

**The Influence of Contexts  
on Entrepreneurial Practices:  
A Qualitative Study**

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## ABSTRACT

While it has long been recognised that access to various resources facilitates entrepreneurial processes, little is known about the influence of diverse contexts on the capital accumulation practices of entrepreneurs. Based on the lived experiences of 10 craft entrepreneurs, this thesis seeks to advance knowledge by developing a theory of practice which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs' resource management practices. Specifically, this study focuses on the effects of embeddedness in households and communities on the capital conversion and sharing practices of craft entrepreneurs. In doing so, it enhances understanding of entrepreneurs' social, spatial and temporal contexts.

First, this study reveals a range of hitherto unidentified conversion processes, many of which involve the accumulation of multiple forms of capital, highlighting the complex nature of capital transformations. It also identifies a range of inhibitors and facilitators of these processes, which can be conversion-specific and can derive from household and community embeddedness.

Second, the findings show that household members help entrepreneurs not only by providing free resources, but also by developing their psychological capital through boosting self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience. Such emotional support is found to be particularly helpful in times of anxiety and stress and reliant upon household members' understanding of the entrepreneur. However, this study also demonstrates that household members' needs, problems and opinions can inhibit entrepreneurial practices, calling attention to the multifaceted relationship between business and family.

Third, the data show the significant impact of embeddedness in communities upon entrepreneurs' actions. Participants are found to employ strategic actions to meet the expectations of community members and to conceal non-conforming traits and behaviours. Furthermore, it is revealed that community norms can lead entrepreneurs to share their various resources and engage in social entrepreneurial practices. Throughout, entrepreneurs' embeddedness within and negotiation between these social and spatial contexts is shown to be dependent upon their temporal contexts, further attesting to the considerable impacts of contexts upon entrepreneurs.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Introduction

Context matters – it has been shown to both facilitate and restrict entrepreneurial actions (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994; Navis and Ozbek, 2016; Rooks et al., 2016). Accordingly, a growing body of research investigates the influence of embeddedness in different contexts on entrepreneurs (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Korsgaard et al., 2015; McKeever et al., 2015). Despite this increasing scholarly attention, the ‘multiplicity of contexts’ (Welter, 2011: 168) entails that there remain enduring gaps in understanding of the impacts of diverse contexts on entrepreneurial practices (Wright et al., 2014; Zahra et al., 2014).

Based on the lived experiences of craft entrepreneurs, this study seeks to advance knowledge by developing a theory of practice which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs’ resource management practices. This study provides fine-grained, contextualised accounts of the behaviours of participants to create ‘local knowledge’ (Steyaert, 1997) and to develop theory inductively, from the ‘bottom-up’ (Cope, 2005). Thus, the themes discussed in this study, as well as its overall focus, are based on the analysis of what mattered most to participants (Cope, 2011). Specifically, this study focuses on the effects of embeddedness in household and community contexts (Alsos et al., 2014; Martí et al., 2013) on the capital conversion and sharing practices of craft entrepreneurs (Scott, 2012). It finds and argues that entrepreneurs’ resource management practices cannot be understood outside of their social, spatial and temporal contexts. Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984, 1986) theory of practice was selected as a conceptual lens to frame the data analysis and to interpret the experiences of participants. In adopting a practice-based perspective (Lockett et al., 2014; Terjesen and Elam, 2009), this study seeks to generate practical advice that will be useful for entrepreneurs, scholars, educators and policy makers (Kenworthy and McMullan, 2013).

## 1.2. Contextualising Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship research has been criticised for ‘a scholarly fixation with the entrepreneurial individual’ (Chalmers and Shaw, 2017: 21), which has resulted in ‘efforts to overgeneralize results across very heterogeneous settings within and across studies’ (Wiklund et al., 2011: 4). Consequently, there has been a growing recognition that entrepreneurs need to be studied within their contexts to fully understand their behaviours (Autio et al., 2014; McKeever et al., 2014). Indeed, Welter and Gartner (2016: 156) convincingly argue that

it is not the context, but *contexts* that matter for entrepreneurship ... with the plural of the word, *contexts*, we fully acknowledge the diversity, heterogeneity and multiplicity required to adequately contextualize.

Building on their argument, this study recognises that entrepreneurs are not embedded in a single, homogeneous context, but in multiple, co-existing ones. Extant research demonstrates that embeddedness in social contexts can provide entrepreneurs with opportunities, including access to resources and competitive advantage (Batjargal, 2003; Hite, 2005). Embeddedness has also been shown to restrict entrepreneurs, such as when social or moral obligations negatively affect business relationships or operations (Coleman, 1988; Jack and Anderson, 2002). Prior research has made progress in exploring the impact of certain social (Granovetter, 1985), institutional (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994), spatial (Steyaert and Katz, 2004), industrial contexts (Reuber and Fischer, 2005) and temporal contexts (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b) on entrepreneurs. However, despite continued calls for research to further investigate the significance of context in entrepreneurship (Gaddefors and Anderson, 2017; Johannisson et al., 2002; Low and MacMillan, 1988), there remain enduring gaps in understanding concerning the effects of different contexts on entrepreneurial practices (Wright et al., 2014; Zahra et al., 2014). Welter (2011) provides a detailed analysis of developments in this domain and points towards opportunities for future research. This study seeks to follow her recommendation that research should advance understanding of the impacts of social, spatial and temporal contexts on entrepreneurs.

### *1.2.1. Social Contexts*

Much existing research into social contexts employs a network perspective (Hallen and Eisenhardt, 2012; Phillips et al., 2013), which conceives of society as consisting of fluctuating networks of social relationships (Vardaman et al., 2012; Wong and Boh, 2010). As there are several excellent reviews of network-related entrepreneurship studies (cf. Jack, 2010; Slotte-Kock and Coviello, 2010), this section undertakes only a summary of the main arguments in the literature. Among the most frequently studied is the strength of ties connecting network members (Granovetter, 1973). It has traditionally been argued that a central location within a network comprising mainly ‘weak ties’ (superficial or casual relationships that require limited emotional investment, see Dubini and Aldrich, 1991) is beneficial for entrepreneurs (Vardaman et al., 2012), as it provides access to a wide range of resources (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Birley, 1985). However, more recent studies have challenged this assumption (Antcliff et al., 2007; Patel and Terjesen, 2011), instead demonstrating the importance of ‘strong ties’ (relationships that entrepreneurs can rely upon, such as family members) for accessing knowledge, maintaining reputation and, thus, facilitating entrepreneurial success (Jack, 2005). There are also ongoing discussions regarding the effects of network density and structural holes (defined as gaps in a social network that are spanned by nonredundant contacts, see Burt, 1992). It has been suggested that effective networks have various structural holes, linking entrepreneurs to many non-overlapping clusters of people (Steier and Greenwood, 2000). Other studies have shown that networks change over time and that different configurations are beneficial at different stages of venture development (Ahuja, 2000; Hite and Hesterly, 2001).

A major shortcoming of extant research into social contexts is its narrow focus on network structures, which results from the overuse of quantitative research designs (i.e. measuring network density, size and activity levels) (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003; Slotte-Kock and Coviello, 2010). Consequently, comparatively little is known about what actually occurs between partners in networks and other social contexts (Jack, 2010). For example, the ‘dark side’ of embeddedness (i.e. the negative impact of social obligations on economic activities, see Uzzi, 1997) has received scant attention, as studies tend to highlight the positive effects of

embedding processes (Zahra et al., 2014). Furthermore, understanding of social contexts outside the business world (Welter, 2011), such as household and family contexts (Carter, 2011; Gras and Nason, 2015), is limited. Aldrich and Cliff (2003) present a convincing argument for adopting a family embeddedness perspective, arguing that family members can affect a range of entrepreneurial processes, including opportunity recognition, venture development and resource management. Alsos et al. (2014) propose that a focus on the immediate family unit (i.e. the household) is particularly revealing, as business and private spheres are often blurred for entrepreneurs. Thus, by exploring the impact of household members on the practices of entrepreneurs, this study makes valuable contributions to knowledge.

### ***1.2.2. Spatial Contexts***

In addition to being socially bound, entrepreneurship occurs within spatial contexts (Johannisson et al., 2002). As Zahra et al. (2014: 491) argue, location influences the abilities of entrepreneurs to develop firms, assemble resources and establish links with stakeholders and other partners. Prior studies have shown that certain areas provide entrepreneurs with a range of advantages, such as a rich resource base or a well-crafted business support policy (Parrilli, 2009; Smallbone et al., 2003). In contrast, other regions are depleted or deprived and, as failing economic spaces, are often unable to provide sufficient facilities or resources to promote entrepreneurial efforts (Lee et al., 2011; Parkinson et al., 2017). However, while geography can exacerbate the effects of other factors, it is not usually the sole cause for variations in entrepreneurial activity, as demonstrated by studies in underdeveloped regions (Imas et al., 2012; Mair et al., 2012) and rural areas (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Smallbone et al., 1999). Furthermore, prior research reveals that embeddedness in a region and the resulting ‘intimate knowledge of and concern for the place’ (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 574) can facilitate entrepreneurship by providing insider information about physical and cultural peculiarities.

Links with local communities appear to particularly affect the practices of entrepreneurs and lead to mutual support activities (Lang et al., 2014; McKeever et al., 2015). Indeed, it has been shown that entire communities can become involved in entrepreneurial efforts (Johannisson, 1990; Johnstone and Lionais, 2004), which can

result in a distinct form of entrepreneurship committed to achieving social change and community development (Haugh, 2007; Vestrum et al., In Press). Consequently, there has been growing interest in investigating the impact of embeddedness in communities on entrepreneurs (Hindle, 2010; Ring et al., 2010), especially in regional clusters (Lechner and Leyronas, 2009; Tan et al., 2013) and local communities (Korsgaard et al., 2015; Parkinson et al., 2017). While communities are typically understood as geographically bound groups of actors (Jennings et al., 2013), Welter (2011) emphasises that they are a result of the convergence of both social and spatial contexts. Departing even further from the traditional understanding, alternative definitions allow for communities to be bound solely by characteristics other than geographic proximity (O'Mahony and Bechky, 2008; von Krogh et al., 2003), such as shared interests (e.g. a love for crafts, see Biraglia and Kadile, 2017). Such communities are growing more prevalent as a result of virtual connections (Reuber and Fischer, 2011; Smith et al., 2017) and human migration (Jones et al., 2014; Patel and Conklin, 2009), and yet virtual and transnational communities have attracted little scholarly attention (Drori et al., 2009b; O'Mahoney, 2007). Accordingly, this study examines not only local communities, but also focuses on the creative communities in which participants are embedded and which connect craft enthusiasts from all over the world. In so doing, this study advances understanding of the effects of embeddedness in communities on entrepreneurial practices.

### ***1.2.3. Temporal Contexts***

As well as being socially and spatially embedded, entrepreneurs' actions are conducted within temporal contexts. Time is often recognised as a significant factor impacting entrepreneurs and yet there is a dearth of research into the temporal context of entrepreneurship (Zahra et al., 2014). More importantly, it has been suggested that the small number of dedicated studies on the subject lack direction and cohesion (Welter, 2011), as well as depth of conceptualisation (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b).

On one end of the spectrum, time is conceived as fixed and constant. In its simplest form, it is merely considered a tool for measuring periods over which entrepreneurial activities are performed, including entry and exit (Kalnins and

Williams, 2014; Naldi and Davidsson, 2014). In other instances, it is further theorised, but still appreciated as immutable and objective: events transpire in the past and constrain future opportunities in perpetuity. These interpretations are most clearly articulated in the life cycle approach (Carter et al., 1996) and the theory of path dependency (Zahra et al., 2006). While studies that focus on the organisational life cycle account for major shifts in a venture's evolution over time (Gersick, 1994; Vohora et al., 2004) and thus accomplish some degree of temporal contextualisation, their conception of temporal context suffers from teleological assumptions about entrepreneurial processes and goals (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b). Similarly, though proponents of path dependency ground entrepreneurial decision-making in the context of a firm's past choices (Zahra et al., 2006), they insist upon an overly deterministic understanding of time and history (Dacin et al. 1999), which leaves little room for the dynamic interplay between temporal, social, spatial and other contexts in entrepreneurial activities and decision-making.

In stark contrast with these views, there has been a recent trend towards understanding time as socially constructed, nonlinear and malleable (Garud et al., 2014; Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b). In this way, time is understood in a historical rather than scientific sense: the past does not exist outside of its interpretation and these interpretations themselves are perpetually changing (Suddaby et al., 2010). Within the context of entrepreneurship, this conception of time enables researchers to perceive how entrepreneurs continuously shift their temporal foci in line with their present activities and reinterpret the past, present and future according to their varying aspirations. It also provides insights into how entrepreneurs learn from the past and manipulate their histories to assert legitimacy (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b). In other words, the temporal context is shown to serve not only as a scholarly analytical tool, but as one which entrepreneurs can exploit to gain competitive advantage (Suddaby et al., 2010). For instance, entrepreneurs can draw upon their personal and collective traditions, knowledge and experiences to develop new innovations (De Massis et al., 2016). When the plasticity of time and history is thus recognised, the extent to which this context both impacts entrepreneurial decision-making and is impacted by the actions of entrepreneurs can be appreciated. By acknowledging the significance of temporal embeddedness (Dacin et al., 1999;



Hess 2004) in shaping entrepreneurial actions, this study gives further weight to recent calls for entrepreneurship scholars to take temporal contexts into account within their research (Welter, 2011; Zahra et al., 2014).

### **1.3. Definitions and Rationale**

This study explores entrepreneurship in the cultural industries, requiring several underlying definitions to be considered. This section first defines entrepreneurship and explains the value in studying everyday entrepreneurs. It then clarifies the concept of cultural entrepreneurship, before defining craft entrepreneurs. In addition, the rationale for exploring this subject is provided.

This study does not focus on ‘gazelles’ or ‘unicorns’ (i.e. start-ups that achieve exceptionally high growth or value) (Douglas, 2013), but rather on ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ (Welter et al., 2017). Interpretations of entrepreneurs are diverse, as the study of entrepreneurship cuts across a range of academic disciplines (Davidsson et al., 2001; Low and MacMillan, 1988). Following Stam et al. (2014: 154), this study defines ‘an entrepreneur as the founder, owner, and manager of a small firm’. Prior research highlights various capabilities and activities involved in entrepreneurship, such as dealing with uncertainty (Knight, 1921), innovatively combining resources to produce new goods (Schumpeter, 1942), discovering opportunities (Kirzner, 1973) and creating new ventures (Gartner, 1985). Accordingly, Shane and Venkataraman (2000: 218) define the field of entrepreneurship research broadly as

the scholarly examination of how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited ... Consequently, the field involves the study of sources of opportunity; the processes of discovery, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities; and sets of individuals who discover, evaluate and exploit them.

While entrepreneurship has evolved into an established and vibrant field of research (Shane, 2012; Shepherd, 2015; Venkataraman et al., 2012), existing studies have been criticised for various reasons (Davidsson, 2015; Sorenson and Stuart,

2008; Wiklund et al., 2011), including their overwhelming focus on ventures that generate financial wealth (Rindova et al., 2009), are owned by men (Ahl, 2006) and are backed by venture capital (Winborg and Landström, 2001). Thus, there have been repeated calls for research to explore more ‘ordinary people who want to become entrepreneurs’ (Sarasvathy et al., 2015: 227). Correspondingly, Welter et al. (2017) present a compelling argument for embracing entrepreneurial diversity, rather than confining scholarly attention to technology-oriented, high-growth ventures. This study heeds this advice and investigates craft entrepreneurs, who operate low-tech, slow-growth businesses and who seek to create not only financial, but also cultural and social wealth.

Research into craft entrepreneurs is situated within the field of cultural entrepreneurship (Jones et al., 2016; Swedberg, 2006). According to Giorgi et al. (2015), the study of culture and its role in business activities continues to gain popularity, resulting in a rich variety of theoretical perspectives. Gehman and Soublière (2017) provide a detailed review of research progress in cultural entrepreneurship and distinguish three streams of research that approach and define the subject in different ways. Rather than conceptualising cultural entrepreneurship as ‘a process of storytelling that ... facilitate[s] the crafting of a new venture identity’ (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001: 545) or as ‘a process of continual framing and reframing ... future aspirations and past events’ (Garud et al., 2014: 1489), this study adopts Swedberg’s (2006) perspective. Thus, cultural entrepreneurship is defined here as ‘the carrying out of a novel combination that results in something new and appreciated in the cultural sphere’ (p. 260).

This ‘making culture’ approach originates in DiMaggio’s (1982) work, which focuses on the production and distribution of cultural products. Cultural products are defined as goods ‘directed at a public of consumers, for whom they generally serve an esthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function’ (Hirsch, 1972: 641-642). A number of studies have adopted this approach, including Scott’s (2012: 241) analysis of the engagement of music producers in ‘entrepreneurship sans economic capital’ and Johnson’s (2007) investigation of the influence of entrepreneurs on organisational imprinting in the cultural industries. These studies are connected by ‘a view of culture as a sector or a set of industries, and a focus on

entrepreneurship taking place within this domain' (Gehman and Soublière, 2017: 64). This study joins them in adopting this stance.

Within the cultural industries, this study explores entrepreneurship in the craft field. According to Tregear (2005: 2), craft makers 'possess certain technical skills derived from experience or apprenticeship that set them apart from other types of manual worker[s]'. For the purposes of this study, craft makers are defined as *individuals who produce and sell products or services which possess a distinct artistic value resulting from a high degree of manual input* (Fillis, 2004). This conceptualisation accounts for a broad range of makers, from 'hobbyists' (Biraglia and Kadile, 2017), 'whose household income is only partially supported by selling craft work' (McAuley and Fillis, 2005: 503), to full-time producers, who craft products of consistently high quality, allowing them to establish a reputation for their work. Thus, Fillis (2004) proposes a typology to differentiate between four types of craft makers. First, 'lifestylers' value the quality of life associated with this profession, do not care about business growth and are unwilling to take many risks. Second, 'idealists' primarily view themselves as artists, who take risks with their products and value artistic integrity over meeting customer demands. Third, 'late developers' tend to come from non-creative backgrounds, which provide them with outside skills, and are less likely to accept new ideas or expand their businesses. Finally, 'craft entrepreneurs' are willing to take risks with their businesses, realise the importance of developing customer relationships, are willing to embrace a business philosophy and exhibit ambitions for growth.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, this study drew on the typology of Fillis (2004) to identify and select participants who could be described not only as craft makers, but also as craft entrepreneurs.

