 2012; Ward, 2015). This was also found to be reinstated by *entre-tainment* discourses of entrepreneurship, which drew on the inspired order of worth that Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) describes as driven by traits of passion and enthusiasm. Passion appeared across all three *Layers* as part of the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals. The inspired order of worth was also used to humanise and soften the *Dragons*, and mainly to suggest that the *Dragons*' real-life personas are different to those on the show. This was illustrated in an excerpt (see Table 6.6, Data Excerpt 144) in *Layer 3* that describes *Dragon*, Duncan as a "hopeless romantic". The use of the inspired order of worth to distinguish between 'on show persona' and real-life persona was unique to *Dragons' Den*, as the identity of being a 'Shark' was

presented as all-encompassing, and information on the personal lives of the *Planting Seeds* investors was never disclosed in the sample of discourses examined.

7.2.6 Industrial order of worth

‘Hard work’ has also previously been addressed in entrepreneurship literature (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000; Berglund & Johansson, 2007a). This trait was also found for representations of entrepreneurs in *entre-tainment*, drawing on the industrial order of worth for which Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) state the most worthy individuals in society are the hardest workers. This finding furthers understandings of discourses of ‘hard-work’ in entrepreneurship from a social constructionist perspective. As *entre-tainment* and the discourses that surround it were found to illustrate that *excessive* ‘hard-work’ is the ideal required to achieve entrepreneurial success. This is also reiterated by the way entrepreneurship is treated as a way of life and identity across *entre-tainment* discourses as opposed to a job or career. Thus, representing the entrepreneur as the epitome of an industrious individual.

7.3 Ideological effects of entrepreneurship discourses of *entre-tainment*

The third and final research question was as follows,

RQ3: What are the ideological effects of the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs?

This thesis found that the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship has ideological effects that are not neutral. Discourses that naturalised ideological effects were as follows 1) prioritisation of market order of worth, 2) legitimisation of a particular version of entrepreneurship, 3) entrepreneurship as a meritocracy and ‘sublime object’, 4) *entre-tainment* as a pedagogical template, and there were also cases of 5) ideology rejection.

7.3.1 Prioritisation of market order of worth

Entre-tainment drew on different orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) which reflected that the market order of worth was the most revered purpose of entrepreneurship. The extent to which the market order of worth was promoted and problematised differed across the three *Layers*. This was in the way in which Boltanski and Thévenot’s orders of worth clearly merged with ideological effects of CDA which comprise Fairclough’s (2013) dimensions of discourse. For *Layer 1*, presentations solely based on the market order of worth was glorified and glamourized, and any problematisation of it was absent from the discourse. For *Layer 2*

presenting only the market order of worth in entrepreneurial celebrity idol profiles appeared to be problematic, as other orders of worth were included to humanise and soften negative interpretations. For *Layer 3* there was actual problematisation of prioritising the market order of worth in *entre-tainment* highlighting dystopian elements (see Data Excerpt 157, Meme 4).

The ideologies that are naturalised due to this promotion and problematisation of the market order of worth is reinforcing desires of entrepreneurship for extreme personal wealth, while the combination of orders of worth hedge against problematising desires for extreme personal wealth and make it socially acceptable. The naturalisation of these ideologies was also found to justify wealth inequality. Wealth inequality was portrayed as a socially acceptable phenomenon justified through the civic order of worth. These justifications of wealth inequality in the *entre-tainment* discourse even goes as far as to portray poverty as a competitive advantage for pursuing entrepreneurship. The attainment and desire of extreme individual wealth was further justified and morally grounded by portraying the phenomenon as being earned based on merit. This was illustrated through the symbolic system of the market order of worth which functioned on cultural scripts such as ‘built from scratch’, ‘being self-made’, and ‘rags to riches’. There were fractures in the discourse due to contradictions in the cultural scripts of ‘being self-made’, which illustrates how critical the ideology that ‘anyone can do it’ is for the entrepreneurship discourse, since it was still forcefully perpetuated even though it caused clear contradictions in the discourse. Also, the symbolic system of the market order of worth simultaneously aided in portraying an ‘ordinary’ origin story for the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. The fractures in discourse occurred based on the allusions to not actually having ordinary starts indicated by information of inheriting family businesses and access to pre-existing familial wealth. This implies that simply possessing entrepreneurial ideals for the average ‘ordinary’ person is likely not enough to attain extreme personal wealth on par with the entrepreneurial celebrity idol.

