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Mundane Practices of Tourism Development

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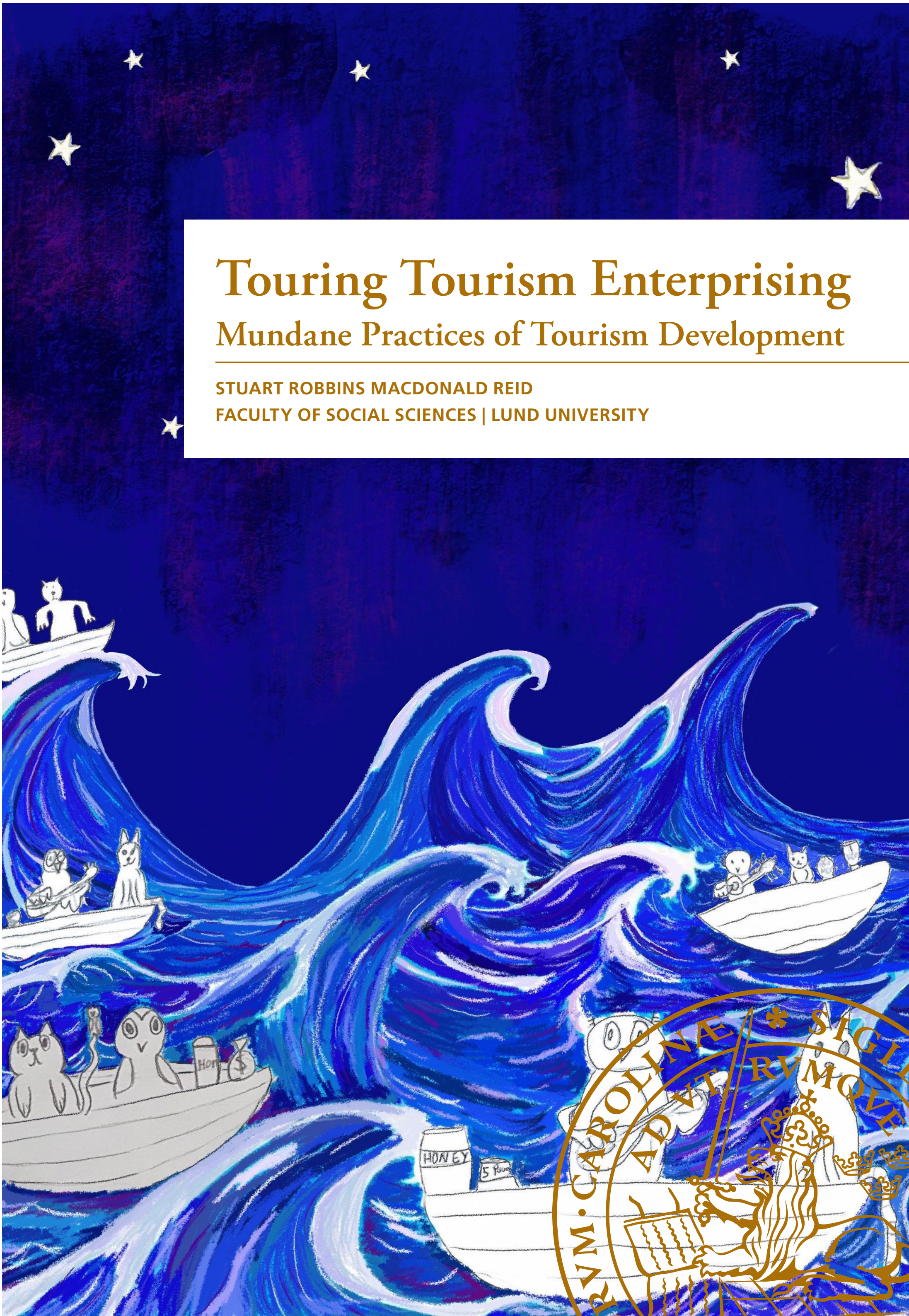

Touring Tourism Enterprising

Mundane Practices of Tourism Development

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES | LUND UNIVERSITY

Touring Tourism Enterprising

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Stuart Robbins Macdonald Reid

LUND UNIVERSITY

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Abstract
Tourism enterprises play a vital role in tourism development. This has inspired scholarly and policy interest in the workings of tourism enterprises, particularly the small enterprises that account for the majority. The heterogeneity of small enterprises presents challenging terrain for scholars and policymakers concerned to understand and manage enterprise development and tourism development. Scholars have called for more research to deepen understanding of tourism enterprises and tourism development. The question is how to approach this complex terrain in research and practice.

Recent lines of research suggest that answers may lay in the vicissitudes of practice. Entrepreneurship scholars have lately started to examine enterprises from the vantage of practice, the research concern shifting to the constructing action of enterprising. This vantage offers much promise to deepen understanding of tourism enterprises and tourism development. However, practice perspectives have rarely been used in studies of tourism enterprises and the link between enterprising practices and tourism development has not yet been made. Drawing inspiration from nascent practice perspectives lately emerging in entrepreneurship and tourism studies, this thesis takes up the practice modality of enterprising to explore the terrain of tourism enterprises and tourism development.

Using a multimethod qualitative approach, the thesis tours sites of enterprising action to offer another view of tourism enterprises and tourism development. Visiting the enterprising action of innovating, constructing, performing, intervening, and reflecting, the tour sheds light on the everyday action of enterprising to unfold an image of mundane tourism development. Orienting to the vicissitudes of enterprising practice, this thesis provides another view of tourism enterprises and tourism development, opening new avenues for research and practice.

Enterprising carries ontological, epistemological, and methodological implications for research. It urges for post-disciplinary research approaches characterised by theoretical and methodological diversity geared to producing practicable knowledge through close encounters with the vicissitudes of practice. Enterprising and mundane tourism development are travelling concepts with transformative potential – not conceptual destinations, but concepts to inspire further travel.

Keywords: enterprises, enterprising, mundane, practice, tourism development

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To family, past and present

Contents

Acknowledgements

We might never know whether art imitates life or life imitates art, and the answer is practically beside the point. As in the causality dilemma of ‘the chicken and the egg’, we can choose to start with either. Art is as good as any place to start, so for no reason, I shall start with art.

One upon a time in a dystopian future, a tribe of blind folk set out on a perilous journey, as told in the 2019 dystopian science fiction series titled ‘See’; as they contemplate that undertaking, Princess Maghra remarks: “The longer the journey, the more profound its challenges, the more it changes all who endure it” (Lawrence, Knight, Chernin, Topping, & Campo, 2019). Although these travellers cannot see the land through which they pass, the transformation of travel remains – journeys mark those who partake of them. The same can be said here. Too many have partaken of this journey to remark upon them all, so I will limit my remarks to those who have been most marked over its course.

First among these is my family, who had to endure the whole journey. To my wife Samantha and my children Alice, George, and Megan, you are my most valued travelling companions. I can only say ‘thank you’ for sticking with me through this journey. Your voices guided me in the darkness and your hands led me when I was lost. I could not have completed this journey without you.

Second among these are my good friends. One great thing about travelling is the good folk one meets along the way, and I have been most fortunate to meet and befriend some good folk in this journey. In no order, for there is but one rank among good friends, I wish to thank Vivek Sundriyal, Merrilyn Sundriyal, Olga Rauhut Kompaniets, Daniel Rauhut, Mia Larson, Richard Ek, Jutta Bolt, Herbert Schouten, Zaki Habibi, Hayu Hamemayu, John Woodlock, Lisa Fuesz, Peter Fuesz, Albert Buzassy, Lorinç Antoni, and Adrienn Borbély Antoni. You brightened my journey and lightened the load. Thank you for helping me to continue this journey.

Next, I must remark upon the colleagues who have been caught up in this journey. First, I must mention close colleagues who encouraged and supported me at points along the way. Notable among these, again in no order, I wish to thank Maria Månsson, Elin Bommenel, Malin Andersson, Micol Mieli, Aurimas Pumputis, Samantha Hyler and Devrim Umut Aslan. I should like to single out my travel guide and mentor, the indefatigable Ida Wingren, whose sunny disposition is simply delightful and remarkable, and who, despite not always being present, somehow managed to never lose sight of her mentee and was always close to hand when needed. Secondly, I must mention those colleagues who removed all sorts of obstacles from my path, particularly Gunilla Steen, Carina Carlsson and Veronica Åberg, whose administrative expertise and kind words and deeds smoothed the way ahead so many times. I should also not neglect to salute the support of senior colleagues Mattias Wengelin, Johan Alvehus, and Hervé Corvellec who all helped me in vital ways. I could not wish for better supporters. I must here also note trusty technical supporters Mikael Eskeröd, Daniel Göransson and Lars Mott for keeping my computer functioning, and librarian Sara Rondahl who answered my many tricky referencing questions.

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Last, but by no means least, I must mention the four supervisors who invested much time and energy into my journey. To Erica Andersson Cederholm and Carina Sjöholm, who got things underway and guided me through the first half of this journey, no thanks can be enough. To Hervé Corvellec and Johan Hultman, who guided me over the second half, I shall remain ever grateful to you for imparting the vital momentum to reach this journey’s end. I count myself fortunate to have met Hervé Corvellec who truly understands the art of travel.

The end of any journey is but a liminal moment. As one journey ends, another begins. Though destinations change, the travelling remains. What matters then, is not the destination but the art of travel. Bon voyage!

Stuart Reid
LUND, SWEDEN

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Artwork by Luis Høeg Ortiz including drawings by Megan Jane Reid
Figure 1. The Hotel – where the tour starts

1. Introducing the Tour

Tour Background

Tourism is a remarkable and significant phenomenon, making it important to understand. The development of tourism has been remarkably rapid. The golden age of tourism development that dawned in the middle of the 20th century has gathered steam (Harrop, 1973; Sezgin & Yolal, 2012), accelerating through the remainder of the century and into the next. Tourism has become one of the world's largest and most important industries (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2013, 2019). Tourism has been seen as a driver of economic development in many places and countries in the world for quite some time. The early promise of tourism as a source of economic development (Kershaw & Lickorish, 1950) has been realised many times over as the modern tourism boom has unfolded, cementing the view of tourism as driver of development at national, regional and local scales (Haxton, 2015; Sharpley, 2002).

Of course, the rise of tourism has not been all 'plain sailing', and the economic development boon of tourism has faced risks and challenges. From the 1980s scholars identified that tourism had environmental and social effects (e.g., Cohen, 1978; Kousis, 1989). More broadly, since the 1980s it has been recognised that economic development comes with environmental and social risks (Brundtland, 1987; United Nations World Tourism Organisation, 1980), the formative policy ideal of sustainable development inspiring interest to develop tourism sustainably (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP], 2003; UNEP and UNWTO, 2005), gradually transmogrifying into the goal of sustainable development through tourism (Liburd, 2010; UNWTO, 2021). Indeed, since 1980, World Tourism Day has celebrated the contribution of tourism development to sustainable development, most recently expressed in the UN Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda (United Nations, 2016; UNWTO, 2021). As the UNWTO says, "Tourism creates jobs, promotes local culture and products, works in the sustainable use and management of the environment, like marine resources, and improves measures to make tourism an inclusive experience for all” (UNWTO, 2021). Yet it remains known that tourism development carries both benefits and risk of harm, the net result depending on how tourism development happens. The underlying issue is how to practically effect sustainable development through tourism (Gössling, Hall, Ekström, Engeset, & Aall, 2012). Addressing this question calls for understanding of how tourism development practically happens, and it is this pressing practical question that broadly inspires this compilation thesis.

This pressing practical question has grown more pressing over time. The rising scope and scale of tourism activity has magnified its effects in society, inspiring rising levels of scholarly, policy and public interest in tourism and its development. In just over 100 years, and particularly over the last 50, tourism scholarship has proliferated. An increasing number of scholars have been drawn to study the remarkable phenomenon of tourism from almost every conceivable angle, evolving an expanding body of interdisciplinary research spanning geography, economics, sociology, and organisational studies (Page & Connell, 2010). The depth and breadth of this work attests to the social significance of tourism and its development.

As tourism development has accelerated, it has attracted more and more attention in policy, indirect policy attention giving way to increasingly focused and sophisticated tourism policies from the 1980s (Airey, 1983; Hall, 2008; Haxton, 2015), growing recognition of the link between tourism and economic development inspiring tourism development policies at national, regional and local scales (Haxton, 2015; Sharpley, 2002), along with the institutionalisation of tourism destinations, the rise of destination marketing and branding and proliferation of Destination Marketing Organisations (DMOs) (Pike, 2004a, 2004b). Even more recently, tourism development has become an increasingly central topic of sometimes divisive public debate, even inspiring the evolution of new languages such as ‘flight-shaming’ (Pesce, 2019; Timperley, 2019), ‘over-tourism’ and ‘tourism-phobia’ (Martins, 2018), more lately joined by ‘covid passes’ and ‘travel bubbles’, reflecting widespread public concern over how to safely restart tourism and reignite tourism development in the wake of Covid19 (Association International D’Experts Scientific Du Tourisme [AIEST], 2020; OECD, 2021a).

The disruption due to Covid19 has served to refocus attention on the importance of tourism and the need to deepen understanding of tourism development. Policymakers have grappled with how to support inclusive and sustainable recovery (OECD, 2021a), scholars have speculated over possible recovery trajectories (Laesser, Stettler, Beritelli, & Bieger, 2021), and discussions of envisaged tourism futures have been framed by debates over alternative development paradigms (Dwyer, 2018; Seyfi & Hall, 2020). These discussions and debates serve to both underscore the importance of tourism development and highlight the pressing matter of how to manage it. Regardless of the chosen course, the paradigmatic debate over the ends to which the ship of tourism development might sail, there remains the practical matter of how to effect course changes in any direction (Gössling et al., 2012). The concern, then, is not so much the matter of deciding among the possible directions in which the ship of tourism development might sail, but the mundane matter of finding out which levers to pull to steer in any direction. It is at this level that this thesis offers a modest contribution to the scholarly and policy conversations about tourism development. Entering the confluence of tourism development and tourism enterprise development, this thesis tours the terrain of tourism development at ground level, seeking to understand more about the tourism enterprises that shape the course of tourism development.

It stands to reason that understanding more about tourism enterprises can furnish insights into tourism development. Tourism enterprises are recognised as important actors in tourism systems (Laesser et al., 2021; Leiper, 1979) and the link between enterprise development and tourism development has been recognised since the late 1980s (Shaw & Williams, 1987, 1990; A. M. Williams, Shaw, & Greenwood, 1989). These links have inspired much recent interest in the formation and development of tourism enterprises, the workings of small tourism firms and their relationship to tourism development. There has, for example, been increased interest in understanding workings of the small tourism enterprises, which account for the vast majority of tourism enterprises (e.g., Morrison, Carlsen, & Weber, 2010; Thomas, 2000, 2004; Thomas, Friel, Jameson, & Parsons, 1997) and calls for more research into small tourism firms (Thomas, Shaw, & Page, 2011). It has also been recognised that the phenomenon of lifestyle entrepreneurship, common in small tourism enterprises, complicates understanding of enterprise development (Ioannides & Petersen, 2003), muddying the relationship between enterprise development and tourism development (McGinn, 2005; Page, Forer, & Lawton, 1999; Shaw & Williams, 1987, 1998). Firm innovation, lifestyle enterprises, and agritourism development have all become hot topics of interest in both policy and scholarship.

Despite much recent work, more remains to be done. Entrepreneurship and innovation remain relatively new subfields of tourism studies, both in need of further elaboration (Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2010; Liu & Enz, 2016). There remains scope for new approaches to advance understanding of tourism enterprise development, particularly in relation to small enterprises. A promising possibility is found in the nascent line of practice-theoretic scholarship lately taking root in entrepreneurship studies (Teague, Tunstall, Champenois, & Gartner, 2021; Thompson, Verduijn, & Gartner, 2020), this development shifting attention from entrepreneurship to the creative action of enterprising. Concern with the action of enterprising has been rare in studies of tourism enterprises, the vantage of enterprising only lately being raised by a few leading sociological scholars concerned to shed more light on the action of lifestyle enterprising (Cederholm, 2015, 2018; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016). While these sociological approaches have illuminated the value of approaching enterprising as a matter of practice, practice-theoretic approaches have rarely been used in studies of tourism enterprises (Çakmak, Lie, Selwyn, & Leeuwis, 2021; Reid, 2020), and practice views of tourism development remain virtually unexplored. Although the link between entrepreneurship and tourism development has been recognised, and although enterprising has lately been used to good effect in studies of lifestyle enterprises (e.g., Cederholm, 2015, 2018), the practice modality of enterprising remains underutilised in studies of tourism enterprises, and the link to tourism development is yet to be made. Despite offering much promise, practice does not seem to have penetrated tourism studies to any appreciable extent. This thesis enters this novel terrain, using the practice-theoretic modality of enterprising to explore the action of tourism enterprises shaping the course of tourism development.

So, although this compilation thesis joins many scholarly, policy and practical conversations concerned to understand tourism enterprises and tourism development, it does so from a different vantage, entering the terrain of tourism development through enterprising. The proposition is that we may gain new insights into tourism development by understanding how tourism enterprises practically happen through enterprising, and the practice-theoretic vantage of enterprising brings epistemological and methodological implications for the enterprises of research.

Tour Objectives: Aims and Contributions

This compilation thesis offers a tour of tourism enterprising, to shed new light on tourism enterprises and tourism development. The tour takes in five stops; each visits a different site of enterprising to explore how tourism enterprises practically happen, visiting the action of innovating, constructing, performing, intervening, asking after (1) the practical mechanics of innovation, (2) the practical and (3) performative logics of lifestyle enterprising, (4) the practicalities of intervening in tourism enterprise development and (5) the gender positions affecting research in tourism enterprising.

Formally, this compilation thesis seeks to understand the formation and development of tourism enterprises and what this means for our understanding of tourism development by simply asking an overarching question of *how do tourism enterprises practically happen?* It seeks to shed light on this puzzle by asking five questions about tourism enterprises, these five questions focusing on the action of enterprising:

1. *How does innovating happen in tourism enterprises?*
2. *How do enterprisers construct tourism lifestyle enterprising?*
3. *How do enterprisers perform tourism lifestyle enterprising?*
4. *How can university extension support tourism enterprising?*
5. *How do masculinities affect tourism enterprising research?*

The five papers presented in this compilation thesis afford insights into the making of small tourism enterprises that shape the course of tourism development. The papers show how enterprising offers another view of tourism enterprises and tourism development, and how the modality of enterprising affects the enterprises of research.

Enterprising invites reflection over the enterprises of research, which may be seen as practices of knowledge-making. Here, forms of presentation are part of the knowledge-making, choice of form becoming a methodology of knowledge production. The reflexive question, formally posed, is to ask: *How do forms of representation work to make knowledge?* This thesis seeks to also contemplate this reflexive question. Thus, I have chosen to use a travel metaphor and art as devices in knowledge-making, to both illustrate and contemplate presentational form as a methodological device in the knowledge-making enterprise of research.

An Invitation to Travel

This compilation thesis issues an invitation to travel, to join a novel tour of tourism enterprising and risk being changed by the journey. Travel inheres transformative potentials, invoking dialectic tensions between viewer and view, not merely effecting a change of scene but also invoking changes in the traveller. The transformation of travel is a central theme in Homer's *Odyssey*. Visiting strange places, Odysseus confronts estrangement in travel, provoking self-reflection and personal development, such that after the 10-year journey Odysseus returns home changed (Johnstone, 1978). Following the travel thematic, the Tour of Tourism Enterprising issues an invitation to travel, to join in an intellectual journey and risk being changed by this journey. Inspiration for the invitation can be found in Baudelaire's *L'invitation au voyage* (Baudelaire, 1983, pp. 58-59) – a poem urging us to visit an ideal place and be transformed by an ideal. To wit, this thesis invites you to join in a tour of tourism enterprising, and encounter tourism enterprises and tourism development – and even the enterprise of research – in another way. Travelling in another way, we stand to gain the benefit of another view of the terrain.

Travel Compendium

This section outlines this compilation thesis. It is the Travel Compendium for the Tour of Tourism Enterprising.

Tour Overview: Thesis at-a-glance

This compilation thesis contains seven chapters: an introductory chapter outlining the theoretical, methodological, and epistemological foundations of the thesis; five chapters introducing each of the papers included in this thesis; and a concluding chapter summarising the contributions and implications (Table 1). Chapter 1 provides background about this tour and its rationale, describing the production of the tour and the terrain through which it travels. In other words, it outlines the fields of interest, the conceptual rationale of the thesis, and its theoretical and methodological foundations. Chapters 2-6 are where the Tour of Tourism Enterprising happens, presenting five papers visiting five sites of enterprising to peer into the practical workings of tourism enterprises shaping the course of tourism development. Chapter 7 then recaps the tour highlights and the memories we might take from it; and so, presents the contributions of this thesis.

Tour Itinerary: Five Stops, Five Papers

The Tour contains five stops, each illuminating the action of enterprising forming tourism enterprises and shaping tourism development. The stops present the three journal articles, one conference paper, and one book chapter which comprise this compilation thesis (Table 1).

Table 1. Tour Itinerary: Thesis at a Glance

Tour Stop (Chapter)	Paper Presented	Theory	Methodology
Tour Stop 1: Innovating (Chapter 2)	Reid (2019). Wonderment in tourism land: Three tales of innovation. *Journal of Teaching in Travel & Tourism, 19*(1), 79-92.	Innovation theory, narratives, knowledge construction	Approach: qualitative case study (3 innovation cases, Australia) Methods: (remote) interviews and documents
Tour Stop 2: Constructing (Chapter 3)	Reid (2020). The generative principles of lifestyle enterprising: Dialectic entanglements of capital-habitus-field. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, *27*(3), 629-647.	Bourdieu's sociology: fields, capitals, habitus	Approach: qualitative case study (6 lifestyle enterprises, Sweden) Methods: interviews, observations, go-alongs
Tour Stop 3: Performing (Chapter 4)	Reid (2021b). *People making things happen: Visiting the interaction of lifestyle enterprising*. Paper presented at the 37th EGOS Colloquium (sub-theme 51 Organization-in-creation: The processes and practices of entrepreneuring), Vrije Universitet, Amsterdam.	Goffman's micro sociology, enterprise performance	Approach: micro case study (1 case of lifestyle enterprising, Sweden) Methods: detailed (covert) observation
Tour Stop 4: Intervening (Chapter 5)	Reid (2018). University extension and tourism entrepreneurship: A rare Australian case. *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport & Tourism Education*, *23*, 10-17.	Institutional theory: university extension and third mission	Approach: in-depth case study (1 case of University Extension, Australia. 89 enterprises) Methods: participatory research, interviews, observations (and documents)
Tour Stop 5: Reflecting (Chapter 6)	Reid (2021a). Finding gender at the intersection of family and field: Family presences in Sweden. In B. A. Porter, H. A. Schanzel, & J. M. Cheer (Eds.), *Masculinities in the field: Tourism and transdisciplinary research* (pp. 189-205). Bristol: Channel View Publications.	Gender: masculinities and family, knowledge construction	Approach: self-reflection (at 17 enterprises) Methods: Self-reflections on fieldwork

Travel Guide: Thesis Structure

The remainder of Chapter 1 provides conceptual and methodological background to the papers presented at each of the tour stops. The first part orients readers to the terrain, which is tourism enterprises and tourism development. The next part introduces the means of transportation, being the practice-centric modality of enterprising. The final section provides an account of the research methodology, explaining how the tour was constructed, describing site selection, data collection and analysis, and the ethical considerations affecting the research.

Chapters 2 to 6 unfold the Tour of Tourism Enterprising. visiting five sites of enterprising through the five papers presented in this compilation thesis. Chapter 7 then concludes the Tour, summing up the sites visited in the Tour and the memories we might take from it, this chapter highlighting the findings and contributions, and the conceptual, epistemological, and methodological implications for understanding and engaging with tourism enterprises and tourism development. In keeping with the circular character of a tour, this arrival point is also the point of embarkation, a point from which new journeys beckon. Thus, this tour concludes with an invitation to travel.

Terrain Orientation: Tourism Enterprises and Tourism Development

This section describes the terrain of our tour, which is tourism enterprises and tourism development. It sets out the relationship between tourism development and enterprise development and explains why it is important to understand the workings of tourism enterprises.

Tourism Enterprises and Tourism Development

Though attention often turns to the circular traveller at the mention of the word tourism (Leiper, 1983), enterprisers are important actors in tourism systems (Leiper, 1979), shaping the course of tourism development. Indeed, it is the enterpriser Thomas Cook who is regarded as the father of modern tourism for setting up the first travel agency, Cook & Son, in 1841 (Holloway & Humphreys, 2012; Norah, 2019; Sezgin & Yolal, 2012). Seizing upon innovation potential of improved rail services to offer pre-planned tours across Europe (Brendon, 1991; Holloway & Humphreys, 2012), Cook set in motion the development of modern mass tourism (Norah, 2019; Sezgin & Yolal, 2012). Indeed, Cook epitomizes Schumpeter's entrepreneur, an innovator disrupting markets and spurring economic development (Schumpeter, 1934). By effecting the "paradigm innovation" (Tidd & Bessant, 2013) of pre-planned travel, Cook created a whole new market, setting in motion the development of modern mass tourism (Sezgin & Yolal, 2012). This enterprise did not merely enable tourism in the sense of meeting some heretofore unmet demand for travel, but practically triggered the formation of new demand driving tourism development. The enterprise became a global giant, affecting tourism activity for nearly two centuries (Brendon, 1991; Prescott & Gillett, 2019) – the modern significance of this enterprise being amply demonstrated by the effects of the sudden closure of the 178-year-old firm in 2019, which grounded 34 planes, rendered 22,000 employees jobless, stranded 150,000 British tourists, and directly affected some 500,000 customers around the world (BBC News, 2019a), disrupting tourism activity and affecting inter-linked businesses (Prior, 2019) across 60 destinations around the world (BBC News, 2019b). Notably, it was not undone by any lack of tourists, but by rising international competition wrought by enterprising rivals. The tale of Thomas Cook underscores the vicissitudes of tourism and the role of tourism enterprises in tourism development.

Thomas Cook is by no means an isolated example. For instance, there is the enterpriser Gérard Blitz, who founded Club Med resorts and pioneered the concept of all-inclusive resort holidays (Club Med, 2021b). Registering Club Méditerranée in 1950 and using tents supplied by Gilbert Trigano, Blitz realised the concept of a holiday village (Club Med, 2021b). He thereby introduced all-inclusive resort holidays to the world – this innovation laying the foundation for a global enterprise with more than 80 holiday resorts spread across the globe (Club Med, 2021a). A more recent example is that of Herb Kelleher and Rollin King, who developed the concept for affordable air travel, with the establishment of Southwest Airlines in 1967 introducing the concept of low-cost air travel to the world and making it into one of the largest airlines in the world (Flynn, 1996; Southwest Airlines, 2007). This innovative concept was later expanded and extended by notable enterprisers such as Richard Branson, who founded Virgin Atlantic Airlines in 1984 after a delayed flight activated his quest to develop reliable and affordable air services (Kachroo-Levine, 2019); Bjørn Kjos, who pioneered low-cost transatlantic air travel by founding Norwegian Air Shuttle in 1993, now the largest airline in Norway and among the largest low-cost airlines in Europe (Norwegian, 2021); and

Stelios Haji-Ioannou, who founded easyJet, launching flights from London and Luton to Glasgow and Edinburgh in November 1995 (Singh, 2019) under the slogan of "making flying as affordable as a pair of jeans" (easyJet, 2021). These examples illustrate the role of tourism enterprising in the development of tourism, and shaping the world as we know it.

Terrain Orientation: Tourism Development and Economic Development

Policy and scholarly interest in the development of tourism and recognition of the role of tourism enterprises can be traced to the 1950s (Gilbert, 2004; Kershaw & Lickorish, 1950), when tourism was regarded as a "comparatively modern economic activity" (Kershaw & Lickorish, 1950, p. 3) in need of development to "help solve the economic problems of the western world" (Kershaw & Lickorish, 1950, p. 4). As the modern tourism boom unfolded, tourism became an increasingly important source of foreign exchange, employment, and investment (Harrop, 1973). The rising significance of tourism attracted increasing attention in policy, with indirect policy attention giving way to focused tourism development policies from the 1980s (Airey, 1983; Gilbert, 2004).

Recognition of social and environmental effects of tourism (Cohen, 1978, 1984), along with general concern over the sustainability of development (Brundtland, 1987), inspired concern to develop tourism sustainably (Bramwell & Lane, 1993), the notion of sustainable tourism development evolving into sustainable development through tourism (Liburd, 2010), which as Liburd (2010, p. 5) explains, appeared in 1997 in Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry statement that tourism was "a form of economic development that should improve the quality of life of the host community, provide a high quality of experience for the visitor, and maintain the quality of the environment". More recently, tourism has been seen as a means to attain UN Sustainable Development Goals in Agenda 2030 and the basis for celebrating World Tourism Day (UNWTO, 2012, 2021).

Tourism has come to be seen as a vehicle of development (Sharpley, 2002), the link between tourism and development inspiring tourism and enterprise development policies at national, regional, and local scales (Airey, 1983; Haxton, 2015; Sharpley, 2002). These policies have taken various forms, lately including concern to support destination competitiveness through innovation, and support regional and rural revitalisation through agritourism. This has also inspired scholarly concern to understand the processes of innovation and entrepreneurship, particularly in relation to small enterprises that account for the bulk of tourism firms, particularly in rural areas.

Tourism Enterprises and Rural Development

Facing rising international competition stemming from neoliberal policy and globalisation (Tonts & Haslam-McKenzie, 2005), tourism has been increasingly seen as a way to support farms and sustain rural communities. As the OECD (Haxton, 2015, p. 45) describes, for many rural areas tourism development is seen as "a lever for economic development and growth" (Haxton, 2015, p. 45), the development of tourism being seen as a means to boost demand for agricultural products, sustain the long-term viability of primary production activities, and develop primary enterprises through diversification into agritourism (Haxton, 2015). Diversification into tourism to form agritourism enterprises has been seen as a way to support farms and sustain regional communities afflicted by adverse market developments and reduced commercial viability (also see Che, 2010; Reid, 2018). This thinking has extended to tourism development in other realms, such as viticulture and fishing, tourism becoming a common diversification strategy in wine regions (e.g., Alonso & Yi, 2010; Hall, Johnson, & Mitchell, 2000) and even in fisheries (Andersson, 2021).

Assorted tourism development policies have sought to encourage the formation of new tourism enterprises in rural areas, often through the provision of monetary incentives to encourage entrepreneurial in-migration to rural areas (Paniagua, 2002) or stimulate farm diversification into tourism (Hjalager, 1996). While much emphasis is often placed on financial incentives, and encouragement of networking, relatively less attention has been paid to other avenues of practical intervention, and particularly direct intervention through consultancy or education. This, despite recognition that varied personal motivations inspire the formation of tourism enterprises in rural areas (Andersson, Carlsen, & Getz, 2002; Getz & Petersen, 2005) and despite the common observation that enterprisers seem to lack relevant industry knowledge or experience (e.g., Shaw & Williams, 1987; Williams et al., 1989). This suggests a role for educators like universities, particularly through the direct intervention of university extension. Although university extension activity is commonly practised in rural settings, particularly in the United States (Roper & Hirth, 2005), university involvement in tourism enterprise development remains remarkably rare. Direct intervention in tourism enterprise development presents as an interesting area in need of further study. Thus, the question of how direct intervention might influence enterprise development is one question explored in this thesis (Reid, 2018).

Innovation and Tourism Development

In recent times, innovation has been a hot topic in tourism; so much so that it is almost a buzzword (Hjalager, 2010). Innovation has increasingly been seen as an important means to stimulate new product development and strengthen the competitiveness of firms and destinations, to facilitate firm and destination survival in the increasingly competitive landscape of global tourism (e.g., Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 1994; Hjalager, 2002; Sundbo, Orfila-Sintes, & Sørensen, 2007). Various tourism development policies have sought to stimulate innovation in tourism firms, initiatives including industry awards, provision of case studies, and exhortations to foster collaboration to support knowledge sharing (QTIC, 2015; UNWTO, 2015a, 2015b). The overarching aim of these policies is to facilitate the development of new and improved products and services, to build destination appeal and support the competitiveness and resilience of tourism firms and destinations (OECD, 2006, 2011), which is presently a key plank in sustainable post-Covid recovery (OECD, 2021b).

Consequently, firm innovation has attracted considerable attention in research, particularly in relation to small tourism firms which are considered to lack knowledge and resources to effect innovation (Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2002), among other things inspiring interest in innovation systems and networks as ways to facilitate access to knowledge and resources for innovation. Although tourism is seen as an innovative industry overall (Hjalager, 2002), there are significant barriers to innovation in tourism; low trust, high competition, high staff turnover, low skills and lack of access to knowledge and limited resources are all among the many barriers constraining innovation in tourism, particularly in the small tourism enterprises which constitute the majority (Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2002, 2010; Weidenfeld, Williams, & Butler, 2010). Lately, there has been more research to

> Touring Note
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> At the 'innovating' stop, Reid (2019) uses a narrative approach to explore rare feats of innovation in small tourism firms.

understand tourism innovation, particularly regarding small tourism firms, which face the most significant challenges to innovation (e.g. see: Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2010; OECD, 2006; OECD, 2010; Sundbo et al., 2007; Weidenfeld et al., 2010). Knowledge perspectives have emerged; examination of processes of building knowledge stocks offers a promising direction for research concerned to understand the knowledge-intensive process of innovation (Hjalager, 2002; Weidenfeld et al., 2010). The construction of knowledge in tourism enterprise innovation is topical and is an area in need of further elaboration; the topic is explored in this thesis (Paper 1: Reid 2019), which seeks to understand how enterprisers practically construct knowledge enabling innovation.

Lifestyle Entrepreneurship

Most tourism enterprises are small (Smith, 2006), often family-run, enterprises (Getz & Carlsen, 2005; Thomas, 2000, 2004). These small firms are important providers of services and enablers of tourism and drivers of economic development at local and regional levels (OECD, 2003; Smith, 2006). Lately there has been much interest in small firms in tourism (Getz & Petersen, 2005; Thomas, 2000, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011), and calls for more research (Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Getz, Carlsen, & Morrison, 2004; Thomas, 2000, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011). The heterogeneity of these firms makes them challenging terrain for policy and scholarship. Many, if not most, are lifestyle enterprises (Shaw & Williams, 1987; Williams et al., 1989).[1] Putting lifestyle ahead of business and showing a lack of desire to innovate and grow (e.g., see Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Morrison, 2006; Shaw & Williams, 1998), these small lifestyle enterprises "lack entrepreneurial intensity" (Morrison, 2006, p. 204), complicating efforts to stimulate enterprise development and destination development (e.g., Hjalager, 2002; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Shaw & Williams, 1987; Sundbo et al., 2007). The phenomenon of lifestyle entrepreneurship adds complexity to the landscape of small tourism firms and complicates tourism development (McGinn, 2005; Shaw & Williams, 1987, 1998; Williams et al., 1989).

Touring Note

The constructing (Reid, 2020), performing (Reid, 2021b), and reflecting (Reid, 2021a) stops all visit lifestyle enterprises.

[1] Lifestyle enterprise is not confined to tourism (Burns, 2001; de Wit Sandström, 2018; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Marcketti, Niehm, & Fuloria, 2006).

Terrain Orientation: Enterprising and Tourism Development

It has been recognised that enterprises are an important component of tourism systems (Leiper, 1979) and that tourism enterprises play an important role in tourism development (Shaw & Williams, 1987, 1990). Although large enterprises are major providers of services and major employers in tourism – for instance, within the European Union (EU), large enterprises account for over 75% of tourism sector employment with only 23% of workers employed in enterprises with fewer than 10 people (Eurostat, 2020) – the vast bulk of tourism enterprises are small, and these small enterprises are particularly important suppliers of services and drivers of tourism at local and regional scales. Consequently, there is a need to understand the formation and development of small tourism enterprises shaping tourism development.

The link between entrepreneurship and tourism development has been recognised (Shaw & Williams, 1990), inspiring scholarly interest in the formation and development of tourism enterprises, particularly small enterprises which account for the vast majority of enterprises in tourism. Of late, innovation and entrepreneurship have become topics of policy and scholarly interest, the development of tourism enterprises being an increasing focus in tourism development policy. Despite much recent work, more work needs to be done to understand the formation and development of small tourism enterprises. Innovation and entrepreneurship remain emergent subfields of tourism, relatively understudied to date (Hall & Williams, 2008; Liu & Enz, 2016). Scholars have also called for more research to understand the working of small tourism enterprises (e.g., Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Getz et al., 2004; Thomas, 2000, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011), particularly as it has become increasingly clear that these small tourism enterprises are not all the same, with the phenomenon of lifestyle entrepreneurship complicating efforts to understand the processes of entrepreneurship and innovation, and making the link be between small firms and tourism development a complex terrain. The question then becomes that of how to approach this complex terrain.

The suggestion here is that the practice modality of enterprising offers much promise to understand more about tourism enterprises and tourism development. Enterprising is an underutilised perspective in studies of tourism enterprises, only lately in focus in a prescient line of sociological studies seeking insight into lifestyle enterprising (Cederholm, 2015, 2018; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016). Moreover, the links between the practices of enterprising and the processes of tourism development remains unexplored terrain. Enterprising promises new insights into tourism enterprises and tourism development.

Transport Orientation: Enterprising

This section describes the means of transport of this tour, which is the theoretical modality of enterprising, and which pivots to focus on practice. Returning to our tour analogy, enterprising is the modality or mode of travel we will use to explore the terrain of tourism enterprises and the implications for tourism development. The journey to enterprising starts with the concept of entrepreneurship, and the movement from entrepreneurship to enterprising marks an important conceptual shift. Moreover, this conceptual shift carries important methodological and epistemological implications for research concerned to understand the formation and development of enterprises, and the implications stemming therefrom. This section provides a brief history of entrepreneurship studies and the key moments in the movement from entrepreneurship to enterprising. It also explains how this movement relates to, and supports, nascent research lines in tourism studies, shedding light on the value of enterprising in understanding the workings of tourism lifestyle enterprises. These research developments in both fields share a concern with, and highlight, the benefit of studying practices. Thus, these sections offer the theoretical grounds for using enterprising as a practice modality to enrich understanding of the formation and development of tourism enterprises, and, as argued here, the wider processes of tourism development.

Transport Orientation: A Brief History of Entrepreneurship

Cantillon (c. 1680s–1734), Say (1767–1832) and Schumpeter (1883–1950) were the early pioneers of the field of entrepreneurship (e.g., see: Filion, 1998, 2021; Hebert & Link, 1989; Landström, 2005, 2015; Landström, Harirchi, & Åström, 2012). These pioneering scholars broadly reacted to the failure of classical conceptions of economic systems to recognise the role of the entrepreneur. In these early economic theories, entrepreneurship was conceived in functional terms within economic systems, the entrepreneur being seen as a commercial actor engaging in markets for reason of profit, variously as a risk taker or innovator, and variously acting as a stabilising force in the ‘circular flow’ (within the views of Cantillon and Say), or as a disruptive force whose innovations destabilised the circular flow and sparked economic development (in Schumpeter).

Cantillon was “the first to offer a clear conception of the entrepreneurial function as a whole” (Filion, 1998, p. 3) and “the progenitor of the idea that subsequent economists sought to elaborate” (Hebert & Link, 1989, p. 42).

Cantillon regarded entrepreneurs as vital intermediaries in the "circular flow of …need and necessity" (Cantillon, 2010 [1931], p. 71). Cantillon differentiated entrepreneurs from workers and capitalists, regardless of roles or rank, as bearers of uncertainty: "The general … the courtier …and the domestic servant who has wages [are hired workers]…the others are entrepreneurs, whether they are set up with capital to conduct their enterprise, or are entrepreneurs of their own labor without capital…they [are] living under uncertainty; even the beggars and the robbers are entrepreneurs of this class" (Cantillon, 2010 [1931], p. 76). Describing the entrepreneurs as those "who buy at a certain price and sell…at an uncertain price" (Cantillon, 2010 [1931], p. 76), Cantillon basically positioned the entrepreneur as a bearer of market risk in search of profit.

Jean Baptiste Say was the second to offer a theory of entrepreneurship in *Traité d'économie politique*, published in 1823 (Filion, 2021; Koolman, 1971). For Say, the entrepreneur was a mediator, a resource coordinator, and somewhat of an innovator. Indeed, in describing the entrepreneur as a person who could do new things or do things in new ways, Say was the first to link entrepreneurship to innovation and economic development, this work influencing the later work of Schumpeter (Filion, 2021; Koolman, 1971).

It was, however, the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter's seminal work, *The Theory of Economic Development* (Schumpeter, 1934), that explicitly linked innovation to economic development and "launched the field of entrepreneurship" (Filion, 1998, p. 3). Schumpeter railed against the static equilibrium of classical economics, which offered no explanation for the processes of change and economic development, positioning entrepreneurs as innovators who destabilised economic systems advancing economic development through processes of "creative destruction" inspired by reason of profit. As Schumpeter put it, "The carrying out of new combinations we call 'enterprise'; the individual whose function it is to carry them out we call 'entrepreneurs'" (Schumpeter, 1934, p. 74). It was the implementation of these new combinations that made the entrepreneur a disruptive force of change, and an engine of economic development. Thus, the entrepreneur came to be seen as innovator, instigating new business ventures for reason of profit (e.g., see Baumol, 1968, 1993).These foundational ideas laid the economic basis of entrepreneurship, sparking efforts to theorise the process. Nonetheless, the varied action of the entrepreneur has eluded economic theory (Baumol, 1968, 1993; Hebert & Link, 1989; Landström et al., 2012). As Baumol observes, the basic problem is that assumptions of rationality and mathematical optimality leave "no room for enterprise of initiative" (Baumol, 1968, p. 67) and such assumptions limit the role of economic theory in relation to understanding the action of the idiosyncratic entrepreneur (Baumol, 1968, 1993). Variously cast as an innovator or risk-taker, the entrepreneur has thus often been seen as an heroic figure, a champion of business (C. C. Williams, 2008) cast as a positive force contributing to the development of firms, industries and national economies (e.g., Drucker, 1985; Johannessen, Olsen, & Lumpkin, 2001; Porter, 1990; Tidd & Bessant, 2013). This casting has made the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship topics of great interest for policy and research.

However, definition of the concept of entrepreneurship and approaches to study have remained matters of scholarly contention. For instance, entrepreneurship has been described as the creation of new means-ends relationships (Kirzner, 1973), as organising new organisations (Gartner, 1985), as seizing innovation opportunity (Drucker, 2002) and as the process of creating new value (Timmons & Spinelli, 2009). In an oft-cited definition, entrepreneurship is described as a commercial process involving "discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities" (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000, p. 218). Exploitation entails formation of new business ventures (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000; Timmons & Spinelli, 2009). As Foss, Foss, Klein, and Klein (2007, p. 1167) say, "a new venture is the quintessential manifestation of entrepreneurship". However, there are different views about what a new venture means. Some see it as the formation of a new business entity in the sense that entrepreneurs "initiate, maintain and aggrandize a business institution" (Cole, 1968, p. 9), others seeing it as "organizing new organizations" (Gartner, 1985, p. 697), or "new venturing" (e.g., Covin & Slevin, 1991; Drucker, 2002; Lumpkin & Dess, 1996; Zahra, 1991), or "entering new or established markets with new or existing goods or services" (Lumpkin & Dess, 1996, p. 136), the latter views extending entrepreneurship to "creating new business within established firms" (Zahra, 1991, p. 260) or to the processes of organisational renewal through innovation (Drucker, 1985). Against this backdrop, the catalytic agent of the individual entrepreneur has attracted much research attention.

Much early research sought to identify the unique traits distinguishing entrepreneurs from their less entrepreneurial peers (e.g. see, Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Filion, 1998; Landström, 2005, 2015; Steyaert, 2007), seeking to distil the essence of the entrepreneur. As Gartner (1988, p. 11) points out, the matter of why some start enterprises and others in similar circumstances do not, leads to concern with the 'who' of the entrepreneur: "Asking *why* has led us to answering with *who*: Why did X start a venture? Because X has a certain inner quality or qualities." Following this line of reasoning, researchers set about investigating a wide assortment of personal and psychological factors, such as the need for achievement, risk-taking propensity, locus of control, leadership, autonomy, self-efficacy, job satisfaction, work experience, education, age and family status, to name but a few (e.g., see Brockhaus, 1975; Brockhaus, 1980; Hornaday & Aboud, 1971; Jo & Lee, 1996; McClelland, 1965). More broadly, the view of entrepreneurs as special individuals possessed of unique attributes helped to inspire paradigms of 'great persons' (Aldrich, 1992) and 'great founders' (Sundbo, 1995). However, the psychology of entrepreneurship proved to be too complex to distil to a stable set of characteristics (Aldrich, 1992; Cooper, Woo, & Dunkelberg, 1988).