There are several reasons why this study investigates craft entrepreneurs. First, craft entrepreneurs are under-studied (Bertacchini and Borrione, 2011; Fillis, 2004), although they have been shown to find creative ways to identify and exploit opportunities (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Kuhn and Galloway, 2015). This omission leaves a gap in understanding of a sector that is steadily growing and makes a valuable contribution to the UK economy (Schwarz and Yair, 2010). Burns et al. (2012) estimate that there are over 23,000 craft-making businesses in the UK, which

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<sup>1</sup> This study conceives of the concept of growth as incorporating economic, social and community growth (Korsgaard and Anderson, 2011; Zahra and Wright, 2016).

generate a turnover of around £1.9 billion and employ more than 43,000 people (Bennett et al., 2014). Second, as Bourdieu (1986: 242) argues, human behaviour cannot be fully understood if research focuses solely on examining economic motives; it also needs to account for ‘activities of art-for-art’s sake’. In addition to crafting products that are both commercially valuable and true to their artistic self-expression (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007), craft entrepreneurs have been shown to create social value through work in the community, such as by offering classes and by fostering inclusion and social interaction through shared activities (Schwarz and Yair, 2010). Investigating craft entrepreneurs, who are driven by a number of divergent motivations, including ‘goals of lifestyle, community involvement and commercial success’ (Tregear, 2005: 11), thus presents an apposite avenue of inquiry for this study. Third, the researcher previously worked as a craft professional, which sparked his interest in exploring this sector and which facilitated building rapport with participants. Gaining the deep insights that result from participants granting open access is of major importance for inductive studies that search ‘for the meanings which lie behind actions’ (Jack and Anderson, 2002: 473).

#### **1.4. Research Aim**

This research set out to investigate the practices of craft entrepreneurs. As understanding of this entrepreneurial sub-culture is limited (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Kuhn and Galloway, 2015), this study sought to generate new knowledge about the phenomenon. Given this exploratory aim, qualitative methods were deemed appropriate (Edmondson and McManus, 2007; McKeever et al., 2015; Pratt, 2009). More specifically, a phenomenological approach was chosen to gain deep insights into the lives of participating entrepreneurs (Berglund, 2007; Cope, 2005). Accordingly, rather than trying to (dis-)prove hypotheses derived from a review of the literature (Leitch et al., 2010), the researcher entered the field with an open mind to develop theory inductively, based on the perspectives of participants (Kisfalvi, 2002). Consequently, the decision to adopt the overarching aim of *developing a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs* was a result of the data collection and analysis. The examination of participants’ experiences revealed that embeddedness

in households and communities has significant effects on their practices. By comparing the accounts of participants to the extant literature, it became apparent that the empirical data gathered could address enduring gaps in understanding of these domains. Similarly, it was due to participants' repeated descriptions of the importance of various resources and how their connections with household and community members affect the utilisation and sharing of these (mainly non-financial) assets that the researcher decided to focus on the capital management practices of craft entrepreneurs.

#### ***1.4.1. Management of Resources***

Prior studies have demonstrated the crucial role that access to resources plays in facilitating entrepreneurial processes (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Maurer and Ebers, 2006; Mosakowski, 1998). For example, it has been shown that access to funding and specialist knowledge encourages business start-up (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Winborg and Landström, 2001) and that membership in business networks provides entrepreneurs with opportunities to share risks, pool complementary skills and gain technological advantages (Parker, 2008; Ring et al., 2010). Accordingly, scholars have shown a growing interest in investigating the various capitals available to entrepreneurs (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Jayawarna et al., 2011; Shaw et al., 2008). Extant research has advanced understanding of the impact of financial capital (Chandler and Hanks, 1998; Edelman et al., 2016), human capital (Manolova et al., 2007; Marvel et al., 2016) and social capital (Light and Dana, 2013; McKeever et al., 2014) on entrepreneurs. In comparison, the importance of cultural and symbolic capital has been largely overlooked (De Clercq et al., 2013; Shaw et al., 2017). Prior research has also been criticised for employing myriad definitions of each form of capital (Anderson et al., 2007; Ployhart et al., 2014), which has led to inconsistent results and complicates the comparison of research findings (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Gedajlovic et al., 2013). Furthermore, as most empirical studies focus on individual forms of capital (cf. Batjargal, 2003; Rooks et al., 2016; Stam et al., 2014), there is limited understanding of how entrepreneurs transform the variety of resources available to them (Shaw et al., 2013; Vershinina et al., 2011). While scholars have conceptually considered the convertibility of capital

(Adler and Kwon, 2002; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Nicolopoulou, 2014), empirical research is largely absent from the literature (Scott, 2012). Thus, by demonstrating how craft entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, this study advances understanding of the resource management practices of entrepreneurs.

#### ***1.4.2. Research Objectives***

In order to *develop a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs* which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs' capital management practices, this study investigates three research questions, each of which is addressed in a dedicated findings chapter (Chapters 7-9). These research questions were developed during the data analysis, which involved moving iteratively between empirical evidence and existing literature (Edmondson and McManus, 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The analysis process revealed that this study could make valuable contributions to knowledge by exploring the following questions:

- 1) How do entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital?*
- 2) How do household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs?*
- 3) How and why does embeddedness in communities affect the practices of entrepreneurs?*

It is important to note that the objectives of this research derive from the interest in and commitment to understanding 'what it feels like to be an entrepreneur' (Drakopoulou Dodd, 2002: 532) and develop a craft enterprise.

#### **1.5. Research Approach**

Addressing calls for more methodological and paradigmatic diversity in entrepreneurship research (Karataş-Özkan et al., 2014; Shepherd, 2015), this study embraces an interpretivist perspective (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) and conducts an interpretative phenomenological analysis (Cope, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). A growing number of entrepreneurship studies adopt phenomenological approaches (McKeever et al., 2014; Shaw et al., 2017; Zou et al., 2016), because they are well-

suitable for ‘developing both new theoretical constructs and enhancing the potency of existing ones, bridging the gap between real-life occurrences and theoretical concepts’ (Cope, 2011: 610). Phenomenological research explores the lived experiences of participants to gain comprehensive knowledge of their personal and social worlds (Berglund, 2007; Sanders, 1982). While phenomenological research approaches and small sample sizes constrain generalisation of results to wider populations (Leitch et al., 2010; Lewis, 2015), they facilitate inductive theory development by providing deep insights into the experiences of participants (Geertz, 1973).

Heeding the advice of Smith (2004), 10 participants were selected for this study using a purposeful sampling approach to account for a breadth of experience (Patton, 2002). This study adopts a longitudinal design, which is under-represented in entrepreneurship research, despite its capacity to generate valuable knowledge of entrepreneurial processes (McMullen and Dimov, 2013). Data collection was conducted primarily through four rounds of interviews, which were carried out in intervals of approximately six months, starting in March 2013. Initial interviews were unstructured to gain deep insights into the perspectives of participants (Cope, 2005) and subsequent interviews followed a semi-structured format to explore emerging themes (Al-Dajani et al., 2015). In addition, household members were interviewed, participant observations were conducted and other sources of information were accessed (e.g. participants’ websites) to fill potential gaps in understanding (Lewis, 2015; McKeever et al., 2015).

This study adhered to the principles of interpretative phenomenological analysis (Cope, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). After each round of interviews, the researcher (re-)read available data to familiarise himself with the stories of participants (Kempster and Cope, 2010), before highlighting potentially significant passages in the transcripts to enable the discovery and coding of emerging themes (Hycner, 1985). This procedure was completed for all interviews prior to comparing themes between participants and searching for patterns to develop superordinate categories (Leitch et al., 2013). Interpretive summaries were then developed and shared with participants to gain their feedback (Shaw et al., 2017). Finally, emerging findings were compared to arguments in the literature to gain a higher level of

conceptualisation and to establish how the data could contribute to contemporary academic debates (Marlow and McAdam, 2015).

Since the first round of interviews were unstructured, resulting findings were based on the issues that mattered most to participating entrepreneurs. As mentioned above, the empirical data gathered provided insights into participants' management of various resources and the influence of household and community members on their practices. As phenomenological research seeks to portray the lived-worlds of participants (Berglund, 2015; Sandberg, 2000), these themes determined the focus of this study and influenced the choice of a theoretical framework for the analysis and presentation of data. Specifically, Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1986) theory of practice was selected for this purpose because of its conceptual clarity concerning the different resources entrepreneurs access and share with others (Shaw et al., 2013; Vershinina et al., 2011), as well as for its appreciation of the influence of norms and conventions (*habitus*) within different contexts (Anderson et al., 2010; Stringfellow et al., 2014). Essentially, Bourdieu's theory of practice argues that individuals compete for economic, cultural, social and symbolic *capital* to gain dominant positions within social *fields* and that their actions are directed by a socially shaped *habitus* (DiMaggio, 1979; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). Drakopoulou Dodd et al. (2016) therefore propose that Bourdieu's framework is appropriate for investigating the effects of embeddedness in different contexts on entrepreneurial practices.

## **1.6. Structure of the Thesis**

There is an expectation that business and management theses will adopt a certain structure (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012), which progresses from an introduction to a literature review, context and methods, findings, discussion and then conclusion. However, it could be argued that, similar to the entrepreneurs under investigation, entrepreneurship scholars are tasked with finding a balance between 'fitting in' with existing norms and 'standing out' as acceptably deviant innovators (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a; Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014). Thus, this thesis is structured as follows.



After this introduction, Chapter 2 discusses the research context, specifically the industry sector in which participants are embedded, as well as their local environments. As this study emphasises the influence of contexts on entrepreneurial practices, it is appropriate to begin this investigation by situating readers within these contexts.

Chapter 3 introduces the analytical framework, Bourdieu's theory of practice, which was used to interpret the experiences of participants. While this thesis is not a study of Bourdieu's theories, it employs the concepts of capital, habitus and field to analyse and explain the practices of participating entrepreneurs. Given that the literature review draws upon a number of definitions provided in this chapter (e.g. Bourdieu's perspective on the different forms of capital), it appears sensible to first familiarise the reader with this framework.

Chapter 4 reviews the entrepreneurship literature on resource and capital management, household and families, and embeddedness in communities. This chapter reveals research gaps and explains how this study seeks to advance understanding of these domains.

Chapter 5 discusses the research methods employed by this study. It first discusses phenomenological research and its underlying assumptions and then presents the specific research approach adopted. This chapter demonstrates the rigorous process this study employed to gather and analyse the empirical data.

Chapter 6 proposes a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs. Based on the analysis of participants' perspectives, this conceptual model explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects the capital management practices of entrepreneurs. It highlights the links between the subsequent findings chapters and enables future research to compare the experiences of craft entrepreneurs to those who operate in different industries and contexts.

Chapter 7 examines the capital conversion practices of craft entrepreneurs (micro-level). It systematically explores the various capital transformation processes that participants adopt and, in so doing, reveals a range of previously unidentified capital conversions. Heeding the advice of Cope (2005), the presentation of empirical data is separated from its analysis and enriched by numerous quotations to convey the voices of participants and to facilitate the understanding of phenomena

‘from the perspective of those who experience it’ (p. 180). However, rather than entirely isolating the findings from their discussion (by moving the discussion into a dedicated chapter), each findings chapter features an ‘Analysis and Interpretation’ section, which links results to contemporary debates in the literature (Cope, 2011).

Chapter 8 explores the meso-level by considering the household context. This chapter reveals ways in which household members support participants, such as by providing various forms of capital which craft entrepreneurs employ to exploit opportunities. However, it also highlights the negative impacts of embeddedness in households.

Chapter 9 is concerned with the macro-level and investigates community contexts. It demonstrates that embeddedness in communities can lead entrepreneurs to engage in virtuous behaviours, such as collaboration and social value creation. It also shows that expectations of camaraderie can restrict entrepreneurial actions by demanding conformity, causing participants to conceal unconventional practices.

Finally, Chapter 10 presents conclusions, implications and recommendations. It summarises the findings of this study, considers limitations and makes suggestions for future research. It seeks to provide advice not only for scholars and educators, but also practitioners and policy makers.

## **1.7. Conclusion**

This chapter discussed how this thesis will explore the topic and questions under investigation. It explained the importance of studying the role of context in shaping entrepreneurial practices and examined underlying definitions and the rationale for conducting this study. It also introduced the research goal and the approach adopted to collect and analyse the data. By providing an overview of this study, this chapter sought to spark the interest of the reader in learning about the lives and practices of participating craft entrepreneurs.

## **CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH CONTEXT**

### **2.1. Introduction**

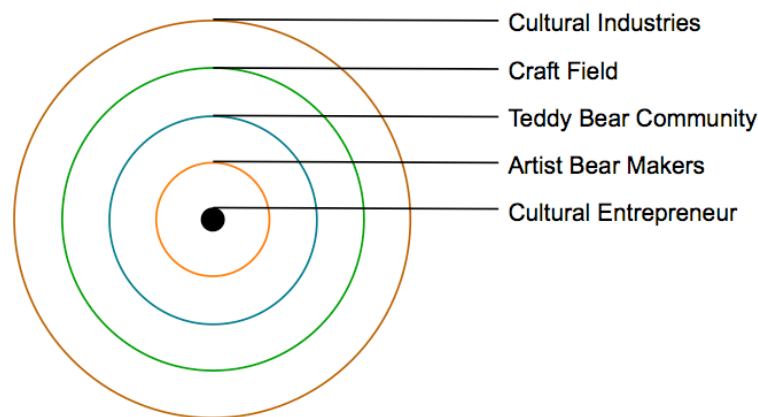
Given the influence of contextual factors on entrepreneurial processes (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994; Mair et al., 2012; Welter, 2011) and its centrality to the arguments of this study, it is essential to discuss the context of this empirical research. Thus, this chapter explores the industry sector in which participants are embedded and describes their local environments, which are rural in nature. The objectives of this chapter are twofold: (1) to examine contemporary debates regarding cultural industries and rural entrepreneurship and (2) to introduce the research participants and the geographic locations in which they reside. In contrast to Chapter 9, which discusses the impacts of these contexts on participating entrepreneurs, this chapter provides an introduction to the people whose stories are portrayed and to the communities in which they are embedded. Accordingly, relevant quotations of participants are included to demonstrate their perspectives. Details about participant selection and data collection are presented in Chapter 5. This chapter is structured as follows. First, extant literature on cultural industries is reviewed, followed by a description of the craft entrepreneurs in this study. Second, rural entrepreneurship is discussed, before the rural locations in this study are presented. Finally, conclusions are drawn for this research.

### **2.2. Cultural Industries**

‘Cultural industries’ is an umbrella term used to describe a variety of industries (Hirsch, 1972; Lampel et al., 2000), which consist of a large range of smaller communities. Similar to the field of entrepreneurship, which has been described as a ‘hodgepodge’ of research driven by scholars from various disciplines (Davidsson et al., 2001; Gartner, 2001; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000), cultural industries unite a ‘motley crew’ of creative individuals (McLeod et al., 2009; Townley et al., 2009). The interpretation of the cultural industries used in this study is comparable to the concept of an onion: the entrepreneur in the centre is surrounded by a multitude of layers (i.e. communities or social fields), which influence her/his practices.

Figure 2.1 illustrates this conceptualisation based on the example of Holly, a teddy bear maker. Importantly, several fields coexist at each level (e.g. ‘Artist Bear Makers’ and ‘Traditional Bear Makers’) and individuals can belong to more than one of these communities at the same time.

**Figure 2.1.** Cultural Industries Context (for Holly)



### **2.2.1. Cultural Industries Research**

Cultural industries are gaining popularity as the context and subject of research (Hirsch, 2000; Lawrence and Phillips, 2002), mainly due to the increasing economic importance of the sector (Nathan et al., 2015, 2016) and the introduction of national policies aimed at their development (Bell and Jayne, 2010; O'Connor, 2015). However, as Peltoniemi (2015: 41) points out, ‘it remains unclear what characteristics make industries cultural, which industries belong under the cultural umbrella, and what phenomena are specific to them’. In her review of the literature, Peltoniemi compares various conceptualisations of the cultural industries. Based on her findings, this study broadly defines cultural industries as *the branches of economic activity dedicated to developing products or services that provide customers with an experience and incorporate a substantial creative element*. As cultural goods are experiential, ‘they are judged on their ability to offer fun, enjoyment and pleasure’ (p. 42). This definition highlights the importance of creativity for cultural production (DeFillippi et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2016). In fact, there are many studies that label the cultural industries as creative industries or use

the terms interchangeably (cf. Jones, 2010; Suddaby and Young, 2015; Thompson et al., 2007), making it difficult to differentiate between them. In an effort to distinguish between their outputs, cultural industries have been described as copyrightable and creative industries as serving a utilitarian function (Townley et al., 2009). This study does not subscribe to this view, as creative works can be both useful and also protected by copyright. Thus, while the term cultural industries is adopted as an overarching label, this study simultaneously draws on and advances understanding of creative industries.

There are several international institutions, including the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014b) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2013), which track the development of the cultural industries. They estimate that global, annual trade of creative goods and services exceeds \$600 billion and grows at an average rate of 8.8% per year, making it one of the fastest growing sectors in the world (OECD, 2014b). The significance of the cultural industries is further illustrated by the large number of jobs they create in regions such as Canada (2.2 million jobs / 12.9% of total employment), the USA (14.2 million / 9.75%) and the EU (11.4 million / 5.2%) (Nathan et al., 2015, 2016). Within the UK, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS, 2016) estimates that the creative economy sustains over 2.8 million jobs (8.8%). While it is more difficult to obtain exact figures for developing nations, UNESCO (2013) estimates that cultural industries contribute similarly to the total employment in countries such as the Philippines (over 10%), Russia (over 7%) and China (over 6%). Considering that cultural industries are regarded as under-studied (Chaston and Sadler-Smith, 2012; Shaw, 2006), dedicated research is therefore both timely and warranted.

Extant studies have identified certain characteristics that are common across cultural industries. First, creative labour is usually in oversupply, resulting in a competitive environment for aspiring entrepreneurs (Coulson, 2012; McLeod et al., 2011). Second, the prospects of success of newly developed cultural products and services are hard to predict (Berg, 2016; Hirsch, 1972) as fashions and consumer tastes are highly mutable (Bourdieu, 1984; Simmel, 1957). In addition, cultural artefacts are difficult to compare and there are no definite, objective measures to

judge their financial or aesthetic value (Ertug et al., 2016). Finally, gatekeepers often play an important role in deciding which products or services reach consumers (Foster et al., 2011; Wright and Zammuto, 2013), requiring entrepreneurs to take gatekeepers' needs and expectations into consideration (Newman et al., 2013). Thus, continuous innovation is normally essential for satisfying the evolving demands of customers and key players in this sector (Scott, 2006).

As Lampel et al. (2000) argue, there are several ambiguities that creative individuals need to resolve when seeking to achieve success in cultural industries. Among others, entrepreneurs need to reconcile (1) artistic goals with economic objectives (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007; Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005); (2) personal style with market trends (Lawrence and Phillips, 2002); (3) novelty with product familiarity (Islam et al., 2016; Slavich and Castellucci, 2016); and (4) individual with collective creativity (Harvey, 2014; Perry-Smith and Mannucci, 2017). Having to face these enduring tensions can place psychological and emotional strain on entrepreneurs (Scott, 2012). Furthermore, low income, tough competition and a high failure rate imply that pursuing a creative career can be a demanding endeavour (Chaston and Sadler-Smith, 2012). However, despite blurred lines between work and home life, which can lead to both self-exploitation and work-family conflict (Harrison and Wagner, 2016), entrepreneurs continue to start and develop cultural businesses. This is likely due to a deep passion for and commitment to creative activities (Simpson et al., 2015; Svejenova, 2005). Among others, it is this dedication in the face of adversity which makes entrepreneurship in the cultural industries such a fascinating subject to study.