7.3.2 Legitimisation of a particular version of entrepreneurship

Entre-tainment legitimises particular ideas of how business and entrepreneurship works thus obscuring other potential versions and motivations. It presents ideas of entrepreneurship that lead to millionaire and billionaire status as always starting out as small and ordinary. This discourse is rife with imageries of businesses beginning in home garages, kitchens, and bedrooms being commonplace. In addition to the first entrepreneurial ventures of entrepreneurial celebrity idols regularly being described as small-scale services that anyone can do as it does not require any specialisation, such as ‘hustles’ of buying and re-selling items

for a profit, and more specific examples such as selling ice cream from a van (Data Excerpt 50). In favour of reinforcing and reproducing themes of starting small and ordinary, the discourse even goes as far as to portray poverty as being positive and has even deemed it as a competitive advantage when pursuing entrepreneurship. *Entre-tainment* also constitutes homogenised discourses of entrepreneurship, as diverse perspectives are absent from the discourse. This occurs due to the absence of ethnic minority, gender, and class entrepreneurship discourses and excludes their experiences which may include structural constraints and issues to access (e.g. Verduijn & Essers, 2013).

The nationally bound discourses of entrepreneurship demonstrated that even though there was national ideologies that structured the different versions of the shows, the genre was primarily oriented towards capitalist and individualist values. Thus, supporting Kelly and Boyle's (2011) conclusions that replicating and adapting *entre-tainment* formats internationally is a means of endorsing competitive, individualistic, and capitalist discourses. *Entre-tainment* also presented the only form of entrepreneurship as legitimate was a mainly ruthless and aggressive version, which can deter potential entrepreneurs who do not feel capable of thriving in such an environment, as illustrated by Swail et al (2014) and Downs et al (2011). This can perpetuate a homogenous category of entrepreneur as *entre-tainment* motivates the same 'type' of persons to pursue entrepreneurship.

7.3.3 Entrepreneurship as meritocracy and 'sublime object'

The discourse of entrepreneurial ideals naturalises the ideology that entrepreneurship is a meritocratic system, as those discourses purport that success can be achieved by anyone who is risk-taking, resilient, hard-working, and passionate enough. This also places the responsibility of success, and consequently the blame for lack of success entirely on the individual, which ultimately absolves external support systems of any responsibility. The naturalisation of entrepreneurship as a meritocratic system combined with the responsibility being placed entirely on the individual leads to ignoring the role of systemic interventions for improving entrepreneurship due to overlooking potential flaws, and consequently reinforces beliefs that no changes need to be made. Additionally, the discourses of entrepreneurial ideals provides generic and inconsistent advice as to what extent each trait is suitable, which allows a 'lack of entrepreneurial ideals' to be an acceptable reason for failure, but without the ability to pinpoint the exact shortcomings of entrepreneurial ideals that is hindering success. Thus, the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals being unmeasurable provides advice that is ultimately unattainable positioning the entrepreneur as a 'sublime object' (Jones & Spicer, 2009). The

extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur also works to reinforce the entrepreneur as a ‘sublime object’, based on the impossibility of being simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary. The symbolic system of the market order of worth, the discourse of entrepreneurial ideals, and the extraordinary-ordinary paradox of the entrepreneur all worked together to naturalise the ideology that entrepreneurship is a merit-based system where anyone can succeed once they try hard enough. Jones and Spicer (2009) have stated that it is these paradoxical ideological elements of entrepreneurship discourses that works as an effective tool for enlisting potential entrepreneurs.