Others sought explanation in structures, with various approaches seeking to theorise entrepreneurship as the product of sociocultural contexts (e.g., see discussions in Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Steyaert, 2007). An early example is found in Max Weber, whose *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber, 2005 [1930]) presented the rise of Protestantism as facilitated notions of hard work, thrift and material advancement, inspiring the rise of capitalism. Another instance is found in Glade's objective 'opportunity structure' that shapes "the capacity of the system's participants to perceive and act upon…opportunities" (Glade, 1967, p. 251, cited in Low & MacMillan, 1988, p. 150). Similarly, economic models reduced agents to homogenous units, assumptions about information availability and economic rationality positioning entrepreneurs as economic actors expected to basically behave identically in given contexts. At both ends of the spectrum, the early approaches were subject to a critique of partial perspective: on the one hand trait approaches were critiqued for ignoring context and structural approaches were critiqued for ignoring agents (e.g., see Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Gartner, 1985), or variously depicting over- and under-determined agents (e.g., see Granovetter, 1973; Smelser & Swedberg, 2005). All failed to fully capture the complexity of entrepreneurial action (e.g., see discussion in Steyaert, 2007).

Granovetter's studies of embeddedness and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973, 1985) offered a way to link between agents and contexts. Here, economic actors were viewed as agents embedded in social contexts (Granovetter, 1985), with strong and weak social ties shaping access to information and possibilities for action (Granovetter, 1973), 'the strength of weak ties' being access to a wider pool of information (Granovetter, 1973). This inspired views of entrepreneurship as a contextually embedded process and interest in the workings of social networks. One early example is Birley (1985), who studied networks in 160 firms in Indiana, differentiating informal (family, friends, business) and formal (banks, lawyers, accountants) and showing that entrepreneurs relied most heavily on informal networks. Aldrich and Zimmer (1986) considered that entrepreneurs were embedded in social networks which enabled connection to resources and opportunities, the expression of entrepreneurship being shaped by sociocultural contexts. Entrepreneurs came to be seen as actors embedded in social systems with entrepreneurship being enabled by positions in social networks (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Dubini & Aldrich, 1991; Ulhøi, 2005). Entrepreneurs were thus neither 'angels nor devils', neither totally free agents nor prisoners of context, but embedded social actors whose "willingness to pursue opportunity" (Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990, p. 24) was shaped by social relations that connected entrepreneurs to entrepreneurial opportunity (Aldrich & Zimmer, 1986; Ulhøi, 2005).

However, although these developments offered more contextual and processual views, vestiges of objectivism and statis remained (Hosking, 2004, Steyeart, 2007). As Steyaert (2007, p. 457) put it, "many of the early approaches took an "entitative stance", "presupposing…entities such as people and organisations a priori, and overlooking the possibility of recursive constitution in process". The underlying assumption was of subject-object relations, inhering a separation of persons from manipulable external contexts and underplaying the importance of "mutually constructive relations" (Hosking, 2004, p. 255).

Inspired by interpretivist lines, scholars increasingly "challenged mono-causal and objectivist kinds of explanations" (Steyaert, 2007, p. 459). Viewing entrepreneurship as a situated sense-making process (Steyaert, 2004, 2007), scholars began exploring formations of entrepreneurial identity (Down, 2006; Foss, 2004; Hosking & Hjorth, 2004), processes of entrepreneurial learning (e.g., Johansson, 2004; R. Smith & Anderson, 2004) and construction of entrepreneurial opportunity (e.g., de Montoya, 2004). Thus, as Steyaert further explained, entrepreneurship came to be seem as interpretive process whereby "new ideas and possibilities become enacted, selected and legitimated" (2004, p. 459), emerging organisations being seen as "elaborate fictions of possible future states….or equivocal realities [tending] towards non-equivocality through entrepreneurial action" (Steyaert, 2007, p. 459). Gadamer's philosophy of hermeneutics offered a cultural basis for narrative interpretation, with "culture furnishing the common language through which past events are interpreted, future circumstances anticipated, and plans formulated" (Steyaert, 2007, p. 460). Here, entrepreneurship came to be seen as "a culturally-embedded interpretive achievement" (Steyaert, 2007, p. 460). Scholars following discursive lines then began to offer critical perspectives of entrepreneurship, "showing how dominant discourses amounted to a hegemonic ideology of enterprising" (Steyaert, 2007, p. 468), producing systems of thinking normalising forms of entrepreneurship and ways of being and entrepreneur. Such thinking has inspired formation of a body of critical scholarship challenging dominant assumptions and giving voice to alternative subjectivities (Essers, Dey, Tedmanson, & Verduyn, 2017; Deirdre Tedmanson, Verduyn, Essers, & Gartner, 2012). For instance, among other things, these critical scholars have explored ethnic and indigenous entrepreneurship to expose the economic rationality implicit to Western entrepreneurial norms (e.g., Lyne, 2017; Deidre Tedmanson & Evans, 2017), and challenging ideals such as ideas of wholesome entrepreneurs (Williams, 2008; Wright, 2015) and the emancipation of digital entrepreneurialism (Wright, 2015), migrant entrepreneurship (e.g., Jones, Ram, & Villares, 2017) and female entrepreneurship (Alkhaled, Berglund, & Alkhaled-Studholme, 2018), revealing the workings of gender (Bruni, Gherardi, & Poggio, 2004) and power (Kenny & Scriver, 2012; March & Thomas, 2017).

These recent lines of enquiry have challenged singular and simplistic views over the processes, meanings and practices of entrepreneurship, including simplistic assumptions of singular commercial rationality, "that actors apply the standards of means-ends rationality, that they are self-interested…wealth maximizers" (Somers, 1998, p. 763). Consequently, these lines have unpacked the concept of entrepreneurship, revealing the heterogeneity of its practical expression, highlighting that all enterprises happen in various ways and for various reasons. These narrative and discursive lines have also served to highlight the processual and performative dimensions of entrepreneurship, these developments laying the groundwork for recent scholarly interest in practice (Steyaert, 2007), and so eventually responding to Gartner's earlier calls to understand entrepreneurship by attending to what entrepreneurs do (Gartner, 1988).

From Entrepreneurship to Enterprising

The final movement in the shift from entrepreneurship to the action of "entrepreneuring" Steyaert (2007) was the rise of practice-theoretic approaches in organisation studies (Johannisson, 2011). This has lately inspired scholarly interest to understand entrepreneurship from the vantage practice, an emerging body of research rallying a new sub-field under the banner of entrepreneurship-as-practice (Hill, 2018; Johannisson, 2011; Thompson, Verduijn, & Gartner, 2020), with this line of scholarship viewing entrepreneurship as the undertakings of practical action. The basic concern of practice theory being the socio-materiality of practices, or simply to understand how people 'get things done' (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011). This view orients to the practical mechanics of the organising action that makes organisations happen, shifting attention to the practical processes of resourcing and relating

(McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014; also see here Reid, 2020; Reid, 2021b), rendering contexts enactable (Johannisson, 2011) enabling enterprising to happen (Hill, 2018; Keating, Geiger, & McLoughlin, 2014; also see here Reid, 2020). Articulating these ideas, Johannisson (2011) suggests that we might seek to understand entrepreneurship/entrepreneuring as the practical processes of making organising contexts enactable. A similar perspective is found in the work of Hill, who takes up the practice logic of Pierre Bourdieu to conceive entrepreneurial entry as the situational construction of a "strategic fit", this 'strategic fit' reflecting socially constructed alignments of capabilities and resources enabling entrepreneurial entry (Hill, 2018; also see Reid, 2020). These and other similar lines all share a focus on the practical mechanics by which entrepreneurs organise or enact the organising of their enterprises, the concern being about understanding the practical construction of enterprising, or what Steyaert calls 'entrepreneuring' (Steyaert, 2007). In other words, it is the practical doings of enterprising that come into focus, the action of enterprising giving shape and form to enterprises.

Touring Note

At the 'constructing' stop, Reid (2020) applies the lens of Bourdieu to explore the formation of capitals enabling enterprising.

The practice vantage brings potential advantages to the study of (tourism) enterprise formation and development, variously problematised in terms of entrepreneurship and innovation. As previously explained, practice perspectives orient to the constructive action of enterprising, which has an important advantage in transcending debates over a priori conceptions of entrepreneurship, or debates domains of study and supporting the notion of entrepreneurship as a transdisciplinary phenomenon (refer: Filion, 2021; Hebert & Link, 1989). This enables research to approach the matter of enterprise formation and development as a matter of situated action, regardless of the form of its expression, extending views beyond juridical conceptions of entrepreneurship as the making of a business, or some heroic commercial undertaking, but rather something of an everyday or ordinary human activity (Welter, Baker, Audretsch, & Gartner, 2017). Thus we are offered the possibility of viewing entrepreneurship as ordinary undertakings, not only commercial, but encompassing a broader range of enterprises undertaken by ordinary people (Gelderen, 2000). This vantage enables open engagement with the complexity and variation of the action of enterprising, simply by engaging with enactments of enterprising practices *prima facie* – the varied expressions of enterprising action being understood at 'face value', the resulting enterprises being taken on their own terms. In doing so, the practice vantage offers a full response to Steyaert's earlier narratively inspired call to explore the prosaic expressions of entrepreneurship (Steyaert, 2004), not merely as a variety of narrative or interpretivist expressions, but as prosaic forms arising in the complexity and variation of practical expression. As expressions of practical reasonings and logics of people organising Johannison's (2011) organising contexts, it is the doings that practically make enterprises happen and it is literally this practical action that makes the enterprises what they are.

Moreover, by focusing on the situated action as the generative mechanism of enterprises, these perspectives serve to highlight that enterprising consists of all kinds of practices, that enterprising doings necessarily span and orient to multiple social fields, as Hill highlights in noting that entrepreneurship entails many different sorts of undertakings, unfolding in relation to various fields (Hill, 2018; also see Reid, 2021b). Here, what is being made in the entrepreneurial process is a matter of practical construction, the logics of entrepreneurial doings being found in the details and nuances of the situated action (e.g, see here Reid, 2021b).

Touring Note

At the 'performing' stop, Reid (2021b) explores the situated construction of enterprising in the here-and-now action.

The practice vantage brings significant theoretical, epistemological, and methodological implications. For one, it calls for commitment to using practice-theoretic approaches orienting to practice as the focus of analysis (Thompson et al., 2020). This commitment raises methodological and epistemological implications, shaping both the orientation to and conduct of the knowledge-making enterprises of research (Johannisson, 2020; Thompson et al., 2020). It collapses the (naturalistic) tendency to see a division between theoretical rigour and practical relevance (e.g., refer: Filion, 1998), replacing it with a search for theoretical rigour *through* practical relevance, knowledge of enterprising deriving from close engagements with enterprisers, which entails methodological commitment to seek to enter into enterprisers' practical worlds (Dimov, Schaefer, & Pistrui, 2021; Johannisson, 2020). Here, closure of the theory-practice gap practically calls for participatory methods and applied research, for becoming involved in the action. The shift from entrepreneurship to enterprising is not only a change of object of study, as in shifting focus to enterprising practices, but is also an ontological or conceptual shift vis-a-vis the enterprises of research, necessitating epistemological and methodological innovations. Simply put, enterprising necessitates changes in the practices of research and the view of the knowledge that comes from it.

Enterprising in Tourism Research

Empirical studies of small business have highlighted that entrepreneurship is variously inspired. Among other things, these studies have shown that success is not simply measured by the commercial yardsticks of growth and profit (e.g., Reijonen, 2008; Walker & Brown, 2004), and that entrepreneurial action stems from various mixtures of personal and commercial motives reflecting efforts to improve life quality (Marcketti et al., 2006). These varied drivers of entrepreneurship have been encapsulated under the rubric of lifestyle, inspiring a concept of lifestyle entrepreneurship as business culture prioritising various personal concerns in the doings of business. This phenomenon is held to be prevalent in small tourism enterprisers, where entrepreneurship involves production and consumption of lifestyles, with this enterprising culture affecting the processes of tourism development (Shaw & Williams, 1987, 1998; Williams et al., 1989).

> Touring Note
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> At the performing stop, Reid (2021b) explores the situated performance of enterprising, revealing the shifting of meanings of people and places as enterprisers relate to realms spanning commercial and personal domains.

Scholars have in recent times approached tourism entrepreneurship as a values terrain, lifestyle entrepreneurship being seen as a rejection of traditional commercial values (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). From this vantage, commercial values are not the sole motivating factors driving the enactment of lifestyle entrepreneurship (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Helgadóttir & Sigurðardóttir, 2008). Some sociologically-inclined scholars have lately taken up this vantage, exploring the tensions emerging at the intersections of the personal and commercial domains, and shedding light on the situated negotiations of values giving meaning to lifestyle enterprising (Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016; Cederholm & Hultman, 2010; Hultman & Cederholm, 2010), and revealing the creative action giving meaning to places and identities and relations in situated performances of lifestyle enterprising (Brandth & Haugen, 2011, 2014; Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). Such work shows how tourism enterprising is constructed in practice.

Among other things, these studies have offered insight into the practices of navigating tensions between commercial and personal domains, forming identities and relations in blurred host-guest encounters in commercial homes, host-guest relations spanning the tensions of commercial friendships, and the blurring of personal and commercial domains producing tensions of relational work in family enterprises, and shaping identity formation and gender roles in the entanglements of hosts and guests in farm tourism. The overarching message from these studies presents lifestyle enterprises as sociocultural formations, with enterprisers navigating values tensions and forming meanings across personal and commercial domains which exist in and give rise to points of tension. These scholars approach the lifestyle enterprising in tourism contexts by drawing on sociological perspectives, focusing on the nuances and details of situations to reveal the creative action of enterprising as meaning formation. Coincidentally, practice-theoretic perspectives have gained a foothold in entrepreneurship studies, an emerging line of scholars lately being concerned to understand entrepreneurship as practice. Drawing inspiration from classic practice theories such as those of Bourdieu, Giddens, Wittgenstein and Heidegger, these scholars have shifted focus to the patterns of action organising daily life and constituting enterprises. In both these interdisciplinary scholarly lines, within tourism studies and entrepreneurship, the overarching concern is broadly to understand the practical mechanics of enterprising as the creative force giving meaning to enterprising situations and enabling enterprises to 'happen'.

However, the messages of practice articulated in both these scholarly lines have, to date, made scant inroads into studies seeking to understand the creative action of enterprising in tourism (Çakmak et al., 2021; Reid, 2020). Furthermore, despite wide recognition of the connection between the formation and development of tourism enterprises and tourism development, the creative force of practice has been overlooked in relation to the wider processes of tourism development, practice-theoretic views over tourism development remaining an unexplored terrain. The creative action of enterprising offers potential to increase understanding about the formation and development of tourism enterprises and to shed light on the practical mechanics of tourism development. This thesis enters this underexplored terrain, taking up the modality of enterprising to explore the formation of tourism enterprises and enter the uncharted terrain of practice in relation to tourism development.

The modality of enterprising here orients to the notion of entrepreneurship as doings or undertaking of an enterprise, focusing on the situated practices that practically bring enterprises into being. In particular, although enterprising has historically been used as an adjective, the term is here used as a noun to depict the notion of undertakings, drawing on a long linguistic tradition to use the term to depict an eagerness to undertake, leaving aside overtones of scheming, ambitious or foolhardy undertakings (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2021), along with a priori assumptions of singular commercial rationality. Here, enterprising is seen as nothing more or less than the undertaking of consequential actions. The term in this sense of undertakings has only just lately gained attention in the emergent line of practice-theoretic studies of entrepreneurship, and focus on the creative action of enterprising has only lately gained attention in tourism in sociological studies of lifestyle enterprising. These emerging lines provide a point of departure, both indicating enterprising as a way of approaching the creative force behind tourism enterprises and tourism development.

This thesis takes up these emerging threads from these two fields and binds them together, by viewing enterprising as the everyday action of ordinary people (Gelderen, 2000) undertaking the creative doings organising organisations (Gartner, 1985; Johannisson, 2011) making tourism enterprises 'happen' (e.g., see Reid, 2021b). By doing so, it adds both to the emerging sociological lines in tourism studies and to the practice-theoretic perspectives within the field of entrepreneurship studies, both lines sharing concern with the creative forces giving practical meaning to enterprises, Moreover, it extends these emerging lines into new terrain, by connecting the creative action driving the formation and development of tourism enterprises to the wider processes of tourism development. Thus, it uses the modality of enterprising to not only shed further light on the practical mechanics of tourism enterprises, but also to shed more light on tourism development. Each of the papers presented in this compilation thesis explores a different site of enterprising, simultaneously illuminating the everyday action of tourism enterprises and the practices of tourism development.

Tour Planning: Practical Methodology

This section provides an account of how the tour of tourism enterprising has been made, explaining how tour sites have been selected and investigated to laying out the groundwork of this tour. In other words, it offers an account and discussion of methodology, methods, and materials of the five papers presented in this compilation thesis. The heterogeneous actions of enterprising demand adaptability in terms of both methods and materials, resulting in a multimethod qualitative study of appreciable breadth and depth. The following sections detail the methodology by describing the processes of selecting (sampling and sample), collecting (data collection methods), analysing (data analysis), and respecting (ethical considerations) that shape and delimit this research.

Selecting: Sampling and Sample

This tour includes stops of ‘innovating’, ‘constructing’, ‘intervening’, ‘performing’ and ‘reflecting’. These can be thought of as theoretical samples of tourism enterprise development, each site being deductively (or logically) derived and inductively (or empirically) explored (Table 2). As the state of the theory and practice varies for each site of enterprising, this affects sampling (Table 3). Theoretical concepts shape selection; for instance, innovation is a slippery concept that is practically rare, while intervention (in the form of university extension) is conceptually clearer but even harder to find. In contrast, performing and constructing are both relatively uncomplicated and abundant.

Overall, the work presented in this thesis draws on 22 cases of enterprising: 21 tourism or tourism-related enterprises, and a university organisation working with tourism enterprises. The case organisations are from both Australia (8 cases) and Sweden (14 cases). The 22 cases are variously used to explore different sites of enterprising: the ‘innovating’ stop is informed by four cases of tourism enterprise innovation in Australia; the ‘constructing’ stop is informed by six cases of lifestyle enterprising in Sweden, one of these also informing the ‘performing’ stop; the ‘intervening’ stop is informed by a single case of university extension in Australia; and, the ‘reflecting’ stop draws on 17 cases in Australia and Sweden (Table 4). The last three stops overlap – a common ‘pool’ of cases informing explorations of ‘performing’, ‘constructing’ and ‘reflecting’ (Appendix 1).

Table 2. Selecting: Selection Logics

Site/Stop	Inquiry Focus and Logical Relations to Study Aims
Innovating (Reid, 2019)	Tourism innovation – understanding how innovating shapes tourism enterprise.
Constructing (Reid, 2020)	Tourism enterprise practice logic. Constructing enterprising – practice logics of lifestyle enterprising.
Performing (Reid, 2021b)	Tourism enterprise performance. Understanding situated enactments of lifestyle enterprising.
Intervening (Reid, 2018)	Tourism development practice. Effecting intervention in tourism enterprise development – understanding the action of intervening and how that action shapes tourism enterprises.
Reflecting (Reid, 2021a)	Tourism research practice. Constructing knowledge – understanding the researcher-enterpriser interface and how that shapes the enterprises of knowledge production.

Table 3. Selecting: Theoretical and Practical Aspects

Site/Stop	Theoretical and Practical Factors Shaping Selection
Innovating (Reid, 2019)	Theory: Innovative tourism enterprises – implementation of novelty (e.g., Hjalager, 1994, 2002; Hjalager, 2010) Practice: Review innovation awards – novelty sufficient for peer accolade
Constructing (Reid, 2020)	Theory: Tourism lifestyle enterprise – lifestyle motives/values – place, family, leisure, creativity, smallness, non-commercial (e.g., Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 1987; A. M. Williams et al., 1989) Practice: Review tourism websites for classical indicators such as smallness, personal interests (place, family, leisure, creativity interests) or indications of non-commercial values (visit to confirm inclusion)
Performing (Reid 2021b)	As above
Intervening (Reid, 2018)	Theory: University extension – delivery of training/lectures to intending tourism enterprisers (e.g., B. Jones, 2009; Lamble & Thompson, 2000) Practice: Suitability and convenience (personal knowledge of a rare case)
Reflecting (Reid, 2021a)	Theory: Situated/positional knowledge (Haraway, 1988) Practice: Review self/positions focusing on family (Schänzel & Smith, 2011), and gender (masculinities) (e.g., Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kimmel, 1993)

As is typical in qualitative research, my sampling strategy was purposive (non-random), my choices being guided by 'ideal types' derived from descriptions contained in literature. There is also an element of snowball sampling (a form of purposive sampling) insofar as some selections also came from leads in the field. Beyond this, efficiency and ethics shaped my choices. Procedurally, I used literature to build 'ideal' types to guide selection, my choices thereafter delimited by concerns of efficiency and sustainability (Table 4). On the latter, my view is that researchers (indeed all people) have an ethical duty to minimise social harm by limiting travel.[2] The state of theory and practice varied for each enterprising site, shaping my selections (Table 4). For instance, seen as the implementation of novel change (Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2010), tourism firm innovation is a slippery concept (Hjalager, 2010, p. 1) and is hard to find, being mostly incremental and 'backstage' (Hjalager, 2002, 2010), so in that case, I relied on the judgement of industry experts, using innovation awards to guide my sampling. In contrast, intervening in the form of university extension is well described (Lamble & Thompson, 2000), but pratically rare in tourism development. As I was familiar with one rare local

[2] This ethical stance conforms to Lund University's sustainable development policy, which seeks to offer a response to the UN global sustainability goals of Agenda 2030 (Project Everyone, 2015; United Nations, 2016), urging university members to act sustainability and thereby "practice what we preach" (see Lund University, 2016, p. 1).

case in Australia, and as a single case study is suitable for exploring rare phenomena (Flyvbjerg, 2011, 2016), this case provided an apposite solution.

Exploration of ‘constructing’, ‘performing’ and ‘reflecting’ took place at lifestyle enterprises, which are abundant in tourism. Research offers several identifying criteria (Table 4). As the local region of Skåne was a tourism and lifestyle destination (Tourism Skåne, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c), I reviewed regional tourism websites, locating promising candidates. I observed these covertly, taking Becker’s advice to go and see what was happening (Becker, 1998), and taking up the general concern of practice-theoretic approaches to become embroiled in the action at hand. This process enabled me to confirm my selections and gather emprical material. These engagements furnished new leads, which I followed, reflecting snowball sampling, though my final choices were made in relation to my evolving theoretical ideas, the evolving interaction between empirical and theoretical ideas reminiscent of the theoretical sampling of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This process led me in new directions, my sample including some larger enterprises, atypical sites of ‘lifestyle enterprising’ (Appendix 2).

> Touring Note
>
> Engagements with lifestyle enterprises inform exploration of ‘constructing’ (Reid 2020), ‘performing’ (Reid, 2021b) and ‘reflecting’ (Reid 2021a).

Table 4. Case Selection by Enterprising Site

Site/Stop	Theoretical Factors		Practical Factors		Selection Procedure and Outcomes	
	Theory Guidance	Sampling Indicators	Abundance	Other	Selection process	Resulting Cases [1]
Innovating	Limited, hard to identify	Experts (innovation awards)	Scarce, obscure	Familiarity (context)	Purposive: Reviewed innovation awards. 5 Award winners identified (Australia). Contacted all.	4 cases tourism innovation (Australia)
Performing	Indicative, identifiable	Theory criteria	Abundant, identifiable	Locality (accessible, convenient, responsible)	Purposive: Reviewed tourism websites, identified likely candidates.	1 case lifestyle enterprising (Sweden) [2]
Constructing	Indicative, identifiable	Theory criteria (lifestyle enterprising)	Abundant, identifiable	Locality (accessible, convenient, responsible)	Purposive (incl. snowballing): Reviewed tourism websites, observed to confirm suitability. Followed leads from field (referrals / materials).	6 cases lifestyle enterprising (Sweden) [2]
Reflecting	Indicative, identifiable	Theory criteria (lifestyle enterprising - researcher engagements)	Abundant, identifiable	Locality (accessible, convenient, responsible)	Purposive (incl. snowballing): Reviewed tourism websites, observated to confirm suitability. Followed leads from field (referrals / materials).	17 cases lifestyle enterprising (Sweden, Australia) [2]
Intervening	Indicative, identifiable	Theory criteria (university extension)	Abundant, identifiable	Familiarity (context, case)	Purposive: Case familiarity. Reviewed case documents to confirm suitability.	1 case university extension [3] (Australia)

1. 22 unique cases/enterprises
2. Overlapping cases – performing case included in constructing cases, constructing cases included in reflecting cases (17 unique cases)
3. 89 participants/enterprises in full programme (all phases) in 5 regional areas in Australia – all intending to commence or extend rural tourism enterprises

Collecting: Data Collection

Seeking to understand the qualities of enterprising that make tourism enterprises and tourism development happen is a qualitative inquiry. Qualitative research uses interviews and observation to derive insight into the qualities of social phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). To conduct this qualitative inquiry I used these methods in various combinations; my chosen methods included active interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 1999; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), participant observation, and go-alongs (Atkinson, 2015; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Kusenbach, 2003). Observations afforded insight into the qualities of performances; interviews afforded insight into narrative and conversational reasoning; and go-alongs afforded insight into doings and reasons in varied place settings and social situations (Kusenbach, 2003). I selected and used methods I deemed fit for purpose, adapting my methods to each facet of my inquiry. For instance, 'innovating' was inherently amenable to interviews reconstructing past innovation performances, while 'performing' was suited to participant observation as it was about action as it happened. The gathered materials comprise 22 active interviews, 89 participant questionnaires, 27 participant observations, and six ethnographic go-alongs drawn from 121 primary informants engaged in the action of enterprising across 22 unique cases (Tables 5 & 6).

Enterprisers were mostly in focus, though others were sometimes involved in the enterprising action and became part of data collection (e.g., see here Reid, 2021a; Reid, 2021b). The enterprisers were a mixed bunch, of various occupational backgrounds, or various genders and ages, often 'middle-aged' and older (Appendix 2). Many involved relatives and friends, blurring of commercial and personal domains in "relational work" (e.g., Cederholm, 2018; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016). Many were located at homes or farms, blurring work-home spaces and host-guest relations in "commercial homes" (e.g., Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007; Hultman & Cederholm, 2010; Lynch, 2005). In short, they were 'typical', and typically diverse, enterprisers and enterprises. Of central concern was their involvement in enterprising action constituting tourism enterprises and shaping tourism development. There were multiple engagements with some enterprisers and enterprises (Tables 5 & 6, also Appendix 1), the level and nature of engagements varying according to the needs of the sites. For instance, I engaged repeatedly and variously with lifestyle enterprisers to explore different sites of enterprising. In contrast, my engagements with innovating enterprises and enterprisers were less due to scarcity, diversity, and geographic spread of the rare cases and due to the focus on the singular enterprising site of innovating (Tables 5 & 6, Appendix 2). Beyond this, I interacted with many other enterprisers and enterprises not formally included in these materials: sometimes I decided the enterprises were unsuitable; sometimes enterprisers deselected themselves by not responding to my requests; and sometimes planned engagements just did not occur due to life events, not least among these being the Covid-19 pandemic. Though not formally included, these other engagements were not without effects – the exclusion of some shaped inclusion of others and all furnished background useful in other encounters (e.g., Gubrium & Holstein, 1999; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995).

> Touring Note
>
> Lifestyle enterprisers feature at the ‘constructing’ (Reid 2020), ‘performing’ (Reid, 2021b), and ‘reflecting’ (Reid 2021a) stops of this tour.

Table 5. Overview of Methods and Materials

Site/Stop	Cases	Locations	Informants	Methods & Materials
Innovating	4	Australia	Innovators (owner-operators, senior managers)	4 active interviews
Constructing	6	Sweden	Constructors (owner-operators)	7 active interviews, 10 observations, 3 go-alongs
Performing	1	Sweden	Performers (owner-operators and co-present actors)	1 detailed observation
Intervening	1	Australia	Interveners and enterprisers (programme managers and participants)	4 active interviews (programme managers), 89 questionnaires, 4 observations (4 training sessions with 2 participant groups)
Reflecting	17	Sweden, Australia	Reflectors (tourism researcher)	Self-reflection from fieldwork spanning 13 active interviews, 23 observations, 6 go-alongs

Table 6. Empirical Materials by Enterprising Site

	Questionnaires		Active Interviews		Observation (overt)		Observation (covert)		Go alongs	
Site/Stop	Number	Duration (minutes)	Number	Duration (minutes)	Number	Duration (minutes)	Number	Duration (minutes)	Number	Duration (minutes)
Innovating	-	-	4	46-69	-	-	-	-	-	-
Constructing	-	-	7	65-138	4	90-138	6	30-180	3	195-290
Performing	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	180	-	-
Intervening	89	-	4	25-35	4	90-125	-	-	-	-
Reflecting	-	-	13	30-138	9	20-138	14	25-180	6	-

Doing Interviewing

My interviews were active (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), open and flexible, ranging from semi-structured (Schensul & LeCompte, 2013b) to open (Schensul & LeCompte, 2013a). I approached interviewing as an interactive conversation (Heritage, 2002; Kvale, 1994), seeing all parties as actively involved in production of talk (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 2016), interactively unfolding positions and agendas (Jacobsson & Åkerström, 2013). So I took an active posture, offering points of reference, shifting footings and framings to incite other vantages (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 2016), opening links to various personal or commercial domains such as mentioning ‘family’ or ‘home’, or shifting from talk of ‘products’ as saleable items to creations of leisure or hobby, or calling places and people by different names, such as switching from ‘shops’ or ‘homes’, or from ‘customers’ to ‘people’.

I typically prepared interview guides, but used these judiciously, adjusting my questions to emerging conversations. Duration ranged from 25 to 140 minutes, according to need for exploration or details: for instance, for the ‘intervening’ site, the four interviews with the two programme managers were relatively more focused and shorter, the aim, in that case, being to simply gain details about a specific programme; and the interviews with lifestyle enterprisers were more lengthy and more open, allowing scope to explore the complex constructions of lifestyle enterprising (Table 6). All interviews were held in English, even in Sweden where English is widely spoken, particularly among tourism enterprisers. Only occasionally would members struggle with finding words in English, or with understanding my Australian accent, the ensuing discussions (and moments of humour) affording an opportunity to gain more detail and forge bonds over language. Most interviews were held in-person, though some were conducted remotely, usually for practical reasons, such as in ‘innovating’, where huge geographical distances separated sparse innovation cases. Most were conducted in workplaces, often the blurry commercial-personal spaces of ‘commercial homes’ (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007; Lynch & Di Domenico, 2007). Most were held individually, though some included family or friends involved in the blurry commercial-personal roles of relational work (Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016; also see Reid, 2020; 2021b). The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim, including notes about scene, dress, demeanour, posture, and actions, non-verbal utterances (e.g., laughing, crying, sighing), pauses and word stresses. This was to mitigate the ‘flattening’ accompanying the conversion of dynamic speech into static text (Potter & Hepburn, 2012), and this helped me stay in touch with practical details.

Doing Observing

I observed members from different vantages and in different ways, openly or covertly, variously part of or apart from the action (Atkinson, 2015; Delamont, 2007; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). One position shift was use of covert observation (with post hoc consent). This allowed me to insert myself into service encounters 'naturally' – not in the sense that the data was 'uncontaminated' by my presence, but in the sense of experiencing these doings as any other visitor might, unencumbered by the peculiar role of 'researcher'. This helped me to enter "we conversations" with enterprisers, seeking theoretical rigour through practical relevance (Dimov et al., 2021; Johannisson, 2020). Events in the field also reshaped my positional vantage by casting me in various roles, such as when my family accompanied me to field sites (Reid, 2021a). Practicalities also reshaped my observational vantage, events sometimes radically rearranging both my planned vantage and how I went about recording. For instance, on one occasion, a planned observation of service encounters from the side was completely displaced by the onset of a production crisis, the harried enterpriser instead explaining the production problem to me and taking me to see the production facilities. In my observing, I strove to produce vivid accounts (Emerson et al., 2011) with 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) recording details to help me set aside 'the obvious' and 'tangle with the facts' (Silverman, 2013), this focus on detail helping me to avoid the pitfall of unexamined categories (Sacks, 1963) "impregnated by everyday assumptions" (Silverman, 2013), social 'facts' being so easily taken for granted (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Bourdieu, 1990). And so, I tried to record details in my jottings and headnotes (Emerson et al., 2011), collecting materials and taking photos and short videos to aid recall. The main determinant of recording was sensitivity to context (Emerson et al., 2011), using headnotes when jottings or other methods might spoil interactions or relations. For instance, I would sometimes witness moments of distress and even despair, casting me in the role of 'confidant', such interactions suited to headnotes rather than jottings. At other times, I would make a 'tactical retreat' to make a few notes in a secluded place, or covertly with my mobile phone; else I relied on headnotes, memorising details and writing them soon after, while my memories were fresh (Emerson et al., 2011).

Touring Note

At the 'reflecting' stop, Reid (2021a) explores family presences in the field. Family involvements also feature at the 'performing' stop (Reid, 2021b).

Doing Go-Alongs

I linked interviews and observations to places using go-alongs (Kusenbach, 2003), following some enterprisers for extended periods, moving between places, watching, listening and asking questions to discover how “daily activities and social interactions relate to…understandings” (Kusenbach, 2003, p. 456). I went along to buy supplies, I followed as they made and packaged products, and I toured enterprises, exploring the relating of people, places, and doings. They revealed meanings of spaces, and links to identity formations in doings at places, being artisans in workshops, families in homes, and sellers at retail shops. I took jottings, photos, collected materials and audio-recorded much of the talk in these engagements, later transcribing the talk and integrating my observational notes. It helped me to enter different spaces, and gain views beyond public ‘frontstages’ (Goffman, 1956).

Analysing: Deriving Insight

As is typical in qualitative research, my research relies on exploring relatively few instances of empirical phenomena in detail, moving from empirical specifics to theoretical imagery (Harding, 2013; Patton, 1980). Analytical procedures are adapted for each site of enterprising, typically using open coding and making comparisons (intra- and inter-case) to find commonalities and differences, constructing concepts and themes (Harding, 2013). I adapted my analysis to the needs of each site of enterprising, variously using techniques of thematic analysis, narrative analysis, and even taking some inspiration from grounded theory. Although my analytical process often began inductively, taking its lead from empirical observation, it was not absent theory and was thus logically abductive (Reichertz, 2014). No research is atheoretical (Silverman, 2016b) – theory is in the academic habitus (Bourdieu, 1988, 1990) – and my research was always theoretically sensitised at some point (Blumer, 1954), if not even from the outset. So, I used various theoretical frames to aid my analyses of enterprising (Table 7), this diversity of theoretical perspectives adding qualitative rigour through theoretical triangulation, though not in an objectivist sense (Decrop, 1999; Flick, 2004; Flick, Kardorff, & Steinke, 2004). The following sections describe my analytical procedures at each enterprising site.

Table 7. Analysing: Procedures and Theoretical Inspirations

Stop	Stop Foci	Analysis Approach	Theoretical Aids/Sensitising
Innovating	Construction of innovation process and of innovation accounts.	Cross-case analysis. Thematic analysis (innovation process). Open coding, building concepts and themes, cross-case analysis (sequential comparison – inter-case thematic analysis followed by cross-case comparison). Combined with narrative analysis (narrating innovation) – coding of plot elements, plot structures.	Innovation as knowledge process (Weidenfeld et al., 2010). Narrative aspect: Master plots (Kent, 2015). Narrating enterprising (de Montoya, 2004; Foss, 2004; R. Smith & Anderson, 2004).
Constructing	Practice logic of lifestyle enterprise.	Case studies, cross-case analysis. Thematic analysis – open coding, building concepts and themes.	Bourdieu's logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1990). Capital conversions (Pret, Shaw, & Drakopoulou Dodd, 2016).
Performing	Performative logic of lifestyle enterprise.	Detailed case study. Thematic analysis – open coding, building concepts and themes.	Goffman's dramaturgy, face work, situated performances.
Intervening	Constructing effective intervention.	Case study. Thematic analysis – open Coding, building concepts and themes. Meta-matrix. Sequential, multisided analysis: documents, open interviews (managers), participant observation and participant questionnaires.	Institutional theory - Missions Perspective – relation of university to society and university extension (Lamble & Thompson, 2000; Roper & Hirth, 2005).
Reflecting	Researching tourism enterprisingt.	Reflective analysis drawn from case study (multiple methods and materials). Thematic analysis – open coding, building concepts and themes.	Positional knowledge (Haraway, 1988). Gender roles, masculinities (Kimmel, 1993; Kimmel & Messner, 1998).

Analysing Innovating

The innovating stop seeks insight into firm innovation using a blend of thematic and narrative analysis, adding qualitative rigour by triangulating analysis and theory. The analysis began with construction of the innovation processes, followed by analysis of narrative forms. Innovation process themes were largely inductively derived, using open coding to evolve concepts and themes within each case before moving to inter-case comparisons, drawing out similarities and differences to build cross-cutting themes (Patton, 1980). However, the analysis was not absent theory, so was logically abductive (Reichertz, 2014). In particular, the analysis was framed by the conceptual view of innovation as the implementation of novel change, logically focusing attention on aspects of ideation (where ideas came from) and realisation (how ideas were put into practice). Accordingly, the analysis oriented to sources of knowledge and resources. Coding 'knowledge' (evolving sources as markets/customers and products/attractions) 'resources' (evolving sources as internal and external, advocacy and material support), a theme of 'gap filling' emerged – enterprisers apparently offsetting assessed deficiencies in knowledge and resources by seeking out knowledge (from markets/customers or products/attractions) and resources (material and immaterial) as needed. Inter-case comparison revealed variation in these 'gap filling' strategies, particularly regarding the accumulation of new 'knowledge', this difference inviting further exploration. Taking inspiration from the knowledge-centred view of innovation (Weidenfeld et al., 2010) these gap-filling strategies were explored as knowledge stocks and flows, applying 'experience' and 'expertise' codes to try to understand the variations in gap filling strategies. My aim was to find out how enterprisers apparently knew *what* to look for (know-what) and where to look/how to get it (know-where/how). Differences in experience and expertise seemed to account for these variations – enterprisers lacking domain expertise searched for domain knowledge (variously pertaining to market/customers or products/support), enterprisers lacking experience emphasising the search for resources (advocacy or materials). Inspired by the knowledge-centred view, it seemed that extant knowledge stocks ('experience' and 'expertise') inspired various 'gap filling' strategies in relation to each innovation circumstance. The analysis turned to understanding how these knowledge stocks were built; coding concepts of 'passion/interest' and 'learning habit', a theme of passion-inspired learning emerged: passion inspiring domain involvement and learning, building knowledge by accumulating experience and expertise. The view was of innovation enabled by a 'learning habit', 'passion/interest' inspiring accumulation of knowledge stocks, in turn enabling ‘adaptability/adaptation’ (variation in gap filling) allowing these innovators to make innovation happen. This suggested that innovators constructed themselves as learners and it was their enterprises of learning that gave them the requisite knowledge to succeed.

The narrative character of the accounts invited further exploration of these accounts as narrative forms. Taking inspiration from the master plot structures of Kent (2015), plot structure elements afforded sensitising constructs (Blumer, 1954) for coding interviews (e.g., ‘crisis/event’, ‘search’, ‘discovery/solution’, ‘self’, ‘firm’). This coding revealed two similarly structured narratives with different foci (‘self’ v ‘firm’): crisis/event (self) – search – discovery/solution (self); and crisis/event (firm) – search – discovery/solution (firm). The patterns precisely matched Kent’s ‘Quest and Discovery’ plots. In every case, innovators backgrounded innovation accounts with historical accounts of self, describing entry into the enterprising domain in personal terms as a narrative of ‘self-discovery’ in following and realising some personal interest or passion (entering and remaining in the enterprising domain), such accounts prefacing explanation of the firm innovation process (finding a novel solution for the firm/enterprise). These interlinked tales were both united by a theme of ‘learning’, the interlinkage reinforcing the view of innovation as a learning process, though one unfolding simultaneously in both personal and commercial domains. As such, it could be seen not only as firm innovation but as incremental innovation at the personal scale. These results inspired a reflexive link to research as tale of quest and discovery – both personal and professional – the search for knowledge reflecting the learning processes of innovation as entangled personal and commercial/professional undertakings, with innovation happening at enterprise and personal scales not only for the enterprises but for the researcher as well – as presented in Reid (2019).

Analysing Constructing

Inspired by grounded theory, open coding of materials occurred with ongoing data collection, the evolving analysis encompassing six lifestyle enterprises. Early descriptive codes focused on ‘knowledge’ and ‘resources’ enabling enterprising, evolving descriptive categories about skills, experience, facilities and equipment, working arrangements, and promotion/displays of various kinds. This resolved descriptive practice themes of: (1) using work/life skills; (2) displaying work/life histories; (3) acquiring skills; (4) displaying skills; (5) renovating-building; (6) acquiring tools-of-the-trade; (7) displaying tools-of-the-trade, and (8) working with family and friends. Curious patterns emerged within and between cases, certain aspects commonly being emphasised while others were overlooked or taken for granted; earlier codes of ‘cost’ and ‘effort’ linking far more to some areas than others. For instance, former skills were often devalued or taken for granted, though work-life histories were often purposefully displayed to explain enterprising journeys; skills acquisitions were mixed, half emphasising formal training, half experience/self-learning, but all were emphasised as subjects of ‘displays’; and apparently large investments in renovations and uses of available buildings were infrequently mentioned, while smaller investments in tools and equipment were highlighted (though with some curious exceptions). This variation raised a theme of ‘effortless’ and ‘effortful’ investments, sensitising (Blumer, 1954) the analysis to Bourdieu’s capitals (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990), wherein investment patterns could be explored as capital conversions. Coding capital forms resolved into a concept of capital ‘deployments’, encompassing both effortful conversions (valued investments) and effortless re-tasking (undervalued investments). The analysis revealed a consistent pattern of devaluation of economic capital (and to a lesser degree, social capital) relative to cultural capital, with acquisitions and displays of skills and tools and equipment emerging as important forms of cultural capital, with apparently substantial economic investments in buildings appearing insignificant. These patterns suggested relative devaluation of economic capital and relative importance of cultural capital in enterprising, the importance of cultural capital making it symbolically significant. The taken-for-grantedness of some forms of capital, and not others, inspired a theme of naturalness, sensitising to Bourdieu’s habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Maton, 2008). Importation of the concept of habitus offered explanation for variation in investment effort/importance, leading to a theory that when capitals attendant to the habitus were abundant, effort/importance was low, offering conclusion of habitus as a ‘generative lens’ explaining capital deployment practices spanning both effortful conversion and effortless re-tasking.

Analysing Intervening

This study explored intervening in tourism enterprising by exploring a case of university extension in tourism development. The multi-part, multi-perspective study utilised assorted data sources to offer breadth and depth in the single case study. Procedurally, the study commenced with review of documents, followed by interviews with the managers, to explore features of programme development and delivery from a management perspective. Participant observation and questionnaires were then used to gain participant perspectives. Open coding of the manager interviews highlighted adaptation of ‘content’ and ‘delivery’, a theme of ‘adaptability/adaptation’ emerging strongly in both dimensions, and common to the interviews with the unit and training managers, and this was also reflected in programme documents. Observation of participant groups in training sessions supported this view, trainers being observed to adjust programme content emphasis and delivery schedule in discussions with participants, the observations also raising a wider theme of 'interactivity' with participants observed to actively participate both in the sessions and in breaks. Taking the content-context frame, the 89 participant questionnaires were coded and grouped by 'content' and 'delivery' and collated into a meta-matrix to deepen the analysis and subdivide these groups further (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the content dimension the analysis evolved learning benefits in 'context/industry', (relating to learning about the tourism industry), and 'concept/viability', (relating to learning how to assess viability of enterprising concepts). A cross-cutting theme of 'motivation/self-confidence' emerged in both 'context/industry' and 'concept/viability', the learning bolstering confidence to undertake projects. In the 'process' dimension, 'interaction/interactivity' emerged, evidently supporting both learning content and motivation/self-confidence. The results here indicated that interactive process and relevant (appreciated) content both supported 'motivation/self-confidence', both linked to the 'adaptability/flexibility' of programme design and delivery. This supported an overall conclusion that programme adaptations had boosted programme effectiveness both by delivering relevant (appreciated) content and (interactive) process, raising motivation/self-confidence to develop enterprises, this conclusion being reinforced by observed enterprise development outcomes. At the institutional level, analysis of the interviews with programme managers raised benefits of 'building reputation', 'informing teaching', 'informing research', and 'enterprise development', inspiring themes of 'social benefit' and 'institutional benefit'. Unit closure indicated a disparate view of benefits and costs by upper management. The anomalous unit outcome of closure/failure, despite social and institutional benefits, suggested an undervaluation of institutional benefit vis-à-vis cost/risk, or undervaluation of university extension and 'third mission' – as presented in Reid (2018).

