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## Business, Ageing and Socioemotional Selectivity

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## ***Business, Ageing and Socioemotional Selectivity: a Qualitative Study of Grey Entrepreneurship***

*This three stage qualitative paper explores the motivations and experiences of older entrepreneurship through the age-related lenses outlined in the behavioural psychology literature. In contrast to economic approaches that presuppose financial drivers, findings reveal that intrinsic drivers such as achievement, fulfilment and relationships had primacy amongst the participants in this research. Entrepreneurship has enabled the older people in this study to construct their social environments in a way that maximises the potential for positive affect, and minimises the potential for negative affect, both in and out of work.*

### ***Introduction***

Throughout developed nations, older-age entrepreneurship is increasing (Schott, Rogoff, Herrington, and Kew 2017). This paper concerns the drivers and experiences of older entrepreneurship, where 'entrepreneurship' refers to business venturing and self-employment, as per Kelley, Singer, and Herrington (2016) for example, and 'older' refers to those aged 50 and over, as defined by UK Government (2017).

One hypothesis regarding older age entrepreneurship is that it is prompted by need for and/or interest in developing financial value and income. This positions older entrepreneurship within the normative economic epistemology; as Wiklund and Shepherd (2003) note, studies of entrepreneurship are usually associated with financial value creation for individuals, often exclusively<sup>1</sup>. Recent developments in the entrepreneurship literature have challenged this economic-centric approach though, arguing alternatively that entrepreneurship is driven by a multitude of factors and that these are likely to vary by demography and circumstances (Anderson 2015; Galloway and Cooney 2012). In this vein, studies such as Ogbor (2000) and Vickerstaff and Cox (2005) underline the importance of broadening understanding of entrepreneurship related to age, gender, ethnicity and class. More specifically, Wainwright, Kibler, Blackburn, and Kautonen (2011) propose that older entrepreneurship is prompted by social and lifestyle factors specific to the roles, responsibilities and motivators of life and work in older age. With little evidence of drivers and experiences- economic or otherwise – of older entrepreneurship, knowledge is currently limited and a research agenda is implied. Therein lies the purpose of this paper.

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<sup>1</sup> An exception is research on social enterprise where social gain is prioritised.

The paper presents data and analysis of an empirical study of older entrepreneurship in the UK, exploring both financial and non-financial factors. Rather than rely on economic theories of entrepreneurship, the research draws from conceptualisations and theories found in the behavioural psychology literature, thereby affording some focus on the social, emotional and personal drivers of older-age entrepreneurship. The empirical work refers to a qualitative three stage study, including a survey of seventy, interviews with twenty, and case study analyses of seven older entrepreneurs who specifically identified lifestyle drivers and outcomes of their business venturing.

The paper provides two main contributions. First, it presents some evidence of the experiences of entrepreneurship amongst those in later life *vis a vis* the rationales of being driven by financial and/or social and personal factors. Better understanding of the reasons why older people engage in entrepreneurship and the outcomes they seek from it will inform both research and those who seek to support this context of work for older people. Second, the paper also contributes information about factors associated with entrepreneurship beyond the financial, at least amongst an older demographic in a western developed country, facilitated by replacing the traditional economic theoretical lens with alternative theoretical perspectives on motivations.

The paper starts by exploring some of the potential reasons for the increase in rates of older entrepreneurship observed recently in western developed nations. Following that, theories about motivations, behaviours and ageing are explored. Underpinned by these, the empirical data presented in the following sections shows some limited evidence of financial drivers and substantial evidence of socio-emotional factors amongst our sample of older entrepreneurs. An analysis of this evidence is presented and the paper concludes with implications for theory and policy in terms of encouraging and supporting entrepreneurship and its antecedents, as observed in this research.

### **Older Entrepreneurship**

Entrepreneurship has traditionally been understood to comprise venturing in response to perception and realisation of opportunity (Bygrave 1994). Most often, economic approaches to understanding entrepreneurship have attributed financial criteria to these opportunities – business is understood to refer to the opportunity to realise financial value (Wiklund and Shepherd 2003). This has been found empirically (for

example, Carter, Gartner, Shaver, and Gatewood 2003), including for older people (for example, Wainwright and Kibler 2013). However, there is increasing attention on non-financial drivers, including a desire for work-life balance and flexibility (for example, Hessels, Van Gelderen, and Thurik 2008; Morris, Nola, Craig, and Coombes 2006). There is also some recognition that there can be marked variation in motivations for entrepreneurship by demography (for example, Shelton 2006). Accordingly, research amongst older entrepreneurs does include some acknowledgement of specific roles, responsibilities and experiences in older age, with Singh and DeNoble (2003) and Kautonen (2012) in particular proposing that the flexibility of entrepreneurship might suit the needs of older people by allowing them time for other things such as caring for older or younger family. These researches present entrepreneurship as a means of achieving lifestyle or social outcomes *alongside* financial ones – at least as a means of making a living. Certainly, there is a rationale that entrepreneurship may mitigate pensions and savings deficits experienced throughout western economies. There is also evidence of age-related discrimination in recruitment and practice in employment, as found in Loretto and White (2006) and Harms, Luck, Kraus, and Walsh (2014) for example, that also supports the idea that entrepreneurship may be perceived as an attractive work option for older people.

At the same time though, many older people *do* have sufficient pensions and savings, and in any case, the costs of living can be relatively reduced since, for many, financial responsibilities such as mortgages and children have been serviced. That being the case, why would older people choose to work at all, and particularly, go to the trouble of planning, resourcing and starting a new business? Yet, they do, and are doing so increasingly throughout developed nations (Schott et al. 2017). Economic motives alone do not seem a credible explanation for the rise in older entrepreneurship. Other, alternative or additional, reasons seem likely, and point to the need for entrepreneurship research to engage with studies of behaviours and motivators of older people as a specific demographic. It is to this that we now turn.