7.3.4 Entre-tainment as a pedagogical template

The finding of the *entre-tainment* template being appropriated by universities demonstrated that it is the gameshow format of the genre that is being imported and not the value system of the discourse. As the use of the template has expanded to other schools such as nursing and medicine where the civic order of worth was positioned as outranking the market order of worth in descriptions of the “Dragons’ Den” format competitions. Thus, the university prioritises the educational business aspect of the genre over the entertainment component, as illustrated by disclaimers for “Dragons’ Den” themed events such as, “unlike the famous TV Dragons, they provide constructive feedback, not insults!” (Data Excerpt 89). However, this university appropriation of *entre-tainment* as a pedagogical template naturalises its value as being educational, and consequently the format as a legitimate representation of entrepreneurship. The analysis of the importation of the *entre-tainment* template provides evidence for Swail et al’s (2014) statement that “if *entre-tainment* is taken seriously as a pedagogic vehicle, the risk is that a skewed and partial set of skills may be developed among its viewers” (p. 870). University course content was found to mainly promote and train for doing business pitches, which Swail et al (2014) states “formulating and delivering a venture capital pitch is not an everyday entrepreneurial practice...but is a core activity in Dragons’ Den”. This skewed value mainly placed on business pitches was also reflected in societal discourses in newspapers with statements such as, “in the real world you would never find yourself in a position where you had to sell something in three minutes” (Data Excerpt 148). Using *entre-tainment* as a pedagogical template and or as case studies also reinforces only two extremes for outcomes of entrepreneurship, either success or failure, as an in between outcome of small-sized sustainable entrepreneurship tends to not be featured.

7.3.5 Ideology rejection

Jones and Spicer (2009) have emphasized that critical research focused on “how entrepreneurship discourse is actively challenged, resisted and in some cases destroyed” (p. 25) needs to include different forms of ideology rejection and resistance, and those often excluded from study tends to be those in the form of humour, irony, and satire. This thesis included a *Layer 3* dataset of societal discourses surrounding *entre-tainment* for this purpose and found that newspapers, memes, and parodies actively attacked and dismantled the overall ideological premise of the show and debunked the idol status of the entrepreneurial celebrities. This finding demonstrates that there is an audience of *entre-tainment* that are active viewers who are rejecting, resisting, and challenging the ideologies put forth by the show through discourses of satire and humour. This finding develops on Nicholson and Anderson’s (2005) finding that ridicule is the outcome of attempts to balance the “mythological surge and rational undercurrent” of entrepreneurship (p. 168)

This chapter discussed the findings of this thesis which were the ways in which *entre-tainment* represents entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, the value systems of entrepreneurship discourses, and the ideologies that are naturalised. This thesis has illustrated that *entre-tainment* is a ‘genre’ (Fairclough, 2003) because it is a particular way of framing discourses of entrepreneurship for audiences to comprehend, and that the three shows, *Dragons' Den*, *Shark Tank*, and *Planting Seeds* are ‘genre chains’ (ibid). The different versions of the shows were demonstrated to be ‘genre chains’ as they “are regularly linked together, involving systematic transformations from genre to genre” and “contribute to the possibility of actions which transcend differences in space and time, linking together social events in different social practices, different countries, and different times...which has been taken to be a defining feature of contemporary ‘globalization’” (ibid, p. 31). Thus, reiterating the relevance of *entre-tainment* as a crucial text for study marked by the phenomenon of its international replication and the consequential widespread societal engagement with its representations of entrepreneurship.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

“The point of *entre-tainment* is to show us what the character of the entrepreneur is all about: it helps create a cultural stereotype.” (Down, 2010, pp. 185-186)

This thesis builds on the work of Down (2010) by unpacking the ways in which *entre-tainment* helps to create a cultural stereotype of the entrepreneur. This was done through a through a multi-modal critical discourse analysis that reviewed the discourses of entrepreneurship and the consequential ideological effects that constituted and surrounded *entre-tainment*. I have expanded on the way entrepreneurship is represented in popular discourse in a novel way by including *Layers* of text that did not limit the analysis to content within the television shows, but allowed this study to include the proliferation of these discourses societally. This was achieved by the use of three *Layers* of discourse texts for three versions of the show, *Dragons’ Den (UK)*, *Shark Tank (USA)*, and *Planting Seeds (Caribbean)*, the findings for which are limited to the context and content of these shows. *Layer 1* included discourses of entrepreneurship *within the shows* by reviewing episodes of the television shows. *Layer 2* comprised of texts *produced by the shows*, which were shows’ websites, books, and social media accounts. *Layer 3* comprised of texts that comprised of discourses of entrepreneurship *about the shows*, which were university websites, newspaper articles, and memes and parodies.