Analysing Performing

The performing stop sought insight into the performative construction of enterprising, the analysis drawing on detailed field notes derived from close observation of the action during a visit to a typical tourism lifestyle enterprise. The aim was to capture the action at 'face value', joining the scene to see how an enterprise was practically performed. Following broadly inductive logic, the analysis began with open coding of the resulting field notes. The initial coding was descriptive, building categories linked to settings, actions and actors. For instance, actor categories included ‘appearances’ (e.g., ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘young’, ‘older’), ‘family roles’ (e.g., ‘mom’, ‘dad’, ‘husband’, ‘wife’, ‘son’, ‘daughter’), ‘occupational roles’ (e.g., ‘enterpriser, ‘artisan/maker’, ‘worker’) and ‘service roles’ (e.g., ‘server’, ‘served’). Action categorisation included ‘service action’ (e.g., ‘approaching’, ‘waiting’, ‘being served’), and settings comprised ‘place types’ (e.g., ‘shop’, ‘home’, ‘garden’). This descriptive coding afforded some important starting insights, the density of codes both revealing a considerable complexity and variation in the action. For one thing, there were interesting combinations of roles, settings and actions, seemingly extending across personal and commercial domains (e.g., ‘family roles’ coinciding with ‘shop’ and ‘being served’, and ‘home’ coinciding with the ‘service action’ of ‘being served’). Noticeable also was the variation and range in combinations among roles, actions, and settings, signalling a complex and dynamic process. The complexity and variation evident in the density and diversity of overlapping codes was striking, and this inspired contemplation of theoretical tools to aid understanding of the mechanics of this dynamism. As the analytical concern was to try to understand processual dynamics of action, an interactionist perspective seemed most useful. Goffman’s interactionist lens seemed well suited to this task. Here, Goffman’s interaction ritual seemed a natural fit, being oriented to the dynamic relations among actors, action, and settings of central interest to the analysis. Thus, Goffman’s key concepts became a sensitising framework (Blumer, 1954) to aid the analysis, with the concepts of ‘face’, ‘deference’ and ‘demeanour’ coded into the material. These theoretical tools enabled a more fine-grained analysis of the character and processes of the action, enabling derivation of key insights.

The concept of deference added important nuances to the service action category, the descriptive code of ‘being served’ linking to the deference of ‘minor service’ particularly, and less frequently to ‘capacity esteem’ and ‘trust’. Forms of deference also linked to various faces. Deference of ‘capacity esteem’ often linked to the face of ‘maker’, while deference of ‘affection’ often accompanied the faces linked to ‘family’ role codes. Deference of minor service were more eclectic, variously being linked to various ‘faces’, this scope indicating minor service as a relatively mobile form of service spanning personal and commercial domains. The concept of ‘face’ also helped to shed more light on roles and domains. The relatively frequent changing of faces inspired a theoretical code of ‘face shifts’ as markers of important role transitions. The frequency of these ‘role transitions’ cohered to the dynamism previously noted, leading to the proposition that ‘fluidity’ of faces (or roles) was a key feature of enterprising action. The performative range of ‘faces’ seemed to change many times with apparent ease, absent of apparent conflicts or tensions, leading to the theoretical proposition that the various 'faces' were simultaneously present as part of the performative repertoire of the actor and readily activated according to the demands of the social situation. As Goffman's framework indicated faces as outcomes of 'lines', the analytical focus turned to an examination of surrounding talk and action in an effort to glean the practical mechanics of these fluid enactments. At this point, directionality became evident, these face shifts tracing back-and-forth movements between faces variously linked to personal and commercial domains. Here, the concept of deference proved very useful to understand the face-shifting process: in particular, 'face shifts' tracing movements from 'commercial' to 'personal' domains were often linked to 'deference of trust' and followed, or were accompanied by, deference of 'minor service'. As 'minor service' appeared both before and after deference of trust, this reinforced the view of 'minor service' as a mobile form of service variously linked to personal and commercial domains, this observation inspiring theorisation of 'commercial' and 'non-commercial' forms of service as presented in the paper at the performing stop.

Analysing Reflecting

As part of the process of coding material, I included self-codes as part of the open coding of transcription, reflection upon my active position, and taking account of family involvements at some field sites – codes relating to Researcher-Active (Family) and Family-Active codes among these. The former described times when family-related topics came up in discussion with enterprisers and the latter described when family was present in the field and directly influenced the talk and action. On comparing and contrasting instances within and across the materials gathered in visits to 17 case enterprises, it became evident that family influences were present even when family was absent. Thus, a thematic of 'absent presences' emerged. Here, I found theoretical inspiration in the presences and absences of motherhood as advanced in Farrelly, Stewart-Withers, and Dombroski (2014) – the notion of 'guilt' inspiring reflection over motherhood as a gender role – leading me to code 'guilt'. This led me to consider family and gender, particularly masculinities in this instance (Kimmel, 1993) and their relation to 'guilt'. The link to guilt led to a theme of 'masculine duties' as 'being present' in family, 'guilt' linking to Family-Active (e.g., family being present in the field) codes. However, as Researcher-Active Family codes arose when family was physically absent, the variation suggested that masculinities attaching to family extended beyond family presences, inspiring the idea of absent presences as gender positionalities affecting the knowledge-making enterprises of research

(Haraway, 1988). This inspired the idea of family presences and absences in relation to the doings of research, and triggered contemplation of entangled or nested personal and professional domains and to contemplation of bi-directional effects – masculinities of family affecting undertakings of research, and research affecting the undertakings of family. The entanglement of personal and professional domains challenged notions of separability and reification of research, the enterprises of research practically being part of, rather than apart from, the rest of living, the entanglement of these practices carrying methodological and epistemological effects as described in Reid (2021a).

Respecting: Research Ethics

Respecting goes to the heart of the matter of ethics in research and there are different ways to approach this. I take a wider view that reflects an ethos of respect for all stakeholders. Thus, my concern extends beyond the confines of the research-participant interface to embrace other stakeholders, ethical responsibility entailing the weighing up of the criteria to avoid participant harm against the research criterion to deliver net benefit to society (Swedish Research Council, 2017). All research brings both benefits and harms at personal and societal levels; it harms participants simply by interfering in their daily doings, even before issues of consent, privacy and confidentiality are considered, and it harms society by using resources; on the other hand, benefiting society through production of useful knowledge (Swedish Research Council, 2017). The premise of delivering net social benefit not only undergirds the practice of research, but the university as a social institution (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967; Swedish Research Council, 2017).[3] 'Good research' strives for benefits without causing undue harms to stakeholders (Swedish Research Council, 2017). However, this can be a difficult matter in practice. In particular, while ethical guides exist, much falls to the judgement of the researcher, who faces the practical reality of having to make some difficult ethical choices (Swedish Research Council, 2017, 2019). Taking this wider view, my guiding principle was to do the least harm for the most good, by weighing up the various interests.

One ethical concern was to minimise environmental harm. As the carbon emissions associated with research travel are a source of great social harm, I

[3] Sweden's Higher Education Act formally states: "The mandate of higher education institutions shall include third stream activities…[and] that benefit is derived from research findings." (Swedish Parliament, 1992, Section 2(1)).

decided to confine sampling to proximal regions, and when I had to travel for personal reasons, my inclusion of local cases was partly motivated by my desire to ‘offset’ this form of social harm. Another important concern was to minimise harms to my participants. I began by referring to ethical codes in Sweden and Australia, the standards in both jurisdictions being similar, considering among other things, the need for ethical review of my data collection.[4] However, as my research did not involve personally sensitive data and did not entail an obvious risk of participant harm, it did not require formal ethics review in either jurisdiction, so I did not seek it. Concerns of privacy, confidentiality, and consent nevertheless remained practically relevant and important for me to consider.

I tackled consent in various ways, viewing it as an ongoing construction rather than a once-and-for-all matter resolved at participant recruitment. Often, I sought consent at recruitment prior to data collection. Otherwise, in covert observations when I would reveal my identity afterwards, recruiting suitable participants and gaining permission to use the previously collected data; otherwise, I did not use it. At recruitment, I provided information enabling informed consent, introducing myself and my research, the data collection procedures, the storage and use of materials, and that [their] consent could be withdrawn at any time (Swedish Research Council, 2017). I would often re-state this in emails arranging data collection, and orally at commencement of data collection, which was often audio-recorded. While a formal written statement of consent may have been beneficial at recruitment, my research lacked risk, and a less formal approach aided recruitment; moreover, little was to be gained as consent was a matter to be readdressed throughout the research.

Although my research was very low risk, privacy loss was a remote harm (Swedish Research Council, 2017; Veal, 2005). Yet, surprisingly few of my participants raised this as a concern, several declaring they ‘had nothing to hide’. I remained conscious that consent is slippery, and that situations and opinions could change, so I always strove to maintain privacy and confidentiality as far as possible. This was not always easy to do. Small sample sizes and contextual embeddedness can make this difficult in qualitative

[4] For instance, the Helsinki declaration (WMA, 2013 [1964]) and Sweden’s Ethical Review of Research Involving Humans Act 2004 (Swedish Parliament, 2004) are similar to the Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and role of Human Research Ethics Committees (Australian Government, NHMRC, 2021), in their concern to protect participants from physical and psychological harms and in laying out rules for ethics review. The Australian Privacy Act (Australian Government, 2021 [1988]) is also similar to the EU GDPR in relation to protection of privacy in the processing of personal data (European Union, 2016).

research (Veal, 2005), and this was so in my research. While my aim in all cases was to limit identification as far as possible by disguising people and places (e.g., Reid, 2019), in some cases risk of identification persisted despite these efforts. As Veal (2005, p. 69) says, “For those ‘in the know’, the places and the people involved in the research project may all be divulged”. An example is the ‘intervening’ site, wherein the use of single rare case made confidentiality problematic in respect to the programme managers in the case organisation (Reid, 2018). The ‘innovating’ site was also problematic in drawing on a few cases linked to a particular awards programme (Reid, 2019). The necessary links to context made concealment efforts a thin disguise, so I took further steps to limit risk of harm by avoiding citing participants verbatim and only using the materials to make non-contentious points, attempting to shield participants from personal accountability or embarrassment. Informed consent was important here, too, and I took care to divulge risks of identification to these participants and check with them about the use of materials.

> Touring Note
>
> At the ‘reflecting’ stop, Reid (2021a) explores the entanglements of family in the field.

The limits of consent were sometimes hard to discern in practice. My research involved close and frequent contact with some enterprisers, producing more friendly working relations (e.g., Cederholm, 2015; Cohen, 2010); and so participants would sometimes tell me personal things, for instance mentioning health or family problems, expressing strong personal opinions about sensitive topics, complicating the view of what was to be legitimately considered ‘data’ within the scope of research consent. At other times the limits were clearer, albeit only implied. For instance, on one occasion an enterpriser moved outside the shop and proceeded to candidly unfold personal views about politics in Sweden, only later stopping to ask if I was still recording, and the embarrassed response to my affirmative reply marking this out-of-bounds in terms of my research. When doubts arose I followed the advice of Veal (2005, p. 68) to check if information was given on- or off-the-record and ask “informants [if] they are prepared to be quoted”. Otherwise, generality and anonymity were my tools to insulate participants from harm.

> Touring Note
>
> The ‘innovating’ stop (Reid, 2019) offers an example of using anonymity and generality to protect participant privacy.

My constructionist epistemology raised additional points of ethical concern, the ethics of consent being even more troublesome in constructionist research in that power asymmetries extend beyond collection to encompass the re-presentation of accounts in processes of analysis and reporting (Ryen, 2016). I sought to address this by being reflexive and transparent in analysis and representation, and revealing my role in reconstruction of member accounts (Reid, 2019).

> Touring Note
>
> At the ‘innovating’ stop, Reid (2019) illustrates the narrative power of the researcher.

One dilemma for me was juggling the relations of family and field (see Reid, 2021a). As many small tourism enterprises are part-time, often on weekends, my research work affected time in family. I sought to reconcile competing demands by bringing my family to some field sites. Their involvements assisted my research in surprising ways, acting as ‘wedges’ opening doors in the field (Wylie, 1987); they were unofficial adjuncts to my work (Korpela, Hirvi, & Tawah, 2016; Wylie, 1987). In a sense, they were incidentally commodified, unpaid workers in my professional enterprises engaged in a kind of unpaid ‘relational work’ (Cederholm, 2018). Juggling the disparate demands of family and profession can produce knotty dilemmas for researchers with families. I deemed that involving my family was a reasonable balance of ethical responsibilities as father-husband-researcher, serving both research and family. Yet, in weighing up the commodification of family, in service of my research, the lines are not always clear. Such are the moral tangles that come with taking a wide view over research ethics.

Reprising

In some ways the road not travelled is a moot point, insofar as one can only really speculate on what might have happened had different choices been made. Yet it remains that in making any choice, another is not made, and these choices constrain and enable the research enterprises of knowledge production. Contemplation of choices and their effects is inherent to research quality, reflexivity and transparency highlighting strengths and limitations of research enabling others to judge its quality.

Reprising Selecting

As is typical in qualitative research my sampling was purposive, not random, so my samples are biased. There is little choice but to make purposeful selections in qualitative research that is concerned to explore the qualities of, typically rare and unusual, phenomena. Practically speaking, a researcher can only study what they can access, and the state of the theory and practice shaped the selections I could make for each of the sites of enterprising I studied. There is also the practical issue of respondent self-selection, as not every enterpriser I approached agreed to join in my research. All this affected the material I had to work with, shaping what comes from the research. My choices were made for good scientific and practical reasons, yet it remains important to mention that different selections may have yielded different insights as social phenomena are heterogeneous in empirical expression. There is no getting around it: selections must always be made. This limit applies to all research, including my own, and readers should always remain mindful of that; though it is also important to bear in mind that my stated aim is not one of theoretical reduction but conceptual diversification. In this respect, this variation is not to be abhorred, but welcomed as the basis of producing working knowledge.

As is typical in qualitative research, my sample is relatively small, both in relation to each site of enterprising and overall. It can be argued, as positivists might, that this offers scant basis for generalisability, or that findings are anecdotal or self-fulfilling. The take on this is a matter of epistemological perspective. Bigger is not necessarily better in the search for quality, and quantity does not offer deeper insight. Valuable insights can be gained from exploring a single case, depth of exploration being the route to qualitative insight (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Flyvbjerg, Landman, & Schram, 2012). My work offers breadth and depth – there is depth in the exploration of each enterprising site, and breadth in exploring different sites of enterprising and in taking up different theoretical and methodological vantages, affording methodological triangulation in the broad sense of raising research quality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Flick, 2004). Most importantly, my qualitative research effort is geared not the production of invariant truths capable of universal generalisation, but to the production of practicable knowledge that may be useful to others concerned to explore the terrain of tourism enterprises and tourism development.

Reprising Collecting

Methods of data collection produce the material that is available to analyse, shaping knowledge production and here is no single ‘right’ way. Methods are simply more-or-less useful tools for learning about empirical phenomena

(Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012). Moreover, from a constructionist standpoint, methods are not neutral means, but steps in knowledge production (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012). I picked methods that seemed fit-for-purpose in that they were appropriate to the facet of my inquiry at hand, being likely to gather information relevant to my research questions, weighing up matters of research quality and harm to stakeholders including participants (Swedish Research Council, 2017).

My application of my chosen methods was careful, as was my recording and handing of materials. Yet, it is also important to point out that not every detail can be observed, nor can every question be asked, nor every moment followed. Different collecting and recording methods capture parts of the action, and the researcher can only occupy certain vantages, in spatial and social terms. Moreover, not everything goes according to the researcher's plans: not every site I visited enabled progression; not all enterprisers agreed to join, and those that did participate did not only do so on my terms. Requests for research engagements went unanswered or were sometimes granted at short notice and participants were variously accommodating, allowing me to interact with them in different ways. Thus, my access to people and situations varied (e.g., Reid, 2021b). From a constructionist vantage, there is also the matter of being a social subject who carries ingrained understandings and habits into the field, and who is socially positioned in interactions with others. All these things give shape to what is gathered through interactions with the field. Realising this, I simply tried to remain open and attentive, diligently collecting empirical material while recognising that my presences and positions affected what came from the field. My shifting role positions affected the production of research materials.

> Touring Note
>
> At the 'reflecting' stop, Reid (2021a) explores positionality and knowledge construction.

My field engagements unfolded in relation to various social 'positions' extending beyond the role of 'researcher' to encompass other social roles in the personal domain, all affording insights. For instance, I was variously a 'local' or a 'foreigner': in Australia I was a 'local' and in Sweden I was a 'foreigner', my ignorance enabling me to ask 'dumb' questions in order to get detailed explanations. My family sometimes joined me in the field, periodically re-positioning me as 'husband-parent', and my family positions even followed me into the field despite their physical absence (see: Reid, 2021a). My participation

> Touring Note
>
> At the 'performing' stop, Reid (2021b) shows how role positions emerge in enterprising.

was always ‘active’, affecting all the talk and action (Atkinson, 2015; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Sometimes I used my identities as a resource to elicit positional shifts, performing ‘lines’ and showing ‘faces’ (Goffman, 1967) to engage with enterprisers on different terms (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995); on other occasions others took the lead, shifting their positions, speaking from different vantages to unfold their own agendas (Jacobsson & Åkerström, 2013). This is all part of the situated social action, where meanings of situations and roles are being made on-the-spot (Goffman, 1956, 1967, 1983). All sorts of events shaped what came from my engagements with the field. To me, there was no such thing as a ‘failed’ field engagement, only different kinds of engagements yielding different insights (Jacobsson & Åkerström, 2013). So I simply took what I could from the varied circumstances emerging in my engagements with the field (e.g., see Reid, 2021a, 2021b).[5]

I applied my methods carefully adapting to the situation, gathering materials from different vantages, both between and within each enterprising site included in my study. Gathering materials in different times and places, engaging with various respondents, and using different methods can be seen as forms of triangulation, not in an objectivist sense, but in the sense that breadth and depth of materials support research quality (Decrop, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I have been very clear in explaining what I did, how I did and why, enabling others to judge the effects for themselves, and being transparent is part of research quality.

Reprising Analysing

I used analytical methods that were fit-for-purpose, suitable to the materials on hand. Yet, it remains that qualitative analysis is an individual and artistic enterprise and different people can ‘see’ different things and can be ‘sensitised’ by certain theoretical ideas (Blumer, 1954). As Charmaz and Belgrave (2012, p. 349) say, “meanings…do not inhere entirely within or solely emerge from the data”. The disciplinary habitat shapes the academic habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1988, 1990), which comes with all sorts of theoretical ideas that shape research practice. The only response is to be reflexive and transparent. Although my research has been empirically led, it remains that theory has been ever-present, shaping my enterprise of knowledge production. I have been led to theory by empirical materials and I have used theories productively in my

[5] For instance, on one memorable occasion, my prearranged visit to observe customer service interactions from the side was completely derailed by an unfolding production crisis – I lost the observation of customer service interactions, but as the harried enterpriser showed me what had happened, I gained valuable insights into the backstage of production.

analysis. On the one hand, using several theories can be seen as a form of triangulation (Flick, 2004), adding theoretical rigour to the research. On the other hand, theory is also a constraint, limiting other views of studied phenomena. Thus, I have sought to explain how and when theoretical perspectives affected my research so readers can judge for themselves the effects on my work. I have also sought to directly raise specific trouble spots, highlighting positionality and power in my research, revealing my role as constructor of knowledge and teller of research narratives (Reid, 2019). What is important in all of this is that my claims account for these limitations. This research does so explicitly by rejecting notions of generality and theoretical reduction, instead advocating for theoretical diversification, and with the modest epistemological aim of producing practicable, working knowledge.

Previewing the Tour: Points of Interest

This compilation thesis visits five sites of enterprising action, building imagery of tourism enterprises, and the mundane practices of tourism development. The Tour illustrates different ways of engaging with enterprising, offering a launching point for further investigations concerned to deepen understanding of tourism enterprises and tourism development.

At Stop 1– Innovating, (Reid, 2019) tours cases of tourism innovation to explore the narrative rationality of enterprise innovation, and reflect over the knowledge development enterprise of research. It reminds us that innovating is narrative construction, narratives not only recounting innovating 'as it happened', but that narrating is also an enterprising practice.

At Stop 2 – Constructing, Reid (2020) tours tourism lifestyle enterprises using Bourdieu's social theory to provide a holistic understanding of the organising practices of tourism enterprise development. It reminds us that enterprising is a situated construction, enacted according to enterprisers' logics of practice. It reminds us to be mindful that it is enterprises' logics that guide the action of enterprising and the enactment of enterprises.

At Stop 3 – Performing, Reid (2021b) offers a detailed, covert observational account of lifestyle enterprising, using Goffman's dramaturgy to understand how enterprising is interactively performed in life. It reminds us that enterprising is constructed by those engaged in making it 'happen'.

At Stop 4 – Intervening, Reid (2018) offers a rare case of a university extension to illustrate the incentivising role of public actors in promoting rural tourism development, and the implications of this for the university institution.

It reminds us that interventions need to take enterprisers' worlds into account. It also suggests that extension practice may offer institutional benefits in dissolving the theory-practice gap separating universities from society.

At Stop 5 – Reflecting, Reid (2021a) reflects on the entanglements of research and family. It shows how exploration of tourism enterprising requires an adapted fieldwork methodology, in this case bringing an Australian husband and father to embark with his family on a five-year doctoral trip to Sweden, highlighting the need for the self-reflective presence in studies of tourism enterprising.

Welcome to the tour!

Artwork by Luis Høeg Ortiz including drawings by George Robbins Reid
Figure 2 Treats en Route – stops along the way

2. Tour Stop 1: Innovating

Introducing the Innovating Stop (Paper 1)

This stop visits the enterprising action of innovating. This stop asks: *how does innovating happen in tourism enterprises?* This stop engages with innovators, enterprisers who have undertaken rare feats of tourism innovation in Australia, asking them to tell us how they managed to do it. These enterprisers reconstruct their innovating in retrospect, telling innovation tales. The enterprisers construct themselves as learners, both in what they tell of and how they tell. They tell of using resources and relations and of know-how to get what they needed and of a personal quest for knowledge that enables adaptability. Thus, they are not only engaged in innovating their enterprises, but are also innovating themselves. Engaging with enterprising, the concept of innovation becomes negotiable, going beyond firm scale to personal scale, extending beyond the commercial domain, and even to the enterprise of researching. Engaging the modality of enterprising, we see how the concept of innovation can travel.

Paper 1: Reid (2019). Wonderment in tourism land: Three tales of innovation

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Wonderment in tourism land: three tales of innovation

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ABSTRACT

The paper uses an unconventional story format to report on three cases of tourism innovation, using the literary genre of nonsense to also contemplate narrative expression in academic research. Case materials principally derive from open in-depth interviews. The analysis highlights the importance of knowledge in innovation, also illuminating an important relationship to entrepreneurial passion. Notably, passionate interest inspires a learning habit that builds enabling stocks of knowledge; these knowledge stocks render the necessary technical knowledge and situational awareness to see and seize innovation opportunity. By using their vast stock of knowledge, entrepreneurs can identify needed resources and know-how and ways to fill in the gaps. In prosaic terms, this ingrained learning habit depicts a story of incremental innovation at personal scale. Use of the literary nonsense genre overtly positions narrative as a rhetorical form, inviting contemplation of alternative forms of scholarly expression. In this respect, novel forms of expression open the way to new insight into social phenomena. Polyvocality enhances our knowledge of the social world.

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Epilogue

This paper departs from the customary cannons of academic writing to offer a conventionally unconventional tale. It is a tale about tales or, more accurately, a tale of tales retold; after all, every story “includes the words of others” (de Montoya, 2004, p. 77). Naturally, names have been changed to insulate identities; else all is as true as subjective human existence permits. So, in effect, it is neither a work of fact nor a fiction but sits somewhere in-between; embracing the epistemology of constructionism (Pernecky, 2012) as it must, as “even the simplest narratives are complex constructions, selective accounts of selective events” (de Montoya, 2004, p. 77). Hark that the preceding remark does not mark a retreat into relativism; rather, saying such simply serves to signal that all knowledge is “transactional, subjectivist, value mediated and co-created” (Ateljevic, Morgan, & Pritchard, 2008, p. 951), rendering the relevant revelation that “all knowledge is partially true” (Ateljevic et al., 2008, p. 950).

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This article has been republished with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

The protagonist in this tale of tales is an inquisitive social science researcher whom I have, not arbitrarily, named Alice. The name is a nod to the heroine of the 1865 fantasy novel *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, written by Charles Dodgson but penned under the pseudonym of Lewis Carroll (Carroll, 2004[1866]). In *that* tale, Alice falls through a magical rabbit hole to enter a weird world inhabited by odd anthropomorphic creatures, from which point Carroll creatively unfolds Alice's sense-making journey home. In this respect, Carroll's Alice is an apt avatar for all social science researchers, who also plunge headlong into peculiar "social worlds" (Unruh, 1980) and subsequently strive to make sense of the strange sights they see.

As a prime example of the genre of literary nonsense (Lecercle, 2002), Carroll's fantastic tale furnishes a fine trope apposite to the overarching purpose of this paper, namely, to unsettle settled conventions of academic writing. Notably, nonsense is a "conservative-revolutionary genre" (Lecercle, 2002, p. 2) paradoxically conserving and undoing convention through a delicate interplay of deviance and conformity, rhetorically achieved through a playful mixture of irreverence and deference. As Lecercle (2002, pp. 2–3) explains, the nonsense genre is "deeply respectful of authority in all its forms: rules of grammar, maxims of conversation and of politeness, the authority of the canonical author of the parodied text….mixed with…the liberated, light-fantastic, nonsensical aspect…where rules and maxims appear to be joyously subverted". In the current endeavour, nonsense is used as a rhetorical device to deconstruct the cannons of academic writing by respectfully ridiculing them. In particular, by purposely taking certain academic writing conventions to a ludicrous extreme, the constructed character of academic narratives is laid bare.

However, the rhetorical device of nonsense does not merely render criticism; the light-hearted approach to the deconstructive endeavour instead serves both to entertain and to enliven the reader to wider possibilities. In the tradition of the Frankfurt school of critical theorists, the teleological end is to elevate transformational possibility (Dant, 2003). In this paper, the deconstruction seeks to provoke contemplation of the hegemonic rhetorical form typical of much academic writing, not merely for the sake of critique, but to elevate the transformative idea that scholars may choose to read and write academic narratives differently. This tale of Alice's wonderment seeks to advance these wider notions, while also offering insights into innovation. The basic point common to both themes is that it is worthwhile to wonder if there are other ways to do things. Wonderment is the kernel of innovation in any realm and it is in this liminal space that *this* tale will play.

To wit, and without further ado, *this* Alice falls through the metaphorical rabbit-hole to enter the strange world of tourism, wherein she meets three rare creatures – entrepreneurs that have managed marvellous feats of innovation. Each eagerly tells Alice an innovation tale. Still, since "tales have to tell themselves" (Smith & Anderson, 2004, p. 142), I must insist that you conform to the notion of nonsense by contravening convention – divesting any desire to digest all the details at the start, but instead dally and get-the-gist gradually, even ethnographically, by "going along" (e.g., Kusenbach, 2003) and joining-in Alice's journey.

A beginning

One day, Alice came to be intrigued by the topic of tourism innovation. There was no momentous moment as such; rather, her interest just drifted to mind with the dawning realisation that "innovation" had, by all accounts, become terribly topical in tourism.

Suddenly, at least as it seemed to her at the time, talk of tourism innovation had positively permeated the public discourse: news stories (Sherry, 2015), industry conferences and awards (QTIC, 2015; TTNQ, 2015; UNWTO, 2015), government websites and policy documents (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2006, 2010, 2011; RET, 2009) all extolled the virtues of innovation and exhorted firms, and destinations, to innovate.

With her curiosity positively, if not profoundly, pricked, Alice promptly did what any social science researcher did – she peeked at the weighty wisdom accumulated in the bountiful body of academic literature. Here, somewhat to her surprise, she started to see that the fervent industry interest in innovation seemingly did enjoy some support in academic thought; wise academicians indicated that innovation was good for firms and the surrounding economic systems they inhabited (e.g., Drucker, 1985; Johannessen, Olsen, & Lumpkin, 2001; Porter, 1990; Tidd & Bessant, 2013). In fact, innovation had, it seemed, long been deemed a driver of firm and economic performance; leastways, since Schumpeter (1934) styled the entrepreneur as a catalytic agents of creative destruction. Now, anyhow, most modern pundits appeared to agree that innovation inevitably instilled competitive advantage – a truism evidently echoed in Porter's oft-quoted quip that "Companies achieve competitive advantage through acts of innovation" (1990, p. 74). At this point, Alice thought that the logic of it seemed, as usually it did, utterly unassailable.

Although, Alice soon saw innovation was not *all* plain sailing. In fact, it was a rather risky road. By all indications, innovation was "disruptive, risky and costly" (Tidd & Bessant, 2013, p. 109) and the innovation process was not fancy free but was in fact "fraught with uncertainty" (OECD, 2005, p. 30), fairly "like driving in the fog" (Tidd & Bessant, 2013, p. 330). Indeed, any innovation effort "could cost many resources" (Sundbo, 2002, p. 29) and firms could even "innovate *and* die" (Hall & Williams, 2008, p. 29)! Understandably unsettled, Alice now wondered if innovation was such a good idea after all.

Still, several sensible people said firms needed innovation to simply survive, let alone thrive, in this world of tourism (e.g., Cooper, 2006; Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 2010; Sundbo, Orfila-Sintes, & Sørensen, 2007; Weidenfeld, Williams, & Butler, 2010); it had, for instance, been said that "firms' competitiveness depends on their innovativeness" (Sundbo et al., 2007, p. 88) and so, ergo, competitive escalation compelled "innovative behaviour from firms in order to compete" (Sundbo, 2002, p. 66). In long and in short, it seemed innovation in tourism was "crucial to the establishment, growth and survival of firms" (Hall & Williams, 2008, p. 24). Reasoning this through, Alice reasonably reached the view that, regardless of real risks, *not* innovating indicated a road to ruin. "*What a dastardly dilemma!*" she declared.

That perilous prognosis prompted Alice to seek some sort of solution. She set off spiritedly, speculating that *"There must be some magic formula for innovation!"* Alas, her hopes were dashed by a devilish dearth of research. Although innovation research was well advanced in manufacturing where "innovation theory has its roots" (Drejer, 2004, p. 551), the research was scantier in services (Drejer, 2004; Flikkema, Jansen, & Van Der Sluis, 2007) and in tourism it was troublesomely thin (Hjalager, 2010; Sipe & Testa, 2009; Williams, 2008): tourism innovation research was a "young phenomenon" (Hjalager, 2010, p. 8) and there had been "surprisingly little research" (Hall & Williams, 2008, p. 4). Needless to say, neither the meaning nor means of tourism innovation were really very clear (Hall & Williams, 2008; Hjalager, 1994, 2002, 2009, 2010; Sipe & Testa, 2009). At this point, Alice thought innovation looked a bit like "buzzword", just like Hjalager (2010, p. 1) had previously said. Presently, Alice questioned if industry's quest for innovation was possibly the epitome of the idiomatic "fool's errand" – striving after something without knowing what it was or how it worked seemed such a temerarious thing to do!

Reasonably reasoning that "*If one was to find anything one had to first know what it looked like*", Alice resolved to "start-from-scratch", so to speak and nut-out what "innovation" was. It proved to be a tough nut too. By and by, she detected that most descriptions concerned "the concept of newness" (Johannessen et al., 2001, p. 20) and novelty was the "key distinguishing feature" (Slappendel, 1996, p. 107). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) said as much, solemnly stating it such: "By definition all innovations must contain a degree of novelty" (OECD, 2005). "*Alas, all that did not seem very helpful*" thought Alice, as she wistfully wondered what "novelty" looked like. It seemed *such* a slippery concept! After all, it had not seldom been said that innovation involved different degrees of change – from small and incremental to radical and disruptive (Abernathy & Clark, 1985; Damanpour, 1996; Hjalager, 1994, 2002; Schumpeter, 1934; Tidd & Bessant, 2013). The notion of newness was nebulous too since novelty was naturally "in the eye of the beholder" (Tidd & Bessant, 2013, p. 30). Johannessen et al. (2001, p. 23) precisely put the problem thus the question of "'how new' was linked to the question of 'new to whom?'" This basically meant that any given innovation could be "new-to-the-firm", "new-to-the-market" or "new-to-the-world" (OECD, 2005; Tidd & Bessant, 2013). Moreover, many mentioned that innovation was more than a mere outcome, but was a process with at least two parts too, broadly constituted by creativity/invention *and* implementation/exploitation (e.g., Damanpour, 1996; Fuglsang & Sundbo, 2002; Hjalager, 2002, 2010; Kanter, 1996; Sundbo, 2002; Tidd & Bessant, 2013). Alice diligently digested this deluge of detail thus: innovation did not exist unless "novelty" was put into effect (Hjalager, 2002, 2010; Tidd & Bessant, 2013); new-to-the-firm innovation (OECD, 2005; Tidd & Bessant, 2013) was "the minimum entry level" (OECD, 2005, p. 57); and an innovative firm was one that had "implemented at least one innovation" (OECD, 2005, p. 58). *"Well, that seems to have settled that!"* she surmised, happy to be making some headway at last.

With the "what" sufficiently settled, Alice turned to the trouble of "how". Here, she shortly sighted specifications spanning the spectrum of structure and agency, with explications spanning individuals and organizations through to the institutional frameworks surrounding their sum. For instance, there were "systems of innovation" (Edquist, 2005), constituted in tourism by "the economic structure and institutional set-up affecting learning and innovation in tourism firms" (Sundbo et al., 2007, p. 93), and Hjalager (2009) even adroitly applied that to events! Others contemplated the importance of networks and collaborative arrangements as repositories of resources assisting innovation in tourism (e.g., Liburd, Carlsen, & Edwards, 2013; Novelli, Schmitz, & Spencer, 2006; Sundbo et al., 2007). Others acknowledged knowledge as an additive activating tourism innovation processes (e.g., Hjalager, 2002, 2009; Weidenfeld et al., 2010). Alice's head *spun* – all the different vantages were interesting and insightful but she discovered, just as her namesake had done, that "being so many different sizes in a day is very confusing" (Carroll, 2004[1866], p. 60)!

The nub of the rub was "*How to look at the how of it?*" After ruminating on it, a relieved Alice recalled the relevant revelation that entrepreneurs instigated innovation by instituting ideas (Drucker, 1985; Schumpeter, 1934; Tidd & Bessant, 2013). So *all* she had to do was find some! It all sounded simple, until Alice careened into a confounding contradiction that even though tourism was "a phenomenon characterized by immense innovativeness" (Hjalager, 2010, p. 1), evolving new products and processes over time (Hjalager, 2010; OECD, 2010), it appeared that most firms were *not* very innovative (Hjalager, 2002, 2010; Sundbo et al., 2007; Weidenfeld et al., 2010). "'Curiouser and curiouser!' cried Alice" (Carroll, 2004[1866], p. 15), just as her namesake had when *she* was bedevilled by bewilderment. That is, though Alice had soundly surmised that it could be useful to appraise entrepreneurs in innovative tourism firms, the pithy practical problem of "*How to find them?*" had presently presented: Puzzling this puzzling puzzle, Alice pounced upon a plausible possibility: "*Perhaps I could ask people in firms that have won accolades for tourism innovation*", she said. Though *that* proved positively easier said than done – as innovative tourism firms were, as it were, rather rare, it took some searching to find some! Thereafter, she said she should like to speak to someone who could recount "*How the innovative idea came about?*" And *that* was how the three tales of innovation came about!

The three telling tales

The tale of Charlie

Charlie's story started in 1976 when he decided to build a rainforest tourism attraction in a tropical wilderness in Australia. There and then, tourism was tiny. To make matters worse, Charlie's attraction was far from town. So Charlie simply started a bus service too! Little by little, tourism grew; and thus Charlie's businesses survived and prospered. A lot later, in 2004, Charlie bravely bought a half-share in a struggling butterfly sanctuary. It too was out of the town, now more like a city, so the busses were helpful here too. So it soon grew too.

Then, in 2005, Charlie took another chance, taking up a lease over an indoor wildlife habitat dome atop a hotel in the heart of the now small city. But interest in the dome was low. So, in 2006, when Charlie began using busses for jungle tours, the wildlife dome was included as a stop along the way. This helped, but even so, interest in the dome remained depressingly low. Evidently it needed some "*extra attraction to bring in more visitors*". An external dome climb presented a possibility, but that inkling idea (and everything else) was interrupted when the 2007 financial crisis caused a tourism slump.

Some 4 years later, when tourism started to stop stuttering, Charlie decided it was time to take a trip, searching for ideas and inspiration. Charlie's wondering wandering evidently worked wonders – shortly after his return, he simply "*sat down and worked out a design for an entire adventure course inside the dome*". Charlie's plan, completed in March 2011, included 65 ropes courses and zip lines, a free fall bungee, and an external dome climb offering panoramic views of the city. The plan was submitted to the municipality, gaining construction consent some 7 months later in October 2011. The ensuing building work proved particularly challenging because the project was so peculiar: "*basically retro-fitting…a glass house to be an adventure attraction*". The fire safety was terribly troublesome: "*it was absolutely ludicrous, they treated it like and office…and it held us up for quite some time*". In contrast, operational commencement was simple and straightforward, thanks to Charlie's expertise and experience. To conclude, Charlie's plan proved to be a great success, gaining innovation acclaim for implementing a challenge ropes course inside an immersive wildlife exhibition.

The tale of Johnnie

Johnnie founded his first firm in construction "*building wharves and bridges*". So one day, Johnnie found himself leading a project to build an adventure climb on a river bridge in a big Australian city. Becoming increasingly intrigued by the tourism side of it, Johnnie started toying with transitioning into tourism. So he started *"looking around [the city] to … identify any other opportunities"*. Realizing that the remarkable river and riverside cliffs of the city were not really being used, Johnnie settled on "*a concept that would allow people to enjoy the beauty of [city] and the river's edge*". By and by, in 2005, he started a business offering adventure activities on the river and riverside cliffs. The business was a success, and within a few years he expanded it into outdoor and wellness activities on a nearby island where cruise ship passengers visited a resort.

Noticing his activities on the island, the cruise ship operator asked Johnnie if he could come up with some ideas for ships. So Johnnie set off to the ships, to watch and chat with passengers and crew, getting a "feel" for the ships and how adventure activities could work. Consequently, Johnnie crafted a comprehensive concept delivering new adventure activities using the architecture of the ship. The main challenge was "*convincing the Captain and the ship's staff that it's a good idea to create something…that could add to the list of risks and accidents on-board*". The safety record of Johnnie's other businesses helped him here, as did his knowledge of state-of-the-art safety gear, honed by his habit of wandering the world "*looking at different systems and different places*". Consequently, the management of the cruise line concurred with his concept, consenting to construction on one ship. Johnnie's extensive experience in establishing similar adventure activities, albeit on land, made the shipboard implementation straightforward. Pleased by the plentiful passenger plaudits, and a perfect safety record, the management of the cruise line subsequently extended the concept to several other ships. Johnnie justly won innovation acclaim for crafting new experiences for cruise ship passengers by using the ships' architecture to create adventure parks at sea.

The tale of Jennie

Jennie's story began 15 years ago when she, as a veterinarian and marine biologist, and Paulie, another marine biologist, were asked to care for some sick turtles. Jennie and Paulie were initially able to use an old aquarium, but it was only a temporary arrangement and they needed to find a permanent place. Hearing of this, a local business owner offered them use of a building in town, and this became their new base. And so it went, with them caring for a few sick or injured turtles that people would bring in: "*we used to get 4–5 turtles every year…just the two of us doing it, we got another couple of volunteers* *on board and we got a few more turtles over the years*". For a while, all went well enough; until freakishly bad weather triggered a mass turtle stranding far exceeding the capacity of Jennie's little facility. Horrified that hundreds of endangered turtles died, Jennie determined to get a larger facility; however, having no site and no resources, it was merely an important idea. Luckily, one day, another local business owner said Jennie could use a site that they owned on a nearby island; and "*so the idea was hatched that we build over there*".

Although she still had no money or resources, she started working on it anyway, simply "making do" with whatever she "*could beg or borrow*". Progress was painfully slow until a chance meeting with a local politician fortuitously furnished fabulous aid in the form of earthmoving equipment: *"One day I ran into [politician] and I said…"We really need your help". And he said "Ok, what do you need?" And I said, "A Bobcat would be great" … and on the barge next week was a Bobcat! That made a lot of difference … we could clear large amounts of land which otherwise would have taken years".*

The lack of financial resources made things hard but Jennie persevered because she passionately believed these endangered tropical turtles "*needed somebody to look after them, and that was us*". Many, if not most, in the local community saw things the same way, seeing the turtles as a barometer of the health of reef. The topicality of the tropical turtles saw Jennie interviewed on television one day, whereupon she took the chance to simply say "*we really need workers and tradespeople*". Her request rendered a remarkable response, with many volunteering to help. From then on, whenever she needed help, she would just place an ad in a local newspaper and "…*plumbers and electricians…and carpenters….would ring up and say 'We'd love to come and help! What can we do?'*" In this way, the new facility got built and the rehabilitation work got underway in 2012. The rehabilitation success rates were soon among the highest in the country, largely thanks to the dedicated volunteers that Jennie tirelessly trained. Thereafter, Jennie started tours to educate people about turtles and the rehabilitation work; soon a steady stream of tourists, students and researchers started coming. The tours engaged these visitors in conservation behaviour, furnishing funds for the facility. In conclusion, Jennie was later lauded, an innovation prize awarded, for so effectively combining turtle tourism experiences with turtle conservation and research.

An end

The fantastic tales all fascinated Alice; after all, Jennie, Johnnie and Charlie had all managed to do something new! In one way, each tale traced a master plot of a Quest (Kent, 2015), wherein "some major incident" sparked a search for a "person, place, or thing" (2015, p. 486) with the action tracing the three parts of the uncertain start, confrontation of stern challenges, all culminating in a triumphant win. Here, historical happenings clearly had inspired Jennie, Johnnie and Charlie to act, initially with only an inkling of an idea: Charlie did not know at the start what to do with the dome, Johnnie did not know what might work on ships, and Jennie had but a dim and distant vision! Each started anyway, seeking answers as they went, their trajectory taking twists and turns that shaped how things turned out. Each faced challenges too: for Charlie, fire safety was the worst; Johnnie faced challenges of safety and passenger risk; and Jennie faced the challenge of having no resources. In the end, they all defeated their difficulties, triumphantly bringing their innovation to life. Each story was, of course, more than just an entertaining Quest tale: as situated local accounts, the stories depicted the messy lived practice of entrepreneurial life (de Montoya, 2004), sifted into some semblance of sense (Rae, 2000). In making sense, these entrepreneurial tales (Smith & Anderson, 2004) offered sense-giving too (e.g., de Montoya, 2004; Foss, 2004; Rae, 2000; Smith & Anderson, 2004). The quintessential question for Alice was thus "*What could it all mean?*"

Musing on the meaning, Alice noticed that Jennie, Johnnie and Charlie all managed to get the resources they needed, but their ways and means diverged and differed. For one thing, Johnnie and Charlie relied mainly on internal resources, while Jennie needed lots of outside resource help. The character of it differed too: Jennie relied on extensive external relations (media, political and business) to requisition real resources; Johnnie cultivated a couple of contacts (senior management and shipboard staff) to aid investigation and development of the idea; and Charlie carefully sustained a single relation to the lessor of the dome to smooth the way. In this, the tales all jibed with the views of external relations as repositories of resources (e.g., Liburd et al., 2013; Sundbo et al., 2007; Weidenfeld et al., 2010). Notably, though, Alice also noticed that each of them *adapted*, relying on relations in different ways precisely as they needed. Knowing that knowledge was an important innovation ingredient (Hjalager, 2002, 2009, 2010; Liburd et al., 2013), Alice assessed the theme of know-how too. It was clear that Johnnie and Charlie had a habit of flitting off on fact-finding forays – clearly, a case of garnering knowledge from observation/imitation of distant, similar attractions to build stocks of knowledge, as Weidenfeld et al. (2010) had said. Jarringly, Jennie did not jaunt a jot, and Alice wondered if something was amiss until she recognized the reason – Jennie's knowledge stock was replete! Adding it all together, it seemed these innovating entrepreneurs knew both what knowledge was needed and how to fill in any knowledge gaps. "*Ah ha, it's that adaptability again!*" thought Alice, as a proverbial penny dropped.

To wit, adaptability was throughout the common thing – be it resources, relationships or know-how, these entrepreneurs knew both what was needed and how to get it too. The must, as de Montoya (2004, p. 59) said, adapt so as to "process the events that flow around them". After further contemplation, Alice came to the inconclusive conclusion, just as her namesake had, that "Here, was another puzzling question" (Carroll, 2004[1866], p. 120). The quintessential question was not that adaptability was needed but "*How?*

Undoubtedly, it was their understanding of the innovation realm that enabled them to act as a vet and marine biologist experienced in turtle rehabilitation work, Jennie could conceive a facility that would work; Charlie's long experience with nature attractions had helped him revamp the disappointing dome; and Johnnie's experience in land-based adventure activities helped him put such on ships. Passion was a potent potion in the mix. Pointedly, it was long-held passionate interest that had furnished the knowledge to act: Charlie had been involved in local nature tourism for over 40 years; Johnnie had enjoyed heights and outdoor activities for near-on 20 years; and Jennie had been directly involved in rehabilitation for over 15 years. So each story was the same: Jennie, Johnnie and Charlie succeeded in their quest because knew what was needed and how to fill-in gaps.

All in all, Alice sussed it thus: they succeeded because they knew a great deal about their innovation arena; they knew a great deal because their passion inspired them to persist and learn. It was their accumulated stock of knowledge that made them masters of their art. That recast the stories in a new light. The detail of the "e-tail" (Smith & Anderson, 2004) was really how they chose to live and make a living (de Montoya, 2004), persisting in their "entrepreneuring" (Steyaert, 2007) and learning along the way (Rae, 2000). The master plot was not simply Quest, but was Discovery too (Kent, 2015). It was the story of incremental innovation at personal scale, an emergent process of entrepreneurial "becoming" (Foss, 2004). Alice reflexively reflected that, *that* was not dissimilar to her own journey. Actually, Alice thought her namesake neatly summed it up:

> Dear, dear! How queer everything is to-day! And yesterday things went on just as usual. I wonder if I've been changed in the night? Let me think: was I the same when I got up this morning? I almost think I can remember feeling a little different. But if I'm not the same, the next question is, Who in the world am I? Ah, that's the great puzzle! (Carroll, 2004 [1866], p. 19)

"*At least that was one way to look at it*", Alice supposed. Of course, as reconstruction of tales it was always just "a new story, a new construction, bearing some resemblance to what might be 'out there' in the world, ever unfolding, and inviting interpretation" (de Montoya, 2004, pp. 77–78). So it was more of *an* end than *the* end after all.