### **Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Older Entrepreneurship**

Theoretical approaches to understanding older entrepreneurship have focused on entrepreneurial motivations that are largely based on understanding the cognitive processes of intention formation. For example, Kautonen, Tornikoski, and Kibler (2009) used the Theory of Planned Behaviour to investigate the impact of perceived age norms on the formation of older-age entrepreneurial intentions and found that if an

older individual perceives it as socially desirable to be entrepreneurially active, this perception positively influences their entrepreneurial intention. Elsewhere, Stirzaker and Galloway (2017) applied Shapero's Entrepreneurial Event Theory to older entrepreneurship, and found that significant birthdays and other older age-related circumstances have an effect on decisions to become an entrepreneur. Similarly, combining perspectives from labour economics and entrepreneurship, Weber and Schaper (2004) examined early retirees' decisions to become self-employed, finding that older individuals have specific non-typical motivations to engage in entrepreneurship, such as prioritising free time, family, hobbies and interests. These provide some knowledge on the drivers of older entrepreneurship yet all do so while maintaining the primacy of financial drivers. Ranging from desire for income via profits for the owner through to developing and growing a business, financial drivers are always presented as central, with social and personal factors presented as supplementary. This is consistent with the entrepreneurship literature generally of course, but recently some studies of the non-financial drivers of entrepreneurship are beginning to emerge. Vandemaele and Vancauteran (2015) and Schepers, Voordeckers, Steijvers, and Laveren (2014) for example, explore socio-emotional wealth and entrepreneurship. Elsewhere Kato and Wiklund (2011) assert that starting a business can induce positive emotional affect, and Benson and Tang (2011) hypothesise that affect influences cognition, and as cognition shapes opportunity identification and motivation, affect should also shape these opportunity processes. In line with this, Morris et al. (2006) investigated experiences of entrepreneurship using Affective Events Theory and suggest that the entrepreneurial process is influenced by a temporal stream of emotional events. For the current article, we bring together some of these ideas about affect and apply them specifically to older entrepreneurship. To do this, we draw on information about motivations and behaviours in the specific context of older age. In particular, we refer to the work of Kooij, Lange, Jansen, and Dijkers (2008) and Kooij, Lange, Jansen, Kanfer, and Dijkers (2011) on work motivations, and on Carstensen's Socioemotional Selectivity Theory (SST) on motivations and ageing (Carstensen 1991; 1993; 1995). These are summarised in turn below.

#### *Ageing and Work Motivation*

Kooij et al. (2008) present a meta-analysis of ageing and work motivation and propose five key factors: Chronological, Functional, Psychosocial, Organisational and Life-span Age. In a follow-up analysis, Kooij et al.

(2011) summarise age-related work motives as associated with three functions: personal growth, social/affiliative factors, and security. Within these, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are distinguished, including consistent evidence of negative correlations between age and extrinsic motives to work, such as promotion and financial rewards, and positive relationships between age and intrinsic motives to work, including personal growth, accomplishment, autonomy, enjoyment, and skill utilisation. The propositions in Kooij et al (2008; 2011) are amalgamated for illustrative purposes in Table 1.

**Table 1**

### *Socio-emotional Selectivity Theory*

SST is a life span theory that proposes that throughout a lifetime social behaviour is driven by two key psychological motives, novelty seeking and emotion regulation. Over a life course, the relative importance of these shifts in concert with an age-associated shift in time perspective (Carstensen, Isaacowitz, and Charles 1999; Baltes and Carstensen 1999; Carstensen, Fung, and Charles 2003). Specifically, when time is perceived as open ended, as typified in younger adulthood, individuals are motivated to seek out a range of new information, experiences, and relationships to invest in future benefits (for example, income, partner). As time horizons shrink, typically with older age, motivations become increasingly selective, leading to investment in emotionally meaningful goals and relationships in the present. This change in time perspective and corresponding age-related shift in motivation has systematically been linked to age differences in social, cognitive, and emotional behaviour. For example, older adults are more likely than younger people to prefer spending time with familiar compared to novel social partners (Fung, Carstensen, and Lutz 1999), and selectively avoid negative emotional stimuli and focus on stimuli with positive emotional valence (Mather, Canli, English, Whitefield, Wais, Ochsner, and Carstensen 2004). SST's key premise is that to maintain positive affect in the face of decreasing time horizons, older people are driven to create social environments that maximise the potential to experience positive emotions, whilst simultaneously minimising the potential to experience negative emotions. The principles of SST are illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1.**

### **Research Context**

To date, there has been no study that explores how age-related motivations and behaviours might influence older entrepreneurship as a specific work choice. The current paper reports a study aimed at filling this research gap by contributing data and theoretical development in entrepreneurship studies using Kooij et al. (2008; 2011) and SST as lenses through which we might investigate the drivers and experiences of older-age entrepreneurship. Consequently, the following research questions are raised and applied in an empirical study of 70 older entrepreneurs in the UK:

*RQ1. Using the conceptualisations of aging summarised in Kooij et al. (2008) and (2011), what insights into the experiences of financial and socio-emotional drivers are observable in the sample?*

*RQ2. With reference to SST, what age-related socio-emotional drivers are observable amongst older entrepreneurs?*

### **Methodology**

In concert with Gartner and Birley (2002), we subscribe to the idea that diversity and complexity of entrepreneurship experiences are most appropriately explored via qualitative enquiry. This study sought to understand older entrepreneurship as lived by those involved and as such sought to elicit a depth of information about processes and experiences. For this study a specific three-stage qualitative methodology was employed. This included an initial survey soliciting limited qualitative information about the experiences and drivers of older-age entrepreneurship, followed by two further stages designed to elicit a depth of information from some of the participants. These follow-up strategies were based on the rationale that to explore social experiences meaningfully they must be understood in context, and one means by which to afford this is to allow those engaged in a behaviour or experience to tell their stories from their own perspectives (Bertaux 1981; Bryman 1988; Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004).

*Stage One-* Stage one comprised of a survey of the motivators and experiences of entrepreneurship amongst seventy individuals who started a firm at over fifty years old. A purposeful sampling method was used to recruit participants, involving advertising on social media and directly with groups such as The Experts in Age and Employment Network. Links to information about the study and to the online survey were provided and respondents could self-select to take part. The UK's Office for National Statistics (ONS 2017) report internet use

rates amongst people aged 55 to 64 at 90 percent, 65 to 74 at 78 percent, and 75 and over at 41 percent, and so we were confident our online sampling method was capable of capturing experiences of older entrepreneurship. While self-selection has the potential to bias the study in favour of those who were keen to take part, since the study was exploratory the experiences of self-selectors were entirely valid.

Survey questions referred to motives and experiences of business venturing post-50 and included both closed and open question types. Closed questions asked for agree or disagree responses to pre-selected choices, such as those relating to motivations to start-up, but also had an option for 'other' and space for limited narratives. Open questions – such as '*What was the main reason you started your business?*' – required narrative responses. While limited by the capacity of a survey, these did provide useful emergent data and detail.

*Stage Two*- Stage two involved contacting those from the survey who had expressed interest in taking part in an interview. Again, the self-selecting nature of participation in Stage 2 implies a bias, but this was not disadvantageous to the aims of this exploratory research. Interviews sought data about how participants came to be in business and their experiences and, as per Salkind (2009), these are best understood by investigating the perspectives of the people involved. Consequently, interviews were semi structured and conversational to allow participants to tell their stories. This also enabled the emergence of data that had not been anticipated in the research design or suggested by the literature (Stake 1995), and a good example of an unanticipated outcome in this study is the joy entrepreneurs reported of their working lives (see below). Twenty participants were interviewed either by telephone or in-person and interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Analysis of interview data was carried out using the three principles described in Miles and Huberman (1994) - data reduction, organisation, and explanation. This involved each of three researchers scrutinising each transcript individually, and arriving collectively at consensus on meaningful research information – the themes – and thereafter organising and analysing that data from the perspectives of the research questions.

