

University of Strathclyde

**‘Lifestyle Entrepreneurs’ in the Hospitality Sector:  
Guest house Owner-Occupiers**

by

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‘Too often, in Scotland, a particular way of seeing our culture, of representing ourselves, has come to dominate our perceptions ... If the determinations which shape our experience are to come from within rather than from without, they have to be explored and evaluated and acted upon.’ (Cairns Craig (the Series Preface) in Beveridge and Turnbull 1989).

# **‘Lifestyle Entrepreneurs’ in the Hospitality Sector: Guest house Owner-Occupiers**

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## **Abstract**

The research outlined in this thesis is a comparative investigation of the views and self-definitions of small-scale hospitality providers who operate their business concerns in two Scottish urban settings. It deals specifically with owner-occupied businesses. This characteristic serves to define a key focus of the research, in that it is essentially concerned with the small-scale guest house which functions as both a home and a business for its owner. In this thesis, the self-definitions and images of these proprietors are explored through the medium of the in-depth research interview, and consequently analysed from the resulting textual interview data.

The nature of the research questions call for a qualitative research enquiry to provide the depth necessary to enable interpretations to be drawn which are emergent and grounded in the data. It adopts a phenomenologically-driven research perspective, using a symbolic interactionist conceptual framework upon which the methodology draws.

This research is necessarily context-driven as, in order to understand fully the nature of this group, it is important to consider the context in which these proprietors operate. In this study, the two Scottish urban locations of Inverness and Dundee, as part of the wider Scottish tourism spectrum are taken as the contextual parameters of the research. Background research to this enquiry therefore pays necessary attention to the socio-historical Scottish tourism setting, with specific focus on these locations. This functions as the contextual background against which the owner-occupiers of these small hospitality businesses must be placed. This also serves to provide an overall framework for the development of the theoretical perspectives and research methodologies which direct the research process.

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# **Chapter 1 - Setting the scene**

## **1.1 Introduction and scope of the research**

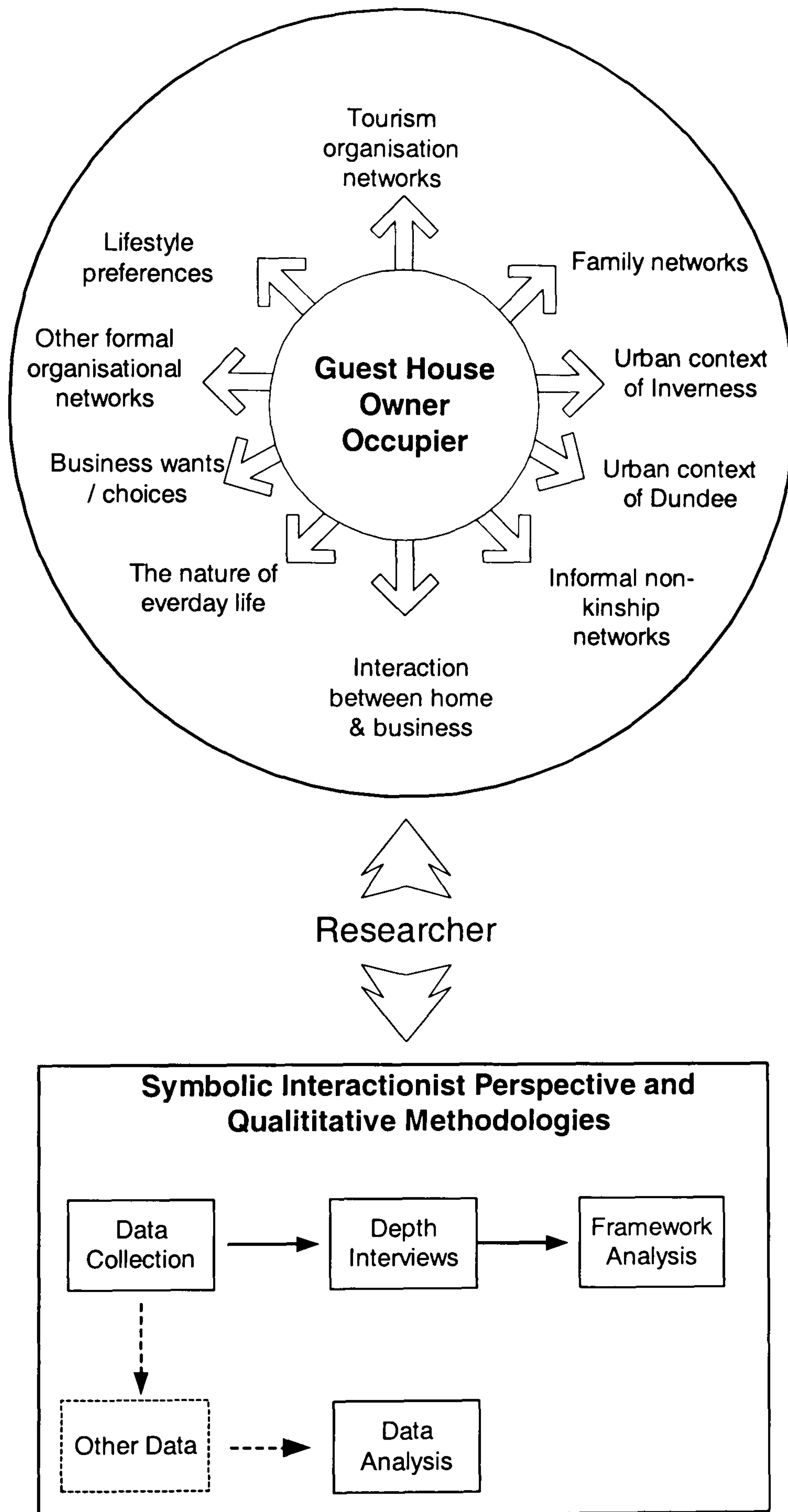
The research outlined in this thesis is a comparative analysis of the views and self-definitions of small-scale hospitality providers who operate their business concerns in two Scottish urban settings. The parameters of the research are clearly determined by the individual frames of reference of the guest house owners but are also grounded in the small-scale hospitality sector and in the identified urban locations. The research deals specifically and exclusively with proprietors of guest houses who run 'owner-occupied' businesses. This characteristic serves to define a key focus of the research, in that it is essentially concerned with the small-scale guest house which functions as both a home and a business for its owner. In this thesis, the self-definitions and images of these proprietors are explored in terms of the theoretical implications that are framed by certain concepts. These are the concepts of 'entrepreneur' and 'lifestyle', which can be considered in combination as a dual concept of 'lifestyle entrepreneur', in terms of the extent to which this reflects factors identified by the proprietors themselves as encompassing their wants, choices, images and practices.

The focus of the research is on those small hospitality operations that are categorised as guest houses and advertise their businesses as such in the Yellow Pages directory listings. Although they could be defined as small businesses, and indeed operate as part of a diverse and wide-ranging small enterprise phenomenon, they may be more appropriately classified as particularly small versions, in other words 'micro' businesses. There are definitions which make a distinction between the small business and their 'micro' counterpart. For instance, the Federation of Small Businesses defines a micro business as one with 0-9 employees, a small business as having 10-49 employees, a medium sized business as having 50-249 employees, and a large business as having 250+ employees. According to the Federation of Small Businesses, 'Over 90% of all firms in the UK employ fewer than 10 people. Small firms contribute over 40% to the

UK's Gross National Product' (Federation of Small Business 2002). However, definitions such as this may appear crude and rather simplistic. Curran and Blackburn (2001) assert that such numerical definitions tend to be semi-arbitrary and that 'there is no established, widely accepted definition, official or otherwise, of the small firm' (p9). Thus, in order to appreciate fully the case of the micro hospitality business, it is considered important to locate these businesses in context in order to highlight issues facing small enterprises in general and more particularly to examine those operating specifically within the hospitality sector.

The importance of the guest house operation must also be understood in terms of their position within the hospitality sector as a key segment of the broader tourism industry, which is dominated by such small businesses. It has been argued that 'in order to ensure the most appropriate form of tourism, its development should be through local initiatives and consistent with local values' (Duffield and Long 1981 p403). The business aims of these proprietors, as well as the means that they choose to achieve them, can be affected by the local contexts in which they operate. The latter include tourism organisation networks as well as other formal organisations that affect and constrain the actions of the proprietors and also colour their broader life goals. They are also involved in family networks as well as other informal, non-kinship networks. These networks may be regarded as having a dual purpose in that, besides their manifest functions of linking family, friends and neighbours among others, they may also be seen as the means through which actions are taken or processes are set up to facilitate the achievement of business goals. When examined together, they all affect the ways in which the guest house proprietors operate and, as hosts, the different images which they project of Scotland and their locality. Figure 1.1 places the proprietors in the centre of these types of networks, along with their respective urban contexts and aspects of their working lives such as business choices, lifestyle preferences and the interaction between their homes and businesses.

To understand fully the nature of this group, it is necessary to consider the context in which the proprietors operate. In this study, this is illustrated further by the two real examples of Inverness and Dundee as shown in Figure 1.1, which also reflects the different levels of analysis involved. This provides an overall framework for the development of the theoretical perspectives and research methods directing the research.



**Figure 1.1 Conceptual map of the research**



## 1.2 Justification and contribution of the research

The contribution to knowledge of this research is evident on a number of levels. It addresses a gap in the current body of research and responds to calls by researchers and interested academics for a more sector-specific focus to be adopted in that the research concentrates on issues pertinent to the hospitality sector. The homogeneity of small businesses across a range of sectors is not therefore assumed. Blackburn and Jennings (1996), Morrison (1998a), Morrison and Thomas (1999) and Shaw and Conway (2000) concur with this view and argue that attention should be paid to the context of the sector in which the small business operates as this impacts on practical research recommendations and policy implications. Furthermore, it has been stated that the 'SME market cannot be considered to be homogenous and, therefore, a generic, universal ... policy may satisfy no individual segment' (Blackburn and Jennings 1996 p7). There are further calls for a need for more research to be carried out specifically into the nature of the small hospitality business proprietor (Carlsen and Getz 2001; Glancey and Pettigrew 1997; Lynch 1994; Lynch 1999; Thomas 1995). Prior research into the phenomenon of the owner-occupied and managed guest house is scarce. This may be due to the difficulties faced in researching such businesses due to their size and scale of operation, which is perpetuated by the lack of secondary data sources relating to very small (micro) businesses which are often excluded from such analyses (Blackburn and Jennings 1996 p7). This adds to the justification for the adoption of a qualitative research methodology. Consequently, this study investigates the case of the small guest house owner-occupier who manages a business with a duality of purpose, as it provides both a physical, income-generating work space and a home in which to reside.

The contribution of this research to the existing body of knowledge also extends the realm of hospitality in terms of the methodological and conceptual approach adopted. Although previous hospitality research in general has drawn upon various models adopted from business and social science disciplines, the focus has tended to be on an understanding of a hospitality organisation using business-based structural models often

derived from a large business context (for example Davidson, Manning and Timo 2001; Laws 1999). It is argued that the application of such models at the level of the individual small hospitality business may be deemed inappropriate. Therefore, in contrast, as befitting the subjects and sector-specific focus of this research, the conceptual framework which orients this investigation is that of symbolic interactionism. This framework it is argued is an appropriate one where the researcher is interested in exploring the nature of small business interactions in the hospitality sector from the actor's point of view, such as in the present research. This approach allows subjects to relate personal accounts in terms of their own frames of reference, which consequently provides a greater understanding of their points of view (Ryan 1995). It is argued clearly that a symbolic interactionist orientation is appropriate in addressing the research questions outlined in section 1.4.1.

This stance addresses the argument that more qualitative research is required in the area of small business research (Bygrave 1989; Churchill and Lewis 1986; Hill and McGowan 1999; Shaw 1999; Shaw and Conway 2000). This may be due to reasons such as the comparative infancy of small business research as an area of academic interest, the emergent nature of small businesses and a focus on human subjects rather than organisational structures. Although an increasing number of researchers are adopting qualitative research in small business research (for example Hill and McGowan 1999; Hill, McGowan and Drummond 1999), 'few small firm researchers have sought to provide detailed descriptions of the processes by which qualitative data are collected, analysed and interpreted' (Shaw 1999 p61). This research therefore addresses this gap in the small business literature, and particularly the literature pertaining to research into small hospitality businesses, in that there is a need for qualitative analytic strategies to be explicitly communicated to researchers and academic peers. This research traces the stages of the analytic process and demonstrates how findings are derived. In this way, this research addresses the challenge facing the qualitative researcher of achieving a systematic and valid analysis of personal accounts and interpretations of self-presentations such as those collated. Symbolic interactionist researchers have employed

a range of specific methodological approaches both to the gathering and the analysis of the collected accounts. This research applies the analytic strategy of 'framework', a thematic code and retrieve based interpretive model on the grounds of rigour, transparency, applicability, context specificity, and allowances for between case comparative analysis of textual data (see Section 4.4.).

Justification for this conceptual and methodological research orientation it is argued relates to the need to achieve a satisfactory methodological congruence that has intrinsic empathy with the nature and characteristics of the small hospitality business and the owner-occupier as manager. The proprietor is typically involved in on-site dealings and daily interactions and transactions. Furthermore, the highly personal, and interactive nature of hospitality transactions mean that social interactions function as a firmly rooted part of everyday life. These characteristics are in sharp contrast to large multi-site businesses, which generally have more detached owners and formalised structures of action. Therefore, a phenomenologically-driven perspective is deemed to be necessary. The nature of the research questions call for a qualitative research enquiry to provide the depth necessary to enable interpretations to be drawn which are emergent and grounded in the data. This research signals a departure from more quantitative studies with positivistic assumptions. Detailed discussion of the epistemological approach and methodological orientation underpinning this research is presented in Chapter Four of this thesis.

### **1.3 Locating the guest house owner-occupiers**

While tourism may be seen as an industry, it is also a product that is developed, managed and marketed by certain individuals and organisations and consumed by others. Many tourists who holiday in Scotland are independent travellers who enjoy culture and heritage, the environment and activities such as golf and hill-walking. Furthermore, the tourist increasingly is looking for a more individual and flexible style of holiday rather than the packaged holiday that was once more popular. Scottish

tourism, when reflected in the more individualised characteristics of most small-scale establishments, fits into this style. However, the providers of the service face the challenge of offering individuality, presenting an acceptable image, and maintaining the standards insisted upon by the various tourism organisations to which they belong.

Destinations compete for tourist spending in fiercely competitive markets, where in most cases, supply outstrips demand. Before products are developed, markets are assessed, both at national and local levels, with decisions being driven by the power of the market and the consumer in order to satisfy the wants and desires of the tourist 'gaze' (Urry 1990; Urry 1995). Hughes (1992) is concerned that this has gone too far and argues that places are being constructed in the image of what the tourist is thought to desire by tourism bodies. Even in the specific sphere of hospitality, host-guest relations are being routinised and systematised through public sector training programmes, such as VisitScotland's 'Welcome Host'. This could destroy the spontaneity that characterised host-guest relationships in the past. It is therefore necessary to obtain the views and accounts of those involved in running small hospitality businesses, such as the owner-occupiers of guest house operations.

Furthermore, it has been stated that a 'substantial proportion of tourism income and employment is attributable to private sector enterprises, mainly in the hotels and catering sector' (Kerr and Wood 1999 p10). The tourism industry has traditionally attracted local initiatives, in that it has offered opportunities and some support to those who wish to set up private businesses locally. The small-scale hospitality proprietors who operate guest houses can be considered as key players in the development of the tourism and hospitality industries. They are often the 'live-in' owners of the 'corner guest house' in a particular locality. They are encouraged by the national and regional tourism bodies to present to the visitor an image of Scotland and their locality which reflect the traditions of Scottish or Highland hospitality. It must therefore be of considerable interest to policy makers as well as to tourism academics to explore their views and self-defined characteristics. In doing so, attention must also be paid to the contextual factors that may

affect or constrain the actions, interactions and views of the individual proprietor. Therefore, although this research focuses upon the individual operator as directed by the symbolic interactionist conceptual framework, the context in which they are placed must also be considered. This is in keeping with best research practice and the theoretical orientation of symbolic interactionism from its early Chicago School beginnings until the present. It is for this reason that the elements of their framing context, including the geographical locations in which they are placed, and the wider processes of change taking place in their environment, are similarly examined. In such a way, the research seeks to balance a primary focus on individual action with a secondary, although no less important, consideration of context and structure.

#### **1.4 Main research aims and objectives**

The overall aim of the research is to compile a composite picture of the self-definitions and images of place held by the owner-occupiers of guest houses. It is of interest to explore the various ways in which these guest house proprietors view themselves, the nature of their businesses and their way of life. Thus, from the findings derived from this research study, the aim is that an improved understanding of this group will be obtained through the process of the formulation of context-specific typologies, associations and explanations. This provides for a better insight into the nature of such (micro) small hospitality owner-occupied businesses.

This study aims to provide the guest house owner with a 'voice'. It explicitly avoids applying *a priori* categorisations and pre-conceived notions to the context of these individuals. This research endeavours to access and penetrate the views and self-defined frames of reference of these individuals. It is an important objective to find out whether these individuals consider that there are cohesive social or cultural groups within the sector of which they themselves are a part. Due to the identified gap in the existing body of knowledge, this study's aim is to look at the views, and proprietor defined significance, of both formal and informal, including family and non-kinship, networks. It

is also necessary to explore the expressed affiliations that these hospitality operators have to other groups which could be influential. The importance of the findings derived from this research is wide ranging. It is argued that the findings have both theoretical and practical significance. Therefore, Chapter Seven of this thesis discusses the research findings (see Section 7.2), their theoretical implications (see Section 7.3), their methodological implications (see Section 7.4) as well as their practical and policy implications (see Section 7.5).

#### *1.4.1 Main research questions*

Research questions can be seen as ‘a door to the research field under study’ (Flick 1998 p53). In the light of the aims of the research, which are to determine through the use of in-depth interviews how the owner-occupiers of the small guest houses in the two Scottish urban locations define their own situations, the research questions more specifically are outlined as follows:

- How do they define their own situation and the nature of their everyday lives in the running of a small guest house in their specific urban location?
- How do they view their businesses and what are their objectives and future plans in relation to their businesses?
- How do they view themselves, their location and the future for people in their position?
- What are their self-images and images of place?
- What do they identify as their formal and informal connections and networks in terms of both individuals and organisations?
- How do they view these formal and informal links and networks?
- How do they view the interaction between their homes and their businesses?
- How do elements of their lifestyle, for example in terms of family orientations, integrate with their business activities?

#### *1.4.2 Specific research methodological objectives*

The specific methodological objectives are:

- to examine an in-depth and varied spectrum of secondary data sources;
- to glean from the analyses of secondary data sources an in-depth understanding of the social, cultural and economic contexts within which these proprietors operate;
- to provide an account of the conceptual framework adopted and why it provides a suitable underpinning to the research allowing the 'voice' of the guest house owner occupier to be heard more clearly
- to justify and, after exploring a broad spectrum of alternative research methods, apply effectively the conceptual orientation of symbolic interactionism which is drawn upon as a framework for the collection and analysis of primary data;
- to conduct depth interviews of guest house owner-occupiers in both Dundee and Inverness in order to find out more about these individuals and to allow for the recording of different definitions and perspectives. This will assist in the identification of their current views and assist in an understanding of who they are, and their views about themselves, and about the changes that have taken place in their respective cities;
- to analyse systematically the qualitative transcripts of textual data arising from the interviews using appropriate analyses methods;
- to provide a detailed and concise account of each step in the data collection and analysis process to demonstrate validity and ensure transparency of the research and the resultant findings, and
- to outline as a result of the research findings theoretical, methodological and policy implications and recommendations.

### *1.4.3 Thesis outline and chapter content summaries*

The thesis is presented within the following structure:

**Chapter 2** examines relevant literature, definitions and theoretical concepts relating to the small guest house owner-occupier, their networks and the nature of their businesses. It introduces the analysis of these individuals and their businesses. It discusses concepts and terms such as ‘entrepreneur’, ‘lifestyle’ and ‘family’. It also reviews the relevant literature on formal and informal networks and explores the nature and culture of the ‘small and friendly’ guest house and the role of ‘host’ in relation to ‘guest’ which the owner-occupier plays within the business.

**Chapter 3** presents an analysis of images of place and tourism both at the macro Scottish context and the micro local urban environments of Inverness and Dundee. It considers the social, cultural, economic, and political macro environments affecting the individual proprietor. Consideration is given to the concepts of Scottish identity, culture and tourism. Significant arbiters of the images of place are discussed in terms of their impact on the wider social and economic contexts in Scotland and their influence on Dundee and Inverness. This analysis takes place within the context of a discussion on urban tourism. The concept of urban ‘boosterism’ is discussed within this context. This is a recent phenomenon whereby towns and cities promote an image of themselves often by focusing on some aspect of their history or heritage with the aim of becoming more attractive as a location to tourists and residents.

**Chapter 4** presents theoretical perspectives and research methodologies. It examines the theoretical explanations and orientations underpinning the study. It also outlines the methodological approach, the background research phase, the pilot study, selection of respondents for the main research phase, the interview guide, transcription, ethical considerations, methods of analysis, and the application of qualitative software to the analysis process.



**Chapter 5** presents an analysis of the process of the application of the 'framework' method to the textual data present in the interview transcripts. Two broad stages are involved in this method of substantive analysis. The first involves classification, sorting and data reduction. The second involves interpretation. It is at this stage that the reduced data generated by the first stage allows the development of meaning interpretations in terms of the identification of underlying dimensions and patterns so that explanations can be offered.

**Chapter 6** outlines the findings derived from the framework analysis process. It provides a comprehensive picture of the world views of the proprietors and the researcher's interpretations arising from the analysis conducted.

**Chapter 7** provides a summary of the research and arrives at theoretical, methodological and practical conclusions. It also puts forward tentative policy recommendations, suggests potential avenues for future research, and communicates the overall contribution to knowledge of this research study.

## **Chapter 2 - Key concepts and debates**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In order to carry out the investigation for this research, the first aim must be to reach an understanding of the key concepts, theories and literature associated with small-scale hospitality accommodation providers and the type of business and social context in which they are placed. The result of this process is to inform the research process and facilitate an understanding of their self-images and definitions of their situations. In so doing, the research explores whether they see themselves in ways that relate to the concepts of 'entrepreneur', 'lifestyle' or 'lifestyle entrepreneur'. It also uncovers the networks in which they are involved along with the roles which they identify themselves as playing.

In Section 2.2, this aim is achieved firstly through both the historical and contemporary analyses of the broad multi-disciplinary concept of 'entrepreneur', before consideration is given to the particular situation of small-scale hospitality providers and the relevance of this and related concepts for the present study. There is a wealth of information on the much-analysed related concepts of 'entrepreneur' and 'entrepreneurship'. However, it is argued here that the academic debates surrounding these terms can be highlighted by approaching a consideration of the concepts from a historical perspective, before exploring them in relation to the present and the small-scale hospitality providers, the subjects of the present study. This also helps a decision to be made as to whether to accept, reject or restrict usage of these concepts in the present case. Section 2.3 deals with aspects of the family, gender and definitions of 'lifestyle' in terms of their relevance for the small business enterprise. There has been considerable debate around the influence of the family, of gender and of 'lifestyle' in general, in terms of giving help or hindering entrepreneurial activity and effort. This debate is aired in this section, again taking a socio-historical approach to the analysis which it is again argued highlights the key issues and areas of concern for the present analysis. This leads to

Section 2.4, which considers the synthesis of the two key concepts of 'entrepreneur' and 'lifestyle' and the relevance of the combined concept of 'lifestyle entrepreneur' for the present research. Section 2.5 then deals with small business proprietors and their networks and networking. This is a central focus of this research (see Figure 1.1) and has been a consistently significant research focus within the small-scale business sector. Although, there is considerable literature on networks, there is little to be found on this subject area in the literature on small guest houses and hotels. However, it is an area which may offer explanations and which must be considered in this research. Section 2.6 deals with literature and explanations relating to the nature and culture of the small hotels and guest houses. The role of 'host' is examined in relation to 'guest' but from the perspective of the 'host' who is the subject of this research work. Section 2.7 provides a summary of the concepts relating to guest house proprietors and links the key issues arising from the literature to the foci of the present study.

## **2.2 'Entrepreneur' and small-scale accommodation providers**

In the last fifty years in both business circles and in academia, there have been many studies on entrepreneurship and on the practicalities and the problems which face the entrepreneur (Bull and Willard 1995). However, much of the information and many of the arguments presented are confusing. There appears to be no generally accepted theory of entrepreneurship as well as no generally accepted definition of the concept (Morrison *et al.* 1999 p4). Nevertheless, it is considered to merit discussion within the present research context.

Historically, the term 'entrepreneur' dates back more than two hundred years to the eighteenth century. The earliest beginnings of entrepreneurial theory can be traced to the work of Cantillon (1755) and subsequently to the work of Say (1816: 1821). By the early nineteenth century, the entrepreneur was recognised as a new economic phenomenon. These early contributions were concerned with the definition of the term entrepreneur and with the role of the entrepreneur in economic systems. However, the

somewhat later works of Weber (1904) and then Schumpeter (1934) tend to be taken as milestones in entrepreneurial theory.

Weber (1904) sought to identify the historical conditions under which entrepreneurs flourish and the decisive role of values in the making of effective entrepreneurs. Schumpeter (1934) stresses that the principal force behind entrepreneurial activity is the profit motive. Therefore, 'without development there is no profit, without profit no development. For the capitalist system, it must be added further that without profit, there would be no accumulation of wealth' (Schumpeter 1934 p154). Schumpeter's work also reflects upon other factors that might both encourage and inhibit the development of entrepreneurship. For example, non-material considerations such as self-satisfaction and pride in achievement, tend to lend greater persistence and continuity to the operation of the profit motive. Additional factors which inhibit growth are pointed to by Schumpeter. These include the effects on decision-making among entrepreneurs of having to take decisions in a climate of uncertainty, those associated with aversion to change and those arising from 'the reactions of the social environment against one who wishes to do something new' (Schumpeter 1934 p86). Other social and psychological factors are also considered important. For example, according to Schumpeter (1934), social ambitions are central to the way a business is conducted for there is an awareness that the 'successful entrepreneur rises socially, and with him his family, who acquire from the fruits of his success a position not immediately dependent upon personal conduct' (Schumpeter 1934 p156).

Weber (1904) followed by Schumpeter (1934) set the stage for much of the entrepreneurial research and theory that followed later in the twentieth century. Recent theoretical analyses of entrepreneurship have continued to build on these earlier insights. Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur is accepted by many as 'acceptably precise' for according to him, an entrepreneur is 'the person who creates increased value by carrying out new combinations, causing discontinuity' (Bull and Willard 1995 p4).

Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur appears to be a suitable working definition for many research purposes. As Bull and Willard state;

'For academic purposes, we advocate the adoption of Schumpeter's definition of "entrepreneur" and an economic outcome approach to the study of entrepreneurship. These outcomes include both starting 'new' ventures and adopting success strategies within existing entities ... To adopt Schumpeter-based concepts should mitigate further misdirection of effort and allow researchers to focus on the task at hand, i.e. explaining and predicting the occurrence of entrepreneurial events/phenomena' (Bull and Willard 1995 p2).

Weber (1904) and then Schumpeter (1934) also raised questions about entrepreneurship such as, for example, asking what principle forces recruit particular individuals or particular groups for the role. They also questioned whether they have any special attributes. These questions can be explored in the present study. It is of interest to find out who the accommodation providers are, and what made them enter this particular business world.

More recent studies of entrepreneurship may be more relevant in the present case. These can be divided under two broad headings or complementary approaches, namely the 'macro' and 'micro' levels of analysis. The first explores broader frameworks that influence entrepreneurship, and the second attempts to understand the relationship between the individual and various groups or organisations with which they are involved. This is the case, even though these groups and organisations are themselves part of the network within the broader 'macro' level framework. Entrepreneurship is seen to relate to the form of society in which it is located and the characteristics of a particular culture and economic system which affects its development. This approach tends to consider economic activity as unfolding within the socio-cultural environment. The 'micro' level perspective stems from ideas about the entrepreneurial 'role' and from a social interactionist perspective from the field of sociology (Cassell 1993; Mead 1934;

Ritzer 1996;). At the 'macro' level, a broadly historical approach is heavily relied upon as well as an examination of the 'structure of the situation' in which the entrepreneur is located. In other words, an attempt is made to understand the characteristics of the context of the actions of the entrepreneur as well as interactions with 'significant others' in the local and national contexts. The economic, socio-cultural and historical perspectives broadly overlap at both 'micro' and 'macro' levels.

From a 'macro' perspective, social scientists have tended to argue that socio-cultural variables are important as partial or sometimes entire determinants of the supply of entrepreneurs and the rate of business growth (Lewis, 1955; Weber, 1904). Complementing this perspective, proponents of the 'micro' level approach tend to stress individual motivational and attitudinal patterns and the importance of psychological factors in increasing the effectiveness of entrepreneurs. Although arguments that have a bearing upon the psychological approach were advanced by first Weber (1904) and then Schumpeter (1934), the ideas of McClelland (1961) and the psychological theories of entrepreneurship put forward by Hagen (1962) further developed the debates. Their arguments extend Weber's (1904) proposition that a particular individual's motivational pattern determines entrepreneurial performance. While Weber was concerned with explaining past instances of economic growth in Europe, they were concerned not only with explaining all instances of economic growth in the past, but also with providing a guide to contemporary and future efforts to bring about such growth. In terms of 'achievement-motivation' theory, McClelland's ideas on the emergence of entrepreneurs being related to 'high-*n*Achievement' are contained in his book 'The Achieving Society' (1961). However, Hagen's work 'On the Theory of Social Change' (1962) develops his theory in ways which differ from McClelland. For example, his assertions are concerned more with those socio-historical processes which produce the psychological 'needs' within the entrepreneurial disposition and less with the specific causal connections between such 'needs' and the recruitment or performance of entrepreneurs. He also shows greater awareness of the gap between motivational disposition and actual

behaviour. His discussion also incorporates other personality characteristics besides 'needs' such as intelligence and world views.

It can be concluded that despite the differences in the two theories of Hagen (1962) and McClelland (1961), there are significant similarities between them such as the emphasis on psychological factors in terms of the emergence and performance of entrepreneurs in any society. However, it can be said that the psychological approach on its own seems somewhat too simplistic even when applied to the explanation of business performance. For example, it is not always true that high-*n*Achievement guarantees business success (see for example Scase and Goffee 1987). McClelland does distinguish between two components of the entrepreneurial role, 'long-range planning' and 'organizing human activities in the firm' (1961 pp237-238). Indeed, as routine enters into the innovation-related components of the entrepreneurial role, then these other components gain more in prominence. These other components of the entrepreneurial role would seem to depend less upon the *n*Achievement levels of the individual entrepreneurs but more on their organisational skills and social and cooperative capacities. The person with higher *n*Achievement does not necessarily possess superior organisational skills and social capacities than another with lower *n*Achievement, a point which McClelland (1961) himself seems to concede (p238). What organisational skills are required will depend very much upon the particular set of problems which the entrepreneur must solve in order to succeed in a given context. Such problems vary enormously from place to place and from group to group and would appear to be defined by the parameters of particular socio-economic, political and cultural settings as they affect business activity.

McClelland's argument is considered by Scase and Goffee (1987) who suggest that he 'at least attempts to link purely psychological features with broader social patterns. This is the domain of sociologists who have suggested that entrepreneurs may be more likely to emerge from those groups in society which are 'marginal'' (pp28-29). These groups could include, for example, women and ethnic minorities who are also in search of avenues to fulfill ambitions which cannot often be easily realised in other contexts.

It appears that there is as yet no completely unified theory of entrepreneurship, even though many important contributions have been made by various writers to the study of the phenomenon. This is reflected by the diversity of interpretations of the term. For instance, fundamental to many approaches to entrepreneurship is the concept of business growth. However, business growth is not seen as the only or necessary factor, as starting up a business may represent many different things to different people belonging to different groups within society. For example, ‘... for some, starting a business represents an escape from the control of others’ (Scase and Goffee 1987 p33). This was the finding of Bechhofer *et al.* (1974) in their study of small shopkeepers of the ‘petit bourgeoisie’ class of Edinburgh. Also, ‘incentive’ is very much a function of the total social, cultural, and economic environment in which small scale business people live. In particular, the social structure in which people operate and in reference to which they make decisions is particularly important. It is one thing to be positively disposed to the business role but it is another to actually assume that role in preference to all other competing roles. The former requires a certain predisposition towards the role, whereas the latter involves actual real behaviour which often requires the catalyst of particular incentives under favourable conditions. Again, there will be different opportunities and different obstacles presented by a particular environment which will tend to vary between different groups. One would therefore expect the requisite skills and capacities to vary. For example, the sector must be considered (e.g. the service sector), the particular industry (e.g. the hospitality industry) and the geographical location of the business (e.g. Dundee or Inverness) besides the socio-economic background characteristics of a particular individual, such as gender, age and national identity, as well as the particular views which individuals display.

It is also necessary to explore the different developmental patterns of the business enterprise which again can often be linked to the motivational patterns and categories of the proprietor. Although profit and business growth and development may appear as complementary business aims to some, the growth of a small-scale operation may not



only not be realised, but may not even be part of the original motives or objectives of a particular group. Curran (1986) reviewed several studies from 1971 to 1986, which show that owners of small businesses are not necessarily motivated by the desire to grow and many deliberately avoid growth. This observation does not fit in neatly with generally accepted 'ideal-typical' definitions of entrepreneur, as discussed earlier. Indeed, the desire for profit may exist independently from the desire for growth.

The research conducted by Scase and Goffee in the early 1980s into the reasons underpinning small business start-up by women, demonstrates that the above point is particularly evident in a substantial proportion of those within this increasingly significant grouping. The so-called 'conventional business woman', as opposed to the 'innovative entrepreneur', tends to lack professional qualifications, previous experience or association with large enterprise. While the highly driven 'innovative entrepreneur' is comparable to the stereotypical single-minded male equivalent, the conventional view of the business woman is of a person who is often committed to family ties and relationships more than, or as well as, to her business concern (Goffee and Scase 1985 pp82-83).

Although the 'small-scale hospitality provider' can be viewed to some extent in the same manner as other small-scale entrepreneurs, Morrison *et al.* (1999) identify significant distinguishing factors in that the 'firm starts small and remains small, as such it poses no threat to the established order. Even if the firm had the capacity for growth, once it had taken the growth path it would outstrip the entrepreneur's capacity to run it. Such entrepreneurs are generally away from a structured authoritarian situation and are motivated by a desire not to be controlled' (Jennings *et al.* 1994 cited in Morrison *et al.* 1999 p33). They may be female or male entrepreneurs or both but will be similar in orientation to those described above by Bechhofer *et al.* (1974) and by Goffee and Scase (1985). Their businesses may be run, for example, by the owners as a part-time activity, or by married women or retired people to supplement their income. Therefore, the appeal of this type of business is linked to the size, flexibility and low barriers of entry

and exit inherent in the hospitality sector as a whole (Dewhurst and Horobin 1998; Morrison 1998a; Shaw and Williams 1990; Williams *et al.* 1989). Such proprietors can only fit into the broad concept of 'entrepreneurship' if one adopts a segmentation approach to entrepreneurship (see Morrison *et al.* 1999). The term must be 'defined relative to ownership structure, represented as the creation of a new enterprise, which has the entrepreneur as the founder ... An illustration of a firm with the owner as the founder is that of the bed and breakfast operation' (Morrison *et al.* 1999 pp5-6). Morrison *et al.* (1999) appear somewhat critical of the use of the term 'entrepreneur' to describe such accommodation providers if operating on a very small-scale and located in peripheral tourism destinations such as farm tourism bed and breakfast operations.

Thus, the concept of entrepreneur, although useful in many respects in a general sense, is not entirely appropriate if used alone. The term 'entrepreneur' in general, belongs in a broad interdisciplinary theoretical territory bordered by economics, history, sociology and psychology. As has been shown, there is an ambiguity about this term when used on its own, especially when applied to the small-scale hospitality provider. It is therefore necessary to explore other concepts such as family, gender and lifestyle in order to determine whether they can be used in conjunction with the term 'entrepreneur'.

### **2.3 Concepts of 'family', 'gender' and 'lifestyle' as associated with the small business enterprise and the entrepreneur**

An analysis of the literature in the twentieth century on the establishment and development of small business enterprises from the work of Weber (1904) onwards reveals an emphasis on the importance of socio-cultural variables. They are seen as determinants both of the supply of entrepreneurs and also of the rate of business growth (see for example Lewis 1955). The debate around the variable of family structure, membership and orientation has centred upon whether it can be seen as either useful or deleterious in its effect on the development of entrepreneurial activity (*ibid.*). Lewis (1955) concludes that the family is basically a conservative influence on effort and that

in a society, where rapid economic growth is occurring, the family is 'almost certainly a drag on effort' (p114). The effects of the family could take various detrimental forms. For example, 'capital formation is hindered because of the drain on resources and profits represented by the claims of family members; the entrepreneur is discouraged from expanding or seeking further development of his business because the rewards will be dissipated by the claims of his family' (ibid). Lewis also points out that the network of family support, as it provides security and an 'insurance against want', could thereby diminish 'mobility, thrift and enterprise' (ibid). However, one could argue against Lewis' points in that his description may not be accurate and the relationship between family and business enterprise may not always be deleterious as disbursements to the family are usually planned consumption and cannot accurately be described as erosion of profits (Bell 1960).

Both before and after the business is established, members of the family can, in different ways, also be of help as well as a hindrance to the development of the enterprise. Bell (1960) rebutted Lewis' points by showing how in the United States the rise of business enterprise in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was 'due not to individual initiative but to family solidarity. The family was the initial source of capital, from the extended family was drawn a variety of skills for the growth of the enterprise' (Bell 1960 p39). Furthermore, this point is emphasised by the fact that new enterprises were often begun as family groups.

One focus evident in the literature on small businesses and family ties has been on immigrant and ethnic communities (see for example Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000; Fu-Lai Yu 2001; Garlick 1971; Marris and Somerset 1971; Phizacklea and Ram 1995; Ram *et al.* 2000; Ward 1991). As far back as the 1960s and 1970s and up to the present, various immigrant business communities have been described in the literature as basing their establishment and growth on family connections which have been a critical source of competitive advantage in an often disadvantageous environment (Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000; Marris and Somerset 1971; Ward 1991). Many tended to

exploit family links, notably the Asians in East Africa who later transferred their family business skills to Britain (Marris and Somerset 1971). This was based on the nature of, for example, the Hindu joint family system that increased the strength and unity of Asian family businesses. In contrast to the Asian family, which tends to incorporate the family wholesale into its business activities, the East African host communities tended to follow more individualistic traditions. Even when family connections were used to start up the business, they appeared to be less utilised when the business grew and expanded (Marris and Somerset 1971 p135). Thus the knowledge and influence of family members were often deliberately used for certain types of small businesses and at certain stages of growth in the operation of a business concern. They were especially used when links with suppliers, creditors, local officials and authorities were required. Indeed, family members, far from being used indiscriminately were used in a highly strategic way, with resources being used to secure maximum returns. Ram *et al.* (2000) criticise approaches such as the one adopted by Ward (1991) which view the importance of family connections and labour as unproblematic and as instilling a sense of collective purpose and ethnic solidarity. They argue that due to the spatial concentration of ethnic small businesses in many urban centres, there exists an intense and competitive operating environment. As a result, 'co-operative relations stemming from such proximity should not be taken to be axiomatic' (Ram *et al.* 2000 p44). Harsh working practices, and the prevalence of female family members in subordinate roles with few opportunities for advancement or business ownership open to them, are also cited as features of the family-dependant ethnic small firm (Ram *et al.* 2000 p44). This feature of the unequal nature of gender relations is supported by the findings of Phizacklea and Ram (1995), Anthias (1983) and Hoel (1984).

Some other societies on either a local or a national basis, especially those where business ethics are not highly developed, have been criticised for discouraging the development of an entrepreneurial spirit and encouraging mistrust in partnerships or business relationships with people who are not related by family or community ties. Businesses are generally kept small by choice. For example, Garlick (1971) concludes that

Ghanaians in business were not risk-takers or innovators but preferred to keep their businesses small as they were 'rentiers at heart' (p146). The failure of African businessmen to plough back their profits but rather to divert them to alternative forms of investment such as building houses is also mentioned (Garlick 1971 p110). However, given the constraints of the social and economic environment, it could be argued that these alternatives were rational, as property is a universal form of alternative financial investment. A house also provided accommodation for the family in the present as well as a place either for retirement or as a source of income for retirement. A house that could be used for all these purposes and as a business became even more appealing in terms of a small-scale business investment.

From these international comparisons, it can be said that the development of family businesses must therefore be seen in their social, cultural and economic contexts. For example, some people may turn to economic activities in the form of setting up a small business because they are denied an alternative way ahead in the society (Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000). They can therefore use family ties and loyalties as a strength to improve their position in the society. Such individuals, may not intend that their businesses are being developed in order to pass them on to the next generation. Moreover, when their small-scale business is established, they may use their financial resources not to expand their businesses but to educate their children so that they may enter more mainstream professions. The contention could then be made that family members therefore erode the resources that could be deployed to develop or expand a business (Lewis 1955). However, it may be considered quite rational to use business profits to educate children in this way. Business is a notoriously hazardous affair, whereas education once secured is never lost and can also help to raise the fortunes of the family, as well as in the long run benefiting the society. Thus the family may be considered not as an unchanging structure but as made up of individuals who perceive obligations from and to family members in the light of the social and economic circumstances, opportunities and hazards of the society and even locality in which they operate. The broader context of action should therefore also be considered along with

the family as the contemporary social and economic setting both limits and defines the structure of business opportunities and risks (Fletcher 2000; Holliday 1995).

Gender as well as family must also be examined as a significant factor affecting the establishment and operation of small businesses (Berg 1997; Carter 2000; Carter and Cannon 1992). Goffee and Scase (1985) considered the implications of gender for the characteristics associated with entrepreneurship. When women are in charge, they find that their experiences can be associated with the picture of high *n*Achievement entrepreneurship (see Section 2.2). Studies into female entrepreneurs have explored their motivations for setting up a small business (see for example, Goffee and Scase 1985; Hisrich and Brush 1986; Read 1998;). Carter (2000) acknowledges arguments that 'women do not enter business for financial gain but to pursue intrinsic goals' (p176) such as independence and flexibility, in being able to run both business and domestic lives in harmony together. Success as a business goal is therefore determined as the achievement of those intrinsic qualities that are not necessarily directly business-related in terms of usual financial measurement criteria (p177). Similarly, Read (1998) shows that women like men start up a business often with the motivation of having more control over their own lives as well as to achieve increased independence and freedom. However, although in some cases their characteristics may be similar, in others they are obviously different from those associated with typical male entrepreneurs. Some do not search solely for financial success but are affected more by factors deriving from the home as well as from the work situation, and by those associated with their roles as women in the wider society. Thus, being in control of their lives for many women often means that they can be better able to co-ordinate their domestic responsibilities with their work lives. Many women wish to or even have to combine working and raising a family and find this easier when they are in control of their own work through running a business (Read 1998 p11).

Goffee and Scase (1985) illustrate the many ways in which entrepreneurship has a wide variety of effects on the individual female business proprietor in terms of personal

relationships and lifestyles. Thus, however strong the entrepreneur's profit orientation may be, it is only one out of the many possible variables that determine motivation for women as for men. Other factors may include those associated with attachment to traditionally prescribed roles, and to a congenial 'way of life', fitting in the demands of family into those of occupation and business success. Smith (2000) found that traditional gender based roles are apparent in copreneurial businesses with 'women's family roles and responsibilities reinforced in the workplace' (p287). This would seem to support the contention that traditional gender-based roles that are prevalent in the domestic sphere are merely transferred to the business context.

Orientations of women to business may tend to derive out of 'sheer economic necessity; primarily for the purposes of supplementing a low family income ... the motive is to make money to make ends meet ... Although they are committed to making profits, they are not geared to business growth.' (Goffee and Scase 1985 pp82-83). Still and Timms (2000) discuss reasons for this lack of growth orientation amongst female small business owners and argue that for these individuals 'non-growth, or the status quo, is thus a legitimate business action' (p275). Hanks *et al.* (1993) also argue this point and assert that both growth and non-growth are strategic small business goals, regardless of the gender of the owner. The orientation of the female business owner in assisting family resources and income is the focus of the study by Walton (1978), who provides an analysis of the 'Blackpool Landlady' that is both contextually and historically situated. Such proprietors are presented as individuals running small privately owned establishments in the style akin to a bed and breakfast or guest house. The Blackpool landlady is characterised as a shrewd business woman who desires profit but uses it as a means to supplement the family income, and incorporates this activity into the running of the family home. Other studies specifically examining proprietors of small hospitality businesses such as the guest house owner manager, have found them to be overwhelmingly female dominated (Lynch and MacWhannell 2000; Stringer 1981; Whatmore 1991).

The discussion of family structure and orientation and of gender, in relation to the running of a small business, may be brought together under the broader conceptual heading of 'lifestyle', which appears to be more inclusive. It is difficult to define the concept of 'lifestyle' as it implies a quality of life that is subjectively defined by each individual and includes aspects of work, family and gender and how they relate to each other. Status is also expressed through 'lifestyle' which again is marked by symbols such as type of housing and occupation as well as consumption patterns. As Giddens (2001) points out 'individual identities are structured to a greater extent around lifestyle choices' (p296). The choice to set up or run a business venture may involve a change in lifestyle. Kuratko and Hodgetts (1998) state that lifestyle ventures appear to have as their primary driving forces the notions of independence, autonomy and control. 'Neither large sales nor profits are deemed important beyond providing a sufficient and comfortable living for the entrepreneur.' (p362).

#### **2.4 The 'lifestyle entrepreneur'**

The two concepts of 'entrepreneur' and 'lifestyle' can be combined to form the concept of 'lifestyle entrepreneur', which is complex in that it is more than the sum of its parts. Gray (1986) refers to the lifestyle entrepreneur as the 'individual who enjoys the fringe benefits of success and looks on a business as a means to obtain the trappings of the 'good life' ... he/she is not interested in any business that might involve personnel or growth problems, or extensive financial or time commitments' (p16). Similarly, Reid *et al.* (1999) argue that, based on the results of their research sample of 234 Scottish and Irish small family businesses, a considerable number of small businesses 'may be lifestyle as opposed to growth-oriented businesses' (p55).

Within the context of the hospitality and tourism industries, 'lifestyle' proprietors are defined by Morrison (2000) as those who are likely to be concerned with:



'survival and securing sufficient income to ensure that the business provides them and their family with a satisfactory level of funds to sustain enjoyment in their chosen lifestyle ... [The] lifestyle proprietor defines an individual who has a multiple set of goals associated with their business. Profitability in their business operations will be only one of these goals.' (pp1-2).

However, research carried out by Buick, Halcro and Lynch (2000) into small Scottish hotel proprietors argued that there has been a 'death of the lifestyle entrepreneur'. They found that respondents 'are definitely interested in the survival and growth of the business ... This is contrary to the definition of the lifestyle entrepreneur' (p120). This finding was in stark contrast to those of other studies that linked the lifestyle-oriented small business proprietors to a lack of growth orientation (Curran 1986; Goffee and Scase 1985; Reid *et al.* 1999).

According to Morrison (2000), they exhibit a desire for social relationships and often enjoy playing host. They also usually enjoy owning the type of property that would normally be outside their income range if they were not in the hospitality business. These individuals tend to play an important social and economic role in their communities that are often set in naturally scenic surroundings. Indeed, they may often have wanted to leave the 'rat race' of modern life with an income which has been derived from retirement packages or inheritance. Sometimes, one spouse continues working in order to receive a steady income while the other takes a chance on a business which can be integrated into the family lifestyle and which can give leisure in the off-season period.

These 'life-style entrepreneurs' present 'a challenging conundrum for economic and tourism development policy-makers, charged with destination management' (Morrison 2000, p1). This 'conundrum' is faced by the various public sector bodies such as VisitScotland, Scottish Enterprise, and Highlands and Islands Enterprise which attempt to provide a framework for those in the tourism industry and more of a 'system' for

those who operate various individual 'lifestyles'. As Morrison (2000) argues, the dilemma is obvious for the lifestyle providers play an important role in giving tourists value for money, a unique experience and personal attention. Such a type of individualised experience can usually be provided only at the upper end of the hotel industry chain. However, other luxury elements cannot be provided at the lower end. Thus, it could be in the middle range hotels that competition is felt most strongly from the lifestyle providers. The latter are also well integrated into the community and play an important part in boosting the local economy. However, they pose a threat to the companies that want to move into these areas with profit maximisation as their main criteria. If the broader picture of accommodation provision is examined, it does not appear common for business owners to achieve a balance between the profit maximisation orientation of the medium size companies and the more individualistic approach of the 'lifestyle' operators. This is difficult to achieve (Morrison 2000 p12).

Morrison (1999) tends to prefer the use of the term 'lifestyle proprietor' for the latter traditionally small, generally locally-based, owner-occupier business people. Although not rejecting the term 'entrepreneur', Morrison *et al* (1998) first referred to 'lifestyle' proprietors as those who are mainly concerned with survival in terms of deriving an income from their businesses which will be sufficient to allow them to enjoy a certain lifestyle. Many are locally owned, although there has been a certain amount of migration into scenic areas by individuals lured by romantic notions of lifestyle and previous visits as tourists. For both groups, lifestyle takes priority over profit-maximisation (Lockyer and Morrison 1999).

## **2.5 Lifestyle entrepreneurs in the hospitality sector: formal and informal networks**

In the small business sector, there has been increasing interest in recent years in research on networks and networking (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986; Curran *et al.* 1993; Shaw 1998; Shaw and Conway 2000). Although it has been a general area of interest, it has been surprisingly ignored when the owners of guest houses and small hotels are the focus of

research. Thus, Lynch *et al.* (2000 p1) cite a long list of references pertaining to work on networks and network theory, although they confirm that there is a significant dearth of studies on networks in the research arena of small hotels (*ibid*). It is not the aim of this present analysis to examine the wider network theory debates, but rather to adopt a more focused approach and to explore the existence, meanings and importance of both the formal and informal social networks and the networking activities of these hospitality sector owner-occupiers. This section looks at the literature on networks which relate to membership and reference groups amongst small-scale hospitality operators and the extent to which networking may be thought to be useful as a strategic tool for business profitability, or even basic survival.

The term 'network' has been described as one that has made 'the first major advance in the language of sociology since role.' (Frankenberg 1966 p242). Networks can be defined as '... a field of connections and relations: a set of nodes (key points) and a set of ties (or links) that connect some or all of these nodes. The nodes could be people or groups ...' (Macionis and Plummer 2002 p141). In layman's terms, 'networking' can therefore be used to describe the activity of exchanging information and knowledge, or providing other means of assistance to another individual or organisation, perhaps with the expectation that the 'favour' will be returned. It tends to involve relationships of both autonomy and reciprocity and associations that are perceived to have mutual benefits. The latter may be the main purpose for developing these links, and 'networks' tend to be used to enhance opportunities for each participant (Macionis and Plummer 2002). Shaw and Conway (2000) adopt a broad perspective in their definition of a small business network as 'the composite of the relationships in which small firms are embedded which serve to link or connect small firms to the environments in which they exist and conduct their business' (p369).

Networks may lead to more formal methods of association and organisation. The term 'networking' is used widely in the literature to discuss the increasing necessity for partnerships and links to be developed and sustained for mutual benefit and dependence

among public, private and voluntary sector organisations and bodies. Such a system 'assumes the form of public and private actors orchestrating their activities through networks with a view to sharing information, pooling resources and designing joint solutions to common problems' (Morgan, Rees and Garmise 1999 p181). In essence, such links are significant to these local 'actors' in providing support structures, whilst having to operate within the constraints imposed on national or even European levels. One should also acknowledge that 'informal links often seem to be the backbone on which successful networks develop' (ibid p193).

As well as a focus on formal and informal networks on a local and national level, research has also been undertaken into the use of internet technology as a networking strategy for business promotion by small businesses (Blackburn and Athayde 2000) and specifically by those in the tourism and hospitality sectors (Anckar and Walden 2001; Braun 2003; Buhalis 1999). The extent of internet take up may be hindered by barriers such as business size, age of the proprietor, scarcity of resources, the perceived threat to managerial autonomy and control, knowledge and extent of skills training. Therefore, unlike the various types of formal and informal networks, the application of such technology in terms of networking and marketing opportunities extends many practical limitations of the geography of place.

Lynch *et al.* (2000 pp6-7) discuss the nature of 'networks' and 'networking' in some detail, especially as they relate to the small business and hospitality sectors. They cite Blackburn *et al.* (1990), Curran *et al.* (1993) and Hankinson (1986) when they argue that network theory has not been well developed both conceptually and methodologically. From the work of these writers, a picture of small business networks can be built up. They can be visualised as being on a continuum going from compulsory to voluntary. They are seen to indicate 'primarily cultural phenomena' and to involve, although some only intermittently, a variety of social relationships. However, these writers confirm that it would be useful to investigate them. Networks may be used by small business proprietors in the hospitality sector as a means of communicating and articulating with

the wider economy. It is further argued by Curran *et al.* (1993), that although both formal and informal networks undoubtedly operate, these tend to be *ad hoc*, unsystematic and not highly developed. This applies 'with regard to contact with experts such as accountants and bank managers, or commonly using networks based on family, kinship or social groupings for business purposes. This is attributed to the owner independence theme ... lack of time, and their expense' (Lynch *et al.* 2000 p7). Small-scale proprietors appear to be more reactive to events when circumstances put pressure on them, rather than proactive in building up regular contacts to form networks (*ibid* p7).

Nevertheless, it could be argued that for proprietors, belonging to and being a member of personal contact networks is fundamental to the very existence and viability of their small businesses (Carson *et al.* 1995; Johannisson and Peterson 1984; Shaw and Conway 2000). Social informal networks may comprise 'both the personal network which the small-firm owner has with specific individuals and the wider 'embeddedness' of the business within a shared community culture' (Camagni 1991 cited in Perry 1996 p72). Perry (1996) puts forward the thesis that many smaller businesses tend to rely heavily on informal network structures and family links. More formal networks may be avoided due to the possible unwillingness of these individuals to trust established authority figures with details of their businesses, thus exposing them to external scrutiny. Perry (1996) suggests that there is an increased need for 'network intermediaries' or 'gatekeepers' to act as middlemen or go-betweens and forge more formal links and contacts. Similarly, Chaston and Mangles (1997) and Maniukiewicz, Williams and Keogh (1999) examine the role of possible facilitators and support structures, such as Local Enterprise Companies and universities, in assisting with small firm network activities. However, Perry (1996) concedes that 'would-be gatekeepers, with the requisite combination of business and government contacts and credibility may be hard to locate' (p73).

The perception that small businesses in more rural or peripheral locations particularly rely upon family, kinship and informal membership and reference groups is a somewhat romanticised notion. In a similar way, certain views are fashionable about such locations

where it 'is assumed that people still know their neighbours' and 'still do business with each other as people rather than simply having market transactions devoid of sentiment' (Curran and Storey 1993 p186). These views are often applied to small-scale service-oriented businesses, including those in urban areas, especially where a sense of community still seems to prevail. For 'the casual observer, urban life is one of incessant bustle, staggering variety, constant conflict and change, and impersonality in interpersonal relations. But if one looks more closely, he can detect behind the confusion remarkably orderly processes of social intercourse' (Laumann 1973 p1). Indeed, small-scale businesses in urban as well as rural settings have been often romanticised as 'alternatives to the alleged soulless, impersonality and hard-headed market rationalism of the large corporation.' (Curran and Storey 1993 p186).

Lynch *et al.* (2000) identify the characteristics of successful networks as being:

'co-operation, loyalty and trust ... The presence of these characteristics shapes the size and density of the network, but it is a symbiotic process for in turn, the network shapes the actors' core attitudes and aims ... Ultimately though for the network to work the actors must believe the knowledge they gain will outweigh the resources invested' (ibid p2).

Dodd (1997) argues that the use and more conscious exploitation of more informal social networks as well as the established formal agencies indicate a more entrepreneurial nature of such individuals. He asserts that entrepreneurial behaviour and success could be related to membership of and participation in social organisations (Dodd 1997). Moreover, Morrison (1998) puts forward the view that 'the development and maintenance of effective informal and formal networks is recognised as a central feature of successful entrepreneurial activity' (ibid p175). She adds that this statement is particularly true for those of an informal nature. Shaw (1998) also asserts that small service businesses should use 'as a necessary, strategic resource' those social networks in which they are embedded. 'With effective management, social networks have the

potential to improve and maintain the innovative nature of small firms, and consequently, their competitiveness' (ibid p24).

This would therefore seem to indicate that there may be a greater degree of resentment towards actively participating in what are perceived to be more formal, bureaucratic institutions and linkages, than the more informal groupings of 'like-minded' individuals. If this is the case, this may be related to the 'mindset' of these owner-managers which could be one which demonstrates 'a strong commitment to independence and a refusal to engage in activities which might be seen as threatening their autonomy or that of the business' (Curran and Storey 1993 p191). Therefore, one must bear in mind the discussion of concepts in Section 2.4. These are associated with the concepts related to defining the nature and characteristics of small-scale accommodation providers. The difficulties in defining such individuals has been fully demonstrated. There may be variations between these operators whereby attributes associated with either the more 'entrepreneurial' individuals or with the more 'lifestyle' oriented proprietors may be, to a greater or lesser degree, more applicable to certain individuals than to others.

The notion of the 'local' is important when considering the case of small-scale operators, both in terms of geographical space and the physical business setting. Indeed, according to Lynch (2000), the fact that the setting has been largely overlooked, has been detrimental to the understanding this accommodation type. 'Setting is often perceived, if perceived at all, as a backdrop to the hospitality experience' (Lynch 2000 p1). In addition to considerations of factors of location, such as the existence and quality of support services, professional assistance and financing, the owner of the small hotel also needs to take into account more abstract networking possibilities. This is in order to develop the potential of the business, such as developing contacts with other local businesses (Perry 1996). Therefore, a type of 'family' atmosphere often develops between businesses ... at about the same stage of development. This atmosphere usually leads to *esprit de corps* between tenants' (Hatten 1997 p217).

Morrison (1996) suggests that networking is an advisable approach to be adopted by the owner of the small business, which operates as part of a minority market share in the industry. However, this form of rationed, highly structured collective functioning may be found to be less dominant in the small hospitality sector when compared to other industries such as those small businesses operating in the blue-chip and manufacturing sectors. Nevertheless, Morrison (1996) also concedes that cultural and contextual issues, as well as the development of a 'trust culture', are influential factors in the success or otherwise of established networks. These play an integral part in the dynamics of the smaller players or actors. The concept of 'neighbour' in relation to other small guest house owners or hoteliers in the vicinity, rather than 'business associate' also plays a part in the way that network links may initially be established and developed. This is an important factor that distinguishes them from those establishments in the middle and upper levels of the accommodation sector where brands have been established and have to be protected. Although the notion of competition and the threat from competitors is still at the fore in the case of small hospitality businesses, there also exists an awareness of the need to combine efforts for mutual support and benefit in what remains a very precarious, seasonal sector with high levels of business failure (Boer 1998). Lynch (2000) cites the work of Lee-Ross and Ingold (1994) and Quinn *et al.* (1992) when he identifies hospitality businesses as using networks, which have a variety of characteristics, as fulfilling a variety of functions for them. These include assessing 'the effects on competition in setting rates' (Lynch 2000 p1). He also points out that this leads them to a 'reliance on location where guest houses are concentrated and hence high tourist traffic rather than having a marketing strategy' (ibid). He further points out that this strategy involves the small hotelier treating customers as family friends rather than paying guests (ibid). This latter feature of the small hotel and guest house is now examined.



## **2.6 The nature and culture of the ‘small and friendly’ hospitality business: hosts and guests**

The culture of the small hotel and guest house may evolve out of the very nature of the type of service provided by them (Wood 1994). This relates to their different images and identities. ‘Lifestyle proprietorship’ involves concepts related to those of ‘friendship’ and ‘friendly service’, which appear to be part of the broader concept. This implies voluntarily formed and maintained friendships which involve ‘a special, affectively toned relationship of mutual trust and esteem. The specific content of social obligations will vary, depending upon the particular social positions that the persons occupy’ (Laumann 1973 p83). It may be argued that the commonplace images evoked by notions of homely surroundings, home baking and staying as a ‘guest’ rather than as a ‘customer’ remains an enduring, endearing and unique feature of this market segment of the hospitality industry. Indeed, the whole notion of the work space and the home as overlapping is an important feature of these businesses.

Size of business, and scale of operation and setting, function as influential criteria in attracting visitors to the experience of ‘authenticity’ which is often perceived to be derived from staying in someone’s actual home. The analysis of Lynch and MacWhannel (2000) focuses on those types of commercialised hospitality operations that are based within the private home of an individual who acts as host. They illustrate the diverse range of owner-occupied small businesses in the hospitality sector that fall within this category, citing private houses, bed and breakfasts, guest houses, small hotels and town houses (ibid p101). Due to the smaller scale of the operation and the inability of the small hotel or guest house owner to cater for more than a finite number of occupants at any one time, this form of business in many ways overcomes some of the ‘image’ problems faced by larger companies and branded products. Namely, as identified by Wood (1994) the guests have certain expectations of the service. They expect that it might be rendered to them in their roles as private individuals. ‘The problem for the hotel is to provide such service while disguising the fact that the

provision is, for the hotel, a generalised business function rendered not to individuals but to sets of them' (ibid p71). Therefore, there is clearly a relationship between the size and type of hotel operation and the level of personal and 'friendly' service rendered. For Hayner (1936) the 'hotel size is the key element in determining sociality' (cited in Wood 1994 p75).

It may be rather simplistic to state that the type of relationship and interaction between the host and the guest in the smaller hotel is always more personal and 'homely'. Stringer (1981) in his study of bed and breakfasts in the UK suggests from his research that there are problems related to staying in the home of someone else. For example, the point of view or sensitivity of the tourists as 'strangers' can be taken, as they may feel unsure of whether their presence is welcome in another's private space. However, Stringer, on the other hand, does emphasise the importance of the homely atmosphere to the hosts. The landladies may desire to elevate what they do above the level of only a monetary exchange. 'The provision of homeliness might be introduced as their "special skill"...And both parties are able, and spontaneously choose, to talk of a relationship which forms between them ... which seems to go far beyond that which is normally achieved through simple economic transactions in contemporary Western culture' (ibid p364). Stringer goes on to say that 'the extent to which homes were opened up to guests varied considerably.'(ibid p366). Wood (1994) refers to this study and shows that penetration of the home space is rarely a problem from the standpoint of the host, although this may be an issue for the guest. (Wood 1994 p76). Darke and Gurney (2000) explore the orientations of the host which may 'require the presence of guests as admiring audience to an accomplished home-making performance' (p80). However, they also cite mechanisms used by the host to avoid tensions perceived likely to occur if the guest were to enter home space areas. Thus, the host may not welcome the guest's presence in this space 'because they create extra work and destroy a hard-worn sense of the home as haven, or guests potentially threaten to expose the host's incompetence at presenting home and self' (Darke and Gurney 2000 p80). Ireland (1993) also examines

tensions caused by the perceived 'intrusion' of the guest into host-defined space within the home.

The concepts of the 'family system' and 'business system' were analysed by Rosenblatt *et al.* (1985), in their study of small family-run businesses in the United States, in terms of the manifested interplay, overlap and connection of these two types of identified 'systems'. Rosenblatt *et al.* argue that 'often the two systems compete for the time, energy and financial resources of individual family members ... the goals of the two systems inevitably clash some of the time' (pXI). They find that boundary problems arise when there is insufficient separation of entrepreneur and business or of family and business (p12). Tensions of the business may, as a result, be brought over into the realms of the home and family. Rosenblatt *et al.* (1985) go on to argue that 'using a home as a business location increases the likelihood of these boundary problems' (p12).

The concept of the 'home' and the merger of work and leisure, and the strange with the familiar, are pointed to by MacCannell (1977). He examines the notion of the 'community' in terms of the social constructs which face tourists when they travel, and when they return to their normal places of dwelling. Although in the past distinct communities could be identified: 'modern and traditional, urban and rural, Western and Eastern, for example' (MacCannell 1977 p209), this is no longer the case today. He discusses the merger of these forms, stating that there 'are global pressures to transform them into the same kind of community' (ibid p209). In a similar light, social change is also examined in relation to 'a slight but noticeable erosion of the 'work ethic' and the notion of 'lifestyles' as an important new determinant on how one spends both one's work and leisure time' (ibid). The overlapping concepts of 'work' and 'play', whereby there is a need to enjoy or even get fulfillment out of work is a new social phenomenon. MacCannell further asserts that 'increasingly, people formed their primary ties not within class boundaries but within 'lifestyles' which are only partly based on class, and are defined for the most part by what one does with one's leisure time' (ibid). Rybczynski (1988) examines the complexities and the multiplicity of meanings such as

those of 'safety' and 'refuge' inherent in the meaning of the 'home'. Harrison (2001) examines the idea of the tourist travelling home and, through her study involving depth interviews with Canadian tourists, explores the complexity of the concept of 'home' and what the notion means to the individual. This complexity is demonstrated by the diversity of definitions attributed to the term as 'some saw it as a space that one claims as one's own; for others it was a complex intermixing of ideas of place and family, to yet others it is the mundane minutiae of life. Schedules and work are what characterised it to others' (p35).

Smith (1989) also discusses the tourism phenomenon involved in the host-guest relationship but from an anthropological perspective, whereby the tourists are seen as being 'in search of the exotic and 'natural' vacation setting' (ibid. p266) when exploring different cultures and foreign destinations. In a similar way, for example, the tourist staying in a small family-run hotel or guest house in Scotland would be buying into an image of a branded, tourist manufactured 'Scottishness' and the notion of 'a home away from home'. Smith (1989) also explores the terms 'hosts and guests' and the host/guest dichotomy. However, she fails to investigate fully the intricacies of the relationships between the host - the local, and the guest - the tourist. She prefers to concentrate on the guests as the agents of social change who act upon the local community. However, Gilligan (1987) uses the example of Padstow in Cornwall to blur, confuse and problematise this strict division between host and guest. Padstow has locals and residents, and tourists, visitors and outsiders, as social categories, and these categories are decided upon by the locals born and bred in Padstow and not those who come to Padstow. Yet even these categories are flexible, as people who are not from Padstow marry into local families, and self-ascribe themselves with Padstonian identity.

Bruner (1997) also shows how tourism is meant to change the tourist, but in fact can change the local even more. In reaching this conclusion, he states in criticism of Smith that any host/guest dichotomy is unrealistic and simply masks the reality of the tourist's dominance. He argues that there is a discrepancy between what the language of the

tourist discourse promises and what is the reality of the tourist experience, the latter being an encounter for both the tourist self and the local self. Tourist advertising, which is full of hyperbole, does not reflect the reality of the encounter. However, the advertisement can still be seen as a lens through which the tourist organisations attempt to frame and manage the entire tourist encounter. Bruner's analysis acts as a contrasting perspective to MacCannell's tourist quest for authenticity. He contests MacCannell's view of the tourist, as Bruner's tourists are not alienated in the same way, but judge fakes, and accept 'authentic reproductions'.

Guests do impact upon hosts, but the impact varies. If one looks at the microcosm of the small hotel and guest house, reference can be made to Goffman's (1959) well known theatre metaphor in terms of the 'front' and 'back' stage regions in attempting to understand host-guest interactions within hospitality organisations. There is the apparent desire of the tourist guest to experience 'behind the scenes' and be treated as a friend privy to private actions and customs. This is attractive to tourists. However, it must be remembered that what is perceived by the onlooker or tourist to be the authentic 'backstage' space of the small hotel or guest house, in which the business owner also resides, is not necessarily the 'real', but also a staged performance to create the desired atmosphere. Consequently, this level of symbolic social interaction (see Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) adds a particularly interesting dimension to the way in which the owner-occupiers, as social actors, manage their chosen 'scripts' (Goffman 1959) and construct social interactions with their guests both as their 'audience' members and as fellow actors.

Such imagery is not confined to the perspective of the tourist or visitor as 'guest' and, although this is an interesting angle, this research is primarily concerned with the lifestyle proprietors and their roles as local 'hosts'. The small business owners cannot be viewed as merely producers of a service as a form of hospitality 'product'. They are part of that product or experience created for the guest, and aspects such as identity and personal characteristics become 'an important part of the role-playing process, such that

personhood is commodified.’ (Crang 1997 pp152-3 cited in Lynch 2000 pp3-4). Therefore, the function and role of the proprietor and the service provided exist as indistinct, entwined elements.

## **2.7 Summary of key concepts relating to guest house proprietors**

This research focuses on the guest house owner-occupier and therefore involves a study at the micro level of business enterprise which has been little researched to date. This chapter has reviewed the literature pertaining to the small business proprietor and, more specifically, examined the concept of ‘entrepreneur’ as well as the significance of others such as ‘family’, ‘gender’ and ‘lifestyle’ which are of particular relevance to the guest house owner-occupier. The concept of ‘entrepreneur’ has been shown to be a complex one, and this results in difficulties of definition creation. Through an overview of both earlier and more recent research conducted in this area, it has been demonstrated that the concept of ‘entrepreneur’, although useful on a broad level, remains ambiguous and lacks the precision to be applied effectively without further elaboration to the subjects of this research. Although the literature can be used to provide justification for the use of the concept, it can also be said that it ‘carries a lot of baggage’ with it and requires further refinement in this instance. This is in order not to leave the researcher, for example, open to criticism if the contemporary popular view of the ‘entrepreneur’ is not reflected by the typical individual subject of the present study. Contemporary views of ‘entrepreneurship’, for example, appear to embrace a particular view of business growth as fundamental to the concept. This is the aspect of ‘entrepreneurship’ which has generally become a research focus. However, in the present study, growth is not assumed as a goal and business success may imply more complex orientations and not just profit.

It was demonstrated that it is important to understand the ‘world views’ of the accommodation providers. However, it must be said that the profiles of ‘entrepreneurs’ present in the literature throw only some light on the ‘typical’ accommodation providers

to be studied in the present instance. Although the 'small-scale hospitality provider' can be viewed to some extent in the same manner as other small-scale entrepreneurs, there appears to be significant distinguishing factors that make this research necessary. The needs of the guest house owner-occupier may be broad and complex, not easily reduced to the profit motive or to a high need for achieving any more than a certain 'way of life'. They may desire independence and achieve it through private enterprise. Therefore, from the analysis of the definitions present in the literature, it is argued that the term 'entrepreneur', although useful in many respects in a general sense for this particular research work, is not entirely appropriate if used in isolation. The term 'entrepreneur' in general, belongs in a broad interdisciplinary theoretical territory bordered by economics, history, sociology and psychology. This is important as the research has to take this multidisciplinary into account. However, as has been shown, there is an ambiguity about this term when used on its own, especially when applied to the small-scale hospitality provider (see Section 2.2). It was therefore necessary to explore other concepts in order to achieve a more accurate descriptive label to be applied to the guest house owners. Thus, concepts such as family, gender and lifestyle were considered in terms of whether they can be used in conjunction with the term 'entrepreneur' (see Section 2.3).

The conclusion drawn from this process was that the concepts of family orientation and private goals, as well as gender based issues, could be seen as consisting of interrelated elements which can be brought together under the broader, more inclusive conceptual heading of 'lifestyle'. 'Lifestyle' implies a subjectively defined quality of life, which includes aspects of work, family and gender as well as patterns of consumption, and how they relate to each other. This allowed progression, which involved the consideration of joining together both key concepts, with the resulting focus on the combined concept of 'lifestyle entrepreneur' (see Section 2.4).

The applicability of the term 'lifestyle entrepreneur' to the research subjects is consequently assessed through a critical appraisal of issues seen as central to the

research. These include the role of formal and informal networks within the hospitality and tourism sector, such as the formal tourist boards or less formalised neighbourhood contacts (see Section 2.5). The extent to which small-scale operators in both areas concerned in this study use and are aware of these links must be investigated. It is of interest to explore what social networks do exist, what family and non-kinship networks are at work in 'linking' guest house operators with one another and with other interested parties, and what more formal and more directly business-related networks exist. Views about the usage of internet technologies by the proprietors must also be explored. It is important, however, to place this analysis of networks and the subjects of this research work in the context of the two Scottish urban settings in which they are located. This is the aim of Chapter Three.

An added interest is in the image projection of the small hospitality business proprietor as it impacts on host-guest interactions (see Section 2.6). Therefore, the present study explores, from the perspective of the proprietor as host, the ways in which the host perceives the guest's impact, the relationship between the host and the guest, and whether the host perceives the guest as dominating this relationship. The host's views about space and territoriality in terms of the home and the business, is also explored in the present study from the perspective of the host.

It is considered important to explore the characteristics of those individuals, the 'lifestyle' proprietors, who have been somewhat ignored to date by those not concerned with hospitality businesses. In a future increasingly service-oriented stage of post-industrial capitalism, these 'lifestyle' businesses may become more important and more of the norm, rather than the profit-oriented, impersonal hotel chains which have been growing in importance and dominance over the past fifty years. It is not clear as yet what the future may hold for the lifestyle proprietors. It is therefore important to examine those lifestyle patterns of the 'small-scale hospitality providers' in two different settings. In this case, the contrasting contexts of Dundee and Inverness have been chosen. It would appear that they should be analysed in terms of broader economic, social and cultural



forces as they impact on the practices of various tourist organisations and the images which they themselves project of Scotland. Such images of Scotland may be better reflected by the 'lifestyle proprietors' than by the anonymous production-line service of the medium level hotel chains which offer a more standardised and perhaps a more alienating experience to the tourist.

This chapter's critical reviews of concepts and debates around the literature, provide the research with firm underpinnings specifically in relation to the analysis of the guest house owner-occupiers as individuals. It leads on to further broader theoretical considerations, and gives direction to the research methodology in terms of areas of empirical enquiry. It also signals a clear need to locate the individual proprietors geographically, and in other wider contexts, which are considered in Chapter Three.

## **Chapter 3 - Concepts and images of place and time: putting the proprietors in context.**

*'Nor can small business researchers forget that small businesses have economic, social, cultural, geographical and political environments. No small business can survive without exchanges with the environment'* (Curran and Blackburn 2001 p6).

### **3.1 Introduction**

The towns and cities of Scotland, which are increasingly participating in the development of a newly defined picture of urban Scotland, have in many instances undergone fundamental reorganisation and re-imaging (McCrone *et al.* 1995; Rodger 1996). Projections about the future of the nation impact on the rural as well as the urban areas and the two cannot easily be divorced. However, much of the stimulus for recent changes in Scotland appears to be generated mostly in the towns and cities where there is a more acute awareness of the hard realities of operating within a post-industrial, increasingly service oriented economic environment (Gordon and Dicks 1983). Thus changes can be perceived on various levels, politically, economically and socially as well as spatially and visually. Rodger (1996) describes the resulting urban dynamism as a scene where '... the colours, materials and designs of buildings have been altered radically and cultural events and festivals have amplified the function of the urban' (p122). Throughout Scotland, there has been an attempt within different urban areas to make a mark with a drive towards re-imaging and development. The purpose has been for policy makers in these urban areas to present, both to their citizens and to visitors from home and abroad, whatever new and interesting facets of the local urban identity that they have been able to bring to light. These images, making use of unique or interesting aspects of the present as well as of local histories, play an important role in the development of tourism policies at both the local and the national levels (Buncle 1998; Fladmark 1994; Fladmark 1995).

The purpose of this chapter is to place the proprietors who are the focus of this study within their contexts. In order to achieve this, it seeks to explore the changing concept of 'Scottishness' and how this relates to Scottish urban identity, urban tourism and other aspects of the social, economic, political and cultural contexts of the proprietors. Their lifestyle is essentially an urban one which may or may not be seen to differ from the rural, peripheral and more isolated one which has been a focus of more research in this area to date (Baum 1996; Baum 1997; Morrison 1998b; Wanhill 1997). Section 3.2 examines the wider framing environment of the proprietors by considering those concepts and images associated with the place and time of the study such as the notion of Scottish identity at national and local levels. This is achieved by an examination of the concepts of Scottish identity, culture, and tourism (Section 3.2.1). The political environment and recent political changes affecting the make up of Scottish national identity is also described (Section 3.2.2). The current Scottish tourism industry structure is outlined in Section 3.3. Details are provided of the wider formal tourism and tourism-related support infrastructure that may be utilised by the small business owner. The concepts of urban boosterism and the re-imagining of place, which have increasingly become a key part of urban tourism strategies in Scotland, are discussed in Section 3.4. This not only enables the research to be placed within a broader scene but also describes the broader contexts which may affect the proprietors and frame their actions. The foci of the analysis in Section 3.5 progresses to the specific micro contexts of the proprietors, namely the Scottish urban cities of Inverness (Section 3.5.1) and Dundee (Section 3.5.2). The contrasts and similarities between the specific research locations are examined (Section 3.5.3). An overview of the themes explored in the chapter are provided in Section 3.6, relating them to the broader social, historical, political and geographical environment, and to the more immediate local urban contexts where the subjects of the present study are located.

### **3.2 The concept of 'Scottishness': Scottish identity at national and local levels**

Scotland since the Victorian era can be described in terms of its population location as predominantly urban rather than the rural. The comparatively wealthy Scottish cities of that era attracted tourists and were admired by visitors both for their impressive buildings and their 'economic dynamism' (Devine 1999 p333). Nevertheless, despite its well-established urban, and increasingly industrial, character, Scotland's national image from the Victorian era until the present, has been very much a rural one (Devine 1999; Hills 1994; Lynch 1992; McCrone *et al.* 1995). In pre-war railway posters the image of industrialisation presented by the steam engine is usually placed in juxtaposition to the rural imagery of the background scenery. This dominant rural imagery is still reflected in tourist posters of today which display for the prospective visitor images of mountains, rivers and lochs that are notably lacking in people. This is 'undeniably a rather curious and ironic development in national cultural identity and awareness in light of the dominance of the nation's urban centres' (Devine 1999 p231). Indeed, it appears that an 'urban society had adopted a rural face' (*ibid*). Where people are portrayed, it is also noteworthy that, despite the fact that most of Scotland's population lives in the Lowland Central Belt Area, Scotland's image in advertisements is by and large a Highland one. They tend to display symbols of Scottish identity such as the bagpipes, the kilt and tartan which are of distinctive Highland origin. These have now become familiarly identified with the concept of 'Scottishness' or Scottish identity, although there is still a particular rather than a general association of the Highlands these symbols as their 'spiritual home'.

#### *3.2.1 The concepts of Scottish identity, culture and tourism*

'Identity' can be taken to be self-defined at an individual level with reinforcements of meaning being built up through interaction with others on the basis of shared definitions. There is a wide variety of ideas which can be condensed into the concept of 'identity' and a variety of issues to which it refers. Individual identity is constantly being

negotiated, reshaped and redefined in schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods (du Gay 1997). It is not static or transparent (Brown *et al.* 1999; Henderson 2001). As Hall (1990) argues 'instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, with the new cultural practices they represent, we should think instead of identity as production, which is never complete' (p222). The term 'identity' includes the interrelated concepts of social and cultural, political and economic, and national identity. Therefore, 'national identity is only one part of complex self-identity' (Law 2001 p6). 'Identity politics' is a related term which involves the concept of 'collective identity'. Individual interests and values are part of these collective, social forms. The political mobilisation of people who identify with each other and who claim a similar identity, often as a perceived marginalised category, often take this 'collective identity' as a point of departure. The somewhat vague concept of a collective 'cultural national identity', although a flexible one, must be considered alongside the more clearly defined but related concept of 'national identity'. This stresses those economic, political and information networks which have given greater significance to cultural national identity. Indeed, those individuals who feel part of, or excluded from, such an identity may do so because of their own values, interests and sense of self-identification rather than because of language or ancestry (McCrone 2001). Identity has been described as

'supplying something of an anchor amidst the turbulent waters of de-industrialization, and the large-scale patterns of planetary reconstruction that are hesitantly named 'globalization' and 'late-modernity' ... possessing and then taking pride in an exclusive identity seems to afford a means to acquire certainty about who one is and where one fits, about the claims of community and the limits of social obligation, in conditions of rapid and bewildering change' (Gilroy 1997 p312).

'Scottish identity' has become part of a complexity of self-identity for those who both live in Scotland and those who dwell outside the country's borders but identify with the nation. Recent research on Scottish identity tends broadly to confirm that this concept

relates to an ease of social interaction among those who define themselves as Scottish (McCrone 2001). This interaction is helped by certain social cues, especially accent (McCrone 1998). However, 'it is certainly not thistles and tartans that constitute our national identity. The genius of the Scottish identity is our capacity to burst into new forms of national life ... It is our very capacity to re-form our identity that gives us our sense of continuity with the past ...' (Storrar 1990 p2).

The term 'culture' means a 'way of life' and shared social experiences involving core values represented in traditions of a society such as beliefs, art, morals, laws, and customs (Seaton and Bennett 1996). In Scotland, although there is no homogeneous culture, there is a shared value system which could be defined as 'Scottish culture'. This includes Scottish history, heritage and tourism, which are interwoven with other aspects of 'Scottishness' which are part of the descriptions of Scotland. These include elements that also denote other identities and differences, such as social class, gender, religion and local identities (Henderson 2001).

'Tourism', although a relatively recent phenomenon in its present form has since its development in the Victorian era become an integral part of Scottish culture and can be shown to display a dynamic interrelationship between historical changes and present trends. Scottish culture also plays a key role in shaping tourism tastes. Both have changed and developed in recent years, especially with the prospect of devolution (Kerr and Wood 1999). For example, research into Scottish history, literature, politics and society has increased dramatically in recent years. This can be illustrated by the fact that:

'novelists such as James Kelman, Alisdair Gray, William McIlvanney, Iain Banks and, later, Irvine Welsh enjoyed enormous international success with works grounded in the gritty realities of urban Scotland and often written in the working-class vernacular. Rock bands like Deacon Blue ... were emphatically Scottish in style ... Runrig celebrated ... Scottishness in general to a younger generation of Scots increasingly confident in their own national identity' (Devine 1999 p608).

'Scottish cultural tradition' covers a range of subjects, including a variety of 'material' and 'symbolic' inheritances, and acts as 'a vital source of legitimacy iconography'. (McCrone *et al.* 1995 p5). The term refers to visible symbols that have meaning and purpose. For example, 'tartan', 'the kilt' and the Scottish national flag still represent 'totems' for many Scots. Similarly, historical figures such as Rob Roy, William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Bonnie Prince Charlie or Flora MacDonald act as powerful icons, representing an ancient, unified Scottish cultural tradition (Edensor 2001). The battles of Bannockburn or Culloden are also symbolic of Scottish culture and history with the battle sites with visitor centres important to Scots as well as to tourists (Rosie 1992). All of these reinforce a sense of group belonging and national cultural identity. Thus, symbols associated with 'tradition' are in reality a complex reconstruction of fact and fiction, helping to give Scots a sense of shared identity during periods of social, economic and political change (Devine 1999; Ichijo 2001; Paterson 1999).

Scottish cultural identity and tourism are closely linked in the variety of tourist developments in Scotland. This is reflected in the growth of tourist and cultural centres throughout the country. They cover a wide range of subjects. One can go from the Loch Ness Monster Exhibition in Drumnadrochit near Inverness, which embodies the extremes of commercial exploitation and a fantasy based on limited facts, and the clan tartan centres found throughout the Highlands to the industrial heritage museums, usually based on single industry themes (Rosie 1992). An example is the jute museum 'Verdant Works' run by the Dundee Heritage Trust. Walsh (1992) echoes the argument of McCrone *et al.* (1995) when referring to the boom in cultural heritage tourism over the last twenty years. Morris *et al.* (1995) point out that out of four hundred museums in Scotland, half of these have opened since the 1970s. This has led critics of such tourist developments to cite a process of increasing commodification and consumerisation of place and cultural heritage through the mechanism of the pre-packaged and marketed tourism product (Devine 1997; Hewison 1987; Walsh 1992). It has been argued therefore that the Scottish tourism industry has increasingly relied on nostalgia through

the portrayal of selective and romanticised images and brands in order to satisfy the demands of the tourist as consumer. This commodification process through strategies such as place branding present the consumer with typical themes of a place, as reflections of broader notions of Scottish culture and identity. The end result of 'imagining Scotland' may be far removed from actual events or the complexities inherent in a place and its people. However, as McCrone *et al.* (1995) argue, it is this imagining through processes of 'infotainment' which gives tourism developments and attractions their critical appeal to the tourist, and indeed to the Scot, who may be in search of certain notions of cultural identity. Indeed, these tourism developments may be a reflection of an increasing awareness of Scotland's complex cultural heritage and the need to designate the existence of places and artifacts once ignored. It shows a growing interest or demand for cultural heritage tourism in Scotland among visitors, partly as a result of increasing awareness of the power of Scottish imagery to promote tourism (Di Domenico 2001c; Edensor 2001).