### ***2.2.2. Creative Communities***

The cultural industries consist of various smaller, interlinked creative communities (Jones et al., 2016). As definitions and individual classifications vary among countries (OECD, 2014b; UNESCO, 2013), this study focuses on the approach used in the UK. On a national level, the sector is regulated and supported by the DCMS (2016), which differentiates between computer/software design (responsible for

43.5% of the cultural industries' GVA),<sup>2</sup> advertising/marketing (15.8%), film/radio (12.9%), publishing (12.1%), music/performing arts (6.5%), architecture (5.1%), design/fashion (3.8%) and crafts (0.3%).

It may appear counter-intuitive to select the craft field as a research context, given that it makes the smallest contribution to the GVA of the cultural industries. However, the DCMS vastly underestimates the actual size of the craft sector (Bennett et al., 2014), as it does not account for micro businesses below the VAT threshold (£85,000 annual turnover). Thus, those creative communities that consist of large numbers of non-VAT registered micro firms are not adequately captured by the DCMS. While exact figures are not available, it is likely that there are many such ventures, seeing that over 5 million businesses (96% of all enterprises in the UK) have 0-9 employees and are considered micro firms (Ward and Rhodes, 2014). This highlights a limitation of the classification approach of the DCMS. Other deficiencies are discussed by Roodhouse (2011), who reviews the creative industries concept and its application in the UK. He concludes that the repeated redefinitions of what constitutes the cultural industries have been exceedingly challenging, especially for creative communities that have been excluded as a result (e.g. the visual arts).

Theoretical understanding of creative communities has been advanced by a number of empirical studies. Table 2.1 presents an overview of leading research published in 'top journals' (i.e. Grade 4 and 4\*), as defined by the Association of Business Schools (ABS) (Wood and Peel, 2015: 7). While this table is not exhaustive (e.g. craft research is deliberately excluded, as it is presented in the next section), it provides several valuable insights. First, it highlights that some creative communities, especially film, television, music and performing arts, receive more attention than others, such as architecture and software design. Second, it shows that scholars adopt a range of perspectives, including occupational, institutional and networking perspectives, to examine creative communities. At the same time, it reveals that entrepreneurship approaches are comparatively uncommon and should therefore be encouraged. The findings of prior studies improve knowledge of various subjects, such as the effects of norms and conventions, of social and cultural backgrounds and

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<sup>2</sup> Gross Value Added (GVA) is a measure of the value of goods and services produced by a sector of the economy. The DCMS (2016: 3) estimates 'the contribution of the Creative Industries to UK Gross Value Added (GVA) ... using approximate GVA (aGVA) from the Annual Business Survey'.

**Table 2.1.** Research into Creative Communities (excluding Crafts)

<b>Context</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Perspective</b>	<b>Key Finding</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Country</b>
Advertising	Koppman (2016)*	Occupational	Shared culture signals creative potential to employers.	Mixed	USA
Architecture	McLeod et al. (2009)*	Occupational	Social class is less significant once accepted in the industry.	Qualitative	UK
	Jones (2010)	Occupational	Symbolic networks are key to gaining career recognition.	Archival	Multiple
Design/Fashion	Dalpiaz et al. (2016)*	Institutional	Combining different logics facilitates opportunity recognition.	Qualitative	Italy
	Elsbach (2009)	Creativity	Signature styles allow designers to affirm their identities.	Qualitative	USA
Film/TV	Khair & Hall (2016)*	Innovation	International norms can co-exist with local conventions.	Archival	India
	Anand & Watson (2004)*	Institutional	Award ceremonies construct prestige hierarchies within fields.	Mixed	USA
	Patriotta & Hirsch (2016)*	Innovation	New conventions develop through cooperative interactions.	Archival	USA
	Randle et al. (2015)*	Occupational	Actors employ various forms of capital to enter the industry.	Qualitative	UK
	Svejenova (2005)	Occupational	Authenticity shapes meaningful careers in creative industries.	Qualitative	Spain
	Zaheer & Soda (2009)*	Networking	Spanning structural holes results in superior team performance.	Quantitative	Italy
Music	Coulson (2012)	Entrepreneurship	Musicians are enterprising when pursuing a musical calling.	Qualitative	UK
	Glynn & Lounsbury (2005)*	Institutional	Critics' stories are embedded in broader discursive fields.	Qualitative	USA
Performing Arts	Johnson (2007)	Entrepreneurship	Imprinting is an outcome of cultural entrepreneurship.	Archival	France
	Lingo & O'Mahony (2010)	Creativity	Ambiguity is inherent in collective creative processes.	Qualitative	USA
	Berg (2016)	Creativity	Divergent thinking facilitates forecasting creative successes.	Quantitative	Multiple
	Eikhof & Haunschild (2007)*	Institutional	Economic logics tend to prevail over artistic logics in theatres.	Qualitative	Germany
	Glynn (2000)	Institutional	Organisational identity affects beliefs about core competencies.	Qualitative	USA
	Harrison & Rouse (2015)	Creativity	Prototypes are co-created by creatives and feedback providers.	Qualitative	USA
Publishing	Uzzi & Spiro (2005)*	Networking	Small world networks influence performance of musicals.	Quantitative	USA
	Vera & Crossan (2005)	Innovation	Improvise skills can be taught through training.	Quantitative	Canada
	Thornton (2002)	Institutional	Publishers shifted from an editorial to a market logic in the 70s.	Mixed	USA
	Batjargal (2010)	Networking	Institutional contexts influence the effects of structural holes.	Quantitative	China/Russia
Software Design	Metiu (2006)*	Innovation	Status can be both an input and output of intergroup relations.	Qualitative	India/USA

\* Article references Bourdieu's work

Selected articles significantly advance knowledge of a creative community and were published in journals ranked at ABS Grade 4 or 4\* (Wood & Peel, 2015).



of reputation within the industry. Thus, this study will be able to contribute to these existing debates. The table also demonstrates that qualitative methods are popular in this field and that most studies explore creative communities in the EU or the USA. Finally, it illustrates that Bourdieu's work is frequently cited by leading research. While this is not surprising, given Bourdieu's (1984) focus on culture and society, it highlights the acclaim his work has achieved and the relevance of his theories to this context.

### ***2.2.3. Craft Field***

As mentioned above, the significance of the craft sector is often underestimated (Bertacchini and Borrione, 2011). A number of studies therefore attempt to measure the contribution of the sector to the economy and society (cf. Burns et al., 2012; Schwarz and Yair, 2010). Bennett et al. (2014) estimate that there are over 11,500 craft businesses in the UK (half of which are not VAT registered), which employ more than 43,000 people and generate around £1.9 billion turnover. Other reports propose even higher figures (e.g. over 23,000 craft businesses, see Burns et al., 2012), highlighting the impact of the sector on the economy. In addition, craft makers create social value through work in the community, such as by offering classes to help students develop their imagination, concentration and confidence and by fostering inclusion and social interaction through shared activities (Schwarz and Yair, 2010).

Many makers choose to undertake secondary activities, such as teaching, to supplement their income, which is approximately 12% below the national average in the UK (Bennett et al., 2014). Thus, while craft making is often depicted as a rewarding experience (Sennett, 2008), this is not primarily due to prospects of profit and growth, but rather a mixture of benefits including personal satisfaction and community engagement (Paige and Littrell, 2002; Tregear, 2005). Given the considerable amount of skill and experience that is required to practise a craft (Bhagavatula et al., 2010), it is not surprising that 85% of makers in the UK hold a craft-related qualification (Burns et al., 2012). Another peculiarity of the craft sector is the high number of sole traders (88%), which is attributed to the desire of makers 'to be free' (Schwarz and Yair, 2010: 96). However, working by themselves

also causes a feeling of ‘aloneness’ for many practitioners. Furthermore, it should be noted that craft makers in the UK are approximately ‘69% female, 31% male’ (Burns et al., 2012: 18).

The craft sector is supported by national development agencies, including the Craft Council, the Arts Council of Wales, Creative Scotland and Craft Northern Ireland (Morris et al., 2010a). Interestingly, the spheres of responsibility held by these agencies vary. A representative example is the Craft Council: though it profiles makers from across the UK, its mission is restricted to advocating crafts in England and Wales and its development programmes are only available to makers in England (Schwarz and Yair, 2010). Thus, while practitioners benefit from region-specific developmental activities, the sector as a whole is hindered by the disparate approach entailed by the government’s devolvement of responsibilities within the cultural industries (Roodhouse, 2011; Thomas et al., 2013). An underlying cause for existing difficulties is the industry-focused approach that the DCMS adopts to define crafts (Bennett et al., 2014). They employ an occupational classification list, which features smiths, weavers, knitters, potters and furniture makers and an industry group classification scheme that incorporates only the manufactory of jewellery (DCMS, 2016: 21-22). Evidently, this approach excludes a number of crafts, especially contemporary ones. Accordingly, this study employs a conceptualisation of the craft sector which is more inclusive and based on alternative definitions provided by Fillis (2004) and Tregear (2005). This study defines craft makers as *individuals who produce and sell products or services which possess a distinct artistic value resulting from a high degree of manual input*.

A review of the craft business literature reveals several valuable insights (see Table 2.2). First, it shows that extant studies examine a number of craft fields, which can broadly be classified into three categories: (1) textile-related; (2) food-related; and (3) multiple craft-focused (though there are exceptions, such as pottery-focused studies). These studies are primarily devoted to product-based crafts and rarely consider the craftsmanship involved in service-based activities, such as hairdressing (Holmes, 2015) or Haute Cuisine (Slavich and Castellucci, 2016; Svejenova et al., 2007). Second, tourism and marketing-related issues are frequently explored by craft research, whereas they are not prevalent in studies of other creative

**Table 2.2.** Craft Research

<b>Craft Field</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Perspective</b>	<b>Key Finding</b>	<b>Main Method</b>	<b>Country</b>
Artisan food	Blundel (2002)	Networking	Networks are dynamic, idiosyncratic and living phenomena.	Archival	UK
	Tregear (2005)	Entrepreneurship	Food producers pursue commercial and lifestyle-oriented goals.	Qualitative	UK
Cleaning	Tweedie & Holley (2016)	Occupational	Craft concepts help workers feel satisfied, even in menial tasks.	Qualitative	Australia
Clothing	Porac et al. (1995)	Networking	Rivalry networks are localised into clique-like subgroups.	Mixed	UK
	Rantisi (2014)	Gender	Guild systems are used to devalue female makers' work.	Qualitative	Canada
	Thomas et al. (2013)	Networking	Guilds are fragmented, complex and shaped by various actors.	Qualitative	UK
Hairdressing	Holmes (2015)	Occupational	Craft of service work is often ignored and undervalued.	Qualitative	UK
Haute Cuisine	Slavich & Castellucci (2016)	Occupational	Apprentices can gain esteem through association with masters.	Quantitative	Multiple
	Svejenova et al. (2007)	Institutional	Reputation plays a critical role in the dissemination of ideas.	Qualitative	Spain
Luxury wines	Beverland (2005)	Marketing	Advertising handcrafted techniques helps establish authenticity.	Qualitative	Multiple
Micro brewing	Carroll & Swaminathan (2000)	Institutional	Craft identity is crucial for the success of specialist breweries.	Archival	USA
	Clemons et al. (2006)	Marketing	Hyperdifferentiation helps firms meet customers' specific needs.	Quantitative	USA
	Verhaal et al. (2015)	Marketing	Highlighting craft production in beer names increases success.	Quantitative	USA
Multiple	Fillis (2004)	Marketing	Craft makers can be classified into four distinct types.	Mixed	UK
	Kuhn & Galloway (2015)	Networking	Craft makers' motivations influence what advice they share.	Quantitative	Multiple
	Paige & Littrell (2002)	Entrepreneurship	Craft retailers judge success by financial and personal criteria.	Quantitative	USA
	Parry (2010)	Entrepreneurship	Artisan identity and management styles are barriers to growth.	Qualitative	UK
	Shultz (2015)*	Networking	Craft makers form networks to share intermediary duties.	Qualitative	USA
Pottery	Revilla & Dodd (2003)	Tourism	Producing authentic, local crafts encourages incoming tourism.	Quantitative	Mexico
	Sánchez-Medina et al. (2015)	Entrepreneurship	Environmental compliance increases craft firm performance.	Quantitative	Mexico
Weaving	Bhagavatula et al. (2011)	Networking	Structural holes have an adverse effect on resource acquisition.	Qualitative	India
	Cohen (2001)	Tourism	Individual makers' successes increase socioeconomic inequality.	Quantitative	Mexico
	Ramachandran et al. (2012)	Institutional	Bridging enterprises reconcile interests of makers and markets.	Qualitative	India
	Sayce et al. (2007)	Gender	Modernising craft production can cause male identity crisis.	Qualitative	UK

\* Article references Bourdieu's work

Selected articles significantly advance knowledge of the craft field and were published in journals ranked at ABS Grade 3 or higher (Wood & Peel, 2015).

communities (see Table 2.1). Third, institutional and entrepreneurship perspectives are comparatively rare within craft research. Concerning preferred methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative approaches are employed in this context. While prior research explores craft businesses in a number of countries, the UK appears to be a particularly popular context. It may be, as Shultz (2015: 458) suggests, that craft makers have earned a higher reputation in Europe, where they are seen as providing ‘diversity and competition [to] the largest companies’, than in North America, where both academics and the general public are more interested in cultural elites (e.g. celebrities). The findings of extant studies advance knowledge of various subjects, including guilds, networking, craft motivations and authenticity. In contrast, the influence of different communities on entrepreneurs or their resource management practices have not received adequate attention. Finally, Table 2.2 shows that Bourdieu’s work is almost never cited in craft research, which is surprising given its popularity among scholars of cultural industries.

### **2.3. Craft Entrepreneurs in this Study**

Following the review of cultural industries research, this section introduces the craft entrepreneurs in this study. While further justification for selecting these participants is provided in Chapter 5, along with a tabular comparison of their main characteristics, it is important to first explain why their stories are interesting and worth studying.

As shown in Table 2.3, the 10 participating craft entrepreneurs contribute a variety of perspectives to this study. They belong to a range of fields covering both contemporary crafts, such as souvenir and teddy bear making, and more traditional crafts, including silversmithing and basket weaving. Before establishing their ventures, all participants gained valuable skills either by studying their crafts at college/university or by pursuing a degree in a different cultural discipline. In addition, they acquired work experience through internships, employment and, in some cases, running a business, which prepared them for launching their craft firms. As all participants continue to operate their ventures over two years past the end of the data collection, their businesses are considered to be sustainable. Their work is regularly on display at craft shows and exhibitions, in some cases nationally or even

**Table 2.3.** Craft Entrepreneurs in this Study

Participant Profile	
Amy* (late-20s)	Following a degree in fashion design, Amy set up a wallet making business with two friends who taught her valuable business skills. In 2011, she left to start her own firm, crafting individually designed accessories. During the course of this study, Amy lost her mother, who had taught her how to sew, and broke up with her partner, Adam. Building on her past business successes, she also decided to establish a fashion label.
Betty* (early-30s)	After studying human geography at university, Betty worked for a library where she ran children's reading groups. Only weeks before the first interview, she decided to capitalise upon her creativity to produce individualised children's playbooks, for which she perceived a growing demand. A few months into this study, her partner Brenda moved away for further education, and Betty decided to relocate with her.
Carol (mid-30s)	Born and raised in North America, Carol became aware of the internationally growing demand for hand-dyed yarn earlier than most craftspeople in the UK. She seized the opportunity and opened her studio in 2007. Carol had studied English literature and gained business experience from running an instrument repair firm for two years. She lives with her partner Clara, who is employed by an insurance company.
Diana (late-30s)	When Diana started studying silversmithing in 1995, the profession was dominated by men. She managed to succeed in this craft by gaining international acclaim for her work. Since moving into her studio in 2004, Diana has won several prestigious awards and a number of her pieces were selected for display in permanent exhibitions of national museums. She met her partner Daniel, who works as a sailor, at university.
Emily (mid-40s)	After earning a degree in printed textiles and working as an independent textile designer for over 15 years, Emily was seeking a new challenge. She opened her own hand-stitching studio in 2007 but, three months into this study, decided to work from home again to gain more time for her design work. Emily is mother to one child and has been with her husband, Evan, who works for the government, for over 20 years.
Frank* (mid-40s)	While studying medicine, Frank discovered his passion for ceramics. He decided to pursue this interest by training in pottery at college. Frank moved into his workshop shortly before the start of this study. After breaking up with Fred, his partner, he invited his friend Felix, a fellow caving club member, to move into his spare room.
George (early-50s)	Raised in the Baltics, George was trained in the European approach to basket weaving before learning the British technique. As one of the only makers with such training, he found work with several employers before opening his studio in 2004. He is a father of two children and receives help from his wife, Grace, who is a trained accountant.
Holly (early-50s)	As a teddy bear maker, Holly engages in a contemporary craft. Originally trained in costume design, she decided to change professions when her sister's teddy bear business became successful. Holly has practised this craft independently for over 15 years and has won prestigious industry awards. Holly is a mother of two children and has been with her partner, Henry, who works in set design, for over 20 years.
Isla* (early-60s)	After being trained in ceramics at university, Isla worked for the same employer for most of her life. In 2010 she discovered a lack of individualised souvenirs for her local area, so she decided to set up a business producing such memorabilia. Isla is a mother of one and has been with her husband, Iain, who is an architect, for almost 40 years.
Julie* (mid-60s)	Following degrees in English, Fine Art and Education and a career as a lecturer of arts at a university, Julie possessed a wealth of relevant experience which prepared her for opening a print-making business in 2006. Presenting her work in solo exhibitions raised her profile nationally. Julie receives help from her husband, Jack, and her two children, as she is now the sole earner of the household.

\* Denotes the five participants who are based in England. The other five are located in Scotland.

internationally, which highlights the quality of their work. Furthermore, several of the more experienced craft entrepreneurs have gained acclaim through winning prestigious awards. As Carol explains, ‘the makers and the designers and the dyers ... are sort of famous ... people know who you are and they are excited to meet you’.

Within the academic literature, scholars generally differentiate between necessity-driven and opportunity-driven entrepreneurs (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Jennings and Brush, 2013). In other words, they distinguish between those individuals who are pushed into entrepreneurship because ‘all other options for work are absent or unsatisfactory’ (Vorley and Rodgers, 2014: 429) and those who are pulled into it by the choice to exploit a perceived opportunity. Participants in this study are a mixture of both. On the one hand, they are passionate about their crafts and most feel like Emily, who describes herself as ‘a bit of a control freak’ when it comes to her working life. As Diana puts it, ‘being self employed is about having control over everything’. Control is essential to participants because ‘what I do is quite individual, my standards are quite high’ (Julie) and ‘I do get quite caught up in doing things over and over again until I feel that they are perfect’ (Betty). Since all participants need to earn an income to help sustain their households, starting their own firms was therefore the only way for them to stay in complete control of their creative outputs. On the other hand, Table 2.3 also illustrates that participants started their firms to seize specific opportunities that they identified in the marketplace. They were either trying to satisfy a perceived customer need, for example, for hand-dyed yarn or individualised children’s playbooks, or developing a novel product range, including caving mugs and square willow baskets, which stimulated demand with a target audience. Thus, it could be argued that participants engaged in both discovery and creation strategies of entrepreneurial action (Alvarez and Barney, 2007; Suddaby et al., 2015).