*Stage Three*- Stage three involved building broader case profiles of seven of the interviewees, selected on the basis that they had made particular reference to emotional and social motivations and/or experiences of their entrepreneurship. To build the cases, these interviewees were re-contacted and follow-up conversations were conducted, recorded and transcribed. These follow-up interviews probed socio-emotional factors specifically by asking for clarification or expansion of testimony from the survey and first interview and examples

of experiences. Additional documentary sources of information were obtained to triangulate, including Companies House information where available, and web-based marketing and other materials. These new primary and secondary sources of data were collated along with the original interview transcripts and analysed through a specifically SST-informed theoretical lens. To achieve this, a template analysis was conducted that involved the generation of a hierarchical list of topics including those from the extant literature and those emerging from the data (Waring and Wainwright 2008). A staged approach to the analysis, akin to that described in King and Brooks (2016), was employed whereby familiarisation, initial coding and clustering was followed by the creation and development of a template to arrange and prioritise themes. This is illustrated in Table 2. Representation of themes was considered reasonably accurate since inductive bias was tempered by the data being examined by each individual in the research team and arriving at consensus thereafter, as per Miles and Huberman (1994) and Griffiths, Kalish, and Lewandowsky (2008).

**Table 2.**

Tables 3 and 4 provides summary details of the participants in each stage of the research. Of the 20 interviewees, nine had started their first and only business in their 50s; eleven in their 60's. All but one (Helen) was in business or consumer services and all were in the micro business category (1-9 employees), with all but three employing no-one beyond themselves. Seven participants were male and thirteen female. Of the seven who were profiled in more depth (the stage three case studies), two were male and five female and all but one (Martin with five employees) employed only themselves.

As expected in a small qualitative study, no variation in terms of experiences by gender, location or any other factor was revealed in testimonies, including no variation by age within the over-50 range. A range of industries, locations (urban and rural parts of the UK), both genders, and a range of ages within the broad 'older' category are included in the total sample. Consequently, we consider it broad enough to claim some representation of the experiences and drivers of entrepreneurship amongst older people, and in fact, the consistency in types of responses in the survey and in the interview and case study stages support this further by implying that data saturation was achieved. Further, in terms of the case study stage specifically – stage three – it is acknowledged that the essence of case study research is found in the duality of being situationally grounded, but at the same time, seeks a sense of generality or representation (Ketokivi and Choi 2014). In

establishing this sense of generality, theory elaboration was sought where the contextual idiosyncrasies that emerged from the data were interpreted as empirical elaborations of more general concepts and categories. Thus, as per Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2013), throughout analysis importance was placed on contextual idiosyncrasies to transcend the empirical context and seek broader theoretical understanding; concepts currently not incorporated that emerged from the empirical context were introduced to reconcile the theory. To clarify, generality in this sense does not suggest results apply to other empirical contexts but rather the extent to which a sense of generality can be found in terms of theory. As Ketokivi and Choi (2014; 236) state: “one can think of theory elaboration as disciplined iteration between general theory and the empirical data”. Therefore, empirical findings were not predicted using a priori formulation of propositions, rather the research remained open to unanticipated findings.

**Table 3.**

**Table 4.**

### ***Research Outcomes***

**RQ1. Using the Conceptualisations of Aging Summarised in Kooji et al (2008) and (2011), What Insights into the Experiences of Financial and Socio-emotional Drivers are Observable in the Sample?**

Table 5 illustrates that motivations relating to income came fifth in terms of frequency of survey responses. The survey response option was “*to increase my income*” and there was no option “*to provide an income*”. It is therefore not possible to observe from the survey data instances of dependence on business for financial life. Interview and case study data provided these details though.

**Table 5.**

In interviews, financial drivers were evidenced but financial necessity was stated by only a small number of respondents. Only case study participants Moira and Lin, and interviewee Colin identified that they need the money and that the business is the means by which household income is maintained. Despite this, even in these cases, the participants qualified their statements with supplementary non-financial rationales. For example, Colin noted:

*"I suppose I'm doing it partly for the money but really I'm doing it more to keep myself active and because I really enjoy it as well."*

Additionally, while citing financial necessity, these participants also noted reduced financial commitments relative to earlier stages in their lives. Beyond these, mention of financial drivers was limited, but some of the participants revealed the income from the business was supplementary rather than necessary. Table 6 presents data analysed in terms of the five age-related influences on work motivation described in Kooij et al. (2008). Through analysis informed by this, financial influences appear more often as a feature of Chronological Age reflecting an *improved* financial position that afforded the opportunity to cease working in full time employment and instead to pursue entrepreneurship. Moreover, there were individuals for whom generating financial returns from entrepreneurship was not a motivational factor at all with intrinsic reasons providing more impetus. For example, the most commonly reported motivation for entrepreneurship amongst survey respondents related to the use of skills. Similarly, several participants referred to their entrepreneurship as a manageable way to maintain social engagement and remain active. The following example is illustrate:

*"There are people I know at my age who've retired and frankly they're not as mentally alert or physically fit as I am and I don't want to go that way. I enjoy life and I've got a great standard of living" (Brenda).*

These suggest a high incidence in this study of intrinsic motivations related to both Functional and Psychosocial Age to apply vocational knowledge in a meaningful way. The next most commonly reported motivations were associated with independence and satisfaction, again intrinsic motivations.

From the interview and case data, in line with studies of entrepreneurship generally, most claimed they started their business in response to a perceived opportunity. Similarly, desire for autonomy was commonly cited, as interviewee Iain puts it, *"...being your own boss, not being answerable to anybody."* The sense of accomplishment associated with starting and owning a business and using skills was also mentioned by participants Jenny, Peter, Martin and Mark, for example.

Therefore, for those in the sample, Psychosocial factors related to motivation did not have a negative effect on them starting their own business. In fact, these motives were often enhanced where individuals were

more motivated to work in roles that provide them with positive self concept. For example, as well as using their skills, enjoyment was consistently cited as a motivator and an outcome of entrepreneurship. In the survey data, narrative responses include *“Doing something you actually enjoy doing”* (Survey respondent –SR9). Interview data evidenced these too. Interviewees Colin and Mark and case study participants Martin, Lin and Jenny all noted the enjoyment they derive from their entrepreneurship in older age.