### *3.2.2 Scottish national identity and devolution*

Scotland operated as a part of the overall British political system prior to devolution, and still does so in terms of its representation at Westminster. Many commentators and academics such as Rose (1982) saw Scotland prior to the 1990s, and even since 1707 and the Union of the Parliaments, as having been reduced to a region rather than a nation within the United Kingdom. However, for others such as Storrar (1990) Scotland has a distinctive Scottish national identity in terms of culture, politics and society. Such distinctiveness is reflected in long-held views, and also through key Scottish institutions which survived the union with England in 1707 and essentially maintained the fabric of a relatively autonomous society (Storrar 1990 p3). These include the Scottish legal system, the banking system, the education system and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The local government system in Scotland is also separate. Indeed, Scottish civil society has broadly developed its own, for the most part, self-regulating institutions. The media is characteristically Scottish, trade unions have been historically



separate, and many other pressure groups and organisations have a particularly Scottish orientation. The business and financial community can also be distinguished as having a specifically Scottish focus (Brown *et al.* 1999).

Despite these differences from England, it is only recently that devolution, far less nationalism, gained any real support (Alexander 1997). In nineteenth century Scotland, there was not a strong or in any way influential nationalist movement, despite the emergence of such political forces right across Europe (Dodds 2001). Scotland modernised and industrialised along with England, and traded with the expanding British colonies. The Scottish elite identified strongly with the British elite, state and nation and continued to do so well into the twentieth century with the end of the British Empire (Smout 1986). During these years of union, many Scots went south to London to become successful and often leaders in British political, economic and social life. Others went abroad to find fame and fortune. Many political commentators on the Scottish scene in the 1980s and early 1990s, such as for example in newspapers and magazines such as the 'Economist', point to a culture of dependency that they said had developed in Scotland. An increasing focus of power in London and the southeast complemented this (Brown *et al.* 1998). Academics such as Rose, as late as 1982, expressed the view that Scotland was still merely a sub-system of the overall British structure. At that time these views may have held greater credence than they do now, with the currently devolved state of the Scottish nation. Rose (1982) stated at that time that 'political identification and behaviour are largely based on UK class identity and party loyalties ... there has been a loss of social and cultural distinctiveness so that national identity remains only in its unimportant dimensions' (Rose 1982 quoted in Moore and Booth 1989 p17). This statement appears to put forward the assertion that Scottish identity and the uniqueness of Scottish nationhood in relation to both the social and political dimensions dissolved in the shadow of the overall UK political structure. However, there are those such as Moore and Booth (1989) who regard this as historically inaccurate as it fails to acknowledge the importance of complex relationships, group structures and networks within Scotland which influenced decision-making autonomy on both the

national and local levels. It can be argued that it 'ignores the power of interests coming together at the Scottish level to protect and promote a Scottish identity. Policy outcomes are not just the product of administrative discretion but of relationships between actors and a sense of identity and interest' (Moore and Booth 1989 p17). As Paterson (1994) points out that the distinctiveness of any country rests 'more on the way that its bureaucracy interpreted legislation than on the legislation itself' (p103).

In the post-war era, with the relative decline of British national and international influence in the form of 'State and Empire', there was correspondingly an increase in sub-national and regional sentiments (Sinclair 1977). In the present era of globalisation, this has increased further. National barriers are more easily crossed, making it more difficult for central governments such as the one in London, to control and regulate all the various movements of people and goods. Sub-national, regional and localised units of government, rather than the once more securely perceived arms of central government in the larger all-encompassing nation-states, appear often to make greater sense to individuals in their efforts to understand the even larger, impersonal global forces. The Scottish nation may be identified by its population as a historically known and somewhat safer entity than the UK whole, one that is seen as a source of popular and almost comfortably well-known allegiance. Indeed, a sense of Scottish national identity seems to have increased rather than decreased with European integration and the perceived decline in the power of Westminster with a corresponding increase of that of the European parliament (Ichijo 2001).

Scotland in the post-war years, in terms of national identity can be, and has been, described by and large as a relatively left-wing socially liberal and less British nation than other parts of Britain. This can be seen not just in terms of a definition of political attitudes and behaviour but also in terms of its representation in Westminster. Brown *et al.* (1996), McCrone (1992; 1998), Paterson (1998), SurrIDGE *et al.* (1998) and SurrIDGE *et al.* (1999) make use of various data to illustrate national identity in Scotland and the elements that compose it. Although this fluctuates according to conditions, in terms of

political attitudes, to be Scottish is to subscribe broadly to left-wing reformist values and policy attitudes according to this research. The view of Rose (1982) is that national identity may also be a surrogate for class identity and politics. This could be disputed, as the Labour Party in Scotland tends to appeal to the 'more conservative' Scottish voters who would tend to identify with those from a similar class background elsewhere in the UK (SurrIDGE *et al.* 1999). However, despite this, Scotland since World War II has consistently returned to Westminster a majority of Labour MPs who were often at odds with the Conservative majority representing the UK. Labour support in Scotland was due partly to historical patterns and trends, to Scotland's support of the welfare state and to the concentration of 'working class' votes from certain areas such as those in Greater Glasgow (Devine 2000). Indeed, although anti-Thatcher politics became entwined with ideas on 'Scottish national authenticity', this was perhaps less to do with Scotland than with defending a UK-wide institution, the welfare state. Unlike England, where more marked regional variations exist in terms of party support, no one region in Scotland could be termed as being a Conservative heartland. In Scotland, the attack on state institutions such as the education system, local government and the public sector generally have usually been regarded as an attack on 'Scotland' itself (Paterson 1998). Scottish voters, who had become increasingly disenchanted with Conservative rule from Westminster, began to view the New Labour Party in a comparatively favourable light. Indeed, anti-Conservative feeling in Scotland was of such benefit to the other main parties that this in turn encouraged the creation of the new Scottish Parliament. Thus, when the long rule of the Conservative Party over Scotland and the UK came to an end in 1997, New Labour in Westminster was able to attend to changing the British constitution and to encouraging and eventually achieving Scottish devolution (SurrIDGE *et al.* 1998). This has resulted in greater power being concentrated in the hands of the Scottish Executive in Edinburgh and the greater involvement of MSPs in regional affairs in Scotland. It has also given greater autonomy to bodies such as VisitScotland within the tourism industry structure.

### **3.3 Scottish tourism industry structure**

The structure of the tourism industry in Scotland consists of a number of 'core' organisations. The three public sector agencies overseen by the Scottish Executive, having the main supporting roles of promoting and developing tourism in Scotland, are VisitScotland (formerly the Scottish Tourist Board/STB), the Area Tourist Boards (ATBs), Scottish Enterprise, and Highlands and Islands Enterprise (Carlton 2001).

VisitScotland was established as the Scottish Tourist Board in 1969 under the Development of Tourism Act. The headquarters of VisitScotland is located in Edinburgh. It was given overall responsibility for the Area Tourist Boards (ATBs) which since 1996 have been fourteen in number (Smith 1998). For example, the ATB operating in the Inverness area is the Highlands of Scotland Tourist (HOST) Board and in Dundee is the Angus and City of Dundee Tourist Board. There has been recent speculation in the media about the possibility of industry restructuring, such as collapsing or reducing the number of ATBs in Scotland from fourteen to fewer. This is due to views that have been expressed of the overly bureaucratic industry structure and concerns over reductions in international tourists visiting Scotland (Dalton and MacLeod 2000; Morton 2000; Stokes 2000).

Central government funds are also channeled to Scottish businesses via Scottish Enterprise, formerly the Scottish Development Agency (SDA). However, this agency, which was created in 1975, has only an indirect involvement in the development of tourism because of the role of VisitScotland. The Scottish Enterprise Network consists of Scottish Enterprise National, situated in Glasgow, and twelve Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) stretching from Grampian to the Borders. Scottish Enterprise receives the bulk of its funding from the Scottish Parliament. The main aim of Scottish Enterprise is to work with parties in the private sector and other public bodies in order to contribute to projects which are of economic benefit to Scotland (Scottish Enterprise 2003). Scottish Enterprise mainly deals with the assistance of business start-ups and

development. The Scottish Enterprise Tourism Network operates through the Local Enterprise Company (LEC) network. There are twenty-two LECs operating throughout Scotland. LECs have particular responsibility for supporting local businesses or individuals with areas such as business development, skills development and environmental improvements (ScotExchange 2003). Each LEC has a tourism development brief to fulfil, and collaborates with the tourism industry in their area, their respective ATBs and Local Authorities. Contact with VisitScotland tends to be channeled through either Highlands and Islands Enterprise or Scottish Enterprise. The former is the Government's development agency for the northern and western parts of Scotland. It is based in Inverness and operates through a network of ten LECs (Highlands and Islands Enterprise 2003).

VisitScotland, Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise, the main public sector bodies involved in tourism, are funded through the Scottish Executive's Department of Enterprise and Lifelong Learning with formal co-ordination through the Scottish Tourism Co-ordinating Group (STCG). The STCG is made up of members from the private sector through the Scottish Tourism Forum and the public sector. Public sector member organisations are VisitScotland, the Scottish Enterprise Network, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, the British Tourist Authority (now renamed VisitBritain due to the amalgamation of the BTA and the English Tourism Council in April 2003), the Forestry Commission, Historic Scotland, Scottish Arts Council, Scottish Museums Council, Scottish Natural Heritage, SportsScotland, and the Tourism and Environment Forum. Numerous private sector trade and professional associations also exist, including the Federation of Small Businesses, the Hotel and Catering International Management Association (HCIMA) and the Tourism Society (ScotExchange 2003).

### **3.4 Place boosterism through the use of urban tourism strategies**

The concepts of urban boosterism, urban re-imagining and place marketing have increasingly become a key part of urban tourism strategies (Bramwell and Rawding

1996; Buhalis 2001; Judd 1995; Law 1993; Page 1995; Russo and Van der Borg 2002; Van den Berg, Van der Borg and Van der Meer 1995). In urban centres in Scotland, attempts have been made to change preconceptions about them, through the use of Scottish culture and heritage tourism, in order to pull in resources, and establish an aura of success and a new dynamism and international importance. In order to do so local achievements are often highlighted. Patterns of continuity and change are still emerging in Scottish cities in terms of the ways in which images of place in different parts of Scotland and in the tourism sector in particular are negotiated (McCrone 1991). The broader concept of 'urban boosterism', which encompasses all these efforts to promote and regenerate urban centres, involves urban tourism as a key part of the overall strategy of revitalising urban spaces (Abercrombie and Warde 1994).

For many towns and cities which are trying to boost their images, tourism, urban regeneration and economic diversification go hand in hand (Hope and Klemm 2001). 'Boosterism' can be defined as the strategy of developing a town or city through the efficient marketing of its diverse elements, through communicating its essential identity in order to attract a share of the national income as well as international earnings. This strategy depends on combining in an eclectic way various factors involved in tourism, education and technology in order to provide a multi-dimensional strategy. These are all brought together to enhance the image of the town or city, which like the image of a product is often associated with particular elements such as slogans, symbols and trademarks (Charsley 1986; McCrone *et al.* 1995). The concept is used to promote tourism and urban regeneration that mainly depend on image to attract both national income and international investment. The idea of place boosterism has increased in importance in Europe from the 1970s until today (Russo and Van der Borg 2002; Van den Berg, Van der Borg and Van der Meer 1995). This was not only to promote the traditional tourist centres but also because of the need to re-image and redevelop the derelict cities of the former industrial heartland of the continent. This was due to the progressive changes in most of the Western economies, with their workforces forced to

move increasingly from the secondary to the tertiary service sectors (McGregor and McConnachie 1998).

In Britain, urban development strategies have tended to benefit mostly certain of the more traditionally tourist oriented and administrative and commercial urban (Anon 1999a pp40-45). However, the old industrial centres are also facing up to the challenge. Indeed, although the decline of industrial cities like Glasgow and Dundee in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in increased unemployment, depopulation and a loss of pride and identity, policy makers have since the 1980s attempted to boost the images of their cities (McCarthy and Pollock 1997). Glasgow was amongst the first of the British industrial cities to implement re-imaging strategies, inventing for itself a series of new titles and slogans. This also reflected its new tourism strategies and the city's eager efforts to regenerate its economy (Charsley 1986; Gold and Gold 1995; Spink 1994). Thus, Glasgow has been Garden City in 1988, European City of Culture in 1990 and in 1999 celebrated its status as UK City of Architecture and Design. Similar Scottish urban areas with industrial pasts, such as Dundee, just like those that had a history of being more administrative or commercial centres, like Edinburgh and Inverness, began to adopt similar development strategies. They too attempted to use their history and heritage as resources for new urban regeneration programmes.

'Place boosterism' using history, heritage and culture as commodities has given new titles or place images to towns and cities (Bramwell and Rawding 1996). Glasgow's mobilisation of culture and heritage has been used successfully for tourism, increasing overseas visitors by 90%, leading to economic regeneration (McCrone *et al.* 1995 p18). Thus place 'boosterism' is becoming increasingly popular and has been a focus of development not only in those cities generally associated with tourism, but also in those that suffered most from post-industrial decline. Re-imaging policies are often used to build on a city's positive image or counter a negative one by building up an identity based around distinctive qualities such as its industrial or commercial legacies. Whether the city was formerly perceived as a traditionally historic place or as an industrial centre,

it is not surprising that local authorities have capitalised on the economic and political potential of local histories and heritage sites. The diverse past histories of towns and cities are being restructured in order to save the present and ensure future prosperity. The aim of this endeavour is to attract both visitors and income. Many local officials regard tourism as an important means to promote their city. It is used as a way of generating jobs both directly and indirectly (Judd 1995). Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) also give two economic reasons for the development of what they call 'the tourist-historic city'. The first stresses that demolition and rebuilding may actually cost more than preservation or renovation. The second emphasises the importance of the promotion of towns and cities to potential investors, residents and visitors. Gold and Gold (1995) also observe that towns and cities are selling themselves through their cultural attractions, their post-modern buildings, central plazas and shopping arcades and the new marinas to which former docklands have been converted.

Many local authorities have welcomed the challenge of urban development despite the fact that much of the burden falls upon them. However, for the moment, it is still a relatively efficient and cost effective investment, compared to that required in other sectors of the economy. Through service industries, such as tourism, urban authorities can create employment in areas that have few other alternatives and revitalise towns and cities economically and physically (Ashworth and Larkham 1994). Tiesdall *et al.* (1996) also point out that in the process of revitalising certain urban quarters which can lay claim to a historic legacy, the demands of contemporary social, political and economic situations have to be integrated with historic inheritance and sense of place. This implies both political and social as well as economic elements in planning. Many local policy makers help to boost their towns and cities by attempting to get them on a 'tourist trail' or 'tourist map' (Hughes 1992). These tourist trails link up the main urban areas with their rural hinterland (Innes 1999). However, despite such efforts, it becomes increasingly difficult to attract tourists who are selecting more carefully and are more discriminating than before when 'consuming places' (Urry 1995).



### **3.5 Inverness and Dundee**

Most Scottish towns and cities have adopted development strategies that include a focus on tourism. However, there is a 'Scottish divide' in terms of tourism development. Edinburgh tends to be taken as a unique case in that it has always been advantaged by being the capital and having a well-established historic-tourist status (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990). Arguably, urban areas outside Edinburgh can be seen as being at a corresponding disadvantage, or even as being sometimes neglected or ignored, both by tourists as well as by decision makers in the capital. This does not always apply to Glasgow. Although rivals in many respects, both Edinburgh and Glasgow benefit from cumulative causation effects, not the least of which is their geographic, economic, social and symbolic proximity to Scotland's institutional apparatus. However, Scotland consists of a cultural diversity, which is certainly not reflected solely by the main cities of the central belt area, despite their dominance in many spheres. Inverness and Dundee are examples of Scotland's urban diversity that, despite the dearth of research studies in these two centres, offer interesting insights into recent urban development initiatives in Scotland.

There are, of course, some similarities in the basis for development strategies in different towns and cities. Thus, Dundee can be compared to Glasgow in its development strategies that were in response to its experiences of 'urban deindustrialisation' (McCarthy and Pollock. 1997). This includes features which reflect a decline in output associated with manufacturing industries; losses in skilled and semi-skilled work and outmigration of related labour; severe losses in unskilled manual work; reduction in private-sector training opportunities; increased levels of unemployment; relatively low average income levels; a reduction in the local tax base; social stress indicators including a rising crime rate; increasing demands on health, welfare and social security benefits; increasing deterioration in the local physical environment including an increase in

derelict land sites and deserted buildings. Deindustrialisation has been felt most strongly in the larger industrial towns and cities such as Glasgow and Dundee (Button and Pearce 1989; Haughton and Hunter 1994). However, in both cities there is a determination to combat the resulting problems, with an 'industrial urban tourism' strategy being embarked upon. Their local authorities have now developed a range of services, attempting to attract 'educational' tourists eager to learn about industrial heritage, home and history. This has become an important area of investment and employment in the 1980/90s, and a source of jobs and income. The 'wide range of purpose-built, managed visitor attractions such as industrial heritage sites in the United Kingdom' is cited by Witt and Moutinho (1994 p335) as a 'primary motivation for tourist visits' to such cities. Such developments are marketable 'tourist commodities' producing generally attractive images of the industrial past for the urban centres where they are located (Abercrombie and Warde 1994 p336).

Inverness could perhaps be related more to Edinburgh than to other Scottish urban centres in terms of its historical development. Both of these urban centres have had dynamic economies in recent years and have become tourist centres. Indeed, 'urban tourism' is a term that reflects the fact that many towns and cities are now tourist attractions in their own right, with a variety of projections of 'heritage', 'history' and 'culture' (Laws and Pelley 2000). As well as being of interest in this way, they also allow ease of access to other surrounding locations as centres of transportation networks, and so have tended to be focal points of tourist concentration and diversity. In Scotland as elsewhere in the UK, city-based cultural and heritage services are becoming increasingly attractive and older 'cultural' centres such as Edinburgh attract the majority of visitors. However, in recent years the one-time industrial cities are also competing with these traditional centres for titles reflecting their cultural attributes. Indeed, 'the designation of Glasgow as the 1990 European City of Culture is a good example of an effort by a British city to refashion itself in this competition.' (Abercrombie and Warde 1994 p336). Dundee is also beginning to compete with other nearby cities for the

opportunity to act as a 'honey pot' in the provision of a diverse range of social, cultural and economic activities, including tourism, leisure and entertainment services.

Despite similarities with other cities, one must also be aware of important distinctions and not mistakenly assume that one city directly inspires the other. Each city needs to be examined in context as not all development strategies may be mutually applicable and effective. Individual culture, history, growth, the environment and the local economy are just a number of factors that need to be taken into consideration. This view was expressed by Andrew Gibb, Development Director of Glasgow 1999, when he said that 'in all cities corporate planning decisions relating to industrial, commercial and residential development have dimensions of scale and style which give each city a clear identity in terms of urban renewal' (Gibb 1998 p64). Consequently, if Dundee is compared to Inverness then it becomes apparent how much more difficult the task of representing itself as a tourist destination has been for the former than it was for the latter. Although Dundee has been recently successful in placing itself like Inverness on the tourist map, this may present a conundrum for a city new to the 'city booster scene'. The reason for this is that with an increasing number of local authorities making this choice, the task is likely to become more challenging in the future for all of them and especially for latecomers.

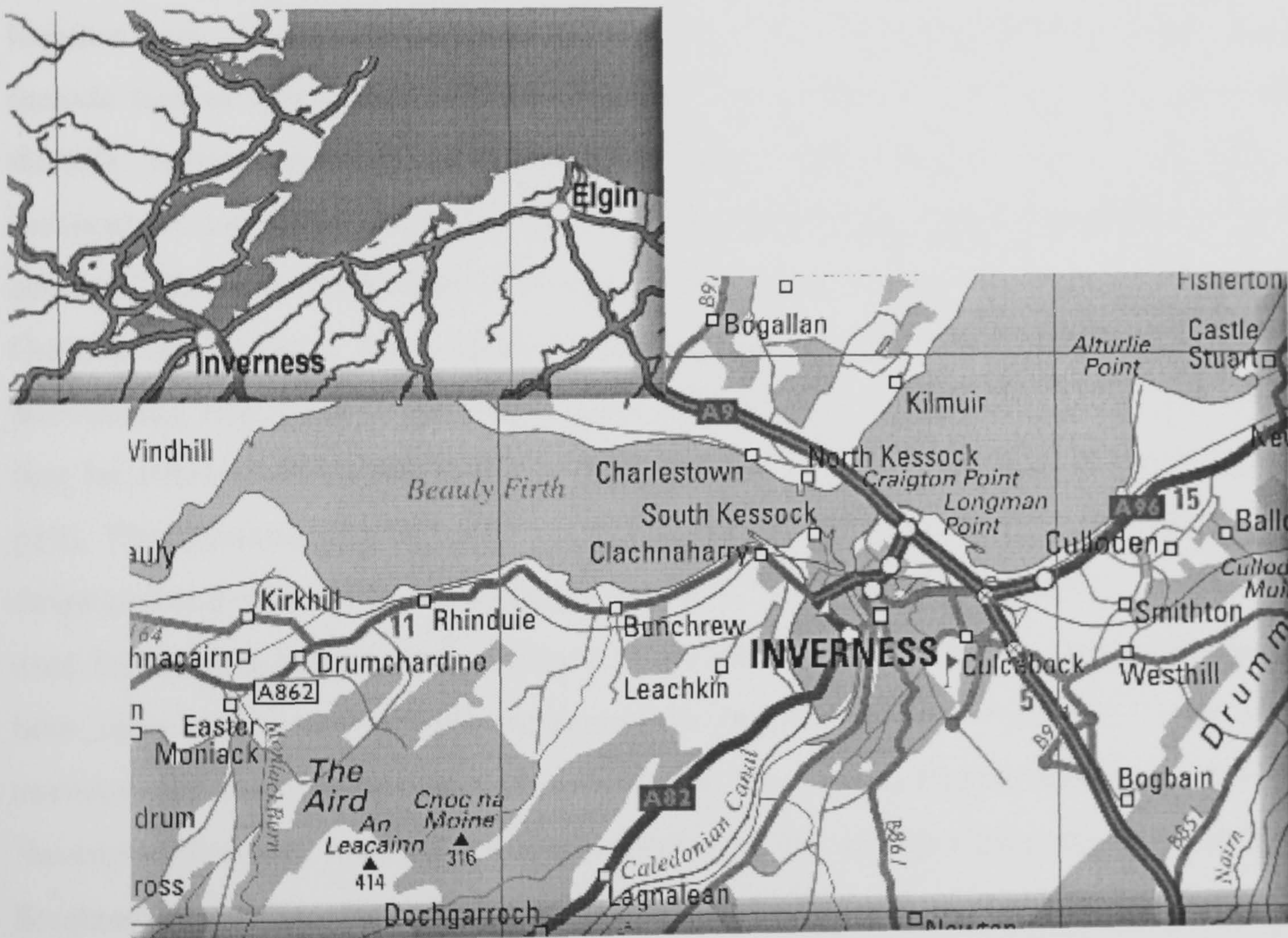
### *3.5.1 Inverness*

Inverness is a typical 'tourism-historic' city, which has built its development strategies on its history that could be defined in many ways as typically attractive to tourists (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Butler 1985; Duffield and Long 1981). Inverness also has a favourable geography, being the most significant urban centre in the Highlands which has increasingly attracted tourists. Indeed, tourism has become a significant component to the Highland economy. This can be illustrated by the fact that 'in 1998, UK and overseas visitors expenditure totaled approximately £420m, approximately one quarter of it from overseas, and leisure day trips generated some £90m, making a total of

£510m. In 1998, tourism supported approximately 10,826 jobs throughout the Highlands, accounting for approximately 13.4% of all those employed' (HOST 2000 p4). Inverness is not only the 'capital of the Highlands' but is also on the A9 'tourism trail' from Edinburgh and Perth (Taylor 2001 p9). Having adopted a post-war tourism strategy for development along with the rest of the Highlands, it experienced a boom in tourism over the past fifty years. This was related to other developments that increased Inverness's importance as an urban centre. It became especially notable over the past thirty-five years since 1965 when the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) was set up with its headquarters in Inverness. This was followed by the creation of VisitScotland which now has two linked headquarters, one in Edinburgh and one in Strathpeffer near Inverness.

Inverness is branded at home and abroad as the 'Capital of the Highlands'. As such, it was keen to achieve 'city' status in 2000, whilst clinging onto its appeal as an idyllic, tourist-historic centre, surrounded by Highland imagery and scenery. Recently, attempts have been made to adopt a marketing campaign similar to that of Glasgow's successful 'Smiles Better' advertising slogan. The winning slogan of 'Top City' chosen by civic and business leaders in April 2002 was seen as the way forward. However, for citizens 'it can be interpreted in so many different ways ... other slogans such as '100,000 Welcomes' will always remain a part of Inverness's identity but something new is needed' (Anon 2002a p3). Thus, Inverness continues to build on its established position as a tourist magnet benefiting from its 'image of place'. When examining Inverness's claim to this title, a local reporter expresses the concern that a 'capital is not a capital because it is the biggest, most active, fastest-growing of the towns in the area. It is called a capital because it takes responsibility for the wider population ... There are a lot of areas which have resentment at the growth of Inverness and a lot of areas feel far too much money is coming to Inverness' (Bradshaw 1999). Indeed, it has a relatively vibrant economy and is also found 'in the top five places in Britain in a quality of life index carried out by Strathclyde University which ranked 189 small cities, towns and regional centres' (Peacock 1998 p68). This may be linked to its population which has been

growing, both in the city and in the surrounding areas in the inner Moray Firth faster than in any other part of the United Kingdom (Longmore 2002 p5). Indeed, much of the 'future growth of the town will be along the area known locally as the *Golden Mile*, the presently undeveloped stretch of road along the A96 towards Nairn' (Newton 1996 p174). The population of the whole area under the jurisdiction of the Inverness District Council increased by more than 6,000 in the ten years following the 1981 Census, being cited in the 1991 Census as at just under 63,000. In the actual city of Inverness there are 41,766 inhabitants (67% of the total) with a further 8,728 in the adjoining areas of Culloden, Smithton and Balloch. The geographical location of Inverness is illustrated in Figure 3.1.



**Figure 3.1 Location map of Inverness**

Inverness, is not only the fastest-growing city in the UK, indeed achieving city status in 2000, but it also provides a base for many local and national businesses and industries

and also attracts major inward investment. Before it became a city, the local newspaper asked the question if 'it already has all these wonderful assets why should Inverness want to become a city?' The answer was that 'it would draw the focus of attention away from the central belt. City status offers the potential to raise Inverness's profile and image in the business world, attracting more inward investment and giving businesses a more influential voice' (Anon 1999a p4).

Inverness has always been a service, educational, communication and market centre for the Highlands and Islands. It is therefore expanding on a previously established role model, which involved the tourism industry as a major service sector of the local economy. Its recent take-off into a rapid growth economic phase reflects as much its location and original infrastructure as the success of development initiatives which include tourism strategies. The Royal Burgh is now able to 'boast about some of the world's famous golf courses. Theatre, festival and cinema, health and leisure investments mean that Inverness enjoys facilities which bear comparison with any in the country' (Peacock 1998 p68). The city is advertised in brochures such as 'Scotrail Outlook' as having a lot to offer in that 'Inverness is the ideal base to explore the surrounding Highlands ... the sheer majesty of the landscape, history and wildlife will at first be overwhelming, yet, you will find that you keep coming back for more' (1999 p19). This advertisement which is full of hyperbole, reflects the fact that tourism has developed and become one of the main industries in Inverness. An example of a strategy used for increased marketing, to attract increased numbers of tourists, and to encourage both large and small tourism businesses in the city is the award for 'outstanding customer service by a business'. This is one of the many categories forming part of the 'Inverness Tourism Awards' initiative sponsored by, among others, the Highlands of Scotland Tourist Board (Anon 2000a; Henderson 1999).

Nevertheless, despite the successes of Inverness as a tourist historic city, tourism in the area has recently been affected by macro factors emanating from the wider Scottish and international environments. The tourism industry in the city experienced relative success

in the year 2000, which according to the press was supported by public investment in amenities and private sector interest (Anon 2000b p2; Anon 2000c p1; Anon 2000d p3). However, fears were raised in the press in 2001 over the possible impact of foot and mouth on the city's tourism revenue (Anon 2001a p9; Anon 2001b p5; Sweeney 2001 p6). Nevertheless, such fears were addressed by added investment (Anon 2001c p20) and efforts to combat the impact of foot and mouth by promoting the region as 'one of the few areas in Britain not affected by the epidemic' (Jones 2001 p5). However, the after effects of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 in US also affected Inverness, which relies heavily on the American tourist or visitor in search of among other things their genealogical roots (Mackenzie 2001 p7). A reduction in numbers, private sector investment (Anon 2002b p1) and corresponding fears that 'tourist trade firms may go to the wall' (Anon 2001d p1) led to a need for the city to 'look beyond the traditional US market and start promoting itself to Europeans. As a change in strategy it appears obvious, but there is hope that increased interest from the continent could be further bolstered when the American market recovers' (Anon 2002c p8). Recent strategies have returned to marketing campaigns adopting brands and slogans for the city such as the bid for the forthcoming 'City of Culture' award in 2008 (Anon 2002d p3; Anon 2002e p4; Macloed 2002 p9).

Other parts of the Highlands have similarly been affected by external environmental influences where tourism, like other sectors, is under threat. Although the tourist trade in the Highlands is worth up to 500 million pounds a year and supports as many as 19,000 jobs, it has suffered a number of setbacks in recent years with declining visitor numbers reflecting increased competition and changing trends (Mackenzie 1999). In order to combat these problems, a call has been made 'for a two-pronged effort to boost visitors to the Highlands and more support for local tourism businesses from the Scottish Parliament ...[it] could help develop tourism by responding to the needs of local providers rather than being prescriptive from the centre' (Anon 1999b p6). The new MSPs, representing the various parties, support this general tourism initiative for the Highlands. This includes the Scottish Liberal Democrat in West Inverness and the

Scottish Nationalist in East Inverness. Scottish Labour followed a close second and represents the latter constituency in Westminster, along with the Liberal Democrat leader who represents West Inverness. It appears that the Scottish Liberal Democrats, although in support of retaining VisitScotland much as it is now, would make it more accountable to a Tourism Committee. They are playing their part in the new coalition government by insisting on more local involvement than has previously been the case and this is could affect tourism policy in the Highlands (Kerr and Wood 1999 p10).

### *3.5.2 Dundee*

Dundee was once considered Scotland's first industrial city due to its high percentage of workers in the manufacturing industries, if compared to Glasgow and other industrial centres in Scotland (McCrone 1995 p37). However, it is true to say that the spirit of Scottish urban-industrial regeneration and re-imaging began in Glasgow which has acted as a symbol of hope to other cities like Dundee, despite the obstacles which still face it in its goal of continued growth and development. It may not, however, be considered appropriate for Dundee to use similar development strategies to Glasgow which, when compared to Dundee, appears to have been more of a commercial than an industrial city (McCarthy and Pollock. 1997).

The city of Dundee, with a population in 1996 of 155,000 people, has been severely affected by the post World War II decline of many of its key industries (Rodger 1996). For a time it was propped up both by the national government as well as by the local council. However, industrial decline eventually led to depopulation and by the 1970s in Dundee there was a sharp downturn in resident numbers. There was also a skewing of the population structure, as it was especially the younger and more ambitious among the urban residents who increasingly left an aging population in the wake of their departure (Ogilvy 1993; Watson 1990; Whatley 1992; Whatley, Swinfen and Smith 1993). The effects of such 'terminal economic decline on individual places have been profound in demographic terms and the quality of the twentieth-century urban environment, as have



changes in the transport network, housing amenities and leisure activities' (Rodger 1996 p122). Figure 3.2 shows the geographical positioning of Dundee.



**Figure 3.2: Location map of Dundee**

However, in Dundee, despite being off 'the tourist trail', and until quite recently being referred to as Scotland's 'forgotten city', attempts have been made recently to repackage and market the city more attractively for both visitors and residents alike. The local authority and other public sector officials as well as representatives of the private sector, have made these attempts in the 1990s, especially following Glasgow's success (McCarthy and Pollock. 1997). Although its ethos is still heavily influenced by its recent past, as it once was Scotland's main industrial city with a status as a traditional left-wing stronghold, it is making efforts to re-image itself as the 'City of Discovery'. Re-branding and a changing of its long-held image in an effort to embrace tourism has met with

mixed results as it has been 'decried as charmless, grim and perverse. The city of Dundee is finally fighting back in the hope of rehabilitating a dire public image ... according to Chris Whatley, Professor of Scottish history at Dundee University. Professional historians and commentators have been at best guilty of partiality ... while the citizenry have taken a "perverse pleasure" in their own joyless story' (Rougvie 2000 p9). The city now finally wishes to attract tourism-related investment and development funding in an increasingly competitive local, national and international environment. It is also an attempt to stem Dundee's population decline that in itself reflects its change from being a major manufacturing centre to one where a majority of those employed are now working in service industries. Many of its former jute factories and warehouses, close to the city centre, have been turned into small apartments, teaching facilities, shops and even heritage attractions (Whatley 1993). Redevelopment, such as is taking place in Dundee, has attracted funds from private developers, central government and heritage bodies as well as the European Union (Di Domenico 2001c).

Dundee's initiatives at developing its image in order to stimulate its economy came late starting only in the 1990s. However, now 'Dundee's economic expansion has hit unparalleled heights ...[its] future would appear brighter now than it has been in the last twenty years ... its efforts to woo investors, and its success in reinventing itself as a city of arts, industry and science has undoubtedly been a catalyst in that process' (Allison 1999). This new thinking has changed the face of the city centre, reclaiming spaces and buildings that were once used for other mainly industrial purposes and developing them for other purposes (Anon 2001e p6). Dundee is making attempts to use nostalgia for the past to benefit the future. However, 'the question is not whether we should or should not preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve' (Urry 1990 p109). In Dundee's case it is the industrial urban past (Ogilvy 1993; Whatley, Swinfen and Smith 1993). The idea of developing and constructing a present identity from the industrial past of Dundee is one that is in the process of taking physical shape. In Dundee, despite until quite recently being referred to as Scotland's 'forgotten city', successful attempts have been made recently to repackage and market the city more

attractively for both visitors and residents alike by the local Labour authority and other public sector officials as well as by representatives of the private sector. For instance, events and festivals based on themes such as the city's maritime heritage and the ship the Discovery have been staged at Dundee city quay. For example, the event on August 10<sup>th</sup> 2001 involved 'an international fleet of around twelve tall ships gather at the port area at Dundee to honour the Discovery in her centenary year' (Anon 2001f p3). Although its ethos is still heavily influenced by its recent industrial past, it is making efforts to re-image itself in ways similar to other cities. It has boosted itself as the 'City of Discovery' in order to attract, like Edinburgh, Glasgow, Inverness and other urban centres, the tourism-related investment and development funding against increasing competition (McCarthy and Pollock. 1997).

However, Dundee may have neither a sufficiently large population nor enough annual visitors to support such developments in the tourism sector at an efficient level. The role of Dundee has been further complicated by the lack of cultural events like the Edinburgh Festival, by the taint of political scandals and corruption from the 1970s, and by a supposed lack of entrepreneurial activity (Cox 1999; Rodger 1996). Nevertheless, redevelopment, such as is taking place in Dundee, and in direct competition with other Scottish cities, has attracted funds from private developers, central government and heritage bodies as well as the European Union. With two Scottish Labour Members in the new Scottish Parliament and despite a strong Scottish Nationalist presence in the city, a degree of continuity has been ensured over the next few years (Devine 1999). For example, Scottish Labour appears more or less to support continuity, and the continuance with some modification of the present role of VisitScotland.

### *3.5.3 Inverness and Dundee: A comparison of the research locations*

In this thesis, Inverness and Dundee have been selected as the sites where the research is to be conducted relating to the guest house owners-occupiers. The choice of the locations is both due to certain similarities but also contrasts in their characteristics. In

terms of similarities, tourism, which includes the heritage industry, has been a major focus around the economic development strategies which have been worked out in both cities. Thus, the development of the tourism industry is important not only in administrative, commercial and cultural centres such as Inverness but in former industrial centres such as Dundee, as shown in Section 3.4.2, as part of its urban regeneration programme in the post-industrial era. Tourism in Dundee and Inverness is targeting the tourist interested in heritage and culture, and both can be regarded as bases for tourists who enjoy outdoor activities and exploring the natural environment.

The local governments in both Dundee and Inverness have become increasingly committed to economic and urban intervention. In Inverness, development strategies based on tourism were adopted prior to Dundee in the post-war era and the city can be categorised as 'tourist-historic', being associated in the minds of tourists with Highland heritage, traditions and culture (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990). However, this development strategy with a focus on tourism has now also been adopted by policy makers in Dundee, in order to 'boost' the city and repackage and market it more attractively. This is not only to attract tourists but also to retain residents and attract 'incomers' from outside the immediate area, as Inverness has been successful in doing in the last quarter of the century. This re-imaging of Dundee took place much later than in other urban areas such as Inverness and only after the city had declined in the post-war decades from the 1950s to the early 1990s (Whatley, Swinfen and Smith 1993). However, since then, instead of despair, there appears to have been a determined effort on the part of policy makers to 'boost' the city's image and improve its attractions much as Inverness has done. Thus, there may still be hope for the future of post-industrial cities such as Dundee, as well as 'tourist-historic' cities such as Inverness where heritage or historical tourism has become well established.

Thus, Dundee and Inverness are of research interest in that they have both adopted development strategies, which include a focus on tourism as part of their overall strategies. This focus has been led by public sector organisations on the national as well

as regional and local levels and has included 'everything from supporting small business start-up, to financial aid to industry and marketing of Scotland at home and abroad' (Kerr and Wood 1999 p10). Dundee and Inverness, two of the many Scottish urban areas employing tourism strategies, are encouraged by the Angus and City of Dundee Tourist Board and the Highlands of Scotland Tourist Board respectively.

Inverness and Dundee have also both been helped, not only by the development of tourism and other service industries, but also by the economic booms in electronic and other 'hi-tech' industries, due to recent technological innovations, and also by the increased emphasis on post-secondary education which has allowed expansion in the educational sector (Watson 2001 p10). For example as Mackelvie (2001) argues, 'Dundee's changing image is perhaps nowhere more evident than in its growing reputation as a world class centre in healthcare and biotechnology' (p5). This has been aided by European and other sources of funding. However, European funding policy made the distinction between the two urban areas. Inverness was seen as part of the Highlands and Islands region, which in the 1990s was placed into Objective One area status, being a region where development is lagging behind the European average. This compares to Dundee, which was placed in Objective Two area status, applied to populations in industrial regions in decline (Devine and Finlay 1996). Many of the urban renewal programmes in both urban areas have been 'kick-started' by European Union grants and other monies such as those from the national lottery. This has encouraged urban programmes with development and regeneration strategies. In both cases, there has also been a commitment to building programmes and tax and rent subsidies to both big and small businesses. Community groups and networks have also been fostered as well as these cultural and social facilities, such as theatres and arts centres, seen as important for urban renewal programmes.

When comparing the two cities, both have had problems in developing the tourism industry. Although, it can be said that in contrast to Dundee, tourism in Inverness has been, on the whole, a success story, especially over the last four decades, there are still

areas of difficulty. The popular tourist route, the A9, brings visitors directly from Edinburgh to Inverness. Inverness has been able to benefit from this fact along with other destinations on this route such as Pitlochry. However, Inverness, although possessing a relatively long history of tourism, was until the post-war period 'more of a route centre than a tourist destination point' (Butler 1985 p382) and indeed still displays this characteristic. Thus, it is more of a touring centre than a final destination. The wider area of the Highlands, as shown above in Section 3.4.1, has also had mixed fortunes. Indeed, 'the phenomenon of mass tourism in the Highlands and Islands ... is essentially a post-war development ... Over the years, a formative factor in the Highlands and Islands has been their peripheral position, not only within the British economy but also within Scotland. The area has suffered from processes of economic centralization' (Duffield and Long pp407-408). Dundee, on the other hand, is not generally known for tourism, although the city is in the process of developing its tourist industry within the context of a re-imagining of the city. This is a phenomenon which has become increasingly apparent in the 1990s (see Section 4.3.2). Unfortunately, this has presented difficulties, and tourism in Dundee, and in Tayside as a whole, still paints a negative picture over the past few years, although hope for the future runs high. On the one hand, the supply side has seen several additions to the attractions' base, such as RRS Discovery and Verdant Works museums. Both attractions are run by Dundee Heritage Trust, formed in 1985 as a result of community concern for the exceptional industrial heritage of the area. Its aim has been to preserve, present and interpret Dundee's industrial heritage in a bid to help regenerate the city through the vehicle of urban tourism. However, during the 1990s it is unfortunate that the increase in the supply chain was not complemented with a similar pattern in demand (Tayside Economic Research Centre 1999) and Verdant Works was under threat of closure in 2002 because of low visitor numbers. Overseas spending in Tayside decreased by around 28% and spending by domestic tourists decreased by about 5% during the 1990s (Scottish Enterprise Tayside 2000 p6).

The cycle of depopulation and deprivation, which had begun to develop in Dundee, and which the recent redevelopment strategies have been designed to stop or at least slow down, was in fact a very familiar one in the past to many areas in the Highlands including Inverness. The latter had in an earlier period been neglected for some considerable time, experiencing stagnant or even declining population growth over a long period when the more 'fit and able' had continued to abandon the town to search elsewhere further south or abroad for new and 'greener pastures'. Up until the 1970s and prior to the North Sea oil boom, the city had usually been seen as too remote from other population centres for much investment in industry to take place, or even educational facilities such as a University to become established (Dickson and Tremble 1992). Thus, much earlier than Dundee, Inverness had had to turn to tourism and other service industries in order to stem and eventually successfully help to reverse the tide of population decline.

Although continuing to adopt tourism strategies for development, Inverness forms a contrast to Dundee for, as shown in Section 3.4.1, it is the 'Capital of the Highlands', a major urban centre on the A9 'tourism trail' and has experienced a boom in tourism over the past thirty to forty years. This was especially the case, since the creation of the STB/VisitScotland and before that in 1965 the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) with its headquarters in Inverness. The town was involved in a 'process of change from a relatively undeveloped area, frequented by small numbers of a social elite, to a well developed and well equipped tourist area catering to large numbers of touring visitors travelling by car' (Butler 1985 p389).

Thus, despite a certain commonality of focus on strategies of tourism development, these urban areas cannot be placed into the same category due to their different histories, geographies and patterns of development. The vibrancy and increase in the population of Inverness can be contrasted with Dundee's population decline that reflects the fact that it is no longer a major manufacturing centre. The almost doubling of population in Inverness in the last two decades can therefore be compared to Dundee's rapid

population decline. Again, Inverness has also always been a service, educational, communication and market centre for the Highlands and Islands. It is therefore expanding on a previously established role, which involved the tourism industry as a major service sector of the local economy whereas Dundee is going into this as a new area. Its recent take-off into rapid growth reflects as much its location and original infrastructure as the success of development initiatives which included tourism strategies. Re-invention is also less of an issue in cities such as Inverness when compared to manufacturing centres such as Dundee. Inverness does not have to battle with the weight of possible 'image bruising baggage' in the way that Dundee has to when dealing with its industrial heritage past. Dundee, unlike Inverness, is still not very much of a tourist centre with a smaller hinterland for tourists to visit. It also faces other competing urban locations that can be used by visitors as their base. Similarly, the common perceptions of Scottish history, Highland myths and cultural character attributed to a town like Inverness often evade foreign tourists when faced with the prospect of visiting Dundee. Consequently, in order to succeed in an increasingly competitive environment, politicians, policy makers, residents and tourists alike have even been urged to display 'a vote of confidence in the future of Dundee as a sustainable post-industrial city based on its experience and achievements' (Lloyd and McCarthy p59). No such urging is required in the tourist-historic city of Inverness (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990).

The two urban areas therefore highlight contrasts as well as similarities in terms of their histories, environments and structural pre-conditions for the successful development of tourism strategies in their particular areas. A case study of these two urban centres, Dundee and Inverness, which are outside the central belt, can track the still emerging patterns of continuity and change in the ways in which the tourism sector and images of place in Scotland are negotiated by significant players in the tourism scene. Inverness and Dundee therefore appear as appropriate location choices in terms of contrasting urban research locations. They give the researcher the opportunity to explore how it may be necessary for each city to present a unique and different face, and constantly



revitalise it, in order to attract visitors. It may be important for those involved in the tourism enterprise to present this uniqueness and difference of the location to the visitor. In the present research, it is of interest to examine the views of the proprietors regarding their respective locations such as their images of either the 'tourism-historic' Inverness, or post-industrial Dundee with its efforts in becoming re-imaged as an 'industrial-historic city. It of interest to explore whether such images are akin to those that the policy makers hope to project.

### **3.6 Overview of the contexts in which the proprietors are placed**

This chapter has considered the socio-historical Scottish tourism setting, against which background the proprietors who are the subjects of this study are placed. It has considered Scotland as a tourism destination and examined certain perceptions of Scotland which have become more common in recent years. Thus, early tourists to Scotland tended to focus on natural settings, on rural rather than urban landscapes. However, in recent years, attempts have been made to make urban as well as rural areas in Scotland increasingly more attractive for visitors as well as for residents. The research setting in this thesis is urban Scotland, which at present is undergoing rapid change and presents contrasting images. This chapter has explored the strong and almost symbiotic relationship between urban development and planning and tourism.

There appears to be a determination in both urban areas of Dundee and Inverness that the future should be faced with correspondingly new enterprises and strategies befitting the new age of post-Devolutionary Scotland. The tourism and hospitality industries embody these strategies. Thus, even in Dundee, which compared to Inverness had previously a poorly developed tourism sector, the strategic importance of tourism has now become such that it is said to provide an economic and social impetus to the city and its surrounding region. Attracting tourists and their money has spin-off effects for the local economy and local officials have in this way come to realise that tourism is a major service industry which should be fostered because of its wide-ranging

development implications. Taken together with the other strategic elements of urban regeneration, such as education and technology, tourism is now perceived as important in the broader local and regional picture.

Nevertheless, development does not only involve economic forces but also other broad social and cultural factors. For example, 'one of the problems in identifying the impact of particular forms of economic development is that their economic benefits (and debits) are often represented in isolation without being placed in the social and environmental context of the area concerned.' (Duffield and Long p405). Tourism development is a broad phenomenon which goes beyond the economic. Small-scale tourism development can help to maximise local economic benefits. The related businesses and the individuals involved in them, also help provide an increased sense of local pride and awareness of individual, local and national identities.

Consequently, this chapter has addressed the contexts and pressures which frames the actions and interactions of the individual proprietors. In particular this involved examining the two Scottish urban areas of Dundee and Inverness. This chapter provides, from a multidisciplinary perspective, a rich and detailed composite picture of the tourism developments in Dundee and Inverness. This includes an analysis of the changes that have taken place in relation to national and local tourism and hospitality initiatives and local implementation in the Dundee and Inverness urban areas. This provides context and direction for the central research. As a result, Dundee and Inverness give a special focus to particular local government contexts as interesting but contrasting case studies in their own rights and as illustrations reflecting changes that are taking place at a national level in Scotland. An aim of the research is to view the small-scale guest house proprietor within the Scottish social, cultural and economic contexts at both the national and local levels which affect and constrain their actions and views, and influence their business and lifestyle goals and choices. This chapter has therefore outlined both the micro and broader macro environments in which the proprietors operate their business concerns. It has done so by focusing on those changes that have taken place in Scotland

and particularly in the urban areas in question. The analysis of the broader contextual setting is a vital first step that must be taken in order to appreciate and account for the influences that impinge upon the orientations, views and choices of the proprietors. The way in which such individuals view the changes that are taking place in Scotland as a whole, both on a micro and macro level, would appear to impact upon both the business-related and personal choices that they make. In turn, this will affect the types of services provided by them in the small-scale hospitality sector in the particular localities concerned, which will also in turn affect the decisions made by policy makers about the sector.

## **Chapter 4 - Conceptual framework and research methodologies**

*'...the different ways in which individuals invest objects, events, experiences...with meaning form the central starting point for research. The reconstruction of such subjective viewpoints becomes the instrument for analysing social worlds' (Flick 1998 p17)*

### **4.1 Introduction**

There appears to be a reciprocal relationship between the conceptual orientation of the researcher and the fieldwork procedures used in any research study. Different conceptual orientations are used both to frame research in different contexts and to make interpretations. These distinct perspectives enable the establishment of descriptive categories and the building of models to guide the research. They draw attention to various factors relevant to explanations of social phenomena. It is proposed that it is necessary to make them explicit in that these perspectives play a fundamental role 'in affecting the types of observations' which we make when conducting research (de Vaus 1986 p23).

This chapter examines the relationship between the conceptual orientation that has been adopted and the chosen methodological approach. This is complemented by a critique of the main research methods applied in this study. Both the fieldwork phase and the analysis phase of the research process are examined in this way. When studying everyday life, careful attention must not only be given to the details of interpretation and circumstance, but also to the tools of the trade. These include all procedures from those involved in establishing rapport, to those involved both in gathering field data and also in the methods of analysis. The latter is 'not so much technical as it concerns interpretation - an analytic orientation to everyday life' (Gubrium 1988 pp9-10). This takes the researcher back once again to the first step of relating the research to the

conceptual orientation that frames it. Therefore, this chapter specifically addresses the methodological objectives outlined in Section 1.4.2.

The process of data collection is described in this chapter through a discussion of the various phases of the research. First of all, the initial phase of research exploration that informed the research approach is described. The starting point was a general background exploration of relevant literature including press reports. It also involved an exploration of the views of significant individuals about the roles of small-scale owner-occupiers in the hospitality industry. These significant individuals included those within the proprietors' formal networks as well as public figures who expressed opinions in the media and elsewhere (Appendix One). The purpose was to build up a broad set of information about the contexts in which the proprietors operate.

The aim of the next phase was to develop a more informed definition of the situations of the guest house owners themselves by ascertaining their own views. The interview method which was to be used was first tested by means of a pilot study (Section 4.3.2). Based on the initial pilot findings, along with ideas which emerged from the literature reviewed, the rationale for the methodology of the main phase interviews emerged. An examination of the main phase of the field-work involving interviews with proprietors is given (Sections 4.3.3, 4.3.4 and 4.3.5). The discussion looks at the phenomenological approach adopted to research interviewing. Details are provided of the way in which the interviews were then transcribed to facilitate analysis (Section 4.3.6). A discussion of relevant ethical considerations is also provided (Section 4.3.7). This leads on to a detailed account of the methods of analysis as applied to the qualitative textual interview data, namely those used as part of 'framework' analysis (Section 4.4). This was used as a means of reducing, synthesising and interpreting the transcribed data according to a thematic framework. This process was facilitated by the use of WinMAX, a qualitative analysis software program (Section 4.5). This allowed for the systematic and comprehensive exploration of emergent themes to enable the development of concepts and typologies grounded in the data. It also allowed for elaboration and expansion

drawing upon interview content within the parameters of the staging, process and themes identified. Therefore, illustrative quotations are taken from the verbatim interview transcripts and appropriately organised into the previously identified thematic types or genres to provide a detailed, context-driven analysis. This serves as a vehicle for presenting the findings, and demonstrates clearly the basis upon which data interpretations have been made, thus adding to the rigour and transparency of the analysis process. An overview of the methodological approach is provided (Section 4.6) which summarises the link between the conceptual framework and the methods of data collection and analysis outlined in the chapter.

## **4.2 Conceptual orientation and methodologies**

The conceptual orientation elaborated on in this chapter provided a framework for the methodological procedures used in this study. In this respect, it was found that a useful and meaningful ‘social action/interaction’ reference frame helped give insights throughout the study into the ways in which the proprietors viewed themselves and their contexts. This frame was developed both on the basis of relevant literature and more basically from the actual data collected at the initial stages of the project, including the pilot project. Through an analysis of the latter, a view of the proprietors that emerged as most meaningful for this research was one which lay within the social action frame of reference, as an orientation which appeared to ‘best fit’ the research. This orientation involves the variety of meanings which the proprietorship of a guest house has for the owner. The approach, favouring a social action frame of reference, is firmly established in the social sciences as one which takes the ‘actors’ own definitions of the situation in which they are engaged as a basis for ‘the explanation of their social behaviour and relationships’ (Goldthorpe *et al.* 1968 p184). In the present instance, the methodology, using this approach, is to elicit from the proprietors their own definitions of their situations in terms of their own understandings of their various positions. The interview is therefore the central process of data collection.

The approach goes farther than an analysis of the guest house owners as actors engaged in processes of social interaction, although this is seen as central to the analysis. Interest lies in the influences on the proprietors, as identified by the proprietors themselves, of the Scottish economic, political, social and cultural contexts, including the specific urban tourism contexts, as well as the networks in which they are involved. The aim is to help form the typical life situations and experiences of those interviewed. The social action/interaction approach helps to describe the individual's particular roles as emerging out of social processes and constantly developing and changing due to these social processes. The focus of interest does not therefore lie alone in the occupational/work role of the individual but on the influences which a variety of social processes have on the 'whole identity' of the individual. In 'interactionist' terminology, the identity of the constantly developing and changing individual can be viewed as emerging out of a variety of social processes.

Five related points develop to form the conceptual orientation which frames the methodology. Firstly, the social actors (the owner-occupiers) act individually within their various situations to suit their own ends. At the same time, their actions are constrained within the various contexts in which they play their various roles. Secondly, their situations include others, within their various networks and membership groups, who may influence their actions and views, to a greater or lesser degree. Thirdly, the proprietors share to some extent with these 'significant others' certain expectations, usually both related to their role as a guest house owner occupier and in terms of certain social characteristics, values, beliefs and symbols pertaining to their common situations and experiences. Fourthly, the proprietor acts with others with whom they share these expectations based on common situations and experiences in similar situations. These sets of social actions/interactions reflect each other in terms of degree of similarity to the extent that those who act within these various social and economic contexts of action share certain social characteristics, values, beliefs and symbols. Fifthly, these social action/interaction sets form part of the social structure and cultural context and, in turn,

affect the subsequent actions of the individual proprietors and influence the development of the roles that they play.

Thus the conceptual framework of social action/ interaction seems appropriate on this general level in the analysis of the individual proprietor's definitions, actions and experiences. However, a dilemma is apparent. Social action is not dependent only on the individual actors, or on their membership groups and networks, or on the wider social context alone. If the action approach designates those elements that are important for the individual who takes steps and acts in a relatively voluntary capacity, then the individual at the same time is constrained within membership groups and networks and also within the wider socio-economic context. Although the proprietor as social actor is the central focus in this study, the social action contexts in terms of membership groups and networks, the urban contexts and wider society are taken as both influencing and framing actions.

Before establishing the reciprocal relationship between the symbolic interactionist frame of reference and the qualitative, interpretative methodological approach used in this study, it is necessary to outline the main tenets of the symbolic interaction approach. This is done through an illustrative account of the contributions which such a social scientific theoretical approach has made generally and can make in particular to the field of hospitality research. The possible relevance specifically to the analysis of small hospitality businesses is also examined. This leads to a critical exploration of the limitations and implications of such conceptual orientations for hospitality researchers as a framework for collecting and analysing qualitative data.

#### *4.2.1 Symbolic interactionism*

Symbolic interactionism represents an important example of action theories (Ritzer 1996). They do not view society as an entity over and above the individuals who compose it or as something that can be analysed independently of the actions of which it



is constituted. Therefore, action approaches do not tend to examine the 'society' or the 'organisation' as a whole, but rather concentrate on face-to-face social interactions. Thus, whilst structural, or systems, approaches in the social sciences begin from the assumption that social behaviour is conditioned or shaped by forces at the levels of the 'society' or the 'organisation', action theorists tend to argue that individuals act rather than organisations or even societies (Cassell 1993). They point to the connection between actions and meanings, and argue that people choose, interpret and intend their actions and do not simply react to external constraints or stimuli. Therefore, with action approaches, 'society' is recognised as a series of interactions between and among individuals, although they are still seen as constrained by the social processes, which emanate from the organisational structures that have been created (Layder 1994; May 1996).

As a conceptual orientation, therefore, symbolic interactionism emphasises the individual, rather than the structure of the society or the organisations within which people act, in order not to dehumanise people into sterile factors of analysis. It can be termed as a humanist perspective, taking a 'ground/up' approach. The 'top/down' structuralist approaches are viewed as robbing people of their essential characteristics as actors in social processes. Such structuralist approaches are reflected in the work of Talcott Parsons and his followers, who dominated Anglo-American sociology in the 1950s and 1960s (Parsons 1951; Rocher 1974) and whose impact is still apparent in organisational and systems theory today (Collins and Makowsky 1993; Elliott 1999). Unlike symbolic interactionism, such structuralist approaches encourage a view of people as mere 'effects' or 'reflections' of the surrounding system. Symbolic interactionists reject this view. They argue that the term 'structure' tends to neglect the meanings which are central to people's lives, colour their relationships and impact upon institutions and organisations. Furthermore, it is suggested that structure is an unnecessary abstraction, and what is needed to understand human behaviour is to study social activity and face-to-face relations. Symbolic interactionists conclude that social life is constructed by individuals themselves, in their interactions with others, and not

produced by some more impersonal entity, which exists externally from their experience (Cassell 1993).

George Herbert Mead is generally regarded as the founder of the symbolic interactionist approach and his work is still considered to be of relevance to this day (Ritzer 1996). His ideas on social behaviourism were published after his death, in the book 'Mind, Self and Society' (1934). In this work, Mead opposes the idea that people mechanically respond to external stimuli, contending that it is possible to build up an account of the development of the self through the observation of ordinary activities in daily life. For Mead, people in everyday situations respond to social stimuli by reflecting on what the stimuli mean, and by selecting a course of action they consider to be appropriate. In Mead's (1934) work, the two key concepts are social meaning or symbols, hence the symbolic part of the theoretical label, and reflection on how others see us, as the link between individual and society. According to Mead (1934), it is through the mind and the self that people interact with others and relate to the social habits, culture and customs of their society, organisation or group. Thus, an individual's self is not necessarily an internalised construct, but a product of social processes and activities. Mead proposed that individuals hold internal conversations when thinking something through, enabling a reflection of individuals through the eyes of others, and an anticipation of their reaction. This represents a concept of 'generalised other', which is achieved through communication and interaction with others, allowing learning as to how others see things and what is expected in particular situations (Coser 1971). Burns frequently quoted lines from his 1786 poem 'To a Louse' illustrate our desire to see ourselves as we are seen by others: 'O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us To see oursels as others see us!' (Knowles 2001 p75).

Symbolic interactionism is not a tightly integrated theoretical school (Cassell 1993; Ritzer 1996) but rather a perspective which is useful as a research orientation. In its variety of forms it has inspired and been inspired by differing methodologies with both quantitative and qualitative underpinnings. These can be contrasted historically as

exemplified by the influences within symbolic interactionism of the once dominant 'Chicago School' with the 'Iowa School'. The latter inclined to a view of social life as more structured than was the case with the 'Chicago School', and adopted a largely traditional approach to scientific analysis, applying more quantitative research techniques. However, both schools of thought centre round the key concepts of symbolic interactionism involving an exploration of the nature of the 'self' and social interaction. They concur that in all its interpretations the theory evolves as a series of general statements made in the light of the interpretation of empirical case studies. In this way, it is research based and, having emerged from the research process, is in turn a suitable frame for subsequent research (Layder 1994).

Despite these other schools, the main foundation stone of symbolic interactionism has been the 'Chicago School', which has also given a firm basis to qualitative research methodologies (Coser 1978; Madge 1963). It used as a foundation the ideas of William Thomas and Robert Park who in their separate research initiatives firmly linked interactionist theory to action research (Coser 1971). Thomas's work made pragmatic use of social research within his view of the 'social self' as constrained by space and time. He saw social facts as 'givens' to be understood in terms of how people interpret them in various social situations. From this, Thomas developed the idea of the subjective 'definition of the situation' and the methodological maxim: 'if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (Thomas and Thomas 1928 p572 quoted in May 1996 p71). In contrast, Park developed symbolic interactionism through anchoring his research into everyday life within the wider context of the city. Taken together, they can be said to have focused on viewing the more macro structural levels of organisation, city or society as a whole from the ground up through the eyes of the 'creative individual' (May 1996 pp70-71). Their work encouraged a significant range of empirical studies, which made use of a variety of qualitative methods to study different occupational, and lifestyle groupings in inter-war Chicago. These researches embodied a humanist approach to social analysis, involving the researcher attempting to get close to

the subjects in an effort to give an account of what it means to be a member of a particular social or occupational grouping (Madge 1963).

Other influential writers in the tradition are Blumer, Becker, Goffman, Glaser and Strauss. Their work reflects many of the preoccupations of the approach in that they describe research conducted into small-scale or face-to-face encounters and interactions, trying to understand the point of view of the people concerned. Blumer (1969), who was influenced greatly by Park, first coined the term 'symbolic interactionism' in 1937 arguing that human beings respond to their environments through the medium of meaningful interpretations. He showed how the ability of the individual to interpret the acts of others requires both communication and the fixing socially of definitions (May 1996 pp73-74). Becker (1963) studied marginal or deviant groups, trying to make sense of behaviour, which, from the outside, often appeared irrational or inappropriate. For example, Becker's work on jazz musicians described the marginalisation of this occupational grouping. Goffman also was concerned with exploring the presentation of the 'self' of individuals within the constraints of occupational roles within the service sector, such as, the small hotel or the gambling casino. For example, his classic (1959) analysis of the backstage/front stage behaviour patterns of waiters in a small hotel in Shetland is a prime example of occupational role-playing involving both customers and fellow workers. Goffman adopts a dramaturgical perspective viewing 'actors' as constantly engaged in a series of performances on front, or back stage, introducing the concept of role, role expectations, and role modification, whereby the presentation of 'self' is negotiated, manipulated and may differ depending on the audience. Finally, the symbolic interactionists, Glaser and Strauss (1967) contribute an emphasis on the use of empirical research data to generate theory 'from the ground' in order to build up a cumulative process of theory emerging from research. This 'grounded' theory emerging from the research process complements the research that was developed from theoretical models, used mainly to test them rather than to break new ground.

In essence, symbolic interactionist research attempts to capture the way in which ordinary activities performed in everyday life are intentional, interpretative and creative processes, and the researcher is seen to share a concern with the actor's point of view, emphasising processes of action. Thus, it can be summarised that symbolic interactionism is characterised by the two key concepts of the exploration of the nature of 'self', and social interaction. The self interacts with society, and the stimuli embodied in symbols and meanings, encounters, and experiences embedded therein, are rooted in both occupational and social groupings, which are anchored in everyday life. It triggers a process of interpretation, taking account of reflection, learning and the opinions of others. This may in turn impact on a negotiated or manipulated image and presentation of self. As such, symbolic interactionism can be taken to represent a form of humanistic social analysis, rich in meanings and symbolic associations that build from the micro to the macro-level. This allows the researcher to explore the dynamics of actors' interactions within a range of contexts (Layder 1994).

Furthermore, it is proposed that the symbolic interactionist orientation is as relevant to the multi-disciplinary field of hospitality as it is to sociology. The relationship between these two discipline areas has proved fruitful from the work of the early symbolic interactionists until the present. For example, relatively recent work in the sociology of food and consumption illustrates the sociologist's renewed interest in the hospitality experience of 'dining out' (for example, Finkelstein 1989; Ward and Martens 2000). It appears that the symbolic interactionist approach is relevant to this research and indeed could contribute to the creation of knowledge and the development of understanding about small hospitality businesses.

#### *4.2.2 Symbolic interaction and small hospitality businesses*

The research context of small hospitality businesses has received increasing attention in recent times, (for example, Thomas *et al.* 2000; Clegg and Essex 2000; Morrison and Thomas 1999; Kozak and Rimmington 1998). This was partly due to a move to address

a previous imbalance in enquiry which, tended to favour the macro and quantitative (for example, Boer 1999; Buhalis 1999) over the micro and qualitative (for example, Buick, Halcro and Lynch 2000; Getz and Carlsen 2000). With respect to the latter, it is proposed that where the researcher is interested in exploring the nature of small business interactions in the hospitality sector from the actor's point of view, then a symbolic interactionist orientation may be appropriate in addressing the research question. In this context the 'actor' could be identified as the small business proprietor, who is generally the owner-manager. Justification for this research orientation is argued on three levels. Firstly, it relates to the need to achieve a satisfactory methodological 'fit' that has intrinsic empathy with the nature and characteristics of the small hospitality business and the proprietor. The proprietor is typically involved in on-site dealings, daily interactions and transactions. Furthermore, the highly personal, and interactive nature of hospitality transactions mean that social interactions function as a firmly rooted part of everyday life (Di Domenico and Morrison 2002; Di Domenico and Morrison 2003). These characteristics are in sharp contrast to large multi-site businesses, which generally have more detached owners and formalised structures of action. Second, although previous hospitality research in general has drawn upon various models adopted from business and social science disciplines, the focus has tended to be on an understanding of the configuration of a hospitality organisation using business-based structural models often derived from a large business context (for example, Davidson, Manning and Timo 2001; Laws 1999). Thus, it is argued that the application of such models at the level of the individual small business may be deemed inappropriate. Finally, a symbolic interactionist orientation enables the 'voice' of the small business proprietor to be heard. This is with respect to how they view and negotiate their social worlds, socially interact, symbolise associations and meanings, and present, interpret and manipulate the various aspects of the 'self'. Specifically, it allows valuable insight into encounters and experiences with guests, family members, colleagues, and employees (Goffman 1959).

Three key but interrelated challenges have been identified as facing researchers in the operationalisation of a symbolic interactionist study within small hospitality businesses.

They take the forms of involving the researcher as the research instrument, dealing with a multitude of 'voices', and addressing tensions and contradictions that may be inherent in the role and treatment of structure within this methodological orientation.

Firstly, within symbolic interactionism, the researcher plays an active role as a research instrument, immersed in the field with the actors. Inquiry is seen as a dialogue between the inquirer and the actor, not a monologue by an observer about an object (Di Domenico and Morrison 2003; Plummer 1995). The focus of concern is on understanding meanings which inform action, which can only be verified with reference back to the actors themselves. It represents an inescapable process of social interaction. This is laden with aspects, such as: the presentation of 'selves' in the form of both researcher and actor; the extent to which trust and empathy exist within the relationship; the listening, observation, interpretative and management skills of the research; and the researcher's prior and emergent understanding and knowledge of the actor's 'social world' and construction of reality (Goffman 1959; Holstein and Gubrium 1995). This leaves the researcher open to the charge that such research could be heavily influenced by the researcher's own values in terms of not only the interpretations brought to the data but even the very questions asked. However, it can be argued that no research can be completely value free and indeed that it may not be desirable for it to be so (Silverman 2000 p2). Silverman (2000) proposes that a researcher's values should be acknowledged at the outset, then put to one side, aiming for the achievement of an 'empathic neutrality', where the researcher uses personal insight whilst taking a non-judgmental stance in the collection and analysis of the data. Meanings and actions can thereby be set in context to frame each account relayed by the individual actor. Taking a symbolic interactionist perspective, social life can thereby be seen in terms of process rather than as static, with concepts emerging from the research rather than being imposed by the researcher. In the present research the researcher is a white, female in her twenties. These characteristics need to be acknowledged and considered in the light of the research data duly obtained as part of a process of researcher reflexivity (Giddens 1991). Nevertheless, it is argued that whilst such unavoidable features may or may not

impact upon the data elicited, empathic neutrality is still nevertheless ensured by the avoidance of overt personal judgements and opinions on the part of the researcher during the course of the interviewing process. It is important however, that these features are explicitly declared at the onset so that reference to the interpreted impact of these upon the interaction between the researcher and respondent can be referred to where relevant during the analysis and writing of findings (see Section 5.6.2 on researcher reflexivity during the analysis process). This also further informs the reader about the data collection process and provides them with a deeper understanding of its context and process.

Second, the central assumption of symbolic interactionist research is that social life is characterised by many points of view, and how one understands it depends on one's orientation (Layder 1994). Therefore, there is no one ultimately correct description to be given of any situation, and each proprietor may tell a version of the same 'story', which in turn may vary according to the audience. For a researcher seeking a real comprehension of a proprietor's meanings and perspectives, this represents both a fascination and a frustration. The danger is that frustration and time constraints trigger the imposition of pre-determined notions or expectations of a proprietor's actions or points of view using the more structured categories required by survey research. However, the fascination is fuelled by seeking ways in which to encapsulate and embrace the multitude of perspectives of individual proprietors of small hospitality businesses. The starting point is to take first their own definitions of self, and versions of a reality in which they are directly and intensely immersed through their own eyes, interpretations and voices.

The third challenge relates to the role and treatment of structure, or the context, in which the small hospitality business proprietor is embedded. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, this still represents a necessary part of the analysis. Aspects such as geographical location, urban/rural positioning, human and financial resource base, markets of operation, competitive positioning, formal and informal network



configurations, and the personal lifecycle history of the proprietors may impact in varied ways and degrees upon the proprietor's definitions of situations. This represents a framing context within which individual proprietor's accounts are obtained, and have a role to play in understanding and tracking the evolution of 'self' as each actor has interacted within society over time (Di Domenico and Morrison 2003; Plummer 1995). Furthermore, it provides a means to identify how proprietors with different resources and opportunities define the same situation in different ways. It also takes account of sources of political and economic power, such as, may be exercised by external funding bodies for small businesses like public sector agencies and banks, or through restrictions imposed through parliamentary legislation at a macro-level. This explicit inclusion of structure serves to counter criticisms of symbolic interactionism, suggesting that it does not pay sufficient attention to social structure or external constraints on action (Elliott 1999). However, the focus remains on the micro-level, with the macro-level playing a subservient, but nevertheless complementary role.

In summary, it is proposed that the symbolic interactionist approach has the potential to achieve a more synchronised methodological 'fit' to context than could be achieved through the imposition of more business-based structural models. This facilitates the exploration of self in the form of the proprietors and their versions of reality, responding and being flexible to the highly personal and interactive nature of hospitality transactions across a range of actors and networks. A consequence of operationalising a symbolic interactionist approach is that researchers may feel overwhelmed by the volume of data arising from the multitude of proprietors' voices. However, this should be recognised as a strength of the method in that once analysed it has the potential to generate a wealth and richness of meaning and knowledge. Furthermore, it is recognized that research methodology could be deemed as flawed if the actions and behaviours of the proprietors were to be divorced from the social and business structures in which they interact. Thus, researchers require to incorporate context into research design in a manner that complements the micro focus (Di Domenico and Morrison 2002). Therefore, it is proposed that within the context of the small hospitality business,

focusing on the actions and behaviours of the proprietors, a symbolic interactionist approach has considerable merit. Furthermore, it may provide greater understanding from a ground, micro level perspective of the wider culture and social dynamics prevalent in their individual 'worlds'.

#### *4.2.3 Implications of the approach for qualitative data collection and analysis*

There are various approaches to data collection and analysis. Whilst this study adopts a symbolic interactionist conceptual framework which guides the research methodology, alternative approaches should also be considered. Differing approaches reflect different research perspectives. Although the list is not exhaustive, it is useful to consider a number of principal perspectives. Fielding and Thomas (2001) refer to the use and appropriate application of three of these approaches (pp141- 144).

The first approach to social research is positivism, which is concerned with the existence of an external 'truth' or reality based on fact and aims to produce data which is independent of both the contextual setting and the researcher due to positivistic notions of validity. This approach is therefore rejected in the present research as it is in conflict with the basic research questions and premise upon which the study is based.

The second perspective as identified by Fielding and Thomas (2001) is ethnomethodology (p142). This approach views data differently in that it abandons a concern with content in favour of an examination of form (Heritage 1984) such as 'a focus ... on the skills we all use in producing and understanding descriptions' (Silverman 1993 p60).

The third approach as identified by Fielding and Thomas (2001) is symbolic interactionism (p142). This asserts that the context of data production is intrinsic to the understanding of the data itself. Although researchers have used a symbolic interactionist approach in conjunction with more quantitative data collection and

analyses techniques such as surveys (see for example Goldthorpe *et al.* 1969) 'most interactionists reject prescheduled standardised [survey] interviews in favour of open-ended interviews. The latter allow respondents to use their own way of defining the world ... and allow respondents to raise considerations that the interviewer has not thought of' (Fielding and Thomas 2001 p142). Although these three principal perspectives offer interesting insights into views of the social world, there are also other approaches, and research may be informed by more than a single perspective as differing approaches may indeed overlap. This research adopts a symbolic interactionist approach through the application of specific qualitative collection and analyses methods as outlined in this chapter.

From the foregoing, it would appear that a symbolic interactionist orientation has the potential to provide a corrective balance to the de-humanising systems accounts of the more structural based theories. On a more pragmatic level, the major contribution of symbolic interactionism is generally seen as the body of research to which it has given rise (Layder 1994). It is sometimes criticised from a theoretical perspective as no more than a research tradition (Ritzer 1996). Symbolic interactionists have produced a great variety of ethnographic studies, which detail particular activities or ways of life, generally involving the first-hand involvement of the researcher. This distinctive style of inquiry involves a rejection of more traditional models of social research, generally accepted as 'scientific', based on survey analysis of mainly socio-economic variables, such as class or gender. However, it could be argued that these neglect to take account of the self-conscious character of human beings and the interpretations and choices that people really make.

Thus, a key common characteristic, which can be identified as generally encompassing the symbolic interactionist frame of reference is a commitment to 'naturalistic' inquiry, in that behaviour is studied in the context in which it actually occurs, rather than through surveys or in a controlled laboratory setting (Silverman 2000). Therefore, methods such as participant observation, traditionally applied in social anthropology, and in-depth

interviewing are regarded as data collection methods more in-keeping with the spirit and rationale of this orientation, especially that derived from the 'Chicago School' (Collins and Makowsky 1993; Madge 1963). These correspond to the action/interaction conceptual orientation that is concerned with interpretative understanding and the meaning of social action. Core features are that it involves 'real-world enquiry, and the penetration of the perspectives, frames of reference and meanings of the people being studied, resulting in rich and detailed descriptions. Thus, within this research orientation the likes of face-to-face interviews are not regarded as an 'inescapable constraint ... with respondent concerned to bring the occasion off in a way to demonstrate his or her competence' (Miller and Dingwall 1997 p59). Instead, they are considered as a welcome opportunity to source and explore socially constructed data created by the actor's self-presentation and voice. However, as Curran and Blackburn (2001) point out, the qualitative researcher inevitably interprets the respondents' accounts at the analysis stage, using their own frames of reference whilst closely adhering to the proprietors disclosures. This is an important and indeed desirably unavoidable aspect of research and interpretation 'so that respondents' contributions can only be a part, albeit a key part, of the final interpretation. But whatever the final theorization, it always follows the uncovering of the meanings, values and logics of the respondents' (Curran and Blackburn 2001 p114).

However, there exists a challenge in the achievement of the systematic and valid analysis of such personal accounts and interpretations of self-presentations. Symbolic interactionist researchers have employed a range of specific methodological approaches both to the gathering and the analysis of the collected accounts. Conversation, discourse, and forms of narrative analyses are the best known. Sense making represents a complex and difficult process that is vulnerable to challenges to both method and validity, and is to some extent a characteristic of the nature of empirical qualitative enquiry and, arguably, its strength in terms of contribution to knowledge. What is considered to be vitally important is that whatever analytic method is employed, in order to remain true to the guiding orientation, there is a need to retain the essence of the time, place, meaning

and framing contexts of individual accounts. This can be facilitated through the rigorous application of manual and technological aids allowing for the recording of full oral accounts and consequent conduction of a comprehensive analysis (Tesch 1990). Furthermore, it is essential that the context-specific nature of the data be retained not only throughout the process of analysis, but also during write-up and dissemination of findings. Finally, within the analysis process there is the opportunity to return to the actors to further explore, verify and validate emerging findings, adding to the reflexive and iterative process that is central to qualitative research (Berger 1977; Giddens 1991; Plummer 1995; Robson 1993; Silverman 2000).

This research adheres to these principles and employs data collection and analyses methods which remain true to the guiding orientation of symbolic interaction, as outlined above. The next sections of this chapter give a detailed account of the practical and theoretical issues in relation to the methods of data collection employed (Section 4.3) and the methods of analyses applied to the data (Sections 4.4 and 4.5).

The question of how generalisations can be made from qualitative research may be posed (Silverman 2000). It needs to be emphasised that the qualitative research undertaken in this study does not involve generalisation such as that invoked in a more quantitative environment in which there are context free universal laws and the desire to make statistical inference to the wider population. This is not that kind of an enquiry. It is, however, exploratory research which does make claims to generalisability through description of the context and process of the research. 'Generalisability' is perhaps inappropriate in the realms of qualitative research as it could be argued that positivistic notions should not be imposed onto interpretive research. Instead, the researcher should focus on how their analysis relates to things beyond the data. 'Extrapolation' may encapsulate better the methods of qualitative research. (Alasuutari 1995; Silverman 2000)

### **4.3 Methods of data collection**

The aim of this research is not to try and determine the characteristics and qualities of guest house owner-occupiers by pre-determined labels or categories which, one may argue, merely impose the researcher's notions of what constitutes a certain 'type' of operator. This may be the consequent aim of a study employing, for instance, survey-style research methods (Hammersley 1996) but is explicitly not an aim of this research. The self-determined characteristics and images of the operators themselves are sought. It is argued that this can only be effectively done through a rigorous and detailed qualitative approach. By engaging with such individuals the research allows them to express in their own words the ways in which they view themselves and define their own situations, within the contextual parameters of the locations focussed upon in this research.

The choice of methods applied to this study, primarily involving qualitative interview techniques, arise out of the nature of the research questions. The appropriateness of these techniques, it is further argued, derive from the fact that this investigation is essentially problem-centred in that suitable methods for exploring the problems set are utilised. Moreover, the findings of any study are intrinsically related to the methods used to develop them (Bryman 2001; Gilbert 1993). In this section these methods are described. This research aims to adopt approaches which complement the nature of the topic. In doing so, the aim is similarly to apply the necessary amount of rigour to allow the development of theoretical and practical assertions based on the findings derived from the data. The methodology in this case reflects the social action/interaction orientation which is adopted. By its very nature, research involving opinion cannot have a single 'right' answer or a single 'right' method of investigation, but rather a selection of more or less 'appropriate' methods from which the researcher must select, and even combine, specific methods (Bryman 2001; Silverman, 2000; Silverman 1993). It is proposed that the researcher should not become a 'prisoner' of a particular method or technique when carrying out an enquiry. Therefore, in this research, efforts are made to use as wide a

variety of techniques as deemed to be appropriate. These techniques are included in the pre-fieldwork and pilot study phases and the main phase of interviewing as described below.

#### *4.3.1 The background research phase*

This phase in the research process involved a full immersion in and concern with the wider context framing the actions and situations of the individual proprietors, the subjects and primary focus of the study. It is only by having a detailed awareness, knowledge and understanding of the position and the environment within which the guest house owner-occupiers operate, that one may appreciate the issues that affect and concern them. Moreover, it can also be argued that it is only by first understanding the wider societal influences that one may then progress on to examining the perspective of the individual actor, the focus of this research. This is fully in keeping with the symbolic interactionist frame of reference, following the principles first developed by the Chicago School, which stresses the need to locate the individual actors within their particular contexts. The frame of action is the context and this gives a balance between the 'voluntaristic' and the 'normativistic' elements of action (Parsons 1937).

This stage of background research and data gathering (see Appendix One) preceded the undertaking of the pilot study and consequently informed the decisions of the selection of appropriate themes and topics upon which questions to be addressed to the proprietors themselves were based. Before developing the interview guide, which was used first for the purposes of the pilot study and, after adjustment, for the main phase interviews, articles from local and national newspapers referring to the two areas were collected and studied. This allowed the researcher to build up a picture and acquire some background knowledge of the areas. Reference to such articles is made in chapter three of this thesis. This was carried out in tandem with the process of reviewing the relevant literature. To assist in the process of literary searches the researcher used a number of on-line databases such as the MCB Emerald database, the Omnifile full-text database, the

ingentajournals database, IBSS (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences) and CSA (Cambridge Scientific Abstracts) electronic databases.

The background research phase involved both secondary and primary research. The former involved desk-based research and an examination of relevant literature including press reports. The latter involved the researcher making several visits to each of the research locations in order to obtain greater familiarity with recent developments in each location. The researcher also approached relevant key informants identified as operating within the networks of the proprietors or those individuals in positions of authority who influenced the wider political and economic Scottish context. It was important in terms of selection criteria that all those individuals spoken to were concerned with either or both Inverness and Dundee and/or the position of small-scale hospitality operations in Scotland (see Appendix One). The sources from which contact details were obtained, allowing the researcher to make decisions regarding the most appropriate persons to contact were VisitScotland (formerly the Scottish Tourist Board), and the Directory of Scottish Government 2000. Contact was made via letter and e-mail where appropriate to the identified individuals so that correspondence was entered into. This led to the researcher arranging and conducting open discussions with key informants around various themes and topics related to the research. This provided a rich source of background knowledge. Certain persons declined to speak to the researcher. Nevertheless, those who did agree to facilitate the research endeavour are listed in Appendix One. Information obtained and derived from these research contacts are referred to and integrated into the earlier background chapters of this thesis. All discussions were fully tape recorded and later transcribed. Repeated visits were also made to the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh where the researcher was given access to tourism reports and confidential responses to consultation documents in the form of letters from private individuals and business owners, including some guest house proprietors. The researcher made copies of all those pertaining to the two specific research locations. However, contact details of respondents cannot be listed or included in the thesis due to confidentiality.



Following these methods, the thematic content of the interview guide was drawn up and critically analysed by the research supervisors and other interested academics. The background research phase involving research into and concern with the context consequently informed the initial drafting of the interview guide used for the pilot interviews. The development of the eventual guide used for the main phase interviews (see Appendix Two) was therefore informed by issues emerging from both the background research phase (Appendix One), and the pilot study (see section 4.3.2). The eventual flexible structure of the interviews emerged through this process. Thus, research into the background context comprised a crucial and necessary initial stage of the research, enhancing and confirming the methodological approach adopted and orienting the researcher towards issues of possible concern to the individual owner/occupier.

#### *4.3.2 The pilot study*

The pilot study technique was used, before embarking upon the main research phase, not only as a frame for the development of ideas and concepts but also to be able to focus the analysis on any particular problem areas which might arise (Gillham 2000). The application of the intended primary methodological tools was in this way applied to a smaller sample frame of respondents. This was in order to determine whether any problems might develop later in the main research context and consequently which amendments needed to be made before the main research phase was embarked upon. The pilot was used to inform the main phase interviews by exploring the themes on the interview guide (Appendix Two) developed as a result of the background research phase (Appendix One) and review of literature. The other main objectives of the pilot stage of interviews were to estimate the length of time necessary to conduct a 'typical' interview; to assess the degree of co-operation which would be had from the respondents; and to ascertain the level of communication between the researcher and the respondents. The pilot study was further used as a means to allow the researcher to practice interviewing

skills. It was also used to gain further valuable background information about guest house owner-occupiers and their views to allow the further development of the interview guide (Appendix Two).

This technique follows accepted good research practice. Before pursuing a research project, an intimacy with the area of study should first be sought (Dingwall 1997; Gillham 2000). Generally, this can be done by studying appropriate literature and by engaging significant individuals in relevant discussions. Specifically, one must have knowledge of the particular people and settings in which one is interested. This can be done partly by using pilot study techniques. Piloting should also be 'a dress rehearsal ... You use people who are representative of the group you are researching but not from that particular group' (Gillham 2000 p55).

It was necessary to choose a suitable location which was relatively similar to the geographic research areas but where the respondents would not qualify to be included in the main phase selection of proprietors to be interviewed. It was decided that Perth could act as an appropriate location in which to conduct the pilot study. This was due to a number of similarities, which made it comparable in different ways to the two cities of Dundee and Inverness, which had been chosen as the settings for the main research phase. For example, Perth like Inverness is a Scottish urban area that is known as a tourism centre of notable status. As with Dundee and Inverness, it has good transportation links by road and rail to the hinterland of the city and to other parts of the country. It is of similar size and population composition to Inverness and, like Dundee, it is located in the Tayside region.

A sample of respondents was selected by using the list of guest houses which appears in the Yellow Pages 2000/2001 telephone directory, as the overall frame from which to select respondents. All interviews for the purposes of the pilot study took place in December 2000. Telephone calls were made to the businesses in order to request and make arrangements for interviews to be conducted. It was felt that such an approach was

important both in terms of adhering to measures of good practice and interview protocol and in establishing the necessary rapport with potential interviewees (Kong, Mahoney and Plummer 2002). However, for reasons elaborated upon below, it was decided in the main phase to precede telephone calls with letters of introduction (Appendix Three).