Concerning their personal lives, Table 2.3 shows that all participants live in households that are shared with other people, mainly consisting of nuclear family members. Most participants are in stable relationships, which provide them with a level of consistency and support. In addition, though they no longer require constant care, some participants still have children living at home. Thus, participants must manage the balancing act of operating a business and engaging in their family lives

(Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Jennings and McDougald, 2007). In some cases, the resulting tensions have led to difficulties and the end of relationships. Furthermore, due to the longitudinal nature of this study the researcher was witness to several critical events, such as the loss of a family member and the relocation of home or business. These experiences influenced the practices of the entrepreneurs, highlighting the crucial role that household and family members play in their working lives.

#### **2.4. Rural Entrepreneurship**

Following the exploration of the industry context and the introduction of the craft entrepreneurs, this section focuses on the regional contexts in which participants reside. Accordingly, it reviews relevant literature on rural entrepreneurship, examining both the policy perspective and the academic perspective, before presenting the rural locations in this study.

It is important to first define rural entrepreneurship. Extant studies mainly refer to spatial characteristics to differentiate between rural and other types of entrepreneurship (Galloway et al., 2011; Korsgaard et al., 2015; Lang et al., 2014). Rurality is conceived ‘as a spatial category dominated by large open spaces and, relative to the national context, small settlements’ (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006: 112). To operationalise the concept, research frequently employs the OECD’s (2006) definition, which classifies areas as rural if their population density is low (less than 150 inhabitants per square kilometre) and they do not comprise a main urban centre. The UK government adopts a similar approach; areas are defined as rural ‘if they fall outside of settlements with more than 10,000 resident population’ (Defra, 2016: 1). This study employs the latter conceptualisation, as it is more inclusive and applicable in more densely populated countries, such as England (OECD, 2011).

Furthermore, a distinction needs to be made between spaces and places, as they represent different facets of spatial contexts (Steyaert and Katz, 2004). Space denotes ‘an economic (capitalistic) evaluation of location based on its capacity for profit’ (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004: 218). Thus, it is primarily concerned with the various resources available in an area, which are used to maximise economic gains. In comparison, place denotes ‘an evaluation of a location in relation to lived life and

experience' (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 579). In other words, places are created through the meanings and experiences that individuals connect with a location. While a number of studies have explored space-related issues (cf. Kloosterman, 2010; Lee et al., 2011), there is a need for further research into the role of place in entrepreneurship (McKeever et al., 2015). Consequently, this study seeks to account for place-related aspects when analysing the spatial contexts in which participants reside.

#### ***2.4.1. Policy Perspective***

As a result of technical advances, the need for manual labour in traditional rural industries, such as agriculture, forestry and mining, has reduced significantly (Lang et al., 2014), triggering a shift in economic activity in rural regions around the world (OECD, 2014a). Particularly in Western nations, rural areas have transformed from production to consumption spaces, serving a multitude of purposes, including tourism, leisure, living and working (Markantoni and van Hoven, 2012; Mitchell, 2013). Such shifts have been facilitated by increased connectivity, achieved largely through improved Internet access (Anderson et al., 2016; Cumming and Johan, 2010) and better-developed transportation systems (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006). Within the resulting 'global village', interpretations of rurality have become more fluid and subjective (Anderson, 2000). In the past, peripheral areas have often been considered as separated by space and time, earning them deprecating labels, such as hinterland or backwater. Over time, perceptions have changed and rurality is now seen to provide a higher quality of life (Akgün et al., 2011) and an escape from the 'rat race' of cities (Bell and Jayne, 2010).

Nevertheless, many rural regions still face significant challenges (OECD, 2006). First, they are burdened by out-migration, which is caused by an oversupply of labour and a lack of social attractions, and which in turn results in ageing resident populations (Smallbone, 2009). Second, public services are less developed due to higher delivery costs, limiting access to essential local support services, such as medical care (Phillipson et al., 2004). Third, average labour productivity is lower, particularly in sparsely populated areas, resulting in lower outputs and less competitive wages (Webber et al., 2009). Fourth, access to education and specialised training is limited, leading to a comparatively small proportion of inhabitants



pursuing tertiary education (Anthopoulou, 2010). As a consequence, the average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per person is often lower in rural regions than in urban areas (Lang et al., 2014). However, this does not mean that rural areas are in economic decline. In fact, OECD (2014a) reports that rural regions have, on average, grown faster than their urban counterparts.

It is also important to differentiate between ‘remote’ regions, which are more isolated and subject to distance penalties (e.g. longer transportation times) and ‘accessible’ regions, which are comparatively close to urban areas and benefit from their infrastructure and services (Galloway et al., 2011; Smallbone et al., 1999). In Scotland, there is a significant divide between these regions. Many remote rural areas (i.e. localities that are more than 30 minutes drive from a major settlement) are ‘fragile’ and ‘deprived’, such as the ‘Western Isles which has a GDP per capita of 60% of the EU average’ (OECD, 2008: 5). In contrast, accessible rural regions experience a positive net migration and have an average household income that is higher than any other area in Scotland, including its main cities (Scottish Government, 2015a). However, the growing popularity of these regions causes problems, including increasing commuter-related congestion, higher land prices and housing shortages (OECD, 2008).

While 70% of the landmass in Scotland is considered remote rural and 27% accessible rural (Scottish Government, 2015a), ‘there is no region in England that can be considered predominantly [remote] rural’ (OECD, 2011: 14). There are, of course, sparsely populated areas which have struggled with poverty and social exclusion and have therefore been described as remote (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006; Smallbone et al., 1999). Nevertheless, there is significantly more interaction between rural and urban regions in England than in most other countries and those who live in accessible rural areas (about 20% of the population) have comparatively good access to public services (OECD, 2011). Furthermore, rural areas enjoy a largely positive image, as the English countryside is usually associated with pastoral settings and rustic cottages, especially by international visitors and residents of cities (Bell and Jayne, 2010).

From an industry perspective, there are many similarities between Scotland and England. As the role of agriculture becomes less significant, rural areas in both

countries draw on their natural and cultural resources to develop other sectors, particularly tourism and renewable energy (OECD, 2008). However, it has been argued that ‘there is untapped potential in all the rural ... regions’ (OECD, 2011: 97) and fostering entrepreneurship is seen as an effective means for stimulating economic activity and revitalising rural communities (Ring et al., 2010). Accordingly, the UK government introduced a range of support schemes to encourage business start-up, especially of high-growth firms (Lee and Shaw, 2016; Smallbone et al., 2003). Similar to the cultural sector, rural development responsibilities have been devolved within the UK, leading to separate programmes for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2015b) and England (Defra, 2015), despite their mutual objectives of (1) growing the rural economy, (2) providing high-quality jobs and (3) boosting productivity. To achieve these goals, a range of measures have been instituted, including funding schemes, rural growth networks (which provide business support and networking opportunities) and skills development (Lee and Cowling, 2015).

It should be noted that prior studies have questioned the utility of some such development programmes (Phillipson et al., 2004; Smallbone et al., 2003). For example, Webber et al. (2009) argue that investments should be focused on attracting in-migrants, given their comparatively higher levels of human and social capital and their success in developing Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) (Akgün et al., 2011; Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006), rather than increasing spending on retraining the local population. Furthermore, Lee et al. (2011) highlight the need to provide more networking advice, as existing training programmes do not adequately explain how to effectively acquire resources through networks. Most importantly, evidence suggests that the majority of rural firms have either not made ‘use of these various instruments of assistance ... [or] not taken any effective advantage from their availability’ (Meccheri and Pelloni, 2006: 372).

#### ***2.4.2. Academic Perspective***

As Korsgaard et al. (2015) note, only a scant body of research examines the impact of local and spatial contexts on entrepreneurial activities, particularly in peripheral

areas. Consequently, there is limited understanding of how entrepreneurs can overcome inherent liabilities (e.g. resource-scarcity) which are common in rural contexts (Alsos et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2011). Furthermore, little is known about the ways in which context-related factors influence the abilities of rural entrepreneurs to identify and exploit opportunities (Meccheri and Pelloni, 2006: 372). However, it has been argued that knowledge of the local environment and its potential can have a significant effect on opportunity recognition (Anderson, 2000). Accordingly, calls have been made for research to employ a ‘milieu’ perspective (Baumgartner et al., 2013) and to explore the embedded nature of entrepreneurship in communities and places (Jack and Anderson, 2002; McKeever et al., 2015). This study heeds this advice and examines the influence of embeddedness in communities on entrepreneurs.

As illustrated in Table 2.4, there are several studies that develop understanding of rural entrepreneurship. This table reveals that the majority of studies focus on the individual rural entrepreneur or on SMEs. Nevertheless, rural communities are beginning to gain popularity as subjects of research in their own right. The table also shows that most prior studies adopt a developmental stance, exploring how rural development can be fostered through entrepreneurial activities (or vice versa). Other perspectives, such as gender or marketing, are much less common in this context. Furthermore, quantitative methods are predominant, which is in line with wider trends in the entrepreneurship literature (McDonald et al., 2015; Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007). Interestingly, the majority of studies examine rural entrepreneurship in Europe, particularly within the UK. Despite the large number of economically depressed rural communities in the USA (Ring et al., 2010), scholarly interest in these regions is limited. The findings of prior studies are broad and advance knowledge of such subjects as the effects of regulative institutions on rural entrepreneurship and the value of farm versus non-farm activities. Also frequently investigated are the impacts of Internet access and the influence of newcomers (both in-migrants and immigrants) on entrepreneurial activity in rural communities. In contrast, the link between cultural industries and rural locations has not received sufficient attention (Bell and Jayne, 2010).

**Table 2.4. Rural Entrepreneurship Research**

<b>Focus</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Perspective</b>	<b>Key Finding</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Country</b>
Communities	Baumgartner et al. (2013)	Developmental	Entrepreneurship has a moderate short-term effect on rural growth.	Quantitative	Switzerland
	Brünjes & Diez (2013)	Developmental	A developed non-farm economy increases opportunity emergence.	Quantitative	Vietnam
Entrepreneurs	Lang et al. (2014)	Embeddedness	Regulative institutions constrain rural entrepreneurial activity.	Qualitative	Multiple
	Ring et al. (2010)	Networking	Social structures of rural communities affect network formation.	Theoretical	USA
	Rooks et al. (2016)	Networking	Dense networks foster resource sharing in individualistic contexts.	Mixed	Uganda
	Vestrum (2014)	Embeddedness	Community entrepreneurs connect villagers with external actors.	Qualitative	Norway
	Akgün et al. (2011)	Developmental	In-migrants are predominantly attracted by a rural lifestyle.	Quantitative	Multiple
	Anderson (2000)*	Regional	Entrepreneurs interpret their own version of the environment.	Qualitative	UK
	Jack & Anderson (2002)	Embeddedness	Rural embeddedness is key to shaping and sustaining business.	Qualitative	UK
	Kalantaridis & Bika (2006)*	Embeddedness	In-migrants help integrate rural economies into global markets.	Quantitative	UK
	Lafuente et al. (2007)	Regional	Role models increase rural entrepreneurial activity levels.	Quantitative	Spain
	Yu et al. (2013)	Institutional	Weak regulatory protection discourages external collaboration.	Qualitative	China
Farmers	Carter (1998)	Developmental	Portfolio entrepreneurship is popular among farm households.	Quantitative	UK
	Phillipson et al. (2004)	Developmental	The farm sector's legacy of separation impedes entrepreneurship.	Quantitative	UK
Intermediaries	Vesala & Vesala (2010)	Occupational	Farmers consider themselves entrepreneurs and producers.	Quantitative	Finland
	Cumming & Johan (2010)	Developmental	Internet access stimulates entrepreneurship in larger communities.	Quantitative	Canada
SMEs	Mair et al. (2012)*	Institutional	Institutional voids are a source of market exclusion.	Qualitative	Bangladesh
	Anthopoulou (2010)*	Gender	Women entrepreneurs start dynamic and often innovative firms.	Quantitative	Greece
	Galloway et al. (2011)	Marketing	Internet portals are predominantly used for local trade.	Mixed	UK
	Korsgaard et al. (2015)	Embeddedness	Rural entrepreneurs prefer local resource bases to non-local ones.	Qualitative	Denmark
	Lee & Cowling (2015)	Regional	Rural firms are likely to perceive regulation as a problem.	Quantitative	UK
	Mason et al. (2010)	Regional	Rural areas have the highest proportion of home-based businesses.	Quantitative	UK
	Meccheri & Pelloni (2006)*	Institutional	Institutional rural policies overestimate formal training's value.	Quantitative	Italy
	Smallbone et al. (1999)	Developmental	Proactive product development helps overcome limited markets.	Quantitative	UK

\* Article references Bourdieu's work

Selected articles significantly advance knowledge of rural entrepreneurship and were published in journals ranked at ABS Grade 3 or higher (Wood & Peel, 2015).

As discussed by Baumgartner et al. (2013), several attributes typical to rural settings have been shown to affect entrepreneurial activities. First, prior research emphasises the effects of dense social networks, which facilitate access to and sharing of resources (Ring et al., 2010; Rooks et al., 2016). Second, industry specialisation and clustering is a prominent feature (Johannisson, 1998; Lechner and Leyronas, 2012), which results in regions varying highly in their competitiveness (Brünjes and Diez, 2013). While some areas benefit from such developments (e.g. Shropshire's evolution into a creative 'hub', see Bell and Jayne, 2010) other places 'experience a spiral of economic decline' (McKeever et al., 2015: 51), which can lead to the depletion of local resources and a loss of purpose and identity (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004). At the same time, extant studies have shown that rural entrepreneurs usually benefit from (1) comparatively sheltered regional markets, (2) greater employee loyalty (mainly a result of limited alternatives for work) and (3) lower costs for acquiring land and premises (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006). Thus, rural areas do not necessarily limit business activities; they can provide a host of opportunities for entrepreneurship (Alsos et al., 2014).

## **2.5. Rural Locations in this Study**

This study investigates two rural locations, which are given the pseudonyms 'Artisan Village' (Scotland) and 'Craft County' (England). As shown in the regional map of the UK (Figure 2.2), the research sites are based in South West Scotland and North East England. While investigating entrepreneurs in two countries may suggest a comparative study, it is important to highlight that this research does not seek to contrast rural entrepreneurship in England and Scotland for several reasons. First, phenomenological research explores the lived experiences of individuals and as such, does not lend itself to generalisations (see Chapter 5). Second, although participants live in different countries, both are part of the United Kingdom and the research sites are less than 200 miles apart. Third, as described below, the stories of both places are similar, which indicates that the economic conditions for developing a business in the two regions are comparable.

**Figure 2.2.** Rural Regions in this Study



Artisan Village and Craft County are both located in former mining areas and consequently suffered severely when the reserves of the mines were depleted. The situation of both regions deteriorated when the demand for labour decreased in other main industries, such as agriculture. Out-migration, rising unemployment and economic downturn created various social problems, including increasing crime and poverty levels. In other words, these areas could be described as ‘depleted’ or ‘deprived’ (Lee et al., 2011; McKeever et al., 2015). To support the regeneration process, both regions introduced support initiatives designed to stimulate local development by increasing tourism to the areas. Furthermore, as the research sites are within 15-20 minutes drive from a bigger settlement (with over 10,000 inhabitants) and only 30-60 minutes from the nearest city, they are located in accessible rural areas and thus benefit from comparatively good public services and

infrastructure. Transportation options comprise bus and/or train links to nearby towns and local facilities include at least one grocery store, bank, pub, primary school and post office. A main attraction of both regions is the natural beauty of the countryside, which is why tourism is fostered.

### ***2.5.1. Artisan Village (Scotland)***

The main difference between the research sites is that participants in Scotland are all located in the same village (which is home to less than 5,000 inhabitants), while participants in England are spread across the county and reside in different villages. Thus, the residents of Artisan Village know each other (although the identities of participants were kept confidential), whereas participants who live in Craft County do not. In presenting these locations, this section draws on the experiences of participants to convey the place-related meanings that they associate with these spatial contexts (Korsgaard et al., 2015; Steyaert and Katz, 2004). For details about participant selection and data collection, see Chapter 5.

In Diana's words, '[Artisan Village] is a charming little place with lots of independent shops, with many creative people ... There's a rich history in this area of arts and crafts'. George elaborates that 'it just feels very, very peaceful, very calm ... the atmosphere in the town'. In addition, 'it's quite a stimulating place to be ... I like the fact that there are like-minded people here, I like the fact that it's very beautiful and quiet. I'm very lucky to live here' (Emily). Carol agrees that 'It's a nice community ... it seems to be very, very accepting'. However, as Holly points out 'it has its element, you know, its dodgy element, as any town does'. Especially 'the local youth ... can cause trouble' (George). Furthermore, as 'it's a small village, people make up stories about what's going on and what's happened and all the rest of it' (Emily). Nevertheless, the comments of participants are largely positive and they appear to enjoy living in the area. Participants believe that the recent resurgence of craft businesses also helped improve the situation in the area. While, in the past, 'there were so many places boarded up, so many places for sale' (Diana), nowadays 'there are people who sell craft work' (Emily) and 'they do free workshops' (George), which 'has helped revive the town centre' (Carol).

### **2.5.2. Craft County (England)**

In many ways, Craft County is similar to Artisan Village and its surroundings. As Julie describes,

at one time [Craft County] was like an oasis of cultural nothing really, there was a cathedral that everybody loves ... but there was very little else that people really knew about... and I think that's improving all the time and people are beginning to realise that there is a lot of potential in this area.

Betty elaborates that 'there are some really lovely villages ... and they've got like lots of little craft shops and ... they do embrace their traditions and their traditional craft'. According to Frank, 'it's really nice [and] quiet ... They're beautiful surroundings, really calming. It's nice to be in with nature'. Isla agrees that 'it's a great quality of life ... very pleasant, very green'. However, as Amy points out, 'everyone up here's a bit ... sort of stuck in the past, it's not very forward-thinking ... my client market isn't up here'. Similarly, Frank explains that 'there are nice people here, don't get me wrong, but it's very, very working class'. In addition, 'there are a lot of unemployed people, as well, in the area' (Julie). Nevertheless the region seems to be developing and Isla believes that

a lot of people would say the North East is deprived ... Yes, there are aspects of deprivation ... but there is also a huge amount of support if you want it ... there are many ... very forward thinking people and they are there helping other creative people.

As Frank notes, 'they [the council] set up these creative courses', which Amy describes as 'very good for ... connecting people and sort of leading you on to different things'. In Betty's opinion, 'they just make you want to go out there and set something up and they ... help you understand how you can do that'.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

This chapter examined contemporary debates regarding cultural industries and rural entrepreneurship. It also introduced the research participants and the rural areas in which they reside. There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from this



discussion. First, cultural industries consist of a large range of interconnected communities, which make a significant contribution to the global economy. As the sector is under-studied, dedicated research is both timely and warranted. Second, certain characteristics are common across cultural industries, including the oversupply of skilled labour and the lack of objective measures to judge the value of cultural goods, which can affect entrepreneurial efforts. Furthermore, entrepreneurs in the cultural industries need to reconcile various tensions, such as those between artistic and economic objectives, and they are faced with low incomes and high failure rates. Thus, pursuing a creative career is often a demanding, risky endeavour.