Elsewhere, the attraction of more flexibility than would be achieved in salaried employment was commonly identified; it was noted in narrative responses in the survey and interviewees Iain, Colin and Ed and case study participants John, Anne, Lin, Moira, Tracy, Martin and Jenny all mentioned the flexibility afforded by working for oneself, and the improved work-life balance they were experiencing as a result. Thus motivations related to Organisational Age as described in Kooij et al. (2008) were shown to have a negative influence on desire to remain in salaried employment but provided impetus to start a business rather than give up working or work part time. In fact, Organisational Age factors, such as career plateaus, were seen to have been a very positive driver of the older entrepreneurship in this sample. Almost a quarter of survey respondents identified ‘freedom’ as a motivator with some specifically noting dissatisfaction with previous employment. Corroborating this, narrative data included:

*“Not having to deal with some of the insufferable people I’ve had to in the past”*(SR9);

*“No stupid targets... and no excessive paperwork for the sake of paperwork”* (SR64).

In terms of Lifespan Age, evidence of entrepreneurship allowing one to prioritise things other than work also emerged. Caring for grandchildren and spending time with one’s partner, and the ability to engage with these relationships in a different way than was possible when working as an employee, were mentioned by several survey respondents and interviewees, including Brenda, Fiona, Iain, Gwen, Lin, Martin and Jenny.

#### **Table 6**

In terms of results for RQ1, therefore, the data suggests that for some, older entrepreneurship is a means of balancing interests, socio-emotional rewards *and* income. For others it appears that income is supplementary and the older entrepreneurship in these cases is driven in an absence of financial need, instead based on intrinsic social and emotional rewards and features of working for oneself, such as flexibility, that facilitate these. The use of the five age-related influences on work motivation as summarised in Kooij et al.

(2008) to explore this has afforded some insights and exposed the older entrepreneurship in this study both as motivated differently from employment and influenced by the specific age context. Further data categorisation using Kooij et al. (2011) is also given in Table 6. In particular, data relating to the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic rewards suggests a concentration of responses about older-age entrepreneurship having intrinsic value and merits for participants directly related to their age. This resonates with the principles of SST and it is to this that we turn next.

### **RQ2. With Reference to SST, What Age-related Socio-emotional Drivers are Observable Amongst Older Entrepreneurs?**

To explore RQ2 analysis using a SST-focused lens was applied to the case studies. These cases had been selected for follow-up *because* they referenced affective drivers and experiences, and so the purpose of this analysis is not to determine affective drivers, but instead to explore them in some depth. As per Table 6, data evidences specifically, age-related drivers of entrepreneurship relevant to maximising positive emotions in the present. These included: prioritising the most valued family roles in older age, pursuing intrinsically rewarding activities while there is still time, reducing future-oriented acquisitive work goals, and investing in social legacies. In addition, age-related drivers relevant to minimising negative emotions included: avoiding difficult conditions and relationships in employment, avoiding ageism in employment, and avoiding the negative physical and emotional consequences of retirement. The case studies provided further rich data on each of these and this is summarised below as relating to either prioritising positive affect or reducing negative affect.

*Positive Affect.* The need to prioritise the perceived time left by spending time with and caring for family members was evidenced across a number of cases, consistent with SST's premise that close personal relationships are selectively prioritised in the face of shrinking time horizons. Moreover, these family-oriented priorities were seen in some cases to drive the decision to pursue entrepreneurship. Lin, for example, claims that although alternative salaried jobs were available, they did not provide her with the flexibility she wanted in order to help her daughter with childcare, and spend quality time with her grandson. This pushed her from employment to setting up her own baby yoga business. Lin explained:

*"...when I was working part time they actually wanted me to go back into work [fulltime]... but at that time I was looking after my grandson... and they wouldn't allow me to do the hours I needed to... to support my daughter."*

Similarly, Tracy explained that her business enables her to care for her elderly mother as well as spend time with her adult daughter who lives at home. She also noted that the business offers reciprocal emotional benefits amongst the family:

*"The other advantage is that my mum likes to come and help me once a week...it gets her out of the house and gives her a sense of worth....and that's an advantage to me that I know I'm helping my mum even though she's helping me. I really like that."*

Martin explained that the driving force behind setting up his business *"was...to get a work life balance"*. Martin is financially secure and did not start his headhunting business for financial reasons, instead, he revealed that his *"priorities have changed"*, driven by the need in his later years to selectively prioritise quality time with his child and partner, having become a father again at an older age. Martin thus reflected on the passage of time and expressed a desire to spend more time in an emotionally meaningful way. There was similar evidence too of spousal relationships gaining greater importance in older age, with Jenny and Tracy, for example, stressing their desire to spend more time with their partners at home and pursuing enjoyable activities.

Many cases also showed that self-employment was driven by the need to prioritise work that was intrinsically rewarding in the present. Tracy for example was *"unhappy"* doing *"boring and repetitive"* call centre work, and reflected: *"I really didn't want to do that again"*. In line with SST, Tracy was aware of the shortening of her life span (in this case working life span), and her happiness was elevated in importance when it came to work choice. In another example, Jenny emphasised enjoyment of applying her work experience:

*"You know it has kept me involved ...I've loved what I've done over the past 20 years in various organizations. ...Yes I wanted to carry on using my expertise."*

In line with this, the types of businesses in this sample often originated from activities that participants had always found intrinsically rewarding but were never previously able to devote time to. For example, Moira was a sixty-four self-employed dog walker, who had worked in the insurance industry and after a year of

retirement decided to return to work as her pension was proving insufficient. She stated, “...now I’m working with animals that I’ve always loved all of my life.” Similarly, even when Anne’s husband retired and there was no longer a financial imperative to work, Anne maintained her business for enjoyment, and she used similar language:

*“I enjoy it... sewing, I always have done...I absolutely love it...I still get as much thrill now from seeing a piece of fabric on a roll which hasn’t been cut out... than I did when I first started.”*

For some, the desire for freedom and autonomy was also intrinsically rewarding. For example, Anne explained that flexibility and work life balance are more important to her now than financial rewards. She seeks to work at her own pace as she gets older, and her business allows her to do that. She described enjoying remaining active, but in a way that allows her to selectively pick and choose her hours and the jobs she takes on: “...if an opportunity comes along to go out for the day then I can go out for the day... I do the jobs I want to do and probably not bother to do the jobs which in the past I would have done because they paid well but they weren’t particularly enjoyable to do”. Here, Anne explicitly recognises the need to make more selective choices in older age, as per SST. Consistent with this, autonomy was considered attractive, with respondents identifying that they choose when to work and when to pursue other interests. Thus the flexibility offered by self-employment was valued because of the freedom it afforded to control one’s time and enjoy greater work/life balance in a way that had not been possible in previous years. Case study participants in this research had started their businesses as a means of by selectively prioritising enjoyable activities inside and outside of work.