The guest houses as they appeared in the yellow pages' listings directory for the Perth area are naturally clustered into certain streets and parts of the city. In total thirty-four guest houses were listed in the Yellow Pages under Perth. Clusters of similar small-scale owner/occupier guest houses were notably located around the Pitcullen Crescent and Dunkeld Road areas of the city. Therefore, these two streets were identified as the biggest clusters from the list and appropriate for the pilot study. A list of nineteen potential respondents from these streets was drawn up and all were contacted. From these nineteen, the researcher was able to secure ten respondents for interview, or approximately half. The nine remaining non-responses either took the form of direct refusals to participate or there was no response to repeated telephone calls initiated by the researcher. Of the ten interviews conducted as part of the pilot study, six were located on Pitcullen Crescent and four on Dunkeld road.

It was considered that it would be an interesting research outcome to examine whether similar clusters or groupings of businesses would exist in the two urban areas under main phase investigation or whether the spatial organisation of guest houses would be different in character from that of Perth. The research could determine whether there were also reasons, linked to the characteristics and chosen lifestyle of the proprietors, associated with the geographical distribution patterns of their businesses. The aspect of location was frequently brought up by respondents in the pilot study. For example, one stated that 'the best locations to have a B&B or guest house in Perth are Dunkeld Road, Glasgow Road and Pitcullen Crescent.' It was further pointed out that the reputation and images of different parts of the city and even different streets was a major factor contributing to the choice of business location within the urban area. In this way, issues

such as this incorporated into the interview guide (Appendix Two) which was further developed and informed as a result of the pilot exercise.

The examination of, and reflection on, the researcher's experience of the pilot study, and the responses obtained, was aimed at assessing the level of communication between interviewer and interviewee, and the nature and appropriateness of the interview guide. Most interviewees appeared to welcome the opportunity to express their views, enjoyed being interviewed and wanted to speak at some length. Most respondents took pains to answer the questions fully and invited the interviewer in to the sitting room and offered tea or other refreshments. The degree of communication was encouraging and added further weight in support of the application of the depth interview as a data collection method. Themes and specific comments made by respondents were noted in order that the researcher could reflect on substantive statements made. However, the aim of the pilot study was primarily to review the interview guide and to prepare the researcher for the main interview phase through the practical application of interviewing skills and techniques which would be required, such as probing and listening skills.

Several conclusions were arrived at due to the experience of conducting the pilot study in Perth. These led to some modifications being made to the interview guide. Overall, it was found that the interview guide worked better without a specific ordering of topics or themes upon which questions would be based. Application of a predetermined systematic ordering of topics during the interview discussion was seen to inhibit or stifle responses. Greater discussion fluidity encouraged more detail and general comfort and interest on the part of the interviewee. The ability of the researcher to 'jump' from one theme to another in response to the discussion and the respondent's views was important in order to allow for the interview to take the form of a flowing conversation and avoid fragmenting or disjointing the train of thought of the proprietor. This would better allow for respondent-induced data to emerge (Marshall and Rossman 1995). Moreover, the response rate was of some concern, and the researcher decided that contacting potential interviewees by letter prior to making telephone calls to arrange interview details could

serve to increase the response rate of the main phase interviews (Appendix Three). Such a process of introduction would also serve to alleviate any possible initial concerns held by the proprietors about the legitimacy of either the researcher or the purposes of the research, or issues of confidentiality (see Section 4.3.7 on ethical considerations).

#### *4.3.3 Selection of respondents for the main phase interviews*

The population frame was compiled for both areas using the most recent publications of the 'Yellow Pages'. Businesses were randomly selected and letters were sent to request interviews (Appendix Three). These were then followed by telephone calls to determine the proprietor's willingness or otherwise to participate. The researcher noted responses to the request for an interview and, where the potential respondent was willing to take part in the study, the time and date of interview were subsequently arranged. Such an approach may appear time consuming. However, as well as adhering to measures of good practice and interview protocol and establishing the necessary rapport with potential interviewees (Johnson 2002), it was necessary to conduct the interviews face-to-face in the natural setting to which the guest house owner was used. This enabled the researcher to build up a composite picture of the individual and the business through first hand observation. It also provided the researcher with a necessary insight into the specific context of these individuals. The use of a face-to-face interview allowed for the opportunity to probe the respondent where necessary or follow up interesting lines of inquiry brought up in response to questions put to the individuals. Thus, the exploration of the meanings and definitions of the respondents is facilitated, and the advantages attached to more depth qualitative interviews are facilitated, allowing for the extraction and analysis of qualitative data (Atkinson 2002; Warren 2002).

It was noted that the number of potential interviewees was significantly higher in Inverness than in Dundee. Nevertheless, it was decided that the number of interviews conducted in each location should be the same in order to ensure comparability during analysis. Fifteen interviews were secured in Dundee. Therefore, this number was

matched in Inverness, giving a total of thirty interviews of owner-occupiers for the main fieldwork phase.

The geographical distribution of businesses in each site presented interesting characteristics. For instance, the majority of the guest house properties in the Dundee area are situated in the Broughty Ferry district (see Figure 3.2). This is an important point of note as, although classified as within the Dundee city boundaries, Broughty Ferry is markedly different from the city centre in terms of its tourism profile which is in many ways comparable to that of Inverness with 'tourist-historic' rather than 'post-industrial' characteristics. This suggested that the corresponding tourist destination imagery evoked by the proprietors must be considered when examining their views.

It was decided that the researcher would conduct all the interviews by visiting the respondents through prior appointment at their guest houses. This allowed the researcher to place the respondents in their natural settings. Indeed, this further supports the social action/interaction orientation as it can be said that the interview itself is a form of social encounter involving focussed interaction between two parties. In this case, the interviewer and the interviewee interact, albeit in the knowing situation of an interview, in order to ascertain the proprietors' own definitions and beliefs in a natural setting in which they are familiar.

#### *4.3.4 The interview guide*

A flexible interview guide was used for the proprietors in both Dundee and Inverness (Appendix Two). As informed by the pilot interviews, the interview guide was used as a prompt or guide to topics for discussion and there was no pre-determined fixed ordering. The researcher was therefore free to probe for further clarification or further detail throughout the interview, whilst at the same time ensuring that the main issues are covered. It was found that the time available to interview those contacted by the researcher varied. Indeed, time spent interviewing ranged from an hour to two hours

thirty minutes depending upon the individual concerned. However, the average interview time was about one hour and thirty minutes. The decision was therefore taken that, due to the need for sufficient time to obtain useable and comparable information and rather than turn down the opportunity to interview, all thematic headings and key points would be raised during every interview, with more or less probing as determined by the circumstance. Also, the intended methods of analysis were kept in mind when constructing and revising the interview guide (See Appendix Two). Throughout the interviews themselves, the researcher 'does far more than dispassionate questioning ... she activates narrative production ... [it is the] interviewer's job to direct and harness the respondent's constructive storytelling to the research task at hand' (Holstein and Gubrium 1995 p39). The interview guide demonstrates a symbolic interactionist approach of 'learning participants' subjective meanings and on stressing participants' actions. The questions are intended to tap individual experience.' (Charmaz 2002 p679)

#### *4.3.5 Rationale for the interview approach adopted and the role of the researcher*

The interview and data collection approach adopted fits the conceptual orientation which is concerned with interpretive understanding and the meaning of social action. There are a number of 'core' features which can be used to describe the method of research employed. It involves naturalistic, 'real-world' enquiry and the penetration of the perspectives, frames of reference and the meaning of the people being studied (Warren 2002). Therefore, detailed descriptions which are consistent with those perspectives are provided. Thus, the 'inescapable constraint' of the face-to-face interview, as identified by Dingwall (1997 p59), that 'the respondent is still concerned to bring the occasion off in a way that demonstrates his or her competence' (ibid p59), is not in fact a disadvantage of the interview method in the context of this study. Indeed, it is put forward that this is indeed a benefit in the present case. The fact that the 'data produced by interviews are social constructs, created by the self-presentation of the respondent' (ibid p59) is not therefore an impairment. On the contrary, as the aim of the research is to explore these accounts and self-presentations in order to answer questions regarding

the self-images of the owner-occupiers, the interview approach is not only appropriate but also arguably a necessity.

The personal interview as a research tool can be regarded as 'integral to social research, [and] its prime currency, talk ... central to our social lives ...' (Jones 1985 p45). The researcher had indeed considered a number of important methodological issues when critically appraising the interview type to be employed for attaining the owner-occupiers' views. These are the degree of structure, the 'fit' of the chosen interview type with the symbolic interactionist orientation, and the relevance of the research to the interviewees themselves.

The experience of the pilot interviews revealed a need for more fluid discussion sequencing. (Section 4.3.2) Also, the ability to allow the respondent to elaborate on their own, and direct the discussion into new and different lines of enquiry is also an important interviewer skill used by the researcher. The crucial point is that a balance needs to be achieved between encouraging a fluid interview where the respondent feels free to elaborate, and orienting the direction of the interview in a way that is deemed by the researcher to be meaningful in terms of the research objectives (Atkinson 2002). This is why the researcher opted for a broad interview guide rather than a more pre-structured and rigid 'list' of questions. Such a balance is discussed by Jones (1985) who states that although 'we are tied to our own frameworks, we are not totally tied up by them ... if we hold on to, modify, elaborate and sometimes abandon our prior schemes in a contingent response to what our respondents are telling us ... we are some way to achieving the complex balance between restricting structure and restricting ambiguity' (p47).

The chosen style of interviewing must necessarily be guided by, and 'fit', the conceptual orientation. It is argued that in this research this aim is achieved as the concern lies with extracting the proprietors' own definitions and views. Jones (1985) makes the point that 'to understand other persons' constructions of reality we would do well to ask them ...



and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms...and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings ...' (p46). This illustrates that such an approach to data collection was necessary as the action/interaction orientation taps into the self-expressed worlds and individual frames of reference of the owner-occupiers.

It must also be remembered that the interview situation itself is a process of social interaction. As such, the interviewee's definition of the interview situation will be affected by aspects such as their 'first impressions' of the researcher, the extent to which they feel comfortable or at ease being interviewed, and the way in which they choose to manage the presentation of 'self' to the researcher (Goffman 1959). These are inescapable features characteristic of the face-to-face interview. In an effort to obtain 'good' data, the researcher tried to build up a trust with each individual. A relaxed atmosphere was promoted and respondents were assured of confidentiality. However, one must actively listen and respond to what the respondent says in order to engage with them, using one's ability to do so as a research instrument in furthering the understanding of their 'world' and construction of reality (De Laine 2000).

Empathic neutrality is important whereby the researcher uses personal insight whilst taking a non-judgemental stance in the collection and analysis of the data (Gillham 2000). Meanings and actions are necessarily set in context, as context frames the accounts relayed by the individuals concerned. Also, social life is seen in terms of processes rather than in static terms. Crucially, concepts and categorisations and/or theories emerge from the data rather than from a priori categories or from imposed ideas which may merely 'bully' the data into fitting predetermined categories preferred by the researcher (Charmaz 2002). Furthermore, interest lies in the uniqueness of each case as well as in the findings derived from comparative cross-case analysis.

The methodological focus uses the research questions outlined in Section 1.4.1 as a guide or as a general frame of reference. The research strategy acts as a 'map' for the

exploration of the data collated. Thus, the precise techniques employed, primarily the depth face-to-face interview, are used as the tools for conducting the exploration.

#### *4.3.6 Transcription of interviews*

Answers arising from the interview guide (Appendix Two) were tape recorded and later transcribed verbatim by the researcher in order to facilitate analysis. This involves repeated listening to tape recordings in the production of textual data. However, the process of transcribing interview material is by no means simply a technical detail prior to the analysis (Charmaz 2002; Miles and Huberman 1994). Indeed, the production and use of transcripts are essentially 'research activities' and could be looked upon as the first stage of the analysis process. Transcripts are also important for presentational purposes (Silverman 1993 p117). Furthermore, the use of 'recorded data is an essential corrective to the limitations of intuition and recollection. In enabling repeated and detailed examination ... the use of recording extends the range and precision of the observations which can be made...because the data are available in 'raw' form, they can be re-used in a variety of investigations and can be re-examined in the context of new findings' (Heritage 1984 p238 in Silverman 1993 p119). Also, this allows for others to view the data contained in the transcripts in differing ways, using different analyses and thus giving the opportunity for complementary, or indeed divergent, interpretations.

At this point one may refer to the issue raised by Kvale (1995) and Poland (2002) that the research interview is a socially produced interaction framed by the specific context in which it occurs. Therefore, a qualitative phenomenological approach to research interviewing which appreciates context, interaction, interpretation and the fluidity of conversation, as in the case of this research, can be argued to be more appropriate than a quasi-positivistic view of the transcript as providing so-called 'factual' data about the respondent which is frozen in time. This shows that it is impossible and indeed undesirable to view those practical methodological issues such as the transcription process as separate from one's theoretical stance.

The type of transcription of qualitative data is determined by the purpose of the interviews and the aims of the research. Transcription can vary from a full verbatim transcription to note-based or indeed memory-based transcription (Poland 2002). Although it is acknowledged that a verbatim-based strategy is undeniably the most time-consuming method of transcription, it is deemed in this study to be necessary due to the nature of the research questions and the methods of analysis applied to the interview data. Similarly, the decision was also taken that there should be no editing of the interview material during the process of transcribing the tape recordings, as full, detailed accounts should be used for analysis. Moreover, familiarity with and a full immersion in the data by the researcher are also an advantage of full transcription (Fielding and Thomas 2001 pp136-137). It is therefore argued that the transcription process must be undertaken solely by the researcher in order to benefit from and facilitate this process.

There are various conventions associated with different systems of transcription, the choice of which is based on the theoretical research orientation and the nature of the data dealt with. The elaborate system of codes employed in the transcription conventions of conversation analysts (Silverman 1993) were deemed unwarranted and unnecessary in this research as this type of analysis is not used in this study and this is not one of the stated aims. The selection of an appropriate style 'depends on which features the researcher considers important to capture ... Thus it is neither appropriate nor possible to specify *a priori* what constitutes the most appropriate (or rigorous, or highest quality) universal notation system' (Poland 2002 p637). However, a thorough and consistent approach to be used across all interview transcripts needed to be ensured. Therefore, the researcher scrutinised a number of different conventions proposed in the literature (Edwards and Lambert 1993; Poland 2002; Silverman 1993) before selecting an appropriate notation system to help with the process of transforming the interviews from the spoken to the written word. The most appropriate system for the purposes of this research is based on that advocated by Poland (2002) as it provides the necessary detail required by the analytic approaches. The conventions of this are detailed in Table 4.1. It

is important that researchers make readers aware of the conventions employed so as to ensure that all verbatim quotations used are fully understood. This, it is argued, further adds to the transparency of the investigative process.

Pauses	Denote short pause during talking by a series of dots (...). the length of which depends on the amount of time elapsed (e.g., three dots for one second). Denote longer pauses with the word pause in parentheses. Use (pause) for two-to three-second breaks and (long pause) to indicate pauses of four or more seconds.
Laughing, Coughing	Indicate in parentheses; for example, (coughs), (sighs), (sneeze).
Interruptions	Indicate when speech is broken off mid-sentence by including a hyphen (-) at the point where the interruption occurs. For example; What do you –
Overlapping Speech	Use a hyphen to indicate when one speaker interjects into the speech of another, include the speech of the other with (overlapping). then return to where the original speaker was interrupted (if he/ she continues). For example: R: He said that was impos – I: (overlapping) Who, Bob? R: No, Larry.
Garbled Speech	Flag words that are not clear with square brackets and question mark, if guessing what was said. For example; At that, Harry just [doubled? Glossed?] over Use x's to denote passages that cannot be deciphered at all (number of x's denote approximate number of words that cannot be deciphered.) For example; Gina went xxxxx xxxxx, and then [came? went?] home.
Emphasis	Use caps to denote strong emphasis. For example: he did WHAT? Do not use boldface or underlining because such formatting is often lost when text files are imported into qualitative analysis software programmes.
Held Sounds	Repeat the sounds that are held, separated by hyphens. If they are emphasised, capitalise them as well. For example; No-o-o-o, not exactly. I was VER-r-r-y-y-y happy.
Paraphrasing Others	When interviewee assumes a voice that indicates he/ she is parodying what someone else said or is expressing an inner voice in the interviewee's head, use quotation marks and/or indicate with (mimicking voice). For example: R: Then you know what he came out with? He said (mimicking voice) "I'll be damned if I'm going to let YOU push ME around." And I thought to myself: "I'll show you!" But then a little voice inside said "Better watch out for Linda." Sure enough, in she came with that "I'm in control now" air of hers.

**Table 4.1: Guidelines of the conventions of the transcription notation system adopted. This is based on that advocated by Poland (2002 p641).**

#### *4.3.7 Ethical considerations*

In line with other forms of research that involve human subjects, qualitative interviewing requires that the researcher considers the ethical dimension of research (Bulmer 2001; De Laine 2000; Kong, Mahoney and Plummer 2002). This is an important methodological consideration and is thus apportioned necessary attention. The main ethical issues identified by the researcher as facing the undertaking of the research exercise are informed consent, respect for privacy, confidentiality, and reciprocity.

Informed consent is a necessary pre-requisite to interview research carried out in an overt and ethical manner (Bryman 2001). In order to set up and arrange the required interviews the researcher contacted potential respondents by letter (Appendix Three) and this was followed by a telephone call. Responses at this stage ranged from welcoming agreement to outright refusal to participate. Verbal consent was adequate as written replies would have been an unrealistic expectation and severely limited respondent numbers. Also, the researcher was fortunate in that after arrangements of dates and times had been established with potential respondents, all such arrangements were adhered to, again indicating that those respondents initially willing to take part continued to do so. All interviews took place at the guest house of the individual owner-occupier thus ensuring a relaxed interview setting for the interviewee and also allowing the researcher an insight into the nature of their business operation. Sending an individual letter of thanks shortly after each interview further ensured good protocol and an ethical approach to interviewing (see Appendix Four).

The use of a tape recorder is a necessary component of the interviewing approach adopted in this research. It is also vital to the intended methods of analyses and is an identified corrective to the limitations experienced as part of the pilot study (Section 4.3.2). All respondents were asked at the commencement of the interview if the

interview could be tape-recorded. Therefore, informed consent in this respect was also attained. To facilitate interpretations of the interviews the researcher also made use of data recorded in a different fashion, namely that of observations and researcher impressions recorded in written form immediately after the interview. These take the form of 'memos' accompanying the relevant sections of transcript to which they refer and appear on the margins of the transcripts as viewed on the WinMax software used to facilitate the code and retrieve analysis process.

Respect for privacy is a complex area of ethical debate (Bulmer 2001 p50). The extent to which the researcher can 'intrude' into areas considered private by the subject is not a simple issue to deal with as definitions of what constitute private domains vary from individual to individual and from one culture to another. Therefore, in relation to the present study, questions pertaining to aspects of the subjects private life, social connections and networks, family and home could be taken to lie within this grey area. This was given some consideration by the researcher prior to embarking on the interviewing process particularly in relation to ascertaining information as to respondents ages for example. It was decided therefore, that due to the nature of the research, empathy could be developed with the respondent and this information could be acquired nearer the end of the interview, if not already given through the course of the discussion, once a certain rapport or trust had been established. Any fears of a lack of openness on the part of respondents were unfounded as all proprietors talked openly. Indeed, several went even further to use the interview as a chance to express their views in great detail. It is argued that this is due to the method of research enquiry adopted, namely that of the face-to-face depth interview involving human interaction, and is further evidence in support of the appropriateness of this technique.

The issue of confidentiality had to be considered by the researcher (Bryman 1998). It was decided that when analysing and referring to interview accounts a system of letter/number identification would be used for reference and retrieval purposes to ensure the maintenance of proprietor anonymity. Whilst the researcher has detailed records of

respondents' names and addresses matching each interview transcript to facilitate administrative and analytic tasks, these will not appear in the thesis. Therefore, interviews conducted with owner-occupiers in Dundee are referred to by the labels 'D1' through to 'D15' and the interviews held in Inverness would similarly be referred to by the labels 'I1' through to 'I15'. However, the issue of confidentiality is more complex than it may initially appear. For instance, the researcher needed to consider whether details such as names referred to by respondents should be deleted and not used for the purposes of illustrative quotes. After contemplation it was deemed that such an approach was not warranted. This decision was made on two counts. First, it was deemed that such an approach could detract from the context-driven nature of the accounts and inhibit the understandings and interpretations of meanings of respondents. Secondly, it was decided that if respondents did not air objections of the researcher's use of tape recordings and transcripts then such an approach would be ethically appropriate.

The methodological/ ontological 'fit' can also be argued to be high in ethical rigour in terms of the way in which the data is collected, analysed and the manner in which findings are reported. As the findings are based on emergent interpretations grounded in the data itself and a rejection of *a priori* classifications the approach thus remains true to the self-expressed opinions of the owner-occupiers. This, indeed, is the strength of qualitative research. Also, context is appreciated and reported which demonstrates the researcher's attempt to similarly avoid dehumanising the individual whilst ensuring that confidentiality is maintained. As Warren (2002) reports, qualitative interviewing differs markedly from survey research in this respect as it treats 'the unfolding social contexts of the interview as data, not as something that, under ideal conditions, can be eliminated from the interview process' (p91).

The last aspect of reciprocity (Bryman 2001) can be regarded as providing a rationale for the interview approach adopted. As is part of the interactionist orientation, the interview encounter is part of social interaction. Therefore, it was deemed not only to be methodologically and ontologically appropriate but also ethically sound to engage with

the respondents by revealing aspects of the researcher's own person. The aim of this is to reduce any perceived barriers of communication and to increase the comfort of the respondent, whilst ensuring that overtly 'leading' statements of opinion are avoided as far as possible. Kong, Mahoney and Plummer (2002) argue that it is ethically important that the interviewer 'constructs an empathic, emotional orientation during the interview process ... the respondents need to know that the interviewer will be open to their lived experiences' (pp252-253). Thus, empathic neutrality can be ensured. The idea of the researcher as 'research instrument' is therefore appropriate.

It is important to engage in a continuous process of reflective practice whilst undertaking qualitative research, by considering the interaction between one's ethical approach and conceptual orientation. De Laine (2000) does this by considering the researcher's role as influenced by the tenets of symbolic interactionism, as in the case of the present research. This is referred to as adopting a 'script and staging the self' (pp38-66). As a qualitative interviewer one needs to adopt a certain script by giving the impression of authenticity as a researcher to instill confidence in those being interviewed.

#### **4.4 Analysis of interview data: 'framework analysis'**

Bearing the important defining features of the methodological approach adopted in this study in mind, an appropriate analytical method is applied to reduce and synthesise the textual data. Before deciding upon the most appropriate form of analysis which would guide first the design of the interview guide, then the data collection and data analysis, the basic requirements of an appropriate system to be applied to this study needed to be considered. In essence, any system for analysing qualitative data, such as that to be derived from the interviews of the guest house owners, needs to possess certain key features. It should be grounded in the data and allow for emergent themes and categories to be developed. It should be systematic and comprehensive so as to provide the necessary rigour to allow cross referencing and easy retrieval of data and within case and between case analysis. In doing so, the data is accessible to others and any findings



and categories developed from the data is open to scrutiny by others and is thus transparent. It is only by employing such a method, one may argue, that the qualitative researcher can give assurances of the rigorous process used and the validity of the findings delivered (Charmaz 2002; Silverman 2000).

Qualitative analysis can be regarded as a fluid process, difficult to define because of its multiplicity of forms (Miles and Huberman 1994; Silverman 2000). Tesch (1990) defines it as 'the process of making sense of narrative data' (p4). Tesch (1990) argues that the 'analysis is not the last phase in the research process; it is concurrent with data collection or cyclic ... [and] the analysis process is systematic and comprehensive, but not rigid (p95). These features are important characteristics that are borne out in the application of 'framework' analysis. The activity of 'attending to data includes a reflective activity that results in a set of analytical notes that guide the process' (Tesch 1990 p95). During the analysis this is achieved in this study by the use of 'memos' (Lofland and Lofland 1995). These are attached to the margins of the interview transcripts in electronic format and used as forms of analytical notes or observational comments made by the researcher to help in the analysis process. The adopted software package, WinMax, has an integrated memo function to enable this process. Other guiding principles listed by Tesch (1990) are that 'data are 'segmented', i.e., divided into relevant and meaningful 'units', yet the connection to the whole is maintained ... the data segments are categorised according to an organising system that is predominantly derived from the data themselves ... the final goal is the emergence of a larger, consolidated picture' (pp95-97). These aspects are elaborated on in the context of the discussion of the specific method of analysis applied.

The type of qualitative analysis employed concerns the substantive content of meaning and is therefore necessarily interpretive in nature. An appropriate method referred to in the literature as 'framework' (Ritchie and Spencer 1994) was originally devised in the field of applied policy research. Two broad stages are involved in this method of substantive analysis. The first involves classification, sorting and data reduction by

labeling the transcribed data according to themes, categories and sub-categories. These are then sorted according to the themes, categories and concepts identified in order to allow for the data to be summarised and synthesised. The second involves interpretation. It is at this stage that the researcher must explore the reduced data generated by the first stage in order to determine the meaning of the data in terms of whether underlying dimensions can be identified or patterns found so that explanations can be offered.

The 'framework' technique can therefore be seen to be useful in this instance. It is important at this point to emphasise that there is no one 'right' way of carrying out qualitative data analysis. This point is confirmed in numerous texts on the subject (see for example Silverman 2000; Spradley 1979; Tesch 1990). It is not an easy task to compare analytic approaches by different qualitative researchers. Indeed, researchers are often cautious in the dissemination and description of their techniques of analysing textual data as they are wary of merely providing prescriptive descriptions. Many qualitative researchers 'wish to avoid standardising the process, since one hallmark of qualitative research is the creative involvement of the individual researcher' (Tesch 1990 p96). The approach taken is partly driven by the theoretical or conceptual orientation of the study and partly by the research problem. Consequently, the 'framework' method is employed as an appropriate method of analysis.

It is necessary to discuss the application of 'framework' analysis in more depth by breaking down the two broad stages indicated above into further practical sequential steps. The five key stages involved in 'framework' are 'familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, [and] mapping and interpretation' (Ritchie and Spencer 1994 p178).

The first stage of familiarisation precedes the process of sifting through and arranging the data in any kind of order for appropriate analysis. This is an essential pre-analysis stage as it allows the researcher to gain an overview of the data gathered. Undoubtedly, the researcher will have developed hunches and will be aware of key issues and themes

due to both the pilot stages and the direct involvement in the data collection itself. However, there may have been a significant period of time which has elapsed since some of the earlier interviews were conducted and 'it is likely that recollections will be selective and partial' (Ibid p178). It is therefore necessary that the researcher becomes familiar with the data through the process of listening to tapes and re-reading transcripts and observational notes. Whilst doing so, the researcher is able to list key ideas and recurrent themes. This is not a mechanical process as it requires the researcher to begin the process of conceptualisation (Miles and Huberman 1994). Such full immersion in the data allows for a more thorough analysis.

The identification of a thematic framework or index is then developed. This is where the researcher appraises the notes made during the familiarisation stage in order that an index of thematic content can be devised with numbered sections and sub-sections to be applied to the examination and referencing of the data. 'When identifying and constructing this framework or index, the researcher will be drawing upon a priori issues ... emergent issues raised by the respondents themselves, and analytical themes arising from the recurrence or patterning of particular views or experiences' (Ritchie and Spencer 1994 p180). Such *a priori* issues will result from the focus of the original research aims and those issues raised during the interviews by the questions posed. It must be affirmed that the first version of the index is not necessarily 'cast in stone' and may undergo a process of further alteration. In such a way, the researcher can ensure that the thematic framework remains responsive to emergent themes so that concepts can be developed which articulate the range of views and experiences present in the interview data. Through this process of refinement, the researcher must remain aware of the original research questions and make judgements as to the connections and relatedness of themes and ideas in order to determine their relative and appropriate positioning on the index. 'Indexes provide a mechanism for labeling data in manageable 'bites' for subsequent retrieval and exploration. They should therefore not be over elaborate in detail at this stage as the analyst needs to retain an overview of all the categories. The

more interpretive stages of analysis, which take place later, will produce the refinement of what is contained in each category' (ibid p180).

Some consideration was given as to whether separate indexes should be drawn for Dundee and Inverness as there are separate populations of guest house owners in the two locations. However, it was deemed that a common index would be more analytically advantageous as it would allow for similarities and differences in thematic content of the interviews to be more easily identified. Additional sub-categories could however be incorporated into the index to allow for differences resulting from divergent locations.

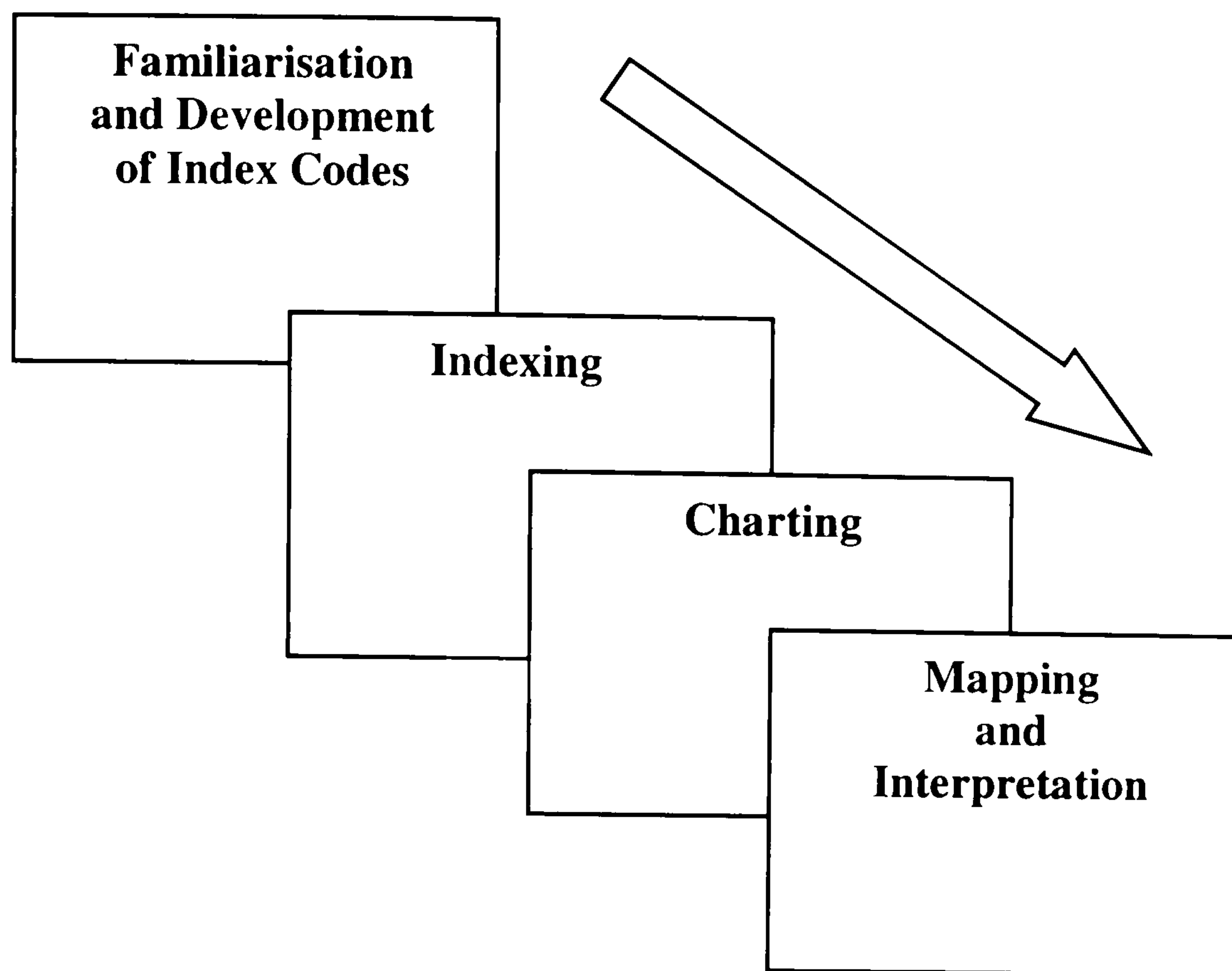
The index must be applied in a coherent and systematic fashion to the interview transcripts (Dey 1993; Mason 1996; Richards and Richards 1994). One must also not confuse this stage as being a mainly mechanical one or just an act of 'sort and code'. The engagement with the data is paramount and the researcher must continually make judgements about meaning in order to judge whether respondents' statements can be best applied to a specific thematic category contained in the index. Therefore, all verbatim transcripts in textual form are examined and annotated according to the index by assigning the appropriate numerical values or textual abbreviations on the margins of each transcript, which link directly to the original categories contained in the index. Where a piece of text can be interpreted as containing a variety of meanings, thus causing the researcher to assign multiple index categories, patterns of association can then be noted and highlighted when the research findings are presented (Ritchie and Spencer 1994).

One may encounter criticism, as the very process of making judgements of meaning is undeniably a subjective one. However, through methods such as 'framework' and those adopting a system of annotating textual data, one is able to provide a process that is transparent and open. Others can view the manner in which data has been organised and reduced and therefore appreciate the basis of the resulting findings.

By this stage the researcher has completed the process of indexing all of the interview transcripts. Data are now taken from the transcripts and rearranged alongside other data with the same thematic references. This stage of framing or 'charting' is so called as headings contained in the thematic framework are used to compile charts (Miles and Huberman 1994). In this study of guest house owners in Dundee and Inverness, it was deemed that the most appropriate analysis of data would involve thematic analysis. In other words each theme would be explored across all proprietors interviewed. Consequently, one chart would correspond to each theme identified and therefore codes relating back to several interviewees would be observed on each chart. It is important that the order of the respondents remains the same on each thematic chart as this aids the process of between or within case comparative analysis, if so desired. While some methods of qualitative analysis rely on approaches involving 'cut and paste', whereby segments of verbatim text are regrouped according to index references, 'charting involves abstraction and synthesis. Each passage of [annotated text] ... is studied and a distilled summary of the respondent's views or experiences is entered on the chart ... the original text is referenced so that the source can be traced and the process of abstraction can be examined and replicated' (Ritchie and Spencer 1994 pp184-185).

The researcher is able to progress on to mapping and interpreting the pooled data as a whole once charting has been completed. In the case of the present research the aim of the research is to map the range and nature of the views expressed and to find associations present in the interview data in order to create appropriate typologies. This stage must involve the researcher's complete immersion in, and engagement with the data. It is a process that necessarily involves imaginative and creative thinking. The charts are reviewed and re-appraised and the researcher actively seeks patterns of association and connections. When seeking to map the range and nature of views in relation to, for example, key reasons why people would set up their own small guest house businesses, key dimensions can be mapped and described. Once this has been done the researcher can partake in multidimensional analysis such as the creation of typologies. It can be seen therefore that the researcher works on two levels when using

such a method, namely those of categorisation and interpretation. Figure 4.1 illustrates visually both the broad five key analytic stages and the direction of the research process involved in framework analysis.



**Figure 4.1: Model (adapted from Ritchie and Spencer 1994) illustrating analytic components/ direction of the research involved in ‘framework analysis’.**

Future research, building on the present study, will need to find a comparable setting in which the concepts and explanations may ‘fit’. Therefore, the findings generated from interviews with guest house owners in the Dundee and Inverness areas comprise explanations which remain hypotheses until they have been applied to a new setting.

Whilst framework analysis provides a tool for the comprehensive and systematic reduction and thematic interpretation of the data it is important to retain the context of the individual accounts and provide the reader with a more comprehensive picture of the individual proprietor (Lofland and Lofland 1995; Strauss and Corbin 1990). This is necessarily accomplished by providing illustrative examples in the form of verbatim quotes from the transcripts to support the identified themes and show links and thematic commonalities across respondents’ narratives. This allows the researcher to conduct both

within case and between case comparative analysis of sub themes identified within the major narrative account. Verbatim quotations were therefore coded where it was desirable to maintain the original words of the individual actor, and are also included on the matrix charts compiled as part of the synthesis process.

Chapter Six of this thesis provides a detailed discussion of the findings from the analysis of the interviews. The researcher explored the way in which the thematic content of the interview data is related to the overall research questions. For instance, an examination of the way in which the themes derived from the narratives of the guest house owner-occupiers demonstrated their own definitions of their situation was carried out. Also, attention was paid to the different ways in which the subjects used the themes to provide an understanding of their self-images, images of place, experiences, and views.

The process of writing up interview data brings together the analysis and presents it in a coherent fashion. The aim of writing up interview data 'is to weave a narrative which is interpolated with illustrative quotes. Your task is essentially to allow the interviewees to speak for themselves ...' (Gillham 2000 p74). The number of quotations provided is the personal choice of the researcher. However, those used must be representative and convey the range and variety of the answers given. Any remarks made by respondents which differ significantly must also be reported so as to provide an honest overall picture of respondents' views. It was decided that the recommendations proposed by Gillham (2000) be used as an appropriate general guide, in that an 'important balance is that between quotations and the amount of linking narrative. An approximate practical guide is that quotations should make up not less than a third of the text, but not more than half' (p76).

The interesting and important interplay between the thematic analysis of narrative accounts and the action/ interaction approach, which provides an overall direction for this research, must be emphasised. Therefore, as informed by the interactionist perspective, individuals choose, interpret and intend their actions and statements in order

to project an intended image of themselves and directly influence the ways in which others see them. Such is the purpose of the narrative form (Czarniawska 2002). This research is wholly and explicitly concerned with the actor's point of view, namely that of the guest house proprietor. In other words, the way in which one constructs and relays one's view of the social world in a way that is meaningful to oneself. Therefore, such an analysis is intended to provide a deeper understanding and critique of these subjects' construction of meaning. Moreover, this provides specific and obvious associations with the dramaturgical approach advocated by Goffman (1959) and the active self-monitoring and reflective processes in which these individuals as social actors are engaged. It should be acknowledged that the narrator can decide what perspective to take when telling a story as they recognise the diverse contexts for interpretation of what they are saying. This 'fits' the research orientation which is concerned with the examination of social constructs of reality and the owner-occupiers' own perspectives as identified and projected by them, albeit in an interview situation. One can see that reference to these individuals as social 'actors' actively engaged in processes of social meaning construction (Hammersley 1992) is even more appropriate within the methodological and ontological framework of this research.

The very act of storytelling necessarily occurs between at least two individuals. They form part of conversations and our everyday interactions. However, as Gubrium and Holstein (1997) state, storytelling is not confined to single narrators as 'while stories have their tellers, storytelling unfolds in interactional context ... storytelling respects the normative expectations for turn-taking, speakership exchange and the like' (p153). This point highlights important methodological considerations. Whilst interviewing the guest house owners, their story is invited or encouraged through open questions and at times the researcher felt it necessary to promote this further and illicit their narrative by also revealing personal anecdotes. This form of interviewing can be regarded as active, complex and in tune with the symbolic interactionist framework orienting this research. The 'interview questions can be viewed as a form of narrative incitement ... Activities that have been typically seen as merely 'rapport building' or 'probing' ... serve to



prompt, if not provoke, narrative roles and elaborations' (Ibid p154). Thus, the weight and strength of argument in support of the appropriate application of a thematic analysis of the proprietors' stories is further compounded by its relevance to the conceptual orientation driving this research.

#### **4.5 Use, justification and application of software in the analysis process:**

The use and application of computer software is an important issue to consider, and arguably more so in the case of qualitative data analysis where the aim is not to look for statistical significance arising from the data but rather conceptual and/or theoretical significance (Catterall and Maclaran 1997; Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson 1996; Kelle 1997). The literature in support of and against the use of software packages in qualitative data analysis should also be considered in this discussion as there are both proponents and opponents of the use of such tools. Tesch (1990) clearly summarises a number of the main concerns of those who are skeptical of the application of software programs in qualitative analysis. She poses questions such as: 'Isn't qualitative analysis a much too individualistic and flexible an activity to be supported by a computer? Won't a computer do exactly what qualitative researchers want to avoid, namely standardise the process? Won't it mechanise and rigidify qualitative analysis? The answer to these questions is no ...' (p4). In defence of this explicit rebuttal of some researchers' claims that computers may be harmful to qualitative investigation is the view that such fears are likely to be derived from myth. She argues that 'these researchers expect the 'all purpose machine' to have a purpose and nature of its own. They believe this purpose to be antithetical to intuition, insensitive to nuance and meaning, and resistant to non-numerical information' (Tesch 1990 p168).

It is important to consider the criticisms of the use of software in qualitative data analysis in order to determine whether their use in a research endeavour is justified. Seale (2000; 2002) provides a critique of both the advantages and the limitations or disadvantages of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). He

summarises some of the advantages as those of speed in the handling of large volumes of data, rigour and facilitation of team research (2000). Although the present research did not involve a team of primary researchers, both the advantageous features of speed and rigour identified by Seale (2000) are used to add further weight in support of its use in this instance. However, this research uses software to support 'rigorous analysis' in terms of its ability to deal with vast amounts of data, easy cross-referencing functions and its code and retrieve abilities. It is not concerned with such quasi-quantitative methods of counting the number of times words occur as it is argued that such an approach would not render as meaningful results compared to the thematic coding approach of 'framework analysis' which is the method used in this study.

Seale (2000) identifies a limitation of CAQDAS as a concern that computers may impose a narrowly exclusive approach to the process of analysis. Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson (1996) argue that computers can be used effectively for the code and retrieve approach to analysis stemming from the principle of grounded theory, which relies on the interpretations of meanings of segments of text. However, they may be of lesser value in the analytic strategies of discourse analysis or conversation analysis (Seale 2000). Neither of the latter two approaches is relevant to the present research. Although an analysis of broad narratives is undertaken in terms of the thematic content of respondents' stories, no structured analysis of linguistic forms is undertaken, as this does not comprise part of the research aims. Therefore, it is appreciated that CAQDAS tools lend themselves better to particular forms of qualitative data analysis (Coffey and Atkinson 1996; Lewins 2001; Seale 2000; Seale 2002).

It must be emphasised that the researcher chose to opt for computer-facilitated analysis in relation to the framework approach for two principal reasons. Firstly, it sits well with the stages inherent in framework analysis and a package with the appropriate functions can therefore be incorporated well into this type of qualitative analytical model involving coding and data reduction. Secondly, and as identified by Tesch (1989, quoted in Fielding and Lee 1991), 'facilitating the analytic process allows the direction of

mental energy towards analytic rather than mechanical tasks ... the computer encourages researchers to 'play' with the data, a process which fosters analytic insight' (p4). This view is reiterated by Silverman (2000) who views a major benefit of qualitative software as its ability to give the 'data analyst more time to think about the meaning of data, enabling rapid feedback on the results of particular analytic ideas so that new ones can be formulated ... [The] analysis then becomes more devoted to creative and intellectual tasks, less immersed in routine' (p156). Of course, it must be remembered that whilst qualitative analytic software is used to facilitate the framework method, the other main method of the thematic analysis of respondents' stories which is also applied to the interview data in this research, is done so manually. This is due to the differing aims of each analytic approach which, due to their very nature, dictate the need for, or indeed the inappropriateness of, qualitative software in their respective contexts. Thus, the use of software as a facilitative tool is emphasised. It is the aim and procedural structure of the analytic method which must lend itself to the incorporation of software. The choice of analysis then must precede and lead on to the application or otherwise of a suitable computerised program (Kelle 1997; Seale 2002). The package should be chosen due to its 'fit' with the analysis, and never the other way round whereby analysis is undertaken primarily because it can be conducted with more ease using the software than with comparable analysis types.

By being explicit about the underlying operations of data analysis, an open and transparent trail of the research process is provided which promotes the credibility of findings. This involves the application of the WinMax qualitative analysis software program. There are studies reporting the use of CAQDAS programs and embrace its application in phenomenological research (Padilla 1991; Richards and Richards 1994). However, there are also those who appear more sceptical, and even fearful, of the possible implications of their increased usage as this might signify a trend towards more rigid and quasi-positivist frameworks (Buston 1997; Hesse-Beiber 1995). This position is refuted as it is argued that the approach chosen by a researcher determines both their choice of program and its consequent utilisation. Moreover, programs must be used to

facilitate data management and search functions in dealing with vast amounts of raw data. The conceptual thinking, theorising and modeling are necessarily the inductive and interpretative realms of the researcher. Section 5.3 discusses the use made of WinMax software for effective coding, search and data reduction. The findings outlined in Chapter Six show the alternative purposes and use to which the outcomes produced by the same software can be put, as in this case for data expansion by showing instances of stories and verbatim text relating to different thematically-coded labels.

Although advances in data analysis software reflect significant and dramatic change in recent years, there are still limits to what can be expected from and achieved by using the packages available (Catterall and Maclaran 1997). For the purposes of this study the practical use of a number of different software options were learnt by the researcher in order to determine their possible suitability. These included the QSR Nudist (or Nvivo) package, the Ethnograph and WinMax. The researcher also explored a wider range of qualitative analysis software discussed in the literature by examining the detailed results of an independent review of fifteen packages documented by Alexa and Zuell (1999), containing a comparison of the advantages, disadvantages, uses and possible applications of each. This facilitated in enabling an informed decision of appropriate software and ensured that the researcher was aware of the full breadth of available applications.

WinMax was found to be the most beneficial for the kind of analysis to be applied in this case. Nevertheless, out of the stages of analysis involved in the application of the 'framework' method as described in section 4.4, only certain stages can be used with this software. Namely, these are the code and sort stages when the compiled thematic framework or index is systematically applied to the interview transcripts. The latter processes of charting and mapping and interpretation were conducted manually by the researcher due to the skill requirements of critical thinking, interpretative imagination and researcher intuition which cannot be easily done using a computer package due to the nature of the task.

Broadly speaking, software programs for analysing qualitative data can be classified as either interpretative analysis programs or theory-building programs (Tesch 1990). The researcher undertook training in the use of the QSR Nudist package but decided it was of comparably lesser value than the WinMax and Ethnograph packages. QSR Nudist was appreciated for its code-based theorising functions, although its 'tree-like' modelling format was not in-keeping with the analytic approach chosen by the researcher. WinMax was the researcher's preferred package as it leaves open the way in which the researcher decides to structure their interpretation, or 'make sense' of the data. It is essentially a chunking and coding program. Similar to other packages of this type such as Ethnograph, 'what is being computerised is the mechanical aspect of qualitative data analysis and that the essentially interpretative work of generating codes is a task left to the analyst' (Fielding and Lee 1991 p5). It facilitates the 'cut and paste' job of disassembling and reassembling text according to identified thematic codes. That very process of coding according to an analytic scheme, in this case 'framework', is developed and executed by the researcher.

The software WinMax package used in this research in combination with framework analysis was chosen as it falls within the category of an interpretive analysis program as identified above. Other reasons prompting the researcher to opt for this software are that it is ideal for code and retrieve oriented analysis, which fits the process of data reduction and thematic coding involved in the framework method. The WinMax interface consists of four main windows that show the text already imported, the list of codes, the list of coded segments and the text itself. The researcher can thus work with any of these functions at any time or indeed close one or more of these windows to allow focussed attention to that contained within a specific window. The interview tapes were originally transcribed using the word for windows package. The files were then saved as text documents and imported into WinMax. This is in common with most programs, which expect data to have already been entered into a word processing package. Perhaps contrary to popular perception, this task, as well as those of reading and coding large

volumes of data, remains very time consuming. It is only at the later stage of data searching and retrieval that the package cuts the time and administrative burdens facing the researcher.

#### **4.6 Overview of the methodological approach**

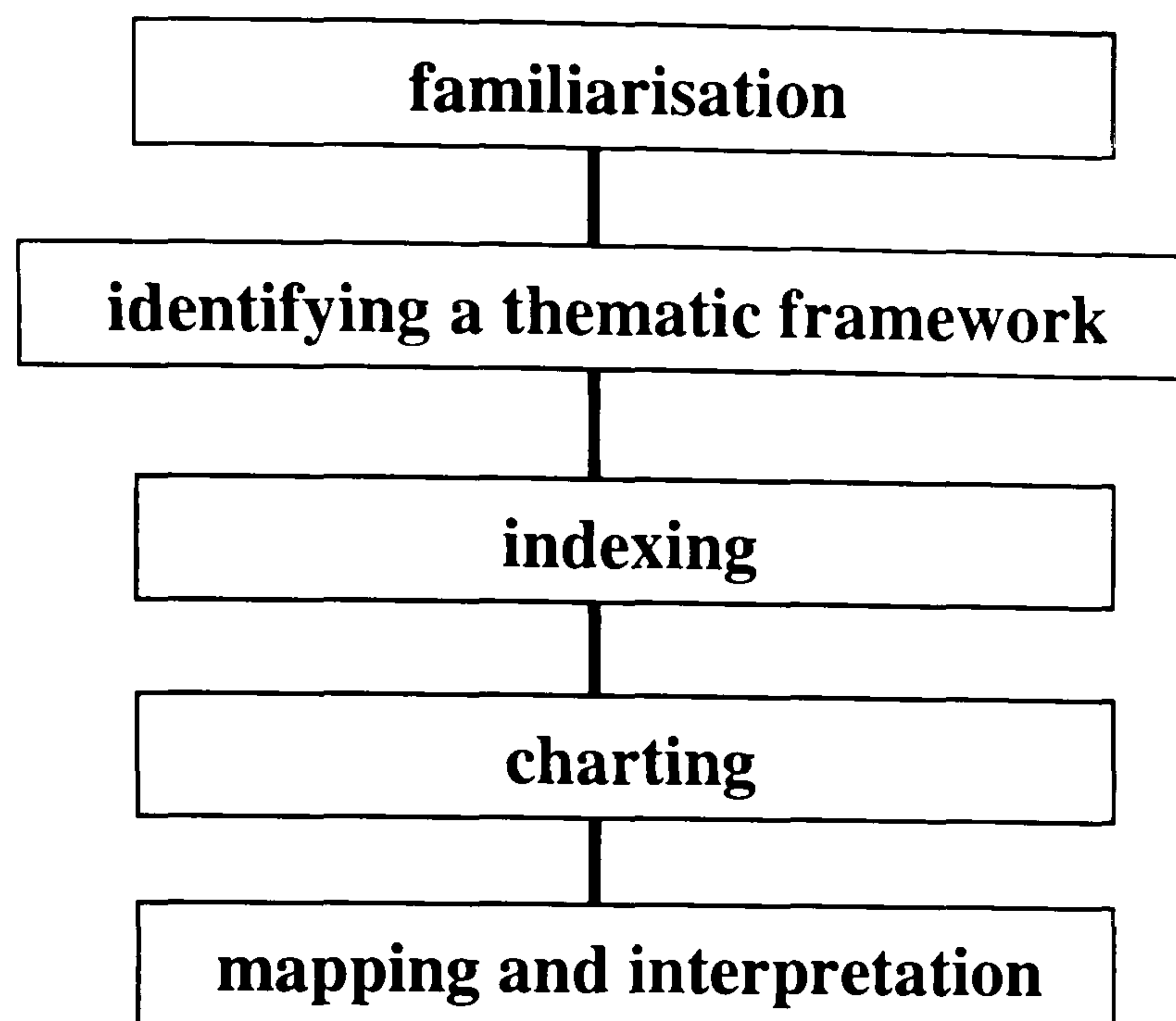
This chapter has outlined the methods of data collection and analysis used in the research. It sets out and rationalises the ‘link’ between the conceptual framework of symbolic interactionism and the qualitative research methodologies, and also the manner in which the theoretical orientation drives the various stages of the research process. It demonstrates that the methodological approach builds up through a number of phases. However, one cannot easily separate the fieldwork or primary data gathering and the analysis of primary data into separate and distinct stages of the research process as the nature of this research endeavour is necessarily a dynamic and fluid one, with analysis taking place throughout, albeit manifested in various ways. This can be illustrated by the background research phase, the pilot study, the observational notes made by the researcher during or immediately following interview encounters with the guest house owner-occupiers, the process of the transcription of the interview data, and even the choice of appropriate software applications. The research applies the method of ‘framework analysis’, the qualitative analysis of textual data to the proprietors’ interview data once verbatim transcripts have been produced. The stages this involves have been outlined in this chapter. The way in which these relate to the conceptual orientation has also been examined. Chapter Five outlines the process of this analysis, whilst Chapter Six of this thesis details the findings resulting from the ‘framework analysis’ method.

## **Chapter 5 - 'Framework': process and analysis**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The processes of data collection and data analysis are not seen as distinct as both are part of a more fluid process directed by the conceptual framework driving the methodology as established in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, it is necessary to deal with each of these stages in turn to allow for coherent documenting of the research. This may suggest a smooth, highly systematic and linear process that does not always betray the extent of the work and regular movement back and forth between different stages experienced in reality by the researcher. However, for the purposes of transparency, clarity and the ability to coherently reconstruct the analytic structures and manoeuvres employed, the analysis process is presented chronologically.

Chapter Four included an examination of the methods of data collection and principal analytic strategies. The purpose of this chapter is to set out the process of 'framework analysis' (Ritchie and Spencer 1994). This is achieved by presenting the results derived from each of the consecutive key stages of this process, namely familiarisation and the identification of a thematic framework/index (Section 5.2), application of developed framework/index codes (Section 5.3), further reduction/ synthesis of coded text segments (Section 5.4), charting (Section 5.5), and mapping and interpretation (Section 5.6). Finally, Section 5.7 provides an overview of the analysis process. Figure 5.1 indicates the succession of each of these key stages.



**Figure 5.1 Five key stages of the ‘framework analysis’ process**

Figure 5.1 does not suggest that each of these stages stands alone, as separate and exclusive activities or that the analytic process is purely linear in direction. As its name suggests, this method of analysis provides a framework for comprehensive analysis without denying the necessary flexibility inherent in the use of qualitative data. It allows the researcher to apply and demonstrate clearly the manner in which the resultant findings and interpretations of meaning have been derived. This is essential when using a qualitative analysis process, which involves the substantive content of meaning (Ryan and Bernard 2000). The reader is therefore taken through the entire analysis process used by the researcher. In this way, all findings developed from the original data are thus open to scrutiny. This ensures transparency and demonstrates the rigour employed by the researcher. It is maintained that the importance of these features in the writing up of one’s findings cannot be over emphasised, and is arguably particularly pertinent within the realms of the qualitative research paradigm (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Before the analysis of the interviews with the proprietors is outlined and discussed, it is necessary to emphasise that the interviews in their textual forms are not independent of their contexts (Riessman 1993 p21). The framing contexts of the wider social and



geographical environments in which the proprietors find themselves essentially underpin the more focussed analysis of the collated transcripts (Section 1.3 and Chapter Three). Therefore, familiarisation with the content of the first three chapters of this thesis by the reader is important in order to obtain a clear understanding of the interpretation of meanings made by the researcher. It must be appreciated that the extent to which the framing context is included in the analysis process differs among scholars according to the analyses chosen. This research adopts the approach advocated by Riessman (1993) that 'context is multi-layered, involving the historical moment of the telling ... that narrators manipulate to survive and within which their talk has to be interpreted' (p21). As a result, it is argued that meanings and interpretations are situated within both the wider societal frame and the more immediate contextual parameters of the interview situation. Interpretations are made with reference to these contextual layers as the subjects themselves can be seen to make sense of their situations by the placement of the self within such contexts (Latham and Millman 2002; Zoppi and Epstein 2002).

Descriptions of analytic procedures available to qualitative researchers tend to be lacking in the literature, which may be indicative of the highly data specific and individualised nature of the development and application of qualitative research methods. Nevertheless, several qualitative analytic strategies to facilitate data coding and retrieval involve comparable processes, although the ordering and labels affixed vary among researchers (see Dey 1993; Marshall and Rossman 1995; Mason 1996; Miles and Huberman 1994; Ritchie and Spencer 1994). For example, Marshall and Rossman (1995) refer to the procedures of 'organising the data' and 'generating categories, themes and patterns' (pp113-116), which in essence are comparable to several combined stages of 'framework'. Mason (1996) provides a comprehensive discussion of major analytic processes which may be used individually or combined. These are identified as cross-sectional indexing, non-cross-sectional data organisation, and the use of diagrams and charts (ibid pp107-134). Cross sectional indexing is in effect the system being applied (see Sections 5.2 and 5.3) and is part of the process

advocated by 'framework'. Diagrams and charts also constitute part of the processes of charting and mapping and interpretation (see Sections 5.4 and 5.5).

## **5.2 Familiarisation and identification of a thematic framework/index**

The researcher becomes very familiar with the data at this early stage. Repetitive reading and immersing oneself in the reading of the transcripts is a necessary prerequisite to the steady development of the thematic framework or index to be applied consistently to the transcripts in order to get a sense of the data. This is a very important stage as it paves the way for the manner in which the data is reduced in the subsequent analysis which impacts upon interpretations made. Therefore, similar to the task of transcription (Section 4.3.6), the development of an indexing system is not purely mechanical or analytically neutral (Mason 1996). It is directly linked to and directed by the ontological and epistemological assumptions at the core of the conceptual framework and methodological approach (see Section 4.2). Therefore, '... the tagging or coding categories selected are, in effect, implicit in theory building. The categories are not chosen randomly but are either based on existing categorisations or theory...' (Curran and Blackburn 2001 p113). The essence of this task is to allow the researcher to read through in order to go beyond the data for interpretative understanding.

### *5.2.1 The creation, development and revision of applied codes*

In essence there are two broad approaches or analytical traditions used by qualitative researchers in the analysis and interpretation of textual data (Flick 1998; Ryan and Bernard 2000; Tesch 1990). These are referred to in the literature as deriving from the sociological tradition, which 'treats text as a window into human experience' (Ryan and Bernard 2000 p769), or the linguistic tradition, which 'treats text as an object of analysis itself' (ibid p769). The former can be practically applied through the use of coding and categorising strategies whilst the latter tradition employs sequential analyses types (Flick 1998). This research is concerned with the substantive content of meaning akin with the sociological tradition and makes use of a coding strategy, as it is concerned with the

interpretation of meaning of the *content* of what is said by the proprietors rather than an examination of the *structure* and assessment of the formal qualities of the text.

There are however several variations in approach within these two broad classifications. Coding techniques stemming from the sociological tradition include theoretical coding, thematic coding and qualitative content analysis (Ryan and Bernard 2000). Sequential analyses, stemming from the linguistic tradition and which are concerned with literary structure and narrative form, include conversation analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, formal linguistic analysis and objective hermeneutics. This research adopts the approach of thematic coding. A broad comparison of the main qualitative analysis strategies relating to sociologically-grounded process of coding and categorising textual data is summarised in Table 5.1 (adapted from Flick 1998 pp216-217).

Survey research uses coding as essentially a preliminary task in the preparation of data for entry and analysis by computer programs such as SPSS or Minitab. This involves assigning numeric codes to predefined responses to structured questions. However, in qualitative research, coding is not a separate task that precedes data analysis but is an integral part of the data analysis process itself (Catterall 1996; Miles and Huberman 1994; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Coding in a phenomenological study such as this is necessarily interpretative and therefore the codes are developed within the scope of the theoretical perspectives brought to the research by the researcher. The developed 'categories denote researchers ways of asking and seeing as well as participants ways of experiencing and telling' (Charmaz 2002 p689). It is an aim that concepts common in the literature associated with the symbolic interactionist approach of, for example, 'identity', 'self' and 'definition of the situation' are used as broad concepts directing the theoretical focus of codes. These are used to search for their implicit meanings and manifestations in the lives of the guest house owner-occupiers as recounted by them.

The development of an index using thematic codes can be justified in a variety of ways. This approach allows for interpretive rather than a purely literal reading of the

transcripts (Poland 2002). The former provides the researcher with a tool for making interpretations of meaning. The latter would be more appropriate for the researcher interested in the form and structure of the dialogue such as the conversation analyst. Content is examined in this research. To a certain extent, the process used allows for reflexive reading of the data (Mason 1996 p109) in that the researcher is located as part of the data, so aspects such as interviewer empathy are also appropriately indexed (see Appendix Five).

The index provides a framework for the analysis to explore issues that do not present themselves in the data in an ordered way, as is often the case in the interview or conversation. Moreover, the application of an index enables the researcher to get an overall impression of the totality of the data and their coverage. It can be argued that 'engaging in some kind of indexing process ... can help the researcher to distance themselves from the immediacy of the initially striking or memorable elements, and therefore to gain a more measured view of the whole' (Mason 1996 p112). Nevertheless, although qualitative coding encompasses the important analytic procedures of the meaningful dissection of data, comparing and differentiating text sections and reflecting on the meaning of the collated data, the inescapable constraints it poses to the phenomenological researcher need to be acknowledged. As Miles and Huberman (1994) point out, 'the field site emits a continuous stream of leads, themes, and contradictions that need to be pursued and that will never fit perfectly ... even into a more grounded, emerging coding system' (p62).

Coding and Categorising			
Criteria	Theoretical Coding	Thematic Coding	Qualitative Content Analysis
Methods used to achieve openness to text	Open coding	Principles of case analysis and familiarisation	Explicating content analysis
Methods used to structure/deepen interpretation	<p>Three stage coding process:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Open coding</li> <li>▪ Axial coding/clustering of code families</li> <li>▪ Selective coding</li> <li>▪ Constant comparison</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Elaboration of an emergent thematic structure for case analysis</li> <li>▪ Distribution of perspectives</li> <li>▪ Comparison of themes/concepts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Summarising content analysis</li> <li>▪ Structuring content analysis</li> </ul>
Basis of Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Combination of induction and deduction</li> <li>▪ Categories 'emerge' from data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Comparison between cases as well as within case analysis</li> <li>▪ Categories 'emerge' from data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Strongly rule-based procedure for analysing large amounts of data</li> <li>▪ Categories pre-defined</li> </ul>
Problems in application	Fuzzy criteria for when to stop coding	Time consuming due to within case and between case analysis	Applying the schematic rules often proves difficult
Limitations of the approach	Flexibility of the methodological rules can be learned mainly through practical experience	Limited to studies with comparative cases /groups	Strongly oriented to quantitative methodology

**Table 5.1: Comparison of qualitative analysis methods using 'reductive' strategies of coding and categorising for the interpretation of textual data (adapted from Flick 1998 pp 216-217).**

The researcher was careful to maintain an open mind during the familiarisation stage and the early development of initial codes. This is important as the 'index system works not merely as a repository for categories but also as an image of the researcher's thinking about the project ... Thus it is necessarily tentative early in the project, and should develop ...' (Richards and Richards 1994 p158). Therefore, the thematic index of codes underwent numerous revisions throughout the process of analysis as new themes were uncovered and thus added to the frame. In this way the frame or index was developed and reconstructed as the researcher attained new insights as the interpretation progressed. The developed codes emerged progressively and are thus grounded in the data.

The index scheme developed can be seen to comprise of a list of thematic categories and subcategories. Each identified theme is coded using letters to facilitate the indexing process. Themes have been categorised as either master codes or sub codes depending on whether more than one significant and closely related theme was seen to emerge from the transcripts (Appendix Five) during the familiarisation stage (Ritchie and Spencer 1994). The index developed is shown in Appendix Five by the use of three columns. The first provides short descriptive labels of the themes. The second shows the assigned coding labels for the master codes. The third contains the coding labels for the sub codes.

The purpose of codes in qualitative research should be to aid the interpretative process and facilitate the researcher with the latter stages of analysis in the development of concepts and patterns for theory development (Dey 1993). Therefore, this should allow the researcher to group interpreted portions of transcribed text into broader dimensions or categories. Interpreting text through this process necessarily forces the researcher to take 'a step up, trying to locate the immediate act, event, actor, activity into a more abstractly defined class' (Miles and Huberman 1994 p255). The researcher must subsume particulars of text into more general classifications based upon meaning interpretation and association. This process is highly conceptual and necessitates a concern with links to theory underpinning the research. The complex nature of this process is thus highlighted, by

which there is constant movement between the original data as transcribed and more general, higher level conceptual categories saturated in meaning.

Although all coding is part of an interpretative process, distinctions can be made between types of codes in terms of their basis or level of interpretation. For example, Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to 'descriptive codes' and 'interpretive codes' (p57). Applying such classifications to the present research would therefore render a code such as 'C' (competition) as more descriptive, whereas the code 'MV' (marginalised voice) as more interpretive (see Appendix Five). Both levels are necessary and provide richness to the findings.

### *5.2.2 Coding consistency*

Check coding was undertaken in order to ensure a high level of coding consistency (Olesen *et al.* 1994). Whilst this is arguably essential for research involving more than one researcher, it is also an important procedure for the lone researcher as it ensures that interpretations of each transcript are comparable (Miles and Huberman 1994). This was undertaken by checking the coding applied to transcripts by re-coding 'blind', sections of uncoded text some time after the original coding took place. Both copies were then compared for consistency.

### *5.2.3 Memoing and reflective/marginal remarks*

Methods such as memoing and reflective/marginal remarks are important tools for the researcher to enable them to take a step away from the data and reflect upon its meaning (Hughes 1994). Both are used during the development of the codes and both are reflective notes by the researcher primarily to themselves, although it is also useful to make such notes available to colleagues. This enables others to trace the thinking and reflective commentary leading to the development of not only the codes but also the resulting findings. However, there is an important distinction between memos and marginal remarks.

Memos 'are primarily conceptual in intent ... to show that those data are instances of a general concept. Memos can also go well beyond codes ... they are one of the most useful and powerful sense-making tools at hand' (Miles and Huberman 1994 p72). Glaser (1978) similarly refers to memoing as 'the theorising write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding' (p83). It is in effect a process of reflective journal keeping about the research written with the researcher in mind as the primary reader, although also written for the benefit of others to access and gain an understanding of the evolving shape of the research process. Memos are created from spontaneous theorising. In this way, 'the researcher begins analysing and writing early in the process and thus avoids becoming overwhelmed by stacks of undigested data' (Charmaz 2002 p687). Memos allow the data to evolve to more abstract, yet grounded, terms linked to the literature and appropriate theoretical assertions. (see for example Flick 1998; Hughes 1994; Miles and Huberman 1994; Strauss 1987).

Reflective/marginal remarks on the other hand are applied to the transcripts themselves when the researcher comments on a particular part of the interview. They are therefore the researcher's field notes applied in the form of remarks in the margin of the transcript. As a result, many reflective remarks were made during the collection of the data and relate to the researcher's views of the proprietor and the interview situation. In the case of the present research it was felt that such data was best placed in conjunction with the transcripts to facilitate analysis and coherency. The qualitative software, WinMax, facilitated the effective management and storing of this data. This is discussed in section 5.3.

By viewing the analytic memos made during this process the researcher, and indeed other interested scholars, are able to appreciate how the conceptual blocks of the research were built. Memos are thus part of what must be a transparent process that serves to maintain and systematically document the evolving dialogue between the researcher and the data declared as reflections and interpreted accounts. The construction of 'analytical or methodological memoranda and working papers ... are of vital importance ... Their documentation is part of the transformation of data from



personal experience and intuition to public and accountable knowledge' (Coffey and Atkinson 1996 p191). They serve as a reflective or insightful tool permeating the mind of the researcher and capturing their interpretative thoughts at each analytic step of the process (see Appendix Six for examples of memos developed for this research). In this way, one moves from the empirical to the conceptual.

### **5.3 Indexing/applying the codes to the transcripts**

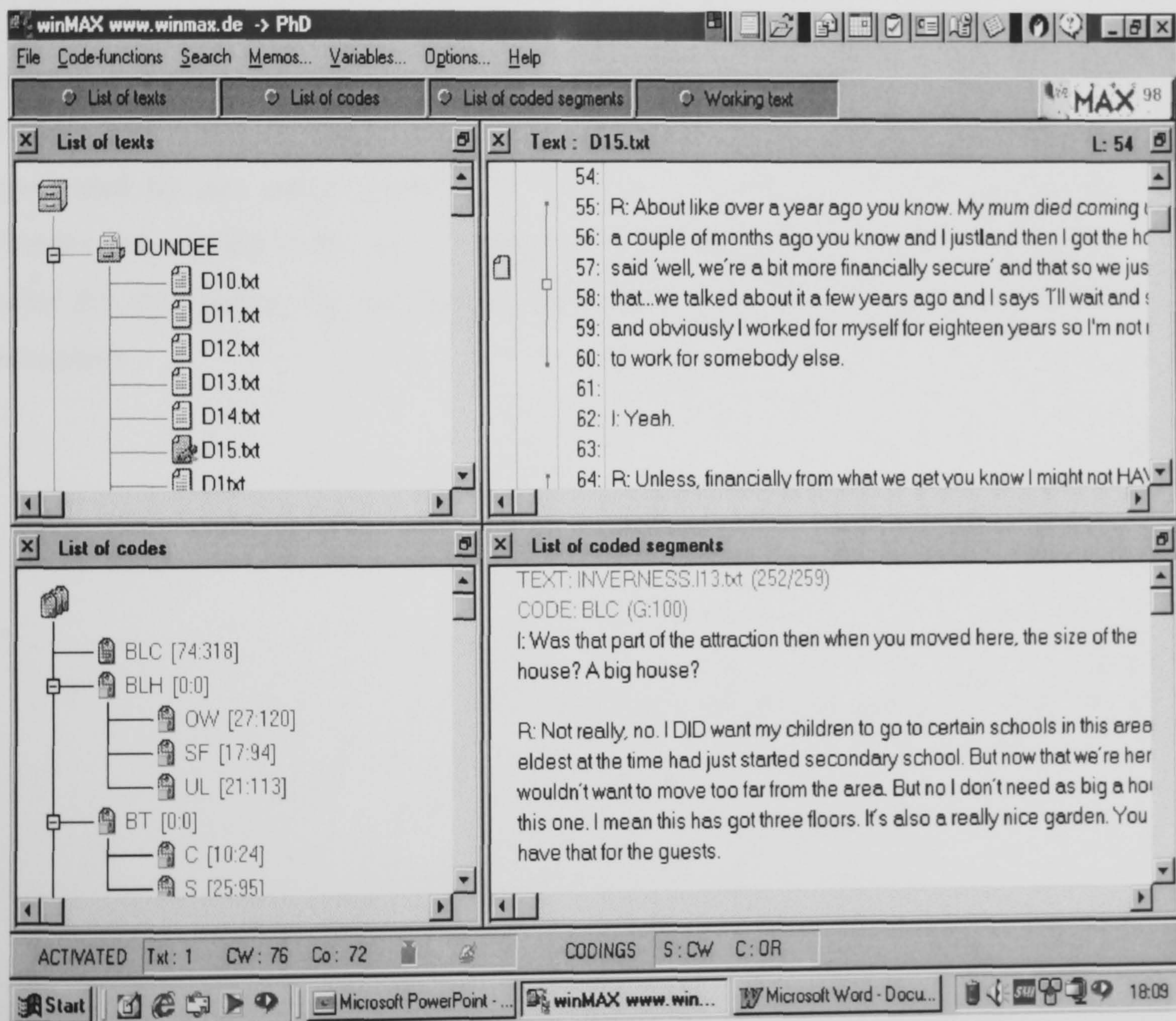
The stage of indexing, also known as categorising or coding, involves systematically applying the thematic index of codes (Appendix Five) to each owner-occupier's transcript. This process facilitates the aim of theory construction whereby the researcher applies 'webs of meaning' (Miles and Huberman 1994) to sections of data. The computer assists with this endeavour, however as Richards and Richards (1994) argue,

'the task of theory discovery remains for the human researchers; the questions are theirs, the combinations of categories specified by them. They see the links and draw the threads together ... the resultant web of meaning will be certainly more complex and more confident than the manual method' (p170).

In order to trace and fully appreciate this stage of analysis and its conceptual basis, it is necessary to first outline the indexing process in terms of the practical application of the codes to the transcripts. This will involve an outline of the functions and specific terms used by this software package. However, it must be emphasised that this process was highly conceptual as well as systematic, relating codes back to the literature. Indeed, it was the case that 'new' codes 'evolved' at this stage due to interpretations not previously noted, which required the researcher to return to previously coded transcripts in order to apply the new codes. Thus, the method encouraged flexibility, theoretical development, rigour and systematic application of codes. However, as a result it was highly time intensive.

WinMax is a text-analysis qualitative programme. It uses a split screen function to enable the researcher to view and work with four different windows at the same time

(see Figure 5.2). The 'List of Texts' window displays the list of interview transcripts imported for analysis. The 'List of Codes' window displays the lists of codes and sub codes as detailed in Appendix Five. The 'List of Coded Segments' window displays the retrieval results. The 'Working Text' window displays the text of a transcript for the purposes of attaching codes to text segments and for the attachment of the researcher's reflective/marginal remarks to specific portions of the interview. The software requires the interview transcripts to be organised into 'Text Groups'. These were labeled as 'Dundee' and 'Inverness' and contained the transcripts relevant to each location.



**Figure 5.2: Snapshot of analysis process using the WinMax text-analysis qualitative software.**

### *5.3.1 Coding text segments*

The coding of transcripts, facilitated by the WinMax qualitative software package (see Section 4.6 for justification of choice of CAQDAS and comparison of alternative software types), corresponds to the traditional manual process of 'cut and paste'. This involves the cutting out of text passages, which would be pasted onto index cards to which codes are assigned. The coding process is facilitated by such technology in its advantages over such manual methods as, for example, one piece of text can be coded as often as required and any amount of text can be selected in a code operation.

Figure 5.3 is an example of a section of indexed transcript that was coded using WinMax and exported. This facility is useful for presenting the data, in that codes are represented by text when exported (see Figure 5.3), whereas whilst indexing in WinMax the applied codes are represented by coloured symbols which, although useful for the analyst, do not lend themselves to be easily interpreted by other researchers.

121: I'm quite busy. I've even been turning down people. Just the  
 122: other day two ladies wanted five days but I can't do it. It breaks my heart but I can't do it.  
**-->END: PB**

123:  
 124: I: Yeah?  
 125:  
**-->BEGIN: FP.M**

126: R: You could say well why don't you expand, well if I expand I could have rooms sitting  
 127: empty and I'd rather be tight and compact. I'm not saying I won't one day. I nearly  
 128: bought the house next door. These houses are at practical vantage points for people.  
**-->END: FP.M**

129: There's people who come from the big cities, you know, from the Birmingham, and they  
 130: can't believe it. They're gob smacked. You can see it in their look right away. Well,  
**-->BEGIN: I.OM**

131: that's basically it. What we do and what we insist upon, and I know this sounds a bit of a  
 132: cliché, but its customer service. And eh, up until about ten years ago I didn't really, well I  
 133: thought well if a customer comes in then do what you can do and that's it...But now I try  
 134: to go that little bit extra with silver cutlery and all this carry on. We are the only four star  
 135: in the whole area you know? You'll not get another one.  
**-->END: I.OM**

136:  
 137: I: Yes, I noticed that.  
 138:  
**-->BEGIN: IS.PGE**

139: R: They're seeing something that's good. For example, a couple from Sweden  
 140: recommended us for the best food in the best British guide which is a bible to a lot of  
 141: business people. Its not a big brochure that you get. It's a small thing, just like a bible...A  
**-->END: IS.PGE**

142: lot of them carry it in their brief cases so we get them through that as well. You know, the  
 143: hidden guest, because you don't know when you're being visited. It's a mystery.  
 144:  
 145: I: Oh, right.  
 146:  
 147: R: Yes, a mystery guest. I mean, you could be a customer right now. However, if I know  
 148: you are I'll track you down. (laugh) That's what happens ... You get the mystery guest  
 149: when you get an inspection you don't know because if you know you can prepare.

**Figure 5.3: Example of a section of indexed/coded transcript (Interview D4, 121/149)**

#### **5.4 Further reduction/synthesis of coded text segments**

Once the entire transcript had been coded, the coded text was exported and grouped according to code categories. The verbatim text within each coded segment was then re-evaluated in order to reduce appropriately the text further to form summaries and meaning interpretations. Where the verbatim text was seen to be illustratively powerful in its original form, verbatim quotations were retained for inclusion in the comparative matrix charts (see Section 5.5 and Appendix Seven). All coded

segments are cross-referenced to their original source with details of the interview transcript reference code and line numbers as formatted by WinMax. These act as source tags which can be used to return to the context of what was said. This ensures that the basis of meaning interpretations can be checked, reviewed and appreciated, adding to the rigour of the process followed.

Table 5.2 is an example of coded text segments that have been further reduced and synthesised to facilitate the charting and comparative analysis process.

<b>Code</b>	<b>Coded Text Segments</b>	<b>Reduced Text in the Form of Summaries/Meaning Interpretations/Quotations</b>
BLC	TEXT:DUNDEE.D2 txt (26/27) CODE: BLC it was because I had a baby at home and we had moved into this house that needed a lot of work.	Childcare commitments and improvements required to home restricting working out with the home
BLC	TEXT: DUNDEE.D2 txt (71/81) CODE: BLC I: You like the area to live in as well?  R: Yes, aha. I maybe wouldn't have chosen to live quite so near the town centre but I certainly wouldn't live in the country.  I: Why not?  R: It would be too much hassle and with, you know, my daughter growing up now. She's a teenager now which means we would then be at the stage of her needing to go out with her friends and it could never be done with all that running around. It actually suits me fine from that point of view as well.	Location of home/business fits in with needs of child
BLC	TEXT: DUNDEE.D2 txt (134/135) CODE: BLC I mean its not a big business and its mainly to keep my daughter at school and for refurbishing.	Small size of business seen as manageable due to commitments of family/home
EL: FW	TEXT: DUNDEE.D2 txt (199/201) CODE: EL.FW You're not busy all the time but with the size it is now I can manage. But also I can arrange it how I like.	Flexible nature of work: smaller size permitting more free time/flexibility.
EL: FW	TEXT: DUNDEE.D2 txt (201/202) CODE: EL.FW If I've got something on then its easier just to say I'm full. You know, if you've got	Ability to attend a social engagement by refusing custom

	something on that you want to go to.	
FN: STB	<p>TEXT: DUNDEE.D2 txt (161/171)</p> <p>CODE: FN.STB</p> <p><u>I think the STB scheme is better now than it used to be. I find that when I first started they were awful pernicky. I didn't like that at all. I found them really patronising...the officers. I didn't like them at all. But I was in it. You know, I did it because I had to.</u> I think they did something like this and I remember writing and telling them what I thought about them. It was anonymous. It was just a thing about what you thought about them and things like that. So, I thought, I'm going to do that and tell them. So I did. But I did find that after that...after time went on I think they probably had more and more competition. The AA and whatever. I have noticed an improvement over the years. They're much better. I mean they would do things and I would sit and think how silly it was. You know, telling me how to do something that was really common sense. They're much better now.</p>	<p>STB having improved over time, possibly due to competition from other bodies such as the AA:</p> <p>Quote: 'I think the STB scheme is better now than it used to be. I find that when I first started they were awful pernicky. I didn't like that at all. I found them really patronising...the officers. I didn't like them at all. But I was in it. You know, I did it because I had to'.</p> <p>View of lack of choice: No option but to be a member of the STB</p>

**Table 5.2: Example of the process of further reduction/synthesis of coded text segments (all coded segments taken from interview D2)**

### 5.5 Charting: building matrix displays

Having applied the codes from the thematic index to the transcripts and conducted further reduction/synthesis of the coded text segments (see Sections 5.3.1 and 5.4), the researcher synthesised the reduced data by a further stage of charting. This is necessary as 'given a working set of codes that describe the phenomena...how can the researcher move to a second level ... Just naming or classifying what is out there is usually not enough. We need to understand the patterns, the recurrences, the plausible whys' (Miles and Huberman 1994 p69). The aim of the next stage of charting is to allow the data to be viewed as a whole, facilitating comparison, and effectively displaying the range of views for each thematic topic. The use of charts as displays to facilitate analysis allow the researcher to reorganise the data in a reduced form to enable the movement to another level of analysis, or indeed to permit appropriate conclusions to be drawn. A frequently used form of displaying qualitative data is the extended text. Whilst the provision of a specific piece of textual data may be illustratively powerful, this should be combined with other forms

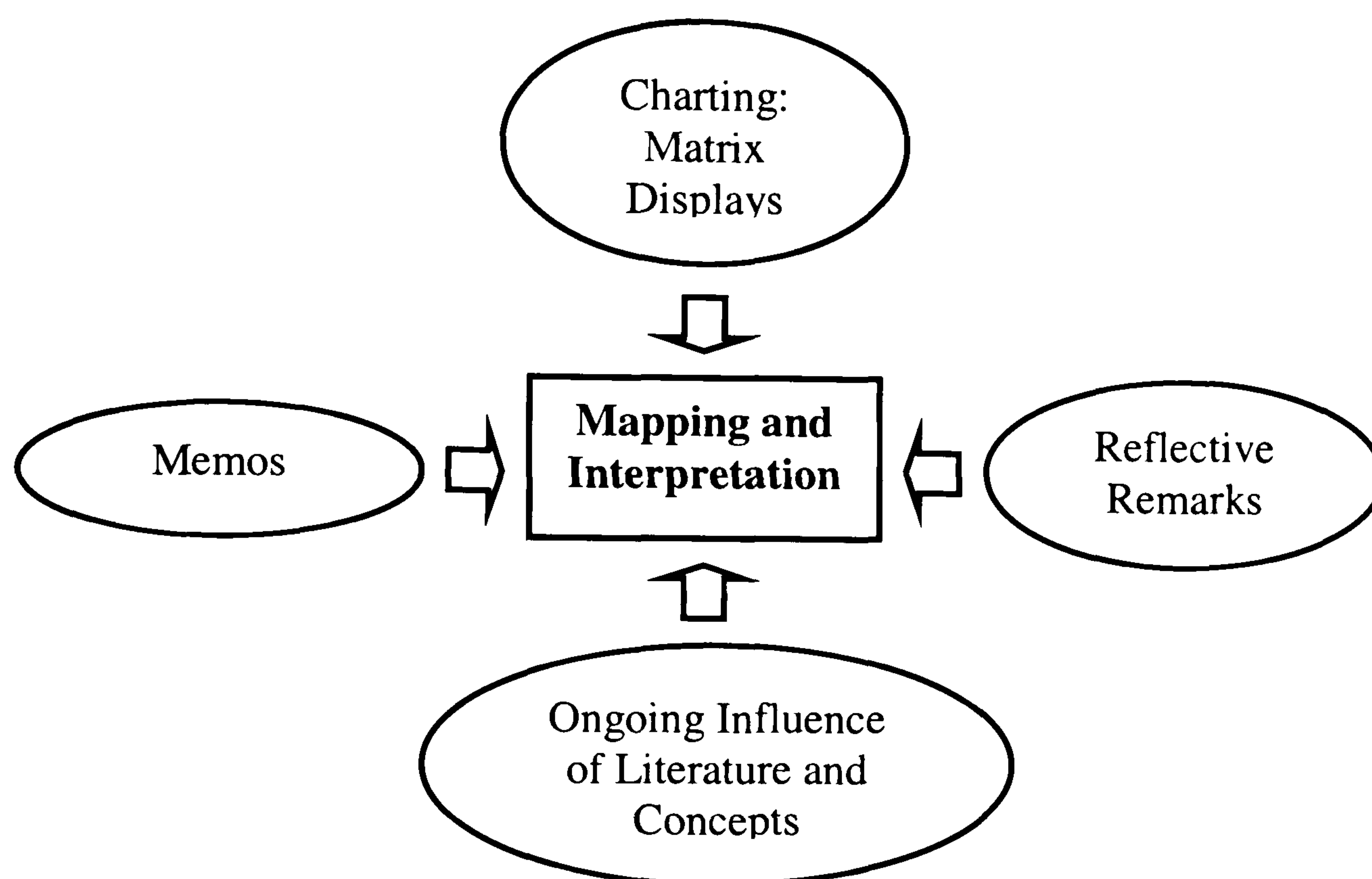
of display that pull together a vast array of data for immediate comparison. As Miles and Huberman (1994) argue, 'using only extended text, a researcher may find it easy to jump to hasty, partial, unfounded conclusions ... [Displays] are designed to assemble organised information into an immediately accessible, compact form ...' (p11)

Grounding and developing theories and concepts through empirical evidence collated necessitates rigorous searching and systematic comparisons. The type of chart used at this stage of the analysis process is a form of two-dimensional matrix. It uses columns and rows to enable between-case analysis of the data. The charts were compiled and analysed thematically. Therefore, a chart was devised which corresponded to each key thematic code, with entries for several respondents on each chart. This enables each thematic code to be compared across all interviews, and is illustrated by viewing each column in a vertical fashion. The cell entries correspond to those elements of the data that were indexed and reduced/synthesised (see Sections 5.3 and 5.4). An important point to note is that the ordering of respondents is exactly the same on every chart, a necessary practical feature to facilitate within case analysis of the data for each proprietor (Ritchie and Spencer 1994). In order to achieve the dual objectives of both data reduction and also the retaining of context, entries take the form of researcher summaries or paraphrases; researcher explanations; direct quotations or extracts from the interviews themselves; or indeed a combination of a number of these. In this way, the researcher is best able to synthesise the data (see Appendix Seven for examples of thematic matrix charts compiled).