8.1 Directions for future research

This study would have benefitted by including the first version of the “Dragons’ Den” format from Japan but I was limited by language fluency. Additionally, this study can be conducted with different versions and combinations of the shows. Therefore, one of the directions for future research can be a comparative analysis across cultures of the *entre-tainment* versions in different languages, as I was limited by content in the English language. This study of how *entre-tainment* represents business can also be expanded to include other show formats that have been replicated and adapted internationally, such as “The Apprentice”. The discourses of *entre-tainment* could be analysed from different perspectives, such as a study of how marginalised actors are portrayed in these shows. I have only done a discourse analysis and not audience studies so I can only speculate on the ideological effects with reasonable conclusions based on previous literature. Therefore, an area for future research is audience studies of how viewers, aside from university students, react and respond to representations of entrepreneurship in *entre-tainment*, this can include an analysis of comments made by viewers/followers on social media. Future studies could trace how the *entre-tainment* template

has infiltrated other spheres of social life, beyond those reviewed in this thesis, such as political and policy-making. The impact of *entre-tainment* could also be approached from a statistical perspective to review trends in popularity of the genre by using TV ratings.

8.2 Conclusions and Implications

Down (2010) states that there is a cultural stereotype of the entrepreneur in *entre-tainment*, and this thesis found specific cultural stereotypes. The cultural stereotypes were found to be that entrepreneurs that are ruthless and aggressive in business will become extremely wealthy, that entrepreneurs are simultaneously extraordinary and ordinary persons, and to become a successful entrepreneur any individual just needs to be risk-taking, passionate, and hard-working enough. This cultural stereotype of the entrepreneur informed the discourses that constitute *entre-tainment* and were found to have ideological effects that were not neutral in their representations of entrepreneurship. The ideological effects of the *entre-tainment* discourses were found to naturalise entrepreneurship as a meritocratic system that enables anyone to succeed once they possess the entrepreneurial ideals, and also morally grounded the desire and attainment of extreme personal wealth. *Entre-tainment* was found as legitimising a version of entrepreneurship that is mainly oriented towards the market order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). This representation of entrepreneurship excludes other alternative reasons for pursuing entrepreneurship such as to achieve a work/life balance or to work for oneself. These alternative purposes for pursuing entrepreneurship appeared in *Layer 3* discourses of newspapers which illustrated that there is a resistance, rejection and challenging of the ideology put forward by *entre-tainment*. *Layer 1* was found to constitute discourses portrayed the entrepreneur as a ‘sublime object’ (Jones & Spicer, 2009), *Layer 2* attempted to balance the ‘sublime object’ and desires of entrepreneurship in a way that was socially acceptable and morally sound, which caused fractures in the discourses of ‘ordinary and self-made’ celebrity entrepreneurial idols. *Layer 3*, problematised the premise of *entre-tainment*, and picked up on the fractures in the entrepreneurship discourses, thus alluding to the likelihood that simply possessing entrepreneurial ideals for the average person is not enough to attain success similar to the entrepreneurial celebrity idols. *Layers 2* and *3*, also demonstrated the power of fame for entrepreneurial celebrity idols and how this enables them to transfer into other social areas of expertise unrelated to entrepreneurship.

The ways in which this thesis contributes to critical entrepreneurship studies (e.g. Calás et al, 2009; Jones & Spicer, 2009; Essers et al, 2017) for entrepreneurship and popular discourse are as follows. This thesis found that *entre-tainment* does more than promote entrepreneurship as

simply being inherently good. *Entre-tainment* idolises, glamorises, and makes capitalist driven values socially acceptable through entrepreneurship. Thus, it has ideological effects which positions entrepreneurship as a ‘sublime object’ (Jones & Spicer, 2009). The findings of this thesis contributes to social constructionist understandings of the entrepreneur, and counters traditional definitions of entrepreneurship literature that centre on the traits of entrepreneurs as being fixed and measurable (e.g. Schumpeter, 1934; McClelland, 1987; Cunningham & Lischeron, 1991). Shane and Venkataraman (2000) argued for a definition of entrepreneurship opposing those that focused on the traits of the individual for one that includes the exploitation of situational opportunities founded on economic and market perspectives. However, this thesis found that popular discourses positioned poverty and unemployment as a ‘situational opportunity’ for entrepreneurship, which illustrates that these previous definitions lack culturally constructed components. The absence of these societal and cultural constructs for understanding the entrepreneur obscures the unequal ideological and power dimensions of the category, which naturalises the ideology that entrepreneurship is inherently good for individuals and society. Whereas, this thesis found that the discourses of entrepreneurship in *entre-tainment* justified wealth inequality as a socially acceptable phenomenon, by placing the responsibility for attaining wealth on the individual, and claiming that extreme wealth can be attained as the system of entrepreneurship was portrayed as being entirely based on merit.