Prologue

People use stories to make sense of life (Bruner, 1991; Kent, 2015; Marris, 1997; Polkinghorne, 1988), and such stories often trace the well-known master plots that describe human life (Kent, 2015). As Kent (2015, p. 488) says: "the idea of humans as 'homonarrans' or story telling animals is well established". So it is with stories describing entrepreneurship or the action of "entrepreneuring" (Steyaert, 2007). As Smith and Anderson (2004, p. 126) say, "narratives are a central means of communicating the entrepreneurial message".

In setting out the sense of how entrepreneurs live and make a living (de Montoya, 2004; Smith & Anderson, 2004), these narratives offer the sense of entrepreneuring. Pointedly, by listening to these "entrepreneurial tales", (Smith & Anderson, 2004) it is possible to gain insight into the mundane and messy practices (de Montoya, 2004; Foss, 2004; Smith & Anderson, 2004) constituting "entrepreneuring" (Steyaert, 2007), including those activities culminating in innovation. As Rae (2000, p. 149) says "If we want to learn about people's perception of their experiences, we have to listen to and make sense of their stories".

Of course, the "events cannot tell themselves" (Throgmorton, 2003, p. 131), so these stories are necessarily narrative constructions (Branston & Stafford, 2010; Throgmorton, 2003). As the sense-giving power of any narrative is a product of its construction (Sandercock, 2003), a prosaic view invites focus on sense-giving form (Steyaert, 2004).

Notably, narratives are persuasive communications (Kent, 2015; Marris, 1997; Sandercock, 2003; Throgmorton, 1996, 2003) and storytelling is "necessarily political" (Throgmorton, 2003, p. 132). Authorial power is always at play (Jørgensen & Boje, 2010; Sandercock, 2003; Throgmorton, 2003). As Sandercock (2003, p. 21) says, "There is always an author … choosing which facts are relevant, what to describe, what to count, and in the assembling of these facts … an interpretation, either consciously or unconsciously, emerges". Pointedly, the constructed-ness of any sense-making narrative necessarily entails some political nonsense, and this is as much the case in academic writing as in any other narrative.

Selection of rhetorical form is thus a political act. The politics of rhetoric are laid bare in the literary genre of nonsense, which challenges taken-for-granted literary and social norms. In this respect, literary nonsense mirrors the deconstructive thread in post-structuralism. As Williams (2005) explains, the assorted lines of post-structuralism all retain a programmatic core of deconstruction, mounting challenges from conceptual limits to expose and debunk the presumption of a stable core. In mounting its challenge from the liminal borders of deviance and conformity, the literary genre of nonsense provokes contemplation of taken-for-granted rhetorical (and social) conventions. As Lecercle (2002, p. 2) explains: "the negative prefix in 'nonsense' … is the mark of a process not merely of denial but also of reflexivity, that non-sense is also metasense".

In contemplating a narrative of academic stories, one can simply say that the research story boils down to the simple proposition that if questions are sufficiently intriguing to merit research, then the answers are likely to be useful for others to know. Institutional scholars have long said as much in grounding the research effort in the basic premise that universities exist to generate and disseminate knowledge to benefit society (e.g., Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967; Göransson, Maharajh, & Schmoch, 2009a, 2009b; Roper & Hirth, 2005). Yet even as social science seeks to elicit creative insights into the social phenomena it investigates, the rhetorical form of its expression has resisted creativity. Most scholarly research narratives employ the rhetorical form of scientific objectivity grounded in the ideology of scientific rationalism. Even so, these versions of events remain constructed narratives, and in any narrative "there is no such thing as mere description or pure facts" (Sandercock, 2003, p. 21).

The sense-giving power of any narrative owes much to the way in which it is told (Kent, 2015; Marris, 1997; Throgmorton, 2003). As Sandercock (2003, p. 20) says "storytelling … is not merely recounting events, but endowing them with meaning by commentary, interpretation and dramatic structure". Consequently, Sandercock (2003) cautions for "alertness to the ways in which power shapes which stories get told, get heard and carry weight" (2003, p. 26). Consequently, the form of academic writing is never value-free, even if the "choice" is simply to default to the conventional rhetorical norm of scientific objectivity.

Jørgensen and Boje (2010) point to the dominance of "totalizing narratives"; describing the hegemony of narrative over story as "a violent duality of oppositions" (2010, p. 256), they "deconstructive move" to "reorganize the textual field of narrative and story" and rebalance the two (2010, p. 256). We must remain mindful of the construction lest the narrative be reified as the only version of the story. The sense-giving knowledge of scholarly narrative is no less useful for its construction; however, the rhetoric of scientific objectivity does risk conflating the narratives into the full story. This may bring the unfortunate side effect limiting the advance of knowledge.

In closing, I wish to "come clean", so to speak and expose my authorial power the purposeful selection of subject and form. I have told this narrative in a most unconventional way. I acknowledge that the language and style of my nonsensical approach may render it too obscure and frivolous for some. This is unavoidable since my aim in doing so is to make this article so jarringly different to render it provocative. Form-wise, I have borrowed from the literary genre of nonsense to achieve a political end, namely; to expose the hegemonic rhetorical form of academic writing and thus point to transformative potential; in particular, such perspective offers scope to enrich the practice of scholarship, and the teaching of scholarship, particularly regarding the essential practical matters of how scholars read and write.

To achieve my various aims, I have deliberately done several things with this text. Most obviously, I have positioned Alice as the researcher re-constructing tales of innovation told by others. Not only is Alice the narrator, but she is the narrator of the narratives of others. Thus, in using the rhetorical form of nonsense, I have deliberately elected to take the narrative construction of research writing to an even further extreme by removing the real author one step further, and I have also deliberately done this in a paradoxical way. In particular, I have used the fictional character of Alice to present the researcher as the central character in the research narrative while also using Alice to hide my identity as the hidden author. In this way, I have deliberately sought to provoke readers to wonder "who is speaking here?" My use of the opening and closing titles of "Prologue" and "Epilogue" (typically used in *spoken* performance) instead of the technically correct titles of "Preface" and "Postface" (typically used in *text*) is a symbolic gesture conveying my political aim to draw readers attention to the hidden power of authorial *voice*.

Topically, I have sought to convey the theme of innovation in three ways. First, the stories, which indeed derive from empirical research, seek to convey something about the emergent discovery processes of tourism innovation. Despite all the frivolity, the findings are the result of sound research and hopefully offer some contribution to the understanding of tourism innovation. Second, I have used the story of Alice to present the idea of research as a journey of learning and discovery, aptly described as a process of personal innovation. Third, I have sought to foster contemplation of paradigmatic innovation as concerns scholarly reading and writing.

Elaborating upon the third point, in prosaic terms, the researcher is the protagonist in a research narrative tracing a plot of "discovery" (Kent, 2015). All too often, however, the protagonist is conspicuously absent in the rhetorical form of scientific objectivity dominating academic writing. This observation brings practical implications for scholarship. Particularly, in conducting scholarly research, and in teaching students about scholarly research, benefits may stem from thinking of scholarly research as a journey of discovery where there is no single correct answer. Put another way, researchers are simply people striving to make sense of the world in the best way that they can. The resulting sense-giving constructions of academic writing afford glimpses into wider stories. From this vantage, it seems likely we will gain more insight by encouraging greater diversity in research narratives.

One way is to include the researcher as an active voice in the narrative; such inclusion overtly acknowledges the positionality and power of the researcher as the author, raising awareness of the constructed and polyvocal character of all knowledge (Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011). This kind of deviant step may offer a way to respond to Steyaert's (2004, p. 21) call to move to a more "prosaic scene" through exploration of other genres offering the potential to interrupt the "centralizing tendency" of academic publishing. Daring to make these kinds of prosaic moves may ultimately assist to advance knowledge by displacing totalizing narratives in favour of more diverse constructions of the arrays of events constituting the wider story

(Jørgensen & Boje, 2010). Simply put, by encouraging rather than discouraging more diverse tales, we might just learn more. It all boils down to the kinds of narratives academicians choose to craft. And it always has.

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3.Tour Stop 2: Constructing

Introducing the Constructing Stop (Paper 2)

This stop visits the enterprising action of constructing. It explores the construction of tourism enterprises. This stop simply asks: *how do enterprisers construct tourism lifestyle enterprising?* This stop engages with enterprisers undertaking lifestyle enterprising in small tourism firms in Sweden. It shows how enterprisers construct capitals in relation to their understanding of the fields in which they act and that their enterprising practice unfolds through the lens of the habitus. We learn that cultural capital is the most significant, that economic capital is taken for granted, and that habitus is the generative lens giving shape and direction to their enterprises. Lifestyle enterprising boils down to a practical construction – the enterpriser's habitus being the lens shaping the construction. To engage with effective enterprisers, we need to try to 'see' their worlds.

Paper 2: Reid (2020). The generative principles of lifestyle enterprising: Dialectic entanglements of capital-habitus-field

The generative principles of lifestyle enterprising: dialectic entanglements of capital-habitus-field

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Abstract

Purpose – The study seeks to shed light on the generative principles of enterprising by examining the practices of enterprisers in six lifestyle enterprises in Sweden. It presents a fresh approach to the study of lifestyle enterprises, resolving a nuanced treatment of the concepts of capital and habitus as often drawn upon in studies using the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu.

Design/methodology/approach – This study uses a grounded theory approach to examine enterprising practices in six lifestyle enterprises in Sweden. Study materials are derived principally from ethnographic observations and active interviews. The analytical procedure follows that of grounded theory, the analysis proceeding from the first field contacts and developing iteratively as the corpus expanded, with empirical themes giving way to formative concepts and sensitizing to the theoretical architecture of Pierre Bourdieu.

Findings – The findings offer insights into lifestyle enterprising, revealing how resourcing practices of capital deployment give shape to its practice. The findings reveal that capital deployment practices are not simply about conversion but may also involve practices, without substantive change to capital forms. Furthermore, the findings highlight that habitus significantly influences capital deployment practices.

Research limitations/implications – Although the findings are limited to the study context, the study offers theoretical implications for study of enterprising. One is to highlight the importance of cultural capital in enterprising practices. Another is to highlight the variable construction of capitals, arising in connection to habitus. In pointing to the central generative role of habitus, the study suggests that cultural capital may underpin the formation of social capital. Overall, the findings indicate that researchers need to consider the mediating effects of habitus when investigating enterprising practices. More widely, this study responds and lends weight to, recent calls for more holistic and integrated treatments using Bourdieu's theory to further understandings of entrepreneurship as practice.

Practical implications – This study offers implications for policy relating to enterprising practice. In particular, findings suggest that it might be wise to consider the alignment of habitus between those who provide and receive support, or in other words, having providers with the right cultural competence to offer useful help. It may be important for policy agents to be able to relate to the worldviews of those they seek to support.

Originality/value – The study directly responds to recent calls for more holistic and integrated approaches to the nascent line of inquiry using Bourdieu's theory to gain insight into entrepreneurship as a practice, particularly in relation to the undertheorized phenomenon of lifestyle entrepreneurship. In doing so, the study serves to advance the practice-oriented conceptualization of lifestyle entrepreneurship as lifestyle entrepreneuring. The paper also offers a conceptual framework to assist researchers investigating enterprising practice.

Keywords Bourdieu, Enterprising, Entrepreneurship as practice, Lifestyle enterprise

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Lifestyle enterprises are said to be inhabited by "lifestyle entrepreneurs" more concerned with "making a life" than "making a living" (Shaw and Williams, 1987; Williams, Shaw and

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Greenwood, 1989; Williams and Jobes, 1990), the lure of a "nice life" motivating them "to leave their job. . .following a dream" (Peters *et al.*, 2009, p. 397). Apparently inspired by non-economic motives and lacking in concern for innovation and growth (Hjalager, 2010; Sundbo *et al.*, 2007) these enterprises have been largely viewed in Cartesian terms of "growth" versus "lifestyle" (e.g. see Burns, 2001; Dewhurst and Horobin, 1998). This has inspired much research to distil the motives and characteristics distinguishing lifestyle enterprise and differentiating the lifestyle entrepreneur. A host of motives relating to family, leisure and location have all been variously emphasized in research (Andersson *et al.*, 2002; Getz and Carlsen, 2005; Getz *et al.*, 2004; Shaw and Williams, 1987; Williams *et al.*, 1989). The notion of "life quality" is said to be important to lifestyle entrepreneurs (Marcketti *et al.*, 2006) the evaluation of various economic and non-economic concerns informing notions of success (Komppula, 2004; Reijonen, 2008). Practices commonly associated with economic rationality are often explicitly rejected (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000; Di Domenico, 2005; Helgadóttir and Sigurdardóttir, 2008) and the rejection of a traditional market ethos may itself constitute a form of innovation and a basis for financial success (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000), representing the formation new relation to the market (Cederholm and Hultman, 2010; Hultman and Cederholm, 2010). Consequently, scholars have lately begun the task of investigating lifestyle enterprise as a sociocultural phenomenon (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000) surfacing insights into the values and meanings informing lifestyle enterprising in various domains of practice (e.g. Cederholm, 2018; Cederholm and Åkerström, 2016; de Wit Sandström, 2018; Hultman and Cederholm, 2010).

The research has exposed the limits of an entrepreneurial norm premised on monolithic assumptions of economic rationality, "that actors apply the standards of means-ends rationality, that they are self-interested, and they are wealth maximizers" (Somers, 1998, p. 763), shedding light on a multihued and blurred enterprising terrain where varied and varying motives and traits are the norm. Yet so far the voluminous research has afforded much description but little conceptual clarity about the phenomenon of lifestyle enterprise and the generative principles of its action.

The recent "turn to practice" in entrepreneurship studies offers much inspiration in this task, coalescing a vibrant body of entrepreneurship practice scholarship under the banner of entrepreneurship as practice (Hill, 2018; Johannisson, 2011). The practice perspective has opened fresh views of entrepreneurship as "the ongoing practice of creatively organizing people and resources according to opportunity" and re-orienting inquiry to the practices that render the world "enactable" (Johannisson, 2011, p. 140). It has, among other things, inspired application of the classic social theory of Pierre Bourdieu in enterprise studies (see review in Hill, 2018). This nascent line of scholarship shows great promise for fresh insight into the practice of entrepreneurship and to that end scholars have lately urged for more holistic and dynamic treatments of Bourdieu's classic social theory in entrepreneurship practice research (Hill, 2018; Pret *et al.*, 2016). The blurry phenomenon of lifestyle enterprise has so far eluded entrepreneurship as practice scholarship, yet this perspective offers much scope for theoretical insight into the practices constituting lifestyle enterprise.

The present paper responds to these interests and concerns by holding a Bourdiean lens to enterprising practices in six lifestyle enterprises in Sweden. In doing so, this paper seeks to provide both empirical and theoretical contributions in respect to both the phenomenon of lifestyle enterprise and the study of enterprising practice. Most obviously, it offers empirical insight into the relatively understudied phenomenon of lifestyle enterprise from the vantage of practice, contributing to the nascent body of entrepreneurship practice scholarship coalescing as the sub-field of entrepreneurship as practice. In this respect it offers a theoretical contribution in directly responding to recent calls for more holistic and dynamic treatments of Bourdieu's theoretical architecture (Hill, 2018; Pret *et al.*, 2016), the sociological perspective coincidentally contributing to the small but vibrant body of Swedish lifestyle enterprise scholarship (e.g. Cederholm, 2018; Cederholm and Åkerström, 2016; de Wit Sandström, 2018; Hultman and Cederholm, 2010).

To those ends, the paper first outlines Bourdieu's social theory, which is thereafter applied in the empirical discussion of a grounded study of six lifestyle enterprises in Sweden. In this way, the study advances its aim to provide insights into the practices constituting lifestyle enterprising and shed light on the generative principles of these practices. The conclusion summarizes the theoretical and empirical implications, highlighting the value of engaging fully with the conceptual architecture of Pierre Bourdieu in studies of lifestyle enterprising, and indeed enterprising more generally.

Bourdieu's social theory

Bourdieu's social theory centres on three core elements: habitus, capital and field. For the researcher, these elements provide epistemological tools or, as Bourdieu called them, "thinking tools" (Grenfell, 2008). However, it is important to recognize that the epistemological power of Bourdieu's thinking tools stems from a particular (dynamic) relational ontology. Bourdieu is neither objectivist nor subjectivist (DiMaggio, 1979; Grenfell, 2008). Indeed, this is the division that Bourdieu's project strove to redress, as noted, for example, in *The Logic of Practice* wherein he refers to the "opposition" between subjectivism and objectivism as "the most ruinous" division in social science (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 25). Consequently, the conceptual elements of the theoretical framework cannot properly be disentangled and bolted on to other ontological frames or deployed from dualist epistemological vantages. They are fundamentally inseparable relational constructs. So although the following discussion of conceptual components is elemental, they are inseparable and integral and this entanglement brings important implications for the study of practices, not least including the practices of enterprising of interest here.

Field

Bourdieu's field refers to "the totality of actors and organizations involved in an arena of social or cultural production and the dynamic relationships among them" (DiMaggio, 1979, p. 1,462). Bourdieu used the French term *le champ* to convey the twin meanings of a field of struggle and a field of knowledge (Thomson, 2008). On the one hand, the field is "a structured space of positions, a *force field* that imposes its specific determinations upon all those who enter it" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 221, emphasis in original). When the actions of an individual are commensurate with these social structures, a doxic relationship arises wherein the norms as wherein extant field norms are simply normal "facts" of life (Thomson, 2008, p. 70). This homology between agent and field is "the source of the functioning of the consecration of the social order" (Bourdieu, 1988, p. 204). Hill (2018) describes this doxic relation when referring to the "strategic fit" of the enterpriser with the "entrepreneurial field". Consequently, doxa affects participation and practice in fields (Lizardo, 2004), which Hill (2018) also captures in her view of "strategic fit" as "readiness" to enter the entrepreneurial field.

A field is also an arena of contest where individuals vie for position (DiMaggio, 1979; Thomson, 2008). As Bourdieu (2005, p. 208) says, "every agent committed to a field is engaged in 'indirect conflict' with all those engaged in the same game". Fields are nested and relational and single actions can be plays in multiple fields (Thomson, 2008). As Hill (2018) points out, enterprisers occupy multiple positions in multiple fields in relation to assorted enterprising practices. Furthermore fields are dynamic, doxa and positions changing over time (Thomson, 2008). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) sum the dynamic relational construct of the field as "a *field of struggles* . . .. whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position" (1992, p. 101, emphasis in original).

Capital

Bourdieu uses the concept of capital to develop "an economics of symbolic exchange and of the transformations of the different kinds of capital" (DiMaggio, 1979, p. 1,463). Capitals take social, economic, cultural and symbolic forms, each being subject to conversion from one form to another (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990). *Economic capital* describes forms of financial wealth, such as money and property (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990; Wacquant, 1998), rendering it a potent foundational form "at the root of all the other types of capital". (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 214). *Social capital* describes networks of "kinship (or other) relations capable of being mobilized or at least manifested" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 35). Social Capital is "not a natural given. . .constituted once and for all by an initial act of institution" (1986, p. 249) but stems from the cultivation and reproduction of sociality through "which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed" (1986, p. 249), mutual recognition rendering a resource among those implicated in its social construction (Hill, 2018). *Cultural capital* arises in *embodied, objectivized* and *institutionalized* forms (Bourdieu, 1986). The *institutionalized* form comprises institutionally sanctioned qualifications or recognized certificates of cultural competence. The *objectivized* comprises material markers of cultural competence in objects such as literary or artistic works, or special tools or instruments (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986). The *embodied form* comprises qualities of the person, constituting a durable system of bodily and mental dispositions that are the primary manifestation of the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990; Wacquant, 1998). The development of cultural capital "is a work on oneself (self-improvement)" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244) and entails "a labour of inculcation and assimilation" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245). *Symbolic capital* is conceptually distinct, not a discrete form of capital but representing the symbolic value (or power) attaching to other capitals according to the doxa of the field (Bourdieu, 1990; Wacquant, 1998), the valued "coin" that affords positioning power in a field. Notably, capitals are sociocultural artefacts, only gaining their relevance and meaning in relation to a social field (Hill, 2018). As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain: "*A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field"* (1992, p. 101, emphasis in original).

Habitus

Habitus is a crucial element in Bourdieu's social theory (DiMaggio, 1979; Maton, 2008). It forms the cornerstone of "a science of dialectical relations between objective structures. . ..and the subjective dispositions within which these structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them" (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977], p. 72). As Maton (2008) says, the enigmatic concept of habitus "does a lot of work" (2008, p. 49) supplying "the link. . .between past, present and future... between the social and the individual, the objective and subjective, and structure and agency." (2008, p. 53).

The *habitus* is the set of mental and bodily dispositions constituting the person qua social actor (Bourdieu, 1990). It is a "system of structured, structuring dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52). These dispositions form "the system . . . through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 220). In short, the habitus *is* the means for relating to the world, "the principle of a selective perception" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 64) which, borrowing from Johannisson (2011), furnishes the image of an "enactable" world. The habitus is both an enabler and constraint to social action. On the one hand, it is a structuring structure that "tends to. . .a milieu to which it is as pre-adapted as possible" (1990, p. 61), "inclining agents to 'cut their coats according to their cloth', and. . .make the probable a reality" (1990, p. 65). On the other hand, it is not an immutable structure but a dynamic relational construct, existing as a "dialectic of social structures and structured, structuring dispositions through which schemes of thought are formed and transformed" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 41).

In sum, although the habitus inclines engagements in fields (Bourdieu, 1990) it also affords the means to act in fields, whereupon field engagements reform the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; Wacquant, 1998). A dialectic is at work in and through habitus: "one the one side, it is a relation of *conditioning*: the field structures the habitus. . ..on the other side, it is a relation of. . . *cognitive construction*. . ..[constituting] a field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy." (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). In short, the habitus *is* the crucible of action.

Bourdieu in Entrepreneurship as Practice Research

Bourdieu's theoretical framework offers tools to understand enterprising action. Researchers have, among other things, been inspired to investigate how various capitals enable (and depict) enterprising via practices of form conversion (Haase Svendsen, Kjeldsen and Noe, 2010; Pret *et al.*, 2016; Vershinina *et al.*, 2011), capitals affording resources enabling entry and positioning in the "entrepreneurial field" (Hill, 2018). However, so far the treatments of capitals have been piecemeal, most studies focussing on one or two capital forms (see review in Hill, 2018). Furthermore, although it has been recognized that capitals are constructions of the field, the other side of the equation is less frequently mentioned – that the resources for action are also subject to meaning *formation* via habitus. In other words, the construal of capitals as resources stems not just from relation to field, but also stems from habitus.

This integral tripartite relationship has so far been overlooked in entrepreneurship practice research. For instance, although some point to the importance of habitus in enterprising action (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009; Erel, 2010; Patel and Conklin, 2009), such discussions omit holistic views of capitals; meanwhile, more comprehensive treatments of capitals have not engaged fully with habitus (Haase Svendsen *et al.*, 2010; Hill, 2018; Pret *et al.*, 2016). Inge Hill makes a rare and substantial step in this direction by pointing to the "strategic fit" between the individual and the field as the generative condition for entrepreneurial entry; however, her excellent discussion does not describe to the workings of habitus vis-a-vis the field, and does not remark upon the relation of habitus to capitals. To grasp the generative principles of enterprising, there is a need to look upon both sides of the Bourdieuan dialectic – taking up the matter of *how* habitus is connected to the *formation* of the capitals that render an enactable world. From the vantage of the (potentially) acting individual, capitals may be *variously construed* as enabling resources, with or *without* form conversion. To accommodate this, I propose the more inclusive terminology of *capital deployment*, which offers the view of capitals as resources going beyond only *conversion*.

Put differently, the practices of enterprising (or indeed any action in the social realm) may be understood as field-oriented actions enabled by deployments of *construed* capitals; where these capital deployments reflect the *twin dialectic* relation to *both* the field(s) of enterprising *and* the to the capitals enabling action (resources), all unfolding via the evolving habitus. Bourdieu explains this vital linking role of habitus in this entangled enactive relation in a footnote on page 54 of *The Logic of Practice*: "habitus which is the precondition for appropriate economic behaviour is the product of particular economic condition, the one defined by possession of the economic and cultural capital required in order to seize the 'potential opportunities' theoretically available to all" (1990, p. 54). As action emerges from the dialectics of capital-field-habitus, holistic perspectives are necessary to understand (enterprising) practice. Consequently this study seeks to furnish insight into the social phenomenon of lifestyle enterprise by addressing the question of *how capital deployment practices emerge in, and give shape to, enterprising action via the lens of habitus.*

Methods and materials

As loosely conceptualized as they are, lifestyle enterprises are difficult find ex-ante. Enterprisers are not likely to see themselves as lifestyle enterprisers, nor depict themselves as such. Consequently, the initial enterprise selections commenced by review of regional tourism websites, first screening for small enterprises wherein the enterpriser was obviously involved in daily practice. This selection strategy was premised on foundational wisdom that lifestyle enterprising is very common among small tourism enterprises (Shaw, 2004; Shaw and Williams, 1998, 2004b; Williams *et al.*, 1989).

The website information was then screened for expression of motives commonly associated with the phenomenon of lifestyle enterprising as depicted in the voluminous literature, such as expression of desires to spend time with family or engage in leisure pursuits, desires to escape undesirable work-life situations, and assorted expressions indicating rejection of economic motives (e.g. statements indicating prioritization of personal benefits). The aim was to identify a few "ideal types" as candidates from which to commence the study. This purposeful sampling method yielded three candidate enterprises. The suitability of these enterprises was directly confirmed during initial site visitation. The unfolding engagements at these sites afforded other enterprise prospects, and each was similarly screened. Congruent with the grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the unfolding selections were also assessed in relation to themes emerging from initial analysis.

Study materials principally derive from observation and active interview (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Observation affords insight into practice understandings as described by emerging talk and actions. Interview affords sense-making narratives affording insight into understandings of enterprising practice. Theoretically, both afford insight into the working of the habitus – the bodily and mental dispositions providing the generative lens through which practice understandings are formed by the mind and performed by the body (Bourdieu, 1990).

The material was collected in rounds of observations and interviews. The first phase involved the collection of naturally occurring data through incognito observation of *in situ* practices. These were unstructured observations of service encounters experienced by the researcher during visits of 2–3 h duration, taking note of practices unfolding in the publicly accessible sayings and doings of the enterpriser Field notes were recorded, simply by entering jottings in a mobile phone, supplemented by photographs and short video segments to aid recall. These behaviours constituting nothing more or less than the kind of practices any visitor might partake of, only taking notes in relation to publicly available scenes of the service encounter as experienced by the researcher. One advantage of this approach was to avoid the contamination of respondent positioning *vis-a-vis* an observer qua researcher. Another obvious practical advantage was to confirm the suitability of the enterprise as a site for study without the need for establishing formal arrangements before the enterprise was confirmed a suitable site for study inclusion, which until that point was only a supposition based on secondary sources such as referrals or website reviews. This allowed the study to quickly move forward as even when enterprises proved unsuitable for further study. These visits also afforded familiarity with the wider context, coincidentally furnishing background knowledge for active interviews (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Field notes were elaborated immediately post-visit and later in desktop review, aided by visual and tangible materials (photos, videos, brochures and product samples). The observational notes and selected images were collated into a single document for analysis, forming part of the growing corpus of a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006).

After each observation, the identity of the researcher was divulged in requests for follow-up interviews. Reviews of the main enterprise website or main social media sites (typically Facebook) were also conducted before these interviews, both affording insight into promotional practices as well as adding to background knowledge for the interviews to follow (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). In addition to the practicalities of informed consent, interview arrangements offer opportunities to condition and position respondents for the interview to come (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Here, conditioning sought to foster the perspective of an open dialogue about enterprising practices, encouraging respondents to describe, in their own words, how they came to be involved in the enterprise and their impressions of practice in doing it.

The interviews remained open and flexible, with only limited guidance and redirection (Schensul and LeCompte, 2013), such redirection utilizing contextual knowledge arising in previous research activities as advocated in the active interviews of Holstein and Gubrium (1995). The interviews were 50–150 min in duration. Each was recorded and transcribed verbatim, embellished with notes from observations of the interview scene. Later, observations of between 60 and 180 min were conducted at each site, taking notes and photographs and occasionally recording discussions with the enterprisers, who by that time were well aware that material was being gathered in connection with a research study.

The analysis process aligned with grounded theory (e.g. Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Themes developed inductively and interactively, open coding giving form to thematic practice groupings. Procedurally, the analysis first unfolded the practice groupings seemingly common among the enterprises, emerging themes indicating application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework. In particular, with the empirical matter indicating the importance of resourcing practices, the initial theoretical import was the concept of capital, using this as a lens to identify capital deployments in connection to grounded resourcing themes, the results of this step, in turn, inspiring application of the concept of habitus. Specifically, with unexplained variations in capital deployments indicating the need for theoretical refinement, the concept of habitus was indicated. The dialectics of capitals and habitus resolved a plausible model of resourcing practices depicting the action of lifestyle enterprising and the construction of 'lifestyle enterprise.

Results

The six enterprises comprise a cheese-maker, a honey producer, a ceramic maker, an antique shop, a marzipan shop and a clothing maker. All are located in Sweden. Each is a small business, typically managed by a sole operator or family group, occasionally with help (paid and unpaid) from other relatives or friends. The owner-mangers all came from unrelated occupational fields. At the time of this research, the enterprises had been operating for between one and seven years (Figure 1).

With the exception of the antique shop owners, who had reached retirement age, all the owners voluntarily left their former jobs to commence the chosen enterprises. In the case of the cheese shop, the owner's husband had been involved in the enterprise since its inception but his involvement had increased following his retirement. For those leaving their former work voluntarily, enterprise commencement occurred against a backdrop of perceived

	Cheese Making	**Antiques Dealing**	**Clothing Making**	**Ceramics Making**	**Marzipan Making**	**Honey Production**
Enterprisers	Couple (M, F)	Couple (M, F)	Solo (F)	Solo (F)	Solo (F)	Solo (F)
Prior work	Sales, packaging Warehouse Manager	Engineer Manager, cultural facilities	Manager, after-school programs	Occupational Therapist	Baker	Dental Technician
Helpers	Son	Neighbour	Friend	Husband, Nephew	Husband	Brother, Niece
Enterprise Age (approx.)	7 years	7 years	5 years	2 years	4 years	1 year

Figure 1.
Enterprise overview

misalignment between personal working preferences and the demands of the former workplace, typically manifested in job dissatisfaction or ill health attributed to work, such sentiments being expressed verbally and sometimes also in websites. In addition, entrepreneurial entry typically also reflected the "pull" of lifestyle interests relating to family, place or kind of work. For instance, the ceramic shop owner described that the enterprise *"had always been a dream in my head"* and the cheese shop operator said she was happy she now had *"that which I have dreamt about from the beginning"*. For the retirees, the enterprise was typically described in terms of having something interesting to do and to spend time together. The general connotation for the retirees, and indeed all the study participants, was that engagement in interesting work on terms of their choosing was integral to living a "good life". In this respect, the undertaking of enterprising seems to conform to the common view of "lifestyle enterprisers" as those seeking an improved lifestyle, or life quality (Marcketti *et al.*, 2006) as commonly portrayed in the tourism literature (e.g. see, Peters *et al.*, 2009, p. 397).

The following sections describe lifestyle enterprising practices in these six cases. The discussion follows the practice headings emerging from the analysis: (1) using work/life skills; (2) displaying work/life histories; (3) acquiring skills; (4) displaying skills; (5) renovating-building; (6) acquiring tools-of-the-trade; (7) displaying tools-of-the-trade and (8) working with family and friends. Figure 2 provides a summary of the discussion.

Using work/life skills

Although all the former work roles necessarily entailed interpersonal communication and management skills relevant to the practices of lifestyle enterprising, respondents rarely portrayed their former occupations as a source of relevant skills in their enterprising practices. Skills acquired through engagement in an occupational field are a form of embodied cultural capital. Yet the obvious recruitment of significant transferrable skills in each new enterprise remained generally unacknowledged in interviews or discussions. The lack of particular mention of former occupations as a source of relevant skills reflects the taken-for-granted character of the cultural capital embodied in the habitus. Put differently, the taken-for-granted skills and competencies acquired in previous work (and life more generally) are unlikely to be noticed in practical engagements in fields where the use of such cultural capital is entirely "natural", as seems likely here – good examples being the "natural" application of interpersonal skills by a former dental technician or occupational therapist who has worked closely with people for many years, such skills being ingrained practices integral to the dispositions of habitus. In effect, this embodied cultural capital was simply, effortlessly, re-tasked in its new deployment in enterprising.

Displaying work/life histories

The enterprisers did refer to former work as part of the backgrounding of personal histories describing stories about the transition into lifestyle enterprise. They often discussed developments in historical terms, depicting their understanding of the path to enterprising. These narratives were noteworthy as markers of the recognition of opportunity in a new field, indicative of the dialectic relation of habitus and field. These background stories were displayed in promotional practices, with former work and life experiences being mentioned in enterprise websites and marketing materials, and, in some cases, in material artefacts such as newspaper and magazine articles prominently displayed in shopfronts. The commodification of this work history in these promotional practices reflects purposeful investments in converting *embodied* cultural capital into *objectivized* form. Objectification of the journey into enterprising was part of the resources to position the enterpriser as a "lifestyle enterpriser". The effortful re-tasking of embodied cultural capital highlights the perceived symbolic significance of this cultural capital in enterprising practice.

Category	Starting Capital	Resulting Capital	Deployment Mechanism[3]	Construal (via Habitus)[2]
Using former work/life skills	**Cultural capital** (embodied sub-form)	**Cultural capital** (embodied sub-form)	**Re-tasking**	**Effortless**
Displaying work/life histories	**Cultural Capital** (embodied sub-form)	**Cultural capital** (objectivized sub-form[1])	**Re-tasking**	**Effortful**
Acquiring skills	**Economic Capital** (money)	**Cultural capital** (embodied and institutionalized sub-forms)	**Converting**	**Effortful**
Displaying skills	**Cultural Capital** (embodied and institutionalized sub-forms)	**Cultural capital** (objectivized sub-form[1])	**Re-tasking**	**Effortful**
Renovating-building	**Economic Capital** (property, money)	**Economic capital** (property – shops)	**Re-tasking**	**Effortless**
Acquiring tools-of-the-trade	**Economic Capital** (money)	**Economic capital** (tools, stock)	**Re-tasking**	**Effortful**
Displaying tools-of-the-trade	**Economic capital** (tools, stock)	**Cultural capital** (objectivized sub-form[1])	**Converting**	**Effortful**
Working with family and friends (*formal* arrangements)	**Social Capital**	**Economic capital**	**Converting**	**Effortless**
Working with family and friends (*informal* arrangements)	**Social Capital**	**Social capital**	**Re-tasking**	**Effortless**

Note(s): 1. Commodified in marketing practices
2. Apprehension of effort indicates perceived (via habitus) symbolic significance of capital in the apprehended (via habitus) field.
3. **Re-tasking** – deployment in same substantive form (includes mere sub-form change). **Converting** – deployment entails substantive form change (transformations)

Figure 2.
Capital deployments (habitus-field-capital relation)

Acquiring skills

Promotion and marketing frequently depicted the acquisition and deployment of cultural capital. Websites, promotional material and displays in shopfronts reveal how the more incongruous field-specific knowledge and skills were acquired through a mixture of experience and participation in formal, specialized training. The acquisitions represent investments in the cultivation of the self characteristic of habitus.

The owners of the cheese shop, ceramic shop and honey shop had all completed lengthy specialist training, the latter two including formal education of two years' duration. For instance, the owner of the ceramic shop began her formal training with a short course in ceramics during her university studies to become an occupational therapist *"to be able to use it with the clients later on"*. Over the years, she continued attending various summer courses until eventually taking leave from her job at a hospital to undertake a two-year course. This qualification and her craft skills have enabled her to gain membership in a crafts guild, that membership being displayed in her marketing (at her shop and on her website). Similarly, the honey shop operator took short courses before electing to undertake lengthy specialist training in bee-keeping, which she found particularly arduous: *"...it was...terrible, two terrible years actually! But I learned something!"* The cheese-maker gained specialist knowledge principally by attending many short courses during the course of her enterprising, a practice she continues: *"for seven years I go for courses maybe once, twice each year ...I have not ended with courses....next week I will go on another"*. She too is a member of a food craft group; her shopfront and website portray this membership, representing objectivized depictions of her embodied cultural capital.

On the other hand, the owners of the antique shop, the clothes shop and the marzipan shop all attributed their skills to practical experience. For instance, as the antique shop owners described how they collected antiques for many years *"because we were interested in it"*, their interest stemming partly from the fact that both their families were also interested in antiques. The interest was "*in their DNA*", the cultural capital of habitus. It was this collection that inevitably prompted the idea for the shop when they retired, its consequential existence being a "natural" (economic and cultural) resource they could easily draw upon to enable the possibility of enterprising action. The long association with collecting antiques reflects substantial investments in the acquisition of cultural capital, embodied in their deep knowledge about antiques and materially expressed in practices of displaying these antiques for sale. Similarly, the clothing shop operator was largely self-trained through long engagement in clothes making as a hobby or life interest: *"I've done it for myself always, but not professional. I have no education for that and so it's just...experience...self-learning"*. For her, the accumulation of knowledge and skills has been one of learning by doing and making mistakes. The acquisition of new skills reflects investments of economic capital, be it in terms of the costs associated with formal training or costs of learning by experience and making mistakes. In this sense, these cases depict conversions of economic to cultural capital, the latter being *embodied* (as ingrained skills) and *institutionalized* (as certificates of competence). The investments are the "work of self" cultivating the embodied cultural capital of the habitus.

Displaying skills

Whether acquired in *institutionalized* form as formal specialist training or through investments in (non-institutionally sanctioned) self-learning, the accumulated cultural capital not only took *embodied form* but was also commonly used in *objectivized form* too. Certificates, statements and stories of skills acquisition were often prominently displayed in shopfronts or mentioned in marketing materials and websites. These promotional practices depict the considerable emphasis placed on this cultural capital, not simply as a resource for action but also as a means to publicly legitimate enterprising practice, marking the formation of another kind of cultural resource. Both the effort in its accumulation and the material expressions of this cultural capital indicates the high *symbolic* value the enterprisers placed upon it, or its *construal as* a valuable resource. In other words, the acquisition and expression of this cultural capital was a product of the dialectical relation of habitus to the enterprising field.

Renovating-building

In each case, an underutilized part of the home had been remodelled to accommodate the enterprise. For instance, the antique shop owners modified a former stable next to their house, removing the stables, levelling the floor and installing electricity and heating: "*we took away all these boxes for the horses . . .then put a new floor on . . .and new windows inside. . . and some insulation. . .so we can warm it up in the winter"*. Similarly, the ceramic shop was a former garage, *"we put up the walls and painted and put in a window and different door and insulation and so on"*. Similar happenings had occurred in every other case. Most also had plans to further develop buildings to extend or enhance their enterprising practices.

As is generally the case in lifestyle enterprises, all the owners relied on personal financial resources because formal sources of lending were difficult to access. As the cheese shop operator said, *"I thought I could loan more. . . but the banks were not so helpful"*. Notably, they all had sufficient economic capital to take enterprising action, their possession of abundant economic capital rendering enterprising a possibility. As the honey shop operator said, *"you need to have a lot of money. . .because the banks don't give"*. In having spare buildings, and the financial means to renovate them, they all evidenced the necessary economic capital to set up the shops that were the public marker of entry into the enterprising field. Furthermore, none gave any indication that these resourcing practices were any kind of cost or burden; the deployment of this economic capital was natural to their habitus, positioning this resourcing as an effortless re-tasking effectively taken-for-granted.

Acquiring tools-of-the trade

Investments in tools and equipment can most directly be seen as converting economic capital into objectivized cultural capital as "tools-of-the trade", though of course such tools are ultimately applied productively to economic ends. Interestingly, investments of this kind were variably emphasized by different enterprisers. For instance, the owners of the cheese shop, the clothing shop, the ceramic shop, and the honey shop often mentioned costs associated with items of equipment and they prominently displayed such items in shops and marketing materials. These display practices reposition such items as symbolically significant items of *objectivized cultural capital*.

In contrast, however, neither the owners of the marzipan shop nor the antique shop stressed the cost or ardour of acquiring equipment. In the case of the marzipan shop, such considerations were possibly less relevant as the entrepreneur *was* the main item of equipment – their embodied cultural capital being the main instrument of production and the small tools being largely incidental; even so, the basic implements were still visibly displayed in the work area right behind the serving counter of the shop, a natural part of her surroundings and her work.

However, in the case of the antique shop, there was a significant investment of economic capital, the antique collection representing cultural capital as "tools-of-the-trade". The lack of mention of cost or efforts of acquisition likely reflects their gradual accumulation over time, in the case of the antique shop as part of a personal collection, and in the case of the marzipan shop in the case of gradual accumulation of skills in the person, the physical implements being incidental in that case. Notably, in both these cases, the investments of economic capital went mostly unremarked not because they were unimportant objectively, but because they were natural to the habitus.

Displaying tools-of-the-trade

The "tools-of-the trade" were often purposefully emphasized in promotional practices, typically displayed in websites and in shopfronts. For instance, the clothing shop display area was also the production room, the cutting table, weaving machine and fabrics all prominently displayed; the ceramics workroom was next to the display room, the clays and turning wheel visible to all who entered the shop; the honey shop displayed images of production, with photos of flowers, hives, and production equipment prominently displayed; the cheese shop was adorned with photographs and news stories about cheese production; the marzipan was made in a space adjacent to the retail shop, all the tools of her craft visible to customers; and of course, the antique shop was full of the wares displaying the essence of the collector's craft. These promotional practices signal the perceived importance of this form of objectivized cultural capital as field-relevant symbolic capital, part of field positioning.

Working with family and friends

Family members and friends were variously engaged in each of these enterprises. In the cases of the cheese shop and the antique shop, partners were directly involved in the day to day operations of the enterprise. In other cases, family members, neighbours and friends were variously involved of each enterprise, for instance helping out with websites, assisting in selling activities and events, assisting in setting up displays, assisting with accounting or business advice. These relationships were not characterized by the formality and instrumentality of formal employment but by more collegiate and informal arrangements more aptly described as helpers "helping out". This remained so despite various kinds of payments, or degrees of formalization, in terms of cash and or goods or reciprocal favours. The arrangements very much reflected the blurring of commercial and personal boundaries typically observed in the context of lifestyle enterprising (Cederholm, 2015; Cederholm and Hultman, 2010), particularly the blurred lines of commercial friendships identified in (Cederholm and Åkerström, 2016). In terms of the present discussion, such blurring is notable for depicting deployments of social capital, where these blurred boundaries complicate the construal of capitals as resources.

Notably, even though such helping out did aid the commercial aims of the organization, these arrangements were almost always framed as voluntary assistance or as favours, often with an affective dimension to the practice. For instance, the antique shop owners described how it was just *"nice to work together"*; and the cheese-maker described how her husband "had always helped out with the business" and he described this as "helping his wife" and "having something to do" and the enterprisers in the antique shop mentioned the "good neighbour" who helped them out by "holding the fort" when they took vacations. These "helping out" arrangements were prevalent in all the enterprises, assorted relatives and friends being variously involved in all the enterprises (Figure 1). These practices arrangements suggest an effortless redeployment of social capital, being construed as social capital rather than as a conversion of social capital into economic form, the lack of overt commodification practices retaining the social character of these arrangements.

In instances where more formal contractual arrangements existed, in terms of paying these helpers a wage, the more overtly commercial character suggests capital conversion; the purposeful formal commodification of these social relationships indicating a conversion of social capital (e.g. friendship) to economic capital (e.g. employee/workers). Despite this, however, these relations also retained their construed character as social capital, being *construed as* relations among family and friends such that payment was, essentially, an incidental formality, such informality being evident in the sayings and doings observed when these people were working together. Thus, rather than implying a simplistic view of these work practices as some consciously commercialized arrangement reflecting an *effortful* conversion of (and overt commodification of) social capital into economic capital, the blurred character of these work practices suggests the intriguing possibility of an *effortless* conversion of social capital into economic capital.

However, regardless of varying degrees of formality of the working arrangements in terms of payments or commodification, the resource construals were from the vantage of the enterprisers' habitus, deployments of social capital. Furthermore, this perspective seemed mutual, a doxic relation arising insofar as those that were being paid to work *also* saw *their* work in like terms as "helping out". This intriguing empirical finding invites further research to excavate the nuances of capital deployments and resource construals that accompany the blurred working arrangements of lifestyle enterprises (Cederholm and Åkerström, 2016).

Discussion

Sensitized by the integrated framework of habitus, field and capital, this study offers insights into how lifestyle entrepreneurs construe and deploy capitals in their "enterprising field" (Hill, 2018), thus depicting the generative processes by which an enactable enterprising world is made (Johannisson, 2011). Among the findings, this study reveals the symbolic value of cultural capital in comparison to social capital and, especially, economic capital. In this respect, the results align with Pret *et al.* (2016) who found that their craft entrepreneurs afforded no primacy to economic capital in processes of capital conversion. In the current study, enterprising was enabled by deployments of abundant economic capital. This accords with the widely held view that lifestyle entrepreneurs tend to rely on personal finances to establish enterprises (e.g. Page *et al.*, 1999; Shaw and Williams, 1987, 2004a).