## **5.6 Mapping and interpretation**

The process of mapping and interpretations essentially involves the collation of overall findings of the research by examining the matrix charts (see Appendix Seven), memos (see Appendix Six) and reflective remarks. Interpretations are then made based on the evidence. An aid to the interpretative process is the mapping of concepts to represent links and relationships. These are used in conjunction with the findings outlined in Chapter Six. The totality of the inputs into the process of

mapping and interpretation are shown in Figure 5.4. This is a task of piecing together the overall picture and is the ‘part of the analytical process [that] is the most difficult to describe. Any representation appears to suggest that the analyst works in a mechanical way, making obvious conceptualisations and connections, whereas in reality each step requires leaps of intuition and imagination’ (Ritchie and Spencer 1994 p186).



**Figure 5.4: Inputs into the process of ‘mapping and interpretation’**

### *5.6.1 Clustering of code families and the development of ‘meta codes’*

During the process of ‘mapping and interpretation’, findings relating to each master code were examined in order to determine whether the evidence obtained related to that of other code(s). Where the analysis and interpretations showed meaningful links between the data, these findings were grouped or clustered, thus leading to the development of ‘meta codes’. ‘Clustering’ is the term given to ‘the process of inductively forming categories, and the iterative sorting of things’ (Miles and Huberman 1994 p249).

Chapter Six uses the meta codes as a basic structure for the presentation of the findings. Therefore, each section of Chapter Six corresponds to a meta code, and



each sub section to the relevant grouped master codes within it. This final stage of 'framework' enabled the findings to be framed and interpreted as a result of data expansion. This followed the earlier stages of the development of a thematic coding framework, indexing/applying the codes to the transcripts and charting, which are based on the principles of data reduction.

### *5.6.2 Researcher reflexivity*

As discussed in Section 4.2, the ontological position of the researcher is that the proprietor's views, understandings, experiences, stories and interactions are meaningful aspects of their social realities and views of the world that are necessarily context driven. The epistemological position is that an appropriate method of gathering this data is to interact with the proprietors by using depth interviews. It is important to stress that the method of data analysis is based upon the principle of interpretative understanding as the primary orienting strategy, rather than a more literal analytic approach (see Section 5.2.1 for a discussion of different qualitative approaches to analysis). It is similarly important to point out that the focus of the research questions (Section 1.4.1) call for an interpretative reading of the interview accounts which involve narratives of the proprietors' interactions with 'significant others'.

The issue of researcher reflexivity (Giddens 1991; Lowe and Murray 1995) was used primarily as a tool for adding depth and rigour to the data collection and analysis process and for assisting in the understanding of interpretations made, rather than as a primary aim of the research in its entirety. Bearing in mind this definition of the way in which researcher reflexivity was applied in the present research, a number of reflexive strategies have been employed. Firstly, researcher observations and analytic 'memos' (see Section 5.2.3) trace the researcher's position and interpretations in an emergent fashion from data collection through to the different stages of data analysis. Secondly, the researcher located herself as part of the data generated in both the interview transcripts through verbatim recording of questions posed and in the coding process by including a master code in the thematic index to address the researcher's role during the interview interaction (see Appendix Five). Unlike the other codes, the code 'R' (researcher role in interaction), and sub codes 'R:E' (interviewer empathic response) and

'R:P' (probing response) were used to frame interpretations of core themes addressed by the other codes developed. Therefore, they were devised as a tool to facilitate the analysis of other coded text segments rather than to be analysed comparatively and between cases as with the other coded segments. It is for this reason that the master code 'R' cannot be clustered as part of a meta code family (see Section 6.1.2 for an outline of meta codes developed from the analysis).

## **5.7 Overview of the analysis process**

This chapter has outlined the various distinct, yet linked stages that make up the process of framework analysis. The provision of examples and explanations of how this was achieved enabled a tracing of the analytic and interpretative process. It has been demonstrated that this process ensures a systematic and disciplined approach is followed whilst at the same time necessitating creative and interpretative analytical thinking. By documenting the process followed in this manner the research is thus made more transparent and the basis of findings can be appreciated more fully. Chapter Six outlines the findings of the overall process, using the final stage of 'mapping and interpretation' as a structure within which to do so. The chapter therefore starts with an overview of the process of mapping and interpretation and the code clusters and meta codes developed during this process.

## Chapter 6 - Findings: framework analysis

*'The notion that research should focus only on matter-of-fact, literal – even actuarial – description, with cautious, later ventures into interpretation and meaning, is responsible for much intellectual poverty and misery' (Miles and Huberman 1994 p250)*

### 6.1 Introduction

The process of mapping and interpretation involves collation of overall research findings through primarily examining the matrix charts, memos and reflective remarks. Additionally, evidence was examined from the background research phase and pilot study (see Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). Interpretations are then made based on the overall evidence. An aid to the interpretative process is the mapping of concepts to represent links and relationships (Miles and Huberman 1994). These are used in conjunction with the findings outlined in this chapter. This stage of the analysis collates the main findings of the empirical evidence and links it with theoretical debates considered by this research. This is an integral part of the analysis process as no 'account of the routine analytic work will produce new theoretical insights without the application of disciplinary knowledge and creative imagination' (Coffey and Atkinson 1996 p192). Findings outlined in this chapter show the proprietors' views of themselves, others in their position, their business, way of life and their context in terms of geographical positioning and the wider industry sector. Quotations used in this chapter are taken from the matrix charts compiled, and are thus from coded text segments as part of the comparative analysis process. An examination of all text attributed to each code label was undertaken to examine the range and depth of views. To ensure rigour and transparency, only quotations that were retained for the development of matrix charts have been included in this chapter.

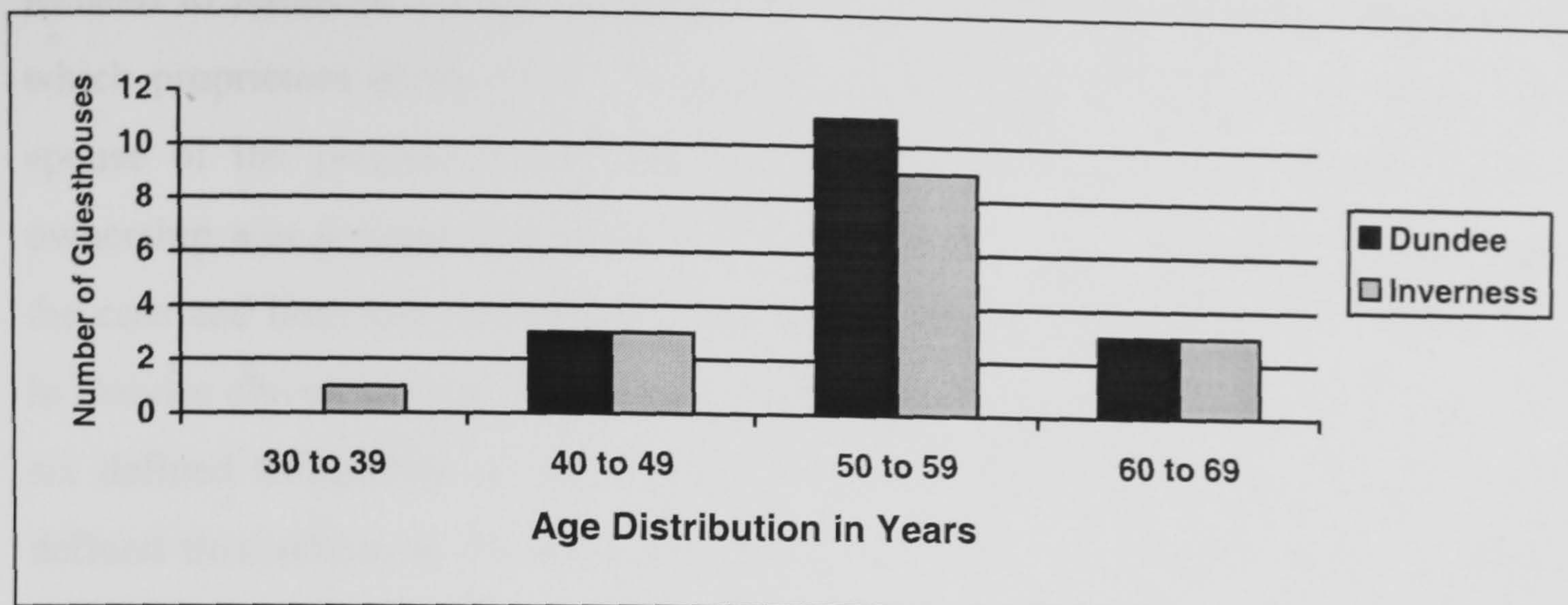
Throughout this chapter, findings are supported by a variety of data and conceptual interpretations displayed in either tabular form or by graphical displays. This element of the analysis process, labeled as 'mapping and interpretation', aids in providing a

better insight into and understanding of the findings and issues discussed in this chapter. Section 6.1.1 provides an overall profile of the proprietors interviewed. Section 6.1.2 outlines the data comparison and expansion process resulting from the development of code clusters, thus forming meta codes. This also provides an overall structure for the remaining sections of the chapter (Sections 6.2 to 6.9) and the way in which the findings are presented therein. Section 6.10 summarises the analysis process leading to the findings presented.

### *6.1.1 Overall profile of the proprietors interviewed*

Seventeen and sixteen proprietors were interviewed in Dundee and Inverness respectively. Therefore, a total of thirty-three proprietors were interviewed during the main research phase. A total of thirty guest houses were used during this stage of the research, with equal numbers of fifteen owner-occupied businesses being selected in both locations. As the sampling strategy employed involved making contact with the total population frame in Dundee and contact was determined by random sampling with replacement in Inverness, it is fair to say that these are likely to be representative of the wider guest house owner occupier population in both urban areas. Selection was based on the guest houses appearing in the Yellow Pages and not on the basis of socio-economic characteristics of the proprietors. However, it is of interest to profile the proprietors in terms of these characteristics before exploring their views.

It is clear from examining the age distribution of those interviewed (see Figure 6.1), that the majority of proprietors were between the ages of fifty and fifty-nine. Twenty proprietors were found to lie within this age range. Equal numbers of proprietors were found to be between the age ranges of forty to forty-nine, and sixty to sixty-nine respectively. Only one proprietor was aged below forty. She was interviewed in Inverness and was thirty-five years of age at the time of interview.



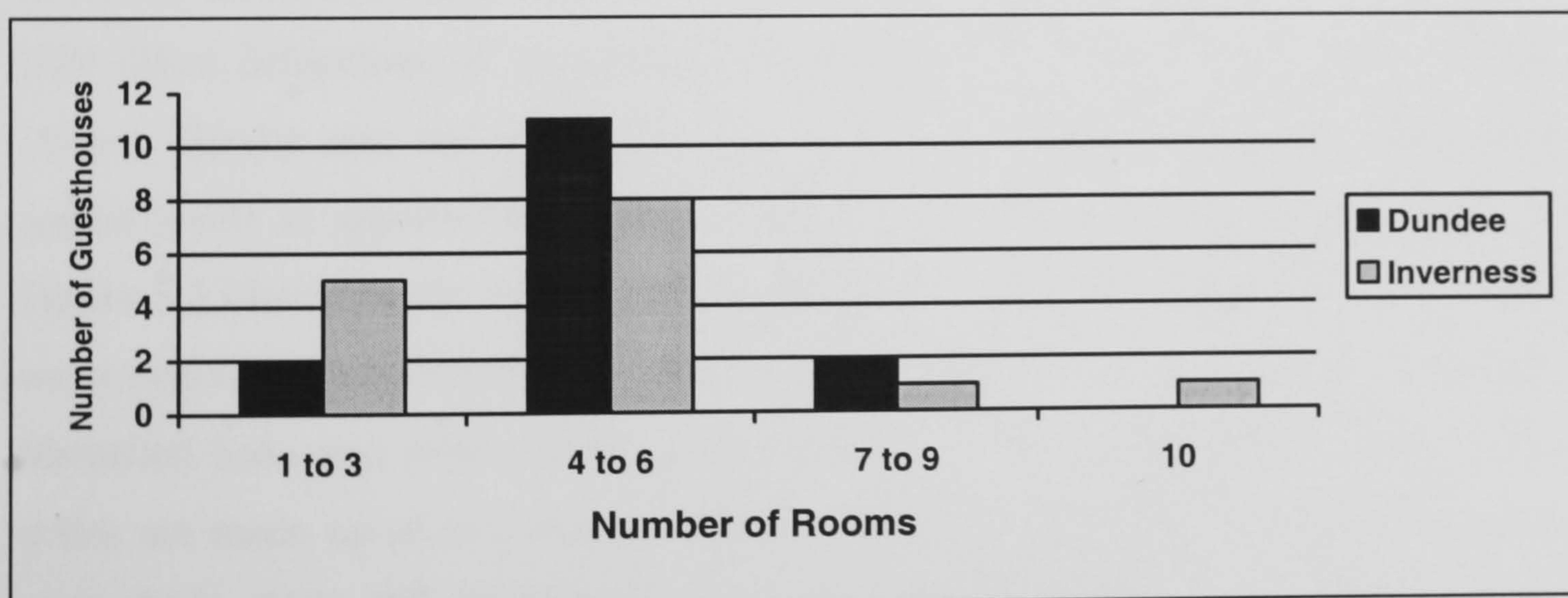
**Figure 6.1: Age distribution of proprietors in years**

Most of the proprietors interviewed are women. This was the case in both locations. Out of the total of thirty-three proprietors interviewed, twenty-three are women and ten are men. In Dundee, eleven women and six men were interviewed. In Inverness, twelve women and four men were interviewed. However, three interviews involved the interviewing of a male and female couple who run the business as a joint effort. Two of the couples interviewed together as joint owners took place in Dundee. One couple was interviewed in this way in Inverness. Although these three couples wished to be interviewed together, this was determined as fitting into the methodological and theoretical orientation. They wished to be interviewed together and this was appropriate as they ran the business completely jointly and also the position was taken in the research that the proprietors' wishes are taken as a starting point.

In respect of the two specific locations selected, it is the case that there appears to be from general observation more female than male proprietors of owner-occupied guest houses. However, it also appears to be the case historically from anecdotal accounts that there is an increasing proportion of male proprietors choosing to embrace this role. The presented narratives of proprietors of both genders were analysed in order to ascertain whether they expressed views relating to perceived stereotypes or gender laden identities and images of small scale guest house proprietors (see Section 6.7).

Related to issues of gender and proprietor defined roles and identity is the way in which proprietors define their ownership and operation of the business. Where the spouse of the proprietor held alternative paid work outside the home, business ownership was defined in terms of sole proprietorship. However, where this was not the case and both individuals ran the business as joint proprietors. It was found that in Dundee eleven of those interviewed defined themselves as the sole proprietors and six defined themselves as a joint proprietor with their spouse. In Inverness, seven defined themselves as the sole proprietors and nine defined themselves as a joint proprietor with their spouse. Section 6.6 of this chapter explores the findings of the proprietors' presented narratives in terms of role definition and distribution of tasks within the business.

The characteristics of the guest houses selected confirmed the expected small size of the businesses included in the study in terms of the reported number of guest letting rooms available. In both locations, most of the businesses, nineteen in total, provided between four to six guest letting rooms. Seven businesses let between one to three rooms, and three businesses let between seven to nine rooms. One business operating in Inverness let ten rooms (see Figure 6.2).



**Figure 6.2: Business size in terms of guest letting rooms per guest house**

An understanding of the perspectives and frames of reference of the proprietors is needed when examining their orientations, choices and practices. Reasons for the size, scale and dynamics of the individual guest house are therefore explored from the owner's viewpoint. The reasons for the size of businesses evident in this study is discussed by presenting the findings relating to proprietors' lifestyle orientations,

reported biographies, business plans, extent of desire for growth and definitions of business success (see Section 6.3).

### *6.1.2 Mapping and interpretation: clustering of code families and 'meta codes'*

The analysis revealed findings that allowed data to be grouped according to the codes attributed to text segments and included in the matrix charts. Therefore, whilst depth was achieved by an analysis of the data contained in each sub code, comparison and grouping together of the overall findings of all sub codes relating to each master code was achieved by the process of clustering related master codes into code families to create meta codes. Meta codes were thus created where the analysis and interpretations showed meaningful links between the findings. However, this is not to imply that master codes are not thematically related to other codes grouped according to a different meta code, only that the researcher identified *stronger* links and associations between the master codes clustered together. Figure 6.3 shows this process and the newly created meta codes. It can be seen therefore that eight meta codes have been created. These are as follows: ELD (*Everyday Working Life and personal Development*); LOBC (*Lifestyle Orientation and Business Choice*); BLN (*Business Links and Networks*); PIS (*View of Position within Industry and Society*); HIN (*Host definitions of Interactions and Needs of the self and the guest*); RGSC (*Roles, Gender and the changing Social Context*); G (*Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity*); and BI (*Business Image/ identity*). Figure 6.3 illustrates the meta codes and their respective master codes of which they are composed. This emergent process of data expansion shows that the researcher identified links and relationships between codes through interpretation. Most meta codes are made up of two related master codes and this can be exemplified by the codes ELD, BLN, PIS AND HIN. However, codes BI and RGSC are each made up of three master codes and LOBC is made up of five master codes. The only master code that was not clustered with any others was the code G. Consequently, G can be defined as both a master code and a meta code (see Figure 6.3).

<b>ELD</b>	<b>: Everyday working Life and personal Development</b>
→	<b>EL : Everyday Working Life</b>
→	<b>LD : Learning and Personal Development</b>
<b>LOBC</b>	<b>: Lifestyle Orientation and Business Choice</b>
→	<b>BT : Income/ Business Type</b>
→	<b>FP : Future Plans for business and self</b>
→	<b>BLH : Biography/ Life History</b>
→	<b>BLC : Business fulfilling defined Lifestyle needs/ Choices</b>
→	<b>RLW : Relationship between Lifestyle (preferences/ circumstances) and nature of work</b>
<b>BLN</b>	<b>: Business Links and Networks</b>
→	<b>FN : Formal business Networks/ contacts in relation to business</b>
→	<b>SNG : Social Networks or liaisons with other Guest house owners</b>
<b>PIS</b>	<b>: View of Position within Industry and Society</b>
→	<b>UV : Unified Voice</b>
→	<b>MV : Marginalised Voice</b>
<b>HIN</b>	<b>: Host definitions of Interactions and Needs of the self/ guest</b>
→	<b>IS : Host/ guest Interaction and notions of Space</b>
→	<b>VN : Value attributed to business Needs versus own Needs/ personal comfort</b>
<b>RGSC</b>	<b>: Roles, Gender and the changing Social Context</b>
→	<b>SIG : Stereotypes/ Gender and Identity</b>
→	<b>HC : Historical Comparisons: changes to the nature of the occupation</b>
→	<b>OFR : Occupational/ Family Roles</b>
<b>G</b>	<b>: Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity</b>
→	<b>G : Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity</b>
<b>BI</b>	<b>: Business image/ Identity</b>
→	<b>C : Competition</b>
→	<b>PB : Promoting public awareness of Business/ marketing choices</b>
→	<b>I : Innovative/ striving to meet needs of guests</b>

**Figure 6.3: Clustering of master codes into code families for the development of 'meta codes'**



The meta codes outlined in Figure 6.3 provide an overall structure for the remaining sections of this chapter. Therefore, each section of this chapter corresponds to a meta code and each sub section consequently corresponds to each master code, grouped together to make up the meta code (see Appendix Five for outline of master codes and their respective sub codes).

## **6.2 Everyday working life and personal development (ELD)**

<b>ELD : Everyday Working Life and personal Development</b>
→ <b>EL : Everyday Working Life</b>
→ <b>LD : Learning and Personal Development</b>

A number of significant aspects of the nature of the everyday working lives of proprietors interviewed were highlighted by this research. These are the extent to which the work carried out for the business is perceived as ‘hard’ work by the proprietors as well as views regarding the routine nature of many of the necessary daily tasks. The extent to which the work was viewed as, on the one hand, ‘flexible’ or, on the other, ‘inflexible’ due to a perception of being ‘tied’ to the business was examined. Views on the extent of assistance with business related tasks were determined and lastly, attention was also devoted to whether the work was seen as either perpetuating or reducing feelings of isolation or loneliness of the proprietor. The findings pertaining to the above issues are outlined in Section 6.2.1. The views of proprietors regarding learning and personal development and the way in which they feel this has affected their everyday working lives is outlined in Section 6.2.2.

### *6.2.1 The nature of everyday working life (EL)*

The routine nature of tasks is an important aspect of the daily operation of the business. It allows a deeper insight into the lives of the owner-occupiers and thus a better understanding of their daily working reality. Thick description of these activities enables penetration into the repeated work these individuals undertake and, as a whole, the lifestyle they have adopted. Descriptions of the routine nature of many tasks were portrayed as hard work or as ‘tying’ due to their recurrent nature.

Therefore, many of the themes explored within the broader heading of 'everyday' life need to be viewed together as conveying messages which overlap and coincide. This point is illustrated by the following interview extract that conveys tasks as routine, physically demanding and time consuming.

'The day can be very long, because I start at half past six/quarter to seven to cook breakfasts. Then my wife joins me about eight, when some of the guests are coming down for breakfast. Then the rooms have to be done the sheets changed and the ironing. Preparing reserved rooms for later on and preparing evening meals ... It can be half past one in the morning by the time you have got everything done. In the lounge people are allowed to smoke, so you can't really go to bed until the guests have gone to bed just in case they have left a cigarette alight, or they have left a window open. So it's not an easy life, although we like it ... If people think that to run a guest house you just get up and do a few breakfasts, people leave, you change the rooms and make them up, and they are finished by two o'clock, then they have very much lost the plot. (pause). If you don't put everything into it then you will get nothing out of it. It's a lot of hard work ... you need to invest a lot of money with very little return on your capital, for many years until you are well established ... (I1, 340/354)

Proprietors often juxtaposed the flexibility and the inflexibility of running this type of business. This is illustrated by the following statement which also indicates the view that the extent of the flexibility permitted by the business is determined by personal choice, although at the same time limited by the nature of this service oriented occupation.

'it is very tiring. It's seven days a week and more than twelve hours a day. That's the only negative aspect ... but again you can set your own limits' (I3, 50/52).

The findings indicate that proprietors' views of the flexible or inflexible nature of owning a guest house are a possible reflection of their views of the maturity of their businesses. This was flagged up by respondents as, although many expressed the

benefits of the flexible nature of guest house ownership in allowing them some freedom of choice in undertaking activities, there may also be a time factor in the evolution of such flexibility. For example, this was expressed by D14 where work had only become more flexible after years of inflexibility in trying to develop the business, carry out any necessary building/ renovation work and establish a client base. It was only once the proprietor felt these had been achieved and the business had progressed to what they saw as an acceptable and good standard that they could begin to have a more flexible lifestyle. Having reached this stage in the development and maturity of their business, they could now take a more relaxed approach and feel comfortable enough, for example, temporarily to close the business in order to take a few weeks holiday.

This demonstrates two possible characteristics in the relationship between the proprietor and their business:

1. In the eyes of the owner-occupier, the business tends to evolve through a life cycle or stages in development and maturity. This appears to be related to the length of time during which they have personally owned the business and the extent of internal refurbishing work carried out.
2. The initial feelings of the inability to get away from and of being 'tied' to the business appear more acute where the proprietor defines their view of their guest house as more of a formal business enterprise. This contrasts to those who attribute the business as a supplementary income activity (see Section 6.3.1), or where lifestyle enjoyment is prioritised to a greater extent than perceived to be the case with other proprietors.

The majority of proprietors had help from family members in the daily running of the business (see Section 6.7.1 for outline of findings on occupational/ family roles). Twenty-six proprietors had an accountant. However, eleven proprietors said that they employed the limited assistance of a cleaner or assistant to help with day to day business related tasks. An interesting feature was that where female proprietors had

paid help, this was said to be limited to a maximum of a few mornings a week. However, where male proprietors had paid help, this tended to be far more extensive so that they need not undertake less desirable household tasks, such as cleaning and laundry. This allowed them to focus mainly on their preferred tasks that tended to comprise of cooking, shopping and dealing with guests. It was noted that in all cases of reported help comprising of someone other than family members, that person was female. Examples of comments made about paying for external non-kinship help with daily business tasks are as follows;

‘Well, during the summer, I’ve got a weekend girl from school that comes in at the weekends and it gives me a break, but during the week I can manage it but it’s maybe about one o’clock when I’ve got everything done’ (I4, 79/81).

‘Sharon, my cleaner I’ve got. She comes in Monday, Wednesday, Friday and helps me out’ (D3, 45/46).

‘I do yeah. I have a girl. She’s be-e-en here...six years...no wait till I think...no seven years. If she packs in then I pack in. (laughs) Really. I keep telling her that. “if you go I go” because I’m not doing this ‘cos actually when I first started doing the B&B I did it myself and em I ended up going into hospital and so I ended up having to take somebody on ... em I need the motivation of having somebody else there. I mean there’s two or three people I know who just do it themselves and I really don’t know how they do it and I think ... and I think they’re mad. Basically. Because I really think that you should have somebody. (sighs) And I think that to a certain extent it’s probably greed...that they don’t really want to pay anybody ... which is a farce because I just think its not worth ... its not worth your health ... because I know one lady and she’s being doing B&B for thirty-one years and she does it herself. I mean ... her health is suffering now but she’s still doing it ... albeit she hasn’t been very busy. Since August...um I just think that they’re mad ... basically. It makes life so much easier ... I mean there’s so much to do other than just the rooms. You’ve got, I mean I do...some people send out their, their laundry and things. I don’t. I do it

myself ... I've got a big kind of industrial washing machine and and a tumble drier so I just tend to do it myself but em there are days when you get snowed under ...' (D9, 420/ 436).

Proprietors identified the desire to meet new people and interact with guests and other proprietors as an element of their enjoyment of the nature of everyday working life and choice of the occupation. Indeed, one proprietor in Dundee discussed how the business was used in the past as a mechanism for providing company for his wife and alleviating her boredom when he was working away from home.

'R: No. I was away at sea you see and we used to take in students just for ... for company for her.

R2: It wasn't like they were guests really, it was just I didn't want to be in the house alone for months. (long pause)' (D13, 929/933).

However, one proprietor went into great depth about her feelings of isolation and loneliness despite meeting different people and guests on a regular basis. It is interesting that this guest house owner chose not to engage in formal links with VisitScotland or any other formal organisation (see Section 6.4.1). She also chose not to be part of close relationships with other guest house owners, keeping her contact with other proprietors to a minimum (see Section 6.4.2). Reasons given for such actions were personal feelings of isolation. Guests were regarded by this proprietor as 'strangers' and this was reinforced by ensuring they were kept at a distance. She also expressed a fear of intimidation as her business was seen to be smaller than those managed or owned by others who hold membership of formal organisations such as the tourist board. The concern was that her business would not be taken seriously. This is illustrated by the following extract.

'I could get more involved with things a little bit as well but em I feel that I'm so small ... the business is so small and that as well that I'd feel a bit of a cheat if I

walked in amongst all the hotel people and whatnot and they'd be thinking 'what's she doing here?'" (D8, 761/768)

Proprietors who run their businesses alone whilst their spouse undertakes different employment outside the home are more likely to suffer from feelings of isolation, boredom or resentment than proprietors who run the business together as a couple. Resentment, boredom or loneliness also appeared to be perpetuated by the proprietor not being part of any tight knit social networks with other guest house owners or the fact that they had been running the business for a long period of time and had lost interest in its operation.

### *6.2.2 Learning and personal development (LD)*

Learning by doing, in terms of practical experience over time, was identified as important in terms of learning and development. When asked about what they felt they had learned from the running of the business, proprietors tended to identify learning outcomes achieved through trial and error and from the desire to avoid scenarios similar to those brought to proprietors' minds by previous negative experiences. Several narratives expressed learning that was acquired through experience of interacting with different types of guests. Proprietors seemed in many cases to have developed their own typical profile of guest 'types' that they assigned to all new guests they encountered. From the stories relayed to the researcher, this had also affected their perception of guests and their actions, as the host would ascribe certain appearances and actions by the guest to a certain self-defined 'type' and thus determine the nature of the interaction entered into with them. The following extracts are indicative of such a process;

'really ... you learn as you go along. You're not as gullible. I don't see any negative side ... You just learn from your mistakes, you know. I mean I've got a rule that if anybody comes to my door after ten o'clock I'm not interested in them. You should have found accommodation before that you know...its, eh, you learn right from the beginning and you try and assess somebody. You could be totally wrong when there's somebody at you door. I mean, that's one of the

things when you've never done this before ... its quite scary at the beginning because you've got to trust your judgement' (D3, 131/139).

'I quite often say 'sorry, sorry I don't have a room' just based on how they look. I don't know ... just sometimes I get a bad feeling about some people...well, I do anyway. Or what I do is I exaggerate the price of the room to people I didn't like the look of on my doorstep thinking they'd never take it and then they HAVE. So that doesn't always work (laughs)' (I13, 744/750).

The element of the length of time of business ownership and the idea of the business going through stages of development which correspond to the learning and development of the proprietor were also highlighted.

'As you build up your business you tend to get better clientele ... you know, they look after the place, and then price wise as well you know once you get to a reasonable stage you say 'well I want to charge this' and if you've got en-suites as well you can and so you start not to get the rif raf or you know ... like when I first started' (D15, 180/184).

Therefore, practical experience of running the business and length of time of doing so were identified by proprietors as the most important determinants of their learning.

## 6.3 Lifestyle orientation and business choice (LOBC)

### LOBC: Lifestyle Orientation and Business Choice

- **BT : Income/ Business Type**
- **FP : Future Plans for business and self**
- **BLH : Biography/ Life History**
- **BLC : Business fulfilling defined Lifestyle needs/ Choices**
- **RLW : Relationship between Lifestyle (preferences/ circumstances) and nature of work**

Important findings relating to different themes and areas of exploration were seen as falling within the overall research issue of lifestyle orientation and business choice. Section 6.3.1 outlines the findings relating to definitions of business type and income in terms of the extent to which the guest house is viewed as core or supplementary to the overall family and household income. Section 6.3.2 presents the findings from the narratives and reported biographies of the proprietors during the interviews, that specifically examines the significance to the proprietors of their individual backgrounds to small hospitality business proprietorship. The findings of the extent to which the business is seen and used by its proprietor as a vehicle for fulfilling defined lifestyle needs/ choices are given in Section 6.3.3. The relationship between the lifestyle preferences and circumstances of the proprietors and the nature of the work involved in running a guest house is discussed in Section 6.3.4. Findings of the proprietors' future plans for both themselves and their businesses is outlined in Section 6.3.5, which specifically examines the findings relating to their definitions and extent of desire for growth versus business survival.

#### 6.3.1 *Income/ business type (BT)*

Perceptions of individuals were assessed in terms of whether they viewed the guest house as core or supplementary to the household/ family income. Some proprietors saw the guest house as providing supplementary income. This was particularly the case with female proprietors whose spouses worked in other professions outside the



home. A common theme was the feeling of limited earning potential from the guest houses;

‘No. he has his own job. Em ... I don’t think there’s enough money in it, you know, for the two of you to run it unless you don’t have other commitments sort of thing. Like you don’t have a mortgage to pay or anything like that ... you could possibly live but to have a more comfortable life you need the two earnings really’. (D15, 309/314)

Table 6.1 shows an almost even split between guest houses seen to provide the main income and those where it was a supplementary income for that household. Interviewees that saw it as a core activity/ income were those whose spouse did not have alternative employment and consequently the business was run by both marital partners as a joint effort.

<b>Definition of income type in relation to overall household/family income</b>	<b>Dundee</b>	<b>Inverness</b>
Business core activity/income	7	8
Business supplementary income/activity	8	8
Unable to say	2	0

**Table 6.1: Proprietors’ definitions of the guest house income type in relation to overall household/family income**

An interesting emergent finding was that only one out of a total of ten male proprietors interviewed defined the business as providing a supplementary income, even where their spouse held alternative paid employment outside the home. This may be a view from respondents which reflects society’s expectations of the male as fulfilling the role of primary breadwinner, especially in terms of the age group of the respondents and the type of gender socialisation which they had experienced.

### *6.3.2 Reported biographies/ life histories and their significance to the proprietorship of the small hospitality business (BLH)*

The data were analysed in order to determine proprietors’ backgrounds and their views as to their orientations in running a guest house. Proprietors’ views on the

extent to which the reality of running the business coincided or differed from their expectations were examined in relation to their reported backgrounds in terms of whether they had previously owned a small business. It was also determined whether they had prior experience of working in the hospitality industry. Their perceptions as to whether this experience was significant to the development of their current business were explored. Where proprietors owned small businesses prior to their current venture, the nature and sector applicability of that business was established and their views of that experience elicited.

Eleven proprietors reported having previous experience of owning and managing a small business. Eight of these proprietors reported that their previous small business ventures were within the hospitality and tourism industries and included businesses such as pubs, souvenir shops, small restaurants, newsagents and guest houses. Only three of these proprietors had previous specific experience of running an accommodation business such as a hotel or guest house. Therefore, it was found that only a small number of those interviewed had any previous accommodation sector-specific business ownership expertise.

In all cases it was found that the decision to open a guest house was based on decisions pertaining to a desire for an improved quality of life and greater flexibility. A guest house was seen as a preferable choice for a small business venture to other types of small business. For instance, a couple described the previous ownership of a hotel which, although still categorised as a small business, was a larger enterprise than that of their current guest house. Reasons given for the business decision they had made of selling their previous small business in preference to an even smaller or micro enterprise were lifestyle needs and priorities;

‘We wanted a smaller business. We had always worked in the hotel trade as I said. We had a hotel in Strathpeffer which we ran for quite a few years. We wanted to try something, which didn't have as much responsibility and was less stressful. Yes, downsizing as they say. It isn't as hectic as the hotel, where we always had to have the bar open on time, and closed on time and we were always

clock-watching and watching the staff ... but it is demanding in its own way' (I2 396/400).

This experience and orientation to open a guest house was echoed by others who had found their previous experiences of running a small business more time consuming and less adaptable to a desired flexible style of life. A proprietor who described his experiences of running a public house is seen to exemplify further this view:

'I had a pub before ... It was too much like hard work you know. You were working twenty-four hours a day. You were never going to ... bed ... short a the same time you came up ... So I had an offer for that and then I sold that and built a house and then I decided on this' (D13 23/29).

Of those proprietors who had previously run a small business outside the hospitality or wider tourism industry, all described such experiences as beneficial in terms of providing generic, non-sector specific skills and competencies. However, benefits of a guest house were viewed as outweighing those of other choices of small business ownership due to reasons such as flexibility and the ability to run the business from one's home. Proprietors having had no personal previous experience of working in, or owning a business, in the hospitality industry described their perceptions and expectations of the nature of running a guest house in terms of lifestyle orientation and preferences. The following quotation shows a section of such a narrative.

'basically I didn't know how to do anything else other than that which I'd been trained for ... and we thought it would be an easier option than trying to find new customers for engineering and welding and so on. I'm glad to see the back of it. I'm a lot more relaxed' (D5 447/452).

Those with previous experiences of running guest houses or other hospitality or tourism businesses in a different location identified this as an important determinant of both business choice and geographical positioning. In all cases such businesses had been located in smaller rural peripheral locations heavily dependent and affected

by seasonal changes in visitor numbers and demand. The attractiveness of owning a business in a larger urban area is thus highlighted.

‘First of all, we had a really nice place in Banchory. It was a big old house that had been used as a family home and em it was very difficult to get started in the bed and breakfast business because of course you’ve got to have the space...have the rooms. Of course nowadays buildings aren’t built that way so we had to find an old place that would suit it and we managed to find that place in Banchory. And I spent three or four months converting it into a guest house putting in all the wash basins and doing the electrics. Well, it kept us busy so we just got on with it, putting in the carpets and doing all the décor and all the rest of it. Eventually we opened up as a guest house and it was fully booked over the summer. Packed out in the summer but during the winter there was nobody there. And em we had about four months didn’t we? For the tourist season’ (D7 85/94).

Proprietors who had little previous exposure to the hospitality sector from an employment or proprietor’s point of view tended to have given up their previous profession in order to run the business. The main reason given for this being that lifestyle needs were a priority and this change was perceived to facilitate better these needs. This is illustrated by the following;

‘I was a trained Nurse and I was working but I was getting really disillusioned with the health service so I thought that what I had to do was get out of it and into something else. I really needed to get out of it for my own sanity. So when we bought this house it was with the idea that I would eventually give up my work and I would do bed and breakfast and that was what happened. In fact, it was after six years that we made it habitable and set up the business. It took a lot of effort but I am glad that we made it’ (I3 33/39).

‘I used to work in the railway for several years and had a very stressful job. I shudder when I think about it now! When I got the chance to leave and had

enough money I thought to myself that it would give me the chance to be at home and work from home in a place I wanted to be. This is much less stressful as I do not have to juggle between my work and home and family' (I4 26/30).

'I'd worked in building societies before but I didn't really want to you know...have a career of that. And to be honest it wasn't really worth my while because I would have had to have child minders and I had to pay for child minders for the two years I was still working ... so' (D9 25/28).

Seven proprietors presented narratives of having been brought up in a family with the occupation of working for or owning a hotel or other hospitality business. All described the impact that this upbringing had had in terms of having realistic expectations and the nature of everyday life operating such a business. This is evidenced by the following text segments that provide a flavour of the presented narratives relating to upbringing and experiences of the hospitality industry:

'Plus my parents had a small family hotel. It was in Carnoustie, and I kind of liked the idea. My mother was very successful at it, and I knew basically what I was going into, so it wasn't a shock when I started' (I9 31/33).

'A hotel. Yeah ... up in Sutherland. Up in the Highlands. He bought that in 1947 and I grew up there ... I went to boarding school and he wanted me to then follow him into it ... you know? At that time when I was younger I just couldn't bear the thought of being stuck in the Highlands for the rest of my life so I went away to sea. And that was it' (D10 36/42).

However, an important finding was that none of the proprietors who were brought up in a family that owned a hospitality business went on to inherit and run that same enterprise. This fact provides interesting insights into the lack of family succession planning evidenced by this study which may be a characteristic peculiar to the sector and determined by factors such as those listed in Table 6.4 (see Section 6.3.5).

### *6.3.3 Business as a vehicle for fulfilling defined lifestyle needs/choices (BLC)*

All proprietors interviewed emphasised the importance of non economic and lifestyle considerations in terms of business choice. It was evident from the analysis that the owner-occupiers regarded the concept of 'lifestyle' as incorporating both work and non work activities, each of which was seen to affect, and be affected by, the other. Therefore, the nature of the orientations to own a guest house were found to be determined primarily by lifestyle orientations. It is argued that the strength of this orientation is further compounded by the specific nature of the owner occupied business, where there is overlap between the home and the business and consequently a complexity and meshing of business and personal goals. This is exemplified by the comments of a proprietor;

'you work for yourself which is ... which is great. Em ... it suits me because I'm at home but I'm IN my home. So its nice being at home plus its your workplace...its mainly not nice for a lot of people but it is for me because I've ... now that we're getting a bit older now we have people for meals and the family come down. And I'm not out at work. I'm HERE. I'm not OUT working. And then I've got all day to do what it is I have to o rather than set hours' (D14, 69/79).

The analysis has highlighted that the needs of the proprietors interviewed are complex and broad and cannot be conveniently reduced into easily definable criteria such as a desire for profit or a high need for achievement (see Section 2.2). What was evidenced however was that all proprietors desired a certain 'way of life' as determined by the needs and wants of the individual, with the business being used as an enabling tool in order to acquire this 'way of life'.

### *6.3.4 Relationship between lifestyle (preferences/ circumstances) and nature of work (RLW)*

The relationship between the lifestyle preferences of the proprietor and the nature of work involved in running a guest house needs to be viewed against the backdrop of

the proprietors' biographies and narratives of their background and life histories (see Section 6.3.2). Several female proprietors identified their ability to look after children, and family commitments as elements of lifestyle circumstances making such a business an attractive option. It is interesting therefore that the nature of their orientations towards setting up and running a guest house were all based on lifestyle issues and the perception of, among other factors, increased flexibility and personal control. However, such lifestyle orientation can be further segmented into lifestyle preferences and lifestyle circumstances. Descriptions of the former indicate that the proprietors' orientations are seen to derive from self-defined goals or wants, the adoption of which are essentially voluntary in nature. Descriptions of the latter on the other hand indicate that their orientations are seen to derive from externally imposed or current circumstances, such as family commitments, which necessitate and restrict certain actions being taken. Each of these lifestyle orientations greatly influences the views towards the nature of work in terms of whether that work is seen by the proprietors to have been proactively embraced through preference, or passively accepted through circumstance with the perception of limited alternative options.

In terms of lifestyle preferences and the preferred nature of work, a common theme among proprietors was the desire not to hire staff for day to day tasks on a formal basis in order to avoid any potential problems which could occur (see Section 6.3.5 for more detail and reasons provided for this view). Those who did employ the services of a cleaner or similar person, did so on an informal basis. Also, most proprietors avoided discussing the issue of regular monetary transactions and tax dealings involved in running the business. However, one proprietor alluded to the practice of undeclared dealings that were 'off the books'.

'R: Don't ask how much I make. (laughs) you used to get a lot of fiddle in the pubs ... you get paid a lot of cash in this as well.

I: Do you make a good profit though?

R: Oh aye. Its more profitable than the pub. 'Cos you make something like eighty-eight, eighty-nine percent gross profit whereas with the pub you're only down to twenty. We take in more money but we work harder for it ... If you've got one person or its full the expenses are the same. I mean a breakfast costs next to nothing. I mean all the ... say its eighteen pounds a night we are and its only maybe costing you a pound and all the rests your own. We also benefit from the heating and that used for the guest house.

R2: And then you're not paying staff wages. You see we didn't want staff because we had bad experiences in the pub with staff. So in the end you don't trust anyone you know'. (D13, 935/ 948).

'We've made more money as the years have gone on ... we've not really spent it all with all the people coming back. You don't really pay a lot of tax on it either. There's lots of things that you can off set against ... Likes o that fire (gestures towards fire place) we're heating ourselves on that but that's coming off the business ... There's a lot of these perks like that (pause)' (D13, 568/572).

This provides a flavour of the nature and a certain side of running this type of business. However, regardless of potential profit to be made, proprietors desire sufficient profit in order to ensure their lifestyle preferences, but avoid partaking in activities such as employing staff where these are seen to reduce their quality of life regardless of the potential increase in earnings of doing so.

#### *6.3.5 Future plans for business and self: desire for growth versus desire for business survival*

From the overall profile of the proprietors and their businesses it was seen that most of the proprietors interviewed in both Dundee and Inverness had between four and six rooms to let (see Figure 6.2, Section 6.1.1).

None of the proprietors interviewed as part of this research desired business growth. This research showed that those interviewed do not measure business success in



terms of growth criteria. Rather than such micro businesses lacking the ability to grow in financial or resource terms, their owners do not demonstrate an ambition to do so, and therefore put no measures in place to facilitate growth opportunities. This strengthens the view that the dominance of personal goals held by the small business proprietor may not always be in keeping with rational economic decision-making philosophy. Proprietors did however express desire for profit and financial success. This is indicative of the fact that the desire for profit was seen to exist independently of views towards business growth.

The findings show that the objectives of the guest house owner-occupier are based on ensuring a balance between income and profit acquired through the business and expenditure of effort in order to ensure or maintain a desired lifestyle. Other objectives include maintenance of personal control and direct business ownership and achieving job satisfaction.

Table 6.2 outlines how the proprietors defined the concept of business growth in terms of what it might mean to their business. Proprietors defined business growth as involving the following three main implications: an increase in the actual size of the operation; an increase in the range of services provided to guests; and an increase in the need to employ staff.

<b>Proprietors definitions of 'business growth'</b>	
<b>Dimension: anticipated change to business</b>	<b>Features/ characteristics of this change</b>
Increasing in <i>actual size</i>	This would involve increasing the number of guest rooms/ bedrooms available either by purchasing new property or by converting rooms currently used solely by the proprietor and their family
Increasing the <i>range of services provided to guests</i>	This may include providing dinner as well as the basic service of 'bed and breakfast'.
Increasing the <i>need to employ staff</i>	This would reduce the need for the same extent of daily hands on involvement by the proprietor in the running of the business, thus reducing the perceived extent of personal control.

**Table 6.2: Dimensions used by proprietors to define the concept of 'business growth'**

All of the above factors were deemed to be undesirable, regardless of financial viability, opportunity or potential profits. The reasons given for this are listed in Table 6.3 in prioritised order according to the proprietors interviewed. Therefore the needs of the business are seen as important, but only where these do not significantly impede the desired quality of life in terms of personal comfort, space and time. In all cases, it can be thus surmised that lifestyle needs are seen by the respondents to be a higher priority than business needs if potential conflicts between both are envisaged. The business is run in order mainly to support and enable an improved or desired style of living.

<b>Identified factors for absence of growth orientation</b>
Perceived decline in quality of life
Expected decreases in personal time and comfort
Perceived loss of personal control
Expected loss of actual physical space on the premises for the proprietor and their family
Possible need for proprietor to vacate premises and reside elsewhere with the property fulfilling the role only as 'business' and no longer that also of 'home'
The possibility of significant disruption to the business and premises in the short term
Marginal expected increase in profit levels
Expected increased 'detachment' from hands on daily running of business
Perceived change in the essential character and image projected by the business allowing less scope or practical ability to provide the personalised service defined by the proprietors as their competitive advantage over larger budget hotel chains
Expected cost implications and legislative requirements associated with growth (ie: health and safety requirements, business rates)
Perceived 'hassle' or complications of the process

**Table 6.3: Identified factors for the absence of growth orientation among proprietors**

In one particular case it was found that the proprietors decided actually to downsize and reduce the number of letting rooms available from three to only two. Although this was the only case in which a decision to reduce the physical size and space of the business, as opposed to maintaining their existing level of operation had been taken, it does nevertheless further support the argument that such individuals lack growth orientation.

'Well, it's now reduced to two ... so you see we're not too big ... and that suits us ... but we still chose the house to set up the business ... and also because we

liked it. We used to do three, which incidentally is your limit without having to go for fire certificates and things. And then you get into business rates and it becomes so expensive that you need so much more money and everything else ... I KNOW ... I've gone through all of that before. So thinking about it, going to four bedrooms is not an option ... and never was for us. You would really need to go to at least six to make it worth while. You know what I mean?' (I12. 139/146)

Reduction in the number of services previously being made available to guests was evident. This typically involved withdrawing the provision of evening meals. Although this did not involve a change in the actual size of the business, it does indicate an important feature encompassing their definitions of growth as shown in Table 6.2, one of which is the range of services provided to guests. Therefore, due to their definitions of growth, it could reasonably be argued that such individuals have also downsized and reduced the business operation. Another interesting feature when downsizing was identified to have taken place was that in every relevant case the additional services had been provided at the start of the business life cycle. This indicates that the proprietor's lifestyle orientations and those factors listed in Table 6.3 remain dominant throughout the lifecycle of the business.

All those interviewed identified personal control over business activities on a daily basis as a highly valued characteristic. Therefore, personal control is defined in terms of hands on dealings, physical presence and daily business actions/ interactions. Although many had help from family members or employed the limited assistance of a cleaner to help with tasks, none expressed a desire to expand or grow to a level where their daily hands-on involvement in the running of the business would no longer be required. The small size of the business therefore enabled a high level of business contact and hands-on interaction, a characteristic that was highly valued by all those interviewed as this facilitated the desire and need for personal control. It is surmised therefore, that such individuals would not thrive in the role of detached business owner/ manager of a larger operation, as this does not coincide with their definitions of business 'control'.

Linked to the findings of a lack of growth orientation amongst the guest house proprietors and the corresponding desire for direct 'control' are the findings relating to business inheritance and ownership. Interestingly, unlike what might be the case with family run small businesses in other sectors of the economy, there is no evidence of a desire to pass on the business to children or other family members. Even in the cases where there are complementary roles between the proprietor(s) and other family members (see Section 6.7.1), the idea that the business would be carried on by children or other family after the retirement of the owner was not something that was contemplated. The identity of the business can therefore be seen to be a function not only of its size, location and type, but also of the owner and their personal plans. Some proprietors did express a desire to sell the business as a going concern whilst others who tended to let fewer rooms and wished to remain living on the premises expressed plans to convert the property for the sole use of a family home after their retirement. Reasons for the lack of plans, which involve business succession to children or other family members, are outlined in Table 6.4.

<b>Identified factors for lack of family succession planning</b>
Micro size of business
Age of owners when opening guest house as children of those above forty tended to be older, not living at home, already have established own professions and have little direct experience of parent's business
Lack of interest in the business by children/other family members
Business seen by proprietors as temporary activity until retirement
Desire to maintain direct ownership/control
Business providing supplementary income to that provided by the main breadwinner. Therefore, an acknowledgement by owners of the limited income provided causing them to desire an alternative profession to be adopted by children.
Desire to sell business as a going concern to make a profit
Desire to convert property for sole use as a home after retirement

**Table 6.4: Identified factors for lack of family succession planning among proprietors**

## 6.4 Business links and networks (BLN)

**BLN : Business Links and Networks**

- **FN : Formal business Networks/ contacts in relation to business**
- **SNG : Social Networks or liaisons with other Guest house owners**

The proprietors were found to be engaged in a variety of network types, which are valued in different ways. These are now discussed in terms of the proprietors' views of their usefulness and outcomes gained from membership as opposed to time, money or effort invested.

In this research, networks are taken to include both the formal membership links and also informal relationships, which like the former are generally developed mainly for the main business purpose of finding customers. Proprietors' views on membership of the more formally organised tourism organisations can be compared to their links within the more informal networks of 'like-minded' individuals to which they belong. The findings relating to the formal business-based networks are covered in Section 6.4.1 and the findings relating to the more informal business-based networks are outlined in Section 6.4.2.

### *6.4.1 Formal business contacts in relation to the business (FN)*

The formal business networks identified by the proprietors were:

- VisitScotland (although proprietors still referred to it by the previously held label of the STB/Scottish Tourist Board)
- The respective area tourist boards namely HOST (Highland of Scotland Tourist Board) and Angus and Dundee Tourist Board
- The AA (Automobile Association)
- The RAC (Royal Automobile Club)
- The Federation of Small Businesses
- The Scottish Enterprise Network which comprises of the respective local enterprise companies namely Scottish Enterprise Tayside and Inverness and Nairn Enterprise

Tourist organisation	Number of guest houses included in main fieldwork phase holding membership of each type of tourist organisation	
	Dundee	Inverness
VisitScotland (STB)/ATB	13	14
AA	1	4
RAC	1	0
Federation of Small Businesses	0	2
Membership of none of the above identified formal business organisations is held	2	1

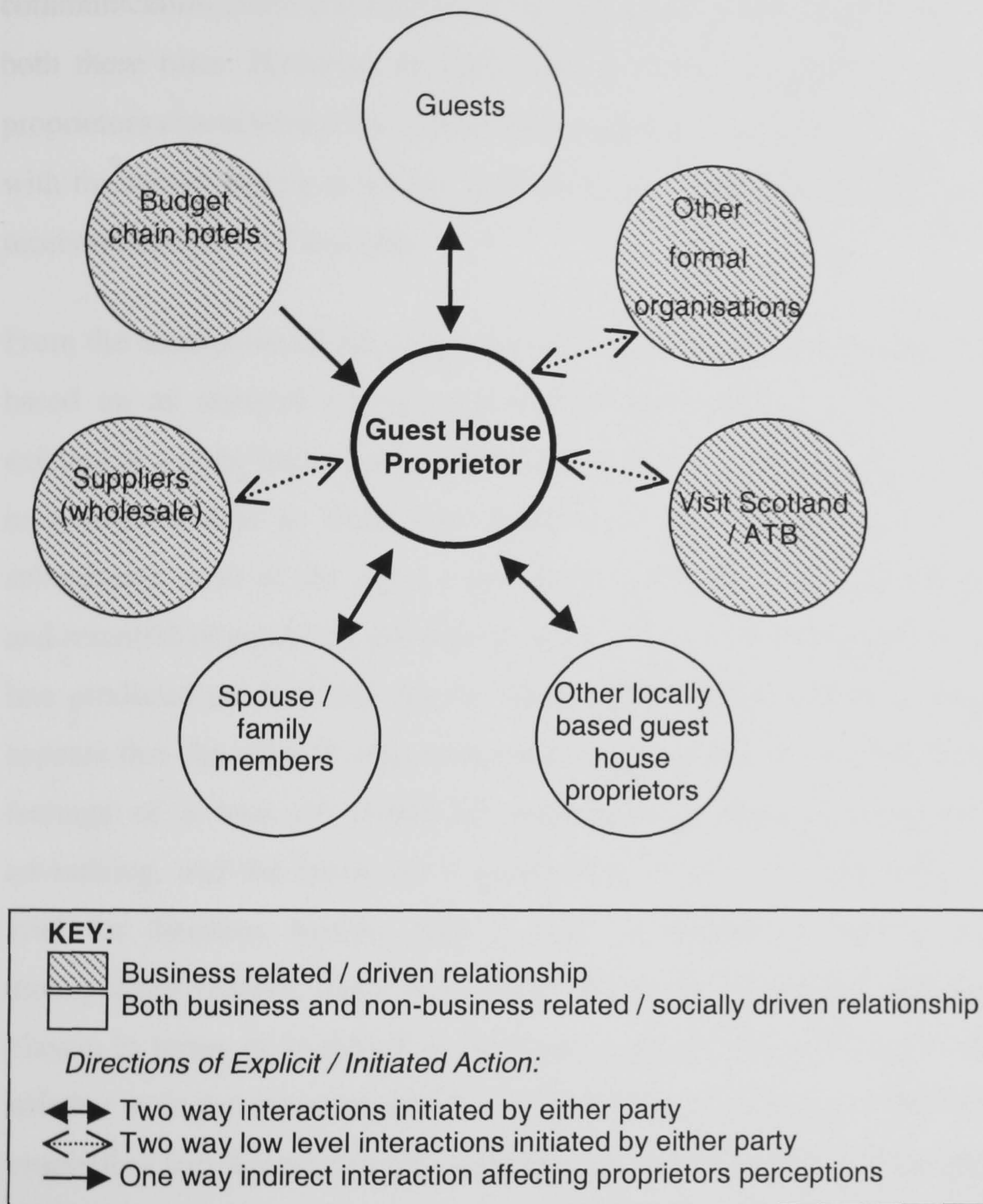
**Table 6.5: Extent of membership with formal tourist organisations**

The majority of the proprietors interviewed expressed views concerning VisitScotland and their area tourist board, even where membership was not held. As shown in Table 6.5, twenty-seven out of the thirty guest houses, participating in the main fieldwork phase of this research, held membership of VisitScotland and the respective ATB (either HOST or Angus and Dundee Tourist Board) at the time of interview. Some proprietors also discussed the AA. Only one proprietor was a member of the RAC and, in this case membership status was also held with VisitScotland and the AA. Two proprietors only said that they were members of the Federation of Small Businesses. One proprietor in Inverness mentioned the Inverness and Nairn Enterprise, only to indicate that she would not approach them for any guidance or help in running the business;

‘They are just not interested. If they do take you on at all they just fill your head with rubbish. They just confuse you ... I would certainly not turn to any of them for advice. Especially INE. They just don’t BEAR talking about.’ (I3 185/188)

Lack of reference to the Scottish Enterprise network is indicative of a disillusionment or rejection of formal organisational structures that are seen not to have a direct bearing or specific application to the hospitality and accommodation sector. The

enterprise network is therefore seen as inappropriate by the proprietors or not relevant to their small accommodation businesses.



**Figure 6.4: Map of proprietors' interactions with relevant others**

This research has found that the proprietors view themselves as less than willing passive recipients of actions enforced by VisitScotland and their area tourist board. They do not feel that they have a great amount of influence on their decisions or actions by initiating action from their own part. This counters their self-proclaimed characteristic of a desire for control and controlling situations (see Section 6.3.5). Indeed, this was cited by all respondents as a benefit of the occupation and a motivating factor for starting a small hospitality business. This interaction differs fundamentally from their other interactions (see Figure 6.4), which are characterised

by them as having a two-way process of interaction and action initiation. Actors and organisations can be seen as communication transmitters/initiators and/or communication receivers. In a two-way interactive relationship both parties perform both these roles. However, in their dealings with VisitScotland and the ATB, the proprietors characterise this relationship as one that is top down and based on power with the former acting as action transmitters/initiators and the latter acting as action receivers and passive reactors.

From the standpoint of the proprietors, the tourist organisations are enforcing action based on an unequal power relationship similar to that of the typical hierarchy existing in a large bureaucratic organisation. The proprietors feel that they are treated in a fashion akin to front line workers on the factory floor, or as staff on a subordinate level of the same organisation. This leaves the proprietors dissatisfied and resentful of perceived attempts to standardise their individuality into an assembly line produced product that can be easily graded, labelled and 'quality' checked. It appears that the reasons why those deciding to remain members did so were due to feelings of a lack of choice of alternative grading providers, the benefits of advertising, and the desire for a recognised 'brand'. The need to join was seen as vital for business health, with a lack of alternative options and an almost monopolised market, apart from what are seen to be minor and less recognised players in terms of branding recognition by the public, such as the AA. Therefore, whether it is the intention or not of VisitScotland and its related subsidiaries, the proprietors feel disempowered which may be due to their perceived treatment as staff rather than clients.

Moreover, it can also be seen from Figure 6.4 that the type of interaction that proprietors have with VisitScotland is defined solely as a business driven relationship and does not impact upon their non-business related or socially driven concerns. This makes such a relationship less attractive, and more limited in application to the lifestyle entrepreneur who prioritises both integrated elements of their lives. This differs from, for example, their interactions with family members and networks with other guest house proprietors, as such relationships provide both a business and social function and are thus valued highly.



The feeling of being 'ignored' by the formal tourist board network was a recurring theme encountered when analysing the interview data. Most of the respondents felt that the formal organisations concerned do not generally pay enough attention to their views. This is reflected by the following sentiments:

'I would say that I am not impressed at all by them ... As far as I'm concerned they don't market Scotland properly. They don't have a clear idea of what will attract tourists.' (I5 180/182)

'I don't really know about the tourist board. Anyway they don't really listen to us but never mind. We run the business as we want to' (I7 316/318).

Therefore, from the 'bottom-up' it is felt that tourism organisations such as VisitScotland are not in touch with the proprietors and don't consider their views or needs very much. However, it is important to note that this view is weighed against the proprietors' self defined need for control and business autonomy:

'not that we want interference ... It gets very annoying when you get the tourist board trying to dictate all the time what you can and can't do...although we've nothing to hide and we're proud of our standards ...' (I1 220/224)

For those holding membership of formal tourist organisations such as VisitScotland, the view of accommodation grading in principle as a tool for indicating quality is generally positive. Indeed, proprietors use grading in terms of the recognised 'star rating' as an indication of certain comparable standards.

'they look at the room and of course they have breakfast ... usually the full works and grade you on that ... but no ... I didn't mind that side of it because people DO want to know what a place is like. I certainly would. If I was booking bed and breakfast I always look at that. I certainly wouldn't go to anyone's door

without seeing it ... without the grading. There should be some sort of thing to tell you what its like' (I13, 164/167).

Nevertheless, some objected to the standardised image even 'down to the wallpaper' which VisitScotland inspectors appeared to expect them to present. One referred to the 'Granny's Highland Home' image. This is contrary to the desire by proprietors to reflect their individuality through their business and resist attempts at standardisation in a style often likened to the 'impersonal' quality of chain hotel operations that reinforce benchmarked expectations. Several narratives recount experiences with grading inspectors that emphasise an overly critical approach. This is reflected by the following view;

'I think the STB scheme is better now than it used to be. I find that when I first started they were awful pernicky. I didn't like that at all. I found them really patronising ... the officers. I didn't like them at all. But I was in it. You know, I did it because I had to' (D2, 161/164)

Moreover, inspections were generally seen as subjective and based on the individual tastes or views of the inspector concerned. This is reflected in the statement made by one of the proprietors about an inspector's criticism of his paintings when he said that;

'they're all originals, that one (indicates with gestures) was a lot ... it cost me three thousand three hundred pounds. Now there's a lot of people would love to own that. Right. Now its hanging on the wall. I got it. I bought it about eighteen years ago ... this one that was in the room was about that, it was ... it was done with silk ... I don't know a lot about art. If I like it I like it, if I don't I don't. But my wife, she went to art college and my daughter's an artist. This was all done with silk and it was a house and something. And seemingly it's a work of art. It was done by an Edinburgh artist ... I don't know ... she criticised it. This girl from the Tourist Board. And I says 'well art is in the eye of the beholder'' (D12, 688/700).

There was concern that this has led to inconsistency, with different standards being applied to different businesses due to a system of basing final classifications on the total of percentage marks awarded for different aspects of the operation, including intangible elements such as service and actual facilities. The same proprietor went on to say that;

‘when you go upstairs you’ll see my rooms have Dornoch curtains, everything matches ... towels ... everything. The carpets are eighty percent wool, twenty percent nylon which is good hard wearing stuff ... the showers are expensive showers I’ve put in ... eh I’m not getting on at the woman across the road, the woman across the road’s fine I get on fine with her husband, they’re a nice couple...but everything’s cheap and cheerful. Now they gave her three stars and they gave me three stars. And I have two rooms en-suite, she’d nothing en-suite. And the other room of mine’s a private bathroom. Yet you go over there and you would be sharing with eight people ... now you’re gonna tell me that’s the same ... Not in a million years is that the same.’ (D12, 672/679)

The guest referral system operated by VisitScotland was criticised in terms of the charges levied for this service and for a lack of sufficient referrals. Also, concern was expressed that there was a lack of transparency of the basis upon which businesses are selected for referrals. This led to suspicions that such a system could be unfair or open to misuse. This indicates a mistrust of the formal structure. Another Dundee proprietor reflected this on saying;

‘the tourist board ... do you know how they choose what guest house to ring up? ... Its supposed to be on a rota but they maybe have their favourites. I’m not making allegations against them but it is open to corruption. My friends niece ... her friend was working there not last summer, the summer before and we got an awful lot more phone calls (laughs) and I just thought that was ... quite a coincidence you know? ‘Cos Vicki just happened to mention that this girl that her aunt’s friend had a guest house and we’d seen them ... they were always

full. They're supposed to do it on a rota. Nobody really knows ... its meant to be fairly distributed' (D13, 280/292).

Some proprietors regard their business as too small or their time too constrained to benefit from VisitScotland resources. The inability to attend meetings or courses run by the tourist board was highlighted due to reasons such as a fear of losing customers resulting from a physical absence from the business, personal commitments and time constraints. This emphasises the particular nature and owner-based business dependency of such micro operations which are, in effect, reliant on the presence or activities of either only one person or a couple as proprietors. Another reason for an apparent rejection of the value of meetings and seminars as potential resources and sources of help is a feeling of alienation as the tourist board is seen not to appreciate the knowledge, skills and background of the proprietors. This may similarly relate to the proprietors' self defined desire for personal control over business decisions, with any methods perceived to threaten this authority, or demean their position, consequently rejected. As two proprietors put it;

'you can't treat people as all the same thing. So they should sit back and think who have we got? What experience have we got? Because not enough of that information is tapped.' (D4, 762/770).

And;

'they do a lot of training modules and you know...and business breakfasts and all sorts of things like that but I personally don't need to attend them because... without being big headed about it I don't think that they can really teach me anything that I need to know ... that I don't know' (D10, 367/370)

This theme was carried through in the feeling that the tourist organisations operated and carried out actions implying a lack of appreciation or understanding of the nature of the small business and the particular constraints in terms of time, manpower and resources faced by these businesses.

'One thing there is a tendency to do is to send small establishments large brown envelopes with glossy magazines, offer to advertise in journals within the STB which I couldn't possibly afford to do for a quarter page advert, at £495 a go' (I12, 311/313).

However, in light of the views expressed, the question still remains as to why the proprietors choose to join these organisations. First of all, most replied that they 'think grading is useful'. Thus the owner-occupiers feel it necessary to be members of formal networks such as the tourist board due to what they see as a brand which is valued on the part of the guests rather than for the value of membership in itself. The need for this brand as a form of 'certificate' of quality is balanced against a desire for personal control and a rejection of a standardised image. The dilemma facing the proprietor is therefore apparent and goes some way towards explaining the expressed resentment towards actively participating in what are considered to be 'top-down' bureaucratic institutions.

Apart from grading denoting recognition and approval and the ability to use the 'VisitScotland' or other brands, others mentioned the use of their channels of advertising, particularly brochures and web sites, as a reason for joining these organisations. The stage in the business life cycle was also identified as an important factor in determining choosing membership, extent of contact and value of the formal tourist organisation from the perspective of the proprietor. Those at the beginning of the business life cycle who have not been running the business for a long period of time are more reliant on the formal tourist organisations to provide guest referrals. However, as the business matures in age and a more established base of repeat business and informal contacts are developed, the use and consequent value of the role of the formal organisations in contributing to the health of their business appears to decline.

'But initially you needed them didn't you ... for the initial bookings ... aye ... to set yourself up' (D13, 253/254).

From these collated findings, a typology of proprietor ‘types’ was developed. Table 6.6 maps the typologies of proprietor identified in relation to expressed views of their membership choices and self perceptions regarding formal tourism business networks such as VisitScotland, and whether they feel that they really have freedom of choice in terms of such membership.

<b>Proprietor Typology: Membership of Formal Tourism Business Networks (FTBN)</b>		
Proprietor type	Current membership status	Attitude towards FTBN
Type A1:	Non member	Rejection of all FTBNs: has never been a member of any FTBNs
Type A2:	Non member	Rejection of all FTBNs: previously held membership of FTBN and has decided to discontinue membership
Type B1:	Member	Views self as involuntary member of FTBN: perceived lack of choice due to structure of current system
Type B2:	Member	Views self as voluntary member of FTBN: desires improvements to current system
Type B3:	Member	Views self as voluntary member of FTBN: content with current system

**Table 6.6: Typologies of proprietor: membership of formal tourism business networks (FTBN)**

As shown in Table 6.6, three of the proprietors interviewed, D1, D8 and I15, fell into the ‘type A1’ category of the above typology in that they rejected formally belonging to tourism organisations and had never held membership of the stated organisations in the past. From this analysis, reasons given for a perceived lack of need to belong to such formal organisations included an inefficient use of time and finances that were seen as being better spent ‘directly’ on the business. The perceived lack of time available to spend on actual dealings and communication with organisations was a recurring theme that is illustrated by the following statement;

‘I don’t think I really need to ... I just don’t think its worth it and I wouldn’t have the time to spare anyway. I’m not one for talking about things. I just like to get on with it’ (D1, 113/120).

There was also seen to be a lack of business need for membership, as business success was not viewed as being significantly affected by a lack of membership. For as one proprietor pointed out, 'I seem to be doing OK without them' (D1, 146/154). The small size of the business was seen as significant in terms of whether membership of formal organisations was considered an actual business need. As one proprietor put it;

'I feel I'm not big enough to, um, advertise and what not. I haven't done ... haven't been with the tourist board or anything like that you know' (D8, 97/98).

There was concern that membership of a tourist organisation operating a grading scheme would increase the number of short one-night stays, which are less desirable than longer term visits. Moreover, there was a clear lack of value of membership due to the negative impression given by some others holding membership. Proprietors falling into the 'type A1' category conceded that they would only consider taking out membership of formal tourism organisations such as the tourist board or the AA in the future if their business were to struggle financially, with a significant fall in guest numbers.

None of the proprietors interviewed were 'type A2' (see Table 6.6). 'Type A2' denotes proprietors who did not hold membership of any formal tourism organisation but had previously held membership but this had been discontinued. However, some proprietors who fell within the 'type B1' grouping (see Table 6.6) could become future 'type A2' proprietors as the feasibility or desirability of continuing membership was being contemplated. 'Type B1' proprietors are members who view themselves as involuntary members of a formal tourism organisation due to a perceived lack of choice due to the structure of the current system. This is reflected by the following views;

'I don't think that the STB is even something that we really need. I think that we would get along just as well without it, because we would still get the business if

we weren't members. It is really just the grading that we like it for ... nothing much else' (I2, 270/274).

'I'll maybe give it another year and then not join again ... because I'll have built up my clientele by then ... I hope anyway' (I4, 279/280).

'Type B1' proprietors perceived membership particularly of the tourist board as an obligatory action with limited alternative options due to what is perceived to be a lack of competition from alternative bodies such as the AA. Some proprietors choose to hire the services of the AA to grade their property. However, where this was the case, this was in addition to rather than an alternative to the tourist board grading scheme. Therefore, the AA was not seen as a real alternative option, regardless of how dissatisfied they were with the tourist board. The overall feeling was that in order to be graded and classified under a scheme recognised by the guest, the only choice of provider for this is the tourist board enforced by its area network. This concept of a market monopoly or 'closed shop' was expressed in terms of resentment towards a system perceived as basically unfair due both to a lack of competition and credible alternative grading providers recognised by guests as on a par with the tourist board. The following statement illustrates this;

'It's a catch twenty-two. No matter what you do or where you go, HOST keeps getting mentioned. Basically, it's a very closed shop' (I3, 154/155).

Those who particularly saw membership of VisitScotland as valuable in terms of business success were those who were further away geographically from the city centre, other proprietors or main transportation routes;

'Well, its not so much a case of 'I'd rather be' a member its more 'I've got to be' otherwise I won't get any business from them. And I don't get much passing trade because I'm too far out. I'm the furthest guest house along xxxxx road, as you can see, there are a lot of other guest houses along xxxxx road so people



would always come across one of the other ones first before they even get to this one' (I14, 186/192).

Those proprietors falling within the 'type B2' category tend to be members of more than one formal tourism organisation. Both 'type B1' and 'type B2' proprietors are similar in that they stressed the importance of membership and quality grading in principle as important for benchmarking standards and assuring the guest that certain expectations would be fulfilled. None of the proprietors interviewed fell into the 'type B3' category whereby they view themselves as voluntary members of formal tourism organisations and are completely content with the status quo.

#### *6.4.2 Membership of less formal local networks: liaisons with other guest house owners (SNG)*

It needs to be emphasised that the research focussed on informal networks that incorporated business goals rather than more personal goals as their primary orientation. Therefore, informal social networks that proprietors were part of primarily for personal, entertainment or friendship reasons have not been included in this analysis. All of the proprietors interviewed were found to be part of an informal network with other guest house owners in the area. The informal networks link people who identify with one another as they perform the same business role and are located in the same geographical area. The broad research analysis examines the patterns and linkages that shape the networks.

Aspects that were taken into account, when developing conceptual representations of what was seen to exist in the field, are the diversity and strength of interconnections. Some networks are seen to be more dense with most nodes being connected, and tightly rather than loosely knit. However, most proprietors reported belonging to the latter type. In this analysis the key nodes are taken to be the proprietors. However, although the approach taken is not 'top-down', the broader contextual setting is also examined in order to appreciate and account for the influences that impinge upon the

motivations, values and views of the entrepreneurs. Within these contexts, the links among the proprietors and those connecting them to others are seen as the networks.

Characteristics of network	Description of type
Quality	Business goal rather than personal, primary orientation
Duration	Variable
Breadth	Narrow; usually involving few activities
Attributed value	As a means to an end
Similarity to more formal network	High degree of similarity

**Table 6.7: Nature of the informal business-based network (adapted from Macionis and Plummer 2002 p127)**

Table 6.7 lists the nature of the characteristics of the informal business-based networks found to exist amongst owner-occupiers. It demonstrates the key finding that as a network type, the informal business-based network used by proprietors is very similar to key characteristics of the more formal business-based networks with large organisations such as VisitScotland. Both the formal and the informal can be seen to have a business goal as their primary aim as opposed to personal goals which could also exist, although very much as a secondary aim or by-product. The duration tends to be variable and is influenced by factors such as staying in the same premises, length of time running the business, and value attributed to other network types. Also, the breadth of the relationship tends to be narrow involving predominantly those activities engineered to facilitate greater custom. Therefore, the informal network, similar to the formal, is viewed as a means to an end, namely that of increasing business success. It could be argued that the informal could compete with the formal in terms of attributed value as both have similar key characteristics.

The informal network ties appear stronger to the 'owner-occupier' where the guest houses are less isolated from each other, as they are in the city centres or the more rural periphery, and vice versa. As one proprietor said;

‘Well we do have links with two others in the same street but apart from these we’re cut off geographically from the other guest houses and we keep ourselves very much to ourselves. We get enough business through other means and so we don’t need that sort of help ... I know a lot of other guest houses have that sort of arrangement among themselves ’ (I1, 195/199).

Those in the suburbs where there is a high density and close proximity of proprietors such as the area north of the River Ness known locally as ‘the land o’ the guest houses’ or the Broughty Ferry district of Dundee, tend to have tighter informal ties. As was said:

‘mostly though one of us phones the other to see if they’re full. I do the same. We’re all quite good that way ... we’re on the phone to each other all the time. Aha. Well, I’m quite good friends with the three of them, especially Irene across at xxxxx. So we like to see ... ask how each others getting on. You know? We go out on a couple of nights out now and again’ (D6, 145/149).

Again links with formal bodies are often sought when businesses are just being started up when few informal ties have been developed. Thus formal linkages often lose value with the business life cycle as a more secure customer base evolves as the business matures. With the development of the business, ties with the formal may be retained somewhat reluctantly only if they bring with them the tourist agency brand and the guarantee of the star rating rather than for the custom they bring. These benefits may not always be seen as sufficient. One proprietor made this point when comparing the value they attributed to their informal and their formal networks in terms of guest referrals;

‘Yup. Mainly with the one round the corner, xxxxx. The people there had just moved into that place before we moved in here. And they also ran a guest house before. They had been in the hotel business all their lives basically. So we got on with them very well. And the people at the top of the road that we know, Florence and that. Arbroath Road. We work quite well together because if one

can't take them then they pass on our address to them or sometimes even call us up and say have you got a room. So its quite good. They give us more business referrals than the tourist office ... If we're wanting a few days off or a holiday and one of our regulars phones up we'll get them a room with one of them as well' (D7, 661/673).

Thus the results show that the owner-occupiers build up, often on a personal and geographic basis, local networks to support each other and to pass on customers to one another. Network ties are a significant resource for them and use of these based on a locality or informal groupings are valuable to them. Through time, proprietors may develop denser networks and become connected to more people, although the nature and extent of mutual supportive activities vary at different stages of business development.

The findings of this research therefore confirmed the existence of either 'tight knit' or more 'loose knit' networks among proprietors. Both loose knit and tight knit networks were found to be geographically bound in that proprietors only reported links with other proprietors in close proximity to their own business. The findings show that the actors develop networks among others with similar business and related goals and even compatible lifestyle preferences. An interesting outcome of this research was that, out of those included in the study, more female proprietors described themselves as belonging to tight knit informal networks than their male counterparts. Where this was the case, these networks were with other female proprietors living in close proximity to one another. This type of network was seen as particularly beneficial when setting up the business and during the early phases of running the business. Moreover, this type of network has both a business and a non-business/socially driven function (see Figure 6.4), particularly where it is a 'tight knit' as opposed to a 'loose knit' network type. For example, a 'tight knit' network existing in the Broughty Ferry area of Dundee involved four female proprietors of similar ages living on the same street. All four were interviewed (D3, D6, D9 and D14), and each held a strong empathy and identification with one another rather than viewing each other as a source of competition. This is illustrated by the statements of

one of the proprietors belonging to this 'tight knit' group, as it operates both for business and personal objectives in that the proprietors refer guests on to one another but they also engage in social activities as friends.

'We all work together here actually. I mean Sharon, you know, there's no competition. If I'm busy or if somebody comes to the door and I'm full I'll phone across, we all, you know, we don't turn away anybody ... we say 'well hold on I'll just check across the road with Sharon or Julia along the road. We all work together. xxxxx, xxxxx and xxxxx up the road. We've all got each others numbers and if we can't take, you know, we just say 'hold on and I can get you somewhere else' because we're all three star kind of thing ... we're all in the same category. As I say, we're all friends so we all work together' (D3, 63/70).

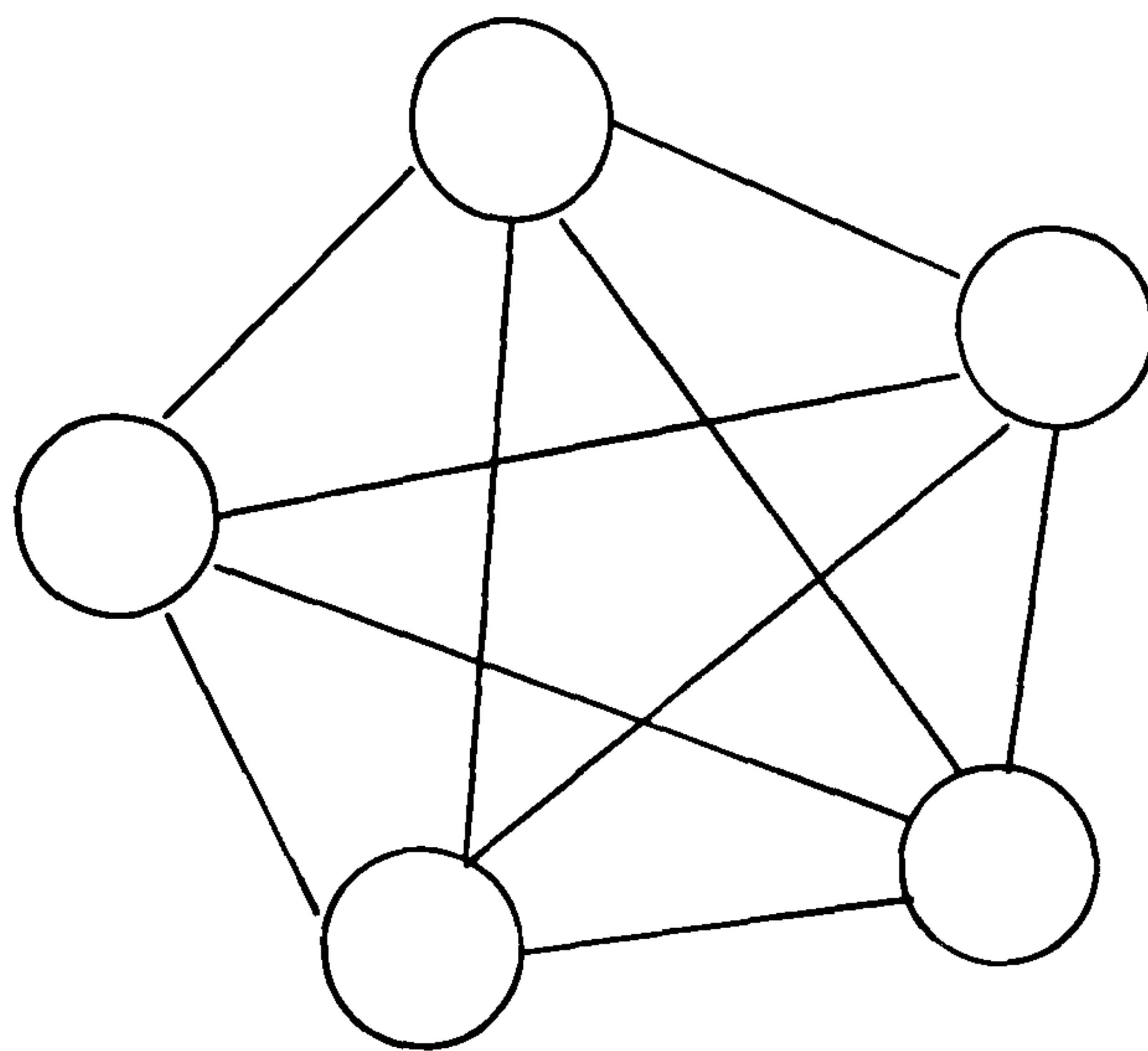
'we normally have nights out kind of thing. At Christmas time we get together but, em, I was going to say that Sharon and I go to the ... we go to the next generation sports centre. We're members up there. We try and fit that in two times a week if we can' (D3, 73/77).

'The four of us were in Oban and were speaking about this because we went in the tourist board and I got the tourist brochure and picked some places out of there. Four of us took the train from Fort William to Mallaig and we booked into a three star in Fort William and it was lovely' (D3, 386/389).

Also, the findings show that where proprietors have complementary roles with their spouse (see Section 6.7.1), who may also share in the active hands-on running of the business, there is less evidence of a need or desire to be part of a tight knit network.

The following conceptual models developed from this analysis (see Figure 6.5, Figure 6.6, Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.8). They illustrate emergent concepts and representations that are grounded in the data and have emerged from the analysis process, framed by the conceptual framework of symbolic interaction (see Section 4.2).

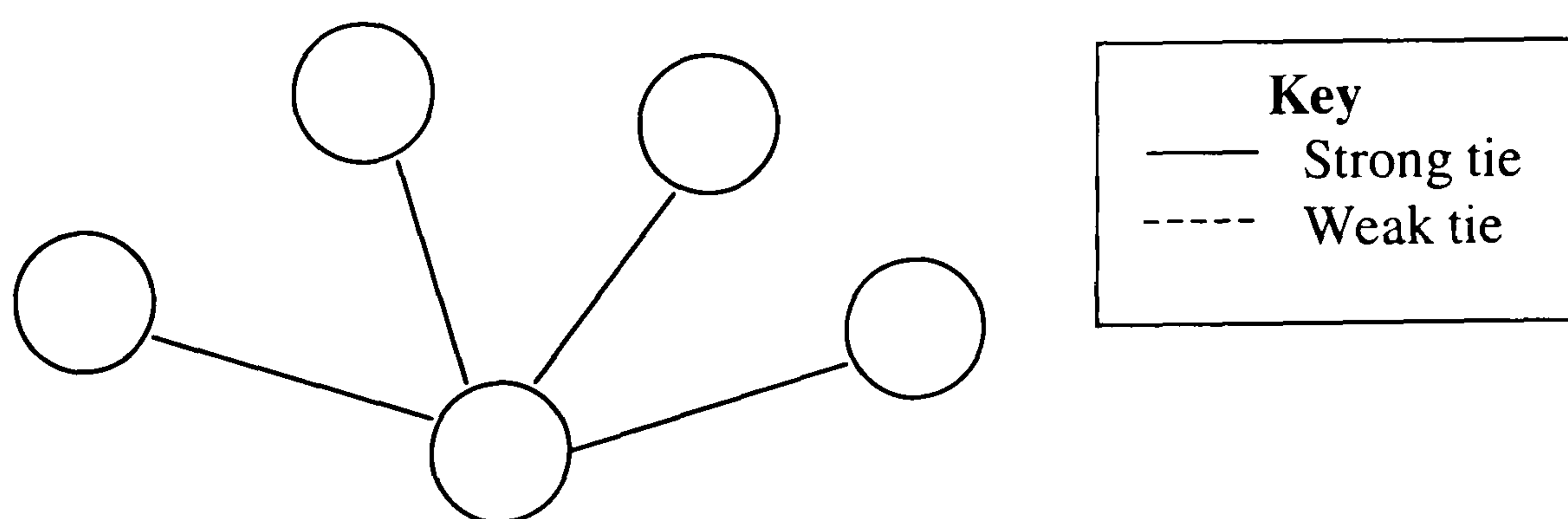
Figure 6.5 illustrates the possible links and connections operating as part of a 'tight knit' network of proprietors.