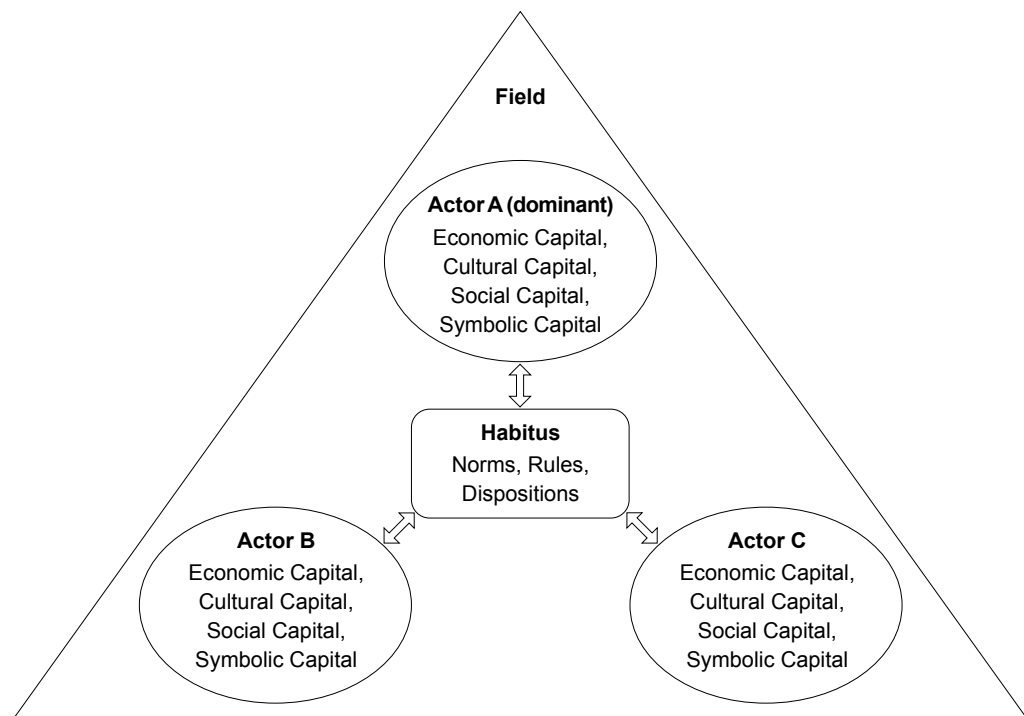
Given the limited amount of research into cultural industries and rural entrepreneurship, there are a number of enduring gaps in understanding. First, this chapter revealed that scant research has adopted an entrepreneurship perspective to investigate the cultural industries. Second, extant studies concentrate on a limited number of subjects, including networking, legitimacy and sociocultural differences. Craft research in particular tends to focus on craft guilds, motivations and authenticity. In comparison, the influence of embeddedness in communities on entrepreneurs and their resource management practices have not received adequate consideration. Within the rural entrepreneurship literature, little attention has been afforded to exploring the link between cultural industries and rural locations. This study therefore advances understanding by investigating the lived experiences of entrepreneurs who practise crafts in rural locations. By examining the influence of different communities on the practices of participants, this study seeks to make valuable contributions to knowledge.

## CHAPTER 3: BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF PRACTICE

### 3.1. Introduction

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) was a French philosopher, sociologist and anthropologist whose works have had a major impact on the study of culture, social class and education, among other significant arenas of social science (Golsorkhi et al., 2009; Swartz, 2008). Influenced by the writings of Marx (1887), Durkheim (1964) and Weber (1968), Bourdieu developed one of the most sophisticated ‘grand theories’ (defined as ‘theoretical concepts that describe and explain the overall functioning and dynamics of a given social order’, see Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011: 20). His conceptual framework, called the theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977), consists of the three interrelated master concepts of capital, habitus and field. As shown in Figure 3.1, Bourdieu proposes that individuals compete for economic, cultural, social and symbolic *capital* to gain dominant positions within social *fields* and that their actions are directed by a socially shaped *habitus*.

**Figure 3.1.** Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice



Adapted from Pret and Carter (2016: 37)

The objective of this chapter is to introduce and discuss Bourdieu's theories and to consider their implications for entrepreneurship research. This chapter first critically analyses Bourdieu's impact on management research, before discussing this study's approach to his work. It then explores each of his master concepts in turn, relating them to the context of craft entrepreneurship and discussing critiques of their explanatory capacity.

### **3.2. Bourdieu's Impact on Management Research**

Over time, there have been repeated calls for business and management research to employ Bourdieu's theories (cf. Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005; Tatli et al., 2014). Using a citation context analysis of leading management journals, Sieweke (2014) provides a comprehensive overview of the use of Bourdieu's concepts by business scholars. It reveals a steady increase of citations of Bourdieu's work, highlighting that, since the early 2000s, scholars have begun engaging much deeper with Bourdieu's theories.

Growing scholarly interest in Bourdieu's work can be attributed to the burgeoning popularity of practice theories (Feldman and Worline, 2016), which has resulted in the development of several interrelated concepts and approaches, including the 'practice perspective' (Keating et al., 2014), 'strategy-as-practice' (Chia and Holt, 2006) and the 'practice turn' in management and organisational research (Miettinen et al., 2009). As Sandberg and Dall'Alba (2009: 1349) explain, 'Pierre Bourdieu (1977), Anthony Giddens (1984) and, more recently, Theodore Schatzki (2002) have had considerable impact ... through developing extensive theories of practice'. While these scholars developed distinct theories, they share a set of underlying assumptions (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011): (1) everyday actions are consequential in producing social life, (2) dualisms should be rejected (e.g. between body/mind and objective/subjective) and (3) phenomena always exist in relation to one another and are mutually constituted.

A main theme connecting these ideas is the tenet that agency and structure are inextricably intertwined. In contrast to prior research, which has emphasised the role of structure over agency (cf. Ahuja, 2000; Zaheer and Soda, 2009), practice theories contend that agency is key to (re-)producing social orders (e.g. routines or institutions), while simultaneously acknowledging that 'agency cannot be understood "simply" as

human action, but rather must be understood as always already configured by structural conditions' (Feldman and Worline, 2016: 1243). In other words, practice theorists argue that social norms and beliefs not only influence individual practices, they themselves are constantly (re-)created through everyday (inter-)actions.

An underlying cause for the increasing interest in practice theories in general, and Bourdieu's theory of practice in particular, is their ability to facilitate multilevel research, connecting individuals and their actions to social orders and wider social fields, such as organisations and institutions (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). However, a major criticism of empirical research that employs Bourdieu's framework is its tendency to focus on only one of his concepts rather than apply the full complement of his theories (Golsorkhi et al., 2009; Swartz, 2008). For example, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) criticise management research's 'almost total inattention to habitus ... without which the concepts of field and capital ... make no sense, [which] further attests to the misappropriation of his ideas'. Furthermore, Sieweke's (2014) systematic review of the literature reveals that capital theory, while frequently cited, is rarely comprehensively used.

Despite these criticisms, this research finds that an increasing number of studies adopt Bourdieu's full theory of practice. As Table 3.1 shows, apart from some exceptions (e.g. DiMaggio, 1979; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005), most such studies have been published in the past decade. Thus, it appears that the repeated calls for research to employ the full theory of practice are being heeded. This table also shows that entrepreneurship and organisational perspectives are frequently adopted. Bourdieu's theory of practice is used to explore a broad range of contexts, from consulting and accounting to academia and creative industries. Interestingly, 10 studies were found to include the concepts of doxa and/or illusio (explained below), which are otherwise rarely cited (Sieweke, 2014). Regarding methods, about half of the studies are theoretical. Empirical research is primarily qualitative, which is likely due to the significant insight into participants' personal lives that is required to employ Bourdieu's theories in depth. The findings of these studies are broad, highlighting the utility of his concepts for exploring human behaviours and advancing understanding of various subjects, including entrepreneurial legitimacy and transnational entrepreneurship.

**Table 3.1.1.** Research utilising Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

<b>Context</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Perspective</b>	<b>Key Finding</b>	<b>Main Method</b>
Academia	Drakopoulou Dodd et al. (2014)*	Entrepreneurship	Qualitative scholars passionately engage with subjects, peers and text.	Quantitative
	Golsorkhi et al. (2009)*	Organisational	Scholars have a moral responsibility to reflect upon their practices.	Theoretical
Accounting	Karataş-Özkan & Chell (2015)	Gender	Gender inequalities affect academics' experiences of entrepreneurship.	Qualitative
	Spence et al. (2016)	Occupational	Habitus can elucidate the informal norms of national business systems.	Qualitative
	Stringfellow et al. (2014)*	Entrepreneurship	Fitting in with prevailing logics can increase access to resources.	Qualitative
Consulting	Vincent (2016)*	Gender	Structuring lives according to field routines improves resource access.	Qualitative
	Drakopoulou Dodd (2014)	Entrepreneurship	Places lacking in economic resources can still enable entrepreneurship.	Qualitative
Creative industries	Karataş-Özkan (2011)	Entrepreneurship	Learning is achieved through interactions and dealing with uncertainty.	Qualitative
	Spence et al. (2017)*	Occupational	Cultural capital is a salient source of distinction between elite factions.	Qualitative
Culture	Spigel (2013)*	Entrepreneurship	Cultural outlooks influence entrepreneurial actors and vice versa.	Theoretical
	Lockett et al. (2014)	Organisational	Individuals' endowments of cultural capital shape their sensemaking.	Qualitative
Health care	Witman et al. (2010)	Occupational	Managers have to be renowned doctors to influence clinical activities.	Qualitative
	De Clercq & Voronov (2009a)	Entrepreneurship	Cultural and symbolic capital shape one's ability to attain legitimacy.	Theoretical
Legitimacy	De Clercq & Voronov (2009b)*	Entrepreneurship	Legitimation is a reciprocal process that perpetuates power relations.	Theoretical
	De Clercq & Voronov (2009c)	Entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurs have to fit in with extant norms while also standing out.	Theoretical
Literature Review	DiMaggio (1979)	Organisational	Fields signify both common purpose and arenas of strategy or conflict.	Theoretical
	Emirbayer & Johnson (2008)*	Organisational	Successful organisational field analysis requires the concept of habitus.	Theoretical
Minority groups	Friedland (2009)*	Organisational	Field theory over-simplifies human behaviour as contest for power.	Theoretical
	Özbilgin & Tati (2005)	Organisational	Practice theory overcomes the dualities between agency and structure.	Theoretical
Transnational firms	Tatli et al. (2014)*	Entrepreneurship	A relational perspective allows overcoming dominant dichotomies.	Theoretical
	De Clercq & Honig (2011)	Entrepreneurship	Disadvantaged persons can modify perceptions of entrepreneurship.	Theoretical
Transnational firms	Patel & Conklin (2009)	Entrepreneurship	Higher levels of biofocality facilitate transnational venture activity.	Quantitative
	Patel & Terjesen (2011)	Entrepreneurship	Network range facilitates resource access in the presence of strong ties.	Quantitative
	Terjesen & Elam (2009)	Entrepreneurship	Diverse resources help navigate multiple institutional environments.	Qualitative

\* Article refers to Bourdieu's concepts of *illusio* and/or *doxa*

Selected articles employ Bourdieu's theory of practice in a meaningful way and were published in journals ranked at ABS Grade 3 or higher (Wood & Peel, 2015).

Studies that draw primarily on only one of Bourdieu's theories are presented in Table 3.2. While the majority of these studies focus on capital theory, several were also found to utilise habitus or field theory. Unlike the research displayed in Table 3.1, only a small number of these studies refer to the concepts of doxa or illusio. However, similar to those utilising the full theory of practice, most of these studies were published during the past decade (a notable exception is Anheier et al., 1995), which demonstrates the mostly contemporary nature of interest in Bourdieu's approach. While the studies examined were purposefully selected for their exploration of entrepreneurship-related topics and are therefore not representative of all research that employs Bourdieu's theories, they also incorporate discussions of cultural, organisational and occupational issues. The findings of these studies advance knowledge of a range of subjects, including ethnic communities, social positioning and capital development. As such, this table highlights the broad range of topics that can be explored with Bourdieu's theories. While several quantitative studies are featured in this table, these almost exclusively adopt a capital lens (a notable exception is Maclean et al., 2014). This indicates that explorations of field and habitus usually require qualitative or theoretical approaches. With regards to the countries in which empirical studies are conducted, European contexts are the most common. This chimes with observations of other scholars who note that Bourdieu's influence is concentrated within Europe, rather than extending into North America (DiMaggio, 1979; Drakopoulou Dodd, 2014).

### **3.3. This Study's Approach to Bourdieu's Work**

As might be expected for a major social theory of this scale (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011), Bourdieu's work has been criticised for a number of reasons (DiMaggio, 1979). While relevant limitations of the theory of practice are discussed throughout this chapter, it should be noted that this is not an in-depth study of Bourdieu's work. The British Sociological Association (BSA) provides a comprehensive list of publications (over 375 recent articles, books and PhD theses) that analyse and critique Bourdieu's work (BSA, 2017). In this study, Bourdieu's conceptual framework is employed as a means of exploring the perspectives of

**Table 3.2.** Research utilising Bourdieu's Master Theories

<b>Main Theory Article</b>	<b>Perspective</b>	<b>Key Finding</b>	<b>Main Method</b>	<b>Country</b>
Capital	Occupational	Migrants rely on several sources of capital to enjoy career success.	Qualitative	France
Al Ariss & Syed (2011)	Cultural	Differences in cultural capital separate high and low culture.	Quantitative	Germany
Anheier et al. (1995)	Entrepreneurship	The power inherent in social relations can foster ethical behaviours.	Qualitative	UK
Fuller & Tian (2006)	Cultural	Serving on boards facilitates business elites' cultural reproduction.	Multiple	Multiple
Harvey & Maclean (2008)	Entrepreneurship	Philanthropic investments help develop non-material capitals.	Archival	USA
Harvey et al. (2011a)	Entrepreneurship	Producers for the defence industry have greater access to capital.	Quantitative	Israel
Honig et al. (2006)	Entrepreneurship	Human capital development is a lifelong journey that starts early.	Quantitative	UK
Jayawarna et al. (2014)	Entrepreneurship	Professional entrepreneurs possess valuable non-material capitals.	Qualitative	UK
Lee & Shaw (2016)	Entrepreneurship	Cultural and symbolic capital can moderate resource exchanges.	Qualitative	Multiple
Lehner (2014)	Entrepreneurship	Multiple capitals should be explored within social entrepreneurship.	Theoretical	Multiple
Nicolopoulou (2014)	Cultural	Cultural capital is not always an outcome of cultural consumption.	Quantitative	Denmark
Prieur et al. (2008)	Entrepreneurship	Capital conversion can facilitate the creation of cultural goods.	Qualitative	NZ
Scott (2012)*	Entrepreneurship	Blending forms of capital is a defining feature of philanthropy.	Mixed	UK
Shaw et al. (2013)	Cultural	Each creative industry relies on different forms of capitals.	Theoretical	Multiple
Townley et al. (2009)	Entrepreneurship	Within ethnic communities, access to forms of capital varies widely.	Qualitative	UK
Vershinina et al. (2011)	Entrepreneurship	Social position enables one to act as an institutional entrepreneur.	Theoretical	Multiple
Batilana (2006)	Entrepreneurship	Strategic actions can reduce impacts of field-specific expectations.	Theoretical	Multiple
De Clercq & Voronov (2011)*	Cultural	Social origin remains a powerful driver in determining success.	Quantitative	France
Maclean et al. (2014)	Entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurs' ethnicity is pertinent, but does not define activities.	Qualitative	UK
Barrett & Vershinina (In Press)	Occupational	Public service creates civil servants through socialization in habitus.	Qualitative	Canada
McDonough (2006)*	Entrepreneurship	Social capital is an enabler for building a wider community capital.	Qualitative	Ireland
McKeever et al. (2014)*	Cultural	Life course experiences affect cultural capital, habitus and class.	Qualitative	UK
Newman et al. (2013)	Organisational	Organisations act as sites of negotiation for ethical forms of habitus.	Qualitative	UK
O'Mahoney (2007)	Organisational	Habitus allows disembodiment of constraining institutional logics.	Qualitative	Multiple
Spence & Carter (2014)				

\* Article refers to Bourdieu's concepts of *illusio* and/or *doxa*

Selected articles employ Bourdieu's field, habitus or capital theory and were published in journals ranked at ABS Grade 3 or higher (Wood & Peel, 2015).

participating entrepreneurs. As explained in Chapter 5, the theory of practice was not selected a priori, but as a result of the data analysis process.

Furthermore, rather than trying to incorporate the vast body of literature published by Bourdieu in over 40 years (several hundred articles and over 30 books), this study primarily draws on three core publications (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1986). As the researcher's command of the French language is limited, the selected publications are not originals, but rather translations by Richard Nice, whose work has been described as 'excellent' (DiMaggio, 1979: 1466). These versions have been updated, as indicated below (Bourdieu, 1977: vii):

Outline of a Theory of Practice was first published in French in 1972 ... However, this English text incorporates most of the changes which Pierre Bourdieu has made since then. The argument is carried further, particularly as regards the concepts of practical logic and symbolic capital.

Thus, it could be argued that the selected versions are in some ways superior to the originals. By drawing on his three core publications only, this study is also able to employ a largely consistent set of definitions of key concepts. While there is merit in analysing the changes in Bourdieu's concepts over time (cf. Desan, 2013; DiMaggio, 1979), this study does not seek to engage in these discussions.

Another endeavour this study does not undertake is to provide an in-depth comparison of the theory of practice and alternative conceptual models that are used to analyse and explain entrepreneurial behaviours (for detailed discussions, see Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011; Schatzki, 1997). While other theories have been adopted to explore embeddedness in social contexts, including structuration theory (Jack and Anderson, 2002) and social network theory (Ozcan and Eisenhardt, 2009), Bourdieu's framework was selected because of its conceptual clarity concerning the various resources entrepreneurs can access and share with others (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Shaw et al., 2013), as well as for its appreciation of the influence of norms and conventions (*habitus*) within social fields (De Clercq and Honig, 2011; Stringfellow et al., 2014). Since all 'grand social theories' have both their advocators and critics (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011), selecting an analytical framework should be based on its applicability to a research

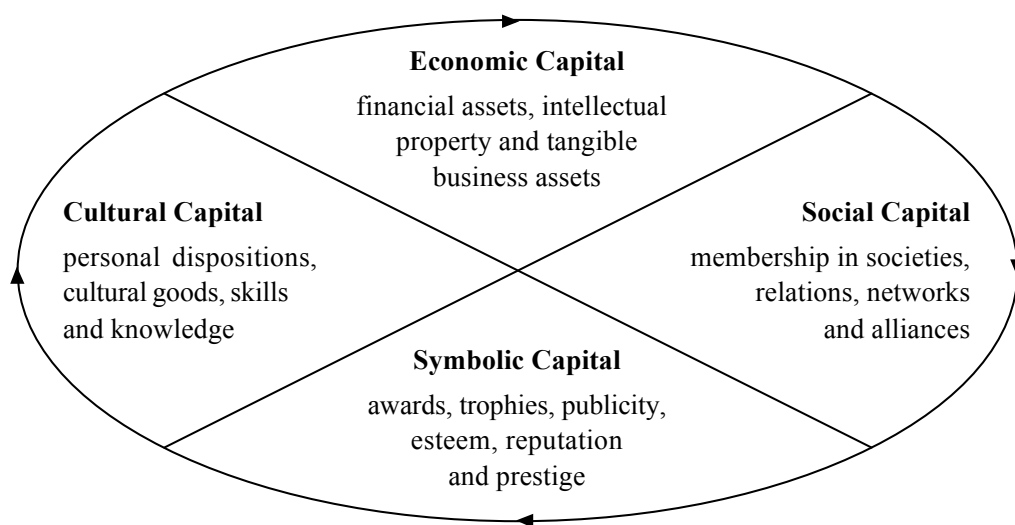


setting and on the preferences of the researcher. The findings chapters (Chapters 7-9) demonstrate that Bourdieu's theory of practice is appropriate for this context.