Interestingly, however, the perceived importance of economic capital was highly variable. On the one hand, the deployment of economic capital in the renovation of buildings was, for all intents and purposes, an effortless practice. In contrast, far lesser (quantitatively speaking) investments of economic capital in the acquisition of needed tools and equipment were highlighted, these effortful investments emblematic of the accumulation of cultural capital accorded symbolic significance in the enterprising field. The symbolic significance of these conversion practices is further reinforced by purposeful displays of tools in promotional materials and at shops, particularly in those enterprises where special equipment was vital to production. The variable apprehension of the various deployments of economic capital reflects the differential effect of habitus *vis-à-vis* field – a habitus variously suited to the enterprising tasks at hand. This suggests that Hill's (2018) "strategic fit" is not a once for all matter, but a matter of variable degree, emerging in the unfolding relationship of the habitus to field. In other words, it is a situated and dynamic relation.

The conventional wisdom is that lifestyle enterprisers appear manifestly ill-qualified for their enterprise (Page *et al.*, 1999; Peters *et al.*, 2009; Shaw and Williams, 1987, 1998), the typical view being that of seemingly irrational individuals. A Bourdieuan practice lens sheds a different image: pointedly, although enterprisers may well come from unrelated occupational fields, they do not come to the enterprising field *de novo*, bereft of transposable dispositions and capitals. The enterprising adventure is instigated and sustained through the habitus, from which vantage the enterprising is deemed possible. In this study, enterprising was enabled by embodied cultural capital, reflecting resource potentials attendant to the habitus, gained from experiences in work and life, and supplemented by the acquisition of additional cultural capital via formal (courses) and informal (experience) learning processes.

The significance of embodied cultural capital has long escaped notice in mainstream research investigating lifestyle enterprise, even though some studies have pointed straight at it without seeing it, a result arguably stemming from the historical emphasis on social capital. A germane, and interesting example, can found in the importance of surfing culture in the lifestyle enterprises studied by Marchant and Mottiar (2011) – although these authors pointed to the importance of "surfing culture" in the social links that supplied employees to these enterprises, the authors did not ruminate upon the source of this social capital in the individual's ingrained knowledge of surfing culture, the embodied cultural capital attendant to the habitus, that enabled this social capital to exist. Similar traces can be found in other studies of lifestyle enterprising, despite that the foundational cultural capital is typically hidden in the shadow of social capital (e.g. see, Marchant and Mottiar, 2011; Paniagua, 2002). An alternative view is that these enabling *social* ties *stem from*, and depict, the *cultural* bonds of having sufficiently similar habitus, and if that common ground is lacking enabling social capital may struggle to form. Researchers taking a Bourdieuan lens to enterprising could do well to remember the central role of the habitus, for its effects on the formation of other capitals may be very significant, as migration studies seem to show in referencing the social ties *rooted in* cultural norms (e.g. Erel, 2010; Patel and Conklin, 2009).

Capital deployment practices also reveal the workings of the habitus in the emphasis accorded to the acquisition of new cultural capital via formal processes. Pret *et al.* (2016) found that craft entrepreneurs tended to prefer knowledge acquisition through experimentation and self-directed learning, and the results of this study partly conform to this path. Although experiential learning was significant in this study, this was not the only route in these cases. Notably, the prevalence of engagement in specialized training contrasts somewhat with the tendency of craft entrepreneurs to acquire skills through experimentation and self-directed learning (Pret *et al.*, 2016). Although the wider theme of untroubled capital conversions in the acquisition of cultural capital is common to both studies, the relatively greater emphasis on cultural capital development through formal training suggests that cultural capital accumulation can take different paths, and perhaps varies not just according to the field, but also varies according to the habitus. The difference of the habitus can be seen, for example in the clothing enterprise or antique enterprise, where formal training was rendered irrelevant due to the possession of sufficient knowledge in the habitus, while others with a less well-equipped habitus were inspired to take action to acquire the necessary cultural capital via (sometimes lengthy) formal training. It is not simply a matter of having the "right skills" in an objective sense but is rather a matter of the relational apprehension (via habitus) of the possibilities for, and need for, accumulating cultural capital. This suggests an interesting path for future research: that investigations of capital deployment practices associated with the acquisition (and deployment) of cultural capital could provide deeper insight into the relationship between field and habitus. This could shed quite much light on the basic processes that form an enactable field from the vantage of the acting habitus.

Although most of these enterprisers had transferrable skills from former work, these often "flew under the radar", attracting only fleeting or incidental mentions in this study. This reflects the character of the formed habitus, wherein ingrained skills are essentially taken-for-granted, particularly in fields where their use is equally natural. It is a central piece of Hill's (2018) "strategic fit". A simple analogy might be found in the gifted artist who simply "knows" how to paint, and in seeing this as their "natural" state, fails to remark upon it. This "taken-for-granted" aspect of the habitus potentially "hides" important embodied cultural capital, even from those in possession of it. It is thus all the more likely to escape the researcher's attention.

This view is reinforced by the contra emphasis placed on the acquisition, and material depiction, of what was seen as field-relevant cultural capital acquired through training. *These* skills acquisition efforts *merited* mention and portrayal in promotional practices precisely because they *were* seen as difficult to acquire, noticeable to the habitus because they extended its range and reformed it. The effort signifies the essence of engagement of the habitus in a novel field, exemplifying the tension of striving for the doxic relation that is Hill's (2018) "strategic fit". This possibly explains why some people advance into enterprising while others do not, because, as Hill points out the effort or cost just seems too high.

The findings of this study also generally align with those of Pret *et al.* (2016) who identified that their craft entrepreneurs did not accord primacy to economic capital in the processes of capital conversion. Interestingly, similar "undervaluation" of capital deployments also arises in this study, not only regarding economic capital but also arising in regards to cultural and social capital too. Notable examples are the taken-for-granted application of former work skills (untroubled deployments of embodied cultural capital); and the involvement of family and friends as helpers (untroubled deployments of social capital). The identification of this variable recognition of capital deployment effort is potentially explained by the operation of habitus, which is the enactive prism of the individual. Put another way, the variable recognition accorded to assorted capital deployments reflects the moderating influence of habitus in terms of the apprehension of the field as a site for action, a "place" that offers the prospect of a sufficiently doxic relation to warrant the attempt. When the habitus is "stretched", capital deployments are more effortful.

From this vantage, it is logical to propose that it is the presence or absence of perceived effort not only differentiates capital deployments from conversions but, more importantly, signals the very possibility of a doxic relation at the intersection of habitus and field, and here the effortless deployments tell as much of the story as the effortful ones. Consequently, there is a need for a nuanced approach to the analysis of capital deployments at the habitus-field nexus, as enterprising "sub-fields" may unfold *different* doxic relations. As Hill (2018) astutely points out, the entrepreneurial field is *not* a singular space, but a space of *many positionings*. Thus, the dialectic relations of habitus, field, and capital are not to be conceived *vis-à-vis single* "field of enterprising", but rather in terms of the varied practices that enfold other fields. Simply put, the people called enterprisers are not simply enterprising but are engaging in varied practices in *various fields*: they set up shops, they get supplies and equipment, they make and sell products and in so doing enter *multiple, nested, fields*. The apprehension of all those practices arises via the *habitus*. It is this dialectic relation that explains why people in apparently similar situations appear to be differentially attracted to entrepreneurial entry as Hill describes well points to in "strategic fit" - and beyond this, it helps to explain *why* people may experience different points of tension as they go about their enterprising actions, variously "liking" and "disliking" aspects of it. Simply put, their habitus goes right along with them, shaping *how* they go.

Figure 2 summarizes the capital deployments and habitus effects forming the basis of lifestyle enterprising in these enterprises. The findings highlight that capital deployment practices are not simply conversions, but also include deployments without any change to substantive forms. An example is found in the renovation of spare home buildings to create shops, whereby economic capital was simply re-tasked from money to property, with no change in substantive form. To accommodate such nuances I propose that such capital deployment practices may be conceived as *re-tasking*, redeploying capital in the same form.

The findings serve to highlight the complexities of capital deployment practices, which go far beyond form conversion and entail variations explained by habitus. In particular, form change is a matter of variable degree, whereby *re-tasking* and *conversion* signal variously effortful deployments stemming from the dialectic relation of field-habitus (Figure 3). The complexity is evident, for example, in the blurred social working arrangements, subtle differences in the construal of work arrangements giving rise to *different* capital deployments. This intriguing finding invites research to explore other nuances arising in

	Habitus –field (doxa or 'fit')	
Capital-habitus (resourcing)	Effortless (more doxic)	Effortful (less doxic)
Unchanged (Re-tasking)	**Effortless Re-tasking**	**Effortful Re-tasking**
Changed (Conversion)	**Effortless Conversion**	**Effortful Conversion**

Figure 3. Capital deployment grid

assorted permutations of such blurred work arrangements, or indeed, blurred enterprising practices spanning any enterprising domain. Significantly, the tensions of this blurriness signals the essential role of habitus.

Conclusion

Lifestyle enterprise has been conceived as a non-conforming form of entrepreneurship vis-a-vis the rationalist economic norm. Setting aside this historical dichotomy, and turning to the common ground of practice steers us back to the core concern to understand the generative principles of enterprising action, wherever it arises. As Johannisson (2011, p. 137) says, the pivot to practice means “understanding of entrepreneurship as. . .a creative and social/collective organizing process that materializes a venture. . .. [it] focuses on actions and interactions, their source, pattern-making and outcomes. It is about getting things done.”

The conceptual arsenal of Bourdieu offers powerful tools for seeing how and why things get done. The dynamic relational dialectics at the confluence of habitus-field-capital provide the epistemological tools to unlock the box that is enterprising, to find the generative principles of its action. This study has sought to employ these tools, taking inspiration from the body of entrepreneurship as practice scholarship that has lately done much to advance insight by applying Bourdieu’s toolkit. Lately, entrepreneurship practice scholars scholars have called for holistic and dynamic treatments of the theoretical tools, with Inge Hill (2018) lighting the way. Responding to her call, this study extends scholarly discussion of capital conversions two main respects: first, by offering a holistic and nuanced treatment of capital conversions from a dialectic relational vantage, whereby capital deployments entail transformations of *variable* degree; and second, stressing the integral role of habitus as the prism construing an enactable world.

Consequently, this study offers empirical and theoretical findings. Empirically, the findings directly contribute insights into the understudied phenomenon of lifestyle enterprise, showing how various capital deployment practices constitute enterprising in lifestyle enterprises. In this respect, this study emphasizes the empirical importance of cultural capital, particularly highlighting embodied cultural capital. Although studies often focus on the role of social capital, which is important, it is important to consider how social capital comes about and in this respect, the embodied cultural capital of habitus may well form the basis of social capital. Indeed, it seems rather likely that social capital stems from the interactions borne of “strategic fits” (Hill, 2018) among those inclined to act in similar social fields *because* they share a sufficiently common habitus. When habitus is “stretched” by the construed exigencies of a field deployments of assorted capitals are likely to engender effort in the sustenance of a doxic field-habitus relation. These dynamic dialectics imply an analytical framework wherein capital deployments are matters of degree, variously construed in terms of effort and conversion. Doxa is constructed (through habitus) field-by-field and moment-by-moment. The effects are visible in the nuances of capital deployments. This necessitates going beyond unidimensional form conversions and unidimensional views of the enterprising field.

The “stretching” of habitus raises implications for policy agencies dealing with enterprisers. If the premise is accepted that habitus colours how people “see” the world, then it follows that their actions may seem variously rational and irrational to others according to the habitus. Policy actors offering support to enterprisers are unlikely to “see” the same thing as the people they seek to help unless they are of like mind. Consequently, the success of business support programs might depend *less* on the acumen of those delivering such support, and *more* on the degree of habitus “fit” - having the “right” cultural competence to be able to offer valued help.

On the theoretical front, this study raises two key issues for the analysis of the capital deployment practices. Firstly, capital deployment practices are not simply about conversion, but may also involve re-tasking without substantive form change. Secondly, this study highlights the need for systemic perspectives embracing the dialectical relations among capitals, field, and habitus. Researchers especially need to consider the effect of habitus as the prism from which the image of an enactable world springs. If that prism is neglected, a vital piece of the interlocking puzzle of enterprising is omitted.

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4.Tour Stop 3: Performing

Introducing the Performing Stop (Paper 3)

This stop visits the action of performing. It explores the performative construction of enterprises. By exploring the enterprising action of performing, we gain insight into how the enterprising of tourism development happens. This stop simply asks: *how do enterprisers perform tourism lifestyle enterprising?* It engages with the performers, lifestyle enterprisers undertaking enterprising in a small tourism lifestyle enterprise in Sweden. Watching and listening carefully to doings and sayings, it seeks to enter the world of enterprisers, and gain insight by entering, and being part of, the performance of enterprising. Doing so, we learn that enterprisers play many roles, constructing the meaning of selves and spaces, the action unfolding fluidly across nested domains. We also learn that the researcher takes part in the construction, and thus there is a need to include the researcher role positions. Everyone takes part in the performances constructing enterprising.

Paper 3: Reid (2021b). People making things happen: Visiting the interaction of lifestyle enterprising

People making things happen: Visiting the interaction of lifestyle enterprising

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Sub-theme 51: Organization-in-Creation: The Processes and Practices of Entrepreneuring

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Abstract

This paper engages with the micro action of lifestyle enterprising from an interactionist perspective. The here-and-now action of enterprising is examined by using the microsociology of Erving Goffman in a single observational case study of tourism lifestyle enterprising in Sweden. Engaging with the constructionist mechanics of performance, the study draws attention to the formation of identities and the bases of meaning constituting lifestyle enterprising. The findings illustrate the blurring of assorted personal and commercial domains in the performance of enterprising. The situated action unfolds the fluidity of the meanings of places and spaces, roles and relations, that practically constitute enterprising. Moving across personal and commercial domains in physical and social dimensions, involved actors enact the meaning of lifestyle enterprising. Admittance to private spheres can be seen as a form of "deference" (Goffman, 1967), these marking realm transitions, and amounting to non-commercial forms of service. Actors are shown to be accomplished performers, fluidly navigating domains and depicting many faces. The multiplicity of faces and domains lends support to the notion of enterprising as performance that is not oriented to a single domain or field, but instead spans multiple domains and fields, wherein identities, resources and meanings of doings are all situationally constructed. The view is of enterprising in a nested 'field of fields' (Hill, 2018), the performative range of actors depicting the breadth and depth of the enterprising habitus (Reid, 2020). A conceptual model of enterprising as 'regarding space' is proposed, reflecting the notion that enterprising performances unfold multiple realms or fields of practice. The micro perspective of interactionism raises conceptual, methodological, and epistemological implications for the study of enterprising. Focusing on the details of action, we are challenged to go beyond juridical limits, instead taking the action at face value, attending to what is being made in, and through, situated performances of practice. Methodologically, interactionism invites us to get close to the action, inviting us to get involved in the 'we' conversation of enterprising at empirical and theoretical junctures (Dimov, Schaefer, & Pistrui, 2020).

INTRODUCTION

Most tourism enterprises are small, often family, concerns (Buhalis & Cooper, 1998; Getz, Carlsen, & Morrison, 2004). Many, if not most, are said to be lifestyle enterprises occupied by enterprising actors who are more one of 'making a life' than just 'making a living'. Classically conceived as consuming and producing a 'lifestyle' (Shaw & Williams, 1987; Williams, Shaw, & Greenwood, 1989), it is said that these lifestyle enterprisers reflect some rejection of traditional commercial and economic values (Helgadóttir & Sigurðardóttir, 2008), or express 'alternative' economic logics (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). This has inspired a line of sociological scholarship investigating the values tensions between commercial and personal domains in various settings (e.g., Cederholm, 2015; Cederholm, 2018; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016; Cederholm & Hultman, 2010; Hultman & Cederholm, 2010). Taking a perspective of lifestyle enterprise as "making a living out of a hobby" (Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016, p. 15), scholars have investigated enterprising as navigating values tensions across various domains (e.g., Cederholm, 2015; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016; Cederholm & Hultman, 2010). This emerging line of tourism studies highlights the need to consider how enterprisers make sense of their enterprising, attending to its varied expression in various domains of action. Broadening enterprising beyond a commercial domain incites methodological engagement with enterprising action at 'face value', setting aside objectivist dualism of commercial opportunity exploitation in favour of the 'flat ontology' of entrepreneurship as enterprising behaviour (Gartner, 1988; Ramoglou, Gartner, & Tsang, 2020). This enables engagement with enterprising doings on their own terms and effectively "disregarding juridical… conceptions of enterprise" (Gelderen, 2000, p. 82) that have the unfortunate tendency of limiting views of enterprising to the realm of commercial undertakings and invoking a dichotomous view of lifestyle versus business and 'alternative' enterprising. Sociological scholars have offered more nuanced views by focussing on the values giving meaning to enterprise construction. From the practice vantage, concern shifts to the processual and performative action of "entrepreneuring" (Steyaert, 2007), inviting interest in the mechanics of constructing enactability (Hill, 2018; Johannisson, 2011).

The practice perspective has, among other things, generated renewed interest in classical practice theories such as those of Pierre Bourdieu, which offer a useful theoretical framework for understanding the relating and resourcing practices enabling (and constructing) enterprising (e.g., Hill, 2018, 2020; Reid, 2020). Yet, practice admits a wider theoretical umbrella, inviting other theories committed to the nitty-gritty of enterprising as a practical action (Thompson, Verduijn, & Gartner, 2020). Interactionism gains methodological relevance here, being concerned with the performative enactments both depicting, and giving meaning to, social situations. Stemming from the seminal work of George Herbert Mead, interactionism takes situated relating as the basis of social action (Mead, 1934). Among the interactionist arsenal, the dramaturgy of Erving Goffman (e.g., Goffman, 1956, 1967, 1970, 1983) offers one theoretical tool for examining the interactive construction of enterprising. Here, identities and meanings are literally performed into life. The dramaturgical interactionist perspective of Goffman offers promise for understanding the performance of tourism enterprising (Bardone, 2013), yet the interactionist perspective of Goffman has, to date, been rarely applied to advance understanding of enterprise formation by attending to situated action of enterprising. This offers a way to get close to the action, to be directly involved with the action of enterprisers making enterprises, and moreover, to bring other researchers into the empirical frame, too, to enter into the 'we' conversation eloquently put by Dimov et al. (2020). These situated performances 'make' things what they practically are, so attending to the details of performed action offers the prospect of rich insights into the creative action of enterprising.

Practice approaches call for commitment to a practice ontology taking up a relational-material epistemology and using practice-oriented theoretical tools (Thompson et al., 2020). Interactionism can fulfil these commitments. Taking up these messages, this paper uses Goffman's interactionist lens to explore the performance of lifestyle enterprise in a single (micro) case in Sweden. The aim is simply to gain insight into how lifestyle enterprising 'happens', visiting an enterprise and asking how actors' practices make lifestyle enterprising. Using Goffman's lens, the interaction of 'lifestyle enterprising' is examined in minute detail, focusing on the 'here-and-now' details of the action 'as-it-happens' to see what the action makes. In particular, the analysis draws on Goffman's seminal work, Interaction Ritual, and with particular emphasis on his early essays, 'On Face-Work' and 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor', which seemed to offer practically useable theoretical tools germane to the exploration task.

The aims of the paper are twofold: the first is to provide insight into the phenomenon of tourism 'lifestyle enterprising', by engaging with it on 'face value', to take it on its own terms as it is practically enacted and using interactionism to assist to make sense of it; the second is to illustrate the value of interactionist theory, particularly Goffman's conceptual toolbox, as a useful theoretical aid within the entrepreneurship-as-practice stable.

An Interactionist Approach to Lifestyle Enterprise

This paper uses Goffman's theoretical lens to help make sense of the situated, performative construction of tourism lifestyle enterprising. Erving Goffman's seminal work in *Interaction Ritual* provides a germane lens for viewing the here-and-now action of enterprising. Goffman's dramaturgical microsociology puts interaction at the very centre of social life. As Collins explains, Goffman's doctrine is one of "functional ritualism" (Collins, 2004, p. 16). Goffman's perspective explicates social life through illuminating "functional requirements of the situation" (ibid.). This could be thought of as the know-how of knowing what to do in the extant situation and thereby constructing the meaning of the doings. Goffman's essays 'On Face Work' and 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor' provide the "taxonomy of ritual elements" (ibid., p. 19) that sustain "the ordinary reality of everyday life" (ibid., p. 20), offering theoretical tools that can assist to understand enterprising practice.

Faces and Face Work

The starting point for Goffman's ritual code is found in "face". Face comes from a "line". By virtue of co-presence, each individual proffers a "line" as "a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5); due to "the line others assume he has taken" (ibid.), the actor acquires a "face" as an "image of self". Consequently, an interacting actor can be described in relation to "face", as in being "out of face" when unable to proffer "a line of the kind participants in such situations are expected to take" (ibid., p. 8); as being "in-face" when the line portrays an internally consistent image of self; and as being in "wrong face" when incompatible information "cannot be integrated … into the line … sustained for him" (ibid.). Situations call for performance of faces, according to practical logics, and those faces can be variously correctly performed and may deviate from expected (according to practical logics) scripts in relation to the extant situation.

Basic rules of self-respect and considerateness govern "face" in interaction: each person is expected to uphold their face and the faces of others, to play the part according to the situation. As Goffman explains: "Once he takes on a self-image expressed through face he will be expected to live up to it … to show self-respect" (ibid., p. 9); and, since a lack of respect for others can damage ones' own face, the individual is expected to also "sustain a standard of considerateness … [by going to] certain lengths to save the feelings and the face of others" (ibid., p. 10). Bound by the rules of "self-respect" and "considerateness", interacting actors employ "face work" to counter "incidents" that would otherwise discredit the "faces" of those present: "When a face has been threatened, face-work must be done … Lack of effort on the part of one person induces compensative effort from others" (ibid., p. 27). The tacit agreement to perform face work enables the "ritually delicate object" of a social self (ibid., p. 31). Goffman presents a "construction of self under social constraint" (Collins, 2004, p. 16). The ceremonial ritual order sustains the constructed social reality and the "faces" that comprise it. As Collins describes it: The actor acquires a face or social self … to just the extent that the participants cooperate to carry off the ritual sustaining the definition of the situational reality and who its participants are (ibid., p. 19).

Deference and Demeanour

The two basic ingredients of the ceremonial ritual order are "deference" – what individuals do to each other – and "demeanour" (Collins, 2004; Goffman, 1967). Deference is regarding others. It conveys "a sentiment of regard for the recipient" (Goffman, 1967, p. 58). It is the "symbolic means by which appreciation is regularly conveyed … marks of devotion … in which an actor celebrates and confirms his relation to a recipient" (ibid., pp. 56-57). One might call it forms of respect. In Goffman's scheme, "deference" takes two basic forms: "avoidance rituals" and "presentational rituals".

Avoidance rituals concern what is not to be done; they are "forms of deference which lead the actor to keep at a distance from the recipient" (ibid., p. 62), describing taboos or proscriptions or "acts that the actor must refrain from doing lest he violate the right of the recipient to keep him at a distance" (ibid., p. 73). As Collins (2004, p. 19) points out, one important avoidance ritual is respecting privacy by allowing others a "backstage … to do the things that do not make an optimal impression." This goes to issues of privacy in social or spatial terms. The other component of Goffman's deference is "presentational rituals", which is the expression of respect or regard. These are "acts through which the individual makes specific attestations to recipients concerning how he regards them and how he will treat them" (Goffman, 1967, p. 71). Here, Goffman describes the most common forms of presentational deference as "salutations", "invitations" and "compliments". These are forms of regard that "convey appreciation of the recipient" (Goffman, 1956, p. 73).

Demeanour goes to the suitability of the actor as interactant; it is a kind of presentation of self that goes to matters of appearance and manner. It is "conveyed through deportment, dress, and bearing, which serves to express … that he is a person of certain desirable or undesirable qualities" (Goffman, 1967, p. 77). It can be likened to the concept of habitus, and particularly the bodily appearance or corporeal hexis of Bourdieu (e.g., Bourdieu, 1990; Maton, 2008). Good demeanor depicts the actor as "someone who can be relied upon to maintain himself as an interactant" (Goffman, ibid.), to play their expected part.

Social Construction

Collins (2004) labels Goffman a "social constructionist". The meanings of identities and situations are constructed in and through situated interaction. For Goffman, interaction is all. Collins (2004, p. 16) sums it thus: "What social institutions people believe they are taking part in, the setting, the roles that are being presented – none of these exists in itself, but only as it is made real by being acted out." Doings make situations what they are. This perspective invites the direct observation of entrepreneurship as a social construction sustained and expressed in the here-and-now action, where practical reasoning is basically constructive.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

This study is a micro case study of tourism lifestyle enterprising based on observation. Case study is a suitable methodology to gain insight into unique phenomena (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Here, a single case of tourism (lifestyle) enterprising is examined in microscopic detail. The case is about a cheesemaking enterprise that is promoted as a tourist attraction in Southern Sweden. The case enterprise was selected from the regional tourism organisation's website, which among other things contains a listing of recommended food and cultural enterprises available for tourists to visit. The case enterprise was chosen for study because of its convenient location and suitability as a small tourism enterprise, apparently exhibiting the characteristics of a tourism lifestyle enterprise or presenting a likely site where the action of 'lifestyle enterprising' might be encountered.

It follows that understanding is limited to the interpretation of the situated performance, yet the theoretical implications or 'practical theorising' can possibly extend to the wider realm of enterprising. Thus, it is possible to learn something of wider value, even from a micro case study such as this (Flyvbjerg, 2011, 2016), engagement with practice affording a pragmatic basis for social scientific inquiry based on the concept of phronesis (Flyvbjerg, Landman, & Schram, 2012), or what might be seen as empirically-grounded and practically relevant theorising (Dimov et al., 2020).

The interactionist perspective is well suited to the task. The concern of this interactionist perspective is to attend to the minute details of social action, to seek insight into the practical forms of enterprising action. This is the point where the constructor's sense of action is made visible to those present, including the co-present participant who is the researcher. To perform this kind of study, the researcher must be bodily present, a co-present participant involved in unfolding the action. Insight relies on careful observation of naturally occurring data – though being 'natural' not in the sense that it is uncontaminated by the researcher qua person (which is impossible), but in the sense that it is simply the data that arises in the co-present action in which the researcher is involved. The epistemological concern is involvement and the nature of the positional dynamic. Here, 'naturalness' relates to the notion of naturally being part of the enterprising action, taking part in the construction of the action as a typical participant in the 'normal' course of events. Consequently, covert observation (with post-hoc permission) offers a logical methodological choice, leading to the blending in of the researcher as customer, as close to the natural enterprising situation as practically possible – bearing in mind that the action remains a co-construction.

In this case, the naturally occurring data arises from observations of interactions encountered during a single site visit to the case enterprise. No investigation of the enterprise was conducted ahead of the observation, other than scanning the regional tourist website to identify the enterprise (among others) as an 'ideal case' of lifestyle enterprising. Indeed, this is probably 'typical' of most tourists or customers. In this respect, the purposeful selection was based on the criteria that the enterprise was small, in order that the enterpriser would be performatively present, and that the enterprise website indicated typical lifestyle motives such as family, place, or work as leisure kinds of statements. Beyond this initial assessment, no further investigation was undertaken. The lack of prior research was intentional: the intention was to simply experience or get involved in the enterprising at the enterprise, uncoloured by pre-formed expectations from any extended information search that might colour ideas about the observed action. The observation occurred in a weekend visit during April 2017, and the visit lasted approximately three hours, during which time detailed observational notes were taken. My family accompanied me to the enterprise, as family groups commonly attend tourism enterprises; this kind of visit was not only in the aid of maintaining family contact while working on the weekend, but simply rendered the whole experience typical of a family of tourists. As co-present actors, their presence shaped the 'we' situation of the enterprising action.

The observational material was recorded in three stages. In the first step, written field notes were discretely recorded during the visit, along with short video snippets and photographs to prompt later recollection. This simply entailed using the notes application on a mobile phone, taking jottings in situ as the situation allowed, otherwise supplemented by headnotes – basically paying attention and 'memorising' details (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). In the second step, the initial written field notes were embellished with fresh recollections of key moments and features, drawing on fresh headnotes – these being written in the immediate aftermath of the visit (sitting in the car outside the enterprise). In the final step, the materials were all reviewed (same day) and further expanded, using photographs and video snippets to aid recall, and develop full field notes (including collation of images to aid later reviews). Full field notes were transcribed at this point, including images. Images are not included in this document, however, simply to preserve participant confidentiality, particularly as these images capture general action including bystanders and other co-participants not asked for consent. The use of field-notes, headnotes and expansion of full field notes in the immediate aftermath of observation is typical of the ethnographic method described by Emerson et al. (2011). Gathered materials were effectively no more or less than what most tourists would do, relating to public performances of enterprising action. At the conclusion of the observational visit, the researcher's identity was disclosed to the enterprisers, at which time post-hoc consent was obtained for use of gathered data.

RESULTS

Observational Setting

The enterprise is surrounded by farmland, being situated at the end of a long driveway (at least 200 metres long) which crosses the surrounding fields. The car parking area is not far from the driveway, but is past the buildings. Immediately adjacent to the car parking area is a large chicken house (including chickens) and a small dam or pond. There is an open garden area dotted with three small buildings to the left of this; the closest is signed 'Ost Butik' (cheese shop); to the left of this building there is a large glass-covered seating area – a conservatory, or what is called an 'orangery' in Sweden. Between these two buildings is another small building of similar size to the cheese shop; there is no sign on it and its function is not immediately apparent. Another larger building sits apart from these buildings (behind them from the vantage of the carpark); it resembles a farmhouse, though its specific function is not apparent from immediate observation. The whole scene is rural and farm-like, and basically gives the impression of being a rural, farm enterprise. It also gives the impression of being a typical rural tourism enterprise.

Observing Interaction

In the following sections, the observed interactions are described in six ‘Acts’. The Acts form logical divisions in the action, these divisions being marked by variations in the timing, the participating actors, or sites of the action of interest. Each Act commences with a description of the observed action, followed by commentary extrapolating on the interaction segment and interpreting the action using interactionist tools. The unfolding action is broadly in line with the temporal sequence of the encounter. In this way, the fieldnote excerpts seek to invite the reader to join in the experience of the action, to become part of the ‘we’ in the shared perspective over enterprising, inviting readers to ‘join’ in the enterprising action and enter the ‘we’ conversation at the practice-theory junction (Dimov et al., 2020).

Act 1: Tasting Cheese

> Scene 1: The Cheese Shop is adorned with props – certificates and news items are on the walls and counters; some shelves have goods such as jams for sale. A service counter and glass display cabinet marks the boundary separating the “front stage” of the customer service area from a pseudo “backstage” where behind-the scenes work is being done (Goffman, 1956). A young man stands at this boundary, immediately behind the counter near the register; and another man and woman work in the background, preparing food and washing items in a small sink. The young man appears ‘service like’: his clothing is neat, clean, and he stands facing the service area. His overall “demeanour” invites interaction (Goffman, 1967). As we approach, the young man offers a greeting of “hallå” (hello) and smiles. I reply by asking him to “tell me about the cheese”, indicating the tasting samples arrayed on the top of the glass counter. He pauses, perhaps unsure how to answer, possibly because I have spoken to him in (Australian accented) English. Seeing his pause, my wife asks: “which one should we try first?” He then moves to the tasting samples and suggests the best tasting order. We thank him and start tasting the assorted cheeses.

The smile and greeting are a “deference” of salutation (Goffman, 1967) or recognition of others, the line indicating a willingness to serve and inviting a reply. In the setting of the shop, it serves to connect the “asymmetrical relationship” (Goffman, 1967) of ‘server’ and ‘customer/served’. The stumble modifies the roles somewhat. Unable to answer my initial request, an interaction “incident” loomed (Goffman, 1967). Without a suitable response to my query, he is no longer serving us, his lack of responding “line” placing him “out-of-face” (Goffman, 1967), no longer a ‘server’. The interaction ritual was required to restore the service interaction and the faces that go with it (Goffman, 1967). The second question by my wife is marked as the “challenge”; responding with required information, he performs a deference of minor service, the expected performance marking the “expiation” for the prior stumble and our thanks marking “acceptance” of his repair and completing the interaction ritual, upholding the faces and restoring the equilibrium of the established service situation. Thus, the young man retained his face as ‘server’, though the stumble perhaps modified his ‘face’ to ‘inexperienced server’. The action defines the performance of commercial service; the action of serving framed the relation between server-served, or service provider and ‘customer’ as established by the deference of salutation (an invitation to serve) and the deference of minor service (provision of requested information) within the commercial setting of a shop. The serving action is basically typical, all play their expected parts, the action unfolding the performance of service in the commercial domain and the doing of business (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Act 1, Scene 1 (Business)

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Customer/served – server	Salutation (greeting) Minor service	Commercial	Business

> Scene 2: The boutique, which then becomes crowded with other customers. We move to the side with our tasting samples and inspect the goods in the shop. After the customers depart, I ask the young man if he makes the cheese. He replies, “No, she does!”, looking at the woman behind him, addressing both her and us. The woman looks up and smiles as she says, “I am the mom (1) and I make the cheese, adding that he was helping her and that he “is a good son for helping me today”.

Here, the young man publicly acknowledges expertise of the woman as maker of the cheese – it is a “deference” of a compliment of capacity-esteem (Goffman, 1967). He is remarking about her artisanal production skill or interest (as cheesemaker), and it is outside the commercial realm for the remark is not one made by a ‘customer’. Nor in that moment is he performing as ‘son’, so it is not the realm of family; this interaction is in the realm of her production interest, which he acknowledges not as ‘son’ or ‘customer’, but as ‘young man’. Put differently, he pays regard to her for what she makes, not what she sells. It may be that this happens in a ‘shop’, but the interaction among them is non-commercial. As bystanders, we are afforded glimpses into the personal (non-commercial) realm of her interest. Entering the personal domain, we are no longer simply ‘customers’, but ‘visitors’, sharing in her production interest, and admittance into this private realm can be seen as another deference of trust (e.g., we are trusted to know that he privately also regards her as ‘maker’).

Stating her regard for him as ‘son’ and ‘helper’, she offers “deference” in compliments of affection and belongingness (Goffman, ibid.). These compliments arise in the personal realm of family as she relates to him as ‘son’ and ‘helper’. Albeit we are in the ‘commercial’ setting of a shop, her compliments are couched in familial terms, even the term ‘helper’ being used rather than the more commercial ‘worker’. These moments of personal regard offer glimpses into the private (non-commercial) enterprising realm of their family – she affords him regard as the good son who helps her. That these private performances made in public, in our presence, marks them as a form of deference, being privy to these compliments relating to the private “backstage” of family is a deference in the form of a compliment of trust. As bystanders or witnesses to these private domains our roles are changed, we are no longer simply ‘customers’ in the commercial realm but become guests or ‘visitors’ who are invited to witness their enterprises of making family (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Act 1, Scene 2 (Interest and Family)

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Young man – maker	Capacity esteem	Non-commercial	Interest
Parent-child (mom-son	Affection and belonging	Non-commercial	Family

Act 2: Requesting Help

> Scene 1: My wife and I stand outside as our three young children run about playing in the garden. Suddenly one of them needs to use the toilet and so I return to the shop to ask the young man (the ‘son/helper/server’) for help. I offer the question: “Excuse me, is there a toilet?” He seems uncertain how to answer, offering a cautious reply, “Yes, there is”. He says it slowly, glancing toward the woman as he says it. I add further information for them both, explaining that “It’s for my daughter”. The woman then smiles and beckons me closer, behind the counter. Directing my gaze by pointing out a side window to the large building, she tells me: “You can go *there*. It is in the middle on the left. Just go right in. It’s fine”. I thank her and rush out, taking my child to the place indicated. Upon entering, I realise that it is a house, and it is most likely that it is her home.

With my newfound knowledge, the young man’s hesitant reply takes on new meaning: grappling with his knowledge that the said toilet was in the private space or the “backstage” (Goffman, 1956) of the family home, he had turned to the woman to seek her permission – marking a “deference” of respect (Goffman, 1967) from him to her in regard to the private space of home which is the realm of family (Figure 3).

Seen only in the commercial realm, the woman’s action in directing me to the toilet could be construed as a deference of minor service (Goffman, 1967) in the commercial sense of doing business by serving a needy customer. However, such assumption misses an important (sequential) detail that it was the reframing of the interaction following my parental line. In particular, by offering that the toilet need is for my daughter offers a new "line" (Goffman, ibid.), recasting me as 'parent/dad' and reframing the interaction. It is this line to which the woman promptly responds, by inviting me to join her in the pseudo backstage of the shop and directing me to the private space of the family home, a deference of minor service in the personal domain linked to a deference of trust (Goffman, 1956). The minor service afforded in the private domain stemmed from the relation of parent-parent, in the personal domain of family, no longer cast only in the role of 'customer' to be served in the commercial domain of business, but also as fellow 'parent' who is trusted to enter the personal space of home in the realm of family. Rendering the minor service in the personal domain of family, the minor service deviates from the script of commercial service to become a non-commercial service.

Figure 3. Act 2, Scene 1 (Family)

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Parent-child (mom-son)	Respect (for privacy)	Non-commercial	Family
Parent-parent (mom-dad)	Trust (entry to home) Minor service	Non-commercial	Family

Act 3: Ordering Food

Scene 1: We (my family) all return to the boutique to order food. The menu is in Swedish, of which my knowledge is scant, so I request help from the young man by way of explanation of the items by stating: "Can you tell me about the menu? Sorry, I can't read Swedish". He obligingly starts to explain: "The first item is cheesecake, but it's not really cheesecake" he says. He looks to the woman for advice. She promptly lists off the ingredients, also describing how it is made. She knows because she made it, which she also tells us. The young man then adds that it is served warm with cream and jam, adding his opinion that: "It's very good. I think you will like it … well … I do." It sounds good to us and we order two. After ordering, we retire to the orangery (conservatory) to await the food.

In turning to the woman for her expert advice, the young man offers her the "deference" of capacity-esteem (Goffman, 1967). It is the deference of a compliment to her as the 'maker' who is qualified to comment. Furthermore, his statement that it is "very good" is not only the helpful recommendation of the server to the served that marks the deference of minor service to us. In doing so, he is telling her that he appreciates what she makes. These are all forms of respect; situationally and specifically accorded, these forms of respect offer insight into the situated roles of the actors and the sense of the enterprising action at-hand. In responding with information about the ingredients, she offers us the minor service as customers interested in purchasing food, the service being part and parcel of the action of selling in the commercial realm of business (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Act 3, Scene 1 (Interest and Business)

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Young man – maker	Capacity esteem	Non-commercial	Interest
Customer/served – server	Minor service	Commercial	Business

Act 4: Serving Food

Scene 1: The woman brings the food to us. She serves us adroitly, with grace – her "face" in that moment being that of the expert 'server'. With the serving done, she pauses to explain, in quite some detail, the cultural traditions of the dish, which is commonly used in celebrations in the area to the north. We listen attentively and thank her for the explanation, remarking that it is indeed fascinating to know. I then remark that I had noticed a sign about local food culture in the shop, acknowledging her involvement in the group and inviting her to tell us more about that. She then goes to fetch a booklet that lists other local venues that we might like to visit. She explains that not all of them make food, but all of them have some connection to local culture, and we discuss the brochure and map with her, seeking further information and her recommendations.

Here, the woman is initially in the “face” of a server, offering the deference of minor service in the commercial realm in serving the food gracefully to us as customers. Completing the order by delivering the food, she completes the business transaction of our customer order. With the business of serving done she then takes on another role, issuing her lines about the cultural aspects of the food, she is a knowledgeable ‘teacher’ who is interested in local food culture. The explanation of the dish (teaching or informing us) is a deference of “minor service” (Goffman, 1967), though this relates to her realm of interest rather than to the business of selling or serving the food, which we have already purchased and been served, and her explanation of the cultural tradition makes no difference to that (commercial) outcome. Thus, this deference of minor service may be seen as more than a commercial service, morphing into a form of non-commercial service, offered to us not as ‘customers’, but as ‘students’ interested to engage with her in the realm of her interest in local food culture. Our expressions of interest and thanks mark deference to her in the form of compliments of capacity esteem (Goffman, ibid.), acknowledging her as a knowledgeable ‘teacher’ and relating our appreciation to the realm of her interest. She consequently fetches the brochure, which is another “deference” of “minor service” (Goffman, ibid.) arising in relation to the realm of interest (food culture). We are no longer ‘customers’ here, but ‘students’ interested in what she is personally, passionately, interested in (Figure 5).

> Scene 1 (continued): I ask her if she uses eggs from her chickens (which are visible in a nearby garden pen) in making the cheesecake she has just served and explained. She says, “No, I can’t, they don’t make enough eggs!” She then explains that she makes 40 kilograms of cheesecake and uses her own cheese too. We marvel at the effort, both my wife and I expressing amazement at the quantity she produces in her house kitchen. She then qualifies the statement, adding, “Well, not in one batch; … I have two ovens, so I make two 20 kilo batches”. We express amazement still, and with that she excuses herself by saying that she should ‘get back to work because they are so busy’.

Our expressions of amazement at her production feat amounts to a “compliment” of capacity-esteem (Goffman, ibid.), relating to her as ‘maker’ in the realm of her personal interest (food culture). Her explanation that she prepares all the food in her ‘house’ kitchen affords another glimpse into the private “backstage”, and the sharing of that private detail amounts to a deference of trust (Goffman, ibid.). It may be a detail of language (using English rather than Swedish), but it could also be that the term ‘house’ signifies distance from the realm of family where the language is of ‘home’. Either way, we are no longer ‘customers’ here, but ‘visitors’ engaging with her in her capacity as ‘maker’ and in receipt of services in the non-commercial realm of her interest (Figure 5). The interaction frame is reinforced by her statement indicating that she needs to return to the commercial realm or get back to work, a marker indicating that our interaction has not been seen by her as the ‘work’ of business, or that she did not see it as working. We may have started in business with the serving completing the order, but we moved away from there, before she signals the shift from the non-commercial realm of interest back to the commercial realm of business by going back to work. It merits mention that the smoothness of the transition could be readily missed but for attending to the interaction details.

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Customer/served – server	Minor service (serving food)	Commercial	Business
Maker/Teacher-student	Minor service (information) Trust (private details) Capacity-esteem (appreciation)	Non-commercial	Interest

Act 5: Rescuing

> Scene 1: An older man comes into the conservatory. He is wearing practical working clothes. His “demeanour” (Goffman, 1967) is relaxed and friendly. He excuses his intrusion by explaining that he was “rescuing” us as he had noticed that our children had managed to lock us inside by closing the door which only opened easily from the outside. We thank him for coming to our aid. I mention to him that it seems busy here today and suggest that he might look forward to a rest. Responding to my interest, he stops to chat. Among other things, he tells us how he came to be here with his wife as she “fell in love with the farmhouse” and wanted to live in the

> country, so they asked the farmer who agreed to sell it to them. He explains how his wife began making cheese several years back when she left her work because she just "wanted to do something for herself".

The man's rescue, unlocking the door, was a "deference" of "minor service" to stranded customers and taking care of business in the commercial realm (Figure 6), and thus our gratitude for noticing is a "compliment" of capacity-esteem (Goffman, ibid.), acknowledging his service in taking care of us as customers. Our request asking after his personal situation shows a "deference" of regard for him not as a service provider but as a person. In all, these remarks signal "that he is not an island unto himself and that others are, or seek to be, involved with him" (Goffman, ibid., p. 73). He responds with a "deference" of trust (Goffman, ibid.), inviting us into the private "backstage" by relating many details about his personal situation, particularly telling of his family and this place which is his home. His "line" reveals the "faces" (Goffman, ibid.) of the 'husband' who helps to support his wife. We are not in the commercial realm here, but visitors to his family home (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Act 5, Scene 1 (Business)

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Customer/served – server	Minor service (rescue) Capacity-esteem (appreciation)	Commercial	Business
Visitor-maker	Trust (private details)	Non-commercial	Family

Act 6: Buying Cheese

> We return to the 'Ost Butik' (cheese shop) to buy some cheese. The man (husband) offers a friendly greeting. He waits, ready to serve us – and thus assuming the "face" of 'server'. I ask him to cut some cheese for us to take home. I notice that he uses a knife that has been used to before, and some blue cheese gets on the yellow cheese that he is cutting for us. I ignore it, but he sees that I saw. He says: "The knife had some blue cheese on it … I got some of it on your cheese". He then carefully washes the knife in the sink and starts to scrape off the blue cheese remnants from the white cheese he has cut. I make a little joke by saying that the cheese will not last long enough in our house for the blue cheese to grow on it. He smiles, trims the cheese and finishes preparing our order.