This thesis furthers knowledge on the nationally-bound understandings of the entrepreneur in *entre-tainment* (Kelly and Boyle, 2011). As it has illustrated through a systematic analysis that popular cultural discourses of entrepreneurship are mediated by national myths and value systems (e.g. Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) through a comparative dimension of study. This highlights that there are culturally constructed components to the entrepreneur in addition to socially constructed. The finding of nationally-bound discourses of entrepreneurship demonstrated that different values are used to differing extents for the discourses of entrepreneurship for *entre-tainment*. However, the market order of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) as the primary goal and orientation of entrepreneurship was the case for all three versions of the show. This reiterates that the competitive, individualistic, and capitalist values of the *entre-tainment* genre continue to be replicated even for different international adaptations of the genre (Kelly & Boyle, 2011). This alludes to the likelihood that the central themes of voyeurism in the parent version of the “Dragons’ Den” format from Japan are also being replicated. Thus, the international replication of the *entre-tainment* genre is perpetuating discourses of entrepreneurship as competitive and often cruel based on their format.

This thesis answered the call to investigate popular cultural representations of the entrepreneur (e.g. Jones & Spicer, 2009; Swail et al, 2014) by critically unpacking representations of entrepreneurship that continue to dominate society through popular discourses. Additionally, it has demonstrated that *entre-tainment* is “ideologically controlled, sustaining not only prevailing societal biases, but serving as a tapestry for unexamined and contradictory assumptions and knowledge about the reality of entrepreneurs” (Ogbor, 2000, p. 605). Though this is the case for discourses constituting *entre-tainment*, the findings for *Layer 3* of scepticism, criticism, and challenging the ideologies of *entre-tainment* as being contradictory and morally ambiguous demonstrates that it is not entirely unexamined by society. The inclusion of these different forms of rejections of ideology treats resistance as immanent to the discourses of entrepreneurship and provides evidence that it is not a homogenous concept (Jones & Spicer, 2009).

However, when *entre-tainment* is taken as an unexamined representation of entrepreneurship is when it can become problematic by representing only one legitimate form of entrepreneurship which has previously been found to simultaneously persuade and dissuade future entrepreneurs and students from pursuing entrepreneurship (Swail et al, 2014; Downs et al, 2011). This thesis illustrated and discussed the types of entrepreneurship discourses and the ways in which they may persuade potential entrepreneurs who identify with values of being ruthless, aggressive, selfish and the desire to attain vast personal wealth, and how it may dissuade potential entrepreneurs who feel unable to thrive in hostile, aggressive environments and wish to pursue entrepreneurship for other reasons. The *entre-tainment* format can be a deterrent to pursuing entrepreneurship based on its game-show competition format which was accompanied with ritualised humiliation for two versions of the show. Other alternative formats to *entre-tainment* can be considered, *Layer 3* discourses saw the suggestions of a more educational tone for the shows. *Planting Seeds* merged the educational format with *entre-tainment*, however even as a culturally invested viewer I still did not find it to be as entertaining as the other two versions. Other possible viable reality-television formats for *entre-tainment* that are still entertaining from a less voyeuristic standpoint could be the ‘feel-good’ alternative, which often takes the ‘make-over’ genre format, where the show can follow the mentorship, development, and growth of an aspiring entrepreneur. *Entre-tainment* is a discourse of entrepreneurship “that is globalising and globalised” (Fairclough, 2013, pp. 454-5). Therefore, the international replication and wide-reaching effects of *entre-tainment* indicates that persons who pursue entrepreneurship are not doing so as ‘blank slates’ without ideological

assumptions. Thus, institutions teaching and promoting entrepreneurship have a responsibility to do work to counter or at least make individuals aware of media and cultural representations of entrepreneurship. Especially as *entre-tainment* continues to be a predominant and relevant entrepreneurship discourse based on its availability online and on streaming services such as Netflix, where it will be continuously viewed by new audiences and future generations of prospective entrepreneurs.

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