### 3.4. Forms of Capital

Bourdieu argues throughout his works that the accumulation of various forms of capital is a primary goal of human activity. Importantly, Bourdieu does not propose that capital exists only in economic form (DiMaggio, 1979), but differentiates between economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (see Figure 3.2). He argues that these forms of capital can be exchanged and transformed into various goods, services and other resources (Karataş-Özkan, 2011). Most capital accumulation and conversion processes are time-consuming but, once acquired, Bourdieu (1986: 241) proposes that capital has 'a tendency to persist in its being' and 'reproduce itself in identical or expanded form'. As the conversion of capital is a major aspect of the theory of practice (Anheier et al., 1995), the following discussion outlines the transformation processes proposed by Bourdieu. Importantly, the term conversion is used to denote the creation of new capital from existing capital, but does not entail the loss of the original form of capital. For example, craft entrepreneurs can convert their cultural capital into various other capitals by drawing on their experience and training to create valuable products, but they do not lose this capital in the process. Only financial assets are usually lost to the agent during the conversion process.

**Figure 3.2.** Forms of Capital



Adapted from Pret et al. (2016: 1007)

Importantly, every social context (field) develops its own forms, volumes and distributions of capital (Drakopoulou Dodd, 2014). While some forms, such as economic and cultural capital, are more likely to be useful and convertible between different contexts, others are field-specific and lose their value outside of a particular social sphere (e.g. symbolic capital). As capital is generally linked to individual agents and unequally distributed among different field members, those with larger amounts of capital are able to acquire dominant positions, better connections and higher levels of distinction within a field (Golsorkhi et al., 2009).<sup>3</sup> Thus, Bourdieu argues that individuals act strategically to increase the various forms of capital at their disposal in order to gain power over others (Maclean et al., 2010).

### ***3.4.1. Economic Capital***

Economic capital presents itself in the form of financial assets and other tangible and intangible business assets (Anheier et al., 1995). For craft entrepreneurs, tangible business assets include workshops, tools, materials and stock. Intangible assets generally comprise intellectual property rights, such as patents and trademarks. Furthermore, distinctive patterns and designs are of particular importance to craft makers (Becker, 1978). It has been argued that economic capital is perhaps the most critical asset for entrepreneurs, as the availability of and access to financial resources can directly influence entrepreneurial success (Allison et al., 2015; De Bettignies, 2008). In contrast, Bourdieu (1986) argues that economic theory has overemphasised the role of economic capital. He proposes that human behaviour can only be fully understood if the ‘universe of the artist and the intellectual and the gratuitous activities of art-for-art’s sake’ (p. 242) are also considered.

Accordingly, Bourdieu highlights the importance of non-economic forms of capital (Lee and Shaw, 2016). Nevertheless, he maintains that economic capital is the most mutable form, as it can be used to purchase training and education (cultural capital) as well as memberships in networks (social capital). Concerning conversions of other forms of capital into economic capital, Bourdieu proposes that these

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<sup>3</sup> Bourdieu refers to agents rather than subjects (associated with structuralism) or actors (related to individualism) (Golsorkhi et al., 2009). Incidentally, this designation is also suitable for entrepreneurs, who are often described as ‘agents of change’ (cf. Anderson, 2000; Steyaert and Katz, 2004).

processes are more complex (Anheier et al., 1995). As explained in the subsequent sections, however, such transformations are still carried out.

### ***3.4.2. Cultural Capital***

Bourdieu (1986) conceptualises three forms of cultural capital. First, in its embodied state, cultural capital manifests in the form of ‘long lasting personal dispositions of the mind and the body’ (p. 243). Transmission of this type of capital is time-consuming and requires socialisation (Dana and Light, 2011), with family background and status playing an important role in the amount and value of cultural capital imparted to individuals (Anderson and Miller, 2003; Harvey et al., 2011b). It is particularly important for businesses in the cultural industries that their customers possess this type of capital, as cultural understanding influences the abilities of consumers to appreciate the value of creative products and to make purchasing decisions (McLeod et al., 2009; Townley et al., 2009).

Second, in its objectified state, cultural capital materialises as cultural goods, such as books or paintings (Bourdieu, 1986). As legal ownership of such goods can be transferred, it is comparably easy to pass on this form of cultural capital or exchange it with other agents (Vershina et al., 2011). However, the value of objectified cultural capital will only be realised if the receiving party is able to consume the good (i.e. possess the required embodied cultural capital to appreciate its value). For craft entrepreneurs, this objectified state is important: craft items hold a cultural meaning, imbuing their products with more than purely economic worth.

Third, in its institutionalised state, cultural capital refers mainly to educational qualifications. As Bourdieu (1977: 187) describes it, ‘academic qualifications are to cultural capital what money is to economic capital’. Similar to money, academic qualifications hold a value which is not tied to a specific location, which is guaranteed by law, and which endures over time. Once achieved, such credentials do not continuously need to be proven, but remain linked to an individual, making it less mutable than other forms.

Given its focus on education, cultural capital is markedly similar to the concept of human capital (Becker, 1964). As human capital is more easily measured and has received more attention within the literature (Marvel et al., 2016; Unger et

al., 2011), there are a number of studies that employ the concept of ‘human-cultural capital’ instead of differentiating between the various forms of cultural capital (cf. Ram et al., 2008; Shaw et al., 2008). Furthermore, it should be mentioned that most business research includes the training and experience required to attain educational qualifications in their definitions of cultural capital (cf. Harvey et al., 2011a; Lockett et al., 2014; Terjesen and Elam, 2009). Within a cultural industries context, Karataş-Özkan (2011) argues that creativity, artistic ability and sector knowledge are also relevant. This study follows these examples and broadens the concept of cultural capital to incorporate these crucial aspects of experience and competence.

### ***3.4.3. Social Capital***

Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as the sum of all actual and potential resources that can be accessed through a durable network of relationships. Such relationships can either be casual or socially instituted. Bourdieu (1986) argues that while physical proximity is not a requirement, it usually facilitates exchanges between partners. Furthermore, the more people linked to an individual and the more resources these connections possess, the higher the amount of social capital available (Honig et al., 2006). Although Bourdieu acknowledges that access to resources is not necessarily a conscious goal of agents when they develop connections, the profits that result from capital exchanges are a main reason for the solidarity among network members (Vincent, 2016). Within a business context, the acquisition of social capital is often a deliberate endeavour, as access to collectively owned and shared network resources can provide major advantages (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998), especially for entrepreneurs (Gedajlovic et al., 2013; Stam et al., 2014).

Bourdieu (1986: 249-250) argues that maintaining connections requires sustained efforts and employment of ‘investment strategies ... aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable ... or institutionally guaranteed’. Business owners, such as craft entrepreneurs, must therefore make conscious efforts not only to build relationships, but also to maintain them over time (Lechner and Dowling, 2003). Similar to cultural capital, social capital can be inherited from family members, though continuous investments are required to

preserve such relationships (Vershina et al., 2011). Furthermore, relocations can complicate the storage of social capital (Ram et al., 2008).

Social capital plays an important role in the development of cultural capital, as access to network members can help agents become socialised into norms of behaviour (Lockett et al., 2014). It can also be used to substitute for a lack of cultural capital, for example when connections provide access to employment opportunities that are otherwise reserved for those with a requisite qualification (Bourdieu, 1984). Social capital is converted into economic capital when agents receive gifts, services or other physical artefacts from their connections (Bourdieu, 1986). However, there is a risk of non-equivalent returns on investment, as network members may choose not to reciprocate services or favours. However, as De Carolis and Saporito (2006) note, such risks are a price most entrepreneurs are willing to pay to enjoy the benefits social capital provides.

#### ***3.4.4. Symbolic Capital***

Once any of the aforementioned types of capital are recognised by others in the same field, they can generate symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Symbolic capital is usually associated with the possession of prestige, status and reputation (Wilson et al., 2017). It is objectified in awards and recognitions, but its actual value depends on the importance others attribute to such capital (Fuller and Tian, 2006). Consequently, the value of symbolic capital is more subjective than other forms; it is connected to a specific field and reliant upon the expectations of its members (Shaw et al., 2017). Symbolic capital is particularly important for entrepreneurs ‘in producing “symbolic effects”; attracting explicit or practical recognition, capturing legitimacy and securing profits’ (Stringfellow et al., 2014: 572). Securing belief in the quality of new products and services is a significant outcome of possessing symbolic capital, along with the ability to reduce uncertainty among stakeholders and potential investors (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009c). For craft entrepreneurs, acquisition of status and reputation has been shown to matter greatly (Lamertz et al., 2005; Sayce et al., 2007; Svejnova et al., 2007).

Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) suggest that symbolic capital can be self-generating. If a firm continuously maintains its authority and reputation, others will

gradually come to expect a high level of performance that does not necessarily need to be verified through the acquisition of new symbolic capital. As Kerr and Robinson (2016: 703) note, symbolic capital has been differently interpreted by scholars, either as a separate form of capital or as a ‘sort of meta-capital’ which represents the power that is accrued from possession of the other forms of capital. In this study, in line with most entrepreneurship research (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a; Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014; Harvey et al., 2011a), the former approach is adopted.

Unlike economic capital, which is comparably stable and suffers only from inflation and depreciation, symbolic capital is relatively volatile. In his writings, Bourdieu (1977) focuses on the negative effects of the deaths of prominent family members on their relatives, but this issue is similarly relevant to businesses whose reputation can be affected or even lost through unexpected incidents (Ertug et al., 2016; Reuber and Fischer, 2007). Concerning its transmutability, Bourdieu (1977: 179) argues that symbolic capital can be used to gain access to reputable schools (to create cultural capital) and exclusive networks (social capital) while, vice versa, membership in either can also help develop symbolic capital. However, most conversions into symbolic capital come ‘at the cost of a wastage of social energy’ (Bourdieu, 1977: 195) and require recognition by associated group members.

#### ***3.4.5. Critique of Capital Theory***

DiMaggio (1979) discusses several criticisms of Bourdieu’s concept of capital. First, capitals proliferate – Bourdieu employs several names for the different forms of capital. For example, cultural capital is also referred to as ‘scholastic capital’, ‘educational capital’ and ‘academic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1984) and symbolic capital as ‘capital of prestige’ and ‘capital of authority’ (Bourdieu, 1977). As DiMaggio (1979) points out, Bourdieu does not make clear whether these alternative designations are meant to denote sub-forms of capital and, ‘as the number of capitals increases, the metaphorical currency undergoes inflation and its value declines accordingly’ (p. 1469). This study therefore refers only to economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

Another criticism relates to Bourdieu's understanding of the value of economic capital. While Bourdieu emphasises the significance of non-financial forms of capital (Lee and Shaw, 2016), he still considers economic capital the underlying 'currency of exchange', which is 'at the root of all the other types of capital' (Bourdieu, 1986: 252) and which facilitates the transactions of most capital conversions. This focus on the importance of economic capital is limiting, as it obscures other capital transformation processes that do not involve economic exchanges in any way. Accordingly, this study explores a broader range of capital conversions than those proposed by Bourdieu.

A further weakness lies in the fact that Bourdieu's work is primarily based on observations of French society and its colonies in the 20th century. As a result, some of his conceptualisations are less applicable to other, more contemporary contexts (DiMaggio, 1979). In addition, it has been argued that the concept of capital is under-theorised (Desan, 2013; DiMaggio, 1979). While cultural and social capital have been defined in great depth (Sieweke, 2014), economic and symbolic capital have received much less attention by Bourdieu. However, this issue is partly ameliorated by the large amount of recent studies which employ capital theory and have further conceptualised the various forms (see Table 3.2).

### **3.5. Habitus**

While the different forms of capital represent 'the stakes of the game' (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014: 636), habitus provides the principles, or 'rules of the game', that guide the behaviours of individual agents within fields. Thus, the concept of habitus acts as a linking mechanism connecting individual agency, including the strategies aimed at accumulating and transforming various capitals, with wider social structures (fields) (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). It has been argued that without an analysis of habitus, human behaviours cannot be fully understood (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011) and business research has been criticised for a lack of attention towards the concept (Swartz, 2008). Accordingly, the following sections explore Bourdieu's concept of habitus and the related concepts of *illusio* and *doxa*, before discussing their associated criticisms.

Bourdieu (1977: 72) defines habitus (which is used both in the singular and plural) as:

systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.

This definition is not only exemplary of Bourdieu's complex (and sometimes convoluted) writing style; it also illustrates the breadth of his concept of habitus. Thus, further examination of the concept is required.

First, Bourdieu proposes that habitus refers to durable principles of practice and taste that are developed during an agent's early life and upbringing (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). In the form of personal dispositions, habitus is directly related to embodied cultural capital and is a product of the socio-economic conditions under which it is acquired. Bourdieu (1984) argues that habitus affects individuals mainly on a subconscious level and serves as a *modus operandi* (Anderson et al., 2010). Habitus has been described as an 'inner strategic orientation' (McKeever et al., 2014: 457), which provides agents with a sense of how to behave in different contexts. It equips agents with a 'feel for the game' (Tatli et al., 2014: 625) and an understanding of what choices are appropriate and how to cope with unforeseen situations. Importantly, Bourdieu (1984) does not conceive of habitus as deterministic, but rather as 'a generative grammar, providing agents with [certain] creative capacities' (Golsorkhi et al., 2009: 783).

In addition to being embodied within individuals, habitus is also a constraining social structure (Friedland, 2009). Through its various members, each field develops its own overarching habitus, which affects perceptions within the field at large (Golsorkhi et al., 2009). While not imposing strict rules, habitus shapes the direction of the field (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014) and influences the valuation of different forms of capital as well as the conduct of their exchanges (Patel and Conklin, 2009). Friedland (2009: 889) proposes that 'common habitus assures that practices always have a common sense, a reasonableness as opposed to a rationality'.



It is through routines of socialisation that fields, such as rural and craft communities, (re-)create habitus as ‘a shared understanding of how their shared context operates’ (McKeever et al., 2014: 457). For a field to function harmoniously, newcomers, such as entrepreneurs, are expected to comply with its habitus (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b, 2009c), which requires a process of learning (Karataş-Özkan, 2011) and thus benefits long-standing field members (Martí et al., 2013). In other words, habitus predisposes agents to act in certain ways in response to pressure from the social environment (Light and Dana, 2013).

As Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) note, habitus connects past fields with present fields through the agents who move through them. Each agent contributes to a field, not only through exchanges of capital, but also through adding to and sharing their interpretations of its habitus. Habitus therefore provides a means of examining commonalities within groups as outcomes of shared experiences, lifestyles (even across generations) and historical understandings (McKeever et al., 2014). Indeed, temporality is an important aspect of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Early experiences are crucial, as they direct the future responses of agents and the ways they assimilate new experiences (Mutch, 2003). However, habitus changes over time as later experiences create new dispositions and modify preferences and tastes (Harvey et al., 2011b; O'Mahoney, 2007). Thus, prevailing norms and understandings within fields can change as members become accustomed to new practices. It has been argued that entrepreneurs in particular are able to effect such change through introducing innovations (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009b).

Within the entrepreneurship literature, the concept of habitus has been applied by some studies (see Table 3.2), which have recently been reviewed by Tatli et al. (2014) and Drakopoulou Dodd et al. (2014). Among the most prominent discussions in the literature are those concerning transnational entrepreneurs, who require an understanding of habitus in both their home countries and host countries in order to be successful (Drori et al., 2006; Patel and Conklin, 2009; Terjesen and Elam, 2009). Furthermore, within a networking context, habitus has been used to identify various *modi operandi* employed by entrepreneurs to co-create growth (Anderson et al., 2010). Other studies have used the concept to investigate entrepreneurial identities in relation to cultural identities (Barrett and Vershinina,

2017) and to theoretically explore entrepreneurial legitimacy as an enactment of habitus (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009c). Importantly, while habitus has been examined within a range of contexts, its effects have rarely been analysed within the cultural industries (a notable exception is Randle et al., 2015).

### **3.5.1. *Illusio***

While habitus provides the ‘rules of the game’ and guides the behaviours of individuals, their interest in belonging to a field is maintained through *illusio*. *Illusio* represents ‘an investment in the game’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 98) and implies ‘tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game’ (p. 117). In other words, *illusio* refers to an agent’s conviction that the stakes at play are meaningful and worth pursuing. By internalising the field-specific *illusio*, agents obtain the right to enter a field, which requires them to recognise existing power structures, rules and logics (Tatli et al., 2014). Membership in a field generates competition for power within it, which helps (re-)create the ends at stake as well as their value (Friedland, 2009). *Illusio* is therefore a collective understanding (or self-deception), which leads field members to pursue a shared ‘dream’ (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014).

The stakes at play are the different forms of capital, which can be of more or less value depending on the context. While entrepreneurship research has traditionally suggested that economic and social capital are the most useful and sought after resources (Huang and Knight, 2017; Jonsson and Lindbergh, 2013), this may not always be the case. Indeed, within the context of the cultural industries, symbolic and cultural capital may be of similar importance (Jones et al., 2016; Townley et al., 2009). The differences between fields can be so significant that the struggle for certain resources, such as awards and qualifications, can seem meaningless for agents external to the field (Golsorkhi et al., 2009). Since *illusio* acts primarily on a subconscious level, agents may not even realise that competition for specific resources can lead to their scarcity, which further increases their value and thus reinforces the shared illusion.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that Bourdieu (1977, 1984) initially refers to ‘illusion’ rather than ‘*illusio*’. It is only in his later works that he employs the term ‘*illusio*’ and defines its meaning. However, the concept is still included in this study, as it helps connect capital theory with habitus and field.

Maintaining belief in the stakes of the game is particularly important for dominant agents, as it helps them consolidate power (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b). For entrepreneurs, who often hold subordinate positions due to their initial lack of capital, submission to the *illusio* reinforces their lower status (Tatli et al., 2014). In other words, by seeking to fit in, entrepreneurs not only help maintain the status quo, but also submit to symbolic violence from dominating agents (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b). The status quo can, of course, be challenged, as neither fields nor *habitus* are permanent. Standing out from norms may, in fact, be expected from entrepreneurs in some contexts (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a). However, it is usually difficult to expose the true nature of a field to its members, who are ensnared by its *illusio*. Newcomers who are equipped with significant capital and connections from other contexts may be best positioned to achieve change, which can eventually lead to new power structures, stakes and rules of the game (Golsorkhi et al., 2009).

### **3.5.2. *Doxa***

Related to the ‘rules of the game’ (*habitus*) and the acceptance of its stakes (*illusio*) is another concept, called *doxa*, which is involved in the reproduction of existing power structures within a field. Bourdieu (1984: 424) defines *doxa* as ‘the ordinary acceptance of the usual order which goes without saying and therefore usually goes unsaid’. Thus, *doxa* represents the adherence to existing social orders.