As buyers of cheese placing an order, we are in the role of customers, the deference of minor service here arising in the commercial realm. The greeting is a deference of salutation, signalling readiness to serve customers and opening the customer/served – server relation (Figure 7). The 'server' made a mistake with the knife – so an "incident" loomed (Goffman, 1967). When my attempt at "non-observance" (Goffman, ibid.) to protect his face failed, the incident was publicly acknowledged. The interaction ritual then had to be enacted: first was the self-issued "challenge" – his acknowledgement of the serving mistake; next was an "offering" of "penance" of expiation as he washed the knife and made a show of scraping off, then trimming, the cheese; my little joke marking the "acceptance" and his smile signalling his "gratitude" for same; so the "faces" were all saved and the equilibrium of the interaction restored, enabling the 'server' to serve the customer and finalise the order. This interaction is significant in that it clearly evidences the practical reality of providing service in small enterprises, which are rarely staffed by highly trained professionals, but often by well-meaning amateurs, often family members 'helping out' by performing many different types of tasks as best they can. Making inevitable mistakes, they endeavour to perform these many tasks with as much grace and "poise" (Goffman, ibid.) as they are able to muster. Here, and knowing what we do from previous interactions through which we have come to know him as 'husband', the nested domains (and roles) of enterprising are revealed.

Figure 7. Act 6, Scene 1 (Family and Business)

Relating		Regarding	
Role relations	**Deference**	**Domain**	**Realm (field)**
Customer/served – server	Salutation (greeting) Minor service	Commercial	Business

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

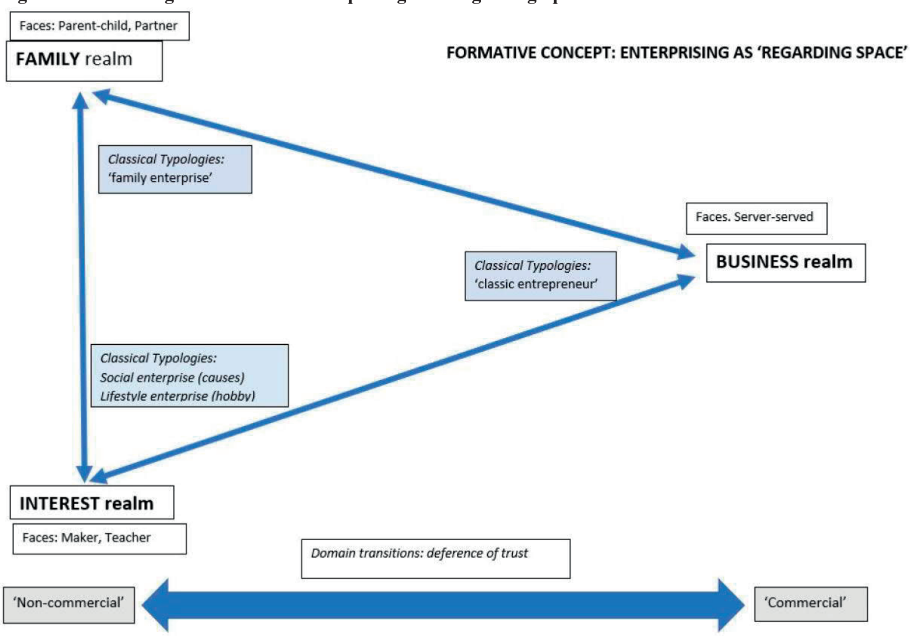
Although the "here and now" moments of Goffman's interactionism are just mini acts in an ongoing performance of the doings of enterprising, mere snippets witnessed partially and fleetingly by co-present actors who are privy to and variously part of the action, these moments reveal the intricacies of enterprising action in vivid detail. Indeed, it is these moments that show the practical construction of enterprising.

Applying the microsociology of Goffman's "Interaction Ritual", it is possible to learn a great deal about just how tourism (lifestyle) enterprising 'gets done', and of the meanings of service in those contexts. When viewing the enterprise through the interactionist lens, we can see how the involved actors enact the practice of enterprising, performing it into lived life, moment-by-moment, offering their sense of the action in the performances of enterprising. Even just a few interactions can provide rich insight, unfolding nuances in the meaning of enterprising.

The actors move in physical and social terms, interactively constructing the meanings of enterprising, enacting realms of family, interest and business across commercial and personal domains. This illustrates the blurring of commercial and personal domains typical of 'lifestyle enterprising' (Cederholm, 2015), but carries us further by highlighting the practical mechanics constructing various realms of relating. The interaction reveals enterprising as practices unfolding fluidly in regard to these various realms, an image of enterprising as a regarding space (Figure 8).

The interactions palpably reveal that the enterprising is not a monolithic edifice singularly constructed only in the commercial realm of doing business, but instead spans commercial and non-commercial (personal) domains, with roles unfolding fluidly across nested fields of family and interest and business. Despite the fact that the action takes place at what is ostensibly a commercial 'enterprise', the interaction reveals that the practical construction of enterprising is far more complex and varied. For those who are customers, deference of trust marks entry into personal realms, where they may receive forms of non-commercial service. As service is revealed as being not confined to the commercial domain, this suggests that there are various forms of service, not only commercial, but personal or 'non-commercial' (Figure 8). It seems that in the shifting sands of enterprising, service has shades too.

Figure 8. Conceiving Interaction of Enterprising as a Regarding Space



Through Goffman's lens we can see the movement between realms as marked by the deference of trust, a mechanism 'transporting' actors and action from commercial to non-commercial realms. As a co-present actor, it becomes possible to see how various "faces" emerge in situated interaction, and directly encounter the relations to realms and domains of enterprising. When moving from situation to situation, we can see how actors in this case modified their "lines" and assumed different "faces" (Goffman, 1967). From time to time the woman was 'mom', 'maker' and 'server'; the young man was 'son', 'helper' 'server'; and the man was 'helper', 'husband' and 'server'. This goes for the researcher as well, as much a co-present actor as any other, an actor in this case variously (re)constructed as 'customer/served' and 'parent/dad'.

It is remarkable that the actors can enact these different "faces" so easily and fluidly, and not only between situations or acts, but within them as well. These are not simply set-piece plays fixed to a setting, nor do they remain in stasis for the duration of a scene. We can instead see that all the actors were effectively multifaceted: the woman wore a multifaceted "face" of 'mom/maker/server'; the young man was 'son/helper/server'; and the man was 'husband/helper/server'. The 'researcher' as co-present participant changed roles too, overtly participating as 'dad/husband/customer', and it could even be said that the face of the 'researcher' was present (immanent), but hidden from public view, until the very end when my identity was revealed to the enterprisers. You, as the reader, are presently engaged with my face as 'researcher', and yet, reading this, you can also detect that other 'faces' are present in the empirical work, illustrating the research-enterprising entanglement. In this respect the interactionist perspective may offer a way to move toward the theory-practice nexus, helping to meld the empirical 'we' conversations of researcher-enterpriser with the theoretical conversations of researcher-researcher, working toward the nexus of theory-practice so eloquently mapped out by Dimov et al. (2020). Interactionism brings the researcher close to the action, entering the 'we' conversation of the enterprisers under study, the detailed depiction of the action inviting academic colleagues to also enter the situated action.

The interactionist perspective suggests this is not just a case of wearing one or another of these faces, but is rather a matter of potentially being any of these things at any moment, or even being all these things at once. Using a Bordieuan lens it could be said that this shows the range of the acting enterprising habitus, as it operates in relation to multiple, nested fields. The actors engaged in enterprising are not simply to be seen as chameleons, capable of changing the colour of their skin (face) when moving from 'spot to spot', but many-faced chimeras, able to activate many faces. Against such a view, the effort to define fixed practice roles becomes futile, as does the idea of fixed enterprise typologies. For instance, in this case, we see how the enterprising doings of the actors not only make a 'business', but also make realms of 'family' and 'interest' come to life as well. The unfixity of enterprise construction suggests a view of enterprising as a regarding space, where assorted realms are variously enacted in and by the practices of agile, multifaceted social actors.

A theoretical implication arises here in relation to the interactionist toolbox of Goffman, or at least in relation to a common critique of strategic and fixed role interactions. On the one hand, the immanent potential of multiple faces seems somewhat at odds with Goffman, who is often subject to a charge of presenting a strategic and static view of "situational self" relevant to, and given relevance, only in relation to a particular social situation. As Collins says, for Goffman there can only be the idealised version of a situated self, being that defined in interaction (Collins, 2004, p. 19). Yet the action is not a set-piece play with actors enacting limited roles. Here, we see how the action unfolds the potential of a wider repertoire, showing that there is more than the apparent surface action close at hand. While we may at one moment see enterprisers doing business, they can also be, at any moment, engaged in performing other roles such as 'parents' or 'makers', as illustrated here. The interaction is not static, defined by a singular view of commercial enterprise, and the commercial setting itself is subject to redefinition in the flow of interaction. Faces and spaces are nested and immanent. As Collins also points out, Goffman's 'face' does not seek to "convey a full picture of … the individual's self … if one took all the moments of his / her life together" (ibid.). Goffman's interactionism enables mutability of self and relations in the situated (re)constructive work of practical doings. Multiple enterprising faces are not only possible, but to be expected, in the nested fields of enterprising. And the action of enterprising can relate to the making of different things. Service can emerge in relation to commercial and non-commercial domains.

The complexity of the constructing task invites the possibility of interaction mistakes, and these are perhaps even more likely when the co-present actors are privy to the "faces" worn in other situations. Service 'mistakes' should then perhaps be expected. Moreover, rather than being singularly construed as evidence of commercial service failures, they may perhaps be seen as indicators of other possible forms of (non-commercial) service. In this present case scenario, the actors enacted enterprising by constantly moving between the public and the private, moving between the commercial and non-commercial, with relative ease. For the most part they made these transitions smoothly, accomplished social actors acting with considerable "poise" (Goffman, 1956), yet there were also some mishaps as "lines" got muddled, and "faces" (Goffman, 1967) shifted and slipped. Such is to be expected as 'part and parcel' of the enactment of lifestyle enterprising where the actors exist "betwixt and between social spheres" (e.g., Cederholm, 2018; Cederholm & Hultman, 2010). In methodological terms, finding these slip-ups may be cause for celebration, for they may help us to notice what the enterprising action is regarding, which may not be quite what we usually expect. The interactionist vantage offers another way to engage with enterprising practice, and Goffman may be useful in that enterprise. Getting involved in the action, and encountering enterprising at 'face-value', may offer another way to 'see' what is going on, to illustrate the action to other researchers so that they can join in the conversation and help build images of enterprising in practice.

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5. Tour Stop 4: Intervening

Introducing the Intervening Stop (Paper 4)

This stop visits the action of intervening in tourism enterprising. It examines a rare case of direct intervention in the form of university extension, asking: *how can direct intervention of university extension support tourism enterprising?* It explores a rare historical case of university extension in tourism enterprise development in Australia, to find out what practically worked. We learn that interactive process and relevant content supporting motivation to proceed with enterprise development, and adaptability of content and delivery, is vital for direct intervention to support enterprisers in rural tourism enterprise development. We also learn that university extension is practically tenuous in the neoliberal university.

Paper 4: Reid (2018). University extension and tourism entrepreneurship: A rare Australian case

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University extension and rural tourism enterprise development: A rare Australian case

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1. Introduction

Transferring knowledge to society is integral to the function of the university (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967; Hawkins, 2006; Ticha & Havlicek, 2008); indeed, "Throughout history, higher education institutions have been challenged to both create and disseminate knowledge" (Hawkins, 2006, p. 15). In fact, universities can be seen as knowledge organisations that exist to transfer knowledge to society (Hawkins, 2006; PhillipsKPA, 2006). The knowledge transfers occur in various ways: through publications, conferences, events, consultancies, research partnerships, and committee memberships, to name a few (Hawkins, 2006; PhillipsKPA, 2006; Ticha & Havlicek, 2008).

University knowledge transfer aligns with what has been called the 'third mission' of universities (the first and second missions being teaching and research). The third mission describes assorted forms of university outreach benefitting society (Ca, 2009; Göransson, Maharajh, & Schmoch, 2009; Innovative Research Universities Australia, 2005; Molas-Gallart, Salter, Patel, Scott, & Duran, 2002). Australian universities have tended to emphasize the missions of teaching and research, apparently paying lesser regard to public service (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006; Innovative Research Universities Australia, 2005).

University extension is a form of knowledge transfer falling within the ambit of the university's third mission of public service (Lamble & Thompson, 2000; Roper & Hirth, 2005). The knowledge transfer of university extension is thus a distinct form of public service, distinguished from other types of university public engagement. As Hawkins (2006) says, "The ultimate goal of knowledge transfer is knowledge use" (2006, p. 14). This is what university extension does. University extension entails educational outreach for public benefit (Jones, 2009; Lamble & Thompson, 2000). More precisely, it is a deliberate program of educational outreach to external parties, primarily effected through unconventional lectures, purposely designed to convey useful knowledge for practical effect. Properly conceived as a deliberate program of educational outreach, as distinct from other forms of public engagement, university extension has scarcely featured in the subordinated public service mission of Australian universities.

Although university extension has featured significantly in the history of English and American Universities (Jones, 2009; Roper & Hirth, 2005), the role of university extension in Australian universities remains underexplored. Given the significant historical tradition of university extension in the close cousins of English and American universities, the lack of university extension practice at Australian universities is surprising. The anomaly invites further contemplation.

University extension offers a possible response to calls for Australian universities to "engage more fully with community needs, regional issues and economic development" (Winter, Wiseman, & Muirhead, 2006, p. 212). However, to do so, university extension must be properly conceived and practiced. Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to clarify the nature of university extension and identify features of effective extension practice. To that end, this paper explores a rare, relatively recent historical case of university extension in an Australian university context—that of the Agritourism Business Development Program (ABDP) formerly delivered by Southern Cross University. In this way, the paper seeks to both illuminate the situation of university extension in an Australian university context and identify features contributing to effective extension practice in that particular case. The discussion broadly

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provokes contemplation of the relevance of university extension as a form of public service engagement in Australian universities. The findings are relevant to Australian universities contemplating university extension as a form of public engagement, most particularly in realms of rural enterprise and tourism development.

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, it clarifies the meaning of university extension and its relation to university function. The paper then turns to the case, outlining the history of the ABDP before illuminating particular program features apparently contributing to successful extension results, while also commenting on university extension as a component of the public service mission. The case serves to illustrate important features of university extension practice, while also drawing attention to the possible role of university extension in the public service mission of Australian universities.

2. Literature review

University extension is a kind of educational outreach. As Lamble and Thompson (2000, p. 52) say, ever since its inception, university extension has always described "deliberate efforts to extend learning opportunities beyond the full time on campus students of the university to people in the larger community." Moreover, university extension has particular features distinguishing it from other forms of university outreach.

As Jones (2009, p. 20) explains, university extension began in England among other reforms to "widen university education, both geographically and socially….[and] the idea of what became known as 'university extension' was born, with proposals from the late 1840s for societies to be formed in towns and villages with lectures by university academics". However, the first practical example of university extension did not occur until 1867, when James Stuart of Cambridge University delivered a popular lecture series to women's groups in northern industrial cities of England, an event now widely held to be "the *terminus a quo* for university outreach" (Jones, 2009, p. 19). According to Jones (2009, p. 21), the success of Stuart's lectures eventually prompted the University of Cambridge in 1873 to accept Stuart's earlier proposals to "establish provision for those who were denied access to university education on grounds of either geographical remoteness or social class." Two years later, in 1875, the University effected that decision by establishing a permanent committee to provide university courses at locally financed centres (Jones, 2009). Shortly after that, in 1876, the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, and London formed the Society for the Extension of University Teaching, a development heralding a rapid expansion of university extension lectures throughout England (Jones, 2009). Thus, extension became a central pillar of university function in England. As the University of Cambridge (2018) reflects, "Extension lectures in provincial centres were an important feature of University activities in the late nineteenth century."

The concept of university extension spread to universities in the United States, arising in connection with the land-grant institutions that were formed to foster socioeconomic development through practical education (Roper & Hirth, 2005). As Roper and Hirth (2005) describe, with the passing of the Morrill Act in 1862, each state was allotted public land to support economic prosperity through "widespread education in agricultural and practical arts" (2005, p. 4). The Hatch Act of 1887 then added agricultural experiment stations to conduct research to inform practical teaching, and the Morrill Act Amendment of 1890 strengthened land-grant universities by providing for ongoing federal funding (Roper & Hirth, 2005). Taking inspiration from English universities, the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching was formed in 1890, growing out of an organization formed by Provost Pepper of the University of Pennsylvania (American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, 1891, p. 4). Its avowed aim was the advancement of university extension, conceived as transformational educational outreach, namely "to bring as far as possible within the reach of everyone the advantages which at present are accessible only to those who can attend the college and university… to widen the intelligence and enlarge the sympathies of the masses" (American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, 1891, p. 3). The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 formally enshrined extension as a core function in land-grant universities, establishing a cooperative extension partnership with the Department of Agriculture and providing funding to support extension activities (Lamble & Thompson, 2000; Roper & Hirth, 2005; Swanson, 2008).

University extension stems from the basic notion that universities exist to serve society (Lamble & Thompson, 2000; Roper & Hirth, 2005), an orientation placing it within the third mission of public service alongside missions of teaching (first mission) and research (second mission). The third mission concerns "the outreach of a university to society at large" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967, p. 10), describing assorted activities that "try to reach out to society" (Ca, 2009, p. 91). The outreach entails knowledge transfers for societal benefit. As Göransson et al. (2009, p. 84) say, the third mission is about universities "stimulating and guiding the utilization of knowledge for social, cultural and economic development." Consequently, the authoritative Science and Technology Policy Research Unit at the University of Sussex defines third mission activity as "the generation, use, application, and exploitation of knowledge and other university capabilities outside academic environments" (Molas-Gallart et al., 2002, pp. iii-iv). It is widely held that these public service engagements confer benefits to both society and the university (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006; Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967). As the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1967, p. 13) describes, third mission activities can heighten the relevance of teaching and research and assist the university to "gain new admirers and allies and broader public support."

However, as Göransson et al. (2009, p. 84) point out, the third mission is "a rather amorphous concept," so it is often treated as a residual "encompassing all university activities not covered by the first two missions." This seems to be the case in Australian universities, wherein the third mission is typically inconsistently described and incoherently performed (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006; Innovative Research Universities Australia, 2005). Teaching and research are the main priorities in Australian universities, and there is little systematic attention to public service (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006). Despite policy rhetoric urging more community engagement by Australian universities (Winter et al., 2006), public service remains a subordinate concern (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006). University extension, properly conceived as a deliberate program of educational outreach, has scarcely featured within the subordinated public service mission of Australian universities.

In Australian universities, the notion of extension is typically conflated into public engagements bearing little actual relation to university extension (e.g., Winter et al., 2006). Contrary to the apparently abundant misconception in Australian universities, university extension does not equate to other forms of public engagement such as involvements in committees or boards, expert consultancy, public-private research partnerships, one-off public events, or any of the like. Rather, university extension describes a kind of non-traditional educational outreach (Jones, 2009; Lamble & Thompson, 2000). More precisely, it entails a deliberate program of educational outreach to external audiences, primarily effected through a series of unconventional lectures developed and delivered with the specific intent to convey relevant knowledge for practical effect. As the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching (1891) articulates in its foundational discourse, university extension "is not a single lecture for amusement or even instruction. It is one of a series adapted, doubtless, to profit the mere hearer, but also arranged to stimulate to further work" (1891, p. 5). Furthermore, university extension does not simply extend university lectures from the campus to a wider audience but instead entails concerted adaptation efforts to satisfy the peculiar needs of its non-traditional audience. In fact, this need for adaptation is so fundamental that it "need hardly be said that the type of these lectures differs widely from that of the university lecture" (American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, 1891, p. 5).

Given the substantial historical tradition of university extension in the close cousins of English and American universities, the lack of university extension at Australian universities is remarkable, particularly given public exhortations "for universities to engage more fully with community needs, regional issues and economic development" (Winter et al., 2006, p. 212). The incongruity invites contemplation of the role of university extension as a component of public service in Australian universities.

Accordingly, this paper reports on a rare and relatively recent historical case of university extension in the Australian context: the case of the former Agritourism Business Development Program (ABDP), which was administered by the Tourism Extension Unit (TEU) at Southern Cross University. The twofold aims are to identify features contributing to effective university extension practice in this particular case and to illustrate the situation of university extension within the Australian university context. The case will potentially interest Australian universities contemplating extension as a means of public service, most notably in respect to envisaged public service engagements in the fields of rural tourism or rural enterprise development.

3. Methods and materials

Case study methodology is well established as an appropriate method for exploring rare phenomena, providing the necessary scope to elicit new understandings of underexplored realms (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Tellis, 1997; Yin, 2005). University extension is rarely practiced in Australian Universities, and the place of university extension within Australian universities apparently remains unclear. Accordingly, a qualitative case study methodology is used here to explore university extension as a rare form of public service engagement in the context of an Australian university and to gain insight into features of effective university extension in the particular case. As is characteristic of interpretive social sciences research (Guba, 1990; Jennings, 2010), the study adopts a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology, with the attendant limitation of contextual specificity.

The case study is informed by document review, open interview, and observation. The main source is secondary material from 89 evaluation questionnaires completed by participants in the ABDP. In particular, over its six-year lifespan, the ABDP was delivered five times in four disparate rural regions spanning two Australian states (New South Wales and Queensland), including regions in northern New South Wales (Long Paddock), southeast Queensland (Scenic Rim and Mary Valley) and northern Queensland (Tropical North Queensland 1 and 2). The evaluation questionnaire was issued to each participant at the conclusion of each instance of ADBP delivery. The questionnaire comprised a series of closed and open-ended questions seeking to elicit information about participants and their evaluation the ABDP, the purposes being to inform program evaluation and improvement and gather information for research into rural tourism enterprise development. The case material is supplemented by reviews of organizational documents and notes from open interviews and communications with staff involved in program delivery.

The survey included a number of open-ended questions asking respondents to reflect on specific aspects of program delivery or particular learning outcomes; however, for the purposes of this study, the focus of the analysis was the most open question of "What do you think are your major achievements from participating in the ABDP?" This question was deemed the most relevant, as it was the only question enabling respondents to reflect on the program in its entirety and comment on aspects of the program important to them, as opposed to the other questions, which sought evaluations of specific aspects of procedure or content. Encapsulating the central tenets of university extension as a tailored program of educational outreach intended to stimulate the application of relevant knowledge, the analytical focus was the identification of program features deemed most important by participants. To that end, the analytical process was entirely straightforward: the open-ended responses to the question of interest were coded and collated into a single document; the text was then reviewed to identify recurring themes about knowledge acquisition and application arising from elements of program content or process. A meta-matrix was used to group responses into a table divided into thematic subsections, providing a basic structure for visualization and analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

4. Results

Various national and state government policies and programs pertaining to Australian universities encourage knowledge transfers for public benefit (e.g., PhillipsKPA, 2006, pp. 44–64). The ABDP was an outcome of a research collaboration funded by the Australian government under the flagship Cooperative Research Centre (CRC) program. The CRC program is "a major research and development initiative of the Australian Government" (Hawkins, 2006, p. 20) and is one of the most significant Australian research funding programs supporting knowledge transfer for public benefit (Hawkins, 2006; PhillipsKPA, 2006). The CRC program supports research partnerships between publicly funded researchers and industry to develop and deploy innovative solutions to challenges facing Australia (Australian Government, 2018; Hawkins, 2006); the stated aim is "to foster high-quality research to solve industry-identified problems through industry-led and outcome-focused collaborative research partnerships between industry entities and research organisations" (Australian Government, 2018). As Hawkins (2006, p. 20) says, the CRC program "was established to boost the competitiveness of Australia by strengthening in collaborative links between industry, research organisations, educational institutions and relevant government agencies." To that end, the CRC program funds medium- to long-term industry-led collaborative research (Australian Government, 2018), and all CRCs are expected to achieve public knowledge transfer (Australian Government, 2018), although the methods of knowledge transfer are not specified in detail, so collaborating organisations decide how to achieve knowledge transfer outcomes in each particular case.

First formed as a consortium of universities and industry partners in July 1997, the CRC for Sustainable Tourism became the Sustainable Tourism CRC after receiving a 7-year CRC research grant in July 2003 (Smith, 2002). As Hawkins (2006, p. 18) explains, the Sustainable Tourism CRC was "a not-for-profit company owned by its industry, government and university partners" supported by the CRC Program to "underpin the development of a dynamic, internationally competitive and sustainable tourism industry." With research expertise spanning tourism planning and environmental management, tourism information technology, tourism policy, and tourism products and business systems (Smith, 2002), the STCRC was Australia's premier scientific and strategic research organization (Hawkins, 2006). As Hawkins (2006, p. 18) further explains, the Sustainable Tourism CRC was guided by a vision of "innovation driving a dynamic, internationally competitive and sustainable tourism industry," and its stated mission was to "develop and manage intellectual property to deliver innovation to business, community and government enhancing the environmental, economic and social sustainability of tourism." The Sustainable Tourism CRC employed several strategies to achieve its knowledge transfer aims, diffusing research to industry through methods including, but not limited to, "business tools, kits, manuals and expert systems; published reports, fact sheets and extension flyers; internet-based information services; and, training products, courses and programs" (Hawkins, 2006, p. 18). One of these was the Farm and Country Tourism toolkit, the precursor to the ABDP.

In particular, as part of its voluminous research, the Sustainable Tourism CRC identified a pressing need for more tourism industry training, most evidently for farmers contemplating diversification into tourism enterprise. The need for this training stemmed from a substantial rise in rural tourism, a development harkening to a long process of rural adjustment resulting from Australian governments' embrace of a neoliberal policy agenda. The rise of neoliberal policy in Australia since the 1980s had resulted in the removal of agricultural supports, in turn instigating socioeconomic upheaval in rural Australia (Cheshire & Lawrence, 2005; Jackson & Murphy, 2006; Tonts & Haslam-McKenzie, 2005). Facing service reductions, business losses, and population declines, many rural areas turned to tourism "as a way to stem the flow…and bring new business and hope" (Jackson & Murphy, 2006, p. 1018). Consequently, tourism became an important source of socioeconomic activity in rural Australia (Garnett & Lewis, 2007). Facing dwindling farm profits, it naturally became increasingly common for farmers to contemplate tourism as a way to supplement farm incomes and remain on the land. The ensuing practical challenge in rural areas was to support the development of entrepreneurial capacity and facilitate co-ordinated effort to develop suitable tourism products (Morris & King, 1997). The situation provoked an acute demand for tourism and business training, to which the Sustainable Tourism CRC promptly responded by furnishing a knowledge resource in the form of the Farm and Country Tourism (FACT) toolkit.

The FACT toolkit comprised a two-part, self-help guide to help interested rural landholders evaluate the viability of a proposed tourism concept and perform the necessary planning to establish and maintain a viable tourism enterprise. The first part was a self-assessment booklet to help rural landholders "make a preliminary assessment about whether [the] region and property have the attributes for a successful tourism venture" (Fausnaugh, Waight, Higginbottom, & Northrope, 2004, p. 1); the second part was a detailed guidebook to help rural landholders develop a plan for commencing a tourism venture. In line with its knowledge transfer goals, the CRC for Sustainable Tourism promptly made the FACT toolkit publicly available on its website in 2004. However, end-user uptake proved disappointingly poor. Specifically, although the self-assessment booklet could be downloaded at no cost, in the two years to 2006, it was downloaded only four times, and although the detailed pre-feasibility guidebook was available at low cost ($A99), only one was purchased (Wright, 2011b). Given the apparent need for the knowledge in the FACT toolkit, the poor uptake was puzzling. In an effort to address the confounding puzzle, the Sustainable Tourism CRC employed a Project Manager through the School of Tourism and Hospitality Management (STHM) at Southern Cross University.

Tasked with finding possible ways to boost user uptake of the FACT toolkit, and facing scant examples of Australian university extension, the Project Manager turned to rural extension practice for clues (Wright, 2011b). The ensuing investigation quickly identified the preponderance of direct and personal methods such as field days, workshops, and property visits in rural extension work (Kilpatrick & Millar, 2006; Oakley & Garforth, 1985; Swanson, 2008). Furthermore, rural extension placed considerable emphasis on program adaptation for clients (Coutts & Roberts, 2003; Oakley & Garforth, 1985; Swanson, 2008); for instance, it was said that rural extension was "the servant of the rural people" (Oakley & Garforth, 1985, p. 13) and that effective service hinged upon adaptation to client needs (Coutts & Roberts, 2003; Oakley & Garforth, 1985; Swanson, 2008). The upshot was that a trial of personal delivery methods was strongly indicated as a solution to the poor uptake of the FACT toolkit.

Accordingly, the FACT Toolkit was subsequently reconfigured into a workshop and mentoring program called the Agritourism Business Development Program (ABDP). In the initial reconfiguration, the content of the FACT self-assessment booklet was converted into a one-day introductory field day, and the FACT planning guidebook was converted into four one-day training workshops, slated to be held fortnightly over two months (STCRC, 2006; Wright, 2011b). The new ABDP was then trialed with a group of ten participants from the Northern Rivers region of New South Wales (the Long Paddock project). At the conclusion of the trial, the ABDP was formally evaluated through participant observations during program delivery and through an evaluation questionnaire issued to each participant at program completion. The evaluation generally indicated high participant satisfaction with all aspects of program content and delivery, though there was evidently a desire for more information about tourism sustainability and e-marketing. Consequently, it was decided to continue ABDP with modifications to include extra content in sustainability and e-marketing. To accommodate the additional content, the ABDP was extended to a series of five workshops over ten weeks.

The pattern of evaluation and modification was repeated in subsequent episodes of ABDP delivery, with each evaluation prompting additional modifications. In particular, as the participants expressed interest in visiting other rural tourism enterprises to directly observe a business in a similar context, the ABDP was amended to include a local tour of rural tourism enterprises. Furthermore, as many participants expressed difficulty in understanding local government planning requirements (often perceived as the main impediment), the ABDP was amended to include more information about local government planning requirements and local government planners were invited to attend the workshops to discuss planning matters directly with participants. These changes saw the ABDP expanded to six workshops over twelve weeks.

As many participants had expressed a desire for additional mentoring, both during and after the workshop series, as they embarked upon enterprise establishment, the ABDP was modified to include remote assistance to the participants between the workshops and for a further six months after their conclusion; the upshot was that the participants could contact TEU staff by phone or email to seek extra help. A suggestion by TEU communication staff resulted in the development of a close weblog to encourage participant discussions of topical issues; however, as had happened with the Sustainable Tourism CRC website, this web-based communication did not prove to be as popular as hoped, with participants continuing to prefer more personal communication methods. Finally, as the participants continued to express concern about local government planning, the ADBP was amended to offer an option for a one-on-one planning meeting with local government planners to help individual participants discuss planning matters relevant to their venture. In this way, the ABDP gradually evolved into an integrated program of support spanning three phases: (1) information, recruitment, and selection; (2) training and mentoring; (3) post-training support.

The information, recruitment, and selection phase commenced with a field day held on an existing tourism property in the program delivery region. The purpose of the field day was to inform interested rural landowners about key issues in the establishment of a rural tourism enterprise and outline the workshop and mentoring phases of the program. At the conclusion of the field day, interested parties could submit an application form to enter the workshop and mentoring phase. Each application underwent a structured selection and evaluation process, including a property visit to discuss the proposed tourism venture with each applicant, and the most promising applicants were invited to join the training and mentoring phase.

In the training and mentoring phase, a group of up to fifteen rural landholders participated in a series of workshops to help them learn more about the tourism industry and plan for the establishment of their tourism venture. Each participant received a folder including learning resources for all content areas, as well as homework tasks concerning planning activities relevant to their proposed tourism venture. The workshop content included tourism product development, marketing, risk, resourcing, and financing, with several also including presentations from local experts. On each occasion, both the delivery sequence and content emphasis were adapted to suit each participant group, as determined in discussions with the participants at the commencement and conclusion of each workshop. In between the workshops, the participants could contact TEU staff for additional advice, and a member-accessible weblog was provided to aid dissemination of new information and provoke discussion of emerging topics of interest, though the latter ultimately proved to be less popular than hoped.

In the post-workshop support phase, participants could contact TEU staff to discuss particular challenges they encountered in the next six months. During this period, many participants requested help with individual local government planning meetings.

Throughout every instance of ADBP, the participants uniformly reported high satisfaction with both the program delivery and its content, mentioning assorted benefits in the evaluation questionnaires issued at program completion. The most open question offered respondents the chance to comment about any aspect of the program, providing insight into the features of the program considered most important by the participants, and these responses formed the basis of the analysis described below.

The responses showed that the ABDP met the intended goal of helping the participants to gain a clearer focus in terms of their tourism enterprise development concept and whether, or in what form, to pursue the concept. Participants often commented to the effect that the ABDP helped to: *"fine tune our business idea"* (TNQ1); *"focus our idea and gain feedback about our direction"* (Scenic Rim); *"gain direction and process for value adding possibilities"* (TNQ2); *"get better understanding and knowledge of where I am business-wise and where I am going"* (TNQ1); or *"find out if people are interested in the everyday life on a farm and [if] they are willing to pay for it"* (Long Paddock). The responses highlighted that the participants gained knowledge relevant to their enterprise development goal, such as gaining *"skills to objectively make decisions about running our tourism business"* (Long Paddock); *"learning the language of tourism and its meaning"* (Scenic Rim); and gaining necessary knowledge to *"Conform with local government requirements previously considered too onerous"* (TNQ2) or *"improve the quality of our product and the experiences we offer our customers"* (TNQ1). The increased knowledge apparently boosted participants' confidence to proceed with, and succeed in, their chosen venture; participants offered reflections such as *"our chances of succeeding in our business would have been very limited without this program"* (TNQ1) or stated how the ABDP helped them acquire a *"Full appreciation of the pros and cons of our ventures and plenty of 'tools' to ensure success"* (TNQ1). The increased self-confidence was reflected in higher motivation, with participants reporting that the ABDP *"impressed the importance of following up"* (Mary Valley), made them *"look forward to getting things moving"* (TNQ1), and gave them *"ways to achieve our goals and aspirations"* (Mary Valley). Moreover, the mentioned learning benefits included understanding how to obtain further information and help, a necessary precursor to action. As one participant aptly put it, the ABDP taught them that *"You can outsource the gaps in your knowledge"* (TNQ2). The interpersonal interaction of the workshops was identified as a highly beneficial feature, apparently supporting both learning and networking benefits, with participants remarking along lines that *"The social interaction and personal* *presentations gave us the opportunity to network and learn from each other"* (TNQ1); *"The opportunities to bounce ideas off each other are invaluable"* (Scenic Rim); and the *"Ideas, experiences and challenges shared made for great discussions and learning"* (Long Paddock).

Beyond the participant evaluations, the ABDP apparently proved successful in stimulating enterprise development outcomes, with nearly half of all the participants establishing new tourism ventures by the time the program was terminated. Over its six-year lifespan, the ABDP was delivered five times in four disparate regions in two Australian states; as a result, several hundred people attended the informative field day events, 89 participants completed the full program, and 41 had established new tourism enterprises by the time ABDP ceased, with the termination of the TEU, in December 2012. The TEU was terminated due to perceived financial risk. Specifically, although the TEU had managed to operate on a self-funded basis by earning income from extension contracts, its operating cost was nonetheless underwritten by the university; and since the contracts for the delivery of the ABDP were part of competitive bids, future income was not guaranteed. Essentially, university management made a financial decision that the work of the TEU was not worth the financial risk of needing to cover a budget shortfall if the TEU failed to win sufficient bids to cover operating costs. Consequently, the four staff members were informed that their casual employment contracts would not be renewed, and the TEU manager was instructed to close the office on or before 19 December 2012. As no other unit in the university had the necessary resources or approvals to deliver extension programs, the ABDP was simply discontinued.

5. Discussion

Extension of any stripe apparently needs a client-centred approach (Coutts & Roberts, 2003; Lamble & Thompson, 2000; Oakley & Garforth, 1985; Swanson, 2008). As Lamble and Thompson say, university extension is "community focussed and client or learner-oriented" (2000, p. 53). The non-traditional audience of university extension renders such consideration a basic concern (Lamble & Thompson, 2000), evident even from the time when extension first began (American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, 1891). As Lamble and Thompson (2000) emphasize, university extension must consider client needs so as to determine both suitable program content and suitable forms of delivery including methods, times, and places. In the ABDP, the reformulation of the downloadable FACT toolkit to an integrated extension program comprising field days, face-to-face workshops, and mentoring display the kind of adaptation needed for an effective university extension. Notably, the TEU fulfilled this basic need for client-focused adaptation both in terms of confirming and reconfirming client needs to shape the evolution of the ABDP and in terms of tailoring the content and delivery to suit the participants in each instance of program delivery. The favourable results of such adaptation are abundantly illustrated by the consistently positive evaluations proffered by the participants, as well as by the ensuing enterprise development outcomes arising in this case. In this respect, the effectiveness of the ABDP serves to underscore the point that if university extension is to succeed, the content and methods must suit the needs of the audience.

Furthermore, the case also highlights the value of personal delivery methods in university extension, at least in the Australian rural context. In this case, at least, the participants consistently mentioned the benefit of workshop interactions, with respect to both learning and relationship building. This finding jibes with what Decker, Lassoie, Goff, and Parrish found in assessing the effectiveness of workshops in educating private landowners about woodland management in the United States, where an important benefit of workshops was that they "provide[d] opportunities for information transfer and spontaneous personal communication between landowners" (1998, p. 3). Interestingly, efforts to stimulate participant interaction through the ABDP weblog failed to stimulate substantial interchange, further indicating participants' preference for personal communication in this case. The results generally conform to the accepted wisdom of rural extension practice, which typically extolls the virtues of personal communication in rural contexts (Oakley & Garforth, 1985; Swanson, 2008).

The resulting enterprise development outcomes apparently reinforce the value of the workshops in this particular case. Notably, in this case, the knowledge and networks gained in the workshops seemed to boost participants' confidence and motivation to proceed with enterprise establishment. Others have confirmed the long-term value of workshops, in terms of achieving practical results with rural landholders. Notably, research by Decker, Lassoie, Goff, and Parrish (1998) found that knowledge gained by landowners in workshops was important in stimulating practical results in subsequent years; significantly, the impact workshops had on management practices was found to be even greater than the attendees themselves had indicated at the conclusion of workshops. The apparent benefits of workshops led Decker et al. to conclude by saying that "Despite the unanswered questions about cost-effectiveness, we feel the 'old-fashioned' workshop is a valuable delivery method for woodland management education" (1998, p. 3). The participant evaluations and enterprise formation outcomes arising from the ABDP seem to support a similar conclusion in the Australian rural setting.

According to IRU Australia (2005, p. 4), universities' discharge of the 'third mission' can "provide the bridge between universities and groups within the community that have neither the ability nor the resources to access the knowledge they need. Indeed, many might not even realise that such knowledge exists." The disappointing uptake of the FACT toolkit on the Sustainable Tourism CRC website and the subsequent success of the ABDP seem to support this point. In particular, by taking research outputs that were of interest to the intended audience and making them accessible in a form suited to them, the ABDP apparently built the needed bridge to the knowledge rural landholders needed to help them establish viable tourism enterprises.

As a means of effectively achieving knowledge transfer outcomes, by rendering the knowledge of the FACT toolkit accessible to clients and stimulating its utilization, the ABDP yielded benefits to society and the university. By assisting the development of new tourism enterprises, with the concomitant societal benefits for rural tourism development, the extension work of the ABDP contributed to the third mission of public service at the university. As well, the ABDP provided benefits to the university: effective delivery of the ABDP built the reputation of the TEU, helping it to win bids for other consultancy and extension work, generating income for the university, and enhancing its reputation in the public domain. The work furnished valuable opportunities to shape public policy (e.g. WFA, 2013; Wright, 2011a). As well, the ABDP contributed to the teaching mission by providing case examples for use in tourism courses. As the Carnegie Foundation (1967) says, the third mission of public service is not a one-way street, but brings benefits to the university in teaching and research as well as bringing the university "new admirers and allies and broader public support" (Carnegie Foundation, 1967, pp. 12–13). This case indicates that such outcomes are indeed possible in an Australian university context. It also demonstrates that the valuation of such outcomes is moot.

On one hand, the case findings seem to demonstrate that there is institutional value in Australian universities undertaking extension in rural tourism and enterprise development, and perhaps more widely. However, on the other hand, the case amply illustrates the fragility of university extension in Australian universities driven mainly by teaching and research concerns. In particular, although the potential financial risk of the TEU was real, past success in winning bids and the relatively small size of the TEU rendered the real risk small and remote; that the termination decision nonetheless ensued thus suggests that the perceived value of the TEU's contribution to university function was deemed minimal. Seen from this vantage, the termination outcome broadly reflects the endemic undervaluation of university extension within Australian universities. The generally subordinated and incoherent approach to public service in Australian universities (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006) and the rarity of university extension certainly seem to support such conclusions.

6. Conclusion

University extension entails concerted efforts to extend learning opportunities to parties outside the university (Lamble & Thompson, 2000). It is a form of knowledge transfer falling within the ambit of the third mission of public service in universities. The ultimate goal of knowledge transfer is knowledge application (Hawkins, 2006). By effectively transferring useful knowledge to groups in society, universities can deliver beneficial outcomes for the societies in which they exist and gain institutional benefits in the bargain (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967).

To be effective, university extension must suit the needs of its intended target audience (Lamble & Thompson, 2000). The results of this case indicate that, at least in the arena of rural tourism enterprise development, remote and impersonal methods are less effective than direct and personal methods. Workshops seem to be a particularly effective means of fostering knowledge acquisition and application, at least as concerns rural tourism and rural enterprise development. While direct, personal methods such as workshops are indeed more costly, if the ABDP is anything to go by, the knowledge transfer benefits seem to outweigh the extra cost.

Tourism enterprise development can support destination development by enhancing the experiences available to tourists, contributing to destination appeal. The development of new enterprises in rural areas contributes various social and economic benefits for rural communities. The ABDP evidently did just that (e.g. Wright, 2011a). By supporting the attainment of such beneficial societal outcomes, effective university extension meaningfully contributes to the university's third mission of public service, which, as the case illustrates, can indeed bring wider benefits to the university institution. However, the case also indicates that Australian universities may tend to undervalue the potential benefits of university extension, despite all the contrary rhetoric (Australian Technology Network of Universities, 2006; IRU Australia, 2005; Winter et al., 2006).

The case invokes further contemplation of the role of university extension as a particular form of public service engagement by Australian universities. According to PhillipsKPA (2006, p. vii), knowledge transfer is "a major component of the community's return on public investment in universities and should be actively encouraged in all disciplines and institutions." Moreover, there is a lost opportunity cost of *not* doing this. As IRU Australia (2005, p. 3) says, third stream activity is "undoubtedly a driver of economic prosperity and could well come to be recognised as a vital missing link in Australia's quest to become a leading knowledge-based economy." However, effective knowledge transfer must be sensitive to the needs of intended beneficiaries (Hawkins, 2006; PhillipsKPA, 2006). So university extension may well offer a meaningful response to the calls for more public engagement and knowledge transfer by Australian universities (PhillipsKPA, 2006; Winter et al., 2006).

By standing aloof from the problems of the 'real world', the university risks being seen as an 'ivory tower' of limited relevance to the society that supports it—a status that inevitably prompts questions about the extent to which society *ought* to support it. The antidote quite possibly lies in responding to the old-fashioned call for "modernization of university governance to take account of all three functions…teaching, research *and* public service (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967, p. 19). University extension may offer a viable response to the neoliberal dogma currently strangling Australian universities (Giroux, 2013; Hil, 2014), the roots of which must ultimately rest in a soil of public discontent with the institution. The starting point is recognition that there is a place for knowledge transfer through extension in Australian universities. And that has not happened yet.

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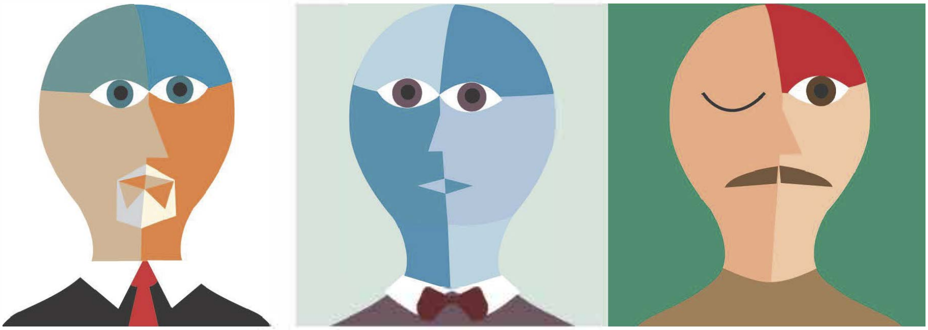
6.Tour Stop 5: Reflecting

Introducing the Reflecting Stop (Paper 5)

This stop visits the action of reflecting, which sits at the intersection of enterprising and researching. It reflects on the entanglements of family and field, asking: *how do masculinities of family affect tourism development research?* We are reminded that the action of researching shapes knowledge, so the involvement of the researcher counts in the construction of knowledge of enterprising, and that all knowledge is positional (Haraway, 1988). The positions include gender and family. We learn that gender is present in research, in and out of the field, and that researching is not a reified undertaking in a separable domain, but reverberates throughout the domain of family. Learning that the enterprises of research unfold over nested domains inspires reflection over gender effects for the practices of research engagements with tourism enterprising. Doing so, we learn that gender not only affects what happens *in* the field, but also what happens *before* and *after*, affecting how the enterprises of research are conducted and the knowledge that comes from it. Engagement with enterprising highlights a need for self-reflexive presence in all the enterprises of research.