**Figure 6.5 Conceptual representation of 'tight knit' network of proprietors**

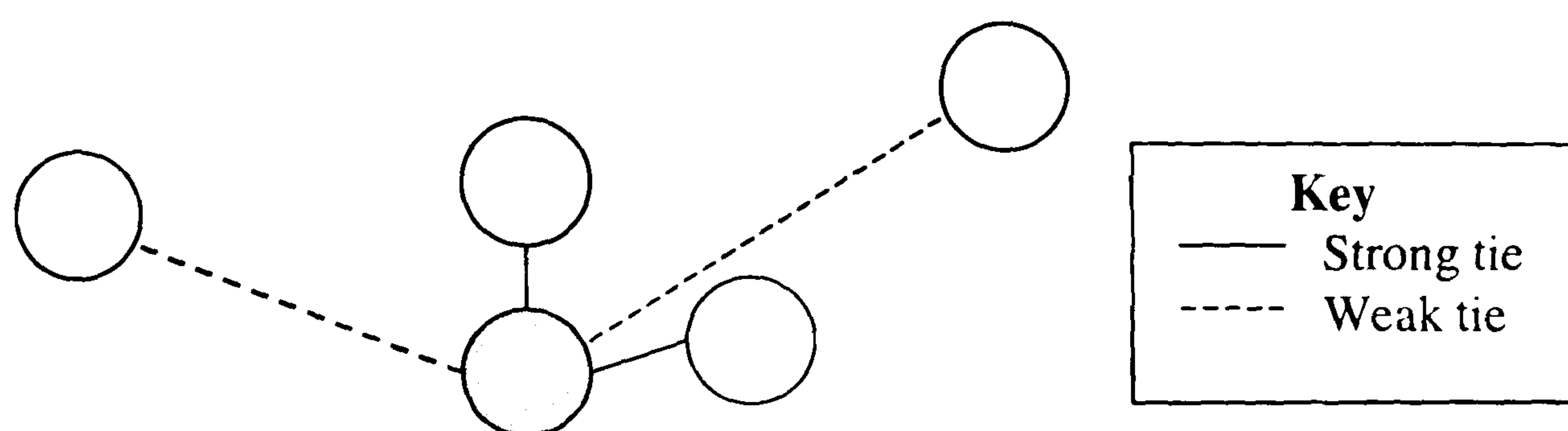
Although the concept of the 'loose knit' network is a useful one, it was found that there was a need to differentiate between different types of 'loose knit' relationships amongst proprietors. Therefore, this led to the conceptual development of the terms 'loose knit, first degree close relationship' and the 'loose knit, second degree distant relationship'.

Figures 6.6 and 6.7 illustrate these two different types of informal 'loose knit' networks that were found to exist. Both are termed as holding 'loose knit' relationships as links exist between individuals who do not necessarily liaise with others in the network. Therefore, proprietors operate according to links and relationships as individuals rather than as a group.

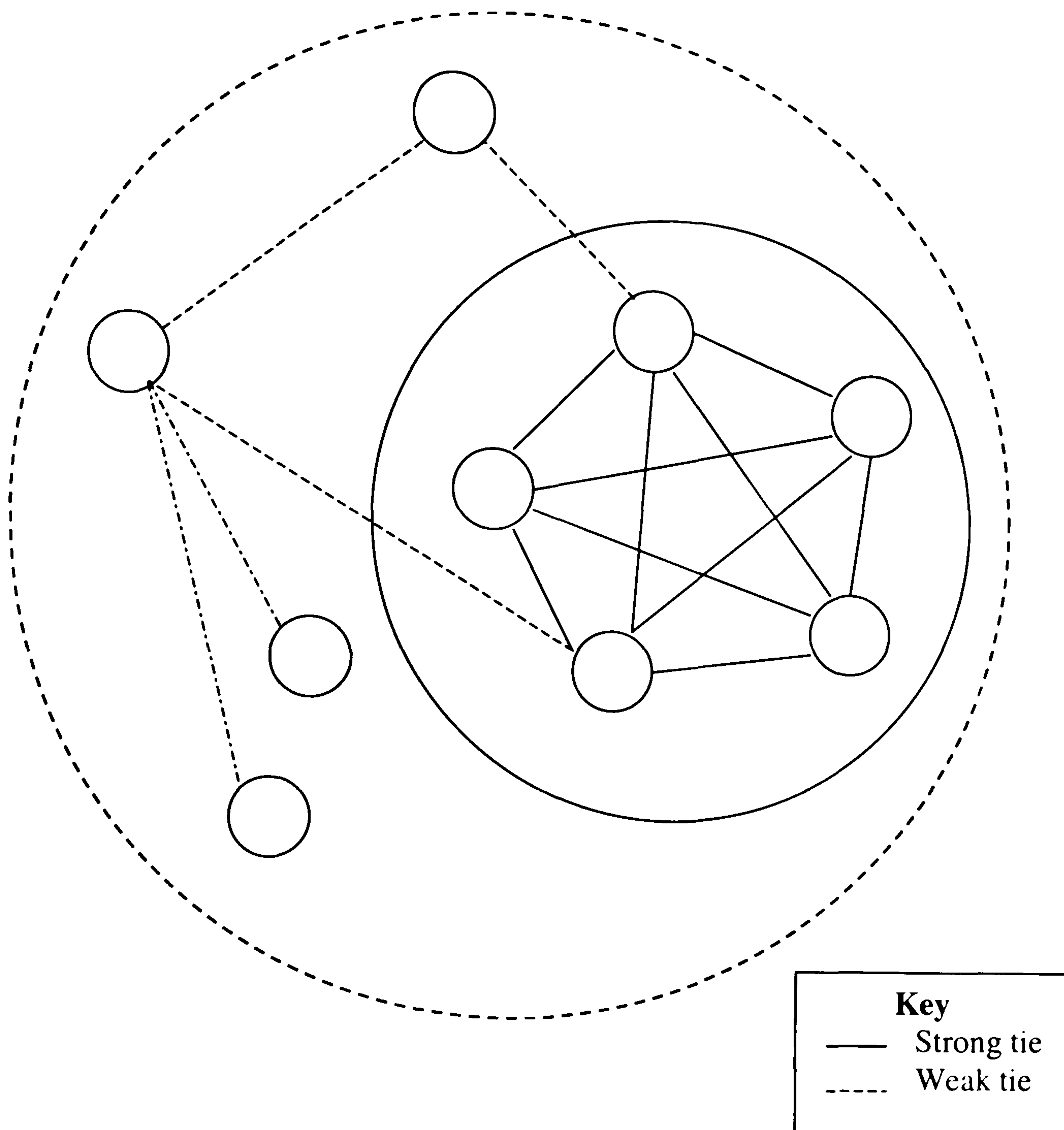


**Figure 6.6: Conceptual representation of 'loose knit first degree close relationships' between individual proprietors**

A loose knit network can exist either as a first degree close relationship or as a second degree distant relationship (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7). The former is where a proprietor liases with or refers guests primarily to certain individuals, whereas the latter is where relationships are only initiated after, and only if, first degree relationships have been exhausted. Therefore, on a practical level, proprietors would only refer guests on to a proprietor with whom they hold a second degree distant relationship if all the proprietors with whom they would normally refer guests onto had reached full occupancy.



**Figure 6.7: Conceptual representation of a proprietor with both 'loose knit first degree close relationships' and 'loose knit second degree distant relationships'**



**Figure 6.8: 'Tight knit network' embedded in an area with a high density and close proximity of proprietors where additional 'loose knit second degree distant relationships' may exist**

Some of these are illustrations based on the possible combinations but are not exhaustive. It was found that more tight knit networks emerge in areas with a high density and close proximity of clusters of proprietors. Links by members in the tight knit group may be held with others outside the group. However, these were found to be only of a loose knit, second degree nature as opposed to a loose knit first degree type (see Figure 6.8). It was also found that the close knit groups were comprised of individuals who were operating businesses in close proximity to one another and were the same gender and of a similar age.



## 6.5 Position of the guest house owner/ occupier within industry and society (PIS)

PIS	:	View of <b>P</b> osition within <b>I</b> ndustry and <b>S</b> ociety
	→	UV : <b>U</b> nified <b>V</b> oice
	→	MV : <b>M</b> arginalised <b>V</b> oice

The views of the proprietors interviewed were also analysed in terms of whether they expressed sentiments that could be interpreted as reflecting views of the ‘self’ as being strongly identified in conjunction with another person or group. This aspect of a ‘unified voice’ was analysed on a number of levels. Firstly, the extent to which narratives portrayed the ‘self’ as part of a collective unit with the partner and family. Secondly, whether there was evidence of strong identification as part of an occupational grouping of guest house proprietorship and lastly whether the ‘self’ was identified more within the context of a sub group of guest house owners. These aspects are discussed in section 6.5.1. Section 6.5.2 examines the voices of the proprietors that express a view of being marginalised. This was analysed on two levels which involved an exploration of feelings emanating from the self due to a lack of interest, or involvement, in external authority structures, as well as feelings perceived to be emanating from others, causing the perception of being ignored by those in authority.

### 6.5.1 *Unified voice (UV)*

Those proprietors who ran the business as a couple or who had regular input from their spouse or other family members tended to reflect an image of themselves that was closely associated with their partner and family when discussing business activities.

‘My wife and I are partners. We are very much together in this business and I find it ideal like that’ (I7, 20/21).

‘as a family we own the business together ... me and the family, of course. It is certainly a family business. We all help. My husband helps though he works too. And the children each have a specific job to do’ (I5, 26/28).

Some proprietors strongly identified themselves as being part of an overall occupational grouping of guest house proprietorship. This is reflected in the language used by these proprietors;

‘So there is a sort a friendly community among guest house people’ (D13, 1025).

‘We don’t look on the others as competition. I think that most guest houses will help one another out because we all need as much as we can get’ (D5, 427/428).

Others specifically located themselves within a sub group of guest house owners located in the local area.

‘I became very friendly with a lot of the landladies along the road and this is one of the largest ones... a few of my friends have got three bedrooms, four bedrooms and its like welcoming them into their house’ (D14, 161/164).

‘we always help one another ... those of us nearby ... by sending business to one another if we are full up’ (I9, 146/147).

### *6.5.2 Marginalised voice (MV)*

An exploration of proprietors’ views of feeling marginalised can be defined as either emanating from the self due to a lack of interest, or involvement, in external authority structures, or from others causing the perception of being ignored by those in authority.

The former was only found to be expressed by three proprietors, namely D1, D8 and I15, and these proprietors actively chose not to deal with external bodies such as the

tourist board (see Section 6.4.1 for discussion of proprietor typologies and formal business networks). Sentiments showed a lack of interest or limited involvement in external structures beyond the realms of the business.

The latter tended to be directed at the tourist board or local authority. Proprietors expressed sentiments of a lack of understanding or appreciation of their size and scale of business emanating from external authority structures. Comments about feeling marginalised as a business are set against their opinions of larger hotels and chain operations. This is exemplified by the following extracts in which the proprietors discuss their views of local councils in terms of small business interests;

‘I don't think they know much about us to tell you the truth. I think they will have to watch because if they put the rates up any more, especially the water rates, I don't think any of us will last very long. Also the amount of Holiday Inn type places that they are allowing to be built here. They are going to close people down. I don't know that they are going to get the same return on rates. If one place with forty bedrooms put say eight places this size out of business the council are going to lose out on the rates. I don't think they realise that. So they are going to get less money into the council's coffers ... No I don't think they are really interested. (I7, 330/337)

‘I think that someone at the council should really look into it. I think its down to size. We're just too small so no one bothers about us whereas some of the big hotels, they're influential in the council. And they're trying to stop any ... er, any competition from guest houses’ (D7, 39/42)

Proprietors also felt marginalised by external sources emanating at a much broader level in terms of the effects on their small business and the tourism industry as a whole by larger scale hotel developments and ethically questionable practices perceived to be carried out by some guest house proprietors. These views are encapsulated by the following quotations:

‘As far as we can see it’s the smaller places like us that are ignored. Its sad really because a lot of people don’t want to stay in the big hotels’ (D7, 563/564).

‘I went to see another guest house, which was up for sale once, and in the bedrooms she had cards saying payments by cash preferable. To my knowledge that woman has been doing bed and breakfast for 40 years and probably hasn’t paid a penny to the taxman. So it’s not right and it’s not fair. Everyone is losing out. The government ... the councils ... the people. The majority of people trust you and it’s a betrayal of your trust. They don’t see the difference between knocking on my door, and on someone who doesn’t play by the rules. We have tried and spoken to several different people to try and get something done about it. Other tourist board members are on about it all the time, and the STB grading inspectors have the same story that there is nothing that they can do about it. There’s no legislation, no one in the Scottish parliament will change things, but there are people that are destroying the tourism industry’ (I5, 263/273).

## 6.6 Host definitions of interactions and needs of the self and the guest (HIN)

HIN	:	<b>Host definitions of Interactions and Needs of the self/ guest</b>
→		<b>IS : Host/ guest Interaction and notions of Space</b>
→		<b>VN : Value attributed to business Needs versus own Needs/ personal comfort</b>

Narratives obtained were descriptively rich in terms of recounted experiences and views of interactions between the self and the guest and the perceived needs, wants and expectations of each. These accounts of interactions with the guest were framed within the context of the guest house and its dual functions as both business and home. The complexity of this and the conflicts identified are discussed in Section 6.6.1. This leads onto an examination of the value attributed by the host to the needs of the business and the guest as a natural extension of the business as a specific entity, as opposed to their own identified needs and personal comfort. This is outlined in Section 6.6.2.

### *6.6.1 Host/guest interactions and notions of space: home versus business (IS)*

The findings of this research illustrate that boundaries do exist between the home and the business, even where the business and home are not physically detached as in the case of the owner-occupied guest house. These are created and enforced by the proprietors. The concepts of family orientation, private goals and gender based issues discussed in Section 2.3 under the broader, more inclusive conceptual heading of 'lifestyle' are important priorities and concerns to the proprietors interviewed for this research. The dynamic and inherently complex interplay between the business sphere and home sphere is illustrative of orientations, priorities, tensions and everyday dealings of and between individuals.

A key emergent finding of the research is the concept of boundaries in terms of the notion of space and physical or emotional separation of the home and the business. All proprietors interviewed described some sort of mechanism by which they achieved physical separation or drew a metaphorical boundary between these two intertwined aspects of their lives. For example, this took the form of limiting access of guests to certain parts of the house and/or compartmentalising the house and retaining a floor or section for sole use by the proprietors and their family. Some also designated specific times of the day to be devoted solely to non-business related concerns. Such mechanisms are illustrated by the following;

'its really all separated. There's ... Nobody gets in my lounge or nothing you see. But nobody ever ... even ATTEMPTS to come in' (D13, 122/124).

'we've got a very good system here where this lounge we're in is the visitors lounge ... The lounge that I took you down before to is our private lounge. Our private bedroom is at the back with an office at the back. So when you come in the front door over here you can go directly up the stairs to the bedrooms. Always half of the house is for visitors. We can shut off and shut ourselves away down in the lounge ... That was the main reason for coming here because we

looked at a lot of small hotels and nobody anywhere had got a system like this. Because it is a seven-day a week job and you do need to cut yourself off from the business. We section the day. We've got a phone down in our own section of the house now so obviously it rings all the time but at least we've got our privacy down there' (D5, 85/94).

'what I've done mentally. I've shut off and this is the business and our, well the other side is our home. So I'm working at the business in other words...That's the way I look at it that I've got a private quarters which we keep private and we just open the door and we're at the business' (D5, 101/107).

These attempts are used by the proprietors to avoid the potential problems that could arise if boundaries are lacking between the home and the business, as the goals of each differ in many ways. Tensions of the business may, as a result, be brought over into the realms of the home and family. The proprietors are highly conscious of the benefits as well as the potential difficulties stemming from their chosen situation. This lies at the heart of the finding that is somewhat of a paradox as the guest house owners cited freedom in terms of the ability to do what one wants without being controlled by others and time/energy flexibility, as advantages of running an owner-occupied small business. Indeed, these were the most frequently cited advantages. It is a paradox in the sense that the concepts of 'tied time' and being physically tied to the business were also commonly cited as disadvantages inherent in running a guest house (see Section 6.2.1 of this chapter).

Consequently, the key to a successful owner-occupied small hospitality business is to recognise the different needs and goals of the two domains or systems of the home and the business. Balancing the needs of each is a skill required on the part of the proprietor in order to reconcile effectively the needs of each as both are interconnected. There may be an inappropriate carry-over of activity that disrupts the dynamics of one sphere or each may compete for resources such as time and physical space.

This was found to be the case with two proprietors, each of whom had set up the guest house with lifestyle goals in mind and subsequently found that the business and their personal circumstances and preferences did not coincide. Both proprietors had put their businesses on the market to be sold. Reasons given were that family commitments were a priority and the business was not seen to be able to make allowances for these needs of the family. This is in contrast to accounts from other proprietors who were able to use the potential flexibility of the business in order to meet their personal goals. Excerpts from these two narratives illustrate the possible conflicts between the business sphere and the personal or home sphere;

R: 'we've got it on the market now.

I: Oh right, so you're selling it?

R: Yeah. 'Cos I feel like I'm just wanting some more quality time really. Its nothing against the business, nothing like that. I just feel that I want to have a break really you know.

I: So are you going to do something completely different?

R: Yeah. Aha. Well, I look after my wee grandson like twice a week now so its having time and I just feel like you know when it is busy you're doing it seven days ... even I've just got two people in tonight. Its quiet just NOW but one of the guys he's in here seven days so you're still UP you know in the morning early whether you've got one in or whether you've a full house you know so ... at this stage we're wanting more time to ourselves because the family is away now and you just don't know what life's going to throw at you ... you just feel like ... well, like I'm at an age when I just want to have a bit more quality time really you know ... that's it' (D15, 33/51).

This illustrates the delicate balance and interplay between the two spheres and the desire of the host for active separation from the guest manifest through the proprietor's defined norms, boundaries and expectations. This is further exemplified by the following;

'we had to buy another business so we thought 'well, it tied in with the family home ... eh work and a family home'. So we looked at the market and bought it ... But it hasn't worked out. It doesn't work with the children and bed and breakfast.

I: Why is that?

R: The two just don't mix. I'm constantly telling my children to be quiet. If our living quarters were completely separate I think it may have worked out a bit better but next door to guests' rooms, using the same stairs and the same door it just doesn't work ... I just couldn't ... I mean some people you know ALL the guests come through to their sitting room but I didn't want that. So ... I mean my children are eleven, fourteen and sixteen and I can't keep them quiet (laughs)' (I13, 20/35).

The overlap of the two domains with the possible intrusion of the business into the private home is further exemplified by the emergent findings where the presence of the guest was reported as affecting the behaviour of the host in that they revised the norms they apportioned to the domain. A lack of guests' presence therefore was seen to convert the business sphere into an extension of the home sphere whilst the presence of the guest necessitated the behaviour modification of the host even in the realms of their home sphere. This point is exemplified by the following citation;

'I: Of course its your house, its not just a guest house.

R: Its my HOME, yeah.

I: How do you balance the two?

R: We ... I don't know actually ... sometimes, when we're busy ... when we were busy it was just a job and you just got on with it. but when it got quieter. I think that's the worst time, when its quieter, you maybe have nobody in and I can maybe slope downstairs in my nightie and I think 'hold on I can go round



with bare feet' you know ... things you CAN'T DO when you've got people in the house you know. And we're always having to have something on our feet and you're always having to look respectable because you have to go to the door so often ... but when you'd have a night or two on your own you start thinking about things you can't normally do and strangely enough that was the worst time' (I13, 373/387).

However, it is also important to remember that home and business also support one another and benefits arise from their interconnectedness. The proprietors appear to be very much aware of the decisions they are making in both spheres and the priorities they attach to each, in order to avoid the problems created when one system benefits at the expense of the other. This supports the attempts made by the proprietors to enforce some methods of also keeping separate the two domains which they see as important. The extent to which they are effective seems to be dependent on the need for these to match the wants and orientations of the individual and their spouse and/or other family members. Proprietors do identify these needs, wants and orientations, and construct plans of their own personal lifestyle needs as well as the needs of their business concern. This is arguably even more crucial in the case of an owner-occupier whose property serves the dual and simultaneous function of both home and business.

The aspect of space and perceived 'ownership' or authority over a certain space or domain is an important dimension which featured significantly in the proprietors' responses. The essential characteristic of providing the service or 'product' of hospitality provision to the guest from the host's own home denotes the transaction in more 'friendly' or 'invited' terms than may typify a purely business oriented transaction of buying or selling goods or services in another context (see Section 2.4). A common theme permeating the interviews was that the guests were seen as 'invited', albeit paying, customers who were expected to abide by certain house 'rules' as defined by the host. This shows that the balance of power in the host/guest relationship is perceived by the host to rest firmly with them. It does not appear to be the case that the host perceives the guest as dominating the host/guest relationship.

Although hosts feel restricted (i.e: 'tied') to the business due to the actual or expected presence of the guest, the manner in which the relationship between both parties manifests itself is not perceived by the host to be dominated by the guest.

The interaction between home and business was also highlighted when proprietors discussed the grading procedure. For example, some proprietors expressed their views on the perceived subjectivity of the criticisms expressed by the inspectors as criticisms of their own home or a perceived invasion of their personal space. This aspect therefore points again to the highly personalised and owner specific identity of the businesses. Where proprietors considered rooms used by guests also as an important part of their own personal space, suggestions made which were not in keeping with the personal tastes of the proprietor and their family were rejected. Therefore, this indicates that personal and lifestyle needs and preferences are attributes which are given higher priority than purely business based needs.

'they wanted a new carpet and suite in the residents' lounge. Then that really would put us in the three star bracket. BUT I wouldn't want to be there. (I8, 195/196)

The preference of staying at home within the comfort zone or protection of the space encompassed also by the business, allows the proprietor their desired authority and control. This is illustrated in descriptions of proprietors' preferences of this type of work over their previous work experiences (see following quotation and Section 6.3.2.).

'in all honesty I find this more comfortable because people are coming to you. You know, so if somebody knocks at the door there's a good chance that they want to stay and have a room here ... but if I knock on someone's door selling them something and the answer's 'no, we're ok today' then you've got to go away and knock on somebody else's ... so its different in that respect. People are coming to me. Instead of me going to see customers' (D5, 158/163).

Therefore, proprietors attach great value and significance to the control they have over the business in spatial terms and defined as their own space. This is effectively contrasted with previous work experiences that involved working as an employee in an essentially 'foreign' space, or having to enter the private space of the customers themselves, also a 'foreign' space. This is reflected in the above quotation.

#### *6.6.2 Value attributed to business needs versus own needs/ personal comfort (VN)*

The way in which the host uses spaces of the property which are guest areas or communal areas such as corridors, hallways and in some cases lounges, can reflect the extent to which these are regarded by the host as primarily business oriented or an extension of the home domain. This is also indicative of the value attributed to their own needs and wants and the needs and wants of the guest. For example, one proprietor discussed how important elements of their home, demonstrating their personal and religious beliefs, had come into conflict with a guest's views.

'R: Och sometimes you just get awkward customers so you just sort a humour them and ... and he objected to me having a crucifix in the hall and that ... he WAS unpleasant' (D13, 502/504).

Several hosts gave specific examples of 'house rules' and standards they expected of guests when staying in their guest house and home. For example, these include the requirement that guests do not smoke because the owners don't smoke themselves, and the expectation that guests do not stay out 'too late' or make 'too much noise', with the definition of these deriving from the proprietor's view of appropriate norms of behaviour. The use of such house 'rules' benefit the host and reflect their desire to avoid or minimise disruption to themselves and their family caused by the presence of the guest. Therefore, this is illustrative of the host placing higher value on their own personal comfort and lifestyle needs or preferences, rather than possible guests' needs which could increase custom and benefit the business.

'I put this no smoking ban up because my wife's asthmatic' (D12, 56/57).

'You try and give them what they ask for. Keep them satisfied. Unless they ask for something I haven't got. Like black pudding. I hate black pudding. And I've decided that that should go for everyone. (laughs) I hate that stuff ... To be quite truthful the plates were coming back with the black pudding still on it. I did it for a few weeks then I thought no this is an utter waste and I hated cooking it anyway. So I took it off. And I think maybe one man has asked for it as he used to come when Mike was here ... But I'm afraid I'm not giving them black pudding' (D7, 300/306)

A common practice was the use of mechanisms to discourage custom if personal time away from business-related activities was desired;

'Occa-a-sionally. Not often but occasionally ... If I've got nobody in booked over the phone the chances of someone arriving ringing the doorbell are not very high so I think I'd rather have an empty house and the house to myself for the weekend ... so I occasionally do put the 'no vacancy' sign up' (D14, 106/110).

However, proprietors also realised that a certain amount of 'role play' or disguising of actual feelings was required when actions needed to be carried out to facilitate guest needs that did not always correspond to the host's desires. A proprietor articulated this clearly;

You've always just got to go to the door with a smile on your face and say 'yes' whether its them needing a plate or whether they're needing an iron and an ironing board or you know ... and a lot of my friends have said 'oh I couldn't be bothered with that' but you know its only two minutes. You're sitting in your own house so it only takes two minutes and then you're away again' (D14, 318/322).

Therefore, it can be seen that the value attributed by the proprietor to their own needs and wants and to the needs and wants of the guest are closely linked to their

preferred way of life and perception of the business as an extension or added dimension of the home.

## 6.7 Roles, gender and the changing social context (RGSC)

RGSC:	<b>Roles, Gender and the changing Social Context</b>
→	<b>SGI : Stereotypes/ Gender and Identity</b>
→	<b>HC : Historical Comparisons: changes to the nature of the occupation</b>
→	<b>OFR : Occupational/ Family Roles</b>

Proprietors discussed related issues pertaining to family and occupational roles developed in relation to the running of the business. The findings from these narratives are presented in Section 6.7.1. Views on their occupational roles either from their own points of view or as seen by others as heavily gender defined are discussed in Section 6.7.2. Section 6.7.3 makes historical comparisons by examining the proprietors' narratives in terms of the changes that they perceive to have occurred which have altered the nature of the occupation.

### 6.7.1 Occupational/ family roles (OFR)

The key issue that drives this analysis involves examining the dual function of the enterprise for the owner in terms of its being both a business and a home. In this context, the research explores the implications which definitions of their own situations and identities have for the proprietors both in terms of their roles within their families and for the development of their businesses. Occupational and family roles were examined in order to assess whether there were complementary or conflicting roles being acted out between the proprietor and their spouse/other family members who were involved in business related activities.

Some proprietors identified a high degree of role specialisation and designation. This was particularly the case where roles were designated with a clearly defined division of labour and no overlap. It was also clear from the descriptions provided that these

roles were often defined in terms of traditional gender based divisions of labour within the home domain. This is exemplified by the following:

‘My husband. He’s very interested in it. I know a lot of the other husbands just don’t have anything to do with it ... Very supportive. Mostly. And he does a lot for the place as well ... maintenance wise when he comes home. And my sister, son and daughter help out with things too. The girl that helps clean was off for three weeks so she did a lot then. My son goes to the cash and carry for me when Doug’s away and goes to Tesco’s shopping with his girlfriend. I know people along the road who only have three bedrooms and they find it really you know a lot and they think ‘eight bedrooms! Cooking breakfasts and everything’ ... But I’ve always done breakfasts on my own. Doug might help if I’ve got a lot come down at the same time but usually I do them on my own’ (D14, 458/467).

‘My husband is really good. He’s a chef but I can also do the cooking. I do more the cleaning side of things, but I quite like that’ (D1, 200/202).

The extent to which other members of the family, other than the spouse, assisted in the business varied. However, there was some evidence to suggest that where other family members such as children had been exposed to the business for a significant period of time, their participation was notable and akin to a regular domestic duty as might be carried out in the home.

‘the kids they ... they’ve just learnt to live with it. Well, they’ve never actually, never actually said, well here’s Jamie, you can ask him. He helps me and he’s run the place when we’ve been on holiday. He’s done the B&B. we’re going on holiday again soon, all of us. (Son walks into the room) Oh, this is Jamie. Maria wants to ask you ... don’t disappear ... what you think about living in a B&B. Do you find it a hassle or

Jamie: No ... Because we’ve got our own space up the stairs ... Some of the guests are a bit weird (pause)’ (D9, 592/615).

Role conflict was evident where one spouse resented the business. This was not evident among those running the business as a joint effort. It was evident in some cases where the spouse undertook paid employment outside the home and resented the demands of the business. The cases where spouses refused or resented assisting the proprietor in business-related activities were identified as D10, D12, D8, and I13.

‘I enjoyed it and I still enjoy it. My wife doesn’t but I do ...

I: What doesn’t she like?

R: I think she ... living on the premises all the time. Em she feels the house is never your own and you’re always at the beck and call. Although we have our own part em ... em you are always living on the job and I think she would like to go back to a private house’ (D10, 46/58).

‘(overlapping) No. No. He’s a maintenance man. No. He’s dreadful. He’s more anti-social than I am. If I’m out he won’t EVEN answer the DOOR. He’s dreadful. (laughs). He keeps the place ... keeps everything in working order.

I: That would be handy.

R: Oh aye yeah because he’s a ... he’s a tradesman.

I: But he doesn’t help out with the running of it?

R: [Not really?] He won’t even carry breakfast through ... (laughs)’ (D8, 202/218).

‘when people would come up for the weekend they would phone up on a Friday night and my husband likes to go out on a Friday night so I would say to them what time are you arriving and once or twice George has said (mimicking voice)

“oh I’m fed up with this” ... and so for a little while I would never take anybody on a Friday night until he got over it again ... and then I started you know to take a few again (D8, 412/417).

I: What does your...partner?

R: Husband.

I: Husband. What does he do?

R: He’s self-employed. He’s um ... in the building trade.

I: And what does he think about the guest house?

R: He doesn’t like it. He never liked it. He just didn’t he didn’t have very much to do with it at all. Maybe if I wasn’t going to be here I would say to him ‘there’s a couple coming and they’re going into that room’ you know. And he would get his orders but no he didn’t...and then after that guy came to the house...that really put him off. And then you’re having to put so much money back into the house’ (I13, 460/474).

### 6.7.2 Stereotypes/ gendered identity (SGI)

The analysis revealed that neither male nor female proprietors desire business growth. Therefore, this indicates that in the context of the guest house owner-occupier, gender was not found to be a distinguishing factor in terms of desire for business growth (see Section 6.3.5 of this chapter for an overview of the proprietors’ desire for growth versus their desire for business survival). Also, both male and female proprietors appear to share similar needs and orientations in terms of running the business.

The term ‘landlady’ was never used by the researcher during interviews with proprietors as this was deemed to be a leading term with historically derived gender



biased associations. Nevertheless, a number of proprietors used the term themselves. This indicates that gender based stereotypes of this occupation are still held or are still seen to be held. An interesting finding from the analysis of narratives presented by the male proprietors was the emphasis placed on the business as a serious occupation as opposed to a hobby, and an explicit rejection of female stereotypes perceived to be associated with running a guest house.

‘The tourist board don’t know your background. And they’re assuming that everyone has just been a housewife or something like that’ (D4, 752/754).

Male proprietors tended to refer to the issue of gender to a greater extent than female proprietors interviewed. The men were also somewhat disparaging about what they regarded as negative female traits in running such a business. This could have been used as a mechanism by which to distance themselves from common labels attached to a female-dominated occupation. However, in doing so, the male proprietors actively reinforced such gender-based stereotypes.

‘I know people who are like this you know, women especially who sit down and watch all this morning television ... then the door bell goes in the afternoon and they haven’t got A THING DONE. Eh? That’s not ... this, this game you’ve got to get it all ready’ (D12, 765/769).

‘Whereas my wee bit of business sense will maybe pull me out of it before I, I’ll maybe get through it better. Its hard to explain. Think some of them would just, you know, throw their pinny off and say oh what’s happening you know?’ (D4, 445/448).

Moreover, some female proprietors also acknowledged the predominance of female proprietors and viewed male proprietors who run the business as a sole venture as unusual. The idea of a man undertaking what were regarded mainly as ‘female’ roles such as cleaning and bed-making was seen by some as difficult to accept. This is exemplified by the following comments;

'Most of them, its usually the women that runs it. I did know a couple of guest houses that the men DO run it and their wives go out to work. More so maybe because the wives have a good job and they make more money. Yeah. But its mostly you know the women and they do it for ... well, you're at home and you don't have to go out and what have you' (D15, 314/318).

'he'll need help. I just can't see a man cleaning a bed or cleaning a shower (laughs). He'll get a shock. Maybe he's got a romantic kind of view of it' (I13, 319/324).

Gender based stereotypes and judgements were also held about guests and the potential for experiencing undesirable behaviour as defined by the host was often based on factors such as gender and age of guests and whether they were in a group, alone or part of a couple. The consensus amongst those interviewed was that groups of young men were not permitted to be guests. Suspicion was also voiced of single women staying alone, although single men were viewed as legitimate. Proprietors saw families and heterosexual couples as the most desirable profile of guests.

'I just really take tourists so it's different. I don't take workmen or long term folk, so it's quite nice people who are on holiday and they just like to relax and enjoy themselves ... Occasionally you get problems, and it's always men ... so I don't take them anymore, well not groups of men anyway. If they are in couples or part of a family, well that's different' (I5, 44/48).

### *6.7.3 Historical comparisons: changes in the nature of the occupation (HC)*

Proprietors brought up the issue of changes in the nature of the occupation of running an owner-occupied guest house into discussions of operations and service provision available to guests. Many discussed the pressure placed upon them by tourist organisations in terms of their accommodation grading standards, as well as the services provided by other guest houses and hospitality providers, and the increasing expectations of guests, as the main factors which encouraged them to provide better

facilities. Specifically, the recent expectation, which was almost a requirement, for all rooms to have en-suite facilities was a recurring theme. However, there was resentment that prices charged needed to remain competitive, whilst also providing a higher standard of service. Proprietors, who had been running the business for a long period of time, drew marked comparisons between current and previous standards and expectations.

‘the rooms didn’t even have central heating in when we first came. They had wall heaters on the walls and had meters ... Aha. Yeah. Ten pence and fifty pence metres in the rooms. There was no televisions in the rooms, no tea making facilities ... it just shows you how things have CHANGED over the years like people now going into a B&B or a guest house, more so even the foreign tourists who expect en-suite bedrooms and everything like that more or less on a par with what a hotel is ... and we can’t charge the prices of a hotel’ (D15, 194/203).

Guests were identified as increasingly sophisticated and looking at guest house standards on a par with other types of accommodation providers. It was felt that few allowances were made for the business being part of a domestic setting, although this element was also seen to be valued by guests.

‘People like to see what they are getting. Bed and breakfast at the bottom of the garden sort of thing is gone. People are not taking the chances. They like to know that they are coming to a quality place ... you know ... a family home but also a quality place’ (I1, 367/369).

‘when I started that it was B&B that people were looking for, but now they are looking for hotel standards. I think that the people in the tourist board have let it get away from people visiting your home, and people are expecting so much more’ (I10, 141/143).

‘Well, in the old days they used to be quite happy just if they got a bed and nylon sheets, and they were part of a family ... more or less like that, you know. Nowadays people are much more looking for private bathrooms. They’re looking for hotel facilities even in bed and breakfasts. However, they still want the friendliness of the family house. That is why they choose to come to the guest house and do not go to places like the Travel Lodges’ (I6, 96/105).

A recurring theme was the witnessed change in the behaviour of guests over time. Due to the provision of, for example, en-suite bathrooms, televisions and other facilities in bedrooms, the amount of physical interaction between the host and guest was seen to have been reduced. This anonymity and detachment by guests was perceived by proprietors as not to be in keeping with the nature of the business as operated privately by an individual or family living on the premises.

‘I’ve enjoyed it. Maybe not so much now as at the start. People now, when they come into their rooms you might never see them, cause they have en-suite facilities and TVs in the rooms so they don’t tend to use the sitting room as much. Whereas before, it used to be a bit like a party every night, people used to come into the sitting room and chat. But now unless they’re smokers then you don’t tend to see them’ (I10, 173/178).

This reduction in host/guest interaction was also identified as a factor reducing their enjoyment of running the business. This finding is interesting in the light of the findings pertaining to the use of mechanisms by the host to distance themselves from the guest in order to retain privacy (see Section 6.6.1).

## 6.8 Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning identities to the city and district location of the business/home (G)

G	:	Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity
→		<b>G : Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity</b>

Individual identity is constantly being negotiated, reshaped and redefined in interactions. For example, at home and at work or in both combined as in the present research. Individual interests and values are part also of collective, social forms. The relationships which develop among people who claim a similar identity, often take this 'identity' as a point of departure. Some proprietors discussed their views on Scottish identity in terms the images which are presented to tourists when visiting Scotland and different cities. It was mainly proprietors interviewed in Inverness who brought up this issue. Fears of the recent growth in Inverness resulting in a lack of a distinctive identity were voiced, as were views that the city has evolved into one that resembles many others in Britain, lacking a distinctive Scottish image. Interestingly, when probed as to how they defined 'Scottishness', some proprietors stated that this was more than 'just tartanry'. However, the same individuals went on to provide descriptions that included popular tourist icons such as tartan and Scottish music. The following section of a narrative shows a proprietor's views on this subject.

'at the moment, we don't have a Scottish theme at all running through the city. The best bar for entertainment is an Irish bar and not that I have anything against Irish pubs, but it should be Scottish. There are a few who do traditional music and I push them as much as possible to the visitors. I've got the leaflet for it out. Blackfriars, The Gellions, and the Harlequin ... They all do the odd nights with traditional music and certainly if I've got anyone in I'll give them the leaflet and tell them to go along and listen to it. But I'm worried about that because I've never went to these sessions and listened to the music. Where we go is Johnny Foxes. They give guest house owners a night out every New Year ... they give you a meal and everything. So I've been there. There's one Scottish restaurant. I think on Castle Street and it's extortionate. Its supposed to be recommended by

Taste of Scotland and in all the guides ... its supposed to serve good quality food but its far too expensive and I just don't tell people to go there. What do you think? Shouldn't we have more authentic Scottish pubs and restaurants at reasonable prices here in Inverness?

I: That seems a reasonable suggestion. Yes.

R: Yes, it does, doesn't it. When I think about it, my neighbours were in Dublin for a weekend and they said that everywhere they went it was Irish and there was an Irish theme of some description and it's all very well putting some tartan things in the shops, but that's not Scottishness. We're relying on Inverness being the Capital of the Highlands and people will come and they love it. It's a beautiful town; lovely surrounding area and if the sun is shining it's gorgeous. I love going a walk down by the river and through the Islands. I love Inverness. But if they come here looking for something Scottish then Inverness is not the place. I don't know where is to be quite honest. I suppose that Edinburgh is more so than anywhere else but Inverness certainly isn't despite being a tourist centre' (I4, 330/356).

The urban expansion of Inverness was discussed by many proprietors who had mixed feelings in terms of desiring recognition and feeling proud of its recently acquired city status, but at the same time feeling that this has brought about undesirable change detracting from its appeal and distinctiveness.

'You used to be able to come up here, I used to stay near Stirling, and you were definitely coming to a different part of Scotland. They were generally friendlier, generally spoke better English than we did. It was always a nice place to come. You could be anywhere now. The way it's expanding (I7, 378/382).

Dundee and Inverness, the local areas from which the respondents are drawn, give a special focus to particular local contexts, although interesting as case studies in their own rights, also are illustrations reflecting changes that are taking place at a national

level in urban Scotland. One broad aim of the research was to ascertain the views of the small-scale hospitality proprietors in the light of the present Scottish social, cultural and economic contexts at both the local and national levels.

In terms of specific local and even district-based identities, interesting findings distinguished both urban locations from one another. For those proprietors operating in Dundee, those operating in the Broughty Ferry district of the city made a clear distinction between their location and the city centre. The city centre was seen to be inferior both in terms of business location and quality of life. Therefore, this shows that these proprietors based the identity of their businesses on the district of Broughty Ferry rather than characterising it in terms of the wider context of the city of Dundee as a whole.

‘you do quite well with business in the Ferry because its different from Dundee you know it still has its own wee community sort of thing and its got the beach and the nice long walk along the water’s edge and what have you. So a lot of people DO like going to Broughty Ferry rather than going to the centre of Dundee’ (D15, 557/561).

‘little bit of advice is ... never go to a guest house or a B&B in the city centre ... generally speaking because they’re full of alcoholics and all kinds’ (D12, 757/759).

This was found not to be the case in Inverness where negative images of the city centre were not expressed by proprietors living further away from the centre. Although these proprietors did distinguish their own particular district as, for example, on ‘the west side of the river’ or ‘up the hill’, this was purely a description of location within the city of Inverness. This compares to a view of the city of Dundee as a different entity from Broughty Ferry. This is illustrated by the following description of business location in Inverness;

'we chose it because it seemed close to everything. I think probably we're, mostly we're close to the town centre ... As you know it's very near the town centre, sorry the city centre, and within walking distance of the shops and tourist attractions like the Cathedral and the Castle and also tourist facilities like the Eden Court Theatre and also close to other amenities within Inverness like the sports facilities at the Bught Park. We're not too far from the station as well. And it's near the main roads and transport routes to the West and North. Then, there is the proximity to the countryside. Also here we're secluded; we're very quiet, you know' (I1, 114/121).

This finding which shows a distinct difference in the perceptions and characterisation of each city as a whole and each city centre may be due to the perceived attractiveness, size and history of the respective centres in either location. The identity of Inverness as a tourist historic location and of Dundee as a post-industrial larger city can be seen to affect perceptions of geographical positioning and business identity. Therefore, this illustrates how the context of geography and urban positioning within which the proprietors operate had a significant impact on their views on business development as well as their projections of business identity.

Thus, in terms of the proprietors, their views about their own identities and their presentation of these identities, such as their portraits of 'Scottishness' or their views of the particular part of the city in which they live, can influence the acting out of their roles. These views about their location and the image presented to the outside world affect the proprietors' responses to different situations and whatever opportunities are presented to them. These can be said to structure the mode in which they operate so that the ways in which they view their situations on a micro level impact upon both the personal choices that they make as well as their business-related activities. In turn, this affects the types of services provided by them in the small-scale hospitality sector in the particular localities concerned. In turn, it should ultimately affect the decisions made by policy makers about the sector (practical and policy implications and recommendations of the research are discussed in Chapter Seven).



## 6.9 Business image/ identity (BI)

BI	:	Business image/ Identity
→		C : <b>Competition</b>
→		PB : <b>Promoting public awareness of Business/ marketing choices</b>
→		I : <b>Innovative/ striving to meet needs of guests</b>

The way in which the proprietors define the image and identity of their businesses can be seen to comprise three key but overlapping areas. The first involves the sources of competition that they identify themselves as facing. This is outlined in Section 6.9.1. the second is the way in which they promote public awareness of the business through marketing choices. This is discussed in Section 6.9.2. the third is the extent to which evidence points to their use of innovative business practices in order to meet the perceived needs of guests. This is considered in Section 6.9.3.

### 6.9.1 Sources of competition (C)

Although there was an ethos of co-operation among guest house proprietors as discussed in Section 6.4.2, there was also a small element of competition among a minority of those interviewed. Overall, the proprietors interviewed did not identify other guest houses operating on a similar scale as a significant source of competition as indeed only three identified other guest houses as a source of competition. One discussed their experience when first opening the business whereby advice was sought from the tourist board as opposed to other proprietors as it was felt that they would view them as competition.

‘When I first just joined this I thought ‘well I must join the Tourist Board’.

Right. And I did that. And I found them at the beginning very helpful. I found them eh ... quite reliable in as much as if you ask them something you can get the truth ... whereas, if you asked people who were already in the business ... they’d tend to be a wee bit hedgy you know. Because they didn’t want to think you’re going to steal all their business’ (D12, 579/584).

Another expressed resentment only towards those individuals offering bed and breakfast without operating as a business concern as they were reducing the demand for the actual legitimate proprietors.

‘I think that everyone who puts up a board should be licensed. A lot of people just put up a board during August, everyone who does this should be licensed and I think they should also have a fire license. I think it is six people that you need to have a fire license for ... I don't know if they are all paying business rates you see, I think they should. It's unfair to the rest of us who do everything right’ (I7, 337/342).

Competition faced by other types of small businesses in the hospitality industry diversifying their product to include accommodation provision was also identified.

‘there's getting more competition, like when we first started none of the pubs in Broughty Ferry had rooms, accommodation, like ‘The Fort’, ‘Jolly’, em what's the other one ... ‘The Fisherman’. None of them, but now they must think ‘well, there's money in accommodation’ so it gets harder and harder really’ (D15, 290/293).

The phenomenon of the budget chain hotel operators establishing themselves in increasing numbers was identified by the guest house proprietors as a danger which threatened their existence and indeed economic viability. The effects of such globalisation have long been seen as an inherent feature of the largely brand-driven nature of accommodation provision in the hospitality sector. Nevertheless, due to the scale of the operation of these small-scale businesses many were aware of key differences in service provision and gave examples of ways in which they could provide a unique or diversified service which budget chain accommodation providers would struggle to meet. Thus, it was seen by the researcher that whilst this threat was apparent, many respondents not only aired their fears but also their methods of counteracting such a threat, which, one could argue is in line with an entrepreneurial

spirit of creative thinking, as shown by the quotation below. Moreover, the need to provide a differentiated service by having a niche market identity was a strong theme that emerged. Proprietors stressed the uniqueness of a guest house and anticipated the expectations of guests. Narratives were presented which emphasised concepts such as 'home cooking', a 'homely' atmosphere and the idea of staying in someone's own home as important differentiating factors that all guest houses should promote. This reaffirms concepts relating to the size of the business and the scale of the operation in an effort by the host to 'produce' and encourage or facilitate the guest to 'consume' an 'authenticity', often perceived to be derived from staying in someone's actual home.

'I think the main thing is quality. Like with breakfast. There's no point serving up cheap sausages ... like sometimes I put potato scones on, black pudding or mushrooms and tomatoes on one day and mushrooms and beans on the other. You can vary it ... With people staying a couple of nights anyway. Em, the presentation of the breakfast is important as well. Some of the Travel Inns and Travel Lodges serve greasy pre-cooked, pre-heated ... Its disgraceful and they charge seven pounds ninety-five. That's the main advantage we've really got. Guest houses serve fresh home made cooking ... A good home-cooked breakfast. I think that maybe has a pull for people to come to a guest house. So that's a bonus. And you're not charging them for an extra pot of tea ... things like that. And if your breakfasts are excellent then you'll get a lot of people back because of that. You'll also put a lot of guest houses ON the map because if you didn't have that then the Travel Lodge would take over' (D14, 515/526).

This idea of a collective guest house identity is therefore once again apparent as was shown earlier in the close community links with neighbouring guest house owners (see Section 6.4.2). However, this is balanced against stated desires for uniqueness and singularity. Proprietors described advertising activities they were using not only as a means of increasing awareness and market penetration, but also as a means to disseminate a certain image reflecting their uniqueness. This is also a good advertising strategy, as can be seen in the next Section 6.9.2.

‘The web-site helps us a lot because they can see round the house. They can see my wife and me, and they can see the dogs’ (I1, 162/163).

Therefore, as well as the local networks described, other links via web technology are important to the proprietors, as living in a specific geographical area no longer defines an individual’s ‘community of interactions’. Thus, the rapidly developing use of the internet is increasingly competing for the owner-occupier’s allegiance with the other more formal linkages. The existence of a global network of unprecedented size in the form of the Internet is beginning to make an impact on the small businesses operating in the accommodation market in Scotland. Although success in this area is still limited, proprietors are showing increasing enthusiasm for the internet. Many are setting up their own web pages rather than relying on the VisitScotland web site. As well as expanding their customer base, they are beginning also to find niche markets through the internet, such as links with ‘Scots abroad’ whose ancestors had migrated from a particular locality.

#### *6.9.2 Promoting public awareness of business (PB)*

The majority of proprietors claimed to be heavily reliant on word of mouth and repeat custom as the main method of promoting public awareness of their business. Word of mouth was specifically cited as important because it was perceived to be linked to quality of service and a reflection of successful business practice. Some proprietors identified this to be the most superior method and were almost exclusively reliant on positive guest referrals, recommendations and repeat visits. However, concern was also expressed that it was not quantifiable and difficult to assess.

‘Its harder to draw the people in you see if you’ve got a small business. You rely on repeat business and when the people go back its word of mouth. I think word of mouth is better. I mean that’s something you can’t buy. You know ... and that’s the thing that keeps up the business really’ (D13, 474/478).

'really ... word of mouth is your best em ... really recommendation. You know if you've had somebody here and they know someone coming up to the area and they'll say they stayed in such and such a place' (D15, 227/229).

The second most cited form of marketing or business promotion was the use of VisitScotland promotional material such as the 'Where to stay' guides and web site listings. The Yellow Pages listings was also identified as beneficial in terms of reaching potential custom. Overall, however, there appeared to be a feeling of a desire for more information as to the best methods of advertising and promotion, particularly where financial costs would be incurred.

The methods of advertising and promotion employed suggested a link between the business life cycle and financial success of the business and whether promotional services incurring a cost were employed. Evidence suggests that where a business is in its early stages of development and/ or where the proprietor is experiencing financial difficulties, promotional methods incurring financial costs be avoided. A change in advertising behaviour over time as the business developed in maturity is expressed by the following proprietor:

'I just had word of mouth to begin with because I had no eh finances. But now I'm in the yellow pages, the Tourist Board cos although...there's not a lot as TOURists sometimes working companies go to the Tourist Board to get you know recommended accommodation' (D14, 129/132).

Advertising techniques have also been developed through the use of the internet which is also being used to heighten public awareness of the business as shown in Section 6.9.1.

### *6.9.3 Evidence of innovative business practices/ striving to meet guests' needs (I)*

Entrepreneurial characteristics such as innovative practices and the ability to react to the changing needs of the customer were illustrated in various ways by those interviewed. For example, apart from use of the internet already described, in terms

of advertising and promoting their business a number of other resourceful methods were described by the proprietors in addition to the practices of word of mouth, yellow pages and tourist board listings (see Section 6.9.2).

‘We advertise in the yellow pages and talking pages. We also put an advert in a guidebook in England but I can't remember what its called, but it's a guidebook anyway. We had offers on Abertay student cards as well’ (D1, 103/106).

‘We give offers like if you book a room in the hotel for the night you get a free bottle of wine with your meal in the restaurant. People seem to like offers like that and we like guests to eat in the restaurant so its quite good that way’ (D1, 108/111).

Proprietors also described the practice of differing methods that could be seen as innovative or resourceful in the light of business size in order to meet guests’ needs. These ranged from innovative use of space to promotional techniques to general creativity. These are exemplified below;

‘I’m actually ... with the kids moving upstairs I’m going to have two extra rooms down here which I’m actually considering making into a disabled area because it has a shower and it’s a wet room. But em ... its not necessarily for a badly disabled person but even for an older person who isn’t capable of going up stairs. I’ve a friend who has a son who has cerebral palsy and she said if they went on holiday that would be an ideal place for them because there’s two rooms so they would have their own bedroom. He ... Gavin would have his own bedroom as well and he would have the shower facility’ (D9, 837/844).

‘I did get golfers from England and Doug used to drive them across and pick them up, have a drink in the evening. We’d even have biscuits and wine out for them when they came back at the end of the day’ (D14, 389/392).

‘So I’ve got a lot of parcels that you won’t find at the tourist office. I made up different things for the rooms. You know, like things that I would read if I was in a guest house or a hotel. I come up with ideas ... I’m always coming up with ideas whether its when I’m walking the dog and its something to do with the garden or whether I’m in a bed and breakfast that I’ve just come back from last week. I pick up ideas and try them out and think to myself that’s good or that’s bad’ (D4, 458/464).

Indeed, some individuals held what may be regarded as on the face of it as ‘opposing’ orientations. This can be illustrated by views on the ability to innovate and react or adapt to guests’ needs in line with the desire for continuing business survival. However, they also held the self-defined desire to remain small and not take on additional duties despite the potential additional revenue these would provide. The reason given was the potential that their personal time and quality of life would be adversely impacted. The complexity therefore is apparent. This also highlights the dilemma faced by the guest house proprietor. They are trying to react to guests’ needs and adapt to changing expectations and technology whilst at the same time maintaining direct and personal control of the daily running of the business, that in effect restricts business growth (see Section 6.3.5).

## **6.10 Analysis summary**

This chapter has analysed the personal narratives of the owner-occupiers using their interview transcripts in order to promote an understanding of their self-definitions and definitions of their situations. In the analytical stages of this research, one may refer to Plummer (1995) who states succinctly that ‘to sense the importance of stories in social life is never to suggest that stories are all there is: the telling and reading of stories is always grounded in social processes that by definition are ‘beyond the stories’’ (p167). Consequently, although the analysis has yielded findings based on the stories or accounts presented during face-to-face interview encounters of owner-occupiers, it accomplishes more than that. It has enabled an examination of self-defining characteristics through an exploration of the proprietors’ own words. This

approach remains true to the methodological and ontological orientation. It is argued that by comparing interviews and coded segments, a rigorous cross-case comparative analysis is conducted. However, these accounts are necessarily context-driven. They are far more than abstract narratives or interviews in text form. They are evidence of socially constructed stories by an individual told at a particular social moment, and therefore allow us a snapshot of, or window through which to peer and appreciate, the narrator's view of the world. The world 'beyond' the interview or story can be seen to encompass many stories. Therefore, it can be argued that the interview account provides a condensed version of the wider context within which individuals find themselves. The interviews analysed for this research demonstrate how the owner-occupiers define and attribute meaning to their situations. This analysis has explored the way in which the subjects do so by the use of an interpretative and emergent framework very much grounded in the data.

This chapter has also explored the proprietors' views of the 'self' and significant others. Key aspects of the interactions between this self and the 'other' from the standpoint of the proprietor are summarised in Table 6.8, according to the key dimensions of the relationship's characteristics, control and parameters. The findings of this chapter therefore allow the development of a picture of the guest house owner-occupier as an individual who tends to base managerial and operational business decisions on highly personalised criteria. Moreover, they tend not to be motivated by purely economic outcomes, particularly where such outcomes would by implication cause a perceived detrimental effect upon social, family and non directly business related areas. This picture is still emerging and future studies examining the hospitality proprietor and in particular the guest house owner occupier need to test this profile within varying contextual parameters defined by characteristics such as geography, gender, age and the individual socio-cultural and business backgrounds of the proprietors.

The next chapter of this thesis attempts to collate these findings in order to provide theoretical and methodological conclusions to assist the academic and practitioner. Practical and policy recommendations are also provided to assist those relevant



bodies in the sector in the strategic development and planning of future initiatives pertinent to the guest house owner occupier. It will present an overall profile of the guest house proprietor based on the findings presented in this chapter, highlighting the salient points that have emerged from this analysis.

Proprietors' definitions of their relationship with significant others				
Key relationship dimensions	Host/ family member(s)	Host/ guest	Host/ tourist organisation	Host/member of informal network
<b>Characteristics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interaction largely based on personal choice and duty</li> <li>Implies no direct financial relationship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interaction largely based on personal choice</li> <li>Guest 'selected' based on host defined criteria of 'appropriateness'.</li> <li>Implies financial relationship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interaction, defined as 'limited' by the host, based on personal choice.</li> <li>Implies financial relationship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interaction based on personal choice.</li> <li>Membership based on location and/or similarity of business</li> <li>Implies no direct financial relationship</li> </ul>
<b>Control</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No control implied</li> <li>Mainly informal interactions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Control viewed as unequal: host views self controlling interactions</li> <li>Position of guest viewed as weaker</li> <li>Both formal and informal interactions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Control viewed as unequal: host views self lacking power</li> <li>Position of host viewed as weaker</li> <li>Mainly formal interactions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Control viewed as equal</li> <li>Positions of both parties viewed as equal</li> <li>Mainly informal interactions</li> </ul>
<b>Parameters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interactions defined by both parties</li> <li>Used to fulfil mainly personal but possibly also business needs</li> <li>Fluid/dynamic processes of interaction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interactions defined by both parties</li> <li>Used to fulfil both personal and business needs of host</li> <li>Fluid/dynamic processes of interaction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interactions defined by both parties</li> <li>Used only to fulfil business needs of host</li> <li>Formalised systems and processes of interaction</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Interactions defined by both parties</li> <li>Used to fulfil both personal and business needs of host</li> <li>Fluid/ dynamic processes of interaction</li> </ul>

Table 6.8: Elements of key relationship dimensions with 'significant others'

## **Chapter 7 - Beyond the data: theoretical, methodological and practical conclusions and policy recommendations**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter concludes the thesis by consolidating the processes of analyses followed throughout, with the findings from the analyses that were presented in Chapter Six. It also allows further reflection on the part of the researcher. This reflection involves the theories that frame the research, especially in relation to the symbolic interactionist approach, which was presented along with the methodology in Chapter Four. The research on the views of guest house owner-occupiers, taking this approach, focuses in the analysis on the individual actors. It gives a rarely heard in-depth 'voice' to these individuals who operate both at the forefront and at the ground level of the Scottish tourism industry. It is important that their voices are heard in this original way, while contributing research findings to the wider body of knowledge in hospitality and tourism, as well as insights that may inform policy.

Social research activity requires both theoretical direction and sound methodological processes. 'Acting and thinking, practice and theory, are linked in a continuous process of critical reflection and transformation' (Schwandt 2000 p191). Gubrium and Holstein (1997) refer to Goffman's analysis of how individual actors are involved in 'socially monitoring and managing the talk and interaction they ongoingly construct ... he sees social reality as external to the individual, a constraint on personal action' (p162). Similarly, Collins (1980) discusses the way in which Goffman emphasises the external constraints present in society and how these can affect what individual actors do and believe (p200). This research guided by the symbolic interactionist frame of reference therefore also examines the individuals concerned from the wider research perspective of their social contexts, especially in terms of their views about these contexts. These, besides the broader social, economic, geographic and political contexts, also include the organisational networks in which they operate. There is reciprocity between individual and context, in that the actions and social interactions of the proprietors are seen to develop to form part of the same social and cultural contexts, which in turn influence subsequent actions and

the further development of the individual's roles. The action approach adopted in this research looks at those elements that are important for the individual who is regarded as making decisions and acting in a relatively voluntary capacity. However, it is also necessary to appreciate that individuals at the same time relate both to their membership and reference groups, at the same time as being constrained by the wider social, economic and political contexts. It is within this framework that the research findings are presented, and theoretical and methodological implications, as well as practical and policy recommendations, are derived.

Section 7.2 of this chapter provides a summary of the major theoretical findings presented in Chapter Six. It uses the framework of meta codes as outlined in section 6.1.2 in order to structure the analysis of the findings in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three. Key issues are drawn out from the detailed findings in Chapter Six. This serves to highlight similarities and differences of the presented findings in relation to previous research studies, and demonstrates the ways in which the findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge. Section 7.3 examines the methodological implications and contributions of the research. Section 7.4 evaluates the benefits and limitations of the research and Section 7.5 puts forward recommendations for further research in the future. Finally, applied practical and policy implications and recommendations are outlined in Section 7.6.

## **7.2 Research findings and theoretical implications**

Each of the findings, relating to the themes contained in the master codes and sub codes as part of the analysis process, have been grouped together under the broader conceptual headings of the meta codes. In this way, the findings detailed in Chapter Six are summarised, and the key elements of those findings are highlighted and compared to relevant theoretical debates and arguments as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. This approach serves to define the contribution of this research to established theoretical views and current thinking. It is only by critically questioning the reasoning of others and comparing empirical findings with those from previous studies that one may attempt to add to the process of knowledge formation and development.

### *7.2.1 Everyday working life and personal development*

The nature of daily routine tasks involved in running an owner-occupied guest house (see Section 6.2.1) were found to be physically demanding and time consuming. The level of flexibility varied depending upon personal choice and on the maturity of the business, with flexibility highest where the guest house was not the core source of income, and length of ownership was longest. Inflexibility was a dominant feature for the proprietor in the early stages of business start up and development by that owner-occupier. This was reflected by the concept of 'tied time' which was more pronounced where the business provided a core source of income for the household, or where there was no evidence of a high level of enjoyment being attained from running the business.

Gender was found to be the main determinant of the extent of any non-kinship paid help with everyday tasks, with men having more extensive assistance of this kind than their female counterparts. In support of the study undertaken by Smith (2000), the types of tasks undertaken by male and female proprietors in the present study were found to match more traditional gender-based roles (see Sections 6.7 and 7.2.6 for other findings relating to roles, gender and the changing social context). Findings revealed that practical daily experience of running the business, length of business ownership, and the extent of interactions with varying guest 'types' were identified as the most important determinants of proprietors' learning (see Section 6.2.2).

### *7.2.2 Lifestyle orientation and business choice*

The finding that income type was influenced by gender (see Section 6.3.1) show that female proprietors whose spouses work in other professions outside the home were more likely to define the guest house as providing supplementary income to the household. In contrast, however, the same was not found to be the case for most male proprietors, irrespective of whether their spouse held alternative paid employment, as they defined the business as a core means of bringing in more income to the household. Also, as anticipated, where the business was run jointly by both married

partners, and where there was no other external income generating employment, it was defined as the core income generator for the household. Therefore, the tendency to label and define a solely female-run business activity as 'supplementary' or 'supportive' may derive from traditional socially-defined gender based roles and the orientation of the female proprietors. This finding can be considered in the light of Walton's (1978) study of the Blackpool landlady, driven by the desire to 'make ends meet', and the arguments of Goffee and Scase (1985) that female business owners tend to be driven by the need to supplement a low family income.

The findings relating to reported biographies/ life histories (see Section 6.3.2) show that only three proprietors had any previous accommodation sector-specific business ownership experience. Therefore, this finding concurs with the literature which examines the issue of low barriers to entry and exit inherent in the hospitality sector as a whole, including small hospitality business proprietorship (see for example, Dewhurst and Horobin 1998; Morrison 1998a; Shaw and Williams 1990; Williams *et al.* 1989). A larger proportion (eleven proprietors) had previous experience of owning and managing a small business in any industry sector. All of these individuals found their experience an advantage in running their current business. However, previous experience of running a small business that was not in the hospitality sector, was seen as different in being more time consuming and inflexible in comparison to the experience of running a guest house. Both those with prior experience of owning a hospitality business and those who had been brought up in a family whose members had worked for or owned a hospitality business, felt that such experiences had given them realistic expectations of the specific nature and demands made on them when running a guest house.

All the proprietors involved in the study based their decision to open a guest house on a desire for an improved quality of life. Lifestyle needs were therefore identified and valued as of high priority when determining business choice, together with the low barriers of entry to ownership of a guesthouse. Although experiences of having run businesses outside the hospitality or wider tourism industry were valued as beneficial in terms of providing generic, non-sector specific skills and competencies.

guest houses were seen as flexible and thus better able to accommodate this requirement rather than other types of small business. Both the proprietors who had been brought up in a family with relatives who had worked for or owned a hospitality business, as well as those without such a family background, expressed their desire to operate a guest house. Factors such as seasonality, proximity to friends and family, and previous family experience of running guesthouses were identified as strong influences in determining proprietors' choices. In this research, there was no distinction based on factors of gender in the orientations of the proprietors. Both the men and women ranked flexibility and lifestyle factors as more important business choice determinants than financial earnings. However, these findings do not concur with those of Smith (2000) who found gender-based distinctions of business choice, as the male entrepreneurs were motivated by increased autonomy and higher earnings and the female proprietors by flexibility and lifestyle factors.

An important finding was that none of the businesses in this study were inherited, and none of the proprietors had family succession plans for their guesthouse (see Section 6.3.5). This indicates that the business is tied to the individual proprietor in terms of lifecycle, identity, goals and length of operation. Therefore, as identified by Williams *et al.* (1989), decision making tends to be based on highly personalised and proprietor-specific criteria. This raises important questions of approaches to, and definitions of, such businesses by both academics and policy makers. Many of the business owners self-assigned the label of 'family business' to their guest house and indeed 'family' has been shown to be an important concept associated with lifestyle (see Section 2.3). However, the absence of plans for business succession in relation to family members or other significant individuals, indicates that these businesses reflect the needs, goals, identities and preferences of the individual proprietor at a particular period of time, rather than a long-term venture beyond the career or life span of the current owner. Therefore, it is argued that one may use this distinctive characteristic of the owner-occupied guest house business as a point of comparison to many ethnic minority small businesses. Despite often using the classification of 'small business' and being heavily reliant upon family ties and loyalties, studies have shown that some proprietors from ethnic minorities do not develop their businesses

in order to pass them on to the next generation (Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri 2000; Garlick 1971; Marris and Somerset 1971). Moreover, financial resources are often used not to expand or grow their businesses but to educate their children so that they may enter more mainstream professions perceived to be more stable, higher status and incurring less risk.

Lifestyle needs were found to drive guesthouse ownership and, where conflict occurs, be given a higher priority than purely business driven needs (see Sections 6.3.3 and 6.3.4). As discussed in Section 1.2, few studies have focussed on the owners of small hospitality businesses. Nevertheless, these findings do support those of Shaw *et al.* (1987) which focussed on a particular geographic location, Cornwall. The researchers, looking at owners of varying types of small tourism and hospitality businesses, pointed to the importance for them of non-economic and lifestyle orientations. Furthermore, Shaw *et al.* (1987) found that some business owners decided to engage in small business ownership as a form of consumption in itself rather than as a method of production or merely as a means to an end. This is also evidenced by the data from the owner-occupiers of this research as lifestyle priorities such as enjoyment and personal control were identified as both business and personal goals. The business was used as a tool to acquire an overall 'way of life' making the concept of 'lifestyle' an all-inclusive one encompassing both business and home. The research found that lifestyle orientation could be further segmented into lifestyle preferences derived from goals or wants that are voluntary in nature, and lifestyle circumstances derived from externally imposed constraints (see Section 6.3.4). The extent to which each of these orientations was applicable determined proprietors' views of whether the business decision was one based on preference or circumstance. Factors such as the dominance of lifestyle orientation and the small size of the businesses examined in the study contributed to the finding of a lack of separation between ownership and management. It was found that both the planning and 'higher level' strategic decision making, and the majority of every day tasks were undertaken by the proprietor themselves. This was also found to be the case in the study of tourism and hospitality businesses based in Cornwall, as detailed in Shaw *et al.* (1987) and Williams *et al.* (1989).



Proprietors did not desire or measure business success in terms of growth criteria (see Section 6.3.5). The findings of this research therefore support those of, for example, Curran (1986), Goffee and Scase (1985) and Reid *et al.* (1999) who found that owners of small businesses are not necessarily motivated by growth and, in fact, many deliberately avoid growth. Proprietors did, however, express desire for profit and financial success. This is indicative of the fact that the desire for profit was seen to exist independently of their views about business growth. The relationship between the proprietor and their guest house is therefore dynamic. Decision making and orientation towards business ownership cannot and should not be assumed to be driven purely by perceived economic outcomes or the so-called 'rational' business objective of growth. Based on the findings of this research, it can be stated that, on the whole, there tend to be an absence of growth orientation among this genre of small business proprietor in the accommodation sector.

The findings of the study conducted by Buick, Halcro and Lynch (2000) of small Scottish hotel proprietors, outlined in Section 2.4, showed that respondents 'are definitely interested in the survival and growth of the business ... This is contrary to the definition of the lifestyle entrepreneur' (p120). (see Section 2.4 for a discussion of the concept of 'lifestyle entrepreneur'). However, their findings were not borne out in the present research. It is argued here that the desire for growth and the desire for business survival are very different orientations. Therefore, the proposition is put forward that one may be a lifestyle entrepreneur and at the same time also desire business survival, but not necessarily business growth. It can be seen, therefore, that the criteria used by Buick, Halcro and Lynch (2000) holds problematic contradictions. The present research refutes the claim that there has been the 'death of the lifestyle entrepreneur' (Buick, Halcro and Lynch 2000). None of the proprietors interviewed as part of this research desired business growth, and lifestyle was identified as the principle determinant of business orientation and decision making (see Table 6.2, Section 6.3.5 for an outline of how proprietors defined the concept of business growth). Moreover, the most frequently cited reason for a lack of growth orientation was the perceived loss of personal control (see Table 6.3, Section

6.3.5 for factors identified showing the lack of growth orientation). Growth is, in fact, seen as a direct threat to the lifestyle benefits, flexibility and essential character of running an owner-occupied guest house.

Lifestyle orientations of proprietors and a lack of growth orientation were found to remain dominant throughout the lifecycle of the business. Arguably these may even increase in importance for the proprietor as the business matures, and networks and a more secure customer base become established. Carson *et al.* (1995) argue a similar point stating that ‘after a certain stage of development a comfort factor becomes important to business owners and many run “lifestyle” firms’ (p70). However, this appears to allude to the fact that proprietors’ goals change from the more economically driven to the more personal/lifestyle driven with a consequent shift in prioritisation. The findings of this research have shown no evidence of a shift of this nature and show that the lifestyle goals of the proprietors interviewed appear to be dominant throughout the entire lifecycle of the business. Findings also indicated that where proprietors chose to downsize or scale down their business operation (see Section 6.3.5), these decisions were based on perceived implications for lifestyle as well as the desire for increased flexibility.

### *7.2.3 Business links and networks*

The findings discussed in Sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 show that the proprietors are engaged in a variety of network types. The findings of this study show that the proprietors valued informal business-based networks more highly than the formal business-based networks which were identified. Moreover, during the early stages of business development, and where informal links have not yet been well developed, reliance on the more formal networks was found to be higher.

It was found that owner-occupiers build up, often on a personal and geographic basis, local networks to support each other. These are used to pass on information and customers to one another, thus ‘sharing information and pooling resources’, which Morgan, Rees and Garmise (1999) define as key characteristics of successful networks. Local informal network ties are an important resource. Over time,

proprietors tend to develop denser networks and become connected to more and more people. However, the nature and extent of mutual supportive activities engaged in by actors within these informal networks vary at the different stages of business development. Other studies have similarly shown this to be the case in a variety of small-scale business types (Basu 1998; Fadahunsi *et al.* 2000). For example, with business owners from minority ethnic backgrounds 'there is a very low level of take-up of business advice and support from mainstream support agencies ... because of a range of negative attitudes towards them' (Fadahunsi *et al.*, 2000 p228). The present research found that informal networks are often used for support in preference to the more formal agencies. However, despite the preference of the guest house proprietor for the informal network type, this research found that these tended to be *ad hoc*, highly dependant on the geographical proximity of neighbours, friends and family and not highly developed or structured (Lee-Ross and Ingold 1994; Lynch 2000; Quinn *et al.* 1992). Informal networks, therefore, operated as fluid and dynamic processes, involving relationships relying on word of mouth as opposed to more conscious strategic alliances, or combined marketing options found among small businesses in other sectors of the economy (Morrison 1996). Curran and Storey (1993) point out that the commonly held, if romanticised, perception of the small business is one relying on family, kinship and informal contacts. The findings from this research support the reality of such an image. Arguably, therefore, the reliance of the guest house proprietors on such informal networks, may mean that the potential benefits which would be rendered from wider, more strategic, structures of contact are not achieved (Curran *et al.* 1993; Perry 1996; Shaw 1998).

A key finding about the nature of the formal and informal business-based networks used by the proprietors is in terms of the high degree of similarity between them (see Table 6.7, Section 6.4.2). Both the formal and the informal network participants can be seen to have business goals as their primary aim as opposed to personal goals which also exist, although very much as secondary aims or by-products of the primary aims. The informal network, similar to the formal, is viewed as a means to an end, namely that of increasing business success. It is therefore argued that the informal could therefore compete with the formal in terms of the value attributed to

them by the proprietors, as both have similar key characteristics. They are indeed often preferred. This finding has clear implications for policy makers and organisations such as VisitScotland (see Section 7.6).

Mitchell (1969) stresses that the strength of the relationships of the linkages in a network are a salient factor in interpreting social action (p5). Thus, for example, the degree of strength of the links in the formal relationships between proprietors and tourism organisations can also impact upon that of the informal linkages amongst the proprietors. Without positing a cause and effect relationship between formal and informal sets of relationships, from the findings it can be seen that the stronger the linkages in one set of relationships, then the other set tends to appear correspondingly weaker. Thus, the informal ties appear stronger to the 'owner-occupier' where the guest houses are less isolated from each other, such as in the suburbs where guest houses tend to be located, than in the city centres or in the more rural periphery, where they are more scattered. The findings confirmed the existence of either 'tight knit' or more 'loose knit' networks among the proprietors. Both types were found to be geographically bound and links are based on similarity of business goals and compatibility of lifestyle preferences.

However, there is also the factor of gender. A key finding was that more female proprietors belonged to tight knit informal networks. These links were with other female proprietors of a similar age living in close geographical proximity to their business. This type of network was seen as particularly beneficial during the early phases of business start-up and was found to have both a business and a non-business or friendship driven function. It was found that more tight knit networks emerge and exist in areas where there are clusters of proprietors in terms of both business density and physical proximity.

In relation to the formal business based networks, in this research it was found that the majority of the proprietors were members of VisitScotland and their respective area tourist board. Some proprietors, who formed a minority of those interviewed, were also members of organisations such as the AA, RAC and the Federation of

Small Businesses (see Section 6.4.1 for overview of findings relating to formal business contacts). Therefore, despite the overriding importance and preference of the informal network type, it was found that formal organisations were also used. Only three proprietors refrained from obtaining membership of any formal organisations (see Section 6.4.1). The reasons for this were that most proprietors valued the grading system and wanted to acquire an association with a brand valued by guests. Brand association was valued as opposed to membership in itself. Membership was also undertaken due to perceptions such as a lack of choice, difficulties in securing guest numbers, and use of marketing and advertising channels of the formal organisations (see Table 6.6 for typologies of proprietor in relation to membership of formal tourism business networks).

Nevertheless, organisations such as VisitScotland were perceived to threaten proprietors' highly valued autonomy and business control (Curran and Storey 1993), through imposing standardised images as part of their accommodation grading schemes. It was found, therefore, that proprietors resent actively being involved in what are considered to be more expensive, formal, 'top-down' bureaucratic links, than the more informal ties which they had developed with other guest house proprietors. This indicates a mistrust of the formal structure, which was seen by them as not being transparent and lacking in flexibility, therefore not allowing for an appreciation of the specific constraints and nature of the guest house as a small business.

In summary, the value attributed to formal organisations was found to be limited to benefits derived from a solely business driven relationship. In contrast however, the value attributed to informal network connections was found to encompass benefits of both a business and non-business or socially driven relationship.

#### *7.2.4 View of position within industry and society*

The findings revealed proprietors' views of their self-identity in relation to associations which were established with another person or group. It was found that those running the business as a couple, with regular input from their spouse or other

family members, tended to reflect an image of themselves and their business that was closely associated with their partner and family. Some proprietors strongly identified themselves as being part of an overall occupational grouping of guest house proprietors, whilst others specifically located themselves within a sub group of guest house owners located in the local area. Those who identified themselves within the latter group tended to belong to closer, more tight knit informal networks (see Section 7.2.3). Proprietors' views about feeling marginalised were due to either a lack of interest, or involvement, in external authority structures, or from the perception of being ignored by those in authority. The former was exhibited by the proprietors who actively chose not to deal with external bodies such as the tourist board (see Section 6.4.1 for discussion of proprietor typologies and formal business networks). The latter perception tended to be perceived as true of the tourist board or local authority. Proprietors felt such bodies lack appreciation of their size and scale of business. Proprietors also felt marginalised by the actions of other external organisations or sources operating at a much broader level in the tourism and hospitality industries. Larger scale hotel developments were seen in this light in terms of the effects that they had on small businesses and on the tourism industry as a whole. This concurs with arguments by Jennings *et al.* (1994) and Morrison *et al.* (1999) that small hospitality business entrepreneurs are motivated by a desire not to be controlled by external authoritarian structures and organisations. They also pointed to ethically questionable practices which were perceived as being carried out by some other guest house proprietors. Such practices were seen as impacting detrimentally by disadvantaging comparatively ethically minded guest house owners.

#### *7.2.5 Host definitions of interactions and needs of the self/guest*

The findings of this research illustrate that boundaries do exist between the home and business, even where they are not physically detached as in the case of the owner-occupied guest house. Therefore, in this way the owner-occupied guest house can be compared to wider society in that it 'can be thought of as being criss-crossed by boundaries, with discontinuities between one group and another, and between one person and another' (Rosenblatt *et al.* 1985 p124). In this research, the boundaries are created and enforced by the proprietors. The findings provide evidence of a

dynamic and inherently complex interplay between the business sphere and home sphere of the owner-occupied guest house which is illustrative of orientations, priorities, tensions and everyday dealings of and between individuals. This is akin to the findings of Rosenblatt *et al.* (1985), in their study of small family-run businesses in the USA.

All proprietors used mechanisms by which they achieved physical separation or drew a metaphorical boundary line between the home domain and the business domain. These attempts are used by the proprietors to avoid the potential problems that could arise if boundaries are lacking between the home and the business, as the goals of each differ in many ways (Darke and Gurney 2000; Ireland 1993; Stringer 1981; Wood 1994). This is supported by Rosenblatt *et al.* (1985) who discuss boundary problems that arise when there is insufficient separation of entrepreneur and business and that 'using a home as a business location increases the likelihood of these boundary problems' (p12). This is why the proprietors are highly conscious of the benefits as well as the potential difficulties stemming from their chosen situation. This lies at the heart of the finding which showed how the guest house owners cited freedom as important for them, in terms of the ability which they had to do what they wanted without being controlled by others. Time/energy flexibility were also seen as advantages in running an owner-occupied small business. The concepts of 'tied time' and being physically tied to the business were, on the other hand, commonly cited as disadvantages inherent in running a guest house (see Section 6.2.1). Thus, there is not a continuum of time, but rather a complex web of advantages and disadvantages which gets woven around the same concept such as time. In two cases the conflict between both spheres was deemed to be damaging their lifestyle and a detrimental influence on their family life. This led them to sell their businesses. The perceived intrusion of the home as a private domain was not solely restricted to descriptions of the guests as sole perpetrators, as some proprietors perceived accommodation grading, particularly the inspection process, also as an invasion of their home domain. This is further evidence in support of the finding that personal and lifestyle needs and preferences are attributes that are given higher priority than purely business needs.

Findings relating to host guest interactions showed that, where the presence of the guest was reported as affecting the behaviour of the host, they revised the norms and rules they apportioned to the domain, be it the business domain as 'front stage' or home domain as 'back stage' (Goffman 1959). For the host, a lack of guests' presence in the guest house changed the business sphere into an extension of the home sphere. On the other hand, the presence of the guest influenced and necessitated behaviour modification of the host in terms of 'role playing', even in the realms of their home sphere. This is in keeping with the review of the characteristics of hospitality as performance and the consequent staging implications and performance expectations between host and guest by Darke and Gurney (2000). This research found that proprietors tend to enforce methods of keeping the two domains of the home and the business separate. The extent to which the methods are effective seems to be dependent on the need for these to match the wants and orientations of the individual and their spouse and/or other family members. The aspect of space and perceived 'ownership' or authority over a certain space or domain is an important dimension which featured significantly in the proprietors' responses. A common theme was that all proprietors expected guests to abide by certain house 'rules' (see Darke and Gurney 2000). This can be taken to be a clear attribute of the home domain as private sphere that has been applied to the business sphere or public domain. Therefore, it was found that the balance of power in the host/guest relationship is perceived by the host to rest firmly with them. They value highly the control that they have over the business in spatial terms.

#### *7.2.6 Roles, gender and the changing social context*

The findings of this study contradict the claims of Lewis (1955) who argued that the family is basically a conservative influence on effort due to wants and needs of the family causing a drain on resources and profits. Lewis (1955) argued that the entrepreneur is discouraged from expanding or seeking further development of his business because the rewards will be dissipated by the claims of his family' (ibid). This was found not to be the reason for proprietors' lack of business growth orientation (see Section 7.2.2). A fear of erosion of preferred lifestyle elements was



given as the cause of the lack of growth orientation. The extent of assistance with business related tasks by members of the family other than the spouse varied depending on the age of the proprietors and whether the children or other relatives lived in the same property or in close proximity to the business. However, where children of proprietors had been exposed to the business for a significant period of time, their participation and assistance with business related tasks was notable, and described in a similar way to other regular duties performed in the home domain or back stage region (Goffman 1959).

The findings of this study concur with those of Smith (2000) who found that traditional gender based roles are apparent in copreneurial businesses with 'women's family roles and responsibilities reinforced in the workplace' (p287). Therefore, where guest houses were run by both spouses, traditional gender-based roles and activities were found to be likely to be manifest in both the business domain and the home domain. This pattern was also found to be apparent in guest houses run by one spouse, where the other spouse would provide occasional assistance away from their own employment, but according to gender defined roles. However, in the case of four businesses (D10, D12, D8 and I13), role conflict was evident where the spouse holding external employment, resented the business and refused or was unwilling to assist the proprietor with business-related activities. Reasons for this were found to stem from a resentment of a perceived infringement by the business of the home as a private domain. This finding concurs with Darke and Guerney (2000) who account for this due to the threat to the host and/or host's family's sense of the home as a haven. Rosenblatt *et al.* (1995) similarly refer to tensions perceived likely to occur if the guest were to enter areas of the home space. Therefore, the findings of this study do not entirely support the arguments of Wood (1994) that the penetration of the home space is rarely a problem for the host (p76). The proprietors in this study were found to actively use mechanisms to keep the business and home spheres separate and restrict guest access (see Section 7.2.5).

Goffee and Scase (1985) examine the many orientations of the individual female business proprietor in terms of personal relationships and lifestyles. Thus, however

strong the entrepreneur's profit orientation may be. It is only one out of the many possible variables that determines motivation for women as for men. Goffee and Scase (1985) argue that other factors may include those associated with attachment to traditionally prescribed roles, and to a 'way of life', fitting in the demands of family into those of occupation and business success. The findings from the present research support those of Goffee and Scase (1985), as the proprietors were committed to making profits, but not aiming to achieve business growth. This research goes further however, as both male and female proprietors interviewed did not want business growth. Therefore, this indicates that in the context of the guest house owner-occupier, gender was not found to be a distinguishing factor in terms of desire for business growth (see Section 6.3.5 of this chapter for an overview of the proprietors' desire for growth versus their desire for business survival). Also, unlike the findings of Read (1998), and those of Smith (2000), which showed clear differences based on gender in terms of business orientation, in the present research both male and female proprietors appear to share similar needs and orientations in running their businesses.

The majority of proprietors involved in this research are female as out of the total of thirty-three proprietors interviewed, twenty-three are women and ten are men. (see Section 6.1.1). This therefore supports the perception that proprietors running small hospitality businesses from their homes are predominantly female. Other studies have produced similar findings that also concur with this view (Lynch and MacWhannell 2000; Stringer 1981; Walton 1978; Whatmore 1991). Moreover, gender based stereotypes featured strongly in interview accounts. Male proprietors regarded the business as a serious occupation as opposed to a hobby, and explicitly rejected the female stereotypes perceived to be associated with running a guest house. Male proprietors referred to gender issues more often than the female proprietors. The men were also somewhat disparaging about what they regarded as negative female traits in running such a business. This could have been used as a mechanism by which to distance themselves from common labels attached to a female-dominated occupation. However, in doing so, the male proprietors actively reinforced such gender-based stereotypes. Some female proprietors also

acknowledged these social labels and viewed male proprietors as unusual. Gender based stereotypes and judgements were also projected onto guests and decisions based on whether a potential guest would be permitted entry was explicitly based on factors such as gender and age and whether they were in a group, alone or part of a couple.

Changes in the nature of the occupation of running an owner-occupied guest house has placed the proprietor under increasing pressure from a number of sources. These are the increasing sophistication and expectations of guests and the increasing range of services provided by other guest houses and hospitality providers, as well as the tourist organisations in terms of their accommodation grading standards. There was resentment that prices charged to guests need to remain competitive, despite the increasing requirements to provide higher standards of service. It was felt that few allowances were made for the constraints inherent in the fact that the guest house business is a micro enterprise and operates as part of a domestic setting, despite this element being a significant 'pull' factor valued by guests in search of the 'authentic' (MacCannell 1973). There was consensus among proprietors that the amount of physical interaction between themselves and guests has reduced over recent decades. Increasing anonymity and detachment by guests were perceived not to be in keeping with the nature of the business as operated privately by an individual or family living on the same premises. This reduction in host/guest interaction was also identified as a factor reducing the enjoyment of the proprietors in running their businesses. One must juxtapose this finding against the apparently contradictory finding that proprietors use mechanisms to distance themselves from the guests in order to retain privacy (see Section 6.6.1). Both findings indicate the self-defined need for proprietors to retain control and to operate their businesses according to highly personalised, as opposed to industry regulated and standardised, criteria.

### *7.2.7 Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity*

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the term 'identity' can be taken to be self-defined at an individual level with reinforcements of meaning being built up through interaction with others on the basis of shared definitions. There is a wide

variety of ideas which can be condensed into the concept of 'identity' and a variety of issues to which it refers (see Section 3.2 for a discussion of literature relating to the concept of 'Scottishness' and 'Scottish identity' at national and local levels). Moore and Booth (1989) acknowledge the importance of the development of a sense of Scottish identity through various group structures and networks within Scotland. These can be seen to influence decision-making autonomy for different sectors of the population on the local as well as the national level.

Some proprietors viewed Scottish identity in terms the images and symbols of Scottish culture that are presented to tourists when visiting Scotland (Devine 1999; Edensor 2001; McCrone *et al.* 1995; Paterson 1999; Rosie 1992). There was concern that a rapid growth of cities in Scotland could result in a lack of a distinctive identity of place. Some proprietors defined 'Scottishness' as being more than the collective images of common tourist icons (see Section 3.2.1). However, the same individuals provided descriptions that included popular tourist icons such as tartan and Scottish music. Proprietors based in each location held specific local or district-based identities. Proprietors operating in areas of Dundee that were further away from the city centre based the identity of their businesses on their particular district rather than the wider context of the city of Dundee as a whole. Efforts were made to distinguish such districts from the city centre which was seen to have inferior characteristics. This was not replicated in Inverness as those living in outlying districts did not hold disparaging views of the city centre. Any district-specific distinctions were purely used as a means of describing their location within the overall city of Inverness (see Section 6.8). Therefore, it can be concluded that the current and historical identities of Inverness as a tourist historic location and Dundee as a post-industrial larger city, which still held narratives of a troubled industrial past, affected perceptions of respective geographical positioning and business identity and development.