*Doxa* proscribes the explicit questioning of taken-for-granted assumptions within a field (Bourdieu, 1977). By naturalising these assumptions, the reality of field members is formatted and presuppositions are formed which set boundaries to their thinking and limit their critical faculties (Golsorkhi et al., 2009). Among others, *doxa* helps reproduce divisions by sex, age and class in most fields (Vincent, 2016). It is therefore in the interest of those with comparably little or no power to push at the boundaries of *doxa* and to point out unchallenged assumptions in order to change the perceptions of field members (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014).

The development of these assumptions is usually an outcome of prolonged struggles among competing agents who have different ideals and goals (De Clercq and Voronov, 2011). When entering a new field, entrepreneurs face dominant forces and fundamental truths, such as ‘art for art’s sake’ in the cultural industries

(Bourdieu, 1984: 49), and they must find ways to reconcile their own views with those of other field members (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007). As De Clercq and Voronov (2009b: 807) argue, by submitting to existing power relations, entrepreneurs ‘become complicit in their own domination’. A relevant example would be the expectation of an initial public offering (IPO), which may be required by potential investors but may not be in the best interest of a young firm (Huang and Pearce, 2015).

Similar to habitus and *illusio*, *doxa* is field-specific. As such, certain cardinal truths, such as the importance of sustainability, may only be relevant within some contexts (De Clercq and Voronov, 2011). Thus, *doxa* is linked to an individual field and affects the practices of its members, who need to signal compliance with unchallenged assumptions to avoid punitive measures (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b). Since the ‘rules of the game’ (habitus), the commitment to the stakes at play (*illusio*) and the acceptance of taken-for-granted assumptions (*doxa*) are all inextricably linked, Bourdieu (1977, 1984) subsumes aspects related to *doxa* and *illusio* in his discussion of habitus. Accordingly, while accounting for all three concepts, this study also focuses on habitus in its analysis of findings, which is in line with much of the management literature (see Sieweke, 2014).

### ***3.5.3. Critique of Habitus***

Habitus and its related concepts have been criticised by a number of scholars (DiMaggio, 1979; Mutch, 2003). Among other issues, it has been argued that habitus is too deterministic (King, 2000) and does not adequately account for clashes between individuals and the constraining social structures acting upon them (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). Regarding its embodied form of durable dispositions, the concept has also been described as weak at explaining change (Mutch, 2003). However, while the label ‘rules of the game’ suggests that habitus is a stagnant and limiting force, rather than one which allows for adaptation and experimentation (Maclean et al., 2010), it does incorporate the evolution of norms over time (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b). Furthermore, although much of Bourdieu’s theorising explains why agents may choose to follow extant dominant practices, individual actions and choices are considered a central element of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). As

Özbilgin and Tatli (2005) point out, Bourdieu's (1977) notion of strategic behaviours highlights the voluntaristic nature of his theory.

DiMaggio (1979: 1468) argues that, in emphasising the role of subconscious elements of human activity, Bourdieu 'minimizes the role of conscious (rational) thought on inconclusive grounds'. In other words, Bourdieu's theory does not adequately account for the deliberate motives of agents, unknown or unknowable to an outside observer. Concerning the durability of habitus, Bourdieu has been criticised for not being clear enough about the impact of experiences post-childhood on transforming personal dispositions (DiMaggio, 1979). This study therefore pays particular attention to the influence of household and community members on the development of entrepreneurs during their adult lives.

When applied within the entrepreneurship literature, habitus and its related concepts have been interpreted in different ways. For example, De Clercq and Voronov (2009c) conceive of an entrepreneurial habitus, which they equate with struggles for legitimacy. In contrast, Tatli et al. (2014: 623) consider *illusio* the legitimacy-conferring mechanism. This study favours the approach of Stringfellow et al. (2014: 575), who view 'legitimacy as determined by field members who judge legitimacy based on ... the volume and configuration of capital that they [entrepreneurs] possess relative to the field'.

### **3.6. Fields**

Bourdieu (1984) proposes that the world is composed of a multitude of social fields, consisting of various agents who strive for power and better positions through the acquisition of different forms of capital. Interestingly, although Bourdieu sought to transcend the divide between the objective and subjective, Özbilgin and Tatli (2005) argue that habitus and capital focus more on the subjective, whereas the concept of field lies at the objective end of the continuum, as fields are linked to structural arrangements which are more readily observed and measured. While this line of thinking is, of course, a simplification, it does facilitate comprehension of the theory of practice. The discussion below examines the concept of field, which is followed by a review of Bourdieu's stance on families as fields and criticisms of the concept.

Fields are arenas of conflict and struggle for positions, which agents either consciously or subconsciously pursue (DiMaggio, 1979). According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 97):

a field may be defined as ... a configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions.

This definition highlights that the concept of field is inseparable from the forms of capital, which represent both the stakes of the game and a basic requirement for admission to a field (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). Agents who acquire large amounts of desired capital can gain dominant positions over others (Golsorkhi et al., 2009). The forms of capital that are considered worth pursuing are determined by the field's *habitus* and *illusio*, which are influenced by powerful agents (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014). As DiMaggio (1979) notes, the provision of embodied cultural capital by parents to their children helps dominant agents preserve their authority and control. Bourdieu (1977, 1984) argues that the logic of domination affects most fields, which suggests that conflict and struggles for power are at the core of even the most neutral organisations. As a result, Bourdieu's approach facilitates comparisons between a broad range of fields, such as academia, art and religion (DiMaggio, 1979).

Fields are conceived to be relatively autonomous (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014), each a product of a continuous struggle for power (Golsorkhi et al., 2009). Fields can range in form and size from families (see below), to firms (Desan, 2013) and entire industries (De Clercq and Honig, 2011). Consequently, the concept of field is a popular conceptual tool within organisational analysis for exploring not only individual organisations, but also related agents and institutions involved in a process or activity, such as cultural production (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Bourdieu proposes that different fields (e.g. business and education) overlap (Randle et al., 2015). Thus, individuals can simultaneously be part of several fields (Kislov et al., In Press). Within the entrepreneurship literature, scholars have explored the effects of membership in multiple fields experienced by immigrant (Barrett and

Vershinina, 2017; Vershinina et al., 2011) and transnational entrepreneurs (Patel and Conklin, 2009; Terjesen and Elam, 2009).

Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) argue that the construction of a field for research purposes is a challenging process and is usually partly based on the researcher's personal knowledge and intuition. Within the cultural industries in particular, it can be difficult to determine the boundaries of a field: which producers, suppliers, customers and other agents may be part of the field and guided by its principles? This issue is compounded by the fact that fields can consist of subfields (Elam, 2008; Kislov et al., In Press). Bourdieu proposes that fields are in a hierarchy to one another, organised within an overarching field of power (i.e. 'a metafield of contestation for dominant agents', see Maclean et al., 2014: 826). Business fields, for example, are thought to dominate artistic and educational fields (De Clercq and Voronov, 2011). While it has been suggested that these hierarchal relationships between fields should be further investigated (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008), such discussions are not the focus of this study, which is based on a small sample of entrepreneurs and their experiences.

As a consequence of the overlapping nature of different fields, not all agents are equally well integrated into each field, which 'leaves open the possibility that field participants are torn by contradiction and internal division' (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b: 805). Consequently, they may favour one field (often referred to as a 'game', see Kislov et al., In Press) over another. As Tatli et al. (2014) argue, the metaphor of a playing a game is effective in the context of entrepreneurship: entrepreneurs typically seek to gain influence through the acquisition of various capitals, which requires them to comply with certain rules, even if they ultimately wish to overturn these rules and challenge other players for domination (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009c). After all, fields are not dead structures, but dynamic spheres of action and strategy (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

### ***3.6.1. Bourdieu and Families***

Families are an important aspect of Bourdieu's theory of practice and they require further discussion, especially since this thesis explores the household context of participants (see Chapter 8). Bourdieu's understanding of families is multifaceted

and has developed over time. Thus, it should be noted that this study draws primarily on Bourdieu's (1996) article, which provides a dedicated analysis of families. It proposes that the family functions as a field in and of itself:

with its physical, economic and, above all, symbolic power relations (linked, for example, to the volume and structure of the capital possessed by each member) [and] its struggles for conservation and transformation of these power relations. (p. 22)

As family members struggle for power, Bourdieu (1996) argues that they must engage in countless acts of ordinary exchanges, such as providing support and attention, and celebrate events, including birthdays and holidays, to generate a 'family feeling'. These practical and symbolic acts of creation 'transform the obligation to love into a loving disposition' (p. 22) and promote solidarity, generosity and loyalty among family members, despite their contention for dominant positions. A family is commonly associated with a separate social universe, whose members share a joint residence. Consequently, families often make collective decisions, requiring members to act in a unified way (Glover, 2010). However, similar to other fields, not all members have the same propensity to become part of the unified body and accept a common vision, preferring instead to follow their own points of view (Bourdieu, 1996).

Bourdieu (1986) argues that families are also an important source of social capital, as they enable their members to benefit from collectively owned and shared resources (Al Ariss and Syed, 2011; Vershinina et al., 2011). Family members gain access to shared economic capital, such as financial assets, cultural capital, in the form of personal dispositions imparted over time and objectified as heirlooms, social capital, through connections to relatives and their diverse networks, and symbolic capital, including the family name and reputation (Jayawarna et al., 2014; Maclean et al., 2014). Wealthy families who can afford to send their children to elite schools enable them to acquire prized academic credentials (institutionalised cultural capital) and connections with powerful field members (social capital) (Desan, 2013; Maclean et al., 2010). Bourdieu (1996) argues that this transmission of privileges plays an important role in maintaining the family as a social order.



Within the entrepreneurship literature, Bourdieu's perspective on families has received scant attention. Nordqvist and Melin (2010: 222) provide the most detailed discussion, but they interpret 'the family as an entrepreneurial actor' and advocate for its use as a unit of analysis in empirical studies, because Bourdieu (1996: 20) describes the family as 'an active agent'. While this view is consistent with Bourdieu's earlier studies (for more details see DiMaggio, 1979), it disregards certain tensions which may exist among family members. Thus, this study conceives of families as fields.

### ***3.6.2. Critique of Field Theory***

Similar to habitus and capital, the concept of field has been criticised for a number of reasons (Friedland, 2009; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). First, DiMaggio (1979) points out that Bourdieu's notion of relatively autonomous fields is not sufficiently developed, especially in relation to the limits to that autonomy. This is a relevant concern, as Bourdieu argues that fields overlap and also belong to an overarching field of power (metafield). This study therefore draws on the perspectives of participants to define the fields in which they are embedded. Second, Özbilgin and Tatli (2005) propose that Bourdieu's approach to position-taking within fields, which entails generic struggles for domination, is undifferentiated and does not adequately account for alternative forms of contestation and competition. The strategies that agents employ may be more complex than Bourdieu suggests, as demonstrated by the emerging literature on social entrepreneurship (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Nicolopoulou, 2014) and cultural entrepreneurship (Drakopoulou Dodd, 2014; Hjorth and Holt, 2016).

A similar criticism is that fields are conceived too homogeneously, disregarding the cultural specificity of diverse contexts (Friedland, 2009). For example, it may be assumed that fields in collectivist societies (e.g. China) function differently than those in individualist societies (e.g. USA). There is also a question concerning the role of morals. Evens (1999) argues that if gaining dominance is a primary objective of most field members, moral considerations should play a bigger role in Bourdieu's theorising. Finally, concerning the application of field theory, Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) contend that too many studies focus only on an

individual field (e.g. organisations), overlooking the effects of embeddedness in diverse contexts. Multi-field configurations in particular and how agents navigate embeddedness in co-existing and intersecting fields are considered to be under-researched (Kislov et al., In Press). Thus, this study explores embeddedness in multiple fields and its effects on craft entrepreneurs.


### **3.7. Conclusion**

This chapter has critically reviewed Bourdieu's theory of practice and its application within the entrepreneurship literature. As shown, Bourdieu developed a comprehensive social theory, which encompasses forms of capital, habitus and fields and employs these concepts to explain how contextual influences affect individual practices (see Table 3.3 for a summary of the main concepts). Bourdieu proposes that practices are generally aimed towards acquiring types of capital which are considered valuable within specific fields. By acquiring such capital, agents can gain and maintain power over others. Since businesses in most capitalist societies strive to maximise profits by outperforming their competition, this theory links well with the prevailing understanding of the business world. Accordingly, Bourdieu's theory of practice is gaining popularity within management research. In order to take advantage of the full complement of Bourdieu's theories, empirical studies have primarily adopted qualitative approaches (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Stringfellow et al., 2014; Terjesen and Elam, 2009). This study follows their example and provides a detailed analysis of the experiences of a small sample of craft entrepreneurs.

Based on the critiques of Bourdieu's theories, this chapter highlights a number of gaps in knowledge. First, while Bourdieu discusses the conversion of various forms of capital, his conceptualisations are constrained by a focus on the importance of economic capital as the 'currency of exchange'. Thus, this study seeks to advance understanding by exploring a broader range of capital conversions which craft entrepreneurs carry out, particularly those related to non-economic forms of capital. Second, given the scarcity of empirical investigations into the role of habitus in cultural entrepreneurship, this study also strives to extend knowledge by exploring the impact of the 'rules of the game' in craft communities. Furthermore, there is lack

of understanding concerning the effects of embeddedness in diverse fields on the behaviours of individuals. Accordingly, this study investigates the influence of embeddedness in co-existing fields on craft entrepreneurs. Finally, it challenges Bourdieu's premise that a generic struggle for domination is the guiding principle of all fields. In filling these gaps, this study builds upon the strengths and ameliorates several weaknesses of Bourdieu's comprehensive social theory in order to more fully understand the actions of craft entrepreneurs through its explanatory framework.

**Table 3.3.** Summary of Bourdieu's Main Concepts

<b>Orientation*</b>	<b>Concept</b>	<b>Profile</b>
	Capitals	Economic, cultural, social and symbolic resources available to individuals; convertible and facilitate the acquisition of power (stakes of the game)
	Habitus	Personal dispositions which subconsciously affect agent's practices (modus operandi); a constraining social structure representing the rules of the game
	Doxa	Naturalised, taken-for-granted assumptions, which remain unchallenged, limit agents' thinking and facilitate the reproduction of social orders
	Illusio	Commitment to shared stakes, causing agents to be caught up in the game; a shared belief in the status quo and thus a collective self-deception
Structural + Objective	Fields	Social spheres that are structured according to their members' distribution of various capitals; outcomes of ongoing struggles for power and positions

\* The idea to place Bourdieu's concepts on this continuum was inspired by Tatli et al. (2014).

## **CHAPTER 4: ENTREPRENEURSHIP RESEARCH ON RESOURCES, HOUSEHOLDS AND COMMUNITIES**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter reviews entrepreneurship research related to the main themes explored in this study. As explained in Chapter 5, this study adopts a phenomenological approach and generates theory inductively, based on the analysis of participants' experiences (Berglund, 2007; Cope, 2005). Thus, the decision to review entrepreneurship literature on resource and capital management, households and families, and embeddedness in communities is an outcome of the analysis of empirical data. Accordingly, when discussing contemporary debates regarding these main themes under investigation, this review incorporates concepts and theories which do not traditionally fall under these three categories, but were found to impact the practices of craft entrepreneurs. For example, psychological capital (Baron et al., 2013; Zou et al., 2016) was discovered to be relevant to the household and family context and is therefore addressed in the discussion of research in this arena. Similarly, virtual embeddedness (Morse et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2017) was revealed as a significant aspect of embeddedness in craft communities and thus appears in the analysis of that literature. While both of these concepts have received scant attention in the entrepreneurship literature, they feature in this literature review as a result of the adopted *a posteriori* approach.

This chapter first examines academic debates concerning the resource and capital management practices of entrepreneurs, introducing the Resource Based View (RBV) and reviewing entrepreneurship research on economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital and their conversions. Next, it discusses extant theories on the effects of households and families on entrepreneurs, exploring research on household contexts, resources of the household and the role of emotions. Finally, this chapter reviews the academic literature on embeddedness in communities, examining research progress on embeddedness theory, embeddedness in communities and social value creation. As such, this chapter seeks to connect a diverse range of literatures, which collectively help to explain the practices of craft entrepreneurs.

## 4.2. Resource and Capital Management

Entrepreneurial firms tend to be small in size and have a limited supply of resources, especially at start-up (George, 2005; Kiss et al., In Press; Penrose, 1959). This can present them with challenges compared to larger, more established organisations, as some resources can be expensive to obtain for firms lacking economies of scale (Carroll and Swaminathan, 2000; Scott, 2006) or even be unavailable through conventional market channels (Starr and MacMillan, 1990; Witt, 2004). Prior research has shown that entrepreneurs therefore employ a range of strategies to locate and obtain required resources (Fisher, 2012; Ozdemir et al., 2016; Stinchfield et al., 2013), including making do with what is at hand (i.e. ‘bricolage’, see Baker and Nelson, 2005; Senyard et al., 2014; Stenholm and Renko, 2016) and avoiding external debt by utilising supplier credits, personal funds and shared investments (i.e. ‘bootstrapping’, see Grichnik et al., 2014; Jonsson and Lindbergh, 2013; Winborg and Landström, 2001).

To date, entrepreneurship research has focused on the importance of access to financial (De Bettignies, 2008; Uzzi, 1999), human (Marvel et al., 2016; Rauch et al., 2005) and social capital (Anderson et al., 2007; Stam et al., 2014). Consequently, considerable knowledge of the impacts of these resources on entrepreneurial activity has been developed (Anderson and Miller, 2003; Manolova et al., 2007; Semrau and Hopp, 2016). However, as most studies explore only one or two forms of capital (cf. Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Chandler and Hanks, 1998; Davidsson and Honig, 2003), little is known about the ways in which entrepreneurs combine and transform various capitals (Klyver and Schenkel, 2013; Scott, 2012). There have also been calls for entrepreneurship research to explore a wider range of resources (De Clercq et al., 2013; Lee and Shaw, 2016; Nicolopoulou, 2014), such as cultural (Jayawarna et al., 2014; Kim et al., 2006) and symbolic capital (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a; Fuller and Tian, 2006). Thus, this study seeks to advance understanding by exploring *how entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital*. By considering these micro-level activities, this study seeks to shed light onto the individual context of craft entrepreneurs. This section first introduces the RBV, followed by a review of the literature on economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital and their conversions.

#### **4.2.1. The RBV**

There is a long tradition within the field of entrepreneurship of importing conceptual models and perspectives from other, more established disciplines to explore the experiences of entrepreneurs (Busenitz et al., 2003; Shepherd, 2015; Zahra, 2007). One of these models is the RBV (Barney, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984), which has been employed to examine entrepreneurial actions related to ‘the creation and combining of resources that create new heterogeneous resources ... that are potentially valuable and contribute to a firm’s competitive advantage’ (Alvarez and Busenitz, 2001: 756). A range of entrepreneurship studies have adopted the RBV over the past two decades (Chandler and Hanks, 1994; Kellermanns et al., 2016; Yli-Renko et al., 2001) to investigate such diverse subjects as alliance formation (Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1996), organisational culture (Zahra et al., 2004) and portfolio entrepreneurship (Sieger et al., 2011).