In line with SST, not only was enjoying intrinsically rewarding pursuits in the present a recurrent theme, so too was that entrepreneurship was enabling a *reduction* of future-oriented acquisitive financial activities. For example, Lin expressed no desire to develop or increase the profit margin of her craft business: “My friend was saying you’ve got to triple your prices but I said ‘no I just enjoy doing it...pick[ing] bits of driftwood and making things”. Moira felt the same way: “No... I’m not getting involved in that [expanding], I’m not going to be anybody’s boss...starting payroll and stuff...I’ve been through all that for 45 years”. Others acknowledged that they even planned to scale down their businesses as they get older. For example, Tracy said, “...as I get older I’m just making the company... smaller by choice”, thus recognising the need to work in a way which accommodates her desired change of pace with older age. There was also evidence that entrepreneurship allowed our cases to

spend time investing in social legacies. John, for example, was selectively motivated to make investments because he wanted to help other new small companies succeed rather than just make money. Similarly, it was important to Jenny to pass on knowledge to help others in her area of work: *“the motivation behind the business I guess was I wanted to carry on using my expertise to make a difference... it’s quite nice to feel that perhaps you can help some people”*. Others were motivated to make wider social contributions. For example, Martin acknowledged that business ownership gave him the time to pursue meaningful activities outside work: *“I now have some time to do voluntary work in my own time...I do a bit of graduate career guidance. I am the member of a defacto board set up by my local county council which is about investment in the county....I get quite a kick out of that...I do what I enjoy and also give something back”*. These findings correspond with SST’s premise that older people are motivated to spend the time they have left in a way that is most personally meaningful to them, which includes contributing to a legacy for families, other businesses, and the wider community and for our case participants this was enabled by entrepreneurship.

*Reducing negative affect.* One recurring age-related driver of older entrepreneurship in the sample was dissatisfaction with employment. Anne, for example, explained that when the alternative to starting a business was travelling an extra forty minutes to and from work every day, she simply *“wasn’t prepared to do that”*. Similarly, Moira admitted that her desire to work part-time was seen as *“unreasonable”*, and she felt exploited by her employers: *“nowadays they seem to want you to work forever for very little pay”*. Avoiding the stresses of salaried employment was a similar relief to Lin:

*“I love being my own boss... I love being self-employed mainly because when I was working...it was always targets, targets, you’ve got to meet your targets.”*

In addition, unwillingness to tolerate difficult work relationships was evidenced and referenced as specific to growing older. For example, some participants indicated that they were not willing to spend their remaining years working with difficult people. John explained that he *“had a falling out with the chief executive”* and this influenced his decision to start a business. Similarly, Moira felt that being forced to jump through unreasonable hoops to pursue the part-time hours she desired in older age was an insult to the contribution she had made over many years:

*"...in view of my age and the amount of years I had worked full time, I thought 'why not do part time'? [but] they still expect you to role play for a part time job in a call centre. In my generation that's just a joke."*

Related to the lack of suitable part-time job opportunities offered by employers, an additional problem that pushed these older people out of employment was feeling overlooked for job opportunities at equivalent salary levels, and there was perception that this was caused by age discrimination. For example, Moira described a difficult experience:

*"I'm over 60 and although I tried for several months to get work I am completely convinced that my age was held against me. My experience meant nothing as far as I'm concerned from the interviews that I had... I was past my sell by date... I think they thought 'what's the point in training her up when she's that age' ....It is...ageism, they're against older people."*

Similarly, others' fear of age discrimination had discouraged them from employment. John, Tracy and Anne for example felt that their age would be a disadvantage in the job market. As Tracy put it, *"I was aware of my age... I knew that I'd be very unlikely to get a job that was as well paid... There was just so much competition"*. Thus, pursuing entrepreneurship was used by our case study participants as a means of selectively avoiding the negative emotional effect of ageism in the workplace, and as per SST, social choices (in this case work choices) were driven by the need to maximise positive and minimise negative affect. Further testimonies revealed that entrepreneurship offered an important means to simultaneously avoid not only the negative consequences of remaining in employment as an older person, but also the perceived negative consequences of retirement. Moira, Martin and John, for example, perceived their business as a means to slow down but continue to work at their own pace. Moira explained:

*"because of health issues I can't sit around and do nothing. I was turning into a couch potato...As long as I'm fit and capable of looking after the pets I'll continue to do so and that's a sort of circular thing, a snake's tail, because if I don't do it I'm going to seize up, so if I am doing it keeps me more active and more alert."*

Overall, in terms of RQ2, there is evidence of age specific socio-emotional drivers of older entrepreneurship, and the ways that socio-emotional considerations specific to older age have both driven and continue to shape the experiences of the older entrepreneurship practiced. Data reflecting the passage of time and the different needs of an older generation, evidence the utility of SST in understanding drivers of older people's employment choices in particular; specifically, as 'perceived time left' diminishes, the remaining time becomes more valuable, thus it becomes increasingly important for well-being to avoid wasting this time in working conditions and relationships that generate negative affect. Our findings therefore support the application of SST principles to understanding not only the factors that influence social choices in older adulthood more generally, but also how these influence the specific choices made in older age about work in particular.

### ***Discussion***

The data reported in this study provides evidence that older entrepreneurship has an association with the five age-related work motivation factors described in Kooij et al. (2008; 2011) and the socio emotional drivers in Social Emotional Selectivity Theory (Carstensen, 1991; 1993; 1995). First, it seems that *Chronological Age* and *Organisational Age* can impact the desire to leave working for an employer, and the decision to pursue entrepreneurship. For participants in this research, Chronological Age factors and the itinerant financial position they were in – reasonably secure and with little ongoing responsibility – afforded an opportunity to cease working in employment. Rather than work part-time or even give up work, these individuals had chosen to start a business, even when there was no financial imperative, such as case participants John, Lin, Tracy and Martin. In line with Singh and Denoble (2003) and Kautonen (2012), where there was financial imperative, as for Moira and Jenny, entrepreneurship afforded the opportunity to leave employment in which they were dissatisfied as well as allowing for more flexibility around work and lifestyle outcomes. Similarly, the ability to work part-time was also cited by Moira and Jenny as an opportunity not feasible prior to retirement and pension, as was, in accordance with Loretto and White (2006) and Harms et al. (2014), the avoidance of further employment where age discrimination was anticipated. *Functional Age* was evidenced in the widespread desire to 'slow down' but to continue to use skills. The desire to contribute socially and otherwise, such as was articulated by John with his investments, Martin with his voluntary work, and Jenny in her consultancy is also resonant of the effects of *Psychosocial Age*. Lastly, in terms of the effects of *Lifespan*

*Age* on the entrepreneurship observed in this study, there was much evidence, including desire to spend time with partners, grandchildren, take care of older relatives, or as in Tracy's case, all of these.