#### *7.2.8 Business image/ identity*

Proprietors defined the image and identity of their businesses in terms of sources of competition, business marketing choices and the extent of their use of innovative business practices, in order to meet the perceived needs of guests. Overall, the

proprietors did not identify other guest houses operating on a similar scale as a significant source of competition as only three identified other guest houses as a source of competition. There was resentment only towards those individuals offering bed and breakfast without operating as a registered business concern, as they were seen as reducing the demand for the services provided by the actual legitimate businesses. Proprietors also face a threat from other types of small businesses in the hospitality industry that have diversified their product to include accommodation provision. The increase in numbers along with the expansion of budget chain hotels is another threat faced by the guest house proprietors. These businesses are seen as the most significant source of competition threatening their existence and indeed economic viability. Nevertheless, the proprietors also acknowledged the advantage they hold in providing a unique, personalised service and niche market identity linked to the theme of 'home' and 'homely' service (see also Harrison 2001; Rybczynski 1988; Wood 1994). This is essentially different in nature to the standardised nature of the budget chain accommodation provider. A collective guest house identity is therefore apparent. However, the identity projected by the individual proprietor strongly encompasses the theme of uniqueness. Proprietors described advertising activities they were using not only as a means of increasing awareness and market penetration, but also as a means to disseminate a certain image reflecting their uniqueness.

The use of web technology was found to be important to the proprietors. Research has pointed to several barriers that have been shown to hinder small organisations from capitalising on the use of IT and the Internet (Anckar and Walden 2001; Blackburn and Athayde 2000; Braun 2003; Buhalis 1999). From this research, extensive use of the Internet among proprietors was found to be limited due to barriers such as lack of knowledge, cost and user confidence. Nevertheless, proprietors showed enthusiasm for the Internet. Therefore, this does not support the argument that 'proprietors of tourism SMEs and micro businesses tend to fear that they will lose control if they were to adopt e-commerce solutions and are hence resistant to change' (Braun 2003). Barriers are beginning to be overcome due to the

incentives of lower prices and improvements in a technology that is becoming more user friendly.

Proprietors are heavily reliant on word of mouth and repeat custom as the main method of promoting public awareness of their businesses. The majority of proprietors also use the Yellow Pages and VisitScotland promotional material such as the 'Where to Stay' guides and web site listings. Other creative and entrepreneurial activities of promoting the business were also evident (see Section 6.9.3). Overall, however, there was frustration over a lack of knowledge over what are the best methods of business promotion. Decisions were made 'blind' or based on trial and error rather than hard data or professional advice. This was a major concern due to the financial costs involved. The methods of business promotion used by proprietors demonstrate a link between the business life cycle and financial success of the business. Evidence suggests that where a business is in its early stages of development and/ or where the proprietor is experiencing financial difficulties, promotional methods involving financial costs would be avoided.

#### *7.2.9 Tabular comparison of research findings with those of previous key studies*

Table 7.1 outlines a summary of the core findings of this research according to the thematic structure of meta codes (see figure 6.3). Chapter Six outlines the details of these and related findings resulting from the current research. Table 7.1 also highlights the key findings of relevant studies and literature examined in this chapter and in Chapters Two and Three in order to compare and contrast similarities and differences. This process demonstrates the contribution of this research to the understanding of this type of individual. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that those studies described do not involve identical research foci or profiles of subjects, although some indeed are similar. Nevertheless, this process of comparison remains useful in placing the findings within the context of a relevant base of research and knowledge.

Meta code	Key findings of present research	Comparison with relevant literature
Everyday working life and personal development	<b>Core finding:</b> The types of tasks undertaken by male and female proprietors match traditional gender-based roles	This concurs with the findings of Smith (2000) who found that tasks undertaken by male and female proprietors reflect traditional gender-based roles.
Lifestyle orientation and business choice	<b>Core finding:</b> Female proprietors defined the business as a form of supplementary household income whilst most male proprietors defined the business as a core means of income.	This finding concurs with the findings of Walton's (1978) study of the Blackpool landlady who was driven by the desire to 'make ends meet'. Similarly, Goffee and Scase (1985) found that female business owners tend to be driven by the need to supplement a low family income.
	<b>Core finding:</b> Lifestyle needs were the largest determinant of business choice, together with the low barriers of entry to guest house ownership.	These findings support those of Shaw et al. (1987) which pointed to the importance of non-economic and lifestyle orientations. The finding on low barriers to entry concur with Dewhurst and Horobin (1998), Morrison (1998a), Shaw and Williams (1990) and Williams et al. (1989) who state that there are low barriers to entry and exit in the hospitality sector as a whole.
	<b>Core finding:</b> None of the proprietors inherited their businesses and none had family succession plans. This indicates that the business is tied to the individual proprietor in terms of lifecycle, identity, goals and length of operation and is not run as a long-term venture.	Williams et al. (1989) identified that decision making tends to be based on highly personalised criteria. This is compared to studies into ethnic minority small businesses by Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri (2000), Garlick (1971) and Marris and Somerset (1971). These found that despite relying on family ties, many proprietors do not run businesses with succession plans.
	<b>Core finding:</b> Proprietors did not desire or measure business success in terms of growth. Proprietors expressed a desire for profit and financial success. This is indicative of the fact that the desire for profit was seen to exist independently of their views about business growth.	These findings therefore support those of Curran (1986), Goffee and Scase (1985) and Reid et al. (1999) who found that owners of small businesses are not motivated by growth. However, the present findings contradict those of Buick, Halcro and Lynch (2000) who found that proprietors were oriented by growth and survival.
View of position within industry and society	<b>Core finding:</b> Proprietors' views of feeling marginalised were due to a lack of interest/ involvement in external authority structures as such bodies were seen as not appreciating their size/scale.	This concurs with arguments by Jennings et al. (1994) and Morrison et al. (1999) that small hospitality business entrepreneurs are motivated by a desire not to be controlled by external authoritarian structures.

<p><b>Business links and networks</b></p>	<p><b>Core finding:</b> Both formal and informal networks are business driven. Proprietors valued informal networks more highly than the formal as informal connections yielded benefits that were business and socially driven. Local informal networks were developed on a personal and geographic basis. However, these tended to be ad hoc, highly dependent on the geographical proximity of neighbours, friends and family and not highly developed or structured. Formal organisations such as VisitScotland were perceived to threaten proprietors' highly valued autonomy and business control.</p>	<p>Basu (1998) and Fadahunsi et al. (2000) found that ethnic minority business owners rarely used formal sources of support, relying on informal. Lee-Ross and Ingold (1994), Lynch (2000) and Quinn et al. (1992) found that informal networks are ad hoc and lack structure and coherent form. Morrison (1996) found that micro hospitality businesses are heavily reliant on word of mouth as opposed to strategic alliances. Curran et al. (1993), Perry (1996) and Shaw (1998) argue that due to reliance on informal networks, potential benefits are not rendered from wider, more strategic, structures of contact. Curran and Storey (1993) have shown that small business proprietors tend to mistrust the formal structure.</p>
<p><b>Host definitions of interactions and needs of the self/guest</b></p>	<p><b>Core finding:</b> Boundaries exist between the home and business. The boundaries are created and enforced by the proprietors. All proprietors used mechanisms by which they achieved physical separation or drew a metaphorical boundary line between the home and the business. Problems arose where boundaries were seen by the host to be lacking between the home and the business. The perceived intrusion of the home was seen to be perpetrated by both guests and grading inspectors. The balance of power in the host/guest relationship is perceived by the host to rest firmly with them.</p>	<p>The findings concur with those of Rosenblatt et al. (1985) who found that small family-run businesses in the USA maintain boundaries between business and home. He found that boundary problems arise when there is insufficient separation of the home and the business. Darke and Gurney (2000), Ireland (1993), Stringer (1981) and Wood (1994) explored the nature of host guest interactions in the home used as a hospitality business. These studies draw upon the dramaturgical approach of Goffman (1959) and his research on role behaviour and role expectations apportioned to the business domain as 'front stage' or home domain as 'back stage'.</p>



Roles, gender and the changing social context	<p><b>Core finding:</b> Traditional gender-based roles were found to be manifest in both the business domain and the home domain. Role conflict was evident where the spouse holding external employment resented the business and refused or was unwilling to assist with business-related activities due to a resentment of a perceived infringement by the business of the home as a private domain.</p>	<p>Studies by Lynch and MacWhannell (2000), Stringer (1981), Walton (1978) and Whatmore (1991) show that proprietors running small hospitality businesses from their homes are predominantly female. The current research findings concur with Smith (2000) who found that traditional gender based roles are apparent in copreneurial businesses. The findings do not entirely support the arguments of Wood (1994) that the perceived infringement of the home space is rarely a problem for the host. The findings support Goffee and Scase (1985) who found that female proprietors are often attached to traditionally prescribed roles.</p>
	<p><b>Core finding:</b> Gender was not found to be a distinguishing factor in terms of desire for business growth.</p>	<p>This is contrary to the findings of Read (1998) and Smith (2000) which showed differences based on gender in terms of business orientation.</p>
Geographical context and spatial levels in apportioning business identity	<p><b>Core finding:</b> Some proprietors viewed Scottish identity in terms of images and symbols of Scottish culture presented to tourists. However, there was recognition that 'Scottishness' was more than the collective images of common tourist icons.</p>	<p>The importance of symbols and imagery to Scottish identity are examined by Devine (1999), Edensor (2001) and McCrone et al. (1995)</p>
Business image/identity	<p><b>Core finding:</b> Proprietors did not identify other guest houses as a significant source of competition. Proprietors defined their main source of competition as the budget chain hotels. However, the proprietors also acknowledged the advantage they hold in providing a unique, personalised service and niche market identity linked to the theme of 'home' and 'homely' service.</p>	<p>The themes of the home and in terms of its meanings is explored by Rybczynski (1988). Wood (1994) and Lynch and MacWhannell (2000) examine the nature of home-based commercial hospitality.</p>

**Table 7.1: Comparison of main research findings with previous key studies**

### **7.3 Implications of the research findings to broader theoretical debates on the concept of the 'lifestyle entrepreneur'**

The Scottish guest house owners, the subjects of this study, may be typical of other small-scale operators who have already established themselves in the Scottish

tourism industry as key deliverers of the hospitality product. The social action approach taken in this research (Section 4.2) assists with defining the social identities and the membership groups and networks of the owners of these businesses. These are taken as both influencing and framing their actions. The findings show that they appear to have generally positive views of their situations and roles. They appreciate the fact that they are able to integrate lifestyle needs into business roles (Section 6.3). However, they have mixed feelings of anticipation and concern about the changes that are taking place in the formal tourism and hospitality organisations in Scotland and their own roles within them. These individuals participate in tourism developments both through formal and informal channels (Section 6.4). However, they are often critical of the formal structures and processes of the tourism organisations to which they feel they must belong and which affect their business success. They find it difficult to participate in them actively at a local level. They tend to organise themselves informally, particularly on a neighbourhood basis (Section 6.8). They are also increasingly participating in the global networks open to them through their increasing ability to use and afford new technologies. This denotes attempts on their part to overcome feelings of atomisation as well as to be a part of a community-based business support group. In doing so, they tend to mobilise alternative visions of their sector, which are different from those imposed by the formally-organised tourism and hospitality organisations. These visions tend to be based on, among other things, their definitions of their own Scottish identity.

It is important at this stage to revisit some of the theoretical definitions discussed in earlier chapters that review the literature, before coherent consideration and presentation of the findings of this research can be undertaken. It is clear from the interview data that the characteristics of the lifestyle entrepreneur as identified by Gray (1986) as discussed in Section 2.4, whilst providing a useful broad understanding of the concept, are too vague. He refers to the entrepreneur who, although enjoying owning a business, is not interested in running it in a way that involves extensive time or financial commitment. There is also a lack of interest in a business that might cause problems because of growth or personnel requirements. Instead, the entrepreneur appreciates the fringe benefits of success, looking on the business as a means for the attainment of goals that would be lifestyle enhancing.

However, the findings from the proprietors yield an altogether more complex picture, which is identified by their views and self-definitions. It is argued that existing descriptions and definitions be re-appraised and debated once again in order to develop a more inclusive and accurate definition of the small-scale business owner who holds on to strong lifestyle priorities. This is imperative in order to encapsulate effectively the complex mix of priorities which drive the business operators at the micro end of the hospitality and service sector, and which by implication will also have consequences for other businesses existing in the wider enterprise economy as a whole. This research shows that the use of such simplistic descriptions and definitions cannot capture the array, diversity and complexity of the proprietors' views and goals. It can be argued that this is a problem inherent in most attempts at definition. It is for this reason that some of the results from the 'framework analysis' method are best encapsulated in the form of maps and diagrammatic representations (see for example Figure 6.4 and Table 6.6).

This research has explored the characteristics of the guest house owner occupier who, it is argued, has already embraced a lifestyle/work integrated model. The findings show that he or she is able to capitalise on the ability to combine both work and lifestyle commitments effectively. The label 'lifestyle entrepreneur', (Gray 1986; Lockyer and Morrison 1999; Morrison 2000) it can be argued, should be viewed not as denoting less entrepreneurial or business mindedness than with the more conventional business owner (See Sections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 for an analysis of different entrepreneur 'types'). The latter draws a clearer line between work and private leisure time. The guest house operator may indeed represent time efficiency through an alternative model of interactivity and the ability to merge the realms of economic and social life more closely.

Both from the literature and the empirical research carried out, traits for entrepreneurial and lifestyle characteristics were identified (see Table 7.2). As shown in Section 2.2, there is difficulty and widespread debate about defining the concept of entrepreneur. Various characteristics have been extrapolated from the literature that highlight entrepreneurial and lifestyle traits. Whether such traits, relevant to the

proprietors as the focus of this study, are evidenced or not by the current research findings was recorded and summarised in Table 7.2. It can be seen that both lifestyle and entrepreneurial traits are evidenced in the study among the respondents apart for the desire for business growth as defined by the proprietors themselves (see Section 6.3.5).

<b>Proprietorial trait</b>	<b>Identified characteristics/goals pertaining to trait</b>	<b>Evidenced by research findings</b>
<b>Entrepreneur</b>	Desire for growth	Not evident
	Desire for business survival	Evident
	Desire for financial profit	Evident
	Innovative practices	Evident
	Ability to react/ adapt	Evident
<b>Lifestyle</b>	Business must not adversely impact on family/ friends	Evident
	Business as a means to obtain desirable lifestyle features	Evident
	Desire that business does not invade personal time/space	Evident
	No desire for growth	Evident
	Little desire to recruit additional staff unless this is minimal, eases the burden of everyday work running the guest house, and does not detract from proprietor's own daily hands-on involvement and feeling of control	Evident

**Table 7.2: Entrepreneurial and lifestyle characteristics evidenced by research findings**

#### **7.4 Research findings and methodological implications**

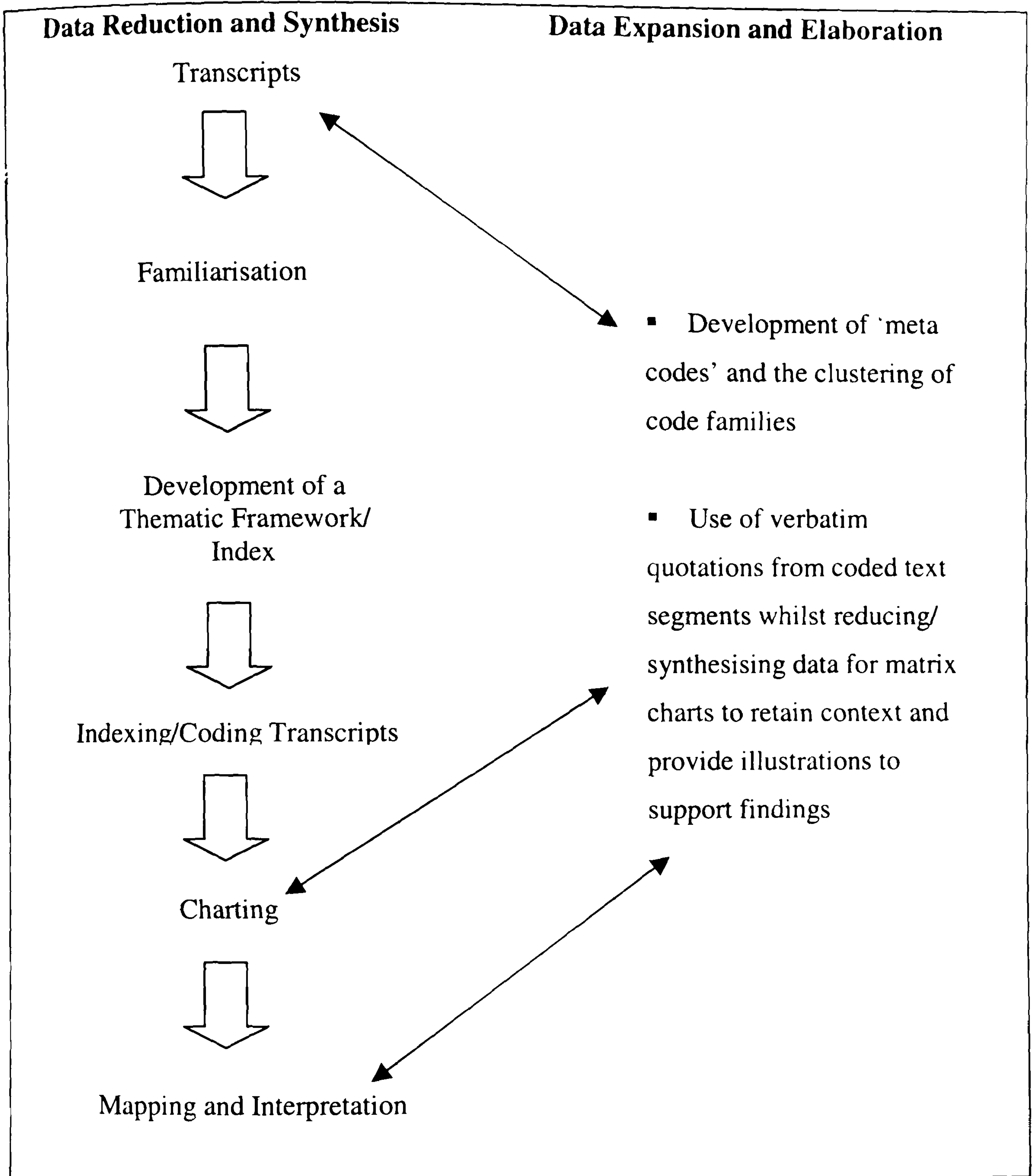
By using a qualitatively driven methodological framework this research has given a voice to the individuals involved in this study, which could reflect a range of comparable views held by other guest house owner-occupiers. Through an approach of interpretive understanding, the research has used the proprietors' own words, transferred from the oral to the written form, as a basis for analysis (Section 4.4). The conceptual and methodological 'fit' applied in this research, it is argued, is most effective in gaining the necessary closeness and empathy with the subjects of study. The interaction of the interviewer with the proprietors during the interview process in the gathering of the data was imperative in attaining their self-definitions and views (Section 4.3.5). It is only by using such a phenomenologically driven model, one

may argue, that one can attain this quality and kind of data (Section 4.2.3). Moreover, it is proposed that, due to the features of transparency and systematisation inherent in the 'framework' method, the raw data can be reused in a variety of subsequent investigations (Section 4.4).

An important approach to the analysis was the desire to provide findings and conclusions based on reduced and interpreted data, whilst still providing evidence of the richness and detail of the accounts of the individual proprietors (see Figure 7.1). These strategies were complementary rather than in conflict, as 'framework' analysis provided a clear structure that was used and adapted for the data expansion and elaboration stage. The latter also ensured that the researcher never became 'detached' from the data. Therefore, the ability to return to the original interview transcripts, once significant analysis had already been conducted, was facilitated by this process, the act of which was both necessary and indeed provided useful insights for interpretation. It is argued that this research benefits by both those research types, as it contains 'rich description' and findings based on a structured data reduction process.

An important contribution made by this research is the way it addresses the concern highlighted in Section 1.2, that 'few small firm researchers have sought to provide detailed descriptions of the processes by which qualitative data are collected, analysed and interpreted' (Shaw 1999 p61). This view is supported by others including Bygrave (1989), Churchill and Lewis (1986), and Hill and McGowan (1999). This research is significant therefore in that it addresses this gap in the small business literature, and particularly that pertaining to research on small hospitality firms. There is a need for qualitative analytic strategies to be explicitly communicated to other researchers and academic peers. This research traces the stages of the analysis process and demonstrates how findings are derived. In this way, this research succeeds in engaging with the challenge facing the qualitative researcher of achieving a systematic and valid analysis of personal accounts. In this research the analytic methods employed are not only applied, but also reported in full, in order that rigour and transparency would be ensured and so that it could be

used as a research model for other researchers who might still wish to refine it further.



**Figure 7.1: Analytic approaches: links and directions of the research process**

### 7.5 Benefits and limitations of the research

By using in-depth interviews as the basis for the analysis of the proprietors' accounts, the benefits and the limitations of this approach must be acknowledged. The benefits are that such a method allows access to the detail of the individual's

worldviews and frames of reference. However, as discussed in Section 4.3.5, 'interview data do not give us direct access to the details of naturally occurring interaction. They certainly do not give us access to how people actually perform a wide variety of daily activities' (Coffey and Atkinson 1996 p19). Therefore, it is not possible, for example, to document directly how proprietors run their guest houses on a day to day basis, or how proprietors actually interact informally with one another, or even as members of the more formal tourism and other organisations. Nevertheless, it is important to maintain that this is not an anthropological study which would seek to observe directly actors and their 'naturally occurring' actions and encounters, an approach which itself has its own limitations. In-depth interviews were the most appropriate method of data collection due to the nature of the research questions set (see Section 1.4.1). The aim was to establish the definitions of self, the images and the worldviews of the individual proprietors and how they also view their interactions, choices and practices. The methodological basis of the symbolic interactionist view which gave an orientation to this research is that 'the researcher has to see the world from the angle of the subjects' (Flick 1998 p18). Therefore, the voice of the individual guest house owner needs to be heard and appreciated in this way. A detailed justification for the interview approach adopted is provided in Section 4.3.5.

## **7.6 Recommendations for future research**

Building on the present study in future research, a comparable setting, in which the concepts and explanations may 'fit', will need to be found. The findings generated from interviews with guest house owners in the Dundee and Inverness areas comprise explanations and interpretations which are necessarily context-driven. These findings could be applied to new settings and compared with the findings of future studies employing either a similar or even a different approach.

It is important to stress that there are different analytic strategies available and therefore one can examine the same data set from an array of different approaches. It is therefore suggested, and indeed encouraged, that others approach the researcher to acquire the raw textual data for further analysis that may yield new and interesting

insights. It is also hoped that other research projects based on similar themes will build upon or make use of, where appropriate to the research questions, the data and findings of this research.

Chapter Six of this thesis outlines the findings of this research, which highlight areas that can also be explored in future studies. For example, the gender profile of those interviewed indicated that the occupation of guest-house owner-occupier is female dominated. A longitudinal study tracing any changes in the gender profile of those in this occupation over the long term would provide valuable and interesting data concerning perceptions and identities of and by those in this occupational category. Moreover, an interesting focus, although one which would undoubtedly raise ethical questions as it may require the use of methods such as covert participant observation, would be to explore the nature and/or extent of undeclared dealings or black market transactions by such proprietors. This could be related to an understanding of the perception of their status by some as tending to be marginalised. Although one proprietor willingly alluded to such practices (see Section 6.3.4), acquiring such information would be a difficult practical, ethical and methodological task.

More research is needed into determining the nature, characteristics and views towards their more informal business networks. The findings outlined in this research show that where proprietors run the guest house as a joint effort and have complementary roles with their spouse, there is less evidence of a need or desire to be part of a tight knit network (see Section 6.7.1). It would be interesting to determine whether future studies, examining a similar issue, will verify this finding in relation to other geographical locations or types of business proprietor.

## **7.7 Practical and policy implications and recommendations**

Small businesses, and indeed small service-sector businesses, are not homogeneous. This research has explored the case of the owner occupied hospitality business operating very much at the micro end of the small business spectrum. It has demonstrated the significance of lifestyle as an orientation for guest house owner occupiers. Consequently, policy makers should not ignore such types of lifestyle



hospitality businesses in favour of more growth-oriented SMEs. This is particularly the case for those bodies and organisations with responsibility for supporting small tourism and hospitality businesses and initiatives, and especially those identified by the guest house owner occupiers themselves (see Section 6.4.1). It is important that these organisations change the current need for proprietors to search out and commit to their procedures in order to receive their services, and initiate action in order to engage the involvement of the small hospitality business owner and view the business from his/her perspective. This is necessary, as the findings of this study show that the businesses are primarily used by proprietors as a means to achieving lifestyle oriented goals (See Sections 6.3.3 and 6.3.4). This process can only be successful if a profile of the characteristics of the typical individual proprietor is drawn up. The research goes some way to addressing this need. It also analyses the goals, orientations and individual backgrounds of the proprietors from their own perspectives. This knowledge is of specific importance to the tourism and related business support agencies, such as the tourist board and other accommodation grading providers, both at the national and at the local levels. The characteristics and goals of the proprietors should be recognised with allowances made for individual differences. This in turn provides rich insights into the nature of this type of business and contrasts with an approach adopting a more macro level business orientation defined in generic terms irrespective of the particular proprietor concerned.

This recommendation is not only a researcher derived interpretation, but has also been advocated by the proprietors themselves when interviewed, thus adding further weight to the need to take account of the individual 'voice' of the proprietor. One could argue that such a resource intensive approach is not warranted for entrepreneurs who are admittedly lifestyle oriented and lack any fundamental growth orientation for their businesses. However, such an argument can easily be countered because of the significance of these proprietors to the tourism sector. This is not only because of their number and the contribution which they make to the local economy, but also because of the image which they project of their location to the visitor. This can help to enhance its appeal as a holiday destination.

The findings show a perception held by the proprietors which indicates that organisations such as VisitScotland need to re-evaluate their approach to them and, as service organisations, ensure that they are perceived to be treating guest house operators also as their customers, in much the same way as tourists are seen by them as their customers. The needs and wants of these two categories of individuals are, of course, different and they must be approached from a different angle. However, both are clients, albeit playing different roles. It is important that proprietors perceive themselves as being provided with a service that they value and feel that they are actively listened to rather than dictated to. At the present time, the proprietors identify that there exists only a very poor and mainly one-way channel of communication between themselves and those key organisations which they see as important. This has resulted in the proprietors expressing feelings of distrust in the system as a whole.

Among proprietors who are members of the tourist board network, there was described a feeling that there was a closer association with, and a greater appreciation of, their local area tourist board compared to the tourist board headquarters located in Edinburgh. The notion of 'local' is significant for such proprietors. Any moves to collapse or reduce the number of area tourists boards in Scotland, about which there has been speculation in the media, could have a detrimental affect upon the views of proprietors, who are already doubtful about the value of membership.

The phenomenon of the travel lodges establishing themselves in increasing numbers was also identified by the guest house proprietors as a significant danger which threatens their existence, and indeed their economic viability. The effects of such business incursions have long been seen as an inherent feature of the largely brand-driven nature of accommodation provision in the hospitality sector. Nevertheless, due to the scale of the operation of these small-scale businesses, many were aware of key differences in service provision and gave examples of ways in which they could provide a unique or diversified service that mainstream branded corporations such as the travel lodge would struggle to provide. Thus, many respondents not only aired

their fears, but also their methods of combating such a threat. One could argue that these actions proposed by the proprietor are very much in line with an entrepreneurial spirit of creative thinking. Thus, the tourist organisations should explore the various means by which the industry could encourage processes whereby such entrepreneurial methods could flourish.

The social action contexts, in terms of membership groups, urban settings and the wider society, are taken as both influencing and framing the actions of these proprietors who nevertheless are key action initiators themselves and affect tourism development in Scotland. The proposition is put forward here that relevant bodies or organisations, such as VisitScotland, the respective councils and local authorities and even the Scottish Parliament, should take on board their views and the recommendations contained herein. This research gives a voice to those individuals who operate at the forefront of the Scottish tourism industry. It is proposed that it is important that their voices are not only heard, but also listened to. Indeed it is important to consider the views of all the proprietors interviewed, those who are affiliated with, and those who have no connections with, formal tourism organisations. Therefore, this research provides a means to access the views of the latter as well as the former. However, although there were common areas of opinion frequently identified, which were included in this research, the views expressed are always those of individuals. The guest house as a business is unique in that it is a reflection of the individual proprietor. These proprietors provide unique and distinct experiences for the guests. This is indeed an important element of the tourist's overall consumption of the destination. Consequently, the starting point of any attempt to understand the nature of the owner-occupied small hospitality business should be a focus on the views of its proprietor: therein lies the importance of this research.

## **Appendix One - The background research phase**

The sources from which details of relevant individuals were obtained, that allowed the researcher to identify the most appropriate persons to contact, were VisitScotland (formerly the Scottish Tourist Board) Information Sources, and the Carlton (1999) *Directory of Scottish Government 2000*, containing information about the relative councils. Contact was made with identified individuals and correspondence was entered into, either by letter or by e-mail where appropriate. This helped the researcher arrange open discussions that were organised around themes and topics introduced by the researcher. The information obtained from these key informants was used to direct the research, give it context and provide rich background knowledge. All such initial background research took place between August 1999 and April 2000. All discussions were tape recorded and fully transcribed. Those agreeing to take part in these open discussions with the researcher to facilitate the research inquiry were:

- **Brian Hay, (Scottish Tourist Board, Edinburgh)**
- **Fergus Ewing, (SNP MSP for Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber)**
- **Neil Innes, (Dundee and Angus Tourist Board, Dundee)**
- **Nick Johnston, (Conservative MSP for Mid Scotland and Fife Region)**
- **Alan Jones, (Culture and Leisure Services, Highland Council, Inverness)**
- **Maureen Macmillan, (Labour MSP for the Highlands and Islands Region)**
- **John Munro, (Liberal Democrat MSP for Ross, Skye and Inverness West)**
- **John Purvis, (Conservative MEP for the European Parliament for Scotland)**
- **Mary Scanlon, (Conservative MSP for the Highlands and Islands Region)**
- **David Stewart, (Labour MP for Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber)**
- **John Swinney, (SNP MSP for Tayside North)**

The researcher was given full access by the MSPs, with help from their assistants, to Reports on Tourism from the Scottish Parliament in 1999/2000. Access was also given to confidential responses to consultation documents which had been circulated in preparation for the *New Strategy for Scottish Tourism (2000)* which was going to be developed at this time. These responses were in the form of letters from private

individuals and business owners and, among others, included some guest house proprietors. Repeated visits were made to parliamentary offices in Edinburgh where copies of relevant documents were obtained. However, contact details of individual respondents or small private businesses cannot be listed or included in the thesis due to ethical issues of confidentiality. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that responses were also received from representatives of larger organisations, which included those from the respective city and regional councils, Angus and Dundee Tourist Board, HOST, the Scottish Tourist Guides Association, the Scottish Activity Association, Inverness College as well as from the four major political parties.

Articles from local and national newspapers referring to the two research areas were systematically collected and studied for relevant content between the period spanning August 1999 to February 2003. The newspapers included *The Inverness Courier* and *The Highland News*, the main Inverness-based local newspapers, and *The Courier and Advertiser* and *The Evening Telegraph*, which are the local newspapers for the Dundee area. Scottish national newspapers such as *The Scotsman* and *The Herald* were also collected. Other background research was carried out in the form of regular attendance at industry conferences and seminars such as the Scottish Tourist Board Industry Conference held at the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre (SECC), Glasgow, 12<sup>th</sup> October 1999.

## **Appendix Two - Interview guide/prompt script**

*Thematic Headings and Possible Questions:*

*Exploring Owner-Occupiers' Self Images/Images of Place/Definitions*

**Ownership:**

Are you a single owner or a partner of this business?

How long have you been running this business?

What did you do before setting up/taking over this business?

**Self Images/ Orientations:**

What influenced you in deciding to set-up your own business?

Why did you decide to run a guest house?

**Ownership Experiences:**

Describe a typical day for you running the guest house.

Do you feel that running this business has on the whole been a positive or negative experience?

Probe: Give me specific examples of positive/negative experiences you've had

How do you think you will feel about running this business in five years time?

As a result of your experiences what advice would you give to someone else thinking about running a guest house of this type?



**Location:**

Did you live in Dundee/ Inverness immediately prior to setting up this business?

Do you live in the same building that you use as a guest house?

Which aspects of your business location do you feel are most advantageous?

Why did you decide to locate your business in this part of the city?

Did you choose the premises specifically to set up the business?

How important do you feel Dundee/ Inverness is as a tourist destination?

**Size of Operation/ Space/ Home - Work interaction:**

How many rooms do you let out?

How many rooms are reserved for your private use only?

What rooms do you share with the guests?

Probe: Do you try and keep any areas separate from your guests?

Probe: How do you manage the close contact with guests and having time for yourself?

**Guests:**

What types of visitors do you cater for?

What do you think the guests think about your business?

## **Networking and Membership Groups:**

What methods, if any, do you use to formally advertise your business?

Are you a member of any formal organisations?

Do these help with the running of your business?

Are you a member of any informal groups, clubs or social networks?

Probe: Do you know any of the other guest house owners in the area? Do you meet or help each other?

Who do you turn to for advice or information about running the guest house?

What are your sources of business referrals?

Do you take part in an accommodation rating scheme?

What do you think about it?

How much control do you have over the running of your business?

## **Other Emergent Issues:**

Solicit any relevant additional comments and opinions

## **Appendix Three - Interview contact letter**

Address of researcher  
Address of researcher  
Address of researcher

Address of respondent  
Address of researcher  
Address of researcher

August 28, 2001

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am a research student in tourism at Strathclyde University and I am conducting a study on the views and opinions of guest house owners in different communities in Scotland. I am very interested in your views on issues relating to the ownership and operation of a small hotel/ guest house in Broughty Ferry. I am also interested in the reasons why you decided to set up your own business.

In order to help me with my research, I would be most grateful if you would allow me to speak to you in order to obtain your views and hear about your experiences as a guest house owner in the area. I will telephone you in the near future in order to arrange a date and time to meet you. This would be at your convenience and at your guest house.

I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to talk with you and thank you in advance for any help that you feel able to give me. I will be happy to share the findings from my research with you once I have completed my research and analysis.

I look forward to meeting you.

MariaLaura Di Domenico

## **Appendix Four - Interview thank you letter**

Address of researcher  
Address of researcher  
Address of researcher

Address of respondent  
Address of respondent  
Address of respondent

October 1, 2001

Dear xxxx,

I would like to thank you for taking time to speak to me on 11<sup>th</sup> September about your views and opinions of what it is like to run a guest house. It will be very useful in helping me with my research.

I am most grateful for your help and enjoyed hearing about your experiences as a guest house owner in the area.

Thank you once again.

Maria Di Domenico

## **Appendix Five - Emergent thematic coding framework/ index**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Master Code</b>	<b>Sub Codes</b>
The Nature of <i>Every Day Working Life</i>	<i>EL</i>	
Routine Nature of Tasks		<i>EL: RT</i>
Hard Work		<i>EL: HW</i>
Flexible Nature of Work		<i>EL: FW</i>
Time Controlled by Business i.e.; 'Tied Time'		<i>EL: TT</i>
Work Perpetuating/Reducing Feelings of Isolation/ Loneliness		<i>EL: I</i>
Assistance with Work Tasks		<i>EL: AT</i>
Host/Guest <i>Interaction and Notions of Space</i>	<i>IS</i>	
Active Distancing of the Self (Host) from Guests		<i>IS: D</i>
Willingness to Interact with Guests on a Social Level		<i>IS: I</i>
Presence of Guest Affecting Behaviour/Necessitating Behaviour Modification of Host		<i>IS: AB</i>
Perceptions of Guests' Behaviour/Host's Norms, Boundaries and Expectations (time and space)		<i>IS: PGB</i>
Perceptions/ Interpretations of Guests' Expectations/ Needs		<i>IS: PGE</i>
Relationship Between Lifestyle (Preferences/ Circumstances) and Nature of Work	<i>RLW</i>	
Lifestyle/ Work Complementarity		<i>RLW: M</i>
Lifestyle/ Work Conflict		<i>RLW: F</i>



Business Fulfilling Defined Lifestyle Needs/Choices	<i>BLC</i>	
Value Attributed to Business Needs/ Guests' Needs Versus Own Needs/ Personal Comfort	<i>VN</i>	
Occupational/Family Roles	<i>OFR</i>	
Role Complementarity with Spouse/ Other Family Member		<i>OFR: RM</i>
Role Conflict with Spouse/Other Family Members		<i>OFR: RF</i>
Biography/Life History	<i>BLH</i>	
Background in Hospitality Industry/Depictions of Previous Lifestyle(s)		<i>BLH: UL</i>
Previous Work Experience of Running a Small Business		<i>BLH: SF</i>
Other Previous Work Experiences		<i>BLH: OW</i>
Learning/Personal Development	<i>LD</i>	
Social Networks or Liaisons with other Guest house Owners	<i>SNG</i>	
Depictions of Tight Knit Network		<i>SNG: T</i>
Depictions of Loose Knit Network		<i>SNG: L</i>
Formal Business Networks/Contacts in Relation to Business	<i>FN</i>	
Depictions of Relationship With STB		<i>FN: STB</i>
Depictions of Relationship With ATB		<i>FN: ATB</i>
Depictions of Relationship With Other Identified Formal Business Networks		<i>FN: OFN</i>
Decision Not to be a Associated With Any Formal Business Networks		<i>FN: NFN</i>

Competition	<i>C</i>	
Views of Medium to Large Budget Hotel Chains (ie: Travel Lodges) as Source of Competition		<i>C: TL</i>
Views of Guest Houses as Source of Competition		<i>C: GH</i>
Views of Other Identified Sources of Competition		<i>C: OC</i>
Promoting Public Awareness of Business/Marketing Choices	<i>PB</i>	
Marginalised Voice	<i>MV</i>	
Emanating from Self: Lack of Interest in Involvement in External Authority Structures		<i>MV: S</i>
Emanating from Others: Feeling of Being Ignored by Those In Authority		<i>MV: O</i>
Unified Voice (eg: we/us)	<i>UV</i>	
Collective Identification as Partner/Family Unit		<i>UV:PF</i>
Collective Identification as Guest House Owners		<i>UV:G</i>
Collective Identification as Sub Group of Guest House Owners		<i>UV:SG</i>
Collective Identification as Inhabitants of Local Urban Area		<i>UV:IL</i>
Historical Comparisons: Changes to the Nature of Profession	<i>HC</i>	
Income/Business Type	<i>BT</i>	
Core Business Activity/Income		<i>BT: C</i>
Supplementary Business Activity/Income		<i>BT: S</i>

Geographical Context and Spatial Levels in Apportioning Business Identity	<i>G</i>	
Locating the Geographic Identity of the Business: District		<i>G: GID</i>
Locating the Geographic Identity of the Business: City		<i>G: GIC</i>
Locating the Geographic Identity of the Business: Region		<i>G: GIR</i>
Locating the Geographic Identity of the Business: Nation		<i>G: GIN</i>
Innovative/Striving to Meet Needs of Guests	<i>I</i>	
Use of IT		<i>I: IT</i>
Facilities for Disabled Guests		<i>I: D</i>
Other Methods		<i>I: OM</i>
Future Plans For Business and Self	<i>FP</i>	
Desired Growth/Expansion		<i>FP: G</i>
Desire to Maintain Current Level of Operation		<i>FP: M</i>
Desire to Cease Operating and Retire		<i>FP: CR</i>
Desire to Cease Operating and Take Up Different Type of Work		<i>FP: CD</i>
Researcher Role in Interaction	<i>R</i>	
Interviewer Empathic Response		<i>R: E</i>
Probing Response		<i>R: P</i>
Stereotypes/Gendered Identity	<i>SGI</i>	

## **Appendix Six - Examples of memos compiled during analysis**

MEMO: Flexible/ inflexible nature of work as possible reflection of view of stages of business development/ maturity. (April 20<sup>th</sup> 2002)

**Code EL: FW**

This was flagged up by respondents as although many expressed the flexible nature of the guest house in allowing them to undertake activities when they chose to, there may be a time factor in allowing such flexibility to evolve. This was expressed by D14 (p.7). Work had only become more flexible after years of inflexibility in trying to develop the business, carry out any necessary building/ renovation work and establish a client base. It was only once the proprietor felt that these had been achieved and that the business had progressed to what they saw as an acceptable and good standard that they could begin to have a more flexible lifestyle. At this stage in the development and maturity of their business they could now take a more relaxed approach and feel reassured enough, for example, to temporarily close the business in order to take a few weeks holiday when they wanted to.

This demonstrates two possible characteristics in the relationship between the proprietor and their business:

- 1) In the eyes of the owner-occupier, the business evolves through a life cycle or stages in development and maturity. This appears to be related to the length of time they have personally owned the business and the extent of internal refurbishing work carried out.
- 2) The initial feelings of the inability to get away from the business appear more acute where the proprietor defines their view of their guest house as more of a formal business enterprise rather than where it is a supplementary income or where they prioritise lifestyle enjoyment over optimum business performance.

MEMO: Routine nature of tasks. (April 18<sup>th</sup> 2002)

**Code EL: RT**

The routine nature of tasks is an important aspect of the daily operation of the business. It allows a deeper insight into the lives of the owner-occupiers and thus a better understanding of their daily reality. Thick description of these enables penetration into the repeated work these individuals undertake and, as a whole, the lifestyle they have adopted. The link between this code and the code 'Occupational/family roles' (OFR) is apparent as the negotiation or allocation of tasks affects their relationship with the business. Both should be examined for any links or patterns in the analysis.

MEMO: Time controlled by business i.e.; 'tied time' (February 20<sup>th</sup> 2002)

**Code EL: TT**

The concept of 'tied time' reflects the time that owners feel that their day is taken up by the carrying out of duties relating to the business. This may even consist of having to remain at home because guests have booked a room and have given an arrival time necessitating the proprietor remains at home to receive them.

'Tied time' are words taken verbatim from proprietors themselves who were seen to use this concept or part of it such as referring to the business as very 'tying'. Therefore such a code emerged from proprietors' views and it was decided that in this case the use of their own words best conveyed the meaning of this code.

It can be seen from the familiarisation stage of the analysis and from the interviews transcribed that there are links between some of the emergent codes. For example, it may be that there are associations between the codes EL: TT, RLW and IS: PGB. The charting/mapping and interpretation stages of the analysis should determine whether there are links between the different codes that may highlight important findings and associations.

MEMO: Formal business networks/ contacts in relation to the business: depictions of relationship with STB (May 7<sup>th</sup> 2002)

**Code FN: STB**

It would seem that membership value of, and the desire to belong to, the STB progressively reduces with the progression of the life cycle of the business as proprietors develop more informal ties and a steadily increasing client base. Therefore, it may be that the more mature the business and the longer the proprietor has been running the guest house, the lower the value or attributed worth viewed by the proprietor of the STB. This is indicated by several interviewees who say that the STB may help only if the business is struggling or if it has not built up a secure bank of repeat business. However, this refers to the perceived value of the proprietors and does not reflect the actual decision to halt membership as the grading scheme appears greatly valued as a brand or label of assurance by the proprietor, regardless of the length of business ownership and operation.



MEMO: view of what the business has given them in terms of transferable skills for working in another industry sector. (28<sup>th</sup> April 2002)

### **Code FP: CD**

It was interesting when reading the interview with D15 which dealt with a proprietor who was selling the business and wanted to continue working but probably in the form of some sort of office work. She stated that she wanted more time to herself and to look after her grandson. However, she didn't want to stay at home completely doing housework because she liked interacting with people. She refused to work for another hotel because of bad experiences she had had in the past.

Being in her fifties and having run the guest house for the past eighteen years she seemed afraid of a lack of knowledge and skills she perceived to be required in the 'outside world'.

This poses interesting questions about their perceptions of the work they do and how it compares to other types of paid work.

An important aspect of exploration for both codes FP: CR and FP: CD is why they would like to cease operating and sell the business. Of particular interest is whether they regard the business as having had an adverse effect on their lifestyle.

MEMO: Perceptions of guests' behaviour/norms, boundaries and expectations (time and space) 16<sup>th</sup> May 2002

**Code IS: PGB**

Guests are often seen more as guests visiting the home of the proprietor rather than as paying customers. This is shown by specific rules of etiquette such as no smoking, no returning to the guest house after a certain time in the evening, and no returning with visible signs of over indulgence of alcohol. The notion of space and the blurring of the boundaries between private space and public space are therefore evident in the mind of the proprietor. This code also relates the code VN (Value attributed to business needs/guests' needs versus own needs/personal comfort) in that the notion of the space as primarily a home and secondly a business appears evident with the needs of the proprietor and his/her partner/family therefore taking precedence.

## Code SGI

It became apparent, particularly when analysing interview D4 that a new code would need to be created to reflect the use of language by proprietors that illustrates a gendered view of themselves and others in their occupation. This would give an insight into their identities and whether commonly held traditional stereotypes are still held.

Therefore, by using such a code the analysis should aim to determine whether proprietors use language that signifies a gendered view of themselves and other guest house owners. It is of interest to see whether male and/or female proprietors use this language, and if so what form this takes. Specifically, the analysis should seek to determine whether such language use is indicative of:

- i. how the proprietors characterise their own and other proprietors identities in relation to gendered images or stereotypes and
- ii. how the proprietors use such language to show how they think others perceive them as an occupational grouping. Therefore, their views of the perceptions of the 'other' in relation to themselves.

This relates to Goffman's (1959) theory of the presentation of the 'self' of individuals within the constraints of occupational roles within the service sector, such as, the small hotel (see section 4.2.2). The actor therefore has a certain role expectation in relation to how they think their audience sees them and will thus engage in role modification as a result. Therefore, the proprietors may be trying to use gendered imagery to reject rather than reinforce its significance in the mind of the interviewer. It also relates to the literature on studies of such proprietors who tended to be female dominated such as Walton's (1978) analysis of the aptly named 'Blackpool Landlady'.

As the study reflects, although there are men in this occupation it still remains female dominated. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to determine whether, from the point of view of the proprietor as host, gendered stereotypes are seen to have changed over the past couple of decades.

MEMO: Value attributed by proprietor to the direct and associated needs of the business and consequently the guests, versus own identified needs. (May 25<sup>th</sup> 2002)

### **Code VN:**

I initially saw this as a prioritisation. (ie: the proprietor prioritises one need over the other). However, it became clear from reading the transcripts further that this was too simplistic a mechanism to develop the relevant code. The proprietor may prioritise *certain* needs of each type in *different* situations. Therefore, it became clear that the proprietors were attaching a *value* judgement to the relevant needs rather than prioritising them as such.

### **Example illustrating meaning rationale for code: VN**

A proprietor identified the activity of joining the Broughty Ferry Traders' Association (D15 p13). This could be useful for the business in terms of contacts and promoting the business. However, it is valued less than the necessary input of time required to join and thus the value of this form of business need is of comparatively lesser value to the personal need of time. Therefore, in terms of value attribution, the latter takes precedence.

**Code FN**

It is important to refer back to the questions posed in the literature review (chapter Two).

Does the use and more conscious exploitation of more informal social networks as well as the established formal agencies indicate a more entrepreneurial nature of such individuals?

Is it the case that there may be a greater degree of resentment towards actively participating in what are perceived to be more formal, bureaucratic institutions and linkages, than the more informal groupings of 'like-minded' individuals?

This may be the case. Although there is also indication that the owner-occupiers feel it necessary to be members of formal networks such as the VisitScotland due to what they see as perceptions of value on the part of the guests. This is despite the lower degree of value attached to membership in terms of actual bookings made in comparison to what they see as their own superior ability to attract guests. Therefore, this may indicate a lack of power or control felt by the owner-occupiers. They may feel constrained or conditioned into formal networking activities that lack the value they feel they should hold.

## Code G

Geographical and spatial context were important features of how the proprietors apportion identity and locate themselves. From the familiarisation stage it would appear that certain proprietors made geographical distinctions between where they were situated within the city to the rest of the city. This was seen for example in Dundee transcripts where proprietors differentiated the Broughty Ferry area from the rest of Dundee. Therefore, the initial codes devised were along the lines of:

- **‘Locating Identity Through Spatial Segmentation by District/ Area’ or**
- **‘Locating Identity Within the City as a Unit in its Totality’**

However, these classifications were seen to be lacking and required further development as there could be seen to be the apportioning or even more **levels** of geographical location of identity by the proprietors. There was not only spatial location in terms of:

- a) the district within the city and
- b) the city as a defined unit

There was also categorisation on the broader levels of region (Tayside or Highlands) and nation (Scotland). Therefore, the sub codes for the master code of **‘Geographical Context and Spatial Levels in Apportioning Business Identity’** developed into:

- Locating the **Geographic Identity of the Business: District**
- Locating the **Geographic Identity of the Business: City**
- Locating the **Geographic Identity of the Business: Region**
- Locating the **Geographic Identity of the Business: Nation**

Thus the levels of progression emerge as:

**Nation**



**Region**



**City**



**District**

**Code IS:**

Here I return to some of the questions posed during chapter two when looking at the interaction between the host and guest from the perspective of the host. These are:  
How does the host perceive the guest's impact?

It is important to determine whether there is any conceptual link to Goffman's theory concerning the negotiation or presentation of self. The guest's impact may be seen as constraining in terms of for example not being able to lie in, to wear what one wants when one wants due to their presence. It was felt that no codes adequately reflected such a perceived impact of the guest upon the host in the host's terms so the sub-code of 'Presence of Guest Affecting Behaviour/Necessitating Behaviour Modification' (IS: AB) needed to be added.

Does the host perceive the guest as dominating the host/guest relationship?

This does not appear to be the case. Although hosts feel restricted (ie: 'tied') to the business due to the actual or expected presence of the guest, the manner in which the relationship between both parties manifests is not perceived by the host to be dominated by the guest. Indeed, several hosts gave examples of 'house rules' and standards they expected of guests when staying in their guest house and home. For example these include the requirement that guests not smoke because the owners don't smoke themselves, and the expectation that guests not stay out too 'late' or make too much noise. Therefore, the inclusion of sub-code IS: PGB 'Perceptions of Guests' Behaviour/Norms, Boundaries and Expectations (time and space)' is aimed at encapsulating effectively these comments.

Memo: Purpose of business to owner as a '*dream*' versus a *practical function*. (4<sup>th</sup> September 2001)

### Code RLW

It is apparent that certain proprietors regard their businesses in a different light to others as the business appears to fulfil different needs relevant to each proprietor concerned. Some proprietors appeared more as proud hosts exhibiting their home in all its glory. The business almost seemed part of a dream that was being made reality and lived out. However, others appeared to take a much more functional approach focussing predominantly on income generation and appeared less interested in aspects of the business and home such as aesthetic décor, the garden and meeting new people and interacting with guests. It is of course too simplistic to identify these two extremes in terms of the purpose and innate value of the business to its owner, as there is likely to be a continuum with the business and home as dream as opposed to the business as a practical functional entity at polarised ends.



## **Code SNG**

Networks can be seen to operate as either tight knit or loose knit. This led to the development of codes SNG: T (Depictions of tight knit network) and SNG: L (Depictions of loose knit network).

Within the context of this study it appears that there are two main types of network that the proprietors may choose to be involved in. These are:

- The geographically-located network of other guest house owners or like-minded individuals in the immediate area or location of the business
- The web-based network whereby the proprietor is able to contact guests over the web or use the services of other businesses (this type of wider global network is not geographically bound).

However, the picture is more complex than merely identifying these two main network types. It appears that a number of influences determine the type(s) of network made use of. These are:

- The location of the individual guest house (ie: geographical proximity of other guest house owners)
- The desire (action) of the proprietor to make use of the network
- The maturity of the business and stage of business development
- The extent of links held with more formal organisations

## Appendix Seven - Examples of thematic matrix charts

**Matrix: BLC (Chart no. 1)  
Dundee**

Respondent	Thematic code BLC (Business Fulfilling Defined Lifestyle Needs/ Choices) Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom/control over business decisions (158/159)</li> <li>• Desire for increased freedom/control were the main orientations for setting up own business (158/159)</li> </ul>
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Childcare commitments and improvements required to home restricting working out with home (26/27) (29/30) (47/48)</li> <li>• Location of home/business fits in with needs of child (71-81)</li> <li>• Small size of business seen as manageable due to commitments of family/home (134-135)</li> </ul>
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to close business and go on holiday whenever desired (125/125)</li> <li>• Business located close to friends and family (235/242)</li> </ul>
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>'My lifestyle is nice here. It really is lovely.'</u> (178)</li> <li>• Location of business seen as beneficial for pursuing social interests and hobbies. (185/188)</li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Finds lifestyle and guest house easier than previous small business in the engineering sector. Likes living in Scotland as wife is Scottish. (33/38)</li> <li>• Prefers a guest house as a business type as guests come to the business location. This type of business is easier than previous job as a salesman having to go to customers. <u>'This is at least the one roof and people come to us. It makes it a lot easier.'</u> (39/42)</li> </ul>
D6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Childcare commitments restricting working out with home (21/23) (31)</li> <li>• Child's illness necessitated giving up previous employment out with the home (21/23)</li> <li>• Additional income provided by business used to support children attending university (58/61)</li> <li>• Running of business allows for proprietor and family to live in a larger property than would otherwise be the case without the guest house (74/75)</li> <li>• Location of home/business seen as good for bringing up children/nice area to live (125/126)</li> </ul>
D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feels that running of guest house fits in with lifestyle and is less demanding/tying than other types of small business such as shop/post office (251/253)</li> <li>• Fulfills identified needs of alleviating boredom/keeping busy. <u>'We did feel we needed something to do. We're not the sort of club type, the golf type, the bridge and all the rest of it...you know? That would drive us crazy'</u> (571/573)</li> </ul>

D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom/control over business decisions (94/96)</li> <li>• Ability to close business and take day off whenever desired (94/96)</li> <li>• Small size of business allows time to pursue other interests/ hobbies (585/590)</li> <li>• Freedom/flexibility provided by business to fit in with needs of children when they were of school age (730/733)</li> <li>• Business seen as important to self-identity as it enables proprietor to be more financially independent from husband 'it also gives me a bit of finan...financial independence as well. You know, I don't need to ask all the time if I want to do something or anything like that. So its quite important...nice' (755/757)</li> </ul>
D9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to work from home and fulfil childcare responsibilities 'they were all at school and it was something that I could do from HOME but still be there for the kids' (22/24)</li> <li>• Timing of guests arrival to check in fits in with childcare commitments 'occasionally you'll maybe get somebody turning up at lunchtime but mainly its between four and six...and my kids are older now anyway but I'd be in for the kids coming home from school. So it wasn't a big deal that you were having to sit in and wait' (336/339)</li> <li>• Business provides an extra source of income to that provided by spouse. This is seen as necessary to pay for children's expenses at school or college. (490/496)</li> <li>• Large size of property fulfils needs of family and social activities such as entertaining friends and family, as well as meeting business needs. 'because I've got this size house everybody comes here for Christmas day' (595/598)</li> </ul>
D11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has always wanted to run a guest house but felt unable to afford the financial costs of a large sized property whilst children were young.</li> <li>• Ability to now live in a large sized property due to business. (58/63)</li> <li>• Business located near to child's school and other amenities. Family needs restricted moving far from the area. 'we moved here about twenty years ago. So I knew the AREA...the children went to school here as well. My youngest daughter was still at school so it was more convenient...at dinner time she didn't have far to walk (laughs). So it's a good place as its near by and near the shops' (72/77)</li> <li>• Choice of location restricted due to location of husband's job and children attending school/university nearby (82/88).</li> <li>• Would like to run the business in a more rural location but feels unable to move due to family commitments and location of spouse's job.</li> <li>• Feels that business cannot be main priority as size too small to provide sufficient main income to sustain whole family in current style of living. (322/330).</li> </ul>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Running business for enjoyment as well as to make money. Profit not seen as the primary motive. Will not work hard if this overrides the enjoyment derived from running the guest house. Enjoyment derived from dealing with preferred type of guests. Need of self override needs of guests. 'I'm not doing this to kill myself just to stick a load of money in the bank...I'm doing it to make money but I also enjoy it. I only enjoy it because I keep the riffraff out and in general I'm getting nice people...' (487/489)</li> </ul>

D14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bought a <u>large property as desired a business</u> which could be run by herself and spouse as opposed to a smaller business. Views smaller <u>guest houses with only a few rooms as not being proper businesses</u>. <u>'it was just something to do TOGETHER...and we didn't want eh a one or two bedroom guest house you know like...for sort of like the lady to potter about in. I wanted MORE of a business, so that's why we bought such a LARGE house'</u> (29/32)</li> <li>• Ability to be in control of own work and control own working hours. Likes duality of the function of the property serving as a home and a business. Physical presence allows for needs and commitments of family and friends to be met as well as those of the business. <u>'you work for yourself which is...which is great. Em...it suits me because I'm at home but I'm IN my home. So its nice being at home plus its your workplace...its mainly not nice for a lot of people but it is for me because I've...now that we're getting a bit older now we have people for meals and the family come down. And I'm not out at work. I'm HERE. I'm not OUT working. And then I've got all day to do what it is I have to o rather than set hours'</u> (69/79).</li> </ul>
D15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business fulfilling wants of family. Daughter given the basement, which gave her privacy, a lot of space and comfort. This was only made possible due to large size of property bought to run the business. <u>'so it was just like a wee flat down the stair...a wee bed sit. So she had her privacy down there as well...em, I would say it gave her a good, a comfortable life.'</u> (400/402)</li> <li>• Running of business and personal life seen as overlapping in terms of time and space. Differentiates the running of a guest house in this respect to the running of a small business such as a shop with more defined set hours. <u>'you're still in your house sort of thing like but its part of your life six o'clock until ten, eleven o'clock at night'</u> (406/410)</li> <li>• Business used as a means of promoting social interaction. Business fulfils need of meeting people and alleviates loneliness. <u>'you know you're in the house all day. I know the neighbours on both sides, the detached houses, they've both got young families and I know they work so the chances of me seeing anybody really during the day...you know not that I really see anybody but if you've got guests coming you've always got them to speak away to'</u> (665/673)</li> </ul>

**Matrix: BLC (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code BLC (Business Fulfilling Defined Lifestyle Needs/ Choices)
I1	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guest house not seen as a feasible option whilst children were young due to the perceived time commitments. When children were older and left home it became attractive. <u>'it wasn't something that was practical while the children were still growing up. If we were going to bring them up properly...our two boys...we'd have to devote our time to them, so they didn't end up being a menace to society. It was only after that we were free to do what we wanted to do a bit more.'</u> (36/40)</li> <li>• Waited until the children left home before starting up the business. (45/48)</li> <li>• Felt that the appropriate time to start the business was when children had left home. <u>'Also the house would have felt really empty...like an empty nest, as they say, you know so it was a good time to start'</u> (54/57).</li> <li>• Location of business desirable for personal/lifestyle reasons <u>'we decided to buy this property as it was in the right location for us. A place where we wanted to live'</u> (104/105).</li> <li>• Location fulfilling both business and lifestyle needs. <u>'we thought location wise it was ideal for the business...and a nice place to stay for us'</u>. (109/110)</li> <li>• Freedom/control over business decisions. <u>'I've got total control, don't I? That is the joy of this sort of business. You're in control and can do it as you want. You don't really need anybody to help...or to hinder you, as the case may be.'</u> (210/212)</li> <li>• Running of business seen as a way of life. (310/311)</li> </ul>

I2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Small size of business seen as desirable. Previously owned a hotel and wanted a smaller business due to perception of less stress and responsibility and no need to employ staff. 'We wanted a smaller business. We had always worked in the hotel trade as I said. We had a hotel in Strathpeffer which we ran for quite a few years. We wanted to try something, which didn't have as much responsibility and was less stressful. Yes, downsizing as they say (laugh)...</u> <u>I: Downsizing?</u> <u>You know going in for a smaller business with fewer worries such as staff to think about...we wanted something that we could manage together' (52/60)</u></li> <li>• <u>Small size of business seen as manageable. (73)</u></li> <li>• <u>Small size of business preferable as fits in better with lifestyle. 'Yes, the right size ...and we are much happier now. The last place was just too big and too much work. This one fits in better with how we feel our way of life should be...that is we are not run off our feet and going spare about staff issues. We used to feel that we had no time at all for ourselves...we were getting too stressed...it was just too demanding' (80/86)</u></li> <li>• <u>Small size of business allows more time for relaxation and social activities such as spending time with friends/family. 'it's still demanding but more manageable now. We are just busy enough just now and we fit other things in.</u> <u>I: Such as?</u> <u>Oh, you know, family and friends and such like ... and just spending more time doing what we want to do even in the house ... relaxing a bit more ... although it is still a lot of work. You get used to that the longer you run a business' (90/97)</u></li> <li>• <u>Property chosen as desirable as both a business and a home. (205/207)</u></li> </ul>
I3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Business enables flexibility and freedom of choice in terms of working hours and effort. (50/56)</u></li> <li>• <u>Business not seen as a very profitable venture but more as a means of social interaction and enjoyment. The ability to deal with the presence of strangers in one's home identified as a crucial determinant of success. 'I am happy with what I'm doing. It's not one of those things that you go into to make money. You have got to enjoy meeting people; you have got to cope with the ups and down which go with it. You've got to be able to cope with having people in your house. You've got to be prepared to accept all of that, but if you just come into the business to make money out of it, then it is not the business to be in. You will never make a fortune out of it' (61/66)</u></li> <li>• <u>Freedom/control over business decisions such as when to open and close the business and which guests to allow to stay. (218/221)</u></li> <li>• <u>Own needs and priorities focussed upon. Running business from home allows for more time to be spent with family. 'I just want to be left alone and get on with my business and my family. It suits me to have my business in the house and not go out to work. It means that I can spend more time at home and with my husband and children...so. On the whole, I try not to worry about other things but just focus on what matters to me' (268/272)</u></li> </ul>
I4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Set up business in order to be able to spend more time with family and to live in a nice location (23/25)</u></li> <li>• <u>Working from home seen as preferable in facilitating the needs of work, home and family. (28/30)</u></li> <li>• <u>Ability to work from home and fulfil childcare responsibilities. (34/37)</u></li> <li>• <u>Personal control over business decisions. (46/53) (61/62)</u></li> </ul>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Running of business fitting in with family and childcare commitments. (32/33) (287/288)</u></li> <li>• <u>Personal control over business decisions. (204/206)</u></li> </ul>

16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care commitments of <b>handicapped child restricting working out with home</b> (63/66)</li> <li>• <b>Running of business fitted in with childcare commitments whilst supplementing the family income.</b> (70/71)</li> <li>• <b>Business allowed he flexibility needed to undertake part-time study with the open university.</b> (254/256)</li> <li>• <b>Business used as a means of promoting social interaction. Enjoys running business and views money earned as a benefit.</b> (330/332)</li> <li>• <b>Retired from previous profession and wanted to run a business jointly with wife. Guest house therefore seen as most suitable option.</b> (25/27)</li> <li>• <b>Working from home fitting in with childcare commitments.</b> (27/31)</li> </ul> <p>Enjoys working from home. Business used as a means of promoting social interaction. Business fulfils need of meeting people and alleviates loneliness. <u>'People complain about the long hours, but I'm an at home person anyway so I don't mind. I quite enjoy being at home. When I get a bit fed up, then I just don't take people, but it is a negative side, being quiet during the winter. That is the negative side for a person like me who wants to keep busy and likes company'</u> (55/58)</p>
I10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Business seen as exciting as something completely new and different to previous professions.</b> (24/27)</li> </ul>
I11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Dual function of property as both home and business holds benefits as less expensive than running a business from a separate location.</b> (46/49)</li> </ul>
I12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Business facilitates living in a large property in a desirable location.</b> (33/34) (38/41)</li> <li>• <b>Financial return from business small yet does cover costs of household bills and expenses.</b> (32)</li> <li>• <b>Enjoys meeting people and uses business to facilitate social interaction and interest in people from different cultures.</b> (59/66)</li> <li>• <b>Working from home facilitates need to care for elderly mother.</b> (150/152)</li> </ul>
I13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Business facilitated living in a desirable area suitable for bringing up children and close to a good secondary school</b> (254/259).</li> <li>• <b>Family costs reduced due to business. 'If there is anything over like food then I'd use it for the family</b> (836/837).</li> </ul>
I14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Property initially used as a family home and then guest house opened as facilitated helping with husband's business as could be available to answer phone calls for both businesses.</b> (16/22) (33/34)</li> </ul>
I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Large size of property provided more space for family than previous home</b> (183/190).</li> <li>• <b>Flexibility of business and freedom/control to take time off whenever desired 'its certainly given us a better lifestyle as well because unlike a larger hotel business we can take a weekend off. I don't want to work EVERY weekend you know.'</b> (417/419)</li> </ul>



Matrix: BLH: OW (Chart no. 1) Dundee

Respon dent	Thematic Code BLH: OW (Biography/life history: Other previous work experiences) Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>'I worked for Marks and Spencers and I had long service and so I could take early retirement at fifty' (26/27).</u></li> <li>• <u>Before opening guest house worked part-time in previous job due to family commitments. 'As I say I worked with Marks and Spencers and after I got married I went back to work part time' (464/465).</u></li> </ul>
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Worked as a teacher for fifteen years (28).</u></li> <li>• <u>Worked as an engineer prior to becoming a teacher (32/33).</u></li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Ran a small business in engineering but gave it up as it was not profitable and decided to open the guest house (33/34).</u></li> </ul>
D6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Used to work in a school nursery (27).</u></li> </ul>
D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Worked as an engineer and then retired. Retirement was found to be boring and so the business was started to occupy time. (80/81).</u></li> </ul>
D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Used to be a hairdresser and did not enjoy that profession and did not have any other qualifications so thought running a guest house/bed and breakfast would be the best course of action. (495/497).</u></li> </ul>
D9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Worked in building societies but found running the guest house more compatible with lifestyle due to child care responsibilities. 'I'd worked in building societies before but I didn't really want to you know...have a career of that. And to be honest it wasn't really worth my while because I would have had to have child minders and I had to pay for child minders for the two years I was still working...so' (25/28).</u></li> </ul>
D10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Worked as a navigating officer in the merchant navy but gave that up as got married. Worked in the motor industry but disliked it and was keen to run his own business (21/28).</u></li> </ul>
D11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Worked in a textile factory before opening the guest house (475/477).</u></li> </ul>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Worked as a self employed flooring contractor for twenty seven years before opening the guest house (15).</u></li> </ul>
D15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Used to work as a function waitress for a hotel company. 'I'd worked in the hotel and it was long hours there so sometimes I didn't get maybe home if there was a function on...home till maybe back of two at night. Its long hours. But the difference here is that you're up early in the morning and then by ten o'clock I was ready for my bed. And then you're up and its seven days and if its lie that week after week you just feel 'oh I wish I was just be able to get a long lie' (633/638).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: BLH: OW (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code BLH: OW (Biography/life history: Other previous work experiences) Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference
I1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have always worked in the hospitality industry. <u>'in our case it has been a way of life as we have been in the hospitality trade all our lives'</u> (31/32).</li> </ul>
I3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to work as a nurse but decided to run the guest house as it was seen to be less stressful and fit in better with lifestyle needs. <u>'I was a trained Nurse and I was working but I was getting really disillusioned with the health service so I thought that what I had to do was get out of it and into something else. I really needed to get out of it for my own sanity. So when we bought this house it was with the idea that I would eventually give up my work and I would do bed and breakfast and that was what happened. In fact, it was after six years that we made it habitable and set up the business. It took a lot of effort but I am glad that we made it'</u> (33/39).</li> </ul>
I4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to work for a railway company. Prefers current profession as the business has allowed for a better overall lifestyle. <u>'I used to work in the railway for several years and had a very stressful job. I shudder when I think about it now! When I got the chance to leave and had enough money I thought to myself that it would give me the chance to be at home and work from home in a place I wanted to be. This is much less stressful as I do not have to juggle between my work and home and family'</u> (26/30).</li> </ul>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Previously worked in the computing industry (55/57).</li> </ul>
I7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to work as a sea captain in the navy. After retiring, running a guest house was seen to be the best option as it could be run jointly with wife (25/27).</li> </ul>
I8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to be a secretary but wanted a profession that would not be as structured and inflexible. <u>'I did secretarial work down south and I was just so fed up of working to the clock, all day every day so I thought, right, I need a change. I had always fancied running a guest house and here we are doing it'</u> (30/32).</li> </ul>
I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prefers control over working hours and lifestyle provided by running the guest house. <u>'I worked very long hours in my last job em...very long hours. Its not the best salary as you know. Em...its just something that you get used to. But I'm actually working tonight for the hotel that I used to work for (laughs). I think partly because its just to see the people I used to work with and to keep my hand in a wee bit. Its Christmas time so they're bogged down with Christmas parties. I just go in and help with service and that and then that's it, I leave. So its quite nice just to leave when I can rather than be there until three o'clock in the morning, up at eight o'clock you know... that's the kind of shifts I'd be doing'</u> (236/243).</li> </ul>

**Matrix: BLH: SF (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

Respondent	Thematic Code BLH: SF (Biography/life history: Previous work experiences of running a small business) Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Currently runs two businesses: A restaurant and a guest house. The accommodation side of the business was opened after running the restaurant for some time (74/75).</li> </ul>
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Previous experience of running a small hospitality business as owned three pubs. 'I had in my younger days three pubs in Dumfries' (548).</li> <li>• Opted to buy property in current location rather than Berwick. Now regrets decision due to recent rise in property prices in the Edinburgh area (204/210).</li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Previous work and small business experiences seen to help with running of guest house as a similar outgoing personality seen to be needed in all service sector professions. Sees the running of a guest house as preferable to other professions which involve physically going to the customer rather than vice versa. 'Yeah. It helped. Well, you need confidence in front of people and selling gives you confidence. You've got to be a confident, outgoing person. The only similarities as I've said are meeting people and it has helped but in all honesty I find this is more comfortable because people are coming to you. You know, so if somebody knocks at the door there's a good chance that they want to stay and have a room here but if I knock on someone's door selling something and the answer's no we're ok today then you've got to go away and knock on somebody else's. No, we're ok today. So its different in that respect. People are coming to me. Instead of me going to see customers. So that's a big difference. But basically it's the same job of selling yourself to the potential client (156/164).</li> <li>• Wife has previous experience of running a guest house and encouraged the idea for them as a couple when his previous business was not profitable (31/32) (124/125).</li> <li>• No personal previous experience of running a guest house. Relied a lot on knowledge and experience of wife when first started the business as wife has prior experience of running a guest house. Thought that running a guest house would be easier than a different type of small business. 'basically I didn't know how to do anything else other than that which I'd been trained for...and we thought it would be an easier option than trying to find new customers for engineering and welding and so on. I'm glad to see the back of it. I'm a lot more relaxed' (447/452).</li> </ul>
D6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owned and managed a tourist souvenir shop for six months in Pitlochry before opening guest house. Found the business very difficult in terms of profitability as it was very seasonal with custom mainly restricted to the summer months (116/120).</li> </ul>

D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Owned and ran a guest house in Banchory before moving to current location. Prefers current location of business as previous business suffered from seasonal variation in demand. <u>First of all, we had a really nice place in Banchory. It was a big old house that had been used as a family home and em it was very difficult to get started in the bed and breakfast business because of course you've got to have the space...have the rooms. Of course nowadays buildings aren't built that way so we had to find an old place that would suit it and we managed to find that place in Banchory. And I spent three or four months converting it into a guest house putting in all the wash basins and doing the electrics. Well, it kept us busy so we just got on with it, putting in the carpets and doing all the décor and all the rest of it. Eventually we opened up as a guest house and it was fully booked over the summer. Packed out in the summer but during the winter there was nobody there. And em we had about four months didn't we? For the tourist season' (85/94).</u></li> <li>Found from previous experience that the business was heavily reliant on the success and presence of tourist attractions and other businesses in the area. Location proved to be vital in terms of business success and profitability. This was the reason why previous business was sold and business in current location bought. <u>'Well it depended on the castle being opened and what not as it was closed by the end of October. It's a vicious cycle because if people don't come then places won't stay open and if people know nowhere will be open then they don't come. (laughs) so... we couldn't win so we did it for a few years and counted up, you know, where we were. All the money we made during the summer would get used up during the winter on just running the place, expenses and on heating and things for such a big place. Its just not worth it. Its fine if you're doing this just as a hobby and you're not interested in making money but it was hard work as well, you know constant work. So we did figure that we should make something out of it for the effort we put in' (99/107).</u></li> </ul>
D9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has no previous work experience of personally running a small business. Prefers the ownership and power of running a small business, but feels that due to that there is greater responsibility and hard work in comparison to working as an employee (34/36).</li> </ul>
D13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to own and run a pub but decided to sell it and run the guest house as he wanted a less time consuming business. <u>'I had a pub before...It was too much like hard work you know. You were working twenty-four hours a day. You were never going to...bed...short a the same time you came up...So I had an offer for that and then I sold that and built a house and then I decided on this' (23/29).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: BLH: SF (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

Respondent	Thematic Code BLH: SF (Biography/life history: Previous work experiences of running a small business)
I2	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to own another hotel but decided to move and open the guest house as it was seen as a business that would be easier to run and fit better into their desired lifestyle. <u>'We wanted a smaller business. We had always worked in the hotel trade as I said. We had a hotel in Strathpelfer which we ran for quite a few years. We wanted to try something, which didn't have as much responsibility and was less stressful. Yes, downsizing as they say. It isn't as hectic as the hotel, where we always had to have the bar open on time, and closed on time and we were always clock-watching and watching the staff ...but it is demanding in its own way' (396/400).</u></li> </ul>
I12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to own and run a newsagent and a restaurant. <u>'Well... We had run various other forms of businesses, we had a shop, I was a newsagent in Carrbridge for fifteen years, but I also had a restaurant and a newsagency and I was getting too old to do all of that so we sold that business' (23/25).</u></li> </ul>

113	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Owned and managed a small souvenir shop. 'I always...when I think about it the first job I ever had was in a restaurant, a summer job in a restaurant. That was with tourists and that was in Mull. That was back in the seventies and there seemed to be a lot more people about...maybe you just think that way...and the-en I worked in a shop in Inverness...again that was touristy. It was a busy city shop in the summer time. And then I went and opened our own shop in John-o-groats, touristy' (228/236).</li> </ul>
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**Matrix: BLH: UL (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code BLH: UL (Biography/life history: Background in hospitality industry/depictions of previous lifestyles)
D5	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lives in a smaller house than was previously the case before starting the guest house but willing to compromise personal comforts for business needs as prefers current overall lifestyle. 'Where we lived before we had a nice big bedroom and a nice big bathroom and this is a smaller bedroom and a smaller bathroom. So we've had to give up a little bit of our comforts but at the end of the day we've got to look at this as a business as well and em we've got the benefits of having both a business and a very comfortable home' (323/327).</li> </ul>
D6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Grew up in the hotel industry so knew what it would be like to work in the industry. 'I've grown up in the hotel industry. My family has always done it...well, fourth generation of hotels. My parents ran a hotel and then I had run it successfully before for a year but a friend had run a guest house here and I guess we used to come down for holidays in the summer...they knew what the business was like and em they wanted to sell so that was it...there is a lot of money to be made' (69/73).</li> <li>Does not find it an intrusion living in the same property as guests as this has always been the case due to upbringing. 'Well...I think because I don't know anything different because I grew up in a hotel then its different...I mean a lot of people I know say that they couldn't do it. But I haven't known anything else. I haven't lived on my own or had a house without guests but...I suppose with my children its they same but they haven't complained...they don't know much different either' (79/83).</li> </ul>
D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Was aware of the nature of the industry as used to help mother run a guest house. (514/529).</li> <li>Found the business fitted into lifestyle and childcare responsibilities. 'Granny used to let out a couple of rooms and what not, you know, but she wasn't into B&amp;B. And as my mum retired and that she said to me "do you want it?" And, well, seeing the kids were young and what not I thought it was handy because I'm at home with the kids being at school and that' (17/20).</li> </ul>
D9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parents owned hotels when she was young 'my Mum and Dad they had hotels before so I was kind of brought up in the industry or the trade or whatever' (17/18).</li> </ul>
D10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Father owned a hotel when he was young 'A hotel. Yeah up in Sutherland. Up in the highlands. He bought that in 1947 and I grew up there. I went to boarding school and he wanted me to then follow him into it...you know? At that time when I was younger I just couldn't bear the thought of being stuck in the Highlands for the rest of my life so I went away to sea. And that was it' (36/42).</li> <li>Knew what running a hospitality business would be like due to upbringing. Vies it as part of his social life as well as work and source of income. 'I enjoyed my time up there because the hotel is really your social life up there. I enjoyed it and I still enjoy it' (46/48).</li> </ul>

D14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Grew up in the hotel industry so knew what it would be like to work in the industry. <u>'I've been brought up in the hotel trade since I've been a child. My grandparents had the Tayview Hotel on the Broughty Ferry main road in Dundee and ever since I was about five, six years old and I was brought up in that environment and my Dad had a pub in the centre of Dundee and my uncle had a hotel in Kerriemuir. So we're...it was a hotel type family...now I used to help my gran and everything and I'd be doing it myself you know (laughs) so I think its maybe in me and it's a type of business that I just don't even have to think about...don't have to try at. It just kinda comes natural' (50/60).</u></li> </ul>
D15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to work as a function waitress for a hotel company. <u>'I'd worked in the hotel and it was long hours there so sometimes I didn't get maybe home if there was a function on...home till maybe back of two at night. Its long hours. But the difference here is that you're up early in the morning and then by ten o'clock I was ready for my bed. And then you're up and its seven days and if its lie that week after week you just feel 'oh I wish I was just be able to get a long lie' (633/638).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: BLH: UL (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Thematic Code BLH: UL (Biography/life history: Background in hospitality industry/depictions of previous lifestyles)</u>	<u>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</u>
I1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have always worked in the hospitality industry. <u>'in our case it has been a way of life as we have been in the hospitality trade all our lives' (31/32).</u></li> </ul>
I3		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mother ran a bed and breakfast and so was aware of the nature of the profession before opening the business. <u>'it was something that I had always wanted to do. You could say that it was a type of pipe dream of mine. I had no illusions about it. In fact, I was brought up on a farm and my mother did bed and breakfast so I knew exactly what I was letting myself in for' (30/33).</u></li> </ul>
I6		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has been running the guest house for over thirty years and it has become a way of life. <u>Has never worked in another industry or in a different profession (278).</u></li> </ul>
I9		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Grew up with parents running a small hotel. <u>Expected to do the same. 'Plus my parents had a small family hotel. It was in Carnoustie, and I kind of liked the idea. My mother was very successful at it, and I knew basically what I was going into, so it wasn't a shock when I started' (31/33).</u></li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Due to upbringing has been able to run the guest house with confidence and was aware of what to expect and what it would entail. <u>'It's been positive in as much as I knew when I started that I would be successful, because having had parents that ran a successful family hotel, I knew how to set up and I knew basically how to get involved' (42/44).</u></li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>'This may seem terribly arrogant but I haven't had to turn to anyone...I rely completely on myself. I remember the way my mum used to run the hotel and she was very successful. Whenever I stay at hotels myself I just pay attention to what I like and then I try to do it in my own way here. So I really haven't sought too much advice at all. I don't even discuss it too much with the family. I just do what I think is best' (152/156).</u></li> </ul>
I11		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have always worked in the hospitality industry (26/31).</li> </ul>
I13		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to work as a waitress in a restaurant (228/236).</li> </ul>

I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has always worked in the hospitality industry and knew what would be involved. 'I've been involved in the hotel industry for many years in management positions and...I started off on a hotel management course...cooking and everything... Yes. Didn't come into it blind at all. And em I've always wanted my own business and em a guest house seemed like a good idea' (53/59).</li> </ul>
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**Matrix: C: GH (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code C: GH (Views of Guest Houses as Source of Competition) <b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Found other proprietors a bit cautious of providing help and advice and perceives this to be caused by a fear or feeling of competition. 'When I first just joined this I thought 'well I must join the Tourist Board'. Right. And I did that. And I found them at the beginning very helpful. I found them eh...quite reliable in as much as if you ask them something you can get the truth...whereas, if you asked people who were already in the business...they'd tend to be a wee bit hedgy you know. Because they didn't want to think you're going to steal all their business' (579/584).</li> </ul>

**Matrix: C: GH (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code C: GH (Views of Guest Houses as Source of Competition) <b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifies other guest houses as a source of competition. 'When we first started we got a lot of business all the year round, but now there are so many other guest houses that are advertising that our share is getting smaller and smaller' (159/162).</li> </ul>
I7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resents people who convert their home into a bed and breakfast over the summer months but only take one or two people in, thus avoiding paying business rates. 'I think that everyone who puts up a board should be licensed. A lot of people just put up a board during August, everyone who does this should be licensed and I think they should also have a fire license. I think it is six people that you need to have a fire license for...I don't know if they are all paying business rates you see, I think they should. It's unfair to the rest of us who do everything right' (337/342).</li> </ul>

**Matrix: C: TL (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code C: TL (Competition: Views of Medium to Large Budget Hotel Chains )
	<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Threat of recent developments of budget, room only hotel chains. Two proposed budget hotels to be built in Dundee seen as direct competition as vying for the same market. Tourists/potential guests not seen as discerning /differentiating between the guest house and chain hotel accommodation. This has increased the perceived threat posed by them. The budget chains are also seen as a threat to members in her informal network group. Concerned that others in her social network do not acknowledge this threat. <u>'The problem you have in the Ferry is that there are so many forty pound a night big places that are just being built. You know, places people will stay in just for the bed? There's going to be one built in the Ferry and there's to be one... well the one in the Ferry has a question mark. But there's going to be one at the docks as well. Now that's going for the normal tourist end of the market and that's our end of the market. I'm talking about me and everyone else on this road. But the others can't see it. You know, they're like oh the tourists will come. I think why should people come. I mean when they've driven all the way from Leeds and they hit Dundee and the first thing they see at the roundabout is a big sign for a big hotel saying bed and breakfast, and mean why should they not stop and go there for the night. I mean why should they go further' (675/685).</u></li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Budget chain operators such as the Travel Inn group are acknowledged for providing good quality accommodation. However, the drawbacks and differences of this type of accommodation to the guest house experience from the guests' perspective is highlighted. <u>'Travel Inn were quite good because you got a good standard of room but that was very impersonal. You were a number and there was a restaurant across the way and you had to pay extra for your breakfast and that got to forty odd pounds. Its okay if you're getting a family room but not if one of us was travelling' (364/367).</u></li> </ul>
D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifies budget chain hotel operators as a source of competition. <u>'I presume we are affected by the travel inns and travel lodges. We don't find it too bad here but there must be some effect because they're always making special offers, two for ones, deals like that. So they must attract a lot of people' (325/328).</u></li> </ul>
D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifies budget chain hotel operators as a source of competition. <u>'I used to get travellers and that but since all of your, like, travel lodges opened you don't get the reps and that. But when I first started I used to get the reps and that as well' (60/62).</u></li> <li>• <u>'to...I've been affected by the travel lodges for the reps and em people stopping off because I'm not really on the main route' (67/68).</u></li> </ul>