Paper 5: Reid (2021a). Finding gender at the intersection of family and field: Family presences in Sweden

MASCULINITIES



IN THE FIELD

TOURISM AND TRANSDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

Edited by Brooke A. Porter, Heike A. Schänzel and Joseph M. Cheer

12 Finding Gender at the Intersection of Family and Field: Family Presences in Sweden

Stuart Reid

Introduction

In the 1980s, feminist scholars alerted us to the artifices of gender by 'making femininity and masculinity problematic' (Kimmel, 1993: 30). Initially, masculinity was mostly seen as a structural condition of unequal relations among women and men, exemplified by the 'invisible masculinity' of Kimmel (1993) and the 'hegemonic masculinity' of Connell (2005 [1995]). In Kimmel (1993), 'invisible masculinity' stood for the reproduction of inequalities stemming from normalisation of the white heterosexual male as the putative gender standard, the privileged position rendered invisible to, and thus reproduced by, men who 'have come to think of themselves as genderless' (Kimmel, 1993: 30). In Connell (2005 [1995]), 'hegemonic masculinity' described problematic relations of dominance among men and women resulting from making certain performances of maleness seem natural and normal. In pointing to the normalisation of normative gender arrangements, these perspectives indicated social practices as the fundamental ingredient of gender arrangements. Here, West and Zimmerman (1987) saw gender as an undertaking of women and men who were 'doing gender' by 'managing situated conduct, in the light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category' (West & Zimmerman, 1987: 127). From this performative vantage, gender was 'not something that people are, but something that they do' (Berglund *et al.*, 2018: 3), as much a social 'face' as any other (Goffman, 1956), a social construction (Butler, 2004). Thus, there is not one masculinity but many masculinities (Connell, 2005 [1995]), and they are socially contingent. What this means for me, as a white, Western middle-aged man, is that my embodied persona does not exemplify some typical masculinity; instead, my male-sexed human vessel stands as a purveyor of assorted potential masculinities, their activation circumstantially contingent.

However, knowing of these potential masculinities and finding them are two different things. The complexities of gender make for a difficult reflexive task (Porter & Schänzel, 2018), as masculinities (and femininities) not only come in different shapes and sizes in 'the field' but are entangled with other positions, all constantly (re)negotiated in the field (Sultana, 2007; Swanson, 2018). Circumstantially called to life, our multiplex gender positions are thus slippery to grasp, appearing as ephemeral will-o'-the-wisps variously active in and out of the field. As a heterosexual married man who is a father to three young children I occupy family roles as 'husband' and 'father', and these circumstantial positions variously activate masculinities of father-hood and husband-hood in all the domains of my social life, including when I am a 'researcher' in the field.

Although reflexive accounts have challenged the myth of the lone, male ethnographer (e.g. Cornet, 2013; Frohlick, 2002; Korpela *et al*., 2016), the personal and professional entanglements of family and field have largely escaped attention (Korpela *et al*., 2016), 'many ethnographies being written as if the ethnographer had no ties and could disappear for long periods of time in faraway villages to undertake research' (Cornet, 2013: 80). When such family-field entanglements have been discussed, it has mainly been from feminine vantages (e.g. Canosa, 2018; Cornet, 2013; Farrelly *et al*., 2014; Frohlick, 2002; Khoo-Lattimore, 2018; Korpela *et al*., 2016; Levey, 2009; Porter, 2018; Swanson, 2018), and while there is much to be gained from these feminine accounts, the masculine vantage is lacking (Porter & Schänzel, 2018). Furthermore, although the spatial boundaries of such entanglements are sometimes mentioned in reflexive accounts (e.g. Frohlick, 2002), it seems that the spatial dimensions of these epistemological entanglements have not been fully addressed: for instance, while some accounts offer insights into the epistemological implications of family co-presence *in* the field (e.g. Frohlick, 2002; Korpela *et al*., 2016), fewer extend to contemplation of symbolic family presences such as wedding rings (Swanson, 2018) or pregnancy (Porter, 2018). As outward manifestations of familial presence, such 'absent presences' point to the tricky matter of when and where the entanglements of family and field might arise. Lastly, it seems to me that while reflexive accounts have tended to offer insight into the influence of family in the field, less has been said about the field in the family. Therefore, in contemplating my reflexive account of my masculine entanglements at the intersection of family and field, I have been provoked to wonder *where* I might draw the lines demarcating the masculinities of field-family entanglements. As gender is part and parcel of every aspect of our social lives, it seems to me that the influence of my family does not start and end with my being *in* the field, but extends to 'outside' and 'before' and 'after', raising the broader challenge of accounting for the gender positions of family in my relation *to* the field (Swanson, 2018). Thus, reflexivity calls me to account for masculinities in both my professional and personal domains, looking for the masculine entanglements of family-in-field and field-in-family. In undertaking my complicated reflexive task, I draw inspiration from Farrelly *et al.* (2014) who, in pointing to the ephemeral constitution of motherhood as the co-presence of 'being there', indicate a helpful thematic of absence-presence. So I will lean on this thematic to help me excavate the traces of gender in the masculinities arising at the intersection of field and family. In the spirit of honest knowledge (Haraway, 1988; Swanson, 2018), I offer my reflections on these gender influences as a white, heterosexual man who is a married father of three young children. Working from this vantage, I seek to offer a partial response to, and support for, the call for 'true gender research' that stems from 'recognition of the intersection between the gender roles of mothers and fathers, and their femininities and masculinities' (Schänzel & Smith, 2011: 144).

My reflections draw from my experiences as a doctoral student investigating a phenomenon labelled 'lifestyle entrepreneurship'. As is the case for any other socially constructed artefact of language, this label carries various significations, chief among these being that 'lifestyle entrepreneurs' are thought to accord particular weight to various personal concerns in their enterprise of business (Carlsen *et al.*, 2008; Morrison, 2006). Ostensibly striving for desired 'life quality' (Marcketti *et al.*, 2006), these enterprisers set profit-making in the context of wider life aims, often making just enough money to 'get by' (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000). Although lifestyle enterprising has been noticed in contexts outside tourism (e.g. Burns, 2001; Cederholm, 2015; de Wit Sandström, 2018; Marcketti *et al.*, 2006), it is said to be prevalent among small enterprises in tourism (Peters *et al.*, 2009), at least since Shaw and Williams (1987) identified it in their study of small seaside hotels in Cornwall. Suffice to say, conventional wisdom holds that small enterprises serving tourists are often sites of lifestyle enterprising. With recent sociological perspectives affording fresh insights into lifestyle enterprising as a sociocultural phenomenon (see, for example, Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Cederholm, 2015; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016; Cederholm & Hultman, 2010; Hultman & Cederholm, 2010), I took this sociological perspective as the point of departure for my field engagements with lifestyle enterprise in connection with my doctoral studies.

Family in the Field

Masculinities in formation

With the abundance of lifestyle enterprising rendering the world 'my oyster',[1] I was able to entertain my desire to conduct fieldwork somewhere other than in my home in Australia. That the familiarity of local cultural norms might blind me to important nuances in the sociocultural construction of lifestyle enterprising was only part of the explanation; the other was simply my desire to experience the challenge of doing my fieldwork 'someplace else'. Perhaps this desire stemmed from some masculine urge to prove my professional worth by 'conquering' the unknown. Regardless of the cause, I shortly found my professional urge for exoticism conflicting with my private urge to be present in my family. That is, I simply could not countenance lengthy absences from them – a sentiment echoed by other researchers, albeit from feminine vantages (e.g. Frohlick, 2002; Korpela *et al.*, 2016; Porter, 2018). In my mind, absence from my family was a double negative: not only would it have deprived *me* of *their* presence, but it would have also undermined my perceived masculine duty to 'be present' in my family (Farrelly *et al.*, 2014). So I mulled over the possibility of solving this personal–professional dilemma by bringing my family with me to the field.

I was aware that relocating a family of five, including three young children, was a monumental logistical feat necessitating contemplation of many interests besides my selfish impulse to do my fieldwork somewhere else. Chief among my concerns was my perceived masculine duty (as father and husband) to keep my family happy and safe. The solution to this dilemma came serendipitously, in the form of an opportunity to undertake my doctoral studies at Lund University in the famously family-friendly nation of Sweden, and with that my exotic field resolved. So even *before* my research had begun, masculinities of fatherhood and husbandhood had stamped their marks upon it, delimiting the vast scope of the potential (global) field and setting the stage for 'accompanied fieldwork' (Frohlick, 2002) in Skåne in southern Sweden.

Introducing the field

Skåne is the southernmost region of Sweden (Figure 12.1). In the southeastern corner lies an area known as Söderslätt (literally 'South Plain'), its fertile soils supporting abundant farming enterprises and rendering multihued vistas 'pretty as a patchwork quilt' (Tourism Skåne, 2019b). In the southwest lies Österlen, an area 'synonymous with art, sky, and sea' (Tourism Skåne, 2019c). Possessed of picturesque coastal villages and reputedly the best beaches in Sweden (Sandhamnen), it is a haven for artists and *bons vivants*. With 'fertile farmlands, lush forests and clear blue lakes … inviting sandy beaches … rural areas and the charming fishing villages' (Tourism Skåne, 2019a) and linked to Denmark by the Oresund bridge, southern Skåne is a popular tourist and lifestyle destination, its small enterprises offering great promise to encounter the lifestyle enterprising of empirical interest to me.

Masculinities in relocation

In packing our lives into little suitcases and getting on a plane (Figure 12.2), we effectively said goodbye to the familiar realm of our

Figure 12.1 Map of Southern Skåne
Source: Original map provided by Tourism Skåne.

home; in relocating to Skåne, each of us suffered from the culture shock that went with being in the field (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). However, the dislocations of culture shock differed. Here, the luxury of occupational purpose afforded me the privilege of viewing the experience not solely from my personal perspective, but from the professional vantage of my researcher-hood; for me, and me alone, the new place was a 'dual-purpose site' (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007) – both a place of 'work' in the field and (eventually) a place of 'home'. So although our foreignness was rendered apparent to us all in the daily exigencies of life in a new place (Wylie,

Figure 12.2 Departing Brisbane, Australia in 2017 with suitcases in tow

1987), I alone enjoyed the privilege of respite in professional purpose. As Wylie (1987) suggests, accompanying family members are unlikely to see the field as anything other than being 'somewhere else' and I would say that this was true for us. As my family did not enjoy my occupational privilege, they encountered the challenges of relocation solely as foreigners acclimating to a new place. I would suggest that relocation and dislocation are close bedfellows and that accompanying family members experience relocation to the field wholly as spatial-temporal dislocation from 'home'.

On occasion (and particularly in the beginning), certain events would transpire that made our foreignness vastly more apparent to us; these events rendered experiences of dislocation acute and inspired longings for the absent familiarity of our former home. Although we all experienced this, adults and children alike, it was the children who seemingly suffered most, for in relocating to my field they suffered the double injustice of enforced and lengthy dislocation – not only was their sentence of *absence* from home inflicted upon them by the decisions of us as parents (Wylie, 1987), and caused by me, but their relative youth made it seem a relatively long one (while the few years of our planned relocation did not seem long to us adults, it seemed interminably long to the children). Furthermore, the dislocation effects of relocation were not uniform among our children, seemingly striking our eldest daughter (eight-year-old Alice) more than her younger twin siblings (four-year-old George and Megan). Although individual temperaments were at play, the violence of dislocation may have been generally rendered differently according to their ages. Wylie (1987) suggests that for younger children the world revolves more closely around their parents, so perhaps the comforting presence of family dulled the dislocation experience for Megan and George relative to their older sister Alice, for whom the social world was wider. Their varied expressions of distress brought the blurred terrain of my professional and personal domains to the fore. As my professional domain was the cause of the dislocation malaise afflicting my children, their distress evidenced harms inflicted upon them by me, challenging my masculine ideals of fatherhood. So the personal arena of parent-child relationships is another space where masculinities can be activated in the field.

Although I did my bit to help with the various demands of our relocation, it was my wife Sam who did the 'heavy lifting' in facing the practical challenges of life in the exotic place that was my field. So while it was my professional domain that imposed the dislocation of relocation, it was her work that defrayed it by reconstructing 'home'. Although this division was ostensibly the result of my need to engage in the work that brought me to the field, my masculine sensibilities of husband-fatherhood were entangled in this too: in doing my work I was not only fulfilling my professional *raison d'être* for being in the field, but also my perceived duty (as husband and father) to earn an income and provide for the material needs of my family. So, with the cultural totality of economically dominated modern life entwined with my personal and professional duties, I went off to work and it was left to my wife to do the work of family care and home-making that went with our relocation. In enabling my work *and* supporting our family, her work upheld the institutions of both work and family. I would suggest that the work of homemaking and family care in the field could be seen as a kind of 'relocation work' that supports the researcher in their professional and private spheres by upholding both work and family.

Others have commented on the gendering of care work in the context of family relocations of various durations, such burdens being typically borne by women wherever they may be located, be it when embarked upon the temporary relocations of 'vacation' (Schänzel & Smith, 2011; Small, 2005) or the more permanent relocations of the field (Wylie, 1987: 108). In my experience, this gendered burden existed in the foreign place that was my field, where for one reason or another, my wife ended up carrying the burdens of the 'field relocation work' caused by (and benefiting) me. This leads me to suggest that the family care and homemaking burdens of field relocation work are both uneven and gendered, privileging the one who is the researcher at the expense of the one who is not, and likely all the more so when the researcher happens to be male.

Although the assorted dislocation effects of our family relocation diminished with the passage of time, as the exotic place I called 'the field' gradually became less foreign and more like 'home' (largely thanks to the field relocation work performed by my wife), the intermediate expressions of familial distress were personally challenging for me. Not only did each instance of family distress render the culture shock cost of accompanied fieldwork apparent (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010), but in my mind each also signalled a personal failure to acquit my masculine duties (as father and husband) to protect my family from harm. In troubled moments I confronted the entanglement of my personal and professional domains, often reweighing the wisdom of subjecting my family to the stresses that came with *my* exotic fieldwork project. My experiences in this suggest to me that the dislocation stresses of the field are not confined to the institution of work, but variously spill into the personal domain to tug at the fabric of the family. While working through these challenges did strengthen our family institution, bringing us closer together as we variously leaned on each other for support, I would join with Wylie (1987) to caution that this might not always be so – the tidal forces of relocation-dislocation that tug at the fabric of the family institution may also tear it apart.

Masculinities in selection

Attending to my roles as 'researcher' and 'husband-father', I effectively chose to limit my fieldwork to areas near our new home-away-from-home so I would not be absent from my family. I reconciled the choice professionally by reasoning that nothing would be lost to the research by doing so, the field sites in southern Skåne being as good as any. Whether the choice materially affected my research or not is a moot question, for as with any choice in life, the road not travelled remains unknown and one can only speculate as to what might have happened had different choices been made. Yet it remains that my choice was gendered, my masculine ideals at play in the choices limiting the geographic scope of my sites in the field. Although it is common practice to justify one's choices of fieldwork sites on rational criteria linked to scientific objectivity, such as accessibility, time or cost, I would suggest that honest reflection will soon relegate such claims to the status of window dressing. If researchers are honest about such things, they will admit that various personal considerations shape all such choices, and gender is always among them.

Masculinities in apprehension

As the lifestyle enterprising phenomenon is abundant in tourism settings, I reasoned that small enterprises offering services to tourists in southern Skåne were good places to find it. However, since most of these were part-time enterprises, often open during weekends, I confronted my masculine ideals in the dilemma of absence from family during the time typically reserved for family. As these enterprises were open to the public, a family presence was to be expected, so I reconciled my dilemma by merging the roles of researcher and husband-father and bringing my family with me in many of my visits to the field (Figures 12.3 and 12.4).

The resulting juxtaposition of my personal and professional domains revealed, among other things, the mutability of both place meanings and

Figure 12.3 My family interacting with one of my participants in the field

Figure 12.4 Family in my field – assorted field sites in southern Sweden

roles in familial accompaniment. Family co-presence brought my masculinities into play, rendering the meanings of roles and places malleable, the constitution of each essentially rendered in dialectic and diachronic unfoldings of presence and purpose. Specifically, as researcher I was 'in the field', but when I was engaging with my wife and children at these places I was as much a tourist as any other, variously 'husband' and 'father' as circumstantially called into being – the periodic demands of 'Daddy look at me!', 'Dad look at this!' 'Daddy can I have …' reconstituting me from 'researcher' to 'father', reconfiguring place from field-site to tourist-site in the process. The upshot in terms of my research was that the presence of family changed who I was and what I could and did see in the field. My fieldwork notes and interviews are replete with traces of such family influence.

A typical example is found in a visit to a small enterprise in the countryside one weekend. As it was a Sunday, I suggested we should all go – a suggestion allowing me to offset the guilt of working at the weekend (a time usually reserved for family). Upon our arrival, we surveyed a cluster of buildings in a rural setting, one of which was signed '*butik*' (shop), and so we all went in there. Inside, a young man stood at a glass counter and an older man and woman were working in the background, with the counter serving as a kind of boundary dividing the 'frontstage' of the customer area from the pseudo 'backstage' where a less public work was done (Goffman, 1956). Greeting us, the young man invited us to taste some samples, and during this interaction I asked if he made the products we were tasting, to which he replied 'no, she does', indicating the woman, his statement prompting her to respond, 'yes, I am the *mom* and I make it', before smiling and adding that he was 'a good *son* for helping out today!' At the time, I wondered if this detail would have been shared had

I not been seen, thanks to the presence of my children, as a fellow-parent – my 'fatherhood' affording a common bridge of parenthood and thus furnishing insight into the familial entanglements of her enterprising. Another example is found in another event at that same enterprise when, while playing in the garden, one of my children declared an urgent need to use the toilet. As no toilet was visible, I re-entered the shop to ask for help in locating one. In response to my query, the woman beckoned me to join her in the pseudo backstage (Goffman, 1956) behind the counter, whereupon she pointed through the window to a door in another building and told me I could find a toilet in there. Upon passing through the indicated door, I realised I was in the private space of her home, and I was struck by the short distance between home and business. By activating my fatherhood, my child had secured my access to that private realm, affording me insight into the entanglements of 'home' and 'business' in the woman's enterprising. In these and many other instances, my wife and children were incidental adjuncts to my research enterprise, all 'little wedges' (Wylie, 1987) opening spaces for me in the field by variously activating masculinities of father-hood and husband-hood.

Family influences happened in other ways too. When accompanying me on other site visits and 'go alongs' (Kusenbach, 2003), my children would often engage with the people in my field, and by noticing things that only children see and asking questions only children ask, they drew my attention to things I might have otherwise missed. My wife also interacted with the people in these places, seeing different things and asking different questions, including those I might not have thought to ask, or perhaps could not have asked in the same way, as a man. Through their active involvement in these places they were all accidental 'adjuncts' (Wylie, 1987) to my research enterprise; their in-field engagements reconfigured them into de facto research assistants, affording me different insights into the spaces of my field.

The physical presence of family members at my field sites was not always smooth sailing. Our children were sometimes difficult to handle, their assorted behaviours and demands variously challenging our capacity as parents in the private domain and affecting my fieldwork in the professional domain. However, these disruptions and disturbances often yielded valuable insights. One example is found in an event transpiring one weekend when my momentarily restless son trod on an electronic door chime positioned on the floor near the door of a shop. Finding myself suddenly recast as a 'father', I grumbled at my son to 'quiet down' and offered my apology to the unruffled enterpriser, who assured me it was no bother as she was well acquainted with the antics of small children, both as mother herself and in her other job as a primary school teacher when she wasn't doing *this*. Thus, my son's seeming 'disruption' afforded insights into the entanglements of her personal and professional roles in relation to her part-time enterprising. Another good example occurred one day when our children, rushing outside to play, inadvertently locked us into an orangery (in Sweden this is a glass house providing a sheltered spot to sit in a garden), this event causing the husband of the female enterpriser to 'rescue us' by opening the door from the outside. Making space for him to stop and chat with us, the ensuing discussion afforded me many insights into the familial entanglements of their enterprising. My fieldwork notes and recordings hold many examples of insights emerging from such seemingly 'disruptive' events. There is much knowledge to be gained from disruptions and failures in the field (Levey, 2009), and this includes the happenstance activation of gender positions stemming from family co-presence. My experience challenges the assumption of family as a negative force in the researcher's field, the 'disruptions' of family having afforded me many, sometimes remarkable, insights into my field. In this respect, it bears mentioning that the work of research is essentially processual – the unfolding engagements with the field do not reveal their secrets on cue, but haphazardly and happenstance – and in my experience serendipitous insights arise not when and where we plan them, as if we could script them, but when and where they will. So when it comes to family co-presence in the field, I would suggest a more productive posture that the distractions and disturbances that go with family accompaniment are neither good nor bad, but merely ingredients of the unfolding scene, fomenting different events and rendering different insights. The temporality of fieldwork with family also merits mention here; although fieldwork with children *can* take longer (Levey, 2009), family presences can sometimes speed things up.

I did not always take my family with me in the field, but their lack of physical presence did not remove their influence. Pointedly, the masculinities stemming from my family entanglements were at work in the field even when my family was not physically present. Simply by being a father and a husband I was afforded a particular vantage over what was going on, and once my family status had been established in the field, my masculine positions afforded a resource for intersubjective discussion. Not only did my husband-father-hood afford me entry points for discussions, providing common ground for subjects to relate to me as something other than a researcher, it also afforded me a common ground from which *I* could relate to the subjects in my field. People would often ask me how things were going with my family and with my work, and I could ask them about *their* families and *their* work too: moreover, the common bridge of similar family positions afforded mutual insight and understanding about *what* was being said. In fact, I often used my masculine positions as common ground not only to build rapport but also as a verbal 'affordance' (Gibson, 1977) to help me plumb the entanglements of enterprising and family in my discussions; moreover, my entanglements of husband-fatherhood afforded a *mutual* 'resource' enabling meaning-making in intersubjective discussions (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Warren, 2012). In this way, various *disembodied presences* of my family materially influenced my research in the field, not only as traces shaping what I could discuss but as integral components of the masculinities-infused gendered self I carried into the field – part and parcel of my flawed and biased human research apparatus (Haraway, 1988). As Silverman (2014: 39) cautions, 'the facts we find "in the field" never speak for themselves but are impregnated by our assumptions'. In sum, our assorted gender positions (masculinities and femininities) are inherent to our assumptions, not only shaping what transpires in the field but also what the researcher *can* apprehend.

As Frohlick (2002) found, the gendered positions that go with accompanied research involving families can be a resource facilitating fieldwork, enabling interactions and revealing aspects of the field that might otherwise remain obscure. I cannot but agree. Contours of lifestyle enterprising have been revealed to me as a result of the masculine positionalities variously activated by my entanglements of family and field. As I see it, the influence of these entanglements extends beyond the matter of embodied co-presence of family in the field, and goes beyond even the signification of its traces in the externally attributed gender roles attaching to my appearance as a middle-aged married man wearing a wedding ring, to encompass the assorted masculinities that are indwelling *in* me, part and parcel of the inherently biased research apparatus of my gendered human self (Haraway, 1988). My contingent masculinities are variously active in my whole life, including in those moments when I enact my professional role as researcher both in and out of the field. Thus, the masculinities of father-hood and husband-hood are part of my research because, whether my family are with me in the field or not, they are not absent but remain 'present' *in me*, shaping my whole relation to the world. For researchers who have families, the masculinities arising in the intersection of family and field are always *essentially present*.

The Field in Family

Looking from the other side, my father-husband-hood was impacted by my researcher-hood in the place I called 'the field'. For my children, my field trips were simply family outings, visiting interesting places with mummy and daddy, and for the most part they were happy enough just to be doing something with us. However, like all of us, their enthusiasm for outings ebbed and flowed and here their individual temperaments came into play. My daughters have always been eager to go out and explore, so they were usually happy to be visiting the places that were my field sites. Their enthusiasm afforded me the impression that in bringing them to the field I was also discharging my fatherly duties to give them 'family time'. Being more of a 'homebody', my son was typically less enthusiastic about these field trips. Even though he did seem to enjoy these outings when we got to wherever it was we were going, he often seemed reluctant to go. Occasionally, his reluctance was such that I wondered if I was inflicting these outings on him, my researcher-hood coming at the expense of my fatherhood duty to prioritise his needs as my son.

Positional conflicts took hold in my husband-hood as well. There is simply a lot for parents to do when it comes to looking after children, and the task of organising and managing children to partake in any activity brings its share of challenges. Perhaps this was why my suggestions for such family field trips sometimes met with apprehension on the part of my wife; when her apprehensions proved well-founded, her harried visage served to remind me that the work of family care was gendered (Small, 2005; Wylie, 1987). Her distress revealed the blurring of my personal and professional domains and highlighted that my mixed visitation purposes had amplified her care-work burden. In particular, although she did not see the places we visited as 'the field', she was aware that such places were *my field* and that I was visiting these sites to also perform research and so, despite my reassurances, she made even greater efforts to manage the children to minimise potential disruptions. In this way, my dual role incidentally inflicted a dual role on her too, adding the burden of caring for my work as a researcher to the care burden she bore as wife-mother. When events transpired in such a way that she was visibly worn out by her dual burdens, the unsuccessful mixture of my professional and personal domains also challenged my masculine ideals, signalling failures as husband and father. These experiences suggest to me that the entanglement of personal and professional domains in familial field accompaniment not only affects the *researcher* in the field but also reverberates in the personal domain of family. If nothing else, this serves to highlight that the gendered burdens at the intersection of family and field come in many different guises, and that could be something researchers with families might need to be mindful of.

Concluding Remarks

Various masculinities arise at the intersection of family and field, taking hold both in the personal domain of family and in the professional domain of the field. The researcher-hood of my profession has at times spilled into my family, challenging my masculine ideals of father-husband-hood; at other times my masculine ideals of husband-fatherhood have spilled into the professional domain of my researcher-hood, shaping my relation to the field. In the intersection of family and field, tidal forces of relocation-dislocation blur the boundaries of family and work, their effects reverberating in personal and professional domains. The forces of relocation-dislocation play out differently between the researcher and their accompanying family and among individual family members; the uneven distribution of benefits and burdens reveals gender positionalities and normative structures arising at the intersection of family and field.

In the professional domain, family influences the field. Feminine vantages have highlighted that family positions affect the enterprises of research before and after the field, influencing such things as choice of research topics and choice of fields as well as the work that happens in the field (e.g. Frohlick, 2002; Khoo-Lattimore, 2018; Korpela *et al.*, 2016; Porter, 2018). My experience suggests the same can be said from the masculine vantages of father-husband-hood. Furthermore, these influences do not start and stop with co-presence in the field, but extend to 'absent presences' of family members as well. For researchers with families, family influence is never 'absent' because the gender positions that go with family are always *present* in the inherently flawed and biased human apparatus that the researcher carries into the field (Haraway, 1988).

For my part, assorted contingent masculinities stemming from my family positions of father-hood and husband-hood have affected my whole research enterprise, not only *in* the place I call 'the field' but also in the spaces that lie 'before', 'after' and 'beyond'. From this vantage, the assorted 'presences' of family variously arising in accompanied and unaccompanied settings, as observable or unobservable manifestations of masculinities in husband-hood and father-hood, cannot but leave their marks upon the whole enterprise of my research. The erasure of families from fieldwork accounts is entirely untenable (Frohlick, 2002; Korpela *et al.*, 2016).

Moreover, the entanglements of family and field illuminate the blurriness of professional and private domains, unpicking the illusory fabric separating 'work' from the rest of our living. For people who are sometimes researchers, this also serves to debunk the myth of research as some reified activity separable from the existential epistemology of gendered social life. In this, I would suggest that all researchers are personally entangled in gender-riddled processes of living, including those bits that happen when performing the academic occupational role of 'researcher', whether in the field or not. That assorted masculinities and femininities affect the research enterprise should come as no surprise. As Herod (1993: 306–307) says: 'Given that we live in a society in which gender relations significantly shape the lives of women and men, we should expect that such gender relations also shape the research process.'

So while my reflections have focused on the masculine entanglements of family and field, the wider message I wish to convey is that of the unavoidable 'presence' of gender in everything we do. As an existential epistemological condition of human social life, those people who are sometimes researchers have little choice but to tackle gender everywhere, in *and* out of the field. In this enterprise, the reflective researcher is doubly troubled, both by the problem of finding gender *in* the field and by the problem of finding where the entanglements of gender and field start and stop. Additionally, the trouble may be tripled for men, like me, who face the extra problem of gender blindness in the insidious inclination to perceive a genderless world (Kimmel, 1993). The latter trouble possibly helps explain why gender has remained marginal in tourism research (Figueroa-Domecq *et al.*, 2015) and the lack of reflexive accounts of gender in the field, particularly from masculine vantages (Porter & Schänzel, 2018). Pointedly, it seems as if the illusion of scientific objectivism stands obdurately in the way of gender, like the fabled statue of Ozymandias in the poems of Shelley and Smith, an assumption of genderless-ness (Kimmel, 1993) sustaining the myth of androgyny in tourism fieldwork (Porter, 2018).

However, there is no Archimedean point (Haraway, 1988), and the complexity of gender offers no remit to avoid its difficulties. The problem of gender will not just go away if we close our eyes to it, so there is no option but to face it. In tackling this trouble, the reflexive researcher is called to a wider accounting of gender in their relation *to* the field, including the bits that lie 'beyond', 'before' and 'after' the spaces of the field. What is called for in this troubled enterprise is an ethos of unabashed transparency, revealing our gendered selves both to ourselves *and* to those who are subjected to the knowledge that we publicly claim. If the core of research enterprise is to advance our knowledge of the social world, we must all work to find gender in the field *and* reveal its many presences to others in print (Porter & Schänzel, 2018).

Note

(1) 'The world is your oyster' is a quote from Shakespeare's play, *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

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Artwork by Luis Høeg Ortiz including drawings by Megan Jane Reid and Alice Elizabeth Reid

Figure 3. Travel Memoirs – memories and mementoes

7. Travel Memoirs

Following the touring thematic, the end of the tour is an opportunity to reflect on the journey to gather memories of travel. What do we learn about tourism enterprises and tourism development? What knowledge has been gained? Using the modality of enterprising this tour conveys knowledge about tourism enterprises and tourism development, and for the enterprises of research. These contributions are conveyed variously, not only arising in the contents, but also being conveyed by the narrative and visual form of this thesis. A commitment to practice suggests that not only contents but forms are relevant to knowledge production. How we travel changes what we see. Thus, both the sights seen at the tour stops and the mode of travel are ingredients of the memoirs of travel.

Tour Stop Highlights: Content Contributions

We learn something more at each site of enterprising and about the concept of enterprising, and we learn more about tourism enterprising and the mundane practices of tourism development. Visiting sites of enterprising, the stops in this tour show how enterprising helps us to understand the formation and development of tourism enterprises and the processes of tourism development.

Tour Sites: Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

There are contributions in theory and methods at each stop. These are mapped out below

Revisiting Tour Stop 1: Innovating

Tour Stop 1 visited the action of innovating, asking: *how does innovating happen in tourism enterprises?* Exploring this question through four rare cases of tourism innovation in Australia, it showed that innovating has much to do with the everyday action of *learning*, and that this learning is simultaneously personal and commercial. We saw that enterprisers told of their undertakings as a quest to find innovation solutions for their business enterprise (product development) and as a quest of self-development (pursuing interests); pursuing enterprise innovation is also pursuing self-innovation, innovating enterprises and self. We thus learned that enterprising (innovating) is simultaneously personal and commercial. These domains are not separable. This contrasts somewhat with sociological studies of lifestyle enterprising illuminating domain tensions. The view at this stop suggests that domain tensions are not always evident in enterprising practice.

This stop also offers methodological contributions and implications. Enterprising reminds us that it is the practical doings of innovating, not a priori ends of innovation, that should be in focus in the enterprises of research. Moreover, it reminds us that understanding enterprising requires attending to not just what is being described by enterprisers (in their stories), but to how it is described (how the stories are told). Telling (narrating) is an enterprising practice – it is part of enterprising. Practice-theoretic approaches tend to discount the value of interviews as talk divorced from its practice setting. However, this stop shows that talk matters in understanding practice because it is also an enterprising practice. Here, storytelling is part of enterprising. Practice can thus deal with past action and practice scholars concerned to understand enterprising can gain insight by attending to enterprisers' talk. In a wider view, interviewing may be seen as a practice where talk is being constructed, as Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 2016), and doubtless other scholars of methods have told us. Interviews can thus offer valuable insights into enterprising practice. Thus, enterprising insights are found not only in *what* is said but *how* it is said, the telling of innovation tales is being an enterpriser and is part of the action of enterprising too.

Visiting innovating through the modality of enterprising, we see how the concepts of innovation and research can take on new meanings. This illustrates how enterprising helps us to travel conceptually *and* methodologically.

Revisiting Tour Stop 2: Constructing

Tour Stop 2 visited the construction of enterprising, asking: *how do enterprisers construct tourism lifestyle enterprising?* Using Bourdieu's practice-theoretic framework, visiting six lifestyle enterprises in Sweden, this stop revealed habitus as the generative lens shaping the formation and deployment of capitals. We saw that enterprisers emphasised cultural capital and tended to overlook economic capital. Cultural capital, which oriented to the enterprise basis in the pursuit of a passion or personal interest, was most often in focus. It was this cultural capital linking to the personal domain that seemed to matter most. The emphasis placed on cultural capital suggests enterprisers are simultaneously engaged in the pursuit of personal interests; the construction of enterprising is thus simultaneously personal and commercial.

Again, domain tensions (negotiations) do not seem to obviously arise, contrasting somewhat with sociological lines in which domain tensions reveal negotiated meanings of places, relations and identities (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007; Lynch, 2005) illuminating the blurred boundaries of relational work (Cederholm, 2015, 2018; Cederholm & Åkerström, 2016), and value creation in host-guest relations (Cederholm & Hultman, 2010; Hultman & Cederholm, 2010). In this case at least, such tensions did not seem evident in practice, as shown by the untroubled deployments of economic resources to form cultural capital. Here, and in other areas, the navigation of commercial and personal domains appears 'effortless' (as also seems to happen at the Performing stop).

This stop also offers methodological contributions and implications. Enterprising reminds us to look closely at all that is happening, to consider details of enterpriser action. However, doing so also bring a challenge insofar as focusing on the action can blind us to what is missing in action. Observation can help researchers to identify not only the details of what happens, but also what is *not* said or done by enterprisers – in other words, not saying or doing also tells us something about enterprising. In this case this is clearly emphasised by the lack of attention to economic capital, at most briefly, or not highlighted, by these enterprisers. Methodologically, this suggests benefit in combining observation and interviews, or attending to talk, action and setting. Considering what is *not* emphasised promises to also reveal something more about enterprising.

This stop also offers a contribution to the nascent scholarly conversation about capital conversion as theoretical tool. Exploring the practical mechanics of *constructing* enterprising, this stop offers a theoretical contribution advancing the concept of capital deployment, differentiating constructing processes of effortless re-tasking and effortful conversion, these nuances emerging through habitus. This suggests a need to look at capital conversion processes in a more nuanced way, and the concept of capital deployment may aid this research task. The concept attunes scholars to look not only at what is in focus, but to consider what might be missing, not only looking for 'effortful conversions' but for 'effortless deployments' of capitals too.

This stop raises practical matters for policy intervention in enterprising and enterprise development. For instance, it suggests that interventions directed toward economic capital may potentially be misguided as far as lifestyle enterprising is concerned, because it just does not seem to be very important in the construction of lifestyle enterprising. The apparent emphasis on the construction of cultural capital suggests that the intervention toolbox might benefit from greater focus on supporting enterprisers' self-development through measures to support *learning* or accumulation of cultural capital. The importance of cultural capital also holds implications for *direct* intervention measures, such as business advisory services concerned to engage with tourism enterprisers. The results suggest that business acumen may not be enough, and that advisors may benefit from possession of relevant cultural competence to be able to relate well to enterprisers. Thus, this stop again illustrates how enterprising can help us to travel not just conceptually, but practically too.

Revisiting Tour Stop 3: Performing

Tour Stop 3 examined performances of enterprising aided by the practice-theoretic lens of Goffman's dramaturgy. The performing stop explored the situated construction of tourism lifestyle enterprises, asking: *how do enterprisers perform tourism lifestyle enterprising?* At this stop we visited a lifestyle enterprise in Sweden to carefully observe the details of situated performances. Focusing on the here-and-now details of action, we saw how enterprising is practically brought to life. We learn that enterprising entails fluid enactments of multiple roles spanning personal and commercial domains. Enterprisers perform multiple roles fluidly, and even effortlessly. We see that the actors are multifaceted and that domains are nested. These do not seem obviously subject to role tensions, or domain negotiations. The people who are enterprisers seem to simply get on with enacting the performance, smoothly effecting multiple roles at any one time. This view again contrasts with sociological studies of lifestyle enterprising that illuminate domain tensions, suggesting that tensions may not always be present. Here, enterprisers are shown to simultaneously make 'family', 'interest/passion' and 'business'. Enterprising, at least through the interactionist lens of Goffman's dramaturgy, is apparently both commercial and personal and enterprisers seem to navigate these nested fields with considerable ease. Here, again, we see that the action of enterprising is not confined to the commercial domain, but that the meanings of *enterprising* and service unfold in both the personal and commercial. In addition, with forms of 'deference' arising in both the personal and commercial domains, the details of situated performance reveal commercial and non-commercial forms of service. Thus, by engaging with the details of enterprising action, this stop shows that service might be variously constructed in practice. The conceptual implication is that the concept of service may be wider and richer than typically assumed, exceeding singular commercial logic.

This stop also offers methodological contributions and implications. Performance is a situated co-construction, meaning that all co-present parties are active in the production. This applies not only to others, but also to the co-present actor who is the 'researcher'. Reflection on researcher interaction positions offers insight into how enterprising is constructed and what tourism enterprising means and makes. As we saw in this case, enacting different roles is part of the performance that makes different things happen. This raises methodological considerations about 'who' the researcher is playing and what that does *to* the interactive performance. This rather suggests that researchers need to ask just what conversation is being entered into (Dimov et al., 2021), to reflect on their own role in the conduct of fieldwork (a similar message being found in the Reflecting stop of this tour). Covert observation offers a potent solution to the problematic of pulling enterprisers into the world of the researcher, and thus separating theoretical rigour from practical relevance. Performing the role of 'customer', the researcher enters the typical world of the enterpriser, building rigour through practical involvements in the enterprising action. This method offers a way to enter into the 'we conversation' advocated by Dimov et al. (2021), welding relevance to rigour, and being how to make entrepreneurship research matter (Johannisson, 2020). Simply put, methods assume vital importance in the knowledge-making mission of research. How we travel the terrain changes what we can see and come to know about enterprisers and their enterprises.

Revisiting Tour Stop 4: Intervening

Tour Stop 4 explored direct intervention in enterprise development in the form of university extension, asking: *how can direct intervention of university extension support tourism enterprise development?* Visiting a rare case of university extension in tourism enterprise development in Australia, we learned of the importance of adapting content and process to the needs of enterprisers, adjusting programme content and delivery to meet enterprisers' needs (which may not simply relate to the commercial exigencies of business development). We learn that adaptation (and adaptability) is important for effective university extension, and that effective adaptation is formed in relation to the needs of clients, in this case being tourism enterprisers. In a wider reading, this need for adaptability goes to the matter of interacting with people who have various personal and commercial needs relating to their varied enterprising undertakings.

This stop offers a theoretical contribution in specification of the concept of university extension, which assists both scholars and practitioners to engage with the intervention mechanism of university extension to shape tourism enterprising and, by extension, the generative action of tourism development. More generally, it illustrates the potential value of grounded, participatory research and use of multiple methods (survey, observation, and interviews) to advance understanding of tourism enterprising, the wider methodological message being that practice can be studied in more than one way, and that multiple views can be helpful in understanding the action of tourism enterprising. Furthermore, action can be understood in the past tense, too, as even historical documents ‘speak’ in the present. The wider methodological implication is that scholars concerned to understand tourism enterprising can thus approach its practice beyond the confines of the present.

Revisiting Tour Stop 5: Reflecting

The reflecting stop explored how the person of the researcher shapes the knowledge-making enterprises of research into tourism enterprising by reflecting on *how do masculinities affect tourism enterprising research?* Embarking on a self-reflective journey examining masculinities emerging in fieldwork at 17 case enterprises in Sweden and Australia, this stop sought to understand how gender, in this instance masculinities, affects research into tourism enterprising. We learn that the researcher is part of the construction of knowledge and that personal and professional domains are nested, that the personal domain is present in the professional enterprises of research, notably being present in positions of family and gender. It revealed that masculinities of family affect tourism fieldwork in surprising ways, emerging both when family is present and absent, and extending beyond the field. It also revealed that the consequent entanglements are not confined to the professional domain, but reverberate in the personal domain of family.

This raises methodological and epistemological implications. The most central message is the need for self-reflexive presence in enterprising research, including the reports of research. When engaged in the professional enterprise of research, a researcher is still, simultaneously, a private individual, and this private domain affects what comes from the enterprises of research. As nested domains, the effects flow both ways, thus researchers might be mindful of how research effects the production of family. The epistemological-methodological implication is this: knowledge is a positional construction and gender positions are integral to all human enterprises, including those of research. Scholars concerned to interact with tourism enterprisers need to take account of, and account for, their gendered selves in the enterprises of research. We are reminded that the researcher is integral to the production of knowledge, and that research is not a reified enterprise separate from, or separable from, the rest of living. As the researcher qua person is part of the process of knowledge production, a reflective presence is called for in all the enterprises of research. The suggestion is that we might gain more from being present in the memoirs of our research travels because who we are and how we go about doing research, including the ways of reporting research, and this all goes to the rigour and relevance of our research.

Tour Effects: Implications for the Enterprises of Research

The modality of enterprising brings conceptual, methodological, and epistemological implications. It invites reflection upon the concepts used in engagements with tourism enterprises. At the scale of human doings, tourism enterprises and tourism development are palpably revealed as matters of practical construction, the rich variation of those constructions inviting us to reconsider familiar concepts such as entrepreneurship and innovation, and to resist the urge to apply concepts a priori. Practice serves to remind us that understanding is a posteriori – that it is the doings, rather than a priori theoretical constructs, that make things practically what they are, at least in terms of the enterprising perspective taken here. If the aim is to engage with tourism enterprises and tourism development, practice suggests that all constructs need to be used judiciously and reflexively. Methodologically, the practice vantage calls for care in selecting methods that enable close engagements with the enterprising action and selecting methods suited to the particular practice occasion – selecting those methods that facilitate 'we conversations' where it is the enterprisers (rather than the researchers) doing the 'talking' (Dimov et al., 2021). This methodological concern relates to the epistemological aim of attainment of theoretical rigour through practical relevance, or through dissolution of the practice-theory divide (Dimov et al., 2021; Johannison, 2020). Practice urges us to reconsider the relationship between rigour and relevance in research engagements, urging for efforts to dissolve the theory-practice divide (inherent in the scientism of objectivism), and instead seek rigour through relevance. Practice thus suggests a need to consider both the means and ends of research (and the artistry of its practice) at the methodological-epistemological juncture. Put simply, practice perspectives remind us that both the search for knowledge and the resulting knowledge are grounded in, and subject to, the mundane vicissitudes of practice. These methodological and epistemological considerations will tend to rub against disciplinary limits. On this score, attention to the creative force of practice urges toward trans-disciplinary and post-disciplinary research (Coles, Hall, & Duval, 2005, 2009). This may offer more scope for surfacing new views over tourism enterprises and tourism development.

Memories of Touring: Implications

The modality of enterprising brings implications for how tourism enterprises and tourism development might be viewed conceptually, and this brings implications for how we might engage with these in research and practice. The modality of enterprising invites us to travel conceptually, theoretically, and methodologically, urging us to become seasoned travellers who travel habitually.

Visiting sites of enterprising action, this thesis shows *how* this practice perspective can help to enrich our understanding of tourism enterprises and tourism development, opening new fronts for research and policy. Each of the included papers shows how the enterprising enables engagements with tourism enterprises and tourism development. Innovating, constructing, performing, and intervening illustrate forms of everyday actions that make tourism enterprises happen, and this creative action is what practically brings the process of tourism development to life. These illustrations are suggestive, not definitive, for the sites of action are many and varied. They stand as exemplars, issuing a standing invitation to visit other sites of enterprising action to gain new views over the formation and development of tourism enterprises and the processes of tourism development.

The modality of enterprising challenges a priori concepts, provoking review of familiar ideas. Engaging with the complexity and variation of enterprising action forces us to reconsider *how* tourism enterprises get made and to confront questions about *what* is being made. Enterprisers and their enterprises are not fixed constructions, and the heterogeneous action often departs from familiar (often reductive) scripts. When travelling with enterprising, familiar concepts and ideas come up for re-view. For instance, visiting the enterprises of innovating, we can see how the learning quest of innovation is simultaneously personal and commercial, stretching the commercial view of innovation. Visiting constructing (Reid, 2020) we see how the practical logic of enterprising unfolds in multiple domains, practically dissolving the commercial-personal divide; and in visiting the action of performing we can directly see how enterprising means and makes many things, making it more than just doing business and more than just commercial service (Reid, 2021b). In all these, we see how intervening in enterprising *requires* adaptability, to relate to enterprisers' worlds and adapt supports and interventions to needs and values which are simultaneously personal *and* commercial. Among other things, this practical complexity challenges us to ask if familiar concepts remain good travelling companions in research and practice. For instance, as entrepreneurship and innovation are defined in commercial terms, these concepts may occlude the view of the person and the personal side of enterprising undertakings. Thus, the modality of enterprising invites us to *travel conceptually*.