The data reported in this study also supports findings in Kooij et al. (2011) meta-analysis as well as findings by Vandemaele and Vancauteran (2015) that finds intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivators dominate older peoples' work choices. In contrast to economic approaches that attribute financial criteria to opportunity identification, extrinsic motives were not found to be drivers of entrepreneurship for the older entrepreneurs in this research (no-one talked about seeking wealth, recognition or prestige, for example). For our participants, drivers were mostly intrinsic, with repeated mention of motives such as achievement, fulfilment and relationships as highlighted by Hessels et al. (2008) and Morris et al. (2006) in the general entrepreneurship literature.

In terms of the application of SST to older entrepreneurship, there is much evidence in this study of socioemotional resonant factors. Evidence relating to unwillingness to spend time tolerating difficult work relationships and conditions in employment was cited along with assertions about the benefits of entrepreneurship within the 'time left' in older age. Similarly, the pursuit of working environments that maximise the potential for positive affect and minimise the potential for negative affect, as per SST, was also observed. Testimonies also revealed that entrepreneurship offered a means to avoid the perceived negative consequences of retirement. In concert with Benson and Tang (2011), affect influenced our participants' opportunity identification and motivations to venture into business. For example, entrepreneurship was seen as a means of achieving the need to remain mentally, physically, and socially engaged with the older entrepreneurs selectively attending to positive factors that are important to their enjoyment in older age, including activities related to health and well-being.

On a very positive note, entrepreneurship as a work context emerges as somewhat ideal in terms of affording some of the intrinsic outcomes desired in older age. Therefore, it would appear that entrepreneurship has enabled the older people in this study to construct their social environments in a way that maximises the potential for positive affect, and minimises the potential for negative affect, both in and out of work, thereby "increasing the odds that they will regulate the emotional climate, which may, at the end of life, represent the supreme social goal" (Baltes and Carstensen 1999, p.216).

## Contribution to Entrepreneurship Research

In the entrepreneurship research domain, it tends to be assumed that entrepreneurship is, at least to some extent, financially and extrinsically motivated. Alternatively, in this study intrinsic socio-emotional drivers seem more prevalent amongst the sample of older entrepreneurs, and in some cases financial drivers were entirely absent. Second, while flexibility, family and lifestyle are acknowledged in the entrepreneurship literature generally as motivators, we find consistent references to them as underpinning both the motivations and ongoing experiences of entrepreneurship for the older participants in this research. There is suggestion also that lack of availability of these in waged contexts acts as a deterrent to employment.

We suggest that the choices older people make in terms of whether or not to retire, and what type and context of work they aspire to, involve more factors than just those that relate to working life, and that control, work-life balance, family, and fulfilment through enjoyment, ongoing functioning, contribution and engagement are key elements. In older life, with reduced financial responsibilities, and in some cases, alternative incomes such as savings and pensions, some may choose work that is most socially and emotionally appealing rather than financially rewarding, and entrepreneurship therefore may be selected not as an economically rational work choice, but as a means to achieve these. Our finding that entrepreneurship is being used as a means by which to facilitate *reduced* focus on financial value generation sits entirely in opposition to economic theories of entrepreneurship that assume financial drivers and mandate financial outcomes as success. This suggests a research agenda within entrepreneurship studies that allows for financial drivers to be secondary or even absent. We therefore support calls, such as those in Shinnar and Young (2008) and Wainwright, et al (2011), that research that engages meaningfully with non-financial drivers and outcomes of entrepreneurship is required.

In line with this, our study also sets the scene for further research using psychological measures that are little explored in business studies. Psychological profiling amongst older entrepreneurs might be revealing in terms of identifying if there is an older entrepreneur 'type'. Additionally, methods which measure motivations below the level of conscious awareness could be tailored specifically to work contexts, to reveal further psychological insight into understanding and harnessing drivers of entrepreneurship, including specific age-relevant work association tests or thematic perception tests. The themes revealed by such qualitative methods

could be used to inform further studies to explore which sectors of the older population are motivated to entrepreneurship, why they are so motivated, and which sectors present the greatest barriers.

### **Implications for Policy and Practice**

Findings from this study have implications for both employers and those who support entrepreneurship. First, from an employer's perspective, findings suggest that to retain older workers, they need to explore the nature of changing work needs with older age, and resource initiatives that accommodate these needs. For example, employers may need to acknowledge the importance of the carer (including grandparent) role to our increasingly ageing population, and develop policies to accommodate their flexible working needs. Additionally, perceptions of a lack of suitable job opportunities as a consequence of age discrimination was evidenced, as was feeling overlooked for job opportunities at equivalent salary levels, because of age. This suggests that employers who wish to retain older workers should be aware of ageism and develop policies to tackle it, such as providing training in unconscious age bias and ensuring that promotion and interview panels are balanced. If ageism is not addressed then employers are not only failing to harness the potential of an increasingly ageing workforce, they are failing to support and exploit opportunities to mutually benefit from an increasingly ageing population in general.

From an entrepreneurship perspective, there is evidence in this research of push for some participants from employment to entrepreneurship so that they might enjoy the rewards most sought and better facilitated by that context. Overall, the older business owners in our sample did not need or want the business support and advice that was aimed at entrepreneurs in general, including direct mention of having little need for finance or mentoring for example. For those who support older entrepreneurship, other attractions such as flexibility, work/family balance, and a desire to maintain functional age should be taken into account. Participants in this research also evidenced conscious and deliberate avoidance of business growth. Rather than approach support of older entrepreneurship from the premise that value creation will be financially motivated and oriented, policy and support may be most effective where it engages with and enables older persons' goals.

In terms of encouraging older entrepreneurship, our data highlight drivers, which if targeted by specific initiatives, could facilitate wider participation. This has implications in terms of opportunities for colleges,

universities and other human and social capital development agencies whereby older-age nascent entrepreneurs might comprise new markets. Profile-raising and celebration of older entrepreneurship as a knowledge-rich sector of socio-economic importance would promote awareness of the scope and value of its different faces, including businesses based on part-time, flexible hours, small business ownership, and businesses that are not growth-centric. These may be attractive to older adults who seek to continue to work, but on their own terms.