D9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Identifies budget chain hotel operators as a source of competition. 'yeah...the only ones we class as the opposition are the travel lodges. There are too many of them and they've sprung up in a very, very short space of time. And they're really, really...well, initially...its not so bad now em but they initially did really hurt us because they were...I think they probably still do in some respects because I've lost or we've lost em...when we first came most of us would...obviously we'd have people from the universities here and such a high proportion of students are Irish. We'd get A LOT of Irish families. We don't get that now. Because I think...I mean I know that when we go away the first thing we look at is a travel lodge'. (278/285)</u></li> <li>• <u>Finds it difficult to compete with the prices charged by chain operators and therefore has to be more innovative in terms of methods of still attracting visitors. 'I mean there are some ways we can compete with them which Ann was saying em this morning...she was saying "did you see the Courier on Saturday"...and I said "no I don't think I did". And I don't know if it's the Belltree, the one along there and they're advertising twenty-one pounds a night for a room. Now that could be a family and we can't compete with that. There's just no way. Em BUT if its twenty-one pounds for a single person we can still compete with that because for twenty-five pounds, which is what I would charge for a single, they're getting their breakfasts for that...up there you have to pay for your breakfasts on top of that so there are ways that we can you know compete. And if it is just one guy and they're having to pay...their normal rate which is forty-five or something and again NO breakfast then we can easily...'(293/302)</u></li> <li>• <u>'Well, I'll tell you when I did get worried. It was when the travel lodges opened up. I was really quite depressed about it because for us it was really quite quiet all year. And at that point, that was one point that I thought of packing it in...because oh I thought I'll never you know survive this. And I suppose because we weren't affected by foot and mouth up here...'(510/514).</u></li> </ul>
D10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Identifies larger hotels and budget chain operators as sources of competition which force them to keep prices low and include breakfast. 'There's the Park Hotel. Our biggest competitor here and we have to keep our prices competitive because when a lot of people hit Dundee there's the Travel Inn and there's the Travel Lodge, then they have the Premier Lodge and then there's the Park Hotel, all who are advertising a relatively cheap room for the night. And lets face it they are good facilities and it's a good deal of forty pounds a night. Not for a single but maybe for a family, things like that, albeit you don't get breakfast...things like that. We have to keep to that because they get all these people before they arrive here and knock on our door' (289/296).</u></li> </ul>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Identifies larger hotels and budget chain operators as sources of competition but stresses the advantages that a guest house has over such providers from the point of view of the guests. 'A lot of people you know when all these travel Inns started they seemed quite good. You can get a few people in the room and its only forty pound or whatever it is you know. But then you've to add your breakfast. I had a guy who came here for instance, he came here from eh ...Stoke-on-Trent where eh the Mitchellin factory, where they make tyres. That's their main offices down there and they have a factory here. And he came up. He was here for three weeks. He was booked into one of the Travel Lodges up in Kingsway there...and after three nights he was passing here on his way to the factory and he came in and he says 'I was wondering if you've got a room?' he says 'I'm booked in this Travel Lodge for two and a half weeks' he says 'its hell'. He says 'they take people in all hours of the night, so you could be lying there in your bed sound asleep and two o'clock in the morning some people arrive' (1139/1149).</u></li> </ul>

D13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifies budget chain hotel operators as a source of competition.</li> </ul> <p>I: <u>So you wouldn't think of doing more than that or expanding or?</u>  R: <u>Na-a. there's a lot of hotels opening here as well. They're taking up quite a bit of trade. There's maybe five or six in Dundee now...and they're sort a competing with us because you can spend forty-four pound or something in them and you can get two kids in them as well.</u>  I: <u>Travel Inns?</u>  R: <u>Yup. Travel Lodges, Travel Inns'. (146/155)</u></p>
D14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifies larger hotels and budget chain operators as sources of competition but stresses the advantages that a guest house has over such providers from the point of view of the guests. Emphasises aspects such as 'home cooking' and the idea of staying in someone's own home as an important differentiating factor which all guest houses should promote. Narrative is presented in terms of a collective guest house identity with proprietors who should promote a certain unified image. <u>'I think the main thing is quality. Like with breakfast. There's no point serving up cheap sausages...like sometimes I put potato scones on, black pudding or mushrooms and tomatoes on one day and mushrooms and beans on the other. You can vary it... With people staying a couple of nights anyway. Em, the presentation of the breakfast is important as well. Some of the Travel Inns and Travel Lodges serve greasy pre-cooked, pre-heated...Its disgraceful and they charge seven pounds ninety-five. That's the main advantage we've really got. Guest houses serve fresh home made cooking...A good home-cooked breakfast. I think that maybe has a pull for people to come to a guest house. So that's a bonus. And you're not charging them for an extra pot of tea...things like that. And if your breakfasts are excellent then you'll get a lot of people back because of that. You'll also put a lot of guest houses ON the map because if you didn't have that then the Travel Lodge would take over' (515/526).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: C: TL (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

Respondent	Thematic code C: TL (Competition: Views of Medium to Large Budget Hotel Chains )
I1	<p><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regards budget chains as competition but feels that guest houses and other small businesses contribute more to the local economy and encourage tourists to stay in the area longer and therefore should be supported better. <u>'what we are doing is marketing and providing more facilities. So hopefully trying to keep people here in the town and where they will spend more money in the local economy of Inverness. These Holiday Inn type places are very much a one-night bed thing. And they are not really doing much for the local economy. They are not doing anything for Inverness because they are simply encouraging people to stay one night and then go. I think, if that business was transferred to Guest Houses and B&amp;Bs in Inverness who offer better services then people would stay longer in Inverness' (323/330).</u></li> </ul>
I6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Views the budget hotel chains as an increasing source of competition but identifies advantages the guest house holds over such forms of large businesses. <u>'Travel lodges.</u>  I: <u>What do you think about these?</u>  R: <u>They are competition, of course, for us in many ways. There are three in this area and that's plenty. It's very difficult because they've each got 40 rooms and that's quite a lot of people. Some people like the anonymity of it. Others like to come and meet the locals and they are the ones who come to places like this. As I said though, they have become more demanding over the years' (105/113).</u></li> </ul>

17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Views the budget hotel chains as an increasing source of competition but identifies advantages the guest house holds over such forms of large businesses. <u>They want cleanliness and a friendly atmosphere, and to be provided with information. That is the only thing on our side against those holiday lodges! There there's nobody to speak to. They check in, the person at the desk has hardly any time to speak to you, and that's you. I thought those travel lodges would be ideal for business people because they charge forty pounds a night, no breakfast included of course, but they say they are too expensive. They're getting over charged. They're not worth it, so these people are coming back to guest-houses. We have stayed in them, just for a night. But you don't get breakfast, you have to go out of the place to get breakfast, or an evening meal. I was saying just that quite recently to a friend of mine who runs a guest house' (184/192).</u></li> </ul>
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Views the budget hotel chains as an increasing source of competition but identifies advantages the guest house holds over such forms of large businesses (115/119) (375/377).</li> </ul>
113	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thinks that budget chain operators would be the first choice of visitors due to brand and ease. <u>'There's one Travel Lodge and Holiday Inn opened a new one a year ago. I've had people coming here who say 'well, we normally stay in a travel inn but they were full' so they do tend to fill up firstly. We had a businesswoman stay here once that always stayed in travel inns but when she came up to Inverness they were all full. Further south I suppose they'd be more of them. So she then had to start looking for somewhere to stay' (635/640).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: C: OC (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

Respondent	Thematic code C: OC (Competition: Other Identified Sources of Competition)
D15	<p><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifies pubs that are diversifying into providing accommodation as an additional element to their businesses as a source of competition which did not previously exist. <u>'there's getting more competition, like when we first started none of the pubs in Broughty Ferry had rooms, accommodation, like 'The Fort', 'Jolly', em what's the other one... 'The Fisherman'. None of them, but now they must think 'well, there's money in accommodation' so it gets harder and harder really' (290/293).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: FN: STB/ FN: ATB (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

Respondent	Thematic Code FN:STB/ FN:ATB (Formal business networks/contacts in relation to business: depictions of relationship with STB/VisitScotland and respective Area Tourist Board)
D2	<p><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Inability to attend courses run by VisitScotland due to fear of losing customers resulting from physical absence from business. Regards business as too small to benefit from STB resources. (112/114)</li> <li>Feels that the VisitScotland has improved over time possibly due to competition from other bodies such as the AA. View of lack of choice: no option but to be a member of the VisitScotland . <u>I think the STB scheme is better now than it used to be. I find that when I first started they were awful picky. I didn't like that at all. I found them really patronising...the officers. I didn't like them at all. But I was in it. You know, I did it because I had to... after time went on I think they probably had more and more competition. The AA and whatever. I have noticed an improvement over the years. They're much better. I mean they would do things and I would sit and think how silly it was. You know, telling me how to do something that was really common sense. They're much better now' (161/171).</u></li> <li>Feels that the focus on quality control and grading by the VisitScotland has improved standards generally in the industry. (181/190)</li> </ul>
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resents ten percent fee charged by VisitScotland for making an accommodation booking. (324/327) (327/334)</li> <li>Appreciative of the advice given by the tourist board to use a visitors' book (89/93)</li> <li>View of VisitScotland grading scheme as inconsistent and lacking in clarity. Feels that there should be clearer comparison of standards across businesses. <u>'I think its good because if you go anywhere now they're looking for the same category as you. So, the majority of people are looking for that now. Sometimes, the tourist board gets on all our backs and I'm sure Sharon will tell you the same when you speak to her. I mean they come into your house and they seem to have rules for one person and rules for another. They want you to have cotton buds and cotton wool in your rooms and shampoo and all this which you do. The four of us were in Oban and were speaking about this because we went in the tourist board and I got the tourist brochure and picked some places out of there. Three of us took the train from Fort William to Mallaig and we booked into a three star in Fort William and it was lovely. They'd just moved in about three years ago and it was all done up. But when we went into the room, I mean the tourist board had graded them three star, there were no cotton wool buds and no shampoo' (379/392).</u></li> <li>View of grading scheme as inappropriately subjective and conditioned by the tastes of the individual grading officer. <u>'its so annoying because they walk into your house with a clipboard and you're working so hard and you're doing a lot of things. They looked at the valence and they were looking at the flap and the pleat. I mean, its clean and its hanging there. They'd say its too creased' (395/398).</u></li> <li>Views the grading process as subjective (430/433).</li> <li>Dissatisfied with VisitScotland which is seen as overly critical and distant rather than helpful. <u>'There's limitations and they can come along with their clipboards and they can pick on wee silly nickety pickety things and you think well you're working hard and they're just finding silly wee faults, you just don't know what way they're looking at it. But I must admit I'm not enthralled with the tourist board. I find at times that they're not on our side to be honest. You know they're taking money off you and then coming along and finding faults instead of helping you. As far as we're concerned our business speaks for itself and we don't need them to be honest' (434/440)</u></li> </ul>

D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Identifies self as at the frontline of the industry. Sees the VisitScotland as too theoretical/detached from practical business reality. 'when I go to the tourist board meetings I tend to be very quiet and just sit and listen and when I hear verbal diarrhoea being spouted I can't help it I've just got to come in. I've just got to. I just can't believe because its different when you're at the tip of the arrow' (285/287)</u></li> <li>• <u>Acknowledges own responsibility and that of other proprietors as well as that of the VisitScotland to try and attract visitors. (290)</u></li> <li>• <u>VisitScotland inspection seen as rigorous but overly bureaucratic. (607/705)</u></li> <li>• <u>Not interested in attending tourist board meetings as feels patronised due to simplistic content. Resents stereotypes perceived to be held by VisitScotland that proprietors are not good at running a business. (751/758)</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels alienated by tourist board as they are seen as not relating to or understanding the needs or background of guest house proprietors. (751/758)</u></li> <li>• <u>The VisitScotland is not perceived to appreciate the knowledge, skills and background of proprietors. 'you can't treat people as all the same thing. So they should sit back and think who have we got? What experience have we got? Because not enough of that information is tapped.'</u> (762/770)</li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Views VisitScotland web site as useful in reaching potential customers overseas. Acknowledges the significance of the internet as a marketing tool. (189/197)</u></li> <li>• <u>Agrees with the use of the VisitScotland system of a star rating being awarded to individual proprietors rather than businesses. Wants to upgrade current three star rating but is cautious as concerned that guests' perceptions may be affected which could adversely affect the business. 'I'd like grade four or grade five. The only way to get that is to put in en-suites. I think increased standards would make it...I mean its already a very attractive place but we intend to do that over the next few months. But thinking about it I probably wouldn't want to go up too high because then perhaps people would then think the price will go up as well. So we don't want to be at a level that we're then unable to attract the sort of people that we are at the moment. But I think we could do with upgrading the place'. (234/245)</u></li> <li>• <u>Regards VisitScotland brochure as poor value for money as perceives its ability to attract guests out with Scotland as very limited. Feels that advertising on the internet is better value and is the way forward for promoting the business. (389/397)</u></li> <li>• <u>Sees the VisitScotland as poor value for money as disappointed with lack of guest referrals. (407/410)</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the VisitScotland grading scheme is rigorous and provides a useful benchmark for guests. 'We're a three star bed and breakfast, I mean guest house, and I think the rating is very thorough. I'm pretty sure that's rigorous. It appears from the way they work with the three stars that it provides a certain amount of assurance to people as they can be sure of what they're getting when they stay in a three star'</u> (403/405)</li> </ul>
D6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Holds membership of the VisitScotland . (105/106)</u></li> </ul>

D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sees the VisitScotland as poor value for money as disappointed with lack of guest referrals. (490/492) (504)</li> <li>• Disappointed with VisitScotland membership but continues due to advertising. (486/490)</li> <li>• Feels that has no option but to be a part of the VisitScotland grading scheme as desires the accreditation recognised by guests. Feels that grading standards are subjective and vary from business to business. <u>'Well, we've got no option. You know, you've got to be graded and that's that. They came and had a look at the place and said we were three star. Well, there's other places up and down that don't have any en-suite accommodation or any off street parking. They are also three star. And they never seem to be able to explain why. It really does mark us. We asked how we would move from three star to four star for instance. He said 'oh well you'd need better wall paper, better carpets' and this and that carry on. And towelling robes in every bedroom. But we're not trying to be four star hotel or anything. That's something they don't seem to appreciate'.</u> (506/519)</li> <li>• Feels that the advertising of businesses could be improved and there should be better planning/management. <u>'They're alright I suppose the tourist board. I suppose they can't send people to us unless they get them. But I do feel that their advertising could be better. Definitely. They're nice people that work in the office but it's the organisation from the top. This is it. There's no steering from the top.'</u> (533/547)</li> </ul>
D9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feels that particular district of Broughty Ferry is neglected by the promotional literature of the VisitScotland which tends to focus on the city centre. (231/234)</li> <li>• Feels that contacts with other guest house owners in the area are more beneficial than the service provided by the VisitScotland. <u>'but...we kind of all work together here in the Ferry. We kind of look after ourselves because the Tourist Board aren't always all that good'</u> (226/227)</li> <li>• Resents inability to solely be a member of the area tourist board without also being a member of VisitScotland in order to receive grading assessment. <u>'I've always been a member of the local tourist board, but to get your grading you've got to be a member of the Scottish Tourist Board...you can be a member of your local tourist board on its own but then you don't get...they'll come and inspect you but then you don't get a grading on your plaque and things like that.</u> (687/691)</li> <li>• Vies membership of the VisitScotland as holding few benefits to the business apart from advertising and the grading inspection. Does not feel that the benefits received equal the money invested in membership. <u>'but I don't feel that in a normal year you get an awful lot for your money.'</u> (699/708)</li> <li>• Helpful advice was received from the VisitScotland concerning the standards required to have a disabled facility grading. (850/854)</li> </ul>

- Resents fees charged by the VisitScotland and inability to solely be a member of the area tourist board without also being a member of VisitScotland in order to receive grading assessment. 'The local tourist board I've no real complaints about them. Em...I think they possibly do very well off us by the time we pay our fees to them and then we pay the Scottish Tourist Board which we HAVE to because if we don't pay them then we don't get to join the...the area tourist board and then they're taking ten percent off every booking you're getting so they do fairly well off us as well you know.' (353/357)
- The tourist board is not perceived to appreciate the knowledge, skills and background of proprietors. Does not attend events organised by the tourist board as the content of these are seen as too simplistic as feels that business skills necessary are already held. Does not want to be told or taught how to run own business. 'they do a lot of training modules and you know...and business breakfasts and all sorts of things like that but I personally don't need to attend them because eh...without being big headed about it I don't think that they can really teach me anything that I need to know...that I don't know...you know?' (367/370)
- Sees the main value of the tourist board referral system during slow rather than busy periods. Acknowledges that guests may have been referred by the tourist board without their overt knowledge. 'the Tourist Board ARE good for filling that odd room in between because they phone up at the last minute and say 'we've got somebody in the office looking for a twin room for the night. Have you got it?' And you can say 'yeah'. So they are good in that respect although this particular year we've had very few...although to be fair you get business which you don't know has come from the Tourist Board...So we probably get MORE than we give them credit for. And also you're getting people off their website as well' (376/387)
- Views the grading system as unfair as different grading criteria is used for businesses defining themselves as a guest house as opposed to a bed and breakfast. Businesses with more than six bed spaces are seen as penalised. 'I find the Tourist Board grading scheme where they differentiate between the guest house and B&B an unfair grading eh because we...I mean for instance if I class myself for instance as a bed and breakfast eh I would have three stars but as a guest house I get one star. Now I'm quite happy with one star you might say...I don't have to do an awful lot to get...to make it to two stars...I mean hair dryers in the rooms and putting in a few razor plugs in and I could get it up to two stars. But I'm not really particularly interested because eh I have people who look at it and they say 'right its got to be cheaper or more competitive than the Moat Houses'. But had I been a B&B I would have three stars...but as soon as you go over six people eh you become a guest house.' (652/667)
- Feels that the system of tourist board classification does not work and is ignored by members running similar businesses. Therefore, this renders it unfair for those working according to the rules. 'But it doesn't work. A lot of people that I know who run B&Bs take eight or nine people...BUT they are doing this on the quiet because as soon as you take more than six people the fire regulations kick in...you see?' (665/667)
- Does not feel that guests are able to differentiate between a guest house and a bed and breakfast and thinks that the layman sees these as broadly equivalent. However, this is not reflected by the grading scheme which classes a bed and breakfast as having no more than six bed spaces and therefore penalises larger businesses.  
'I: and do you think that visitors know the difference between a B&B and a guest house?'  
R: That's my argument. They don't. Half of them don't know. They see guest house, B&B and they think same thing. And that...I mean I know this guy who as I say has got three stars as a B&B...em if he was a guest house he'd have one' (669/674).

D11

- Inability to attend courses run by the tourist board due to fear of losing customers resulting from physical absence from business. Does not feel that tourist board meetings provide any new or worthwhile information that is not already known. (232/236)
- Does not understand why the tourist board concentrates on marketing to golfers as a niche market as not much business is derived from this. 'They...they seem to be concentrating on the golf side of it. I mean we don't really get many golf people...But I suppose we don't specifically advertise in the golf brochures as I haven't seen any real point.' (125/134)
- Does not feel that the benefits received equal the money invested in membership. However, concedes that advertising is useful and tourists often use the tourist board as the first point of contact (241/255).
- Resents the system whereby a charge for bookings is made by the tourist board. 'if you get a booking from the tourist office they take ten percent off right off the booking...which I don't agree with. I really don't. Not for the tourist board...I think really the tourist board shouldn't charge...us' (263/271).
- Feels that the tourist board do not have a sensible label or brand. Feels that there should be fewer ATBs or just one tourist board for the whole of the country. 'I mean they've done the thing of calling themselves VisitScotland, as all one word small letters...I noticed lately its been capital 'V' and capital 'S' which looks a bit better...a bit more sensible...I mean I know its meant to be a web address...I don't know...there's all this talk now about reducing the number of area tourist boards...it was bad enough when they put Dundee and Angus together...I don't know how they'll work it out...I think it'll be terribly unworkable...unless they just have the one you know like the one for the whole of Scotland or else just have a few other essential ones' (505/514).



- Found membership of the tourist board particularly useful when first opened business. Feels that they gave impartial advice unlike other business owners who may have been initially cautious due to competition. 'When I first started this I thought 'well, I must join the tourist board'. Right. And I did that. And I found them at the beginning very helpful. I found them...eh...quite reliable in as much as if you ask them something you can get the truth whereas, if you asked people who were already in the business...they'd tend to be a wee bit hedgy you know. Because they didn't want to think you're going to steal all their business' (579/584).
- Regards the tourist board grading scheme as unfair and subjective as criteria seem to differ from business to business. 'when you go upstairs you'll see my rooms have Dornoch curtains, everything matches...everything. The carpets are eighty percent wool, twenty percent nylon which is good hard wearing stuff...the showers are expensive showers I've put in...eh...the woman across the road's fine...I get on with her husband, they're a nice couple...but everything's cheap and cheerful. Now they gave her three stars and they gave me three stars. And I have two rooms en-suite, she'd nothing en-suite. And the other room of mine's a private bathroom. Yet you go over there and you would be sharing with eight people...now you're gonna tell me that's the same? Not in a million years is that the same' (671/679).
- Resents inspections and grading system as feels they are determined by the personal subjective tastes of the individual inspector. 'Now I've a daughter who's an artist...some of her stuff is hanging up in some of the rooms. I have a water colours on the stair case there by a very famous artist in Dundee who's done a lot of stuff for the royal family. In fact there's one of them out there, they're all originals... that one (indicates with gestures) was a lot...it cost me three thousand three hundred pounds. Now there's a lot of people would love to own that. Right. Now its hanging on the wall. I got it. I bought it about eighteen years ago...this one that was in the room was about that, it was...it was done with silk...I don't know a lot about art. If I like it I like it, if I don't I don't. This was all done with silk and it was a house and something. And seemingly it's a work of art. It was done by an Edinburgh artist...I don't know...she criticised it. this girl from the Tourist Board. And I says 'well art is in the eye of the beholder' (686/700).
- Feels that the tourist board inspectors are less objective and tactful than the AA inspectors (718/722).
- Acknowledges that business may have been derived from the tourist board that proprietors are not aware of and therefor no credit is given (1185/1190).
- Feels that the business would be just as profitable without the help of the tourist board. The tourist board was valuable during the initial stages of starting up and running the business but its value has decreased as the business has matured. Does not feel that the tourist board can show him how to do basic household tasks. 'But...I find now that I can get on fine without the Tourist Board. Initially eh but then once...there's not an awful lot to learn in this game you know? its not like a trade where you I mean they're always doing courses for eh forty pound, sixty pound, eighty pound, how to cook a breakfast and all the rest of it. I said to this guy once, I says 'you know my wife is an absolutely excellent cook and baker. She really is. She's one of these people that if she does something it has to be done properly. Even in the office, she's a Scots law accountant and she cannot abide people who can't file things properly or can't finish the job off'. And I says 'and my mother, my mother used to bake for any family having birthday parties or any parties.' I says to this guy 'so if my mother and wife between them couldn't show me how to make a bit of bacon and eggs and mushrooms then you certainly can't'. I says 'so its just a bloody insult to my wife's and my mother's cooking'. But then they're gathering in money, opening these courses...show you how to Hoover and clean around. Anyone can do that'.

D13

- Found membership of the tourist board particularly useful when first opened business but its value has decreased as the business has matured. 'But initially you needed them didn't you...for the initial bookings...aye...to set yourself up. I used to phone in everyday initially but its been a waste of time...they just phone you up when they need you' (248/255).
- Feels that there is a lack of transparency with the tourist board referral system which is open to misuse. 'the tourist board...do you know how they choose what guest house to ring up?...Its supposed to be on a rota but they maybe have their favourites. I'm not making allegations against them but it is open ta corruption...My friends eh niece...her friend was working there not last summer, the summer before and we got an awful lot more phone calls (laughs) and I just thought that was...quite a coincidence you know? 'Cos Vicki just happened to mention to this girl that her aunt's friend had a guest house and we'd seen them...they were always full. They're supposed to do it on a rota. Nobody really knows...its meant to be fairly distributed' (280/292).
- Inability to attend courses run by the tourist board due to fear of losing customers resulting from physical absence from business (738/742).
- Feels that for the small size of the business the tourist board charges for advertising and membership are very high and it is seen as a high risk to pay when there is no guarantee of a return by increases in guest numbers. (213/218).
- Feels that requests made by the tourist board to small businesses are unrealistic and don't take into account of their day to day operational nature. 'Na...The Tourist Board do special promotions for that. That's just silly. I mean they want your prices for the 2009 Rider Cup and everything. That's how silly they get...ten years ahead with what will the prices be. You don't know if you're going to be alive. (laughs)' (394/400).
- Concerned about the current state of the industry with the apparent demise of tourists and consequent closure of businesses. Does not believe tourist numbers as reported by the tourist board. 'a lot of the guest houses are going down. The lady that delivers the Tourist Board leaflets when I answered the door she said "are you still a guest house?" ... because the previous four that she'd been to had stopped doing it...that wasn't just in Dundee' (401/409).
- Feels that the grading scheme is subjective and down to the subjective opinion of individual inspectors. Feels that a lot of the inspectors are unreasonably harsh and probably have had no experience of running a guest house themselves. Feels that certain criteria are over prescriptive and are impossible to achieve with a Victorian property (437/457).
- Feels that the grading system is unfair as there is a lack of comparability (754/756).

D14

- Resents charging system whereby ten percent of bookings made by the tourist board are retained (405/408).
- Finds staff in the local information office helpful in terms of proving information leaflets for guests (409/414).
- Values being on the tourist board web site but would like a link from there to a personal web site which shows more detail and images of the house and family. Feels that the tourist board web site is too impersonal. (414/424).

D15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Feels that the change in grading system from crowns to stars will have confused the public (248/251).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the tourist board should provide greater financial help to small business proprietors, especially during the early stages of starting/setting up the business. Acknowledges that a grant is available but that proprietors have to continue to operate for at least five years or the sum would need to be repaid. Feels isolated. 'that is one bug bear I don't think with the Tourist Board. They don't give you enough financial help. You know THEY want you to do EVERYTHING yourself. And if you're starting off it could be, it IS quite hard as you've got to do a lot to your property and they don't give you any financial help and even with that grant em its over the five years so if you sell the place they could have the money back for the grant' (266/271).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the tourist board standards are unrealistic 'if you know you wallpaper your rooms it looks lovely and everything like that but if somebody scratches a suitcase or something like that you know that's it damaged' (279/287).</u></li> <li>• <u>Concerned about the state of the tourism industry due to factors such as the aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup>. This fear has been enforced by the tourist board's decision to cut membership fees by fifty percent for the last two years (435/440).</u></li> </ul>
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**Matrix: FN: STB/ FN: ATB (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

Respondent	<p><b>Thematic Code FN:STB/ FN:ATB (Formal business networks/contacts in relation to business: depictions of relationship with STB/VisitScotland and respective Area Tourist Board)</b></p> <p><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Regards membership of the tourist board as holding limited value. Desire for the brand of the star rating is the main reason for continuing membership. 'in terms of people knowing we are registered with them and have their stamp of approval...we can use their brand. However, that is probably all...not much else' (168/180).</u></li> <li>• <u>Regards membership of formal tourist organisations useful purely for obtaining a star grading (210/213).</u></li> <li>• <u>Only retains membership with tourist board due to benefits of advertising. Resents and resists attempts by the tourist board to standardise or what are seen as attempts to control the way the business is run. 'the tourist boards themselves, whether they may or may not bring people in directly, as I said, there are I suppose a lot of people that are coming via the tourist board...through their web-site or brochure. They see the tourist board site and brochure, so there's obviously a lot more people using the Internet. That is why I stay with them...for that reason only...not that we want interference...It gets very annoying when you get the tourist board trying to dictate all the time what you can and can't do...although we've nothing to hide and we're proud of our standards' (218/224).</u></li> <li>• <u>Refuses to lower prices as feels that a good standard of service is provided. The tourist board grading scheme is used as a mechanism to reflect this. 'I think grading is good up to a point. I think grading is useful because if you are going away somewhere, you want good quality for a fair price. If you want good quality you have got to be willing to pay the price for it, obviously without being ripped off, no matter what you're buying, a pair of shoes, a jumper whatever, it's the same. If you want to pay eighteen pounds a night, don't come to me' (230/234).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the tourist board should not try and diversify too much away from the traditional tourist image of Scotland. 'they want to see Loch Ness or the Castles. It's a very important part of our heritage and I don't think enough is made of that. I think the tourist board recently tried to get away from the heather and tartan image, but you are never going to get away from that because that is what Scotland is all about. That is what people want to see... I think we should be proud of the Scottish traditions. That is the image, which is projected all over the world' (264/273)</u></li> </ul>
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12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regards <u>the tourist board referral system as holding limited value as guests seem only to be referred during the busier periods when occupancy levels are high anyway (293/296).</u></li> <li>• <u>The majority of business is derived from word of mouth, passing trade and repeat visits. Few guests are referred by the tourist board (308/312).</u></li> <li>• <u>Only retains membership with tourist board due to benefits of advertising and for the grading. Feels that business would be just as successful without holding membership. 'I don't think the STB is even something that we really need. I think we would get along just as well without it, because we would still get the business if we weren't members. It is really just the grading that we like it for ... nothing much else' (269/274).</u></li> <li>• <u>Only maintains membership for the grading as wants to have a symbol representing quality that is recognised by guests. Feels that this makes a small business more legitimate and alleviates possible fears by the public that standards may be poor, especially where the business is being run from an individual's private home and may therefore appear less professional. (278/285).</u></li> </ul>
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Feels that there is no option but to be a member of the tourist board as it is like a monopoly with the tourist board facing very little competition in terms of grading and recognition. 'It's a catch twenty-two. No matter what you do or where you go, HOST keeps getting mentioned. Basically, it's a very closed shop.' (154/155)</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that HOST does not take proprietors views into account and ignores the small business owner. Thinks that the tourist board should be more proactive in improving tourist numbers rather than using 'excuses' such as bad weather or foot and mouth. (136/142).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the grading criteria are too high and unrealistic. Targets are seen to be changing and changes are not seen as being communicated effectively to members. Only retains membership for the visibility of being quality graded. 'According to the Scottish Tourist Board classification and grading you should be constantly up-grading, you should be constantly replacing. There is not a year that goes by that you cannot do anything. You have to be doing it constantly. And each year they are looking for that bit more. They set the targets and each year the targets are different, but they don't tell you. In all honesty I would not be a member of HOST or STB because they do nothing for you, but so many of the sites you look at on the Internet, you have to be seen to be classified and graded. This year we are getting to the stage that you look at a lot of sites and a lot of the places you see tourist board four star now coming out of HOST. They are losing members right, left and centre. You pay all this money for what?' (327/336).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the costs of advertising with the tourist board are too high and that the system is unfair whereby all businesses, regardless of size, pay the same advertising rates. Feels that the way ahead is to develop personal web sites. 'The really annoying thing about it is that they are increasing their advertising costs by a hundred percent, but it costs me exactly the same as it does for the Marriott Hotel or the Palace Hotel. For them to advertise in the brochure it's exactly the same as what I am paying. Now I feel so strongly about that that it just doesn't bear talking about. So up until this year that was the method of advertising. This year, I went on to the Internet at the start of this year and I would say that apart from repeat business, ninety-nine point nine percent of the business I have had has been from the Internet. It seems to be the only way' (125/136).</u></li> </ul>

14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resents what is regarded as <u>unhelpful and inflexible bureaucracy</u>. Considering discontinuing membership due to <u>experiences of liaising with tourist board</u>. <u>'They come out and stay with you overnight and have breakfast. That was what happened to me the first year I was here and that was fine...everything went okay, considering I had only been in a month when they came. But this year, I asked them to come after the refurbishment in the hope that I would be up-graded to a three star, and because it wasn't a sneaky visit and because they didn't experience my hospitality they couldn't give me it, so I've spent twenty thousand pounds and still got only two stars. That's wrong...very wrong. So I was really angry with that to the point that I'm considering not joining next year'</u> (261/276).</li> <li>• Feels that <u>membership of tourism organisations holds most value during the early stages of running a small business</u>. <u>'especially when you just start up and you don't know very much about anything or how to go about getting visitors to come'</u> (240/241).</li> <li>• Only maintains membership for the grading as wants to have a symbol representing quality that is recognised by guests. Feels that the tourist board holds limited value in terms of actual guest referrals. <u>'They help by the fact that I'm Tourist Board affiliated and people like that if they come to the door, and they know that the place has been checked over and it's up to standard. But I haven't had business from the tourist board to cover what I've paid in membership so I'm not really sure about the Tourist Board at all'</u> (252/255).</li> <li>• Feels that grading inspections focus on faults and do not give enough credit for strengths. The tourist board is not seen as understanding the constraints facing the small business owner. May withdraw membership in the future as feels that an established client base will be built up by then and there will be little need for the tourist board. <u>'I'll maybe give it another year and then not join again...because I'll have built up a clientele by then...I hope anyway...The only comment they made when I first moved in was that there were previous owners and some of the stuff had been left and that I was using linen and towelling which did not match. So that was fair enough. I could understand that because I hated it myself, it was horrible. But this year, it has taken me two years to build up my bedding and towels. It all matches now. You can't do it all at once because it's too much money. Now the whole house matches. It's completely carpeted...new carpets throughout, which are all the same...I've got one bathroom on the top floor which hasn't been decorated yet, because I'm waiting to knock that into an en-suite room and that's the one they picked up on. They never said anything about the rest of the rooms. They are just looking for flaws and when I complained about it, they said we can get someone else out to see it if you like but it'll cost you another hundred pounds for the privilege'</u> (279/292).</li> </ul>
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regards the tourist board referral system as holding limited value as guests seem only to be referred during the busier periods when occupancy levels are high anyway (157/159).</li> <li>• Feels that the tourist board is not marketing Scotland effectively. <u>'I would say that I am not impressed at all by them ... As far as I'm concerned they don't market Scotland properly. They don't have a clear idea of what will attract tourists.'</u> (180-182)</li> </ul>
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Values grading but thinks it is unfair that people are able to open a guest house without being forced to have to be quality graded. <u>'they have to tighten up on their regulations. I think that they're right on fire precautions and inspections and things, but there's a lot of people who avoid paying'</u> (312/319).</li> <li>• Only maintains membership for the grading as wants to have a symbol representing quality that is recognised by guests (204/216).</li> <li>• Receives few guest referrals from the tourist board (219/221).</li> </ul>

17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Prefers the internet as a medium of advertising as opposed to paper based methods. Also likes the internet as people can see the individual nature of the business and its owners (282/287).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that there is a lack of transparency with the tourist board referral system which is open to misuse. 'The general feeling is that, with the TIC's, unless you have got an Aunt working there, you are not going to get very much business. Anybody that goes in there and they are wanting accommodation for the night, I think they have got the set ones they ask. I know that if we get a phone call, then Inverness is full up. That's the general feeling, rightly or wrongly, that's how we feel about it. It seems to be too cosy an atmosphere. There's something wrong with it. They need a rocket up their backsides!' (292/298).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that grading is useful but just as important in terms of business profitability is having a niche and being regarded as good value according to the grading held. 'It's better to keep it at the top end of the three star than be at the bottom end of the four star, at least people come in and are quite pleased with what they've got. It's better than being disappointed. You are going to get the niche, and if you go up to the next grade you want more money, but can you get it these days? It's good for the ego, but it's not as good for the business' (171/183).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that the prices charged by the tourist board for grading, membership and advertising are too high. Thinks that 'fresh ideas' are needed or people will discontinue membership in higher numbers. (300/307).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels ignored by the tourist board but feels indifferent as control over their business is valued more highly. 'I don't really know about the tourist board. Anyway they don't really listen to us but never mind. We run the business as we want to'. (316/318).</u></li> </ul>
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Feels that inspectors are unnecessarily critical about trivial things. Lack of verbal communication between inspectors and proprietors concerning criteria and desired improvements. Feels that required changes to improve grading are unnecessary. 'We've deliberately not gone into this three star thing because that's just, you know, a bone of contention to a degree. Every time the tourist board inspectors come here, we think what now. It's silly things, like we had the 'weeds in the drive' comment the last time and you can go out there and have a look ... there are some weeds, but there are lavenders that have grown wild. I've got a rowan tree that's out there in an area that the cars don't get parked in, so it's a natural wild garden ... but that was described as weeds. There were a few weeds there but I can't put weed killer down ... it has to be hand weeded. I appreciate that the inspections have got to be done, but it would be better just to leave the form pretty well blank, if they can't think of anything else positive to say, or nothing really sensible to criticise. I mean we weren't even told at the time verbally, "oh your drive looks a bit weedy". It just came up in the written report, with no verbal mention of it' (150/162).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that strategically it is better to have high standards for a lower grading than low standards within the realms of a higher grading classification. Feels that guests' expectations are met and reflected by grading (173/179).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that strategically it is better to have high standards for a lower grading than low standards within the realms of a higher grading classification 'The inspector says that at the moment I'm at the top of the two star bracket. But I'd rather be there than at the bottom of the three star' (197/198).</u></li> <li>• <u>Does not want to make improvements asked for to lounge as room is used by both family and guests and would not feel personally comfortable if changes were to be made 'They wanted a new carpet and suite in the residents' lounge. Then that really would put us in the three star bracket. BUT I wouldn't want to be there' (195/196).</u></li> <li>• <u>Feels that all forms of formal accommodation grading and classification are useful to the business in attracting more guests (44/46).</u></li> </ul>
19	

I10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feels that the tourist board is <b>applying</b> standards applicable to a hotel to guest houses run from people's private homes. Guests expectations have <b>increased</b> because of the standards exercised by the tourist board. Therefore, the tourist board is seen as directing or influencing tourists' expectations. <u>'when I started that it was B&amp;B that people were looking for, but now they are looking for hotel standards. I think that the people in the tourist board have let it get away from people visiting your home, and people are expecting so much more, because that's what the tourist board are telling them to look for. It has changed quite a bit. Yes. It has become more business-like ... well, I suppose more people have gone into it and Inverness is becoming more and more popular'</u> (141/146).</li> </ul>
I11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only retains membership with tourist board due to benefits of advertising (106/168).</li> </ul>
I12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acknowledges that tourist board grading is a useful indication for potential guests of a certain standard of quality (117/119).</li> <li>• Only retains membership because of tourist board web site. Frustrated by lack of referrals from the tourist board. Considering not renewing membership. (213/229).</li> <li>• Prefers the current tourist board system of separate grading criteria for different types and sizes of establishment. Feels that this is fairer than old system and less confusing for guests. (277/282).</li> <li>• Feels that the tourist board is not tailoring services to the needs of the small business owner. Prefers less expensive and widely accessible medium such as web sites for advertising. <u>'One thing there is a tendency to do is to send small establishments large brown envelopes with glossy magazines, offer to advertise in journals within the STB which I couldn't possibly afford to do for a quarter page advert, at £495 a go... What we need is a brilliant web-site. I'm sick to death of chief executives coming and going and getting paid large amounts of money to do so'</u> (311/315).</li> </ul>
I13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Feels that size of business is too small to really benefit from grading. Income is not sufficiently high to always cover financial costs incurred. (144/150).</li> <li>• Feels that grading is an important indication of quality standards. Would use grading as an indication of standards if personally seeking accommodation. Feels that tourist board does not contribute significantly in terms of guest referrals. <u>'they look at the room and of course they have breakfast... usually the full works and grade you on that... but no... I didn't mind that side of it because people DO want to know what a place is like. I certainly would. If I was booking bed and breakfast I always look at that. I certainly wouldn't go to anyone's door without seeing it... without the grading. There should be some sort of thing to tell you what its like'</u> (164/167).</li> <li>• Feels that membership and advertising costs are very high. Resents having to be a member of both VisitScotland and HOST (265/277) (283/289).</li> <li>• Concerned about the state of the industry as VisitScotland cut fees by fifty percent for two years in a row (864/871).</li> </ul>
I14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Values grading classification as an important tool for business but resents fees charged by tourist board (167/176).</li> <li>• Feels that has no choice but to be a member of the tourist board due to location and competition from other businesses in closer proximity to the city centre. <u>'Well, its not so much a case of 'I'd rather be' a member its more 'I've got to be' otherwise I won't get any business from them. And I don't get much passing trade because I'm too far out. I the furthest guest house along Fairfield Road. as you can see, there are a lot of other guest houses along Fairfield road so people would always come across one of the other one first before they even get to this one'</u> (186/192).</li> </ul>
I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Does not currently and has never held membership of the tourist board as it is not seen as essential to business success and it is perceived as very expensive.</li> </ul>

**Matrix: FN: OFN (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code FN: OFN (Formal business networks/contacts in relation to business: depictions of relationships with other identified formal business networks)
<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>	
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Business included in the Michelin book. 'I know that I'm in the Michelin book. Its like, you know how you get Michelin stars? Well this is, I think its small quality places as well as the bigger ones that they look at. But you don't pay for that advertising. You are put in at their discretion. The chap comes every year but I'm not supposed to advertise that. He comes once a year and has a wee look and doesn't tell me anything but I just have to go down and have a wee look and see if its still there, and it is.' (119/124)</li> </ul>
D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Had previously been a member of the AA but decided to stop membership as little business was received through membership. Perceives this to be possibly due to a lack of recognition of the AA brand or rating in Scotland. Grading standards of AA not seen as very objective. '<u>We did consider the AA. In fact we had the guy here. We gave that idea up very quickly because one we were getting no business from it and in Scotland the AA doesn't seem to be too recognised. It's mainly down in England. Basically we came to that conclusion and I think that it's a case of if you pay the money you'll get the rating</u>'. (586/589)</li> </ul>
D10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses a company called 'centuries', a car hire company that lists budget accommodation in their brochures. (395/397)</li> </ul>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holds membership of the AA as well as the tourist board. Perceives the service of the AA to be superior to the tourist board. (685/686)</li> <li>• Values AA membership as has had a useful suggestion from AA inspectors. '<u>it was the AA's suggestion that I do what I did with my windows to create desks up the stairs...so because they asked me what kind of clients...and I said 'I do get an awful lot of the reps you know come here' and they said 'why don't you create a desk?'</u>'(728/731)</li> </ul>



**Matrix: FN: OFN (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code FN: OFN (Formal business networks/contacts in relation to business: depictions of relationships with other identified formal business networks)
<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>	
I1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holds membership of the AA as well as the tourist board (218).</li> </ul>
I3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would not approach Inverness and Nairn Enterprises for advice. <u>They are just not interested. If they do take you on at all they just fill your head with rubbish. They just confuse you. I would certainly not turn to any of them for advice. Especially INE...they just don't bear talking about'</u> (185/188).</li> </ul>
I4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holds membership of the Federation of Small Businesses. Places a high value on the membership of formal organisations as sees them as particularly useful when first setting up the business. (229/241)</li> </ul>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Previously held membership with the AA but did not receive much business from them. AA seen as very expensive. <u>'we used to be with the AA also but that was an absolute disaster. The man next door, he joined the AA and he says it was the most expensive piece of vinyl that he had ever bought in his life. WE didn't even make back the advertising costs of the AA, so it just wasn't worth it. People tend to just ask the tourist board for a rating and that's what they work on. That is why most join the tourist board --- for the rating, you know?'</u> (171/176)</li> </ul>
I7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holds membership of the tourist board, the AA and the Federation of Small Businesses. Values grading standards but identifies a lot of confusion on the part of guests concerning criteria and type of establishment. <u>'the fact that you get inspected by the various boards, because really a lot of people do look to the grading to decide. A lot of people don't know the difference between a three star, three star Guest House, three star Hotel, three star small Hotel and three star Inn, so it's very confusing for people, they can understand Bed and Breakfasts, and they can understand hotel. I still don't understand what the difference between a guest house and a hotel is supposed to be. This used to be called a hotel, but we decided it wasn't a hotel, it was really a guest house. You need a grading of some sort, so people know what standard you are'</u> (155/162).</li> </ul>
I8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceived lack of need to be a member of the AA as seen as duplicating the service provided by the tourist board and therefore an unnecessary expense. (350/355)</li> </ul>
I9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holds membership of the tourist board, AA and the RAC (44/46)</li> </ul>

- Holds membership of the AA as well as the tourist board (485).
- Had previous negative experiences with AA grading officers. 'the grading officers coming, you know they came and they had seen that carpet here three years before and they came in and said 'its time that carpet was changed'. They said the décor was looking a bit tired now. So...you actually, you had to put a lot back in. the previous owners, she was a member of the AA as well and em the first year we were here a guy came in the middle of the summer and said that we should have home made jam and all this sort of thing and went on about their standards getting higher and higher. He was very condescending you know...So when the next time a lady came and stayed and did their overnight visit...they think you're stupid and you don't know they're staying, and I think she paid in the morning and I said 'you're from the AA' and she was like 'oh' and I told her about that guy and she said 'oh that'll be so and so.' People like that...och just spoke down to me all the time'. (475/486)
- Had negative experiences with AA grading officers as was treated in a patronising way as if she was not running a real business. 'that AA man saying I should make home-made scones and jam to welcome guests arriving (laughs). I'm just not going to spend all my time baking and making home made things and then there's no guarantee that someone's going to eat it. and I had this guy staying who preferred the way I do it with separate sachets of jam and marmalade for guests because he said he'd stayed at a place where they'd had large pots of jam and he'd seen another guest lick his knife and put it in the jar. I mean other people are expected to eat it. That sort of thing would just put you off. And I said this to the AA man and he said 'well, you're meant to throw it out anyway'. Well, am I not meant to make any money? Another thing he said to me was that I was only really doing this as a hobby...and that I shouldn't be concerned with profit.  
 I: After all the energy you put into it?  
 R: It was very patronising as if I was just a wee wifey. It was almost like why bother charging the people. Just let them stay for nothing. That guy was annoying.' (837/852)

**Matrix: FN: NFN (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code FN:NFN (Formal business networks/contacts in relation to business: decision not to be associated with any formal business networks)
<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perceived lack of need of formal organisations as contact with formal bodies seen as an inefficient use of time which would be better spent directly on the business. Perceived lack of time available to spend on such contact. Dialogue with formal organisations not seen as proactive activity. <u>'I don't think I really need to...I just don't think its worth it and I wouldn't have the time to spare anyway. I'm not one for talking about things. I just like to get on with it.'</u> (113/120)</li> <li>Accommodation grading schemes not valued and seen as consuming a lot of time and money. Perceived lack of need for accommodation grading schemes. <u>'I seem to be doing OK without them.'</u> (146/154)</li> </ul>
D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perceived lack of need of formal organisations due to small size of business. <u>'I feel I'm not big enough to, um, advertise and what not. I haven't done...haven't been with the tourist board or anything like that you know'</u> (97/98). Would consider joining the tourist board in the future but only if the business were to struggle to get business. <u>'So I haven't gone down that road yet. Whether, um, if things are going t get behind and whatnot then maybe I'll have to, um, join the tourist board'</u> (102/104).</li> <li>Perceived lack of need of formal organisations such as the tourist board as business occupancy is good. Feels that membership of the tourist board may result in an increase in one-night stays which are less desirable than longer term visits. Currently relies on word of mouth/repeat visits. (110/118)</li> <li>Feels that size of business means that she would not fit in with other business owners. Feels intimidated by possible reactions of other business owners. <u>'I: Do you feel a bit isolated? R: Yes I do. But its probably my fault as well. Probably I could get more involved with things a little bit as well but em I feel I'm so small...the business is so small and that as well that I'd feel a bit of a cheat if I walked in amongst all the hotel people and whatnot and they'd be thinking "what's she doing here"'</u> (761/768)</li> </ul>

**Matrix: FN: NFN (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code FN:NFN (Formal business networks/contacts in relation to business: decision not to be associated with any formal business networks)
<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>	
I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceived lack of need of formal organisations as feels that money or time spent on membership could be better spent 'directly' on the business itself.(336/338)</li> <li>• Decided not to be a member of the tourist board as has heard negative stories from friends who run guest houses about poor service. Does not value the potential service provided by the tourist board. (124/126)</li> <li>• Although membership of any tourism organisations is not currently held, consideration is being given to possible future membership of the AA. However, this is a lower priority to investing in décor and improvements to the business/home. (329/338).</li> </ul>

**Matrix: G: GIC (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

Thematic Code G: GIC	
(Geographical Context and Spatial Levels in Apportioning Business Identity: Locating the Geographic Identity of the Business: City)	
<u>Respondent</u>	<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Location of the business referred to in terms of the city of Dundee as a whole rather than the particular district or street within which it operates (174/176).</li> </ul>
D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discusses the perception of many visitors to Dundee that there are not many guest houses in the city. Refers to the location of other similar businesses and that guest houses are not mainly restricted to just one part of the city. <u>'There's been a lot of people who've maybe stumble across us and they'll come in and say oh there are not many guest houses in Dundee are there? And there are quite a few but its maybe hard to find them because there aren't a cluster of them anywhere. But other towns have ... (49/52).</u></li> </ul>
D10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes perceived reasons for tourists not using Dundee as a base for visiting Scotland. <u>'we'll get a few Australians or Americans who tend to come to trace relatives or something like that. They'll sometimes stay for about three days. But MAINLY it's a few days. Its very short term tourist people. They don't use Dundee as a base too much' (202/205).</u></li> <li>• Feels that Dundee should be promoted more as a golf destination in order to attract more visitors. <u>Would like to see the tourist board promoting this as a destination brand for the City. 'I personally think that Dundee should have been promoting eh, golf. Because golf is huge, huge business. We get parties coming from Sweden, coming from America, around the world. And within ... we, we did an exercise once, and I think within a thirty-mile radius of our front door we've forty-two golf courses ...' (241/244) (250/255).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: G: GIC (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

Respondent	<p>Thematic Code G: GIC                      (Geographical Context and Spatial Levels in Apportioning Business Identity: Locating the Geographic Identity of the Business: City)</p>
I1	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the location of the business in terms of its proximity to other parts of the city, thus emphasising the identity of the business in terms of being located within Inverness. The fact that Inverness was recently given city status is reflected by several comments which show that local people are still getting used to the change in status and the implications it has upon geographic identity. <u>'we chose it because it seemed close to everything. I think probably we're, mostly we're close to the town centre...As you know it's very near the town centre, sorry the city centre, and within walking distance of the shops and tourist attractions like the Cathedral and the Castle and also tourist facilities like the Eden Court Theatre and also close to other amenities within Inverness like the sports facilities at the Bught Park. We're not too far from the station as well. And it's near the main roads and transport routes to the West and North. Then, there is the proximity to the countryside. Also here we're secluded; we're very quiet, you know' (114/121).</u></li> <li>• Shows concern for the economic health of the city. <u>'we try to put money back into the local economy, We use local butchers, bakers etc, and we try and use local produce as far as we can. A lot of the bigger hotels they just use pre-packaged stuff. All our meals here are freshly prepared and specially purchased. All our produce is from local fishmongers or butchers. The vegetables are local, regenerating money for the area' (293/298).</u></li> <li>• Feels that locally owned small businesses contribute more to the local economy and encourage tourists to stay longer than larger hotel chains. <u>'what we are doing is marketing and providing more facilities. So hopefully trying to keep people here in the town and where they will spend more money in the local economy of Inverness. These Holiday Inn type places are very much a one-night bed thing. And they are not really doing much for the local economy. They are not doing anything for Inverness because they are simply encouraging people to stay one night and then go. I think, if that business was transferred to Guest Houses and B&amp;Bs in Inverness who offer better services then people would stay longer in Inverness' (323/330).</u></li> </ul>
I2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the location of business in relation to other parts of the city that are attractive to tourists. <u>'it's good here, because they can easily drive to Loch Ness and they can go into town. They don't have to pay for parking...so that is a plus. We are also not far from the canal and the Jacobite boats that take you cruising on Loch Ness ... so if they are wanting to do a cruise down Loch Ness they can park here and go on the cruise ... I hear it's very good' (164/168).</u></li> <li>• Likes living in Inverness and characterises it as a good location for a business and also in terms of lifestyle choice. <u>'mustn't grumble too much...it is not that bad here...the town I mean. We enjoy it really. It's just the right size for us ... for our way of life. It is a nice centre to be in and good for the business we want to do' (391/393).</u></li> </ul>

14

- Likes living and running a business in Inverness. 'I came here because I thought that it would be a good place to have a guest house. You know it is a tourist centre. I have always liked Inverness when I came here on visits and it just seemed the perfect location. I'm from Coatbridge, you know' (119/121).
- Feels that the identity of the city should be characterised more by a Scottish theme rather than by other brands representing identities of other places. Feels that tourists are not being presented with an image of Scottishness when they visit Inverness and that the growth of Dundee is turning it into a city void of its own identity and too similar to other cities in Britain. 'at the moment, we don't have a Scottish theme at all running through the city. The best bar for entertainment is an Irish bar and not that I have anything against Irish pubs, but it should be Scottish. There are a few who do traditional music and I push them as much as possible to the visitors. I've got the leaflet for it out. Blackfriars, The Gellions, and the Harlequin. They all do the odd nights with traditional music and certainly if I've got anyone in I'll give them the leaflet and tell them to go along and listen to it. But I'm worried about that because I've never went to these sessions and listened to the music. Where we go is Johnny Foxes. They give guest house owners a night out every New Year, they give you a meal and everything. So I've been there. There's one Scottish restaurant, I think on Castle Street and it's extortionate. Its supposed to be recommended by Taste of Scotland and in all the guides...its supposed to serve good quality food but its far too expensive and I just don't tell people to go there. What do you think? Shouldn't we have more authentic Scottish pubs and restaurants at reasonable prices here in Inverness?' I: That seems a reasonable suggestion. Yes.

R: Yes, it does, doesn't it. When I think about it, my neighbours were in Dublin for a weekend and they said that everywhere they went it was Irish and there was an Irish theme of some description and it's all very well putting some tartan things in the shops, but that's not Scottishness. We're relying on Inverness being the Capital of the Highlands and people will come and they love it. It's a beautiful town; lovely surrounding area and if the sun is shining it's gorgeous. I love going a walk down by the river and through the Islands. I love Inverness. But if they come here looking for something Scottish then Inverness is not the place. I don't know where is to be quite honest. I suppose that Edinburgh is more so than anywhere else but Inverness certainly isn't despite being a tourist centre' (330/356).

16

- Describes the location of the business as beneficial due to the reputation of the city and prominence as a tourist destination. 'we've always been here in the town ... It is a good place to be for the business too as people like to come here because of its proximity to Loch Ness. The fact is that everyone in the world has heard of Loch Ness' (157/159).
- Describes the location of the business as beneficial due to the reputation of the city and prominence as a tourist destination. Thinks that acquiring city status will be beneficial for Inverness. 'I think Inverness is a good tourist destination. In fact, its always been a good tourist destination. I think that its because of Loch Ness and the Highlands you know. Inverness has always been known as a good base for tourists. Its developed a lot in the last thirty years and will continue to do so ... and maybe being a city ... that will help' (292/295).

17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the location of the business as beneficial due to the reputation of the city and prominence as a tourist destination. Describes that tourists use it as a base to visit the Highlands (75/81).</li> <li>• Describes the location of the business in terms of its proximity to other parts of the city, thus emphasising the identity of the business in terms of being located within Inverness. Emphasises the benefits of the location of the business from the perspective of tourists. <u>'It's close to air, rail and bus routes. To some extent for the tourists, okay Loch Ness, they all want to see Loch Ness, not just for the monster, just for Loch Ness. If they realise just how good Inverness is as a centre to go to other places, you can go to Skye and back for the day. The only thing that is difficult is going to Orkney for the day. It's a long day, but they can do it. There's a bus tour. You're near the Distilleries, and other places that tourists want to go to. So, they don't come up for the warm sea water! Anyway it is a good place for business' (75/81).</u></li> <li>• Feels that the growth of the city has caused problems in terms of tourism such as ugly buildings, increased prices, pollution and social problems such as drunkenness and begging (316/318).</li> <li>• Feels that the growth of the city has changed its identity and made it less appealing as a tourist destination. <u>'You used to be able to come up here, I used to stay near Stirling, and you were definitely coming to a different part of Scotland. They were generally friendlier, generally spoke better English than we did. It was always a nice place to come. You could be anywhere now. The way it's expanding' (378/382).</u></li> </ul>
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the location of the business as beneficial due to the reputation of the city and prominence as a tourist destination (202/205).</li> <li>• Feels that the growth of the city has changed its identity and made it less appealing as a tourist destination. <u>'It seems to be the whole city is gearing up for the more anonymous looking city centres that you can see anywhere in the country. We've lost the individuality here' (391/392).</u></li> <li>• Feels that the growth of the city has changed its identity and made it less appealing as a tourist destination with increased social problems. <u>'Social standards and public order and the general untidiness make the city centre a lot worse now than it did 15 years ago.</u>  <u>R2: I wouldn't want to be in Inverness town centre at night.</u>  <u>R1: That's one of the penalties for city status. The way we've gone like that has certainly brought us in line, on a scale for a big city, sort of public disorder and anti-social behaviour and the same with the traffic. With all the roundabouts and the little set of traffic lights where you think a mini-roundabout would do. Anyone who's been out of Inverness for many a year and then if they return they would get quite a culture shock' (427/436).</u></li> </ul>
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes living and running a business in Inverness (79/80).</li> <li>• Likes living in Inverness and characterises it as a good location for a business and also in terms of lifestyle choice (189/193).</li> </ul>
110	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Likes living and working in current location in Inverness. <u>'we're quite good here cause were not far from the town but also just a few minutes by car and you can be in the countryside, so you can get the best of both worlds' (69/71).</u></li> </ul>
111	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the beneficial location of the business in terms of its close proximity to other amenities and attractions in the city (77).</li> </ul>
112	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes the beneficial location of the business in terms of its close proximity to other amenities and attractions in the city (128/130).</li> </ul>



I13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Chose Inverness as a good location to live primarily for lifestyle reasons such as bringing up children. 'I came to college in Inverness twenty years ago. I always liked it. and we lived here when we first got married. But you're two and a half hours drive from here to John-o-groats and another long road. so its takes ages to get anywhere. I wanted to come here because I liked it' (657/660).</u></li> <li>• <u>Chose Inverness as a good location to live primarily for lifestyle reasons such as bringing up children. 'It's a good place to live ... it's a good place to bring up kids... When I came here for college I stayed with a family and after two years staying with them it was like my home' (664/666).</u></li> </ul>
I14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Describes the location of the business as beneficial in terms of the location of Inverness as a whole. 'Its because its well situated by being closer to the highlands but still quite a big city. You get a lot of foreign visitors staying here on their way to Skye and places like that' (143/145).</u></li> </ul>
I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Describes the location of the business as beneficial in terms of the location of Inverness as a whole (362/372).</u></li> <li>• <u>Describes the location of the business as beneficial due to the reputation of the city and prominence as a tourist destination and more anonymous/similar to many other large British cities. 'I mean Inverness is a town, it's a pretty town with a river but...apart from that its not...I mean it wouldn't be my cup of tea to walk round the town for a day. It would be much nicer to go down Loch Ness or go and visit a castle or something. You know that's what I encourage them to do...I wouldn't encourage them to go down town (laughs). Because unfortunately its just like any other high street in any other town or city' (362/372).</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: SGI (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic Code SGI (Stereotypes/gendered identity) <b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Refers to other guest house proprietors as if they are collectively female. Refers to unfavourable characteristics such as giving up easily as feminine traits. <u>'whereas my wee bit of business sense will maybe pull me out of it before I, I'll maybe get through it better. Its hard to explain. Think some of them would just, you know, throw their pinny off and say 'oh what's happening' you know?'</u> (445/448)</li> <li>Feels that the tourist board regards proprietors as predominantly female or as running the business as a supplementary activity and does not take into account the individual and their specific background. <u>'The tourist board don't know your background. And they're assuming that everyone has just been a housewife or something like that'</u> (752/754).</li> <li>Humour used to influence image projection/presentation of self by tapping into cultural stereotypes/media and popular culture in the projection of self-identity. <u>'I: Did you think they were inspectors? R: No. They sat at separate tables and never spoke. Well, hello, good morning. And they were from the tourist board doing an inspection. Wonderful. I mean, and me walking about like John Cleese in the kitchen. I was delighted with my four stars.'</u> (699/705)</li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business related tasks appear to be designated to, or accepted by, either spouse due to expected or predefined gender roles reflecting those common in the family and home and wider society. (I.e.: wife cooks and cleans, husband sets tables and conducts maintenance work). (372/377)</li> </ul>
D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lack of help with the running of the business from spouse or sons. This is attributed to their gender. <u>'he won't even carry breakfast through...(laughs) And I've got two sons...but um being boys either...they're not interested in any of it'</u> (213/220)</li> </ul>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regards female proprietors as not being as efficient or able to manage time as productively. <u>'I know people who are like this you know, women especially who sit down and watch all this morning television...then the door bell goes in the afternoon and they haven't got a <u>THING DONE</u>. Eh? That's not...this, this game you've got to get it all ready.'</u> (453/456)</li> <li>Description of previous owner of guest house in unfavourable gendered terms <u>'one of these women...(demonstrates with gestures) cigarette, you know? Down the left of the mouth you know. These windows. Never opened the windows for cleaning...never aired the place'</u> (767/769)</li> </ul>
D14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Smaller guest house with only one or two bedrooms not seen as a proper business but as something a woman could use as a hobby. <u>'we didn't want a one or two bedroom guest house you know like for sort of like the lady to do...to potter about in. I wanted <u>MORE</u> of a business, so that's why we bought such a <u>LARGE</u> house'</u>. (30/32)</li> <li>Sees self more as a businesswoman than her female counterparts who run smaller businesses. Term of 'landlady' used to refer to other proprietors. Size of property and number of letting rooms therefore seen as important in defining business worth and credibility. <u>'I became very friendly with a lot of the landladies along the road and this is one of the largest ones. Eh a few of my friends have got three bedrooms, four bedrooms and its like welcoming them into their house. This is slightly different.'</u> (161/164)</li> </ul>

I015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sees profession as female dominated, although acknowledges that some men are guest house proprietors. 'Most of them its usually the women that runs it. I did know a couple of guest houses that the men DO run it and they're wives go out to work. More so maybe because the wives have a good job and they make more money. Yeah. But its mostly you know the women and they do it for...well, you're at home and you don't have to go out and what have you.' (314/318)</li> <li>• Liases and communicates with other women that run guest houses. Not friends with any male proprietors. (343)</li> </ul>
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### Matrix: SGI (Chart no. 2) Inverness

Respondent	Thematic Code SGI (Stereotypes/gendered identity) Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference
I3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Does not view running of guest house as 'work' in the same sense as a job involving working out with the home. This assigns profession with lesser value than others not attached to the home context. (274/276)</li> </ul>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Labels male guests as potentially problematic, particularly those travelling alone or with other men. Decisions of which guests to take in are therefore informed by their gender. 'occasionally you get problems, and its always men ... so I don't take them any more, well not groups of men anyway. If they are in couples or part of a family, well that's different' (45/48)</li> </ul>
I6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Does not view running of guest house as 'work' in the same sense as a job involving working out with the home This assigns profession with lesser value than others not attached to the home context. Flexibility of working at home and nature of work seen as enjoyable. 'I've really enjoyed it and still do. Meeting people and being at home. It means that I don't have to work' (123/124)</li> </ul>
I13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When discussing couple who have shown interest in buying business amazement is expressed at the man's enthusiasm to run a guest house due to the household tasks involved. 'he'll need help. I just can't see a man cleaning a bed or cleaning a shower (laughs). I: He'll get a shock. Maybe he's got a romantic kind of view of it. R: I don't know but he was dead keen and he was dying to do it.' (319/324)</li> <li>• Anger expressed at the perceived view of others that the profession is akin to or an extension of being a housewife. 'Another thing he said to me was that I was only really doing this as a hobby...and that I shouldn't be concerned with profit. I: After all the energy you put into it? R: It was very patronising as if I was just a wee wifey. It was almost like why bother charging the people. Just let them stay for nothing. That guy was annoying.' (845/852)</li> </ul>
I14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Labels male guests as potentially problematic, particularly single men or those travelling in a group with other men. Has been shocked by previous negative experiences with families or couples staying as guests as behaviour not expected due to presence of female guests. 'I certainly had second thoughts about doing this...of carrying on with the bed and breakfast at all...well, I just didn't expect it. You don't with couples, families...people like that. Maybe single men or groups of men...but I didn't think they would turn out to be like that' (77/80).</li> </ul>

**Matrix: SNG: T (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code SNG: T (Social Networks or Liaisons with other Guest house Owners: Depictions of Tight Knit Network)
<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="423 116 795 2577">• Liases with specifically three other proprietors on the same street. All of the proprietors mentioned as belonging to this group or small exclusive informal network were interviewed and characteristics such as the fact that all four proprietors are female, aged in their 50s and live within a few minutes of one another were noted. Strong identification with one another as being in same position rather than as competition. Regards each others businesses as of a similar standard. <u>'We all work together here actually. I mean Sharon, you know, there's no competition. If I'm busy or if somebody comes to the door and I'm full I'll phone across, we all, you know, we don't turn away anybody...we say 'well hold on I'll just check across the road with Sharon or Julia along the road. We all work together. xxxxx, xxxxx and xxxxx up the road. We've all got each others numbers and if we can't take, you know, we just say 'hold on and I can get you somewhere else' because we're all three star kind of thing...we're all in the same category. As I say, we're all friends so we all work together' (63/70).</u></li> <li data-bbox="805 116 1073 2577">• This group operates both for business and personal objectives in that the proprietors refer guests onto one another but they also engage in social activities as friends. <u>'we normally have nights out kind of thing. At Christmas time we get together but, em, I was going to say that Sharon and I go to the...we go to the next generation sports centre. We're members up there. We try and fit that in two times a week if we can' (73/77).</u> <u>'The four of us were in Oban and were speaking about this because we went in the tourist board and I got the tourist brochure and picked some places out of there. Four of us took the train from Fort William to Mallaig and we booked into a three star in Fort William and it was lovely' (386/389).</u></li> </ul>
D6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="1093 116 1306 2577">• Liases with specifically three other proprietors on the same street forming a tight knit group. This group operates both for business and personal objectives in that the proprietors refer guests onto one another but they also engage in social activities as friends. <u>'mostly though one of us phones the other to see if they're full. I do the same. We're all quite good that way...we're on the phone to each other all the time. Aha. Well, I'm quite good friends with the three of them, especially Irene across at xxxxx. So we like to see...ask how each others getting on. You know? We go out on a couple of nights out now and again' (145/149).</u></li> </ul>

D9

• Liases with specifically three other proprietors on the same street forming a tight knit group. This group operates both for business and personal objectives in that the proprietors refer guests onto one another but they also engage in social activities as friends. 'we kind of look after ourselves because the tourist board aren't always that good. Em...so it can be the case of like Sharon in the xxxxx is full she'll call round and say 'have you got a roomö and I could say 'no, I don't have a room but Pat might have a room. (phone rings) Excuse me. (break of about five minutes) Sorry about that. Where were we?...Oh yeah, so we do tend to try to look after ourselves. I mean we all know each other socially as well 'cos at like Christmas time we're all going out for a meal...oh no I don't know if it is ...oh no I think it is a meal over at the Woodlands. They're having one of these 70's nights or 80's nights so the four of us are going to go out. So we do...we all get on well socially as well. And Sharon and I...Sharon's got the xxxxx...we've been friends since we were ten and we used to go to school together. Not here, up at Pitlochry...em and she's been here a while. We've been here ten years so we've got that you know rapport shall we say. I: do you go to each other for advice?

R: She used to look after here when we went on holiday a couple of times in the summer. Things like that. Before she had the B&B she worked in a school so she used to have the summer holidays obviously so she used to come over and look after the place for a wee while, while we were on holiday. Her Mum and Dad had a big hotel as well so she grew up with it too. So it is...it is quite nice' (240/267).

D14

• Liases with specifically three other proprietors on the same street forming a tight knit group. This group operates both for business and personal objectives in that the proprietors refer guests onto one another but they also engage in social activities as friends. 'What I did was I took my business card and went to their door, I walked in and introduced myself. I said 'I'm from xxxxx along the road and if you're very busy here's my card, you know if you could help me out that would be great'. And luckily when I opened everyone was jam packed and the next thing Irene was phoning me saying 'have you got a twin room? Have you got a family room? Have you got a double room?' and we all help each other out. If I'm full then I'll phone one of the four of them first and if somebody else is then they'll do that too. So it works quite well.

I: Do you see them on a more social level? Like to go out?

R: Yeah. Friendly. Definitely. Two of the couples were at my daughter's wedding. In the evening we go out. We don't meet up much for coffee during the day because we're all so busy. Since we've all met up...I think it was actually ME that started it' (440/453).

**Matrix: SNG: T (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code SNG: T (Social Networks or Liaisons with other Guest house Owners: Depictions of Tight Knit Network)
I4	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Describes how she was included in the tight knit network when the previous owner of her business moved away from the area. <u>'my next door neighbours have been very good too. They had been running their own guest house for about twelve years when I came and I was new here, so they have been a great help to me with advice and information and without any bother at all. They really are very good. I'm just kept so busy all the time... You said a network... I suppose as I said I've got very good neighbours and we help each other... I suppose that is a network... In fact, as I said, there is a kind of network. There are maybe half a dozen houses; everyone has got their own network, which is fair enough. I'm very lucky with my neighbours next-door as I said; they included me in their network straight away. So it's good in that way. I had no problems when I set up here. People were really very friendly.</u>  <u>I: Does this network help then with the running of your business?</u>  <u>R: Oh yes it does. You get to know what each person has. So if you don't have it, you can phone them or send them to that house' (191/224).</u></li> </ul>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Describes belonging to a tight knit network with certain other guest houses in the area. Also, has loose knit second degree relationships with others not in the tight knit group. <u>'I'm quite friendly with most of the neighbours roundabout here so I think I would just phone one of them... We have quite a support network round here. It's quite handy as there must be about five of us or so that really help each other out. If I need anyone else I sometimes call somebody round on Greig street or someone on Fairfield road'.</u></li> </ul>
I7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Describes tight knit network restricted to local area. <u>'round about here we do have a few. I mean, if we're full we will ring across the road or round the corner and that sort of thing. But nothing too formal. We do more or less all the people round here and they ring back too. We all help each other in a neighbourly way! Yes, we tend to like to keep the business this side of the river' (203/210).</u></li> </ul>
I10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Belongs to a tight knit network as well as using second degree distant loose links <u>'My neighbours are very good and we all help each other... and then there are a few other B&amp;Bs in the town. Yes we do send people to each other so you could say that we form a group or network' (121/123).</u></li> </ul>
I15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reports a tight knit network of proprietors operating on the same road. <u>'We're quite lucky really because there's a few of us on the same road so if they're directed up this end of town then if ones full then they go to the other one and so on. I mean we know each other quite well. And if we're full then we just pass them along. Like Fiona she's really good, if she's full she passes a lot on to me' (140/143)</u></li> </ul>

**Matrix: SNG: L (Chart no. 1) Dundee**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code SNG: L (Social Networks or Liaisons with other Guest house Owners: Depictions of Loose Knit Network)
<b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b>	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Specific arrangement with one other proprietor on same street to give each other guests when either has reached full occupancy. Does not refer guests on to anyone else denoting a first degree close relationship (141/144).</li> </ul>
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tends to liaise only with specific individuals. Denotes a first degree loose knit network. Attempts to arrange a local support group in the past failed due to a lack of members/interest and the increase in membership of the formal organisations such as the tourist board. <u>'I think there used to be one when I first started but I don't think it really got going. They had a local guest house owners scheme' (128/130).</u></li> <li>• Attracted to the idea of running a guest house as a result of contact with a friend who ran a business. <u>'I think I started mainly...well, way back when my friend had a place not so far away down the road. That's how I probably first got the idea' (140/142).</u></li> </ul>
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes loose knit second degree distant relationships with other proprietors in the Broughty Ferry area. <u>'I know their names and some of them to talk to but I don't know them intimately. We do have a party about once a year. We have a night out at Christmas. We all have different views. There's a lot of them don't do a lot of things. We can actually charge more than a lot of them but we don't and that bugs me a bit' (718/722).</u></li> </ul>
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has a specific close liaison with another guest house proprietor. This denotes a first degree close loose knit relationship. <u>'we have an arrangement certainly with a lady who also runs a guest house round the corner. So we phone her and she phones us if we're full or we've got any problems or we need any eggs or bacon. So we sort of swap ideas and customers' (418/420).</u></li> </ul>
D7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refers guests primarily to two other proprietors located close by who each reciprocate this arrangement, denoting first degree close loose knit relationships. Considers this arrangement as more beneficial in terms of guest referrals than the formal link held with the tourist board. <u>'Yup. Mainly with the one round the corner, Aberlaw. The people there had just moved into that place before we moved in here. And they also ran a guest house before. They had been in the hotel business all their lives basically. So we got on with them very well. And the people at the top of the road that we know, Florence and that. Arbroath Road. We work quite well together because if one can't take them then they pass on our address to them or sometimes even call us up and say have you got a room. So its quite good. They give us more business referrals than the tourist office...If we're wanting a few days off or a holiday and one of our regulars phones up we'll get them a room with one of them as well. We'll say we can't put you up but there's a place for you just round the corner' (661/673).</u></li> </ul>

D8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used to have a loose knit close first degree relationship with another proprietor but now only has loose knit second degree distant relationships.  I: you...you said you had a friend who runs another B&amp;B...so do you chat with any other -  R: Yeah well yes we used to chat and that but then she sold it on and went to New Zealand.  I: Oh right?  R: Yeah. So...yep, yep.  I: so you don't really have contacts with any of the oth-  R: (overlapping) N-no. No. I know where they ARE but um I don't really know them personally now that Margaret's...Margaret's left you know?' (291/304).</li> </ul>
D10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Refers guests to specific guest houses in the area denoting first degree close loose knit relationships.  'Aye. I know two of them.  I: In the area or-  R: Well, one of them Bruce [Tyree?] he used to have the Old Steeple right in the centre you know which is a very busy place. I've known him a lot of years...because when I'm full up I phone them if I've got a room and if they're full up very often they'll phone me. So it's a help' (322/327).</li> </ul>
D11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has loose knit first degree relationships with certain proprietors in the area. 'One or two of the new ones across the road I don't really know mind you. But I know a couple and we all get on pretty well. If they somebody phones here looking for a particular room and I don't have it I'll give them phone numbers of the others em and vice versa. They'll do the same as well...if someone comes here and I haven't got anything for them I'll tell them to try over there. So it works reasonably well. (laughs) Its quite good.  I: Are you quite friendly? I mean do you chat with them about the business or is it just family or-?  R: Just the family really. Em...I talk to the likes of the accountant or the bank manager type person when I need to but I don't really discuss the business with anyone else. The lady round the corner is quite friendly but we don't really...don't really discuss things like that...you know...business is business as it were. I try not to talk about it' (194/207).</li> </ul>
D12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Describes nature of interaction with other proprietors in the area which denotes distant second degree relationships. 'ouch you don't have like a big thing with them you know...Someone you know on the phone like. If I'm full and people come here and are looking for something so say you make a few phone calls to try and get them in someplace' (553/557).</li> </ul>
D13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Describes holding both a loose knit close first degree and loose knit distant second degree relationships. 'if I can't take someone I give them this lady's number and then if she can't take them we both have about five other names that we can send them to' (714/716).</li> </ul>
D14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Is a member of a tight knit group but also reported distant loose knit second degree relationships with proprietors outside the group (454/455).</li> </ul>
D15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has loose knit second degree distant relationship with other proprietors. 'I could always phone the other guest house owners nearby...you know to see if they're full...but you don't really have the time (608/609).</li> </ul>



**Matrix: SNG: L (Chart no. 2) Inverness**

<u>Respondent</u>	Thematic code SNG: L (Social Networks or Liaisons with other Guest House Owners: Depictions of Loose Knit Network)
I1	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coded segment meaning interpretation and transcript reference</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports loose knit second degree distant relationships with other proprietors. <u>'Well we do have links with two others in the same street but apart from these we're cut off geographically from the other guest houses and we keep ourselves very much to ourselves. We get enough business through other means and so we don't need that sort of help...I know a lot of other guest houses have that sort of arrangement among themselves.'</u> (195/199)</li> </ul>
I2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports loose knit second degree distant relationships with other proprietors. <u>'I know a few of their names and who they are but nothing more...we are quite happy just ourselves and the way business is just now. Its enough for us to cope with and we enjoy it like that...just the two of us...and our son'</u> (323/325).</li> </ul>
I3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports specific loose knit first degree relationships. <u>'There is one lady round the back of me I would send to her and I would send to a lady on Crown Street and one on Denny Street, but that's it. It's basically people I know and I know what they offer their guests. I know if I send people there, I know what they can expect. I wouldn't send anyone to people I didn't know'</u> (177/180).</li> </ul>
I5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes belonging to a tight knit network with certain other guest houses in the area. Also, has loose knit second degree relationships with others not in the tight knit group. <u>'I'm quite friendly with most of the neighbours roundabout here so I think I would just phone one of them... We have quite a support network round here. It's quite handy as there must be about five of us or so that really help each other out. If I need anyone else I sometimes call somebody round on Greig street or someone on Fairfield road'</u>.</li> </ul>
I6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has loose knit first degree relationships with a few other proprietors. <u>'my husband's in the golf but that does not help us very much with the business. As for myself, I haven't his time to do anything like that or even mix very much with people. I have been studying in my spare time over the past few years. I've just graduated this year from the open university, you know, so I haven't had the time...I know one or two of them to talk to but I don't know them well. Well, I know one or two to phone them up and say when I'm full if they can take somebody for the night. They do the same for me'</u> 252/265).</li> </ul>
I8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describes close first degree loose knit links with specific proprietors. <u>Meets other proprietors who attend the same church. 'We know a couple, Mr. and Mrs. Geddes, who three years ago retired from doing it, after doing it for thirty or forty years and she took great pride and had great pleasure from it....But also had great pleasure in finishing at the end. She just found that she'd go so she decided to finish... she said that there was too much competition. AND she found the tourist board grading and classification a little bit hard to accept. Having had such wonderful repeat business through word of mouth and then suddenly being told this needs doing and all that'</u> (127/135).</li> <li>• <u>'Through the church we get a bit of business, you know through word of mouth. They share a fair bit between us at church as well. There's three of us at church who do B&amp;B and obviously everyone at church knows we do B&amp;B. So if anyone at church is having a family party and they can't cater for everyone. They either contact me or Dorothy or Margaret'</u> (345/348).</li> </ul>

I9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has loose knit second degree distant links (146/148).</li> </ul>
I10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Belongs to a tight knit network as well as using second degree distant loose links (121/123).</b></li> </ul>
I11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has loose knit second degree relationships. 'I know which ones there are but we really keep to ourselves. There is no need anyway as we have enough business being in the centre without having to rely on other B&amp;Bs for their help'(123/124).</li> </ul>
I12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attributes only having second degree loose links to the location of the business. 'I don't live close enough to other guest houses and B&amp;B's. A lot are more are nearer the centre of Inverness but we're not really part of that as we're a bit out of the town ... so my market is a bit different' (233/235).</li> </ul>
I13	<p>Has loose knit first degree links with certain proprietors in the area.</p> <p><u>I: Who do you chat with about your business?</u></p> <p><u>R: I suppose other B&amp;B people.</u></p> <p><u>I: Are you quite friendly with other guest house owners?</u></p> <p><u>R: Yeah, aha. There's usually, my neighbour that way (indicates with gesture) and another one along the road...the next road along, if I don't have any free rooms they might be able to put people up. First of all people seem to think you should know who's got accommodation where every day. We're all of a similar standard so...and the fact that these places were non-smoking so I know that if someone looked me in the book they would have seen that I've non-smoking and I know I can give them my neighbour's number because she's non-smoking and the other one's non-smoking. Depending on what people wanted. Very often I give them the number of my neighbour when they phone but you have to draw a line somewhere you know because otherwise you could give them fourteen numbers. Or you know people phone and I'm like 'no sorry we don't have anything' and they're like 'oh do you think you could find some...find a room FOR me?' I can't do that. I think most people would just have like three of four of their neighbours' numbers to phone. Or there's two guest houses down the road. Bigger ones with nine or ten rooms. And if someone phoned me looking for four, five rooms I would just give them one of those numbers' (330/350).</u></p>
I14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has loose knit first degree links with certain proprietors in the area. 'Well, like I said...I don't know them THAT well, but if like we can pass on guests to each other we tell the people where to go. So in that way I suppose its good. But we don't like go out like on a social basis or anything like that...jut for the purpose of bed and breakfast you know. And its only the ones in this area, like along the road that I bother with at all. I mean guests usually look at the one area so they want somewhere close by...but no I run this with no real help from anyone...you just have to get on with it' (128/134).</li> </ul>

**Appendix Eight - Examples of raw interview text: transcripts from interview D4 and I13 with line numbers as formatted by WinMax**

1: Number of Interview: D4  
2:  
3: Date: 11 September 2001  
4:  
5: Name of interviewee: xxxxx  
6:  
7: Age of interviewee: 50  
8:  
9: Gender: Male  
10:  
11: Address: xxxxx Guest House, xxxxx Road,  
12: Broughty Ferry, Dundee  
13:  
14:  
15:  
16: I: Just really a chat to find out about running a guest house and why you decided to  
17: run a guest house, especially in this area as well as it is part of Dundee. Do you run  
18: this guest house on your own or do you have a partner?  
19:  
20: R: No, I run it myself.  
21:  
22: I: You run it yourself.  
23:  
24: R: Yep.  
25:  
26: I: Why did you decide to set up the business?  
27:  
28: R: I taught for fifteen years.  
29:  
30: I: Aha. Yes, you said on the phone that you were a teacher.  
31:  
32: R: Aye. Prior to that I was a work study engineer which is a systems person, time and  
33: motion. Doing systems work.  
34:  
35: I: Right.  
36:  
37: R: This was long before computers. Well, computers were there. Em, then I moved onto  
38: teaching. My sisters were teachers. One's a head teacher down south and one's in  
39: Glasgow. And, eh, I decided after fifteen years I'd had enough ... seen enough and I  
40: wanted to do something myself. Am I speaking too low for the machine?  
41:  
42: I: No, I think its ok.  
43:  
44: R: And, eh, that's what I did. I thought about it for a couple of years and did a lot of  
45: preparatory work for it.  
46:  
47: I: What kind of preparatory work?  
48:  
49: R: Well I did a lot of business plans and went and visited ... a lot of people go into  
50: this ... well if you go into the bed and breakfasts or guest houses a lot of people think that  
51: you can just open the door and welcome people in. you can do that but I wanted to do it  
52: the proper way and years to come if I wanted to pull out and withdraw I could do that  
53: with the background and information and the experience. So I cold call on most of the

54: companies, large and small in Dundee and the surrounding area over the river to St.  
55: Andrews way ... I introduced myself and what I hope to offer and that's where and how I  
56: did it ... I did a business plan and went to the business school in Dundee. I can't think of its  
57: name. I found that was a total waste of time. I had so much business experience anyway  
58: on the retail side. I had quite a bit of information on it and the information I had I used to  
59: lecture on the retail side. I'm not trying to be flippant but I felt I already had the  
60: information and I wanted to see if there was any more I could get. Accountancy wasn't a  
61: problem.

62:

63: I: Do you do your own?

64:

65: R: Yes, I do my own. In fact I'm just finishing it off just now and then I'll type it up. I  
66: just submit that on a yearly basis to an accountant in the Ferry. But this year she was  
67: staggered because she'll have no work to do. She'll just have to fill in the tax returns.  
68: You know everything is above board with us and that's the way we run it (pause).

69:

70:

71:

72: I: What's it like living in the same building as you run as a guest house?

73:

74: R: It's good ... It's tiring. It's demanding. For example, I'm on call if you like twenty-four  
75: hours. Now you say a small place like this you may how can you be on call twenty-four  
76: hours? You've got people who forget keys and people who go to weddings and return  
77: back late three or four in the morning. We can problems with loud voices in the night.  
78: Basically problems like that. I'm basically to keep my finger on the pulse, I can see what  
79: goes on and when it goes on and I can rectify things if I think there's going to be a  
80: problem. Not that I want you to go away thinking that there's loads of problems because  
81: we've got very professional clientele. We get a lot of company managers, directors,  
82: a lot of university people. We get quite a lot of tourists, but we've mainly now got people  
83: that back come to us. We get a lot of golfers, both pros and not-so pros. I don't want to  
84: drop names now, but we've had a lot of them. I've got two golfers in just now. I've  
85: actually got a very famous in right now who's got a Ferrari who's done a lot of C.d.'s and  
86: records and he's up to visit his father who stays here. Unfortunately I could not put him  
87: in, but he's up here for a week. He's quite a character.

88:

89: I: Who is he?

90:

91: R: Margaret, my other half will tell you his name. I can't even remember the name, I'm  
92: not into that kind of thing but he's a record producer in London. You'll get to see the red  
93: Ferrari as he'll probably drive it to the door. Only ten in the UK, or ten in the world, one  
94: of the two.

95:

96: I: I noticed the no vacancy sign at the front. Is that the same all year round or is this  
97: a busy time?

98:

99: R: Well it is a bit of a lottery because when we opened up we weren't too sure who you  
100: were going to get and when you were going to get them, tourists or other people. And  
101: after cold calling and getting established in the market you find at any one time that  
102: seventy-five percent of the rooms are away and then you're waiting for the other rooms  
103: to go. We've not got many rooms but if I'm full all the time that's a comfortable living  
104: for me. Eh, we have a lot of golfers who use us during the week and even in winter from  
105: down south the border and the London area. I'm not talking about Newcastle way, I'm  
106: talking about real south. And they come up and maybe spend Friday, Saturday, Sunday

107: and Monday going to five, six or seven golf courses. Early in the morning, they go away  
108: in the morning and I don't see them again until night time.

109:

110: I: So, how do they know about redwood guest house?