The varied action of enterprising is challenging terrain for both research and practice, offering many choices of sites to visit. Moreover, at each site the action is complex and varied, bringing ontological, epistemological, and methodological effects. The ontological commitment is to view the making of enterprises as a constructionist project, where creative action brings forth entities and gives impetus to the processes we practically see and search for in research and policy interventions. This is to understand social action at 'face value', as the happening of what happens, absent fixed ideas about what the action means and makes. The ontological commitment to practice means to embrace complexity and variation as sources of insight and to take another view over the research enterprise as practices of making knowledge. This calls for abandonment of naturalistic tendencies and for taking a more practical view of the enterprise of research, adopting phronesis as an epistemological virtue (Flyvbjerg, 2011, 2016). This is to abandon the naturalistic ideal of generalisable knowledge (and to realise the futility of seeking after such), to instead build working images from the complexity and variety of enterprising practice, building up working, practicable knowledge by engaging with the details of action to collect and document differences. This implies upturning the research mission to produce theoretical rigour absent practical relevance, replacing it with a mission of wedding rigour to relevance (Dimov et al., 2021), the research enterprise becoming one of seeking rigour *through* relevance by building working and workable theoretical imagery from mosaics of practical images. The methodological implication of this episteme is a need to seek out practical images *through* close engagements with the multitudinous enterprising practices, engaging with the ordinary details of everyday enterprising action (Dimov et al., 2021; Welter et al., 2017). This significantly shifts the research enterprise from abstraction and reification to relevance and practical applicability, achieved through close engagements with the practices constructing the enterprising phenomenon under study. This calls for methodological movement from the scientific standards of detached objectivism to practical involvement, participating in practical action through inherently participatory research methods. The epistemological enterprise of research explicitly becomes that of knowledge-making through entanglement in enterprising.

This research posture coincidentally confines the epistemological claim of research to a more modest and practical end of providing working knowledge – collecting practical images to furnish practicable knowledge, being both practically derived and practically useful. The works contained in this thesis illustrate the benefits of this research mission. For instance, when we consider the everyday enterprising action of 'constructing', we can see how the varied construction of economic and cultural capital tells us more about what lifestyle enterprising is and how it is made by those who are doing it, this knowledge offering pointers about how we might intervene in those creative enterprising processes (Reid, 2020). Among other things, we can begin to see that business advisors and consultants need the necessary cultural capital to successfully engage with enterprisers from *their* vantages and so enter *their* enterprising conversations. Put another way, this is to possess the necessary cultural capital to *be able* to form social capital, in order that advisers might be able to relate to enterprises they seek to assist, as shown in Reid (2020). When we visit the enterprising action of *intervening*, we see the value of interactive delivery and responsive extension programme design (Reid, 2018), the need for such response reflecting the simple proposition that enterprisers are different people facing different practical situations, taking action from *their* view of those situations. This signals that effective intervention in enterprise development is not just a simple matter of mechanically transferring (abstract) knowledge and transposing it (based on reductive assumptions of generalisability), imposing it upon enterprisers regardless of their practical situation, but is instead a matter of adapting content and process to the enterprising of enterprisers to render *practicable* knowledge. Enterprising forces us to confront the basic lesson that if any kind of intervention in enterprise formation and development is to succeed, it needs to attend not only to the 'whats' of enterprising practices as contents, but must attend to the 'hows' of enterprising practices as actions, where practicality is grounded in enterprisers' worlds.

The epistemological commitment brings methodological effects for the enterprise of research. The variability and complexity of enterprising action calls for flexibility and adaptability in the selection and use of *methods*. Different sites of enterprising need different approaches to enable inter-action with the enterprising action of immediate interest. As illustrated by the papers included in this thesis, there are many different sites of enterprising action and they call for different methods – the enterprising action of innovating, imagining, constructing, and performing all imposed different demands and required different tools. Just as any traveller needs to pack differently for each trip, researchers need to pack different tools to travel the varied terrain of enterprising. Enterprising invites us to carefully consider if the tools we use are suited to the task at hand. Most likely, the researcher will need to use different tools to explore different sites of enterprising. In calling for methodological diversity, the practice modality of enterprising invites us to *travel methodologically*.

Travelling takes us into new habitats and this calls for new habits. Enterprising suggests the need to be adaptable to be able to explore new and varied sites of action. If the ontological and epistemological messages of enterprising are taken up, this is not a matter of thinking in terms of simply modifying usual methods occasionally, viewing adaptations as occasional aberrations. Rather, it is to become methodologically agnostic and inherently adaptable, such that modification is a normal part of research practice. If one is to travel in research, it is practically necessary to *become* a seasoned traveller, readily able to adapt habits to novel practice habitats. The suggestion is for the researcher to cultivate a kind of cultural capital into the research habitus – becoming seasoned travellers possessed of an elastic 'travel habitus', borrowing from the practice logic lexicon of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990). Visiting different climates and time zones calls us to change our habits and *be* adaptable. As frequent travellers, this adaptation becomes a normal condition, a capacity for adaptability ingrained into a new research habitus suited to many different enterprising habitats. This presents quite a challenge to the researcher whose life is bound by the disciplinary structures of academic institutions, which tend to impose strictures on the knowledge-making enterprise. The research message of enterprising does not sit easily within the confines of disciplinary traditions. Instead, "box breaking research" becomes a norm (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2014; Hultman & Ek, 2011). The seasoned traveller must transcend the habits of disciplinary traditions. Embarked upon a life of travel, the seasoned traveller has no 'home', but becomes itinerant, even extending beyond interdisciplinarity to become trans- or post-disciplinary. If the message of enterprising is taken up, the adaptable habitus must be operable across many different habitats, geared to post-disciplinary tourism research (Coles et al., 2005). In this respect, the modality of enterprising inspires us to become adaptable creatures that *travel habitually*.

Travelling is practically useful as it reveals new sights where we might learn new things about enterprising and tourism development, offering new potentials. Changing our view inspires us to reconsider what is practically possible. The papers presented at the tour stops offer contributions to understanding some of the many shades of enterprising action, opening new views over both tourism enterprises and tourism development. It does not purport to tell everything about enterprising or tourism development, and indeed the claim is that it cannot. What it does do is to illustrate another way to travel and it signals the potential benefit of doing so. It signals the possibility, and potential, of engaging with tourism enterprises and tourism development in another way, to find other images contributing to the mosaic. Travelling in this way offers practically useful knowledge, and that offers transformative potential. It shows that other enterprising doings are possible. Engaging with the diversity of enterprising, this study illuminates practice possibilities and offers alternative points of intervention in the processes of enterprise formation and development, and thus the creative action of tourism development. Practical knowledge of enterprising affords *practical tools* for intervention – affording new levers to pull to steer the ship of tourism development. For instance, seeing innovation as journeys of discovery, inspires us to consider how and why people learn and to consider if exposure to practical examples of innovation might foster enterprise innovation. Seeing how cultural capital is central in lifestyle enterprising, we might question the central assumption of financial supports (economic capital) to spark enterprise development, and instead focus on investments in supporting the personal development of enterprisers (cultural capital) through appropriate education – being that which suits *enterprisers.* Precisely that mechanism is shown in the practical engagement of university extension, as visited in Reid (2018).

Visiting these tour sites, using the modality of enterprising to explore the making of tourism enterprises and the mundane action of tourism development, this thesis has addressed the overarching question of *how do tourism enterprises happen?* The most immediate answer is that tourism enterprises practically happen in all manner of ways, for all manner of reasons. The variety challenges singular conceptual views of entrepreneurship, innovation, intervention, and research, which may all be seen in another way when viewed through the lens of enterprising. As familiar concepts come up for re-view, we gain new entry points for research and practice concerned with tourism enterprises and this has implications for how we view and interact with tourism development, which practically becomes mundane.

Tour Effects: Mundane Matters

Attending to the details of enterprising action, we also gain another view over tourism development. The complex creative action of enterprising is practically ordinary it remains consequential in being the creative force organising the tourism enterprises that shape the course of tourism development. Thus, through engagements with the ordinary everyday action of enterprising, we gain a conceptual image of *mundane tourism development*.

Touring these sites of enterprising, this thesis illustrates *how* the modality of enterprising helps us to gain new views over both tourism enterprises and tourism development. Mundane tourism development is diverse, but offers a unity of concern with the everyday enterprising shaping the course of tourism development. The complexity and variability of the enterprising action lays beyond the simplicity of reduction. Yet this irreducible complexity is cause for celebration, as it is precisely this complexity that can aid research and policy. Through the modality of enterprising we directly see how the enterprises of tourism development are many and varied, we see how they *are* done differently in practice, and, thus, *we learn how* they *can* practically be re-made or made differently. The modality of enterprising opens new shores to visit in research and practice by shifting attention to the mundanity of tourism development.

Conceiving Mundane Tourism Development

Touring tourism enterprising gives us insight into the practices of tourism development, the everyday action inspiring a conceptual image of *mundane tourism development* (MTD). This offers another view over the process of tourism development and opens other points of practical engagement with tourism development (Table 8).

Table 8. Enterprising and Mundane Tourism Development

Aspect	Conceptual Implications
Scale (scale shift)	Micro scale (action views dominate) Geographical foci: situated, local (places) Organisation foci: organising, enacting (action) [actor-action-oriented]
Foci (focus shift)	Practices/processes (‘hows’) [process and actions]
Actors (actor shift)	Human, diverse (people) [enterprisers enterprising]
Agency-structure (agency shift)	Agents-agency (agents as system makers) [agential]
Action (action shift)	Embodied, practical, variable (situationall) Action is variable and varied (diversity expected) [variablity and diversity]
Actor Logics (logic shift)	Multiple logics: practical rationality Multiple fields: nested fields (personal and commercial domains) Multi-logic: nested logics, e.g. cultural (building knowledge), social (building relations), economic (building wealth) [multi-logical (post-economic)]
Tourism Development/Enterprise Development (TD/ED)	TD is about human development ED as human doings (personal and commercial) TD as human enterprising (developing people) [human-centric]

The concept of MTD indicates that we may approach tourism development at different scales. It induces a shift from a macro-systems view of destinations to the action developing the tourism enterprises that shape the course of tourism development.

The concept of MTD highlights the importance of process. It evokes a shift from the end states of products and outcomes to the ongoing performances of action, orienting to the situated and local action taking place in gardens, homes, and shops. It evokes a shift from concern with outcomes to the processes and practices that bring them about.

The concept of MTD orients to actors, agency, and action. From this vantage the actors are human, and the action is embodied and practical, and the action unfolds variably, according to practical logics of actors who operate in multiple domains. The game plays out according to the actor's view of the field, the field being not singular but plural, and thus the action plays out in a field of fields – simultaneously personal and commercial. Therefore, it is to be expected that the action will be diverse, departing from singular economic logic. Phrased differently, MTD allows that enterprising may not be about simply making a profit, nor simply about lifestyle, nor even a choice between these, but takes many forms of expression in the multiple-nested domains of human action. Enterprising unfolds in a field of fields and the players play several games simultaneously. Here, enterprisers can be a member of a family while also being an enterpriser who sells a product, and a hobbyist enthusiastic about their creations. The realms of action are multiple, and enterprise constructions are expected to be varied. In MTD, the creative action of enterprising is expected to be variegated. Diversity becomes the norm. To accommodate the vicissitudes of enterprising practice, policy interventions must be multi-logical, flexible, and human-centric. Here, tourism development is achieved through development of heterogenous enterprisers, who can be expected to have diverse needs and priorities, so policy adaptation is not optional but necessary.

The concept of MTD suggests a human-centred approach to tourism development focused on developing tourism by developing its practitioners, the enterprisers engaged in the enterprising. Steering tourism development (in any direction) practically becomes a matter of engaging with the everyday action of enterprising and getting involved in the vicissitudes of practice.

Travelling with Mundane Tourism Development

The concept of MTD helps us to travel in conceptual and practical terms, and to perhaps build a bridge between the 'whats' and 'hows' of tourism development. It invites research and policy to engage with the everyday enterprising action that is *developing* tourism. Visiting the details of the action at ground level we are challenged to re-consider what tourism development means, and how we might go about understanding and intervening in the processes of tourism development. Through the modality of enterprising, we start to see how tourism development is effected through everyday enterprising action, offering insight into its basic generative mechanisms – these mechanisms offering new sites for research and new levers for intervention in the process of tourism development. Thus, the practice modality of enterprising opens new possibilities in research and practice.

Everyday enterprising challenges us to re-view the familiar concepts that most often travel with us. For instance, getting up close to the action, we learn that not everything happens according to familiar commercial logics, but that enterprising happens in various ways according to multiple enterprisers' logics, and so their tourism enterprises are variously made. The details and variations of the everyday action challenges familiar norms and here we can begin to learn new things about the everyday enterprising of mundane tourism development.

Enterprising carries us beyond single views of tourism enterprises and beyond the customary divisions between the commercial to the personal, as contained in the starting notion of lifestyle entrepreneurship as an antithetical expression of 'normal' commercial entrepreneurship. For instance, action shows us that innovation is not confined to the commercial domain, but extends into the personal domain too, with innovators embarked on journeys of *personal* learning; the concept of innovation stretches to the incremental change of innovating oneself (Reid, 2019). Here, the innovation puzzle of 'newness', where the question of 'how new?' is tied to the question of 'new to whom?', as posed by Johannessen et al. (2001), takes on new, and deeper, significance as the 'who' can be the enterpriser qua person too. Through the practice modality of enterprising, we encounter innovation as the self-development of personal learning, and the question then becomes: what does the action of *learning* practically make? This, in turn, prompts questions about how the learning of innovation practically happens. Asking these kinds of questions, we start to see how the enterprise of researching innovation is *also* a learning journey, one reflecting incremental innovation at a personal scale, the production of knowledge through the action of researching revealed as re-making (innovating) the researcher qua person too (Reid, 2019). And by contemplating self-reflexive presence in research, we begin to see that the research is not a reified enterprise and that the enterprises of research do not simply construct knowledge (which they do), but also practically bring constructive effects into the personal domain (Reid, 2021a). Perhaps these personal change processes in the domain of family might also be seen as forms of innovation too. All exemplify how the practice modality of enterprising stretches concepts, encouraging us to reconsider what practices amount to.

Similarly, the modality of enterprising provokes contemplation of practical intervention. For instance, the meddling of researching tourism development prompts us to consider other forms of meddling, to consider other interventions in tourism development. Through the lens of enterprising, the meddling of direct intervention becomes the human enterprise of intervening, the enactments of university extension instituting new enterprises through *learning*, innovating both enterprisers and their enterprises, as well as the university institution (Reid, 2018). Learning enables imagination of new enactment possibilities in enterprises and tourism development.

The heterogeneity of mundane tourism development is practically useful as it calls us to *re-view* our understandings of tourism enterprises and tourism development. On the one hand, this complexity and heterogeneity is troubling in that it presents a more onerous path to insight – the complexity of action defying reduction and forcing abandonment of naturalistic impulses. On the other hand, it is this richness that helps us by showing us new possibilities for action in research and practice. We can see how engaging with the details of practice helps us to discover new views in this very tour. Thus, enterprising offers a path toward other conceptual frames of tourism development (Dwyer, 2018) and affords new sites for practical action to intervene in the trajectory of tourism development. It is not simply about imagining the ‘no place’ of utopian idealism, but realising possibilities for action.

Through engagements with enterprising we learn new things about the everyday action making tourism enterprises and the ordinary action of tourism development, revealing possible points of intervention. For instance, by visiting the enterprising action we learn that we cannot expect intervention mechanisms based on the logic of financial incentives to work when not all enterprisers consider economic capital to be the main concern (Reid, 2020). Too, we can readily see that direct intervention cannot succeed if it does not start from the vantage of enterprisers’ logics of practice (Reid, 2020), by which they practically construct the performances of enterprises (Reid, 2021b). We learn that if advisors cannot relate to enterprisers they cannot hope to have practical impact, and that simply having business acumen might not be enough to enable fruitful relations (Reid, 2020). We also learn that we cannot hope to assist the learning journeys of enterprises, or spark innovation of *any* kind, if we do not know *how* enterprisers might learn (Reid, 2018), highlighting the practical importance of adapting our methods to what the *enterprisers* seek to learn and how, rather than what others might mistakenly presume (Reid, 2018). We learn that we cannot research the everyday action without interacting with people doing things in (and out of) the field, and those interactions not only practically construct our knowledge of tourism enterprises and tourism development, but reverberate in other domains, reminding us of the lesson that travelling changes the traveller (Reid, 2021a). And knowing that, we learn that we need to admit to positional knowledge and reveal the knowledge-maker in the story (Reid, 2019), because we start to realise that reflecting on the enterprise of research does not undermine knowledge, but helps us gain even more insight (Reid, 2021a). And we soon thereafter realise that reification of the enterprise of research does not help us, but rather hinders the production of practicable knowledge by blocking practical details from view (Reid, 2019, 2021a). Enterprising helps us to see tourism enterprises and tourism development from another angle, and that opens the possibility of new travels.

The practice vantage has not been widely used to explore tourism enterprises and especially tourism development. Somewhere along the line, the general message of enterprising has been somewhat overlooked. Academic interest with enterprising is surprisingly new, studies of enterprising practices have only lately begun to emerge in tourism and entrepreneurship. Too, the modality of enterprising can also carry us beyond the making of enterprises to enter the mundane practice of tourism development. In this way, this thesis humbly offers a modest contribution to the many academic and social conversations about tourism development.

The modest contribution of this thesis to the conversations about tourism development is both useful and timely. To say that we find ourselves at a crossroads is perhaps a cliché, for every moment is a crossroads in that it offers choices about which way to travel. Yet it is fair to say that the hiatus of Covid-19 also offers a momentous moment to re-consider where we might like to travel in tourism development and *how* to steer the ship of tourism development. Indeed, the most pressing question seems to be *how* steering might practically happen. This compilation thesis offers a practical response to the suggestion that the modality of enterprising might help us find new ways to interact with the processes of tourism development. For instance, as we shift from entrepreneurship to enterprising, we see that enterprising is not just about the business of growth and profit, but can still be fulfilling for enterprisers and visitors. As we shift from innovation to innovating, we see that enterprising can be about personal development and learning, enriching enterprisers while also providing novel products that visitors can enjoy.

As this tour shows, when we tour the everyday action, we can readily see that tourism development is not a singularity, but a multiplicity of enterprising doings. The variety forces interrogation of familiar concepts and brings forth other practice possibilities. It then becomes possible to imagine various courses of tourism development. In sum, this thesis suggests that the practice-theoretic vantage of enterprising offers advantages for understanding both tourism enterprises and tourism development, and by offering another mode of travel it invites exploration of new shores where we might learn things about practices that can practically help us in research and policy. Enterprising and mundane tourism development are thus presented as *travelling concepts* – concepts that might help us to travel in research and practice.

The practice vantage brings conceptual, methodological, and epistemological implications to the enterprises of research. Conceptually, the practice vantage invites reflection upon the concepts used in engagements with enterprising, enterprising revealing tourism enterprises and tourism development as matters of practical construction. The rich variation of those practical constructions invites us to reconsider familiar concepts such as entrepreneurship and innovation, and to resist the urge to apply concepts a priori. Practice serves to remind us that understanding is a posteriori – that it is the doings, rather than a priori theoretical constructs, that make things practically what they are, at least in terms of the enterprising perspective taken here. If the aim is to engage with enterprising practice and tourism development, practice suggests that constructs need to be used judiciously and reflexively. Methodologically, the practice vantage calls for care in selecting methods that enable close engagements with the practical action and select methods suited to the practice occasion – those that facilitate 'we conversations', where it is the enterprisers' enterprising (rather, the researchers' researching) that is doing the 'talking' (Dimov et al., 2021). This methodological concern relates to the epistemological aim to seek theoretical rigour *through* practical relevance, or through dissolution of the practice-theory divide. Practice urges us to reconsider the relationship between rigour and relevance in research engagements, urging for efforts to dissolve the theory-practice divide (inherent in the scientism of objectivism), and instead build rigour *through* relevance. Practice thus suggests a need to consider both means and ends of research (and its practice) at the methodological-epistemological juncture. Put simply, practice perspectives remind us that both the search for knowledge and the resulting knowledge are grounded in, and subject to, the mundane vicissitudes of practice. These methodological and epistemological considerations will tend to rub against disciplinary limits. On this score, practice urges toward trans-disciplinary and post-disciplinary engagements (Coles et al., 2005, 2009). This seems to offer more scope for surfacing new views of tourism enterprises and tourism development, opening new avenues for research and practice.

Tour Format: Form Contributions

The practice-theoretic modality of enterprising brings implications for the enterprise of research, which come to be seen as the practical enterprises *of making knowledge*. Here, forms of representation become significant considerations, effectively amounting to methodological choices with epistemological effects. How research is conveyed is a choice, an expression of authorial power, as illustrated narratively in Reid (2019). These format choices have epistemological consequences in that they practically shape the formation of knowledge. The format choices in this compilation thesis serve to illustrate the epistemological implication of an ontological commitment to practice, provoking contemplation of the role of representational forms as methodological choices with epistemological effects.

This thesis has used artistic license in narrative, and visual components as devices, to evoke conceptual travel, simultaneously serving as a practical illustration of the relevance of representation in the knowledge-making enterprises of research. These devices both do representational work and illustrate the workings of representation, which come in different forms and have various effects.

The touring metaphor directly assists to evoke the notion of, and open space for, conceptual travel. This thesis has used the metaphor of a tour, adopting the position of tour guide to aid conceptual travel in respect of tourism enterprises and tourism development. This is supported by the inclusion of artistic images not only beautiful (as I consider them to be), but serving as evocative elements in seeking to open space for imagination in relation to the touring metaphor – an analogue here being found in 'The art of tourism', where Tribe (2008) takes on the role of curator of an art gallery, relating to artistic images to evoke a novel reading of tourism. Thus, both the narrative and artistic images act as methodological devices to incite conceptual travel, both in terms of the subjects of tourism enterprises and tourism development.

Containing images drawn by my children (Alice, George, and Megan) – inspired by Lear's story, *The Owl and the Pussycat* – it seeks also to evoke conceptual travel. This choice may be seen as the visual equivalent of the literary genre of nonsense, a way to disrupt expectations and inspire conceptual travel and innovation in the representation of research. More widely, this serves to signal the need for self-reflective presence in all the undertakings of research (as also indicated here in Reid 2019, 2021a). This is to carry the message that research is not a reified undertaking separable from the rest of living, and that who we are as people also matters in the doings of research. This is inspired by, and echoes, the epistemological message of Donna

Haraway (1988), who reminds us that all knowledge is positional because the researcher is ever-present in all the enterprises of research. Taking up that practical epistemological message, the suggestion here is that this presence should perhaps be made actively present, revealed in research narratives (Reid, 2019).

The telling of a travel tale is another evocative device of note. Playing with narrative forms is a theme that is found in the field of entrepreneurship studies, with scholars calling for narrative experimentation to explore the prosaic forms of entrepreneurship (Steyaert, 2004). Taking up the thematic of a tour and using unconventional art, this thesis seeks to evoke contemplation of the character of research as an enterprising practice, this thematic also being raised in the "Wonderment in tourism land" article contained in the innovating stop of the tour of this thesis (see, Reid, 2019).

At another level, these literary and artistic devices both seek to unsettle the conventions of (inherently objectivist) academic writing, a point conveyed at the innovating stop of this tour in narrative exploration of innovation offered in Reid (2019). Perhaps it could be said, taking inspiration from Tribe's fine effort in 'The art of tourism' (Tribe, 2008), that artistic licence might be seen as a research method to inspire research innovation. This thesis in general, and the included work of Reid (2019) in particular, reflect and lend support to Tribe's effort to "extend the boundaries of a conventional article to harness the potential power of art and imagery" (Tribe, 2008, p. 941), and also reflects the call of Steyaert, who urges entrepreneurship researchers to "resist the centralizing tendency of academic publication systems" (Steyaert, 2004, p. 21).

The dialectic thematic of conceptual travel is reinforced at these several levels through these artistic and literary devices. These non-academic representations are also academic tools, making them art for art's sake and more. Echoing John Tribe's fine article, 'The art of tourism' (Tribe, 2008), I offer these as an invitation to reflect upon the practical art of researching. Tribe does this by pointing to the symbolic message contained in Magritte's painting of a pipe, titled "This is not a Pipe", to suggest that the treachery of artistic representation applies equally to tourism research. As Tribe (2008, p. 942) puts it, "the treachery of research means that any article in tourism research could equally and accurately be subtitled: "This is not Tourism". We might as well say the same of any academic writing, that 'this is not research, but a report of research', an observation emphasising that writing is a practice where many artistic choices can, and perhaps ought to be, consciously made, because such choices are consequential in terms of knowledge production.

In these various ways, this thesis has sought to contemplate and illustrate the role of form in the knowledge-making enterprises of research. Reflecting the message of enterprising back onto the enterprise of research, it seeks to broadly contemplate the reflexive question: *How do forms of representation work to make knowledge?* The response I offer here is that when it comes to the practices of research, 'the proof of the pudding is ultimately in the eating', meaning that the enterprise of research is at its finest when it produces practicable knowledge, and to offer (as several others have in various ways) the idea that form plays an important role in that research enterprise: that is to say, how we represent research matters as much as the subjects of the presentation. It is perhaps appropriate to bear in mind that what researchers write is not research, but a report whose form actively contributes to the construction of knowledge. The practical message is to suggest that researchers can, and should, consider their form choices as methods of knowledge production. My hope is that this thesis has helped to illustrate that.

Travel Advisories: Benefits, Limits, Invitations

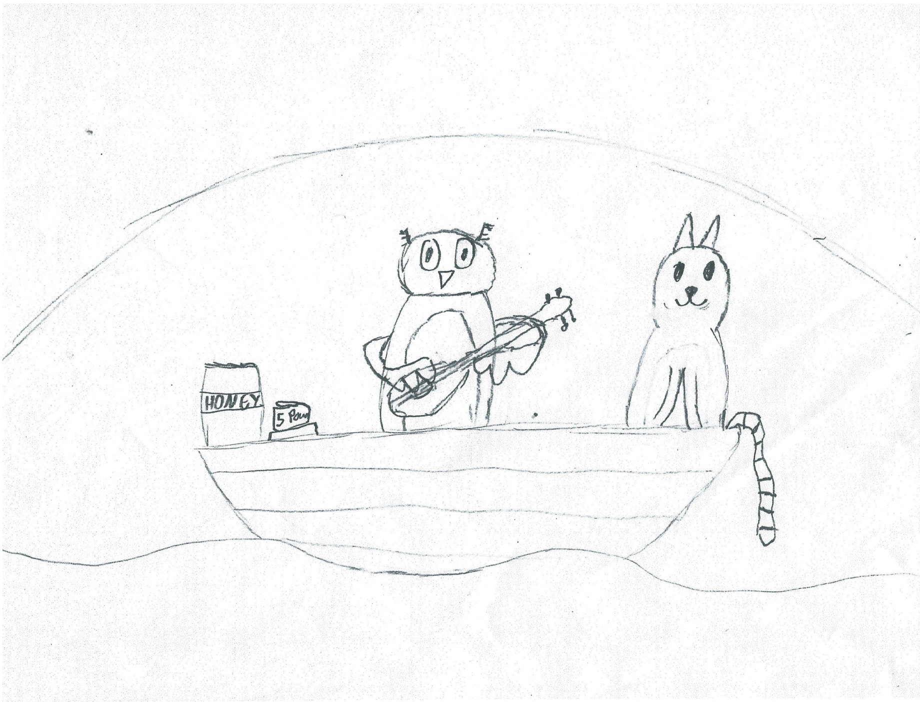
Offering enterprising and mundane tourism development as travelling concepts is to proffer these humbly, as useful, and useable, conceptual tools. This is a theoretical contribution, but of a particular kind – notably anchored in the epistemological commitment to practice and the ideal of practical relevance as the route to theoretical insight, a view that brings implications for the uses of research knowledge.

Although the term 'theory' is subject to multiple interpretations (Corvellec, 2013; Esposito, 2013), most could, perhaps, agree that the axiological basis of research is to produce useful knowledge, typically seen as representing complex phenomena in the abstraction of theories (Aneshensel, 2012). These theoretical contributions should be novel and useful (Corley & Gioia, 2011), the premise of research being to benefit society (Göransson, Maharajh, & Schmoch, 2009; Swedish Research Council, 2017, 2019), this notion also underpinning the university institution (also see Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1967; Swedish Parliament, 1992; Reid, 2018).

The travelling concepts offered in this thesis do this: the contribution of practice perspectives over tourism enterprises and tourism development are broadly useful for research and practice. The modality of enterprising, here transplanted from entrepreneurship studies into tourism studies, offers a conceptual tool to aid research and practice concerned to interact with tourism enterprises and tourism development. This is not to claim these ideas as theories in the conventional sense, but to suggest them as conceptual devices to travel with, in order to aid exploration of new shores where further images might be found.

To follow the idea of tourism as a circular journey (Leiper, 1983), we return to the beginning, to the departure point, which is also the point of embarkation. From here, new journeys beckon. That the circuitous journey ends back at the beginning might suggest that nothing has changed, but such a surmise would miss the point that travel transforms the traveller, which Baudelaire (1983) and Homer (Butcher & Lang, 1912 [1879]) told us at the start of this tour, and is precisely what this compilation thesis also seeks to show. It is the *view* that is transformative. Indeed, it seems this might well be the core empirical message running through all the stops of this tour – that human enterprising is much about the mundane action of learning how to imagine new possibilities. Imagining such possibilities is precisely what makes them practically possible. New vistas are useful because they offer scope to sail in different directions and visit new shores of tourism development.

This tour has sought to evoke another view over tourism enterprises and tourism development and so inspire others to embark upon further travels. Thus, it is only fitting to end as we began, to again take inspiration from Baudelaire, whose *L'invitation au voyage* urges us to long for an ideal place that is practically attainable. It is an idealistic message rendered with practical purpose – to set out, just as the Owl and the Pussycat did in Edward Lear's classic children's poem, to visit and explore new shores of tourism enterprising and the mundane practices of tourism development.



Artwork by Alice Elizabeth Reid

Figure 4. Travelling – setting out for new shores

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Appendix 1 – Data Collection Overview

Table 9. Data Collection in Detail

Enterprise	Informants	Material Type	Date	Mins	Collection notes	Enterprising Site (Tour Stops)			
Tourist attraction (wildlife adventure)	1	Interview (remote)	19.5.15	47	remotely (recorded)	Innovating			
Tourist attraction (turtles)	1	Interview (remote)	21.5.15	69	remotely (recorded)	Innovating			
Tourism organisation (DMO)	1	Interview (remote)	20.5.15	55	remotely (recorded)	Innovating			
Tourist attraction (adventure/climbing)	1	Interview (remote)	19.5.15	52	remotely (recorded)	Innovating			
Cheesemaker	3	Obs (covert)	2.4.17	180	in store/at farm, open to customers	Performing	Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	9.5.17	65	at farm shop, closed to customers		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	8.7.18	50	in store/at farm, open to customers		Constructing	Reflecting	
Antiques shop	2	Obs (covert)	8.5.17	40	shop open, in store		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	6.6.17	70	in adjacent home		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	29.8.18	30	shop open, in store – worker / neighbour		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Go Along	3.3.19	290	in shop, shop open		Constructing	Reflecting	

Enterprise	Informants	Material Type	Date	Mins	Collection notes	Enterprising Site (Tour Stops)			
Honey producer	2	Obs (covert)	22.4.17	120	brother in store, store open		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	11.5.17	98	in store, store closed		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	26.7.17	60	brother in store, store open		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	29.9.18	45	enterpriser and brother in store, store open		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	25.1.19	60	enterpriser in store, production crisis, store and production room		Constructing	Reflecting	
Ceramicist	1	Obs (covert)	28.4.17	60	in store, store open		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	10.5.17	103	in store, shop closed		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Go Along	12.3.19	195	visit to shops to get supplies, workshop, shop		Constructing	Reflecting	
Clothing maker	1	Obs (covert)	28.4.17	60	in shop, shop open		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	10.5.17	90	in home, adjacent to shop		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	12.3.19	79	in home, adjacent to shop		Constructing	Reflecting	
Marzipan maker	1	Obs (covert)	9.5.17	30	in shop, shop open to public		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Interview	27.11.17	80	in shop, shop closed, production		Constructing	Reflecting	
		Go Along	7.3.19	248	in shop, shop closed - making, packaging items		Constructing	Reflecting	
Clogs maker, accessories	1	Obs (covert)	1.8.18	60	in shop, shop open			Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	5.8.18	20	at home, adjacent to shop			Reflecting	

Enterprise	Informants	Material Type	Date	Mins	Collection notes	Enterprising Site (Tour Stops)			
Horse riding / café	1	Obs (covert)	14.5.17	120	farm shop, open to public			Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	16.9.17	60	at farm, barn/stable, shop, shop open to public			Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	29.9.18	15	farm/fields, enterprise closed to public			Reflecting	
Brewer	1	Obs (overt)	22.9.17	180	Making beer, receiving deliveries, open to public			Reflecting	
		Interview	20.10.17	138	Customer area and production room - enterprise open, labelling bottles			Reflecting	
Vineyard restaurant / conference venue	2	Go Along	18.3.19	234	tour enterprise, shop closed			Reflecting	
Farm shop, tourist attraction (raspberries)	1	Obs (covert)	2.4.17	60	In shop, shop open			Reflecting	
		Obs (covert)	30.9.18	70	In shop, shop open - and with enterpriser after close			Reflecting	
		Interview	26.2.19	93	In shop, shop closed to public			Reflecting	
Garden / smallgoods shop (confect producer)	1	Obs (covert)	8.5.17	60	Shop open, in store			Reflecting	
Farm shop / café (fruit, vegetables)	1	Obs (covert)	14.6.19	60	Shop open, initial visit			Reflecting	
		Interview	5.8.19	101	In shop, shop open, manager doing tasks			Reflecting	
Farm / tourist attraction (oilseed)	1	Go Along	21.2.19	197	Shop open, private tour			Reflecting	
Cheesemaker-dairy farmer	1	Obs (covert)	20.3.17	30	At market - at market stall,			Reflecting	
		Interview (remote)	28.3.17	53	At enterprise			Reflecting	

Enterprise	Informants	Material Type	Date	Mins	Collection notes	Enterprising Site (Tour Stops)			
Historic shop, café	3	Interview	5.3.19	30	Phone interview to discuss shop, interview notes taken			Reflecting	
		Go Along	16.3.19	48	Shop open, in store, doing tasks. Café, kitchen.			Reflecting	
		Obs (covert)	26.1.20	25	Shop open, 2 staff present			Reflecting	
		Obs (overt)	8.2.20	45	Shop open, behind service counter, notes in store, 2 staff			Reflecting	
Distillery (gin, whiskey)	2	Obs (covert)	15.7.19	60	Shop open, initial visit			Reflecting	
		Go Along	1.8.19	63	Shop open, join tour			Reflecting	
		Interview	1.8.19	62	Shop open, at rear			Reflecting	
Tourism extension - university organisation	2	Interview	20.4.11	35	Training manager, in office				Intervening
		Interview	21.4.11	30	Unit manager, in office				Intervening
		Interview	15.3.12	25	training manager, in office				Intervening
		Interview	16.3.12	25	unit manager, in office				Intervening
Tourism extension program participants	89	Obs (overt)	24.5.11	125	training delivery (group 1)				Intervening
		Obs (overt)	25.5.11	95	training delivery (group 1)				Intervening
		Obs (overt)	26.1.11	120	training delivery (group 2)				Intervening
		Obs (overt)	17.4.11	90	training delivery (group 2)				Intervening
		Questionnaires	n/a	n/a	89 questionnaires (5 regions)				Intervening

Appendix 2 – Overview Enterprises/Enterprisers

Table 10. Case Enterprise Description and Study Relation

Enterprise	Country	Enterprise Main Activities	Enterprise Description	Site(s)
Tourism Extension Organisation	Australia	Tourism extension programme delivery	Small (4 employees in unit). Part of large university organisation.	Intervening
Extension Programme Participant enterprises (see Table 11)	Australia	Various agritourism enterprises (see Table 11)	Small to medium enterprises (SMEs), mixed tourism and hospitality	Intervening
Tourist Attraction (Wildlife/Adventure)	Australia	Adventure activities, tours, merchandise	Mid (25-50 employees). Enterprisers: Couple M, F (60-70s) + 2 Sons (40s)	Innovating
Tourist Attraction (Conservation)	Australia	Conservation facility (turtles). Tours, retail sales	Small (1-5 employees) Enterpriser/innovator: F (50s)	Innovating
Tourism Organisation (DMO)	Australia	Member organisation, marketing/promotion of tourism	Small (1-10 employees), Informant (project manager), F (40s)	Innovating
Tourist Attraction (Adventure)	Australia	adventure activities, merchandising	Mid (20 employees), Enterpriser (owner), M, 40s	Innovating
Cheesemaker	Sweden	Farm produce/sales, retail supply, tasting events, tour groups	Micro (2 employees) Couple, M, F – (50-60s) Helpers: Son (20s)	Performing Constructing Reflecting
Antiques shop	Sweden	Home/farm shop, markets/fairs, tour groups	Micro (2 employees), Couple M, F (60s, retired). Helpers: neighbour	Constructing Reflecting
Honey producer	Sweden	Farm shop. Retail sales, tasting events, tours, tour groups, markets/fairs	Micro (1 Employee), Solo F 40s Helpers: brother	Constructing Reflecting

Enterprise	Country	Enterprise Main Activities	Enterprise Description	Site(s)
Ceramicist	Sweden	Home based retail shop/workshop - retail sales, retail supply, making events	Micro (1 employee), Solo F 40s	Constructing Reflecting
Clothing maker	Sweden	Farm shop/workshop. Retail sales, making events, markets, tour groups	Micro (1 employee), Solo F (50s)	Constructing Reflecting
Marzipan maker	Sweden	Home (village) shop/workshop. Retail sales, making events, markets/fairs, tour groups	Micro (1 employee), Solo F (50s)	Constructing Reflecting
Clogs Maker/Fashion Accessories	Sweden	Home shop (coastal village). Retail sales, online sales, tour events.	Micro (2 employees), F, F (40s)	Reflecting
Horse riding/café/shop	Sweden	Farm activity/shop/cafe. Retail sales, riding events, tour groups, outdoor café.	Micro (1 employee), F (40s) Helpers: daughter and her friend	Reflecting
Brewery	Sweden	Manufacturing, rural village. Retail supply, tasting events, markets, tour groups	Micro (3 employees), M 40s, M 30s, M 40s	Reflecting
Vineyard Restaurant	Sweden	Farm/vineyard. Retail supply, restaurant, conferences, picnic baskets, tour groups	Micro (2 employees), Couple, M (40s) F (30s)	Reflecting
Farm Shop/Attraction	Sweden	Farm/café/shop. Berries and small crops. Retail sales, retail supply, café, farm shop, special events, tour groups	Mid (10-20 employees), Family. M (50s), F (50s), Daughter (30s)	Reflecting
Garden/shop (food products)	Sweden	Home shop (rural area). Retail sales (plants, mixed foods), manufacture and retail supply (liquorice products), events, tour groups	Micro (2 employees), Family, M (50s), F (50s)	Reflecting
Farm tourist attraction (oilseed products)	Sweden	Farming and manufacturing (oilseeds and oilseed products). Retail shop, retail supply, special events, tours, tour groups	Mid (20 employees) Family M & F (40s), M & F (70s)	Reflecting
Historic shop/ museum-café	Sweden	Urban shop/museum. Retail sales (merchandise and food), tour groups, shop events	Small (11 workers, part time). 11F (50s-80s)	Reflecting
Farm shop-café (fruit, vegetables)	Australia	Farm shop/café. Retail sales (farm produce and food/beverage), tour groups	SME (10-20 employees). Main enterpriser, F (50s)	Reflecting
Distillery/Tourist Attraction	Australia	Farm growing sugar cane and manufacturing (gin, whiskey), cellar door, bar and restaurant, shop, retail supply, conferences, events, guided tours, tour groups	Mid (50 employees), Family M (50s), F (50s), 3F (20s)	Reflecting
Cheesemaker-dairy farmer	Australia	Farm manufacture (dairy and cheese), markets, and retail supply.	Micro (2 employees), Couple M, F (50s)	Reflecting

Table 11. Typical Enterprises and Enterprisers – Extension Programme

Participants	Enterprising Activities (Agritourism)
Solo (F)	Plan to develop accommodation activities at their property, where they have been involved in hosting international agricultural students. Activities and themes to focus on educational interpretation of sustainable farming practices and natural environment.
Couple (F, M)	Have a separate 5-acre block that they were looking at establishing as a commercial campground. With water frontage, good fishing available and a nearby shop able to offer support services, there were many elements that would work well.
Couple (M, F)	Couple with their young family have a large beef and sheep property some distance from a larger town. Looking at renovating old Shearers' Quarters and provide a farm stay experience with activities.
Couple (F, M)	Looking to offer primitive camping on the banks of the river and possibly farm tours. They also neighbours of an historic station which is now a National Park property, which may offer tour opportunities.
Siblings (2M,1F)	Considering offering tours of their historic homestead. Established by the family in 1860, there are a lot of historic artefacts and stories that can be shared.
Couple (F, M)	Have been running a single room B&B as a hobby tourism business but had not been involved in the industry before and operations were casual. Have a catering business and looking to develop this further with a focus on local/regional foods.
Couple (M, F)	The family has owned the property since the 1870s. It is near a main highway and easily accessible. Renovating a wing in the historic farmhouse to offer B&B and/or self-contained accommodation experience. Value-adding with meals and activities.
Couple (F, M)	Looking at staged development of tourism: Stage 1: developing waterfront bush camping sites along a river. Stage 2: renovating a 2-room cottage to offer B&B accommodation.
Couple (M, F)	Keen birdwatchers and seek to share the unique flora and fauna on their rural property. Considering primitive camping, guided and self-guided tours. Located close to the highway and an historic hotel.
Couple (F, M)	Plan small renovation to existing modern 4-bedroom homestead to offer family farm stay accommodation. Primitive and powered campsites to be made available. Will offer farm produce and farm experiences.
Couple (F, M)	Have an existing house with adjacent small lake where they would like to offer peaceful, affordable farm holidays, and to re-establish a water ski lake that is on the property with existing cooking and dining area and demountable buildings.
Couple (F, M)	Have an extensive orchard and herb garden and piggery. Wish to create a paddock-to-plate dining experience on the farm.
Couple (F, M)	New to the area but are 5th generation beef farmers and access cattle through the family herd which they then fatten and process at local abattoir and butcher. Wish to renovate a cottage and develop farm stay and food experience.

About the Author

Before embarking on the journeying enterprise of doctoral studies, Stuart Reid had enjoyed a varied career spanning roles in public and private enterprise, these life experiences shaping his interests in research, teaching and community engagement. He has been involved in applied tourism and community development projects, many in remote areas of Australia. More recently he worked in applied research roles in the university sector in Australian universities, his roles spanning asset management, rail innovation, public policy, and tourism development. He has been a keen learner throughout his career, studying economics, business, regional development, and tourism. His formal qualifications include a Bachelor of Economics, a Bachelor of Commerce and a Post-Graduate Diploma in Applied Economics all at the University of Queensland, and an Associate Diploma of Business at the University of Southern Queensland. He also has Certificate of Business in Regional Enterprise Development with the Centre for Australian Regional Enterprise Development, as well as Diploma of Export Management from the Australian Institute of Export. In 2015 he completed a Master of Arts in International Tourism and Leisure Management at the University of Southern Denmark, returning to Australia to complete his thesis researching innovation in small tourism firms in Australia. In February 2017 he joined the Department of Service Management and Service Studies at Lund University, his research exploring the everyday action of enterprising shaping the course of tourism development. His research interests span entrepreneurship, innovation, tourism and teaching and learning in higher education. He is an advocate for university engagement, believing that universities can, and should, contribute meaningfully to society. Stuart is also keenly interested in teaching and learning in higher education, an interest that has seen him contribute to conferences and books in this field. His teaching activities have spanned lecturing and mentoring students in areas including place branding and marketing, tourism innovation and product development, digitalisation, strategic communication, research writing and methods. Stuart sees teaching as nurturing learning, which is important because learning is transformative: "Learning changes what we see and what we can do. It is a powerful force that can change our world. All can and should embark upon journeys of learning."

Touring Tourism Enterprising

This thesis studies how tourism enterprises practically happen and what this means for understanding tourism development. It offers a tour of tourism enterprising, visiting different sites to illuminate the practical workings of tourism enterprises and the mundane practices of tourism development. Visiting selected sites of enterprising, this thesis shows how tourism enterprises and tourism development happen through the complexity and variability of everyday action. This offers another view of tourism enterprises and tourism development.

Enterprising may be seen as travelling concept, or as a concept to travel with. This thesis sets the scene for travel. Revealing tourism enterprises and tourism development as outcomes of everyday practice, enterprising opens new avenues for research and policy, highlighting the need for research and policy to attend to the mundane complexity and variability of enterprising action. Visiting various sites of action, this thesis shows how enterprising can be used to explore the terrain of tourism enterprises and tourism development, and how enterprising may assist us to both understand and intervene in tourism enterprises and tourism development. Offering pointers on how to travel with enterprising, this thesis issues an invitation to travel.

Stuart Reid moved from Australia to Sweden with his wife and three children to pursue doctoral studies at the Department of Service Studies, Lund University. He has a background in regional development and applied tourism research. The illustration below, like other illustrations in the book, is based on original drawings by my children. This is my doctoral dissertation.

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