### ***Conclusions***

By applying a behavioural psychology-based approach to older entrepreneurship, we suggest that greater diversity of drivers are revealed. In a departure from economic theory, alternative explanations and indeed outcomes of older entrepreneurship emerge, including non-financial – even anti-financial – factors. We report from our sample of older-age entrepreneurs, much engagement and even joy associated with the ability to develop a business in later life. While there is limited evidence of job creation or contribution to GDP, economic factors are not absent. First, even amongst this small sample there are firms that employ others. Second, there is income, required or supplementary, generated for the venturers themselves. More impactful though is the evidence that the older entrepreneurship observed in this study contributes purpose, meaning and a sense of personal value to participants and is used by them not as a means to accumulate wealth, but rather to reduce economic participation to a level more commensurate to fulfilling the social and emotional priorities of older-age life.

There are limitations to this research of course. This research is cross-sectional and as such a similar study at a different time might have attracted different participants and elicited different data. Social and emotional rewards and the specific linkage of these with the older age of participants emerged from the three stages of this research as consistent themes though, and as a result we argue the research does provide some representation of the drivers and experiences of older entrepreneurs, at least in the UK, and signals that there is value to viewing older entrepreneurship through a socio-emotional lens. In this study, it has exposed some of the non-pecuniary attractions and experiences of older entrepreneurship that are not revealed by reliance on traditional investigations of, or rhetoric about, entrepreneurship that prioritise – even mandate – financial value-generation. While lifestyle factors are a feature for many entrepreneurs generally, there are rewards and

benefits that are specifically related to the context of older age. To encourage and support entrepreneurship in older people we will do well to take these into account.

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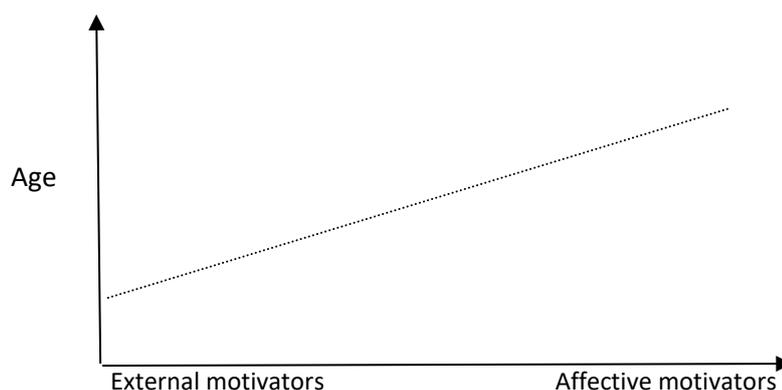
**Table 1.**

**Age-related Work Motivation Factors**

<b>Kooij, et al. (2008)</b>	
<b>Chronological or Calendar age</b>	Determines eligibility for retirement and pension; financial provision has a negative impact on the motivation to continue to work.
<b>Functional age (psychological and biological)</b>	Can have a positive and negative impact on the motivation to work; age-related development in cognitive abilities can result in high skills, but declining physical health can have a negative impact on the motivation to continue to work.
<b>Psychosocial age</b>	Relates to the perception of aging. Can have a negative effect on the motivation to perform new tasks, but generativity motives are often enhanced, suggesting that older people are more motivated to work in roles that include teaching and mentoring that support positive self-concept.
<b>Organisational age</b>	Refers to the length of time in a job or career. Can have a positive or negative impact; age-earning profiles where older workers are paid more are a positive incentive to continue to work, but career plateaus and reduced prospects for promotion can have a negative impact.
<b>Life span age</b>	One's stage in life can negatively impact the motivation to work as the role within the family and the increasing value placed on leisure have an impact.
<b>Kooij, et al. (2011)</b>	
<b>Intrinsic motivators</b>	Increase as one ages, whereby emotional wellbeing and relationships are prioritised over material and acquisitive ones.
<b>Extrinsic motivators</b>	Decrease in importance as one ages, reducing the desire to accumulate resources.

**Figure 1**

**Socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen, 1991; 1993; 1995)**



**Table 2.**

***Hierarchical Analysis of Emotional and Social Themes***

<b>Broad Theme</b>	<b>Sub-theme (1)</b>	<b>Sub-theme (2)</b>	<b>Sub-theme (3)</b>
Job related intrinsic drivers	Autonomy	Be own boss	Control over working hours
			Control over jobs undertaken
			Using skills/ experience
	Flexibility	Achieve Work life balance	Slowing down in older age
			Working at own pace
			Avoiding workplace conflict
	Remaining Active	Social engagement	Meeting new people
		Physical/ mental agility	Keeping busy/ mentally stimulated
	Satisfaction	Control over job	Working hours
			Choosing who to work with and when
		Achievement	Pride in starting a business
			Enjoying work
Non work related drivers	Enjoyment outside of work	Activities outside of work	Spend time with friends
			Volunteering
			Hobbies
			Leisure time
		Spending more time with loved ones	Looking after grandchildren
			Spending more time with retired spouse
			Helping elderly parents

**Table 3.****Age and Gender Distribution of Survey Respondents (N=70)**

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
50-59	23	18
60-69	14	14
70+	1	0

**Table 4.****Interview and Case Study Participants**

	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Age of Firm</b>	<b>No of Employees</b>	<b>Business Type</b>	
<b>Interviewees</b>						
Iain	M	60-70	2.5	1	Business Services	
Brenda	F	60-70	4	1	Business Services	
Colin	M	60-70	4	1	Business Services	
Peter	M	50-60	7	1	Business Services	
Ed	M	60-70	2.5	1	Business Services	
Fiona	F	50-60	3	2	Consumer Services	
Gwen	F	50-60	0.5	1	Consumer Services	
Helen	F	60-70	4	1	Manufacture	
Irene	F	60-70	3.5	1	Business Services	
Julie	F	60-70	12	1	Consumer Services	
Kate	F	50-60	5	3	Consumer Services	
Linda	F	50-60	1	1	Business Services	
Mark	M	60-70	4	4	Business Services	
<b>Case Studies</b>						
John	M	50-60	6	1	Business Services	Made redundant from financial sector at 50 and started an investment firm. Has no desire to retire, wants freedom and autonomy. Not financially dependent on the business.
Anne	F	60-70	4	1	Consumer Services	Started soft furnishing firm at age 60 when her husband's job relocated. Not financially

						dependent on the business and has no desire to grow it, but enjoys operating it and seeks to continue.
Lin	F	50-60	4	1	Consumer Services	Started a baby yoga business aged 50 rather than ongoing employment because she wanted to spend time with grandchildren. Started a second craft business last year which she operates concurrently. Does not need the income from the businesses.
Moira	F	60-70	4	1	Consumer Services	Retired at 60. Came out of retirement to start dog walking business when redundancy money ran out and pension not sufficient. Was isolated and bored in retirement. Chose business rather than employment for the flexibility.
Tracy	F	50-60	2	1	Consumer Services	Started sewing firm at 56. Wanted to work fewer hours and have more flexibility to enjoy herself and spend time with family. Not financially reliant on the firm.
Martin	M	50-60	4	6	Business Services	Resigned from employment in engineering looking for a new challenge, and started a head-hunting firm at 55. Not financially dependent on the business. Combines business with family, volunteering, council work.
Jenny	F	60-70	3	1	Business Services	Retired at 62 from third sector. Started third sector consultancy to augment income. Chose entrepreneurship as she sought flexibility and wanted to spend time with family.