111:

112: R: Its now...well, its now word of mouth mostly now. You're on the tourist e-mail and  
113: the computer base. What do you call it? The web. We've not got one ourselves  
114: because...well, we've been toying with the idea, yes no yes no yes no, and the answer's  
115: no just now. Simply because if I'm full then I don't see the purpose of doing it. Em, if it's  
116: a case of spending money then I will spend money if I have to do it. I mean I still can't  
117: make up my mind about it. I went up to the chamber of commerce in Dundee and eh I  
118: went through the whole thing for a period of about two months, oh about a year ago, so  
119: I'm all ready to go when I want to go. But its the costings of things, you know, that I  
120: want to do, you know the hardware and software? But lately I don't see why I should do  
121: it if I've got people in and I'm quite busy. I've even been turning down people. Just the  
122: other day two ladies wanted five days but I can't do it. It breaks my heart but I can't do it.

123:

124: I: Yeah?

125:

126: R: You could say well why don't you expand, well if I expand I could have rooms sitting  
127: empty and I'd rather be tight and compact. I'm not saying I won't one day. I nearly  
128: bought the house next door. These houses are at practical vantage points for people.  
129: There's people who come from the big cities, you know, from the Birminghams, and they  
130: can't believe it. They're gob smacked. You can see it in their look right away. Well,  
131: that's basically it. What we do and what we insist upon, and I know this sounds a bit of a  
132: cliché, but its customer service. And eh, up until about ten years ago I didn't really, well I  
133: thought well if a customer comes in then do what you can do and that's it. But now I try  
134: to go that little bit extra with silver cutlery and all this carry on. We are the only four star  
135: in the whole area you know? You'll not get another one.

136:

137: I: Yes, I noticed that.

138:

139: R: They're seeing something that's good. For example, a couple from Sweden  
140: recommended us for the best food in the best British guide which is a bible to a lot of  
141: business people. Its not a big brochure that you get. It's a small thing, just like a bible. A  
142: lot of them carry it in their brief cases so we get them through that as well. You know, the  
143: hidden guest, because you don't know when you're being visited. It's a mystery.

144:

145: I: Oh, right.

146:

147: R: Yes, a mystery guest. I mean, you could be a customer right now. However, if I know  
148: you are I'll track you down. (laugh) That's what happens. You get the mystery guest  
149: when you get an inspection you don't know because if you know you can prepare. It's the  
150: same with mystery shoppers in the super market and eh, you've got to work towards  
151: certain criteria for certain things you know. The way you treat people and the conditions  
152: and so on and you get marks, ten out of twelve or whatever. Its broken up into  
153: percentages and you get given an idea of the pass mark which lets you know what areas  
154: you could improve upon. Its not a whipping stick. A lot of people take it the wrong way.  
155: It's a thing to show you whether there's a weakness there. But, I find myself I start to  
156: challenge the people who are looking at me.

157:

158: I: What do you mean?

159:

160: R: Well, I've done a lot of this in the past and I find out that I'm maybe overqualified. I  
161: mean well I could probably teach them the job. I've found myself sitting down and  
162: discussing it with them at times you know. Maybe I'm a wee bit distant to be in this  
163: business than a lot of people but that's just the way I am. I still do a bit of lecturing in  
164: some of the... in Monifieth high up this way and there's another one down the back of the  
165: ferry, I don't even know the name of it. Every year towards the end of term they have a  
166: fifth year or whatever's symposium about trades and professions you can go into and I  
167: still get asked a lot to do my wee hour's stint or half hour's stint. So, I quite enjoy that.

168:

169: I: Do you see yourself as an entrepreneur?

170:

171: R: No. No, although I could very much be. Em, he said with a twinkle in his eye. I mean  
172: yes, I could very much but when I think to myself I think I'll stay here for five years. I  
173: mean, I love the area so much. I mean I love Glasgow. I moved away from it some years  
174: ago. I like this area so much. There's so much to offer me and what I like to do. Em...

175:

176: I: Is that why you stayed here?

177:

178: R: Yes. My lifestyle is nice here. It really is lovely. This area you're in here. That's a  
179: conservation area so what I've got to do has got to conform a hundred percent to the local  
180: council. A piece of useless information for you. About the eighteen nineties until about  
181: nineteen ten this was the... well about a square mile from here up the way and not down  
182: the way because the conservation area stops at the wall. This was the most expensive  
183: square mile of real estate in the world. I bet you didn't know that? This was where the  
184: jute barons were thriving. If you just take a wee wander round the back you'd be gob  
185: smacked with some of the houses. So, I like the area. I like the kind of area it is. Its got  
186: what I want in the way of driving, walking, because I do a lot of hill walking and things  
187: like that. Its got the shopping which I don't do a lot but its got that on the other side. Its  
188: got restaurants. Its got pubs and its an up and coming place. It really has. But in saying  
189: that I would move away but I would have to be very selective.

190:

191: I: You would move?

192:

193: R: Yes.

194:

195: I: Where would you think of moving to?

196:

197: R: Well, em, it would have to be the east coast if it were in Britain because the climate's  
198: far, far better to me on the east coast than on the west where you've got the wind off the  
199: Irish coast and you've got the rain. We looked at York and we looked at Chester. We  
200: looked at Durham. All these have got the influence of the east coast and the roman  
201: influence right the way down. They're very, very similar these places. Its funny when  
202: you just look back and just say well why didn't we choose there. And out of all the places  
203: we've chosen and visited were very similar. We were back to a lot of these places and  
204: had meetings with people before we even settled down here. We were going to move to  
205: Berwick and a deal fell through the day we put an offer in but I'll not go into that. I  
206: pulled out at the last minute just minutes to go, well about an hour to go before we signed  
207: the contract. I kick myself in a lot of ways for that as well because it was before the  
208: Scottish parliament came into being and properties in Edinburgh and North Berwick have  
209: shot up. But that's life. I'm up here now. The properties are quite dear in this area as well  
210: but they're not what they're like in Edinburgh. Its funny but the bubble will burst. So,  
211: that's a wee bit of my background. If you want to ask anything else I'll try and answer  
212: you but if I can't I'll just say I'm sorry but I can't help you.

213:

214: I: How long have you run the business?

215:

216: R: Three years.

217:

218: I: Three years. right.

219:

220: R: Three years, yeah. I've done a hell of a lot. I've put in en-suites in every room. The

221: house has been done from top to bottom and the garden has been completely re-done.

222: One of the good things is you get a wonderful view at the front. You get a lovely peaceful

223: scene of tranquility at the back. You're not seeing the best of it just now at this time of

224: year because the flowers aren't there. There are some at the front and they've been there

225: since around August/ July. Its amazing. There's been an awful lot of work round the back

226: and I've done it all myself. The hedge has just been done and I'm working on the path.

227: I'm awful regimented and I work in a wee box which gives me time to do other things

228: like a bit of teaching. I require forty-eight hours notice for a phone call from the school so

229: that I can say yes I can or no I can't do it. Em, a lot of places... This sounds like a sweetie

230: wife. If I sound like a sweetie wife. But I've played a wee bit of professional football as

231: well believe it or not.

232:

233: I: Really?

234:

235: R: Yeah, up in the queens park. But the thing is I do everything myself. I do all the

236: washing. I do it all myself. I mean, the places round about send it off to places to be done.

237: They get people in to do repairs but I do all that myself. Apart from electric work. I

238: mean, its ok plugs and things like that but building work I'll do myself.

239:

240: I: Do you have anyone to help you with day to day things?

241:

242: R: No, I do it all myself. Yeah, I do it myself. Em...

243:

244: I: How many rooms do you have for guests?

245:

246: R: I've got four letting. If you count up four letting over a seven day period and for

247: couples its alright. Its like how many bags of crisps can you buy for a hundred pounds. It

248: doesn't seem a lot a hundred pounds but in packets of crisps it's a lot.

249:

250: I: Mmm.

251:

252: R: But you've got to keep at it to get rooms full. I mean, if I don't get a room full I begin

253: to...well, in a couple of days I begin to ask what's wrong and have I done something

254: wrong. Is it something I'm doing or is it something wrong with the house? Because if you

255: took a room and there's a problem and you told me about it then I can do something

256: about it. But if you don't tell me about it then I can't do anything to fix it. But if you tell

257: me there's a problem then that'll be done by the time you come back at night. I do it

258: myself or I'll get someone in to do it. That's the way I am. Because the overheads are

259: fine because I'm living in the place as well. So, I've got my heating and my lighting my

260: cooking. And because I'm living in the place I won't let people vandalise it. Which, with

261: the kind of clientele I've got it doesn't happen. In fact its quite the opposite. We get

262: lovely letters from all over the place you know.

263:

264: I: So you get a lot of feedback from guests then?

265:



266: R: Oh, yes. A lot of feedback. Lots of feedback. A lot of Christmas cards we get now  
267: from all over. I mean some of the people you get are amazing. Absolutely amazing. I  
268: would never have believed in my time why people would be passing by. My minds like  
269: this. I would be thinking, you know, why come here, where are you going and I get lots  
270: of people asking me now if I can give them a route or routes so what I do now is I try and  
271: ask them...I keep behind the scenes, right? I'm blethering to you because you asked me. I  
272: keep behind the scenes. But if I hear when I'm serving breakfast or something and  
273: someone says to me can you help me with this or what's the best road for this then I'll  
274: come in. And some mornings its marvelous through there. The whole thing where there's  
275: three or four tables full and we're just sitting there and its nice to hear. not just where  
276: they come from. It's a geography and a history lesson. Its everything. Everything rolled  
277: into one. And I'm interested in people but very, very interested in the area and the  
278: geography and the history of the area. So if I find out that you're interested in a particular  
279: thing and you're going to Y and Y is nothing like that at all, its not even got a nice area to  
280: go to and the roads are bad then I might direct you to X and save you a couple of days of  
281: your holiday booking in somewhere.

282:

283: I: So you act a bit like a tourist guide then?

284:

285: R: I do that. Very much so. I do that more than the tourist people do. I mean, when I go to  
286: the tourist board meetings I tend to be very quiet and just sit and listen and when I hear  
287: verbal diarrhea being spouted I can't help it I've just got to come in. I've just got to. I just  
288: can't believe because its different when you're at the tip of the arrow and I mean we've  
289: got a very good rapport with the tourist board. Eh, we don't ... I still think of the tourist  
290: board that for the money we pay we don't get enough calls to tell us they've got people.  
291: But that could be our end as well to say if we've got places.

292:

293: I: Do you get referrals from the tourist board?

294:

295: R: No, we don't get many at all. In a range of one to ten of people calling I would say one  
296: stroke two if that are from the tourist board.

297:

298: I: Right.

299:

300: R: They sometimes phone me up and say Brian can you do one for the night or two  
301: doubles and I'll say sorry I can't. I mean we missed two on Saturday which was our fault  
302: because we were out. We came back in at three and we had had three phone calls from  
303: the tourist board. And, well, once they're gone, they're gone. But you can't be in twenty-  
304: four hours a day. A lot of people because we're four star and the way we run it think  
305: we're a hotel and a lot of people think the quality we've got, now you may think the  
306: opposite, we're better than some of the hotels. I've been in worse hotels lets put it that  
307: way. And so they expect someone to be here twenty-four hours a day. I've got to go out  
308: and do things. I've got to go out to the cash and carry and to the shops. I've got a  
309: thousand things to do. Once I get tidied up then I'm away. Well, I'm not away but I'm  
310: out. (pause) I've got pride in this. This room seems private just now but I mean this  
311: room's open to people. And what you see in this room right now are a lot of valuable  
312: things. Eh, that wee doll on the end there, now why I'm saying that and I'm not getting  
313: carried away...people say well why don't you lock all these things away. Now, that wee  
314: doll was on the antique roads show which is a show on television. That's about three  
315: thousand pounds that one there.

316:

317: I: Really?

318:

319: R: Yeah, that was the one that was on it. A lot of things like that clock in the middle is  
320: worth about two grand. I mean there's a lot of money sitting out here. But we've had  
321: nothing, touch wood, lifted. Because people just come in and that's the way the bedrooms  
322: are as well. Whereas a lot of places you go into, if you think about some of the places you  
323: get in Edinburgh you get a box, and you lie in a box. Well, I've gone through it myself  
324: and that's it. Whereas if you've got things and we've not just got them. I mean this is my  
325: life. I say well why not show them? Why not have them out? It certainly gives us pride in  
326: ourselves.

327:

328: I: Its your home as well.

329:

330: R: Exactly. I mean people come in and we're inclined to respect them. We get from time  
331: to time men who work in the em, well they're not labourers. They work on sites as  
332: foremen etc. Great guys but the thing is when they come up they have their great boots on  
333: covered in mud and so on. But its marvelous, I mean this is how I know that things have  
334: worked and things are clicking when wee things like when you come to the door and you  
335: let them in and they ask if you've got a piece of paper that they can put their boots on.  
336: And when you see guys like that without asking them. That shows that something's  
337: worked here. So, there we go. That's just the way it is.

338:

339: I: Do you keep certain rooms for your own private use only?

340:

341: R: We mainly keep the back of the house. I've got a room upstairs. We've got huge attic  
342: space up there which I've completely gutted out and I've almost completed the flooring.  
343: I've got eighty percent completed now. The electrics and everything are up there. There's  
344: about the height of the lights over there is the height of the ceiling. And em, about twice  
345: the size of this room so that'll be...and I'll put a spiral staircase up. I can't put windows  
346: round the front because it's a conservation area. But I can do it round the back. Just  
347: smaller windows. But it just means that there's another place that I can go to up there. So,  
348: I can't make up my mind whether I want to make this lounge into another bedroom or  
349: something like that. I think it can be converted but I don't want things vandalised. I mean  
350: that mantle piece is a hundred and fifty years old, I mean that's not a mark up. Its an  
351: original. I know the history of the house. They're great rooms. You could sit here for  
352: hours.

353:

354: I: Those are interesting things to tell guests. Are they interested or...?

355:

356: R: Oh, yes. A lot of them are. People love this room. I'm not going to bore you with  
357: some of the stories but people are totally at ease in this room. I mean, I've had American  
358: couples. Mum and Dad sitting on the couch and Mum knitting away and the daughter  
359: sitting on the floor. I mean when you've got a girl sitting on the floor and people sitting  
360: about just casually you think she's comfortable here. They're relaxed. You know. I mean,  
361: I come to the door sometimes, I bet you're thinking I'm a right sight now but I sometimes  
362: come to the door you know. Well, me and some of my friends, four of us got our heads  
363: shaved for the Macmillan cancer trust. That was four or five months ago and its never  
364: grown in again. I'm totally used to it now. I only did it because it was summer. And I did  
365: it and that was it. But eh, it was quite funny when I got it done because we had guests in  
366: and a couple didn't recognise me when I opened the door. Same person, you know?  
367:

368: I: What rooms do you share?

369:

370: R: This one. Well, the dining room but that's really it. But we don't really have our  
371: breakfast in the dining room. I'll show you round the house. We have a kitchen which is

372: where we spend most of our time. We've got a big table in there so we just there. There's  
373: a sun trap out the back. The area we've got the house is a good area to be in. When  
374: Autumn comes and the leaves disappear off the trees you can actually sit here and see the  
375: whole river. In fact Margaret was sitting here last night and she said oh, get your  
376: binoculars as there was a big liner there and you could see its lights twinkling through the  
377: trees. I was surprised to see it. So, there you go.

378:

379: I: Do you find it difficult managing staying in the same space as your guests or is  
380: that not a problem?

381:

382: R: Eh, no. But negative points would be listening for people coming in at night. I can't  
383: shut off for that. And nine times, nine and a half times out of ten I would hear a door  
384: opening and I would hear the footsteps and the door close and I'm quite happy. But on  
385: the odd occasion you would get somebody a wee bit under the weather which we all have  
386: been from time to time and you just listen to see if things are alright. I'm very wary. I'm  
387: very astute and good at judging people. And I can more or less tell you right away, and I  
388: mean this, Margaret will tell you. You can tell if maybe someone's just using you and  
389: they could possibly run out on you.

390:

391: I: Have you had that?

392:

393: R: I've had one. One chap who again the vibes were telling me something wasn't right.  
394: Margaret booked him in. And I was listening while she booked him in and, you know,  
395: one and one were making three. The long term and all this nonsense. It was just the  
396: way he was gabbing on, you know. And he got up in the morning and went away. He'd  
397: only lain on top of the bed and he hadn't been under the sheets or used the shower. But  
398: that's the only one. From then on we've been pretty ok.

399:

400: I: Was that when you had just set up the business?

401:

402: R: Yeah, about six months afterwards. Again, in hindsight I could have stopped it. I could  
403: have just walked out and said no, I'm sorry but we're full. I have turned people away  
404: although I've had a vacancy sign up. They've said well why have you got a vacancy sign  
405: up and I've said I'm sorry you know I meant to change the sign sort of thing. As you  
406: said, it's my place of existence. It's where I live. There's a chap who stayed here, he's still  
407: here in fact. He's a big property developer in Dundee. He's bought a lot of university  
408: ground. He's bought a lot of the garages. He's from New Zealand. He stayed here for  
409: three months. I saw him the other day in fact. He was looking at the house next door.  
410: They've not been sold many times these houses and this one came on the market. The old  
411: man of ninety-two died and he asked me if he bought the house would I take it over and  
412: run it for him. You know, he would knock the walls through and every thing else. With  
413: the proviso that I could buy it off him after he left. But it was needing too much work at  
414: the time, not the structure of the house but it had no heating, those old two-pin wiring I  
415: don't know if you remember that? It needed a hell of a work so I did a costing for him  
416: and I reasoned it'd be sixty grand to get the thing up to scratch. But he decided against it.  
417: He worked as a director for the Abbey National and then he went free lance so...so that's  
418: it. So, I've no regrets so far.

419:

420: I: So what are the main benefits of running a business like this?

421:

422: R: I love talking to people. I like the freedom it gives me of doing what I want to do  
423: when I want to do it. I'm a disciplined character and I can discipline myself. If you were  
424: a slip shod person or a person who just wants to sit back and have a gin and tonic all day

425: long and go down to the pub, which you could easily fall into. Forget it because you  
426: business wouldn't exist. I must see my accounts have been done simply because I'm not a  
427: goodie two shoes but I want to see how my business is progressing or otherwise. I want  
428: to compare like with like. So this is only the second year that I can compare what we've  
429: been doing. And the last few years we've had...the last year the British open was down  
430: south I think at Royal Lytham and the year before that at St. Andrews and at Carnoustie.  
431: Now the Carnoustie and St. Andrews was just tremendous because the place was just  
432: heaving with people. People were pleading. But I always think ahead of myself. I'm  
433: always proactive. I hate reactive people who are like we'll sort it, we'll fix it, but if you  
434: only think ahead you might not have that problem you know? So I was wondering at the  
435: time what it would be like if we didn't have the golf and a big competition like that.  
436: Bearing in mind also there's the mad cow disease, foot and mouth and BSE or whatever  
437: you want to call it. We've had a few people canceling because of that but passing trade  
438: helped us but saying that there's a lot of construction work going on with this new water  
439: project and there's a lot of sewage works at the front down at the harbour and there's also  
440: a lot of work going on over this way, just south facing here, with the water pipes.  
441: There're renewing them. So, there's a lot of people in the area. So, I think that if  
442: everywhere thinks they're going to get the same trade forget it. I think there's a lot, I  
443: know there's a lot of people in this trade, this business who just fall into it or are just  
444: doing it because they think its an easy option. I know that and I don't think that if they  
445: get a hard time they'll know how to get out of it. Whereas my wee bit of business sense  
446: will maybe pull me out of it before I, I'll maybe get through it better. Its hard to explain.  
447: Think some of them would just, you know, throw their pinny off and say oh what's  
448: happening you know? I think wait a minute here, if you can think in advance of that. I'm  
449: advertising shortly in some of the golfing magazines but there are so many you've got to  
450: be selective. It costs so much. So, its ok if a big company, if you're working for a big  
451: company, have adverts of a full page or a quarter page but when you have your own  
452: business you think good god that's costing a lot of money you know? That's the way it  
453: goes. The yellow pages is a freebie. If you want any more than a line you've got to pay  
454: about a hundred pounds. All the advertising things we have here, you don't get them, you  
455: go into the tourist board and you get some of them. I've made a lot of contacts with a lot  
456: of people and I've got a lot of brochures which I just take round. I've got a lot of people  
457: who deal with the Scottish golfing association now come in and just drop a parcel at my  
458: door, you don't even need to open the door now you know. So I've got a lot of parcels  
459: that you won't find at the tourist office. I made up different things for the rooms. You  
460: know, like things that I would read if I was in a guest house or a hotel. I come up with  
461: ideas. I'm always coming up with ideas whether its when I'm walking the dog and its  
462: something to do with the garden or whether I'm in a bed and breakfast that I've just come  
463: back from last week. I pick up ideas and try them out and think to myself that's good or  
464: that's bad. But I find that everyone whether you've got money or no money, yeah? Or  
465: whether you've got a big house or small house, good garden or small garden, everyone's  
466: got a good idea. Everyone. You know I'm always saying that. I'll walk down a really  
467: rough area and I think oh that's good and I can see that and I can adjust that wee bit.  
468:

469: I: So you try and be creative?

470:

471: R: Very much so. If you see the garden out there. We've just done it ourself. I can picture  
472: a lot of things in my mind you know? I can see it. I maybe can't describe it all the time  
473: but once I do it and it comes together. I enjoy gardening and I enjoy working with my  
474: hands and bricks and cutting away and doing things. Yeah I do. I like to see it all coming  
475: together. I've just got people in but I've got this idea for a conservatory out the back and  
476: I can just see it finished. But I can't make up my mind whether I would keep the dining  
477: room as a dining room or change the dining room into a bedroom or another lounge type

478: place you know. I just can't make up my mind what I'm going to do. Which I have to do  
479: before I start knocking down walls you know. But that's still very much in the pipeline. I  
480: think you should come back next year and I'd probably have that up but I can just see it. I  
481: can honestly see it. I mean this house was just a skeleton. My partner's sister lives in  
482: Germany and she teaches Braille to the Germans in the school over there. She's married  
483: to a German chap Claus who teaches English and em, they've a bilingual daughter who  
484: works in the media. She works in the Frankfurt television and she was across here and we  
485: got her into working at Radio Tay to work for a fortnight while she was here. When she  
486: was here though we were just doing up the place and stepping over the floor boards and  
487: everything. I can always remember it. I'm always going to remember you now because of  
488: that awful plane crash on television today. Things trigger off you know. Hat just the way  
489: it is.

490:

491: I: Do you think you'll feel the same way about your business in five years time as  
492: you do now?

493:

494: R: No.

495:

496: I: No? How do you think you'll feel?

497:

498: R: No. My mind wanders a lot. I've got to be moving on and doing things but I don't like  
499: to be changing my base. So if I moved away it would possibly be in the same area. I  
500: would probably like a bigger house with a bigger driveway so that you could get five or  
501: six cars up, but this was a house that was nearer to the Ferry and nearer to the trade and  
502: just to change the subject slightly, my problem was when I started was what kind of trade  
503: or clientele was I after. Or thank God you've got anyone coming in you know? It's a  
504: difficult thing. Its like opening a small grocer's shop and you've got twelve loaves of  
505: white bread and your customers come in you know and say can I've a loaf of bread and a  
506: paper and away you go and you're quite happy and if a big car screeched up and asked  
507: for twelve loaves what would you do? I don't know, you know? Who's more important  
508: the bus driver or the conductor? You can go on with these forever. You know these  
509: things? So, it was the clientele that was the professional type I was after. If possible. You  
510: can be selective. You can be. But its worked out and I would say seventy thirty that way  
511: now. People phone up now in advance from all over the place. I've got four guys in just  
512: now as well who've taken two rooms. I've got other people as well but these four guys  
513: are stopping me having...this is a terrible thing to say...but these chaps are stopping me  
514: having other people that I would want. And yet the four guys are no trouble.

515:

516: I: Why is that?

517:

518: R: A: Just the way my mind works. Because they're not the people I ...this sounds  
519: terrible...but its just the way I am and the people I want.

520:

521: I: And they're not the kind you would want?

522:

523: R: No.

524:

525: I: And so you're scared that...

526:

527: R: I'm not scared. I'm just always wary that something might go or there might be a  
528: problem at night. Margaret had a couple phone up at the weekend there. She said or  
529: we've a couple coming and I said great because the other couple of people left on Friday  
530: morning. It was a huge day for me. There was so much to do I felt like Ronnie Corbet. so

531: many beds to do on a Friday its like murder. And it was great as they stayed Saturday and  
532: Sunday and went away Monday so we had everything ready again for people coming in  
533: on Monday night. And you can never tell. I mean I didn't know what you were like and  
534: you didn't know what I was like, em until you arrived at the door. All weekend we were  
535: very uneasy. For instance one of the chaps and his wife they went to one of the rooms  
536: and the other chap went to the other. They were going to a wedding or a wedding  
537: reception or whatever. And they went out about nine o'clock and we went to our beds I  
538: can't remember what time but it must have been about eleven o'clock and we heard some  
539: people coming in and the door shutting so we thought that was fine and then we thought  
540: it was more than one door we heard shutting? Then we heard another door shut and then  
541: it opened and then it shut again and then in the morning we found out that one of the  
542: couples had come back and then they'd gone away and stayed somewhere else. Cause  
543: they'd met someone at this wedding reception, an estranged father or something like that.  
544: We didn't know what was happening and they came back for clothes. We said could you  
545: please vacate rooms for ten o'clock but they were wanting them until twelve and we had  
546: people coming in at one o'clock in the afternoon. It was just the people they were. You  
547: see life. Its marvelous. We've had fishermen, we've had everything. We've had lovely  
548: people. I had in my younger days three pubs in Dumfries.

549:

550: I: Did you?

551:

552: R: Aha. I had two of them and I rented the third one on a long lease. One of them was a  
553: small hotel. I can't stand fools. Can't stand nonsense. I'm a great practical joker. I'll do  
554: all these things. I love humour and I love comedy but I can spot an idiot right away and  
555: I'll be like you bore me you know? That's what they'll be saying about me but that's just  
556: the way I am. I like mixing with people. Love it. I went out for a night out Thursday  
557: night, one of my friends just phoned me up. His wife had just had a baby and they were  
558: going to wet its head. I didn't know they did it in this area. But I thought oh I'll just go  
559: and I had a great time. But...if there's any nonsense in the house with people trying to do  
560: things then I'll pull them up right away. I'll hold back and I'll look but I'll not back off.  
561: If it came to the point then I'll not hesitate in saying look thanks very much for your  
562: business but no thanks and can you just pack your bags and go, you know? I would do  
563: that. I wouldn't loose a wink of sleep even if I wasn't staying here. That's the way I am.  
564:

565: I: And when you go away do you stay in small guest houses?

566:

567: R: Yes. I'm going down to Berwick way in about three weeks time and I'm booked into a  
568: small place. I know where it is and I've always wanted to see it. And a few weeks ago...it  
569: sounds as if we go away all the time but we didn't go away at all the first few years...so  
570: we decide now to go away. I used to get a hell of a holidays but now because now if I'm  
571: out of the house and the phone rings you would book up and look ahead and book up and  
572: I'll come back and say oh no you booked up and we can't phone the person up and cancel  
573: it or vice versa and I would do the same. So we got to the stage, and this is only a few  
574: months ago, that we would score out a whole week. You just have to do it or you can't  
575: get away. Then we thought why don't we have someone in to run the place. That we  
576: could do but I'm not yet in that position. That will probably happen. I'm in the position  
577: now perhaps of getting someone in to give me a hand a few days a week. But that will  
578: probably be next summer now...I like to keep my distance and keep out of the way. If  
579: you come to a small hotel, a guest house or a bed and breakfast you're coming to relax or  
580: to energize or you're passing through as a tourist, you're enjoying the life of another  
581: place or their custom. If you're a businessman you're probably hating it unless you're  
582: going to sign a big deal up, you're probably thing it because you're away from your  
583: girlfriend, your wife or whatever. Eh, so you've got to sort of temper how you are with

584: people. You can't rule them with a big rod otherwise you'll have no one coming in.  
585: They'll say oh you can't go into Redwood you know? For God's sake, if you don't sign  
586: your name then they'll chase you down the street. So I just back off. You're seeing me  
587: different because you're asking me questions. So if you see me in the morning you'll not  
588: see me because I'll just be serving you breakfast. If you want a wee bit of talk or  
589: conversation then I'll do it. I come in with maps sometimes and stretch them out on the  
590: floor. I'll say where are you wanting to go and we'll plan routes. I like talking to people. I  
591: learn so much. We've even had people from Lapland in here.

592:

593: I: Really?

594:

595: R: Lapland. You know, I only thought Santa Claus lives in Lapland. While they were  
596: here it interested me to the point of being nosey but it just interested me why someone  
597: from Lapland would come to Dundee. And he was fixing the incinerators for all of the  
598: area for your waste products for all the bins. He couldn't speak a word. You know  
599: everyone I've met could speak a wee bit of English. We're the lazy people. And he asked  
600: me for a taxi in the morning and I said yeah and he was actually going to Glasgow airport  
601: from here. That didn't mean anything to him at all that kind of money as the company  
602: would pay for that. The big Virgin cinema up at Douglas way there's a big Virgin cinema  
603: there. Two of the secretaries from Virgin came up here as they were doing a camera  
604: shoot and the guy, hell of a nice, and the girl, and they brought their stuff in. They were  
605: doing a film of the area, an introduction to Dundee etc. for the new cinema complex.  
606: They didn't arrive till late, plane was delayed and eh, they were supposed to arrive here at  
607: about eight at night to change to be up there for about nine o'clock and they phoned me  
608: up about eleven o'clock saying Brian we're running late and we're terribly sorry and  
609: everything else and we've not booked in yet. They said come up and have a cocktail with  
610: us, we'll send the car up for you and get it to take you back down. Now these guys, I  
611: couldn't do it, but these guys come down here again when they were finished about two  
612: or three in the morning and they would be up at five to go away again to get a plane. I  
613: had their breakfast ready, it doesn't matter what time you get up I'll have your breakfast  
614: done ready for you or whatever you want. A lot of people don't bother, they won't even  
615: entertain it. Its not often it happens but I'll do it. Because I like to see people right.  
616: Whether you want it or not, if you've asked for breakfast you'll have breakfast sitting  
617: there.

618:

619: I: What kind of guests do you cater for mostly?

620:

621: R: Mainly people staying two or three nights. Em, I don't like one nighters because it's a  
622: lot of work for only one night but that's the way it is. There's a lot of things you don't  
623: like in life but you've just got to put up with it.

624:

625: I: Did you live in Dundee prior to setting up the business?

626:

627: R: I lived in Monifieth. Same road in fact but it changes its name to Ferry road. We liked  
628: this house as its on a busy road. I'd been in the house next door. I can't remember why.  
629: about ten years ago or something. I can't remember why I was in that house. Anyway, I  
630: always thought it was a good size house as a starting block. And this was came on the  
631: market and I said to margaret come and look at this one and she said no I don't want it.  
632: And I said its better on the inside than you think when you go into it. Its got a great wide  
633: staircase, you know for elderly people. You've got to watch a lot of that as well. And  
634: when we came in she was just sold on it right away so there was a lot of people put in for  
635: it. And that was what happened. That was it so...I mean we could have ended up  
636: somewhere else. After we pulled out of the one at Berwick we looked down at Chester

637: and went back up to York. We like York. We go down every Christmas to York, wander  
638: about.

639:

640: I: What do you think about Dundee in terms of a tourist destination?

641:

642: R: I think Dundee has picked itself up lock stock and barrel. Its some two hundred  
643: percent better than when I moved here. If a stranger came to Dundee they'd get a bit of a  
644: surprise. Ok, nobody wants change. That's the oldest thing you know. But the resources  
645: they had and they have they're doing a hell of a lot to it. But anywhere can improve. But  
646: Dundee has...I can't wait to see the Riverside when its improved. I keep seeing reports in  
647: the papers about that. I don't know where they get the money from. In theory I like  
648: Dundee. I think the docks are going to be tremendous when they're finished as well. I just  
649: hope the docks take off and don't just become a red herring. You know, a one year  
650: wonder, two year wonder and then dissappear. I can see that with the Canary Warf in  
651: London and the flower show in Glasgow where they did that many years ago. The  
652: penthouse flats then came along. And there are many, many people in Dundee with a lot  
653: of money and I'm talking about Ferry and these areas as well. There's a hell of a money  
654: in this areas. I mean people just think about the schemes of Fintry and Whitfield and all  
655: that but everywhere has got these places. That's life. There's a market for that. But  
656: there's a hell of a money in this area. Don't let anyone kid you. Money is absolutely  
657: oozing in this area. So I think its got a beautiful river there and the countryside's  
658: fantastic. St. Andrews has got one of the royal family going there but even without him  
659: it's a wonderful place St. Andrews. People in Dundee don't even come down to the Ferry  
660: in their lifetime probably. I can't understand that. You know it's the there's nothing to do.  
661: This is the thing, nothing to do, how can there be nothing to do if you've got your health  
662: and a mind that's ticking over. You know, go and do it. Anyway, sorry. This is a great  
663: starting point for any business. Its not really a city but its got a good night life and there's  
664: restaurants and pubs opening up all the time. The scenery's wonderful. I sound like an  
665: old foggy but we get a lot of young people here. Hopefully the beach will come up to  
666: standard but I can't really see it.

667:

668: I: What else do you think about the area?

669:

670: R: Well, I wish in a way that I had a house in the west end of Dundee where the  
671: university is.

672:

673: I: Do you mean along Perth road?

674:

675: R: Yeah, along that way because I would have more business probably. The problem you  
676: have in the Ferry is that there are so many forty pound a night big places that are just  
677: being built. You know, places people will stay in just for the bed? There's going to be  
678: one built in the Ferry and there's to be one...well the one in the Ferry has a question  
679: mark. But there's going to be one at the docks as well. Now that's going for the normal  
680: tourist end of the market and that's our end of the market. I'm talking about me and  
681: everyone else on this road. But the others can't see it. You know, they're like oh the  
682: tourists will come. I think why should people come. I mean when they've driven all the  
683: way from Leeds and they hit Dundee and the first thing they see at the roundabout is a  
684: big sign for a big hotel saying bed and breakfast, and mean why should they not stop and  
685: go there for the night. I mean why should they go further. The only way I can pull them  
686: out is to give them the service and the quality and try. I mean that's the only thing I have.  
687: I can't offer anything else. I can't. And its somewhere that they'll want to come back and  
688: a home from home. I don't know. Maybe. A lot of people have said that to me, a home  
689: from home. I make them feel a wee bit more special and I suppose a wee bit more



690: intimate than the big boys. That's all you can do. But if the trade were to fall I couldn't  
691: go on. I mean it is a business. I would probably move and run a guest house somewhere  
692: else. But we've ploughed everything into this place.

693:

694: I: Are you a member of any other formal associations?

695:

696: R: Well, we're not members of the AA. We never really thought about it to be honest.

697: We're due another STB inspection September/ October. First time we got one a man and

698: woman came and they never spoke to each other and stayed in separate rooms. The

699: woman came down and got the bill and then the chap came down.

700:

701: I: Did you think they were inspectors?

702:

703: R: No. They sat at separate tables and never spoke. Well, hello, good morning. And they

704: were from the tourist board doing an inspection. Wonderful. I mean, and me walking

705: about like John Cleese in the kitchen. I was delighted with my four stars. And the next

706: year it was the same. I also try and keep the garden nice. We had a wee putting green

707: there but the grass is not cut short enough for it just now. I've got wee flags and I've got

708: a golf net I put up at the back and they can launch into the golf. So they can have a wee

709: practice swing before they go out to the golf. Last weekend I had four guys up from

710: London, from Maidstone, Kent. Sorry, South of London. And they were playing out at

711: the London tournaments in Carnoustie. They were out at Carnoustie every day. And there

712: are some other guys from down that way who come up here every year for a week. And

713: do so many courses as they can. Go out in the morning about seven and I don't see them

714: again until about nine at night. Playing two or three rounds of golf. That's heavy going

715: that. Twenty mile radius golf courses you know. I can give you all the statistics.

716:

717: I: Do you know or network with the other guest house owners in the area?

718:

719: R: I know their names and some of them to talk to but I don't know them intimately. We

720: do have a party about once a year. We have a night out at Christmas. We all have

721: different views. There's a lot of them don't do a lot of things. We can actually charge

722: more than a lot of them but we don't and that bugs me a bit. Some of them down the road

723: have Scottish Tourist Board stickers in the windows and they're not even members.

724:

725: I: Really?

726:

727: R: There's some of them have old stickers in the windows and they've been downgraded

728: and they've still got the old stickers up. But don't quote me on that. I sometimes phone

729: them up and say I'm full can you do one for the night. So we get on that way. But it's the

730: old Jewish thing, business is business my dear you know? I suppose there's an awful

731: amount goes into the economy and treasury from small businesses like this. We're not the

732: youngest. We're the second or third. But there's two down the road get a lot in and

733: they're not even members of the tourist board. They've got people as they're sisters of

734: people. I mean, I've even got insurance for people falling down the down the stairs and

735: things because I don't want to caught like that. For the tourist board every room has got

736: to have a matching theme in it. The inspection thing is about twenty sheets or something

737: like that. Just trying to think. Its got all these various points and there are so many points

738: to a sheet. Which you can understand. I've been to a couple of meetings down at Tayside

739: House, you know, the council.

740:

741: I: What about the council. Do you think that they look out for the interests of small

742: guest house owners like yourself?

743:

744: R: They don't bother us at all. If I've any problems, the likes of the sign outside. I wanted  
745: to know whether I could erect a sign to start with so I sent a letter away to them. And to  
746: be fair to them they came back and told me yes I could if it was a certain position above  
747: ground level and back from the road etc. So I got the old measuring tape out. Eh, but by  
748: doing that I avoided planning permission. It was indirect planning permission that as long  
749: as you did that and it was within the guidelines. Anything above had to get planning  
750: permission. So, yeah I've found them...I've always found the council helpful. I've found  
751: the tourist board helpful. You go to these meetings but I think a lot of these meetings are  
752: unnecessary. You know? Because I understand where they're coming from. The tourists  
753: board don't know your background. And they're assuming that everyone has just been a  
754: housewife or something like that. So they're telling them the basics of business.

755: Customer service. So I don't bother attending them any more now. Because I've done it  
756: all and I've got the T-shirt so I don't need to worry about it now. I can probably stand up  
757: and do a better show of customer service than they could. I know I could. So, now I've  
758: stopped going to a lot of these things. But if I see one that interests me then I'll go. And  
759: we had one recently at the Carnoustie golf hotel and there were about two or three people  
760: at our table and it ended up just a wash out. The speakers they had were just appalling. So  
761: I just sat quiet and this chap at our table said so what do you think of that? And one thing  
762: led to another. I think they should start thinking about who they're directing to sometimes  
763: and asking more about backgrounds. Because there must be a lot of people in all  
764: businesses. Lets take a big supermarket like Safeway or something like that. I bet a lot of  
765: these checkout operators have got a lot more experience than the managers of these  
766: stores. Because a lot of these people are guys and girls who are, I know a girl who was in  
767: her final year to be a lawyer sitting there you know? My sister was one just before she  
768: was a head teacher. She was sitting there. And yet you can't treat people as all the same  
769: thing. So they should sit back and think who have we got? What experience have we got?  
770: Because not enough of that information is tapped. Is this the kind of thing you're after?

771:

772: I: Oh, yes.

773:

774: R: See my car outside? Its an old thirty odd year morris. I've got advertising on that on  
775: the side. So no matter where I am. I get quite a lot of business from that as well. Yellow  
776: pages and word of mouth are the other main methods of advertising. I really bucked the  
777: trend this year as winter was busier than summer. We've just done the figures and typing  
778: them up just now.

779:

780: I: So your main orientation or motivation overall is?

781:

782: R: To be honest probably to make a good living and customer service. Maybe that's not  
783: the right order or the way you should see things. Probably years ago it would have been  
784: the other way around. But I've got to remember the salary I gave up to do this. So I've  
785: got to make sure it works because I've not won the lottery. So, and I still get highly  
786: motivated meeting people. I really do. I like it when you get a good old rapport going. I  
787: wanted more time as well. I was fed up with the nine till five or the half eight till four. I  
788: was fed up with it. There's so much for me to do and so many things that this was an  
789: outlet and something I could do. And the place was here so why not go for it? I do enjoy  
790: it. I am trying to run it with a kind of company policy. I do have signs up with do's and  
791: don'ts of the place so we don't fall into the trap of people not knowing. But I thoroughly  
792: enjoy doing it. I've other interests. But this is number one.

793:

794: I: Other interests?

795:

796: R: I do some other wee teaching things as well. As and when required. But I usually need  
797: forty-eight hours notice. So I can't see one now before Friday. Friday's a busy day for  
798: me. I've got other people to come in tonight and a couple of guys coming about six  
799: o'clock or seven o'clock. But you see these guys, this sounds like a terrible thing to say.  
800: but its nice to see these people sitting down eating with silver cutlery and china cups. I  
801: sometimes think to myself how nice that is. And getting the proper napkins. you know  
802: the linen stuff. And we don't need to do that. One guest I remember asked what kind of  
803: pillows I had, what kind of stuffing. And he said do you have feather pillows? And I said  
804: no but I'll get you one by the time you come in tonight. And I did. He couldn't sleep you  
805: see unless his head was disappeared in the feather. There's a lot of things we do like that.  
806: And once he was away they were taken away and put up in the loft. So if there was  
807: anyone else I could have them back down for them. Babies cots, things like that are there  
808: as well. All these things you have to buy in and its expensive. Thousand's. I mean every  
809: shower I put in was about ten grand. There's about seven televisions in this house. But  
810: that's the main expenditure away. Now it should just be small things. I enjoy bringing  
811: people into the house. I'm quite proud of it. If I wasn't I'd be shuffling you around. But  
812: no. I'll show you the bedrooms just now. If you want to come out into the garden just  
813: now its really nice.

814:

815:

816:

1: Number of Interview: I13  
2:  
3: Date: 14th December 2001  
4:  
5: Name of interviewee: xxxxx xxxxx  
6:  
7: Age of interviewee: 40  
8:  
9: Gender: Female  
10:  
11: Address: xxxxx Guest House, 23 xxxxx Road, Inverness  
12:  
13:  
14: I: Why did you decide to run a guest house? Why did you set it up?  
15:  
16: R: We sold another business, a shop...a tourist shop.  
17:  
18: I: Was that in Inverness?  
19:  
20: R: No. It was up in Caithness. And we had to buy another business so we thought  
21: 'well, it tied in with the family home...eh work and a family home'. So we looked at  
22: the market and bought it...But it hasn't worked out. It doesn't work with the children  
23: and bed and breakfast.  
24:  
25: I: Why is that?  
26:  
27: R: The two just don't mix. I'm constantly telling my children to be quiet. If our living  
28: quarters were completely separate I think it may have worked out a bit better but next  
29: door to guests' rooms, using the same stairs and the same door it just doesn't work.  
30:  
31: I: It was your home so you found that difficult?  
32:  
33: R: Yeah. I just couldn't...I mean some people you know ALL the guests come  
34: through to their sitting room but I didn't want that. So...I mean my children are  
35: eleven, fourteen and sixteen and I can't keep them quiet (laughs).  
36:  
37: I: I suppose it's a shame on them as well.  
38:  
39: R: It is...its not fair on them. My son is right on top of the house so he is up and down  
40: the stairs. It didn't work.  
41:  
42: I: how long have you run it for?  
43:  
44: R: Four years.  
45:  
46: I: Was it a guest house before you moved in?  
47:  
48: R: Yes. Its very tying here so you spend a lot on passing trade so if you're out you  
49: miss it. you know you wait for guests coming in and guests arriving at all sorts of  
50: different times so you've ALWAYS got to be here. Or someone's got to be here. So  
51: really there's no... I think its very tying anyway.  
52:  
53: I: Was it your idea to do it...what made you...

54:

55: R: Em-m-m, no. we just...it wasn't something we really, really wanted to do but  
56: because we HAD to buy another business after selling the other one...we had to buy  
57: another one because we wanted to move to Inverness it just seemed...it just seemed to  
58: fit. Aye.

59:

60: I: Are you staying in Inverness?

61:

62: R: Yes.

63:

64: I: What about the income from this? Do you rely on it or does your husband  
65: have another job?

66:

67: R: My husband works yes.

68:

69: I: Right. Do you think it's a secondary income?

70:

71: R: Very much so. Yes. You do build up regular business...people working that come  
72: back. You get regulars coming back, but not really that many tourists. Then you've  
73: two crazy weeks in August when you could fill the house ten times. And we end up  
74: turning people away...but that didn't happen this year.

75:

76: I: Is that part of the reason you're selling?

77:

78: R: No. no. I guess just an invasion in your home too you know. I just never felt that  
79: this WAS my home. And I also had some things stolen buy this one guy like my  
80: cheque book...so that didn't help. Strangers in the house and you don't know who  
81: they are. You go to answer the door but you never know what someone's really  
82: like...and I never felt good with the family in the house.

83:

84: I: Have you had any unpleasant experiences?

85:

86: R: No. a couple left without paying...a few wet beds, that's about it...but I think  
87: that's the norm when you're taking people into your house. But the worst one was that  
88: guy.

89:

90: I: Did he steal any valuables?

91:

92: R: Em, it was just he tore he tore the last two cheques out of the cheque book and  
93: wrote a covering letter trying to cash the cheques in the bank. He was  
94: caught...apparently that's what he does.

95:

96: I: (pause) And em what do your kids feel about it?

97:

98: R: They don't really like it. you know...kids fighting and the youngest one having  
99: massive tantrums and I'm always saying 'quiet, quiet' you know. it was just  
100: horrible...but no, I don't think they really enjoyed it. they just didn't have the  
101: freedom they wanted to play or make any noise in the house and that's difficult for  
102: them.

103:

104: I: So you wouldn't want another guest house?

105:

106: R: No definitely not.

107:

108: I: What about another sort of small business?

109:

110: R: Not at the moment no. Certainly that side of it was fine...you know being here  
111: when the kids came home from school. In fact I'm always here. I never seem to get  
112: out of the place. But if they weren't well or something like that then I suppose I AM  
113: here so I don't need to take time off work to look after them. I felt trapped in a  
114: sense...I mean you could go out but then you're always thinking 'oh someone could  
115: have been at the house looking for a room or someone could have phoned or  
116: something' because people phone at ALL times of the day and they can arrive at the  
117: door at any time...'cos I didn't really have an awful lot of forward bookings.

118:

119: I: Its difficult to plan

120:

121: R: You try to get an approximate arrival time be it two o'clock in the afternoon or  
122: eight o'clock at night. People arrive at anything form half past ten in the morning until  
123: about eleven o'clock at night. And they could also get the time completely wrong and  
124: say they were arriving at six and then be here at two.

125:

126: I: Really?

127:

128: R: Yeah. So many a time I've had notes at the door because I've been told a certain  
129: time and they've not arrived and then I've gone out and they didn't find anyone in. so  
130: no I'll definitely not miss it. definitely not.

131:

132: I: Do you have anyone to help you?

133:

134: R: I only have three rooms. Just enough to fit three people but very often you might  
135: only get singles in.

136:

137: I: Are you a member of any formal organisations?

138:

139: R: We're a member of the, you know the VisitScotland tourist board but I haven't  
140: renewed my membership. But the people that have bought this place will have to sort  
141: that out and take out a new membership for the place if they want to. They'll carry it  
142: on.

143:

144: I: What do you think about them...the tourist board I mean?

145:

146: R: Em-m-m. Well, not a lot really. Not a lot. They're a lot of mouth and not a lot of  
147: action I think. I mean maybe a different business in a different place. But I think this  
148: place is just too small you know.

149:

150: I: Did you get bookings from them?

151:

152: R: You can get bookings because technically people can walk into the tourist  
153: information centre and make bookings but they then take ten percent of that so, and I  
154: didn't get much off them last year...but very often I suppose if they didn't send up the  
155: odd person you might not have anybody. I didn't object that. The local office...the  
156: local information centre I think is very good. Its just the Scottish Tourist Board that I  
157: have the problem with. Like the grading officer comes to have an overnight stay once  
158: every two years...they look at a whole load of different things from the appearance  
159: outside, the rooms, what extras you have in the rooms, what breakfast you

160: provide...furnishings...YOU (laughs). Em-m-m...when they do the overnight of  
161: course they phone before hand and they see what you were like on the phone, giving  
162: information...and then they look at the room and of course they have  
163: breakfast...usually the full works and grade you on that...but no...I didn't mind that  
164: side of it because people DO want to know what a place is like. I certainly would. If I  
165: was booking bed and breakfast I always look at that. I certainly wouldn't go to  
166: anyone's door without seeing it...without the grading. There should be some sort of  
167: thing to tell you what its like.

168:

169: I: Do you think many people do you think look at the grading?

170:

171: R: I think some do...Some don't. I mean some people come to the door and say they  
172: want rooms for five people when I might only have the one room. (mimicking voice)  
173: 'oh that's ok, we'll all sleep in the one room'...NO. a lot of people just don't care.

174:

175: I: You said it already was a guest house...but did you have to do anything to the  
176: house or anything like that or was it set up?

177:

178: R: It was set up. Yeah. Because we only have three rooms...I mean if we were going  
179: to have more then we would have needed to do things to it but for us the three rooms  
180: were fine. Its enough. When you only have people that are going to stay for one night  
181: then you can only really do as many as three rooms every day. The three rooms to do  
182: COMPLETELY every day.

183:

184: I: All the laundry and everything?

185:

186: R: Yes.

187:

188: I: And you do all that yourself?

189:

190: R: Yes. All day you know. Like today, it wasn't until five o'clock that I finished.  
191: Then there's my own family to do the same for. But just the week in the summer time  
192: it would be good if you could spread the business more over the year. Ideally you also  
193: want people to stay more than just one night. But with tourists...they don't stay. They  
194: don't stop.

195:

196: I: Do you think they use Inverness as a stop on their way to somewhere else?

197:

198: R: Yea-a-ah. Its amazing when you talk to visitors what they will pack into two  
199: weeks. It exhausts you. they will stop for one night and do Scotland, England, even  
200: Ireland and Wales in two weeks. And they're not seeing anything...all they're doing  
201: is being able to say 'oh I've been there' you know. They can say 'oh I've seen  
202: Inverness' but they don't stop to enjoy it. That's...that's what I think anyway. That's  
203: what I feel. The vast majority of them. A lot of them arrive here totally unprepared for  
204: what there is. 'oh we're just here for the afternoon'. There's more to see rather than  
205: just scoot round everything. Its much bigger than they think. I think its like a place  
206: you DO. So its like 'been in Edinburgh, came up, stayed in Inverness, saw Inverness,  
207: came away or go further up the Highland'. I don't know why...but it just seems to be  
208: what people do.

209:

210: I: Are you a member of any other formal organisations?

211:

212: R: No.

213:

214: I: pause) Just going back to what you said about people coming here to visit. Do

215: you think that the city is promoted well enough?

216:

217: R: (sigh) I don't know...I think like you see on the news and read in the papers you

218: know that the government aren't doing enough. And there's not enough money spent

219: on tourism and there's not a tourism minister. But I don't know...the numbers are

220: going down and down and its very expensive to come here. Too expensive and...well

221: people don't come to Scotland for the weather anyway. But, and there's so many

222: other places to go, but as far as what they're doing I really don't think its very much.

223: There seems to be too many managers...I don't...its hard to explain how I feel about

224: it...because its just so much BUSINESS, BUSINESS, business now isn't it...and

225: there's somebody pushing a [penny?] somewhere thinking something's a good idea

226: but in reality its just stupid (laughs). But no...

227:

228: I: You seem to have been in the tourism industry for quite a while, you know

229: with your shop as well?

230:

231: R: I always...when I think about it the first job I ever had was in a restaurant, a

232: summer job in a restaurant. That was with tourists and that was in Mull. That was

233: back in the seventies and there seemed to be a lot more people about...maybe you just

234: think that way...and the-en I worked in a shop in Inverness...again that was touristy.

235: It was a busy city shop in the summer time. And then I went and opened our own

236: shop in John-o-groats, touristy. And then THIS which is mostly relying on tourits. I

237: think I'll be quite glad to get out of tourism.

238:

239: I: Really?

240:

241: R: Yeah.

242:

243: I: Will you do something different?

244:

245: R: Well, at the moment we don't even have a house to move into so I don't think I'll

246: be doing very much until I find my home...then I'll think about finding work.

247:

248: I: Will it be a smaller sized home because you won't be having the business?

249:

250: R: Yes.

251:

252: I: Was that part of the attraction then when you moved here, the size of the

253: house? A big house?

254:

255: R: Not really, no. I DID want my children to go to certain schools in this area and my

256: eldest at the time had just started secondary school. But now that we're here. I

257: wouldn't want to move too far from the area. But no I don't need as big a house as

258: this one. I mean this has got three floors. It's also a really nice garden. You have to

259: have that for the guests.

260:

261: I: Do you?

262:

263: R: Yes. You get marks out of ten for it...on the garden area and its appearance.

264:

265: I: Do you advertise in any way?



266:  
267: R: Just through the tourist board. We're on the internet in a few different places...I  
268: don't know how we got there but I don't know I think some people just lift guest-  
269: houses, B&Bs and put them up. I did have an advert with HOST. That's the local one.  
270: the highlands of Scotland tourist board but you have to be a member of both, you  
271: can't be a member of just one. And you have to pay for both. The VisitScotland one  
272: you pay an annual membership and depending on how many rooms you've got  
273: depends how much you pay. You pay so much per room. You also get a line in the  
274: guide and the membership covers just the line entry in the guide. I think I just had a  
275: line...Then the local one you could have a listing for accommodation as well which is  
276: a line entry. Its got dearer and dearer and I just can't afford it. Last year it was over  
277: four hundred pounds I spent.  
278:  
279: I: Do you think it would be easier then if they amalgamated the two...you know,  
280: have one rather than two?  
281:  
282: R: E-e-em, probably but they must work together to certain extent because  
283: VisitScotland do the grading...at first when I took over here I thought that I just  
284: wanted to be a member of the local one. But you can't be with one and not the other.  
285: You've got to be a member of both. I suppose VisitScotland would be the head body  
286: and then I don't know how many area ones there are. In the highlands there's also  
287: Argyll, the Isles and the Trossachs. There won't be that many now because it all  
288: changed a few years ago. There used to more so Inverness would have had its own.  
289: Its quite costly. You could actually spend a lot on advertising.  
290:  
291: I: Are you in the yellow pages?  
292:  
293: R: Yes.  
294:  
295: I: do you have to pay for that?  
296:  
297: R: No. Not if you just have a line entry. You can have...now what was it I joined? It  
298: was about this time last year...you get people ringing you all the time and stuff  
299: through the door. Well, its not the yellow pages any more is it? It was yell.com or  
300: something...Haven't even seen it. Didn't even go to the bother of looking it up on the  
301: internet I've no interest in it. BUT that will have expired now, well this year in  
302: January. Its just a map if people want to stay in Inverness then they can look you up.  
303: You know so if they're going to be working somewhere they can see all the  
304: accommodation there is. I was in that one for this year...I've told the new owners all  
305: about those kind of things.  
306:  
307: I: so you've got somebody to take over the place?  
308:  
309: R: Yes. Yes they've bought it. They bought it...the guy wanted a bed and breakfast.  
310: He wanted to do bed and breakfast.  
311:  
312: I: what sort of people are they?  
313:  
314: R: em. Well, they've a grown up family.  
315:  
316: I: Are they older?  
317:  
318: R: They're slightly older. But the lady works. I'm not sure what she does but she

319: works herself. And he was like 'oh no, I want to do it'. So whether...but he'll need  
320: help. I just can't see a man cleaning a bed or cleaning a shower (laughs).  
321:  
322: I: He'll get a shock. Maybe he's got a romantic kind of view of it.  
323:  
324: R: I don't know but he was dead keen and he was dying to do it.  
325:  
326: I: How old are they?  
327:  
328: R: I would say they'd be in about their fifties.  
329:  
330: I: Who do you chat with about your business?  
331:  
332: R: I suppose other B&B people.  
333:  
334: I: Are you quite friendly with other guest house owners?  
335:  
336: R: Yeah, aha. There's usually, my neighbour that way (indicates with gesture) and  
337: another one along the road...the next road along, if I don't have any free rooms they  
338: might be able to put people up. First of all people seem to think you should know  
339: who's got accommodation where every day. We're all of a similar standard so...and  
340: the fact that these places were non-smoking so I know that if someone looked me in  
341: the book they would have seen that I've non-smoking and I know I can give them my  
342: neighbour's number because she's non-smoking and the other one's non-smoking.  
343: Depending on what people wanted. Very often I give them the number of my  
344: neighbour when they phone but you have to draw a line somewhere you know  
345: because otherwise you could give them fourteen numbers. Or you know people phone  
346: and I'm like 'no sorry we don't have anything' and they're like 'oh do you think you  
347: could find some...find a room FOR me?' I can't do that. I think most people would  
348: just have like three or four of their neighbours' numbers to phone. Or there's two  
349: guest houses down the road. Bigger ones with nine or ten rooms. And if someone  
350: phoned me looking for four, five rooms I would just give them one of those numbers.  
351: But well, you try to be as helpful as you could. Often even when the 'no vacancy'  
352: sign's up people come to the door desperate and I tell them where they could try  
353: rather than just say 'sorry no I don't have any'. But a lot of people don't expect you to  
354: do that anyway.  
355:  
356: I: So why did you decide to be non-smoking?  
357:  
358: We don't smoke and I just wouldn't tolerate smoking in the house. Although we did  
359: have a few people who went ahead and smoked anyway. They think that if they're  
360: shut up in the room with the window open you won't smell the smoke up the stairs  
361: (laughs). Sorry, you do. Some people would ignore it and they do just smoke in the  
362: rooms so I would just remind them that someone else has chosen to stay here because  
363: its non-smoking and I've said to them its non-smoking on the phone BUT mainly  
364: because we don't smoke and I can't stand smoke. Also because of safety...like this  
365: couple phoned me and they asked for a room, and I ALWAYS say its no-smoking.  
366: but this girl was so desperate that she never said anything. They arrived...and I said it  
367: was no-smoking but this girl couldn't last the night. She'd wake up at three in the  
368: morning absolutely desperate to smoke. And quite often you get a couple where one  
369: might smoke but they just go outside. Usually they're quite happy to do that. Others  
370: when you say its non-smoking they don't expect it. I don't think it affects the  
371: business.

372:

373: I: Of course its your house, its not just a guest house.

374:

375: R: Its my HOME, yeah.

376:

377: I: How do you balance the two?

378:

379: R: We...I don't know actually...sometimes, when we're busy...when we were busy it

380: was just a job and you just got on with it. but when it got quieter, I think that's the

381: worst time, when its quieter, you maybe have nobody in and I can maybe slope

382: downstairs in my nightie and I think 'hold on I can go round with bare feet' you

383: know. things you CAN'T DO when you've got people in the house you know. and

384: we're always having to have something on our feet and you're always having to look

385: respectable because you have to go to the door so often...but when you'd have a night

386: or two on your own you start thinking about things you can't normally do and

387: strangely enough that was the worst time. But when I was busy and you had people

388: booked in you just got on with it. the poor kids. They'd be whispering when they got

389: home from school (mimicking whispering) 'is there anybody in?'...(mimicking

390: whispering) 'yes, quiet'. But I suppose they got used to it as well but they're really

391: glad that we're moving. Some guest houses are you know they have built on their

392: own accommodation which is separated from the guests. We don't have that.

393:

394: I: Or they have like a separate bit of the house.

395:

396: Yeah. It wasn't so bad as there's two rooms downstairs. But the front rooms upstairs

397: and it was next door to my girl's room and underneath my boy's room so-o-o

398: (laughs). If you have a telly on loud...my kids listen to music with head phones on all

399: the time you know because she can't play her music loud at all. Well, guests don't

400: want to hear teenagers' music blaring...it's quite good if the guests are slightly noisy,

401: you know like having the telly on loud 'cos then they might not hear the kids

402: (laughs)...but I could always tell if the light was on up the stairs because sometimes

403: you'd go up at nine o'clock and the light would be off which meant they'd gone to

404: bed...You know kids make an awful racket, especially like during the summer

405: holidays when they tended to turn night into day. You know they would go to bed

406: later and later at night and sleep during the day...but you're ALWAYS on edge. At

407: least I was always on edge. (pause) Another thing...I didn't take children.

408:

409: I: Oh right.

410:

411: R: Not that I –

412:

413: I: Why was that?

414:

415: R: You can't charge as much and I didn't have a family room. I didn't have a family

416: room. I mean people don't PAY. You know if a couple with two children came to the

417: house it wouldn't cost them much to have children in another room...but they would

418: EXPECT the same service. They think you would have breakfast ready for them in

419: the morning but not expect to pay very much. So...I didn't advertise a family room

420: so. Luckily, I never have too many children. Quite often people a willing to pay in full

421: for a second bedroom and that's ok but I suppose if you had families coming to stay it

422: might be more relaxed with them running round the house but I didn't...I'd rather not.

423:

424: I: I suppose it might be different with kids that are older.

425:  
426: Yeah...If you've got a family room where you can put another folding bed or  
427: something you don't mind but when they take up the whole place...no.  
428:  
429: I: I suppose people who work or business men would be less work for you.  
430:  
431: R: Definitely. Early on this year it was quiet which I'm sure has happened to a lot of  
432: people. But then I took workmen in who are working in Inverness. It was a gamble  
433: whether I would take them or not and they were really, really good. And they were so  
434: little work. There was two guys most of the time, sometimes three. But they were so  
435: good. And they were just so...absolutely no bother at all.  
436:  
437: I: Yeah?  
438:  
439: R: Surprising for workmen.  
440:  
441: I: I suppose the hours they do as well.  
442:  
443: R: They were out at quarter to eight in the morning and back in at ten at night. In fact,  
444: I had one of them back recently for a week...And you got to know them and...you  
445: trusted them...I suppose they were like friends really staying in the house. So to go  
446: back...they actually finished at the end of August and then going back to not having  
447: them was strange.  
448:  
449: I: They stayed quite a while?  
450:  
451: R: Yeah, they were here about six months. They went away every two weeks. One  
452: went away every weekend.  
453:  
454: I: Gosh. So you WOULD get to know them.  
455:  
456: R: Yeah. There were two mainly that were here all the time. One guy had just arrived  
457: and I said 'no smokers and no coming in drunk late at night' because with workers  
458: you think 'oh no'. but they were fine.  
459:  
460: I: What does your...partner?  
461:  
462: R: Husband.  
463:  
464: I: Husband. What does he do?  
465:  
466: R: He's self-employed. He's um...in the building trade.  
467:  
468: I: And what does he think about the guest house?  
469:  
470: R: He doesn't like it. He never liked it. He just didn't he didn't have very much to do  
471: with it at all. Maybe if I wasn't going to be here I would say to him 'there's a couple  
472: coming and they're going into that room' you know. And he would get his orders but  
473: no he didn't...and then after that guy came to the house...that really put him off. And  
474: then you're having to put so much money back into the house as well. When  
475: we...going back to the grading officers coming, you know they came and they had  
476: seen that carpet here three years before and they came in and said 'its time that carpet  
477: was changed'. They said the décor was looking a bit tired now. So...you actually, you

478: had to put a lot back in. the previous owners, she was a member of the AA as well and  
479: em the first year we were here a guy came in the middle of the summer and said that  
480: we should have home made jam and all this sort of thing and went on about their  
481: standards getting higher and higher. He was very condescending you know... So when  
482: the next time a lady came and stayed and did their overnight visit...they think you're  
483: stupid and you don't know they're staying, and I think she paid in the morning and I  
484: said 'you're from the AA' and she was like 'oh' and I told her about that guy and she  
485: said 'oh that'll be so and so.' People like that...he just...och just spoke down to me  
486: all the time. (pause) And in the four years that I have done this I've charged the same  
487: price because people WILL NOT pay. Its twenty pounds per person. And people try  
488: and pay less than that. Yet they want en-suite and they want breakfast and a  
489: television.

490:

491: I: That's quite good.

492:

493: R: You know so the AA say their standards are getting higher but...I mean but there  
494: are places people will CHOOSE to stay that are sixty, seventy, eighty pounds a night.

495:

496: I: I suppose it can be quite stressful being graded?

497:

498: R: Yes, but they...came and did all the paper work. The last time one of them came  
499: he was just...although he wasn't marking me or anything. He said it wasn't

500: convenient and he was making a courtesy call. He said it wasn't appropriate to do a

501: courtesy call this late in the season.

502:

503: I: What about...are you a member of any social groups that are not formal?

504:

505: R: no.

506:

507: I: Was your family in the tourism industry is that why you decided to –

508:

509: R: No I think it was just coming from a small place where there are tourists. That was

510: a place where in the summer it was just so busy you know. Just really, really busy.

511: And in the winter time there were just nobody around except for the locals.

512:

513: I: And you didn't fancy doing this type of thing in Mull...running a guest house?

514:

515: R: No I think once you leave an island its difficult to go back. No it definitely...no I

516: think it would have been too difficult to run this there as there would have been a very

517: much shorter season. In Inverness November, December, January, February are just

518: nothing. March through to October there are a few more people then. it was busy this

519: Easter. April a bit more, May a few more, June this year I found was a bit

520: quiet...don't know why...July and August are busy. In September older people are on

521: the move when the schools are back and there's no children. So I think that's an

522: attraction...and they stay for longer.

523:

524: I: Yeah?

525:

526: R: Yeah. I always found that in September. All my Septembers are older and they stay

527: longer. The weather is still reasonable and a lot of people like it when its not too busy.

528: But then October its quieter again.

529:

530: I: I suppose people last through the quieter months with regulars.

531:

532: R: I'm sure absolutely every bed and breakfast in the town have got regulars. I got  
533: quite a lot of people from the prison with people doing training courses. So I get quite  
534: a lot of business from them. Church of Scotland. I get quite a bit from them with  
535: people who have homes all over the north and they come to Inverness for courses. I  
536: had a couple down from Shetland. They were down two or three nights because of the  
537: distance to travel. I get reps and people for the health board working for the hospital.  
538:

539: I: Would you recommend this sort of thing to other people...because its just that  
540: you seem to have mixed feelings?

541:

542: R: Obviously to the people I've sold it to I can't be very negative to them. But I've  
543: not been that negative either. The guy's just so desperate. He's just so eager to do it.  
544: But no...if anyone said to me 'do you think I should do it?' I would say 'no' without  
545: hesitation. BUT it just depends on the person. If you can handle it. but like I had this  
546: couple interested in the business and the wife was carrying a baby...I couldn't even  
547: IMAGINE doing bed and breakfast when my children were babies. And them crying  
548: in the night and nobody getting any sleep. That's what I would be thinking  
549: about...'the guests are not getting any sleep'. I think its just this thing with me about  
550: wanting to please people all the time...were they cold during the night?...were they  
551: comfortable enough? And a lot of people say to me 'oh do you have children? We  
552: never heard them'...That's because I'm always telling them to be quiet (laughs). On  
553: the other hand you could someone that doesn't like hearing the children.  
554:

555: I: And have guests ever said anything?

556:

557: R: Complained? No, no. I just think my kids are noisy. But they're just normal you  
558: know. but no one has ever said anything. I've had more people saying to me things  
559: like 'oh you have children? I never heard them Are they away?'...but I just didn't like  
560: being restricted like that.

561:

562: I: Was it a mental thing as well that you couldn't shut off?

563:

564: R: Yeah. Probably.

565:

566: I: Did you have your own separate lounge?

567:

568: R: Yes. This one is ours. The guests can't use it. The grading offer said that maybe it  
569: would be better if I'd had another room for guests. But nobody uses them. They just  
570: go out or stay in their rooms. That wasn't a problem. No I didn't have them in here.  
571: No because otherwise you would just never be away from them. Some people I think  
572: DO allow the guests to come through and sit with them at night and talk with them  
573: (pause). You find with bed and breakfasts that are family homes, the public areas are  
574: always neat and tidy. But don't go through to the private areas because they're a tip.  
575: (laugh). Well, you got to have SOMEWHERE to live. Yeah...the trainers, the kids'  
576: shoes and the school bags lying all over the place. We can't have anything lying about  
577: in the hallway or anything with guests coming in. You have to keep that SIDE tidy.  
578: But...the only people that come through are friends that are here on business and  
579: staying but paying.

580:

581: I: Right. So you have quite a lot of friends that are also guests?

582:

583: R: Yeah. Some.

584:

585: I: Did you ever manage to close the place completely to go on holiday?

586:

587: R: Yep. The children have two weeks in October. So that's when we take them...as  
588: soon as we know when the school holidays are going to be.

589:

590: I: I suppose that's important?

591:

592: R: You've got to do it otherwise you'd be here all the time. But we didn't go on  
593: holiday this year because the house was still on the market.

594:

595: I: Did it take you long to sell it?

596:

597: R: I put it on the market end of August and we got it sold by the 25th October. We  
598: didn't put it on the market as a bed and breakfast because we thought...or I thought  
599: with it being a bad season who would want to buy a bed and breakfast? With  
600: everything you read in the papers with the numbers of guests down. We just sold it as  
601: a home. BUT the most interest was from people who wanted to buy a bed and  
602: breakfast.

603:

604: I: Right.

605:

606: R: So then we put in the commercial side...Mind you the couple that bought it they  
607: were aching to do it. What put people off it as a family home was that three of the  
608: rooms are en-suite with showers and there are also two bathrooms. I suppose the more  
609: bathrooms you have the more there are to clean. And...you know its work for such a  
610: bad place. The previous owners put the bedroom up the stairs, they made that en-  
611: suite. But the owners previous to that had made this extension and made the two  
612: bedrooms downstairs en-suite. The three letting rooms are en-suite with their own  
613: bathrooms and that put people off who just wanted a family home.

614:

615: I: On the other side it would be attractive for someone who wanted a business?

616:

617: R: A bed and breakfast, yeah, because everybody wants an en-suite room.

618:

619: I: When you go on holiday do you go abroad or do you stay in the UK?

620:

621: R: Em-m-m. We haven't been on many holidays but we were in Portugal last year.

622: We stayed in a self-catering apartment.

623:

624: I: Would you ever think about staying in a bed and breakfast yourself?

625:

626: R: If it was just me and my husband. But with three children it gets very costly  
627: because my son's fourteen and my eldest daughter's sixteen so they couldn't share a  
628: room. If we got a family room for my husband and I and the youngest one we still  
629: couldn't have the other two sharing. And then the girls could share ok but then we'd  
630: need a single one for him...it was different when they were younger. We have stayed  
631: in bed and breakfasts when they were younger. It was just two rooms.

632:

633: I: Do you compete with any Travel Lodges...things like that?

634:

635: R: There's one Travel Lodge and Holiday Inn opened a new one a year ago. I've had  
636: people coming here who say 'well, we normally stay in a travel inn but they were full'

637: so they do tend to fill up firstly. We had a businesswoman stay here once that always  
638: stayed in travel inns but when she came up to Inverness they were all full. Further  
639: south I suppose they'd be more of them. So she then had to start looking for  
640: somewhere to stay. A lot of people, a Canadian couple stayed with me a few years  
641: ago and she said 'we don't have many...we don't really do bed and breakfasts now in  
642: Canada'. And trying to explain to their grandson that they were staying in someone's  
643: house...he just couldn't understand that they just went and stayed in a stranger's  
644: house and they were staying in it you know. And he couldn't comprehend this at all.  
645: As if you just go and knock on somebody's door and ask to stay the night (laughs).  
646: And she said 'no this is what they DO in this country...bed and breakfast'. (pause)  
647: Inverness is a beautiful place but I hate the A9. All the bleak hills and rocks...but then  
648: a lot of people think that's beautiful.

649:

650: I: Quite urban compared to Mull?

651:

652: R: That's right. When we were in Mull we always went to Glasgow shopping...we  
653: just got the train from Oban.

654:

655: I: So why move to Inverness?

656:

657: R: Well, I came to college in Inverness twenty years ago. I always liked it. and we  
658: lived here when we first got married. But you're two and a half hours drive from here  
659: to John-o-groats and another long road. so its takes ages to get anywhere. I wanted to  
660: come here because I liked it.

661:

662: I: I like it to. I went to secondary school here.

663:

664: R: It's a good place to live...it's a good place to bring up kids...When I came here for  
665: college I stayed with a family and after two years staying with them it was like my  
666: home. But I don't know if I could even have a lodger like that...Someone milling  
667: about the house all the time. You know if they had...a lot of people do take lodgers in  
668: over the winter when its quieter...maybe if somebody knew of someone then maybe  
669: but I wouldn't advertise for lodgers.

670:

671: I: You've had guests stay here for quite a while...practically like lodgers.

672:

673: R: Yeah well there was one at the end of May...he wanted somewhere for three  
674: months. And of course anywhere that was advertised in the book they wanted it at a  
675: reduced rate because of the long term. So em he phoned me...he was quite frustrated  
676: by that stage driving around and not being able to get anywhere. And he phoned me  
677: and asked if I had a single room that night. So when he phoned I said 'well, where are  
678: you?' and he was like 'where are you?' and we were trying to establish where we  
679: were at that moment. And it was only when he arrived that he said about three  
680: months. So I thought 'well even though it's a reduced rate, if I'm guaranteed him for  
681: three months and there's no guarantee there's going to be a lot of tourists about over  
682: the summer'. Mostly long-term stays only took up the two rooms, but sometimes it  
683: was the third one as well.

684:

685: I: So that was all your rooms gone?

686:

687: R: Yeah. It was fine. It just worked out fine for me so I didn't have to bother with all  
688: the leg work of one nighters. Long stays are very little work. And once you got to  
689: know them you would get to know the times of things they did...like the time they



690: would go to bed at night.

691:

692: I: Do you give people keys?

693:

694: R: They all have keys yes. They have a key for their bedroom and a key for the inner  
695: door which is locked at night.

696:

697: I: Did you ever worry about your personal safety?

698:

699: R: I can lock all our own room doors so they can't get through there...but you've got  
700: to trust people. You couldn't do this unless you trust people. You know if you didn't  
701: trust people you would find it very hard. And I mean in four years we've only had the  
702: one incident of the guy coming through. I've spoke to other people who've run guest-  
703: houses for much longer than that and they've NEVER experienced it...never  
704: experienced anyone stealing or anything like that.

705:

706: I: Do you think you knew enough about this sort of business before you went into  
707: it? Were you prepared for what it would be like?

708:

709: R: I had heard various stories from people you know...I suppose in one sense I was  
710: prepared. The thing about this is you only remember the bad bits. I mean you DO  
711: meet an awful lot of nice people. The majority of people were nice people. But then  
712: you only remember the horrors and the horrible incidents. Then after I'd had the two  
713: wet beds...two in one week.

714:

715: I: The same person?

716:

717: R: No. two in one week. Then I had the visit from another grading officer and she said  
718: 'of course you've to put water proof covers on the bed. If someone doesn't like it they  
719: can just take it off. But you've got to.' I can't afford not to. Can you believe a person  
720: wetting the bed and then just speaking to you the next morning as if nothing had  
721: happened. An incident happened with two Ozzy guys who came through for breakfast  
722: and then checked out by ten o'clock. Two young guys in about their early twenties. I  
723: found wet beds and they hadn't said anything. It was horrible...I take these things  
724: personally as well because its like someone insulting you in your own home. And the  
725: next time there were two guys...they were brothers and one of them had a wee boy  
726: and the guy said it was the wee boy. But I don't think it was...I mean I've had tea and  
727: coffee spilt on the bed as well. But a lot of people just don't care. I mean its not as if  
728: I'm a large hotel. I mean you wouldn't do that to someone you knew...and that's why  
729: I think I took it so personally. A couple once stayed here and when they arrived they  
730: said 'do you want us to pay now?' I never ask people to pay until they leave because I  
731: don't want people to think that the only reason they're staying here is to pay me  
732: money. So I said 'no pay me later' a-a-a-nd they went away out and came back,  
733: stayed the night and they left early the next morning without paying...So you learn by  
734: these things. But I still wouldn't take money from people before they checked out.  
735: I've had some people who've come to go to a wedding or a party and they've said  
736: things like 'oh you'd better have the money now because I might not have it in the  
737: morning, because I might spend it all tonight'. Or in the morning I've had people  
738: who've said 'oh I've run out of money can I pop out to the cash machine?' and I've  
739: said 'that's fine'. So I suppose if you're an honest person yourself you just assume  
740: everyone else is.

741:

742: I: Have you ever turned people away just based on intuition?

743:

744: R: Oh yes, definitely. I quite often say 'sorry sorry I don't have a room' just based on  
745: how they look. I don't know...just sometimes I get a bad feeling about some  
746: people...well, I do anyway. Or what I do is I exaggerate the price of the room to  
747: people I didn't like the look of on my doorstep thinking they'd never take it and then  
748: they HAVE. So that doesn't always work. (laughs)

749:

750: I: So that backfired. (laughs).

751:

752: R: I mean I've had groups of guys turning up at the door and I've just said 'no way'.  
753: That just made me really uneasy...But you just learn by all these things...Another  
754: time I had a couple walked that out after they checked in because I told them not to  
755: smoke in the room. I knocked on the door and told them to stop so they just packed  
756: their bags and left...they walked straight past me in the hallway there. They'd paid  
757: forty pounds and they never asked for it back. and I thought 'oh well'. The guy had  
758: said he hadn't noticed the 'no smoking' sign. I mean I would have given them their  
759: money back if they'd asked for it. But they just walked straight out.

760:

761: I: What was it like when you first took this place over?

762:

763: R: We were in on the 19th and then we had guests in at hogmannay so it was really in  
764: at the deep end. No time to acclimatise to it. I had never even done breakfasts before.  
765: We had to get the place all tidied out and clear all the boxes because all the boxes  
766: were initially stacked up in here.

767:

768: I: Is that normal having people over Christmas and New Year?

769:

770: R: A lot of people do. A lot of people like having people over Christmas. I've had  
771: quite a few people enquiring about staying at New Year. But the thing is it tends to  
772: only be for one night, either on Hogmannay or the first. I've found that people staying  
773: would want their breakfast at eight o'clock in the morning even. I don't want to have  
774: to get up that early on New Year's day. And it's a lot of work and I want to spend that  
775: time with my family. I like that to be family time...I mean there was an Australian  
776: girl and her Mum a couple of years ago and they arrived on Hogmannay. I'd been  
777: hearing the door opening and closing all night until six in the morning. The mum was  
778: very hung over and it was only the daughter that managed to make it down for  
779: breakfast the next morning. What a state she was in...and they were travelling to  
780: Carlisle. She said they had a great night...a Great night but they wouldn't even take  
781: time to recover by staying another night. They just wanted to move on.

782:

783: I: Do you ever resent it at New Year and Christmas having to work at holiday  
784: time?

785:

786: R: I sometimes had people in for New Year but I never, ever took people in at  
787: Christmas. But the previous owners they had visitors stay at that time.

788:

789: I: What's a typical day like...you were saying you're up early?

790:

791: R: Pretty early. In the summer months you're up early cooking breakfasts. Depending  
792: on what people are...if people are on holiday they usually hang about until about ten  
793: and then go out after that. Then I've got to do the beds, clean the showers and if I've  
794: got all three rooms to do I tend to have to do them all at different times. My goal  
795: would always be to have the three rooms done, cleaned and changed by maybe

796: twelve, twelve-thirty. I could manage it, depending on when they left so it was always  
797: different. Then there's doing all the washing and putting it out to dry, or tumble dry.  
798: Going shopping for food. A-a-and because there's no set times you know...like you  
799: don't HAVE to do it by two o'clock you kind of let things drift. Friday mornings are  
800: my Tesco morning. But one thing I never, ever put off is the ironing 'cos ironing has  
801: to be done that day. I hate ironing so I don't let it build up. I suppose the difference is  
802: there is no one saying you have to do things at a certain time. Its not like saying you  
803: have to iron between three and five, I mean you could iron at seven o'clock at night.  
804: But I just can't be bothered with doing things really in the evening. As soon as you  
805: don't have anybody in...even if its just for one night, you start to relax and its harder  
806: when people start staying again. If you had people in every night, even if it was just  
807: the one room, at least it kept your momentum going. I suppose its also things like dark  
808: mornings that put you off. But waking up early doesn't bother me. What bothers me  
809: more is when we went away on holiday and I was wide awake before seven o'clock in  
810: the morning every morning because my body clock had got so used to it...but  
811: yeah...family times...its difficult to have that really unless you work nine to five. But  
812: we didn't have that either when we had the shop because that was like crazy hours in  
813: the summer months from like eight in the morning until ten at night. So similar but  
814: the difference with the shop was when it was shut it was shut. That was it.

815:

816: I: What did you do at college?

817:

818: R: Hairdressing. So again completely different. I couldn't get a hairdressing job at the  
819: time and I was going to the job centre and everything. But this sort of thing is similar  
820: in that you're meeting and dealing with people.

821:

822: I: Do you like that side of things...the interaction with people?

823:

824: R: I don't know...I've never worked in the other way. I've never worked just with a  
825: few people. I've always worked in service jobs. I think the shop was better because  
826: people would come in to buy something, you'd serve them and that was it...but if you  
827: get someone staying in here the whole night you've got to deal with them all that  
828: time. They can be a bit trying at times. You know just some people...you don't know  
829: how to please them and you don't know what they want. Others are just so easy going  
830: 'oh don't bother going in to do the room' but of course I always did. So it was  
831: definitely a shock. So I probably preferred the shock. We bought stock at the  
832: beginning of the year and hopefully sold most of it by the end of the season.

833:

834: I: Is there more wastage with this type of business?

835:

836: R: You get used to it. And if there is anything over like food then I'd use it for the  
837: family. I mean like that AA man saying I should make home-made scones and jam to  
838: welcome guests arriving (laughs). I'm just not going to spend all my time baking and  
839: making home made things and then there's no guarantee that someone's going to eat  
840: it. and I had this guy staying who preferred the way I do it with separate sachets of  
841: jam and marmalade for guests because he said he'd stayed at a place where they'd had  
842: large pots of jam and he'd seen another guest lick his knife and put it in the jar. I  
843: mean other people are expected to eat it. That sort of thing would just put you off.  
844: And I said this to the AA man and he said 'well, you're meant to throw it out  
845: anyway'. Well, am I not meant to make any money? Another thing he said to me was  
846: that I was only really doing this as a hobby...and that I shouldn't be concerned with  
847: profit.

848:

849: I: After all the energy you put into it?

850:

851: R: It was very patronising as if I was just a wee wifey. It was almost like why bother

852: charging the people. Just let them stay for nothing. That guy was annoying.

853:

854: I: Hm-m-m.

855:

856: R: But it never ceases to amaze me all the different people that stay. In a week you

857: can get people from all over the place and you'd find that they'd all have tomato

858: sauce with their breakfasts and then there'd be days and days when no one would

859: touch it. Its strange.

860:

861: I: What do you think about people...tourists coming to Inverness?

862:

863: R: Well, I had two couples from Florida who had booked in for one night in May.

864: They'd booked early in the year and we were talking about the foot and mouth and

865: she said they had planned on coming to Scotland for two weeks but were not going to

866: come because of what they'd seen on the television. It was only because I'd

867: convinced them that it was nothing to do with where they were staying that they

868: agreed to come. Otherwise they weren't coming. They would have cancelled their

869: holiday. So how many other people have done that? So I don't know how bad it

870: was...how it affected the numbers this year. The invoice I got from VisitScotland two

871: weeks ago was discounted fifty percent because of that (pause).

872:

873: I: Are there any other issues you'd like to talk about?

874:

875: R: No I think that's it.

876:

877: I: Well, thank you very much.

878:

879:

880:

**Appendix Nine - Glossary of terms, technical terminology and acronyms**

Term	Description
ATB	Area Tourist Board
CAQDAS	Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
Code	A thematic/conceptual label
Coded text segment	A section of data which has been assigned to code(s) for further analysis/reduction
FTBN	Formal Tourism Business Networks
Guest house	Small or 'micro' accommodation outlet operating within the hospitality sector under the self-defined label of a 'guest house'
HOST	Highlands of Scotland Tourist Board (part of the area tourist board public sector support network)
Index/coding framework	A list of codes applied to textual data to enable the process of code and retrieve analysis for between case comparisons of themes/concepts
Indexing/coding	The process of applying the codes listed in the index/coding framework to textual data
Owner/occupier	Small-scale guest house owner who uses their property as both a home and a business
Master codes	Broad concepts/themes which own two or more subcodes
Matrix	A two-dimensional chart/display containing rows and columns to enable between-case analysis of the data. Compiled and analysed thematically, each matrix corresponds to a key thematic code, with entries for several respondents on each chart
Pattern	Identified links and relationships between different research findings
STB	Scottish Tourist Board, now renamed 'VisitScotland'
Subcodes	Themes/concepts closely linked to other subcodes that are listed under the same master code
WinMAX	Specific social science CAQDAS tool for facilitating text analysis

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