**Table 5.**

***Survey Responses to "What were the reasons for starting your business?"***

<b>Response</b>	<b>N=70</b>
To use my skills	43
To be my own boss	33
Wanted more independence	30
For my own satisfaction and growth	30
To increase my income	28
Saw a business opportunity	27
To maintain my personal freedom	24
From dissatisfaction with previous employment	20

**Table 6.**

**Theoretical Analysis (Kooij et al. 2008; 2011)**

<p><b>Chronological or Calendar age</b></p>	<p>“I need the money and also I can’t sit around and do nothing. So the money and need to get out and do something and meet people, those are paramount things in this decision” (Moir)</p> <p>“I suppose I’m doing it partly for the money but really I’m doing it more to keep myself active and because I really enjoy it as well.” (Colin)</p> <p>“I’m in it just to earn a little bit of extra cash on top” (Lin)</p> <p>“I always had money to give to other people...for holidays and that’s what I enjoy doing....And now as the money is coming in, it pays for the things I want to” (Lin)</p>
<p><b>Functional age (Psychological and Biological)</b></p>	<p>“You know it has kept me involved ... I wanted to carry on my expertise...I’ve loved what I’ve done over the past 20 years in various organizations” (Jenny)</p> <p>Desire to keep active</p> <p>“As long as I’m fit and capable of looking after the pets I’ll continue to do so and that’s a sort of circular thing, a snake’s tail, because if I don’t do it I’m going to seize up,so if I am doing it keeps me more active and more alert” (Moir)</p> <p>“I’m not thinking about retirement...I’ve got enough to keep me occupied and busy and stimulated... but I have a need to get out [to work] because I’d go bloody stir crazy otherwise” (Martin)</p> <p>“I needed to get out of the house because I was turning into a couch potato who was sitting watching television...not keeping in contact with my friends for example. So now I’m getting exercise, working with animals that I’ve always loved and I’m meeting new people” (Moir)</p>
<p><b>Psychosocial Age</b></p>	<p>“I do a bit of graduate career guidance. I am a member of a de-facto board set up by my local county council which is about investment in the county.... So yeah I do that too and I get quite a kick out of that...I do what I enjoy and also give something back...” (Martin)</p> <p>“There is the feeling of achievement and having done something for myself. It’s a tiny little business but you know just from having the idea in my head... doing it ... I think there’s more achievement, more satisfaction from that” (Peter).</p> <p>“I want to prove I can do it for myself...so I could say to myself I’m not riding on the back of a corporation” (Martin).</p> <p>“The motivation behind the business I guess was I wanted to use my expertise to make a difference... it’s quite nice to feel that perhaps you can help some people” (Jenny)</p> <p>“I’d rather still work. I don’t want to be not working. I don’t want to be sort of just trying to find things to do to pass the time... because I think without going out to work you kind of lose your purpose in life” (Mark).</p>
<p><b>Organisational Age</b></p>	<p>“Me and a new chief executive had a falling out ...so I left at the age of 50 and wasn’t quite sure what I was going to do... I didn’t want to stay in the corporate world... I’m not so desperate for money as...you are when buying your first house and stuff like that...” (Martin)</p> <p>“I was aware of my age... I knew that I’d be very unlikely to get a job that was as well paid... There was just so much competition... there were quite a lot of job opportunities full time but I didn’t want to work full time” (Tracy)</p> <p>“I’m over 60 and although I tried for several months to get work I am completely convinced that my age was held against me. My experience meant nothing as far as I’m concerned from the interviews that I had... I was tired of being rejected for jobs. I was past my sell by date basically” (Moir)</p> <p>“I love being my own boss... I love being self-employed mainly because when I was working at the children’s centre it was always targets targets, you’ve got to meet your targets, you’ve got to prove this, you’ve got to have this date or you’ve got to do that” (Lin)</p> <p>“I had a troublesome relationship with the boss I had in the last place I worked. It was a very autocratic style and I just couldn’t cope with it. The older I got, the more upset about it I got” (Moir)</p> <p>“Not having to deal with some of the insufferable people I’ve had to in the past”(SR9)</p>

	"No stupid targets... and no excessive paperwork for the sake of paperwork" (SR64).
<b>Life Span Age</b>	<p>"My husband was already retired and you know we were just beginning to think that this time in our lives we were wanting to do something a bit more together" (Jenny)</p> <p>"I got married again and I lost two marriages, partially because I spent my life in aircraft and hotel rooms...We since had a child... I had children (before) who I almost didn't see for the first few years of their life and I didn't want to do that again. So...my priorities have changed" (Martin)</p>
<b>Intrinsic Motivators</b>	<p>"It works for me because I'll work when I want to work and I'll work for as long as I want to work... I can please myself time wise" (Moiria).</p> <p>"It's fantastically exciting. Whoever said that famous cliché of "if you focus on your passion job"...that's true. I'm almost feeling guilty every day as I'm enjoying myself"(Mark)</p> <p>"I like the fact that I can just do things around the weather. Like today I can, you know, do my washing and I can do gardening if I want... I really like that. I like the fact I can go for a walk...I like to go for a walk in winter on an afternoon and do a bit of work in the night" (Tracy)</p> <p>"When I was working part time they actually wanted me to go back into work [fulltime]... I have my grandson for my daughter and they wouldn't allow me to do the hours I needed in order to support my daughter" (Lin)</p> <p>"I mean it does suit my family as well...my mum has a bad back and I know I can take her for appointments...She knows I can do it...and doesn't have to worry about it.... The other advantage is that my mum likes to come and help me once a week...it gets her out of the house and... gives her a sense of worth" (Tracy)</p> <p>"My daughter is studying at home for an Open University degree. It suits her as she's sort of helping me with the business now. And I think it...suits my husband me being at home as well... I can do more housework through the week and spend weekends at home" (Tracy)</p> <p>Enjoyment</p> <p>"Last summer I decided to take the summer off, I made an active choice to take nearly six months off which was great for my personal sanity" (John)</p> <p>"Doing something you actually enjoy doing" (SR9)</p> <p>"time to smell the roses" (SR67)".</p>
<b>Extrinsic Motivators</b>	"You know this isn't making money for the sake of making money, it's finding projects that actually give me, you know, intellectual interest" (Martin)