The RBV originates in Penrose’s (1959) work and was developed by strategic management scholars (Barney, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984) to facilitate explorations of how firms achieve and maintain competitive advantage through the acquisition and ownership of certain sets of resources (Markman et al., 2004; Mosakowski, 1998). It considers firms to consist of heterogeneous bundles of resources, which are created and combined in distinct ways and thus make each business a unique product of the skills, experience and vision of its founder(s) and/or manager(s) (Alsos and Carter, 2006; Wiklund and Shepherd, 2009). According to Barney’s (1991: 105) definition, a resource must possess four attributes to generate sustained competitive advantage:

- (a) it must be valuable, in the sense that it exploits opportunities and/or neutralizes threats in a firm’s environment,
- (b) it must be rare among a firm’s current and potential competition,
- (c) it must be imperfectly imitable, and
- (d) there cannot be strategically equivalent substitutes for this resource.

As Newbert (2007) notes, competitive advantage can, of course, be attained with resources that are solely valuable and/or rare, but in order for this advantage to sustain over time, they have to be inimitable and non-substitutable, as well. Various resources have been identified which meet the above criteria, including organisational identity (Fiol, 1991) and patents held by businesses (Markman et al., 2004).

While several meta-analyses have found support for the RBV (cf. Crook et al., 2008; Nason and Wiklund, In Press), it has also been criticised for a number of reasons (for a detailed review, see Priem and Butler, 2001), including its rather static nature (Newbert, 2007: 123) and the lack of conceptual clarity regarding “‘how’ managers/firms transform resources to create value’ (Sirmon et al., 2007: 273). Thus, the RBV has evolved over time and scholars have expanded upon and improved the concept (Dyer and Singh, 1998; Kellermanns et al., 2016). For example, it has been proposed that not only resources, but also capabilities can create sustained competitive advantage and generate ‘economic rents’ (i.e. payments made in excess of the amounts required for the products/services, see Amit and Schoemaker, 1993). In addition, a number of ‘spin-off’ approaches have been developed from the RBV (Barney et al., 2011), including the relational view, which argues that the capabilities embedded in network relationships can provide competitive advantage (Dyer and Singh, 1998; Yli-Renko et al., 2001), and the knowledge-based view, which proposes that business-relevant knowledge is strategically important and can help firms maintain a competitive edge (Grant, 1996; Sullivan and Marvel, 2011).

Given that entrepreneurial firms differ from larger organisations (e.g. in size, reputation and reliance on relationships, see Sorenson and Stuart, 2008; Wiklund and Shepherd, 2009), it can be assumed that the resources needed for an emerging venture to succeed are distinctive from those required by an established business (Alvarez and Busenitz, 2001; Kiss et al., In Press). Based on Barney’s (1991: 105) definition that resources are ‘all assets, capabilities, organizational processes, firm dimensions, information, knowledge, etc. controlled by a firm that enable the firm to conceive of and implement strategies that improve its efficiency and effectiveness’, it can be surmised that a multitude of different resources can provide entrepreneurs with competitive advantage depending on their particular circumstances (Kellermanns et al., 2016). Thus, there have been calls for research to contextualise the RBV (Lado et al., 2006), especially within the field of entrepreneurship (Edwards et al., 2010; Perry-Rivers, 2016). As Foss et al. (2008: 74) argue, scholars should investigate the subjective views of entrepreneurs regarding their strategic use of resources and account for the fact that ‘individuals hold different preferences, knowledge, and expectations’.

Drawing on the work of Brush and colleagues (cf. Brush et al., 2001; Lichtenstein and Brush, 2001), Kellermanns et al. (2016: 36) suggest exploring both tangible and intangible assets, such as ‘human, financial, physical, and relationship capital’, which can provide entrepreneurs with competitive advantage. As Bourdieu’s (1986) perspective accounts for all of these resources and provides a consistent set of definitions of key concepts (see Chapter 3), it represents an appropriate framework for examining the resources available to entrepreneurs (Drori et al., 2006; Shaw et al., 2009). Indeed, while prior research has employed different labels, it has already demonstrated the importance of access to economic capital (e.g. wealth, see Perry-Rivers, 2016), cultural capital (e.g. knowledge, see Alsos and Carter, 2006), social capital (e.g. alliances, see Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1996) and symbolic capital (e.g. reputation, see Reuber and Fischer, 2007) for achieving sustained competitive advantage. In comparison, scholars ‘have given scant attention to the process by which these resources are discovered ... and exploited’ (Alvarez and Busenitz, 2001: 757), leading to ‘the processes and mechanisms by which new resources or resource combinations are created [to] remain a black box’ (Foss et al., 2008: 88). Thus, there is a need for research to explore the ways in which entrepreneurs accumulate (Lee and Shaw, 2016), combine (Klyver and Schenkel, 2013) and convert (Scott, 2012) various forms of capital to achieve commercial sustainability and success. The following sections therefore discuss progress in the entrepreneurship literature related to economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

#### ***4.2.2. Economic Capital and its Conversions***

Bourdieu (1986) proposes that economic capital presents itself in the form of monetary assets as well as tangible and intangible business assets (Anheier et al., 1995; DiMaggio, 1979; Glover, 2010). In contrast, entrepreneurship research has mainly focused on the impact of financial resources on entrepreneurial processes (De Bettignies, 2008; Winborg and Landström, 2001). Therefore, while this review of the literature encompasses the many manifestations of economic capital discussed by Bourdieu, it focuses on how financial resources have been addressed by current research.



As Shane and Cable (2002: 364) argue, ‘entrepreneurs are often wealth constrained, and need to obtain external financing to pursue their opportunities, making financing central to the process of entrepreneurship’. Consequently, a large body of research has explored how entrepreneurs can gain financial capital to develop their ventures (De Bettignies, 2008; Huang and Knight, 2017; Uzzi, 1999). Given that access to traditional funding sources, such as bank loans (Carter et al., 2007; Le and Nguyen, 2009), tends to be restricted for small and emerging firms (Ebben and Johnson, 2006), entrepreneurs must frequently find alternative ways of financing their ventures (Grichnik et al., 2014; Jonsson and Lindbergh, 2013; Winborg and Landström, 2001).

One means of doing so is through government and business grants (Jayawarna et al., 2011; Rouse and Kitching, 2006). In other cases, external investors, such as venture capital firms (Cox Pahnke et al., 2015; Rosenbusch et al., 2013) and business angels (Harrison and Mason, 2007; Steier and Greenwood, 2000), may be willing to back new ventures. Furthermore, there is growing recognition of the financing available through online channels (Morse et al., 2007; Parhankangas and Renko, 2017; Short et al., 2017), such as rewards-based (Josefy et al., 2017), donation-based (Allison et al., 2015) and equity-based crowdfunding (Cholakova and Clarysse, 2015). However, most of these funding sources require entrepreneurs to pitch their ventures and business ideas, which often necessitates the development of a business plan (Chen et al., 2009; Foo et al., 2005) and can deter some from pursuing such opportunities (especially those entrepreneurs who are not growth-oriented, see Brinckmann et al., 2011). Consequently, entrepreneurs often draw on their social networks, such as family and friends (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Edelman et al., 2016), and their personal savings (Harrison et al., 2004; Klyver and Schenkel, 2013) to acquire the financial capital needed to develop their businesses.

While prior research has described economic capital as a crucial ‘ingredient for entrepreneurial survival and growth’ (Allison et al., 2015: 53) and has paid considerable attention to the various funding options pursued by entrepreneurs (De Bettignies, 2008; Shane and Cable, 2002), other financial activities, such as strategic financial management and planning, have largely been overlooked (Brinckmann et al., 2011). Given that entrepreneurs can grow their businesses solely with the profits

from their operations (Alsos et al., 2006), it is important to gain further understanding of the ways in which they manage available financial resources (Glover, 2010). Gaining deeper insights into such practices is essential, as entrepreneurial firms usually lack financial reserves (Ebben and Johnson, 2006; Vanacker et al., 2011), which makes them more vulnerable to financial stresses (e.g. economic downturns and increased competition, see Morse et al., 2007). Thus, the abilities of entrepreneurs to transform other available resources into economic capital can have significant impacts on the chances of business survival and success (Stenholm and Renko, 2016; Stinchfield et al., 2013).

In contrast to their abundant considerations of monetary assets, scholars within the field of entrepreneurship have paid little attention to other forms of economic capital, such as non-financial tangible business assets (Anheier et al., 1995; DiMaggio, 1979). Research that does investigate such elements of economic capital has mainly been conducted within the context of farm-based entrepreneurship and has highlighted the value of ‘land and natural resources, buildings and installations’ (Alsos and Carter, 2006: 313). In addition, it has been shown that material, stock, reserves (Jonsson and Lindbergh, 2013; Powell and Baker, 2014), technologies and machinery (Haber and Reichel, 2007; Perry-Rivers, 2016) can support entrepreneurial efforts. Scholars have also noted the value of intangible resources, such as licences (Dushnitsky, 2010), trademarks (Block et al., 2014) and patents (Sleuwaegen and Boiardi, 2014), for acquiring competitive advantage. However, it has been argued that entrepreneurs rarely pursue such legal protections (Bradley et al., 2012), because acquiring property rights can be costly (Somaya, 2012) and does not necessarily prevent counterfeiting (Qian, 2014). Given the limited amount of empirical research on the subject, there is a need for further investigations into the roles that these alternative types of economic capital play in entrepreneurial processes.

Conversions of economic capital into other forms of capital are rarely the subject of discussion in entrepreneurship research. Instead, they are largely taken-for-granted, which implies that they are part of the doxa of the field (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2014). Given that such naturalised assumptions can limit scholars’ abilities to critically evaluate common practices and processes (Golsorkhi et al.,

2009; Vincent, 2016), it is important to explore and question them. Thus far, it has been shown that entrepreneurs can transform economic capital by investing in an elite education to develop their skills (cultural capital), networks (social capital) and standing within a field (symbolic capital) (Harvey et al., 2011a; Shaw et al., 2013). However, it has been noted that such conversions tend to be complex and time-consuming (Greve and Salaff, 2003; Jayawarna et al., 2014), which can inhibit their performance. As might be expected, prior research also illustrates that financial assets can be used to acquire materials (economic capital) (Hanna and Walsh, 2008; Hoegl et al., 2008) and to signal that a firm is viable, which helps create symbolic capital (Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven, 1996). Furthermore, charitable giving has been shown to raise the reputation of entrepreneurs (Harvey et al., 2011a). While these conversions of economic capital are acknowledged by entrepreneurship scholars, they are rarely empirically investigated, necessitating further research into such transformation processes.

#### ***4.2.3. Cultural Capital and its Conversions***

Bourdieu (1986) differentiates between three forms of cultural capital: embodied (knowledge, skills and experience, see Vershinina et al., 2011; Vincent, 2016), objectified (cultural goods, see Lee and Shaw, 2016; Scott, 2012) and institutionalised (educational qualifications, see Spence et al., 2016; Stringfellow et al., 2014). Instead of utilising this multifaceted concept, which originated in the field of sociology, entrepreneurship research generally adopts an economics-based approach and employs Becker's (1964) concept of human capital (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Marvel, 2013; Rauch et al., 2005). Human capital is defined as the 'skills and knowledge that individuals acquire through investments in schooling, on-the-job training, and other types of experience' (Unger et al., 2011: 343). As the concepts of human and embodied cultural capital are thus closely related (see also Chapter 3), this section combines them in its discussion of research progress in this domain.

There has been sustained academic interest in the impact of knowledge, skills and experience on entrepreneurial processes (Anderson and Miller, 2003; Chandler and Hanks, 1998; Coleman, 2007). Initially, the concept of human capital was developed to examine the value of education (Becker, 1964), with early studies

highlighting that investments into education could lead to higher outputs and increased wages within the population (Mincer, 1958; Schultz, 1961). As Unger et al. (2011) note, entrepreneurship research first adopted the concept to link the possession of human capital to entrepreneurial success (Cooper et al., 1994; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Specifically, human capital has been shown to facilitate entrepreneurship by supporting opportunity discovery, creation (Alvarez and Barney, 2007; Fiet et al., 2013), evaluation and exploitation (Dimov, 2010; Yli-Renko et al., 2001) and by enabling the development of competitive advantage (Bradley et al., 2012; Sullivan and Marvel, 2011). Notably, entrepreneurship research has expanded the concept of human capital to include capabilities, such as judgement and decision-making (Jansen et al., 2013; Marvel et al., 2016). While entrepreneurship studies have mainly focused on the human capital of individuals (Unger et al., 2011), it has been shown that it can also exist at the firm level, comprising all knowledge and skills embedded within an organisation (Onkelinx et al., 2016; Ployhart et al., 2011).

Another distinguishing feature of the concept of human capital is the differentiation between investments and outcomes (Becker, 1964). According to Marvel et al. (2016), education and training/experience are considered investments into human capital which can create favourable outcomes, such as knowledge, skills and abilities. In firms that grow beyond the founding entrepreneur(s), recruitment is another investment strategy that can produce desired human capital outcomes. Unger et al. (2011) highlight that knowledge, skills and abilities (outcomes) are more likely to lead to entrepreneurial success than human capital investments alone, as education and training/experience do not guarantee the acquisition of relevant outcomes (Haber and Reichel, 2007). Furthermore, prior research shows that *knowledge* tends to be most useful when it is related to entrepreneurial activities in a specific domain (e.g. understanding of markets and technologies, see Markman and Baron, 2003; Shane, 2000). *Skills*, such as accounting, marketing and coding proficiency, were also found to support entrepreneurship, as they facilitate the application of knowledge to specific tasks (Baron and Markman, 2003; Chell, 2013). However, it has been noted that they require sustained practice or they can be forgotten over time (Ployhart et al., 2014). Cognitive *abilities*, including listening, learning and reasoning, have been shown to be more enduring and broadly

applicable than technical skills, though they cannot be developed in the same fashion (Dimov, 2010; Jayawarna et al., 2014). Thus, adopting Becker's (1964) terminology, skills (especially those related to a particular industry or setting) represent a form of specific human capital, whereas abilities denote general human capital (Marvel, 2013; Rauch and Rijdsdijk, 2013).

While human capital research has advanced understanding of entrepreneurial processes (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Estrin et al., 2016; Rauch et al., 2005), it has been criticised for its disjointed nature and for applying inconsistent definitions (Ployhart et al., 2014), which have led to some divergent and even conflicting findings (Marvel et al., 2016; Unger et al., 2011). For example, Kacperczyk and Younkin (In Press: 2) propose that 'entrepreneurial skill [represents] broad functional experience', which allows entrepreneurs to perform various tasks independently and master different jobs successfully (Åstebro et al., 2011). However, this definition of skill contrasts with the prevailing conceptualisation discussed above. In addition, the 'jack-of-all-trades' argument (Lazear, 2004: 208), upon which this definition is based, has been challenged (Estrin et al., 2016; Marvel, 2013). Marvel et al. (2016) provide a detailed analysis of other criticisms of human capital research. Their systematic literature review reveals that the vast majority of studies adopt quantitative approaches (only 2.2% of the studies in their review are qualitative) and that extant research focuses on human capital investments rather than outcomes. Furthermore, they show that there is a clear preference for exploring high-technology contexts (32% of studies) over 'manufacturing or retail contexts, [which] each represented less than 4% of the research stream' (p. 804). Jayawarna et al. (2014: 921) also note that 'most research in entrepreneurship treats human capital as an asset fixed in time', instead of accounting for its variable nature (Ployhart et al., 2011). Thus, there is a need for more qualitative research into the role of knowledge, skills and abilities in entrepreneurship and how these human capital outcomes (i.e. embodied cultural capital) change over time.

In line with its focus on human capital, the entrepreneurship literature has paid scant attention to the impact of objectified and institutionalised cultural capital on entrepreneurial processes. Indeed, the concept of cultural capital is almost exclusively employed by the comparatively few studies that adopt Bourdieu's theory

of practice (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a; Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Patel and Conklin, 2009) and/or employ both human and cultural capital (Anderson and Miller, 2003; Jayawarna et al., 2014; Kim et al., 2006). These studies acknowledge the value of objectified cultural capital in the form of ‘sophisticated and novel products, goods and materials’ (Lee and Shaw, 2016: 1742) which can be used by entrepreneurial firms to signal their high standards and novelty to customers. They also show that educational qualifications and credentials (institutionalised cultural capital) can help entrepreneurs meet the expectations of stakeholders and clients (Nagy et al., 2012; Stringfellow et al., 2014). Furthermore, by gaining understanding of the ‘customs, habits, interests, lifestyle[s] and ... traditions’ (Dana and Light, 2011: 342) that prevail in different contexts, entrepreneurs can gain valuable cultural knowledge, which is an aspect of embodied cultural capital (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b), but not considered part of the concept of human capital (Vershina et al., 2011). Thus, entrepreneurship research can benefit from adopting the concept of cultural capital in its empirical analyses (Jayawarna et al., 2014; Kim et al., 2006).

With regard to its convertibility, embodied cultural capital has been shown to facilitate the development of economic capital, as knowledge of alternative funding sources can improve financial decision-making (Coleman, 2007; Seghers et al., 2012) and management competence can increase profits and reduce business expenses (Brinckmann et al., 2011; Haber and Reichel, 2007). In addition, market knowledge can provide access to supplier and customer contacts (social capital) and facilitate meeting the needs and expectations of these network members (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Mosey and Wright, 2007). Experience within an industry can also promote reputation building (symbolic capital) (Beverland, 2005; Clarke, 2011) and storytelling skills can further support this process (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Martens et al., 2007). In fact, it has been shown that it is only through competence at managing symbolic resources (Überbacher et al., 2015; Zott and Huy, 2007) and networks (Lans et al., 2015; Rasmussen et al., 2015) that entrepreneurs can attain their benefits. Similarly, technical skills can be invaluable in certain contexts, such as for entrepreneurs who use their websites (economic capital) to sell the majority of their products or services (i.e. digital entrepreneurs, see Martinez Dy et al., 2017; Nambisan, In Press). Prior research also shows that high socio-economic

position (class) and cultural distinction can provide access to wider networks (Anderson and Miller, 2003; Jayawarna et al., 2014).

At the same time, a lack of cultural understanding and sophistication can inhibit the abilities of entrepreneurs to fit in with extant norms (*habitus*), which can limit their abilities to join networks (social capital) and affect their reputation building efforts (symbolic capital) (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009c; Perry-Rivers, 2016). Furthermore, a lack of expertise may require entrepreneurs to rely on external agents to complete necessary tasks, which can impede their ability to generate economic capital (Martinez Dy et al., 2017). With regards to institutionalised cultural capital, Vershinina et al. (2011: 104) show that the possession of academic qualifications may be irrelevant in certain fields or even disparaged by field members and therefore negatively impact development of economic capital. It has also been argued that displaying a breadth of experience can inhibit the acquisition of symbolic capital (Kacperczyk and Younkin, In Press), as stakeholders and customers may prefer the appearance of specialisation (Navis and Glynn, 2010; 2011). Thus, prior research shows that cultural capital can be converted into various other capitals and that there are inhibitors to this process.

#### ***4.2.4. Social Capital and its Conversions***

According to Bourdieu (1986: 248), social capital represents ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships’. Within the entrepreneurship literature, research mainly adopts Nahapiet and Goshal’s (1998: 243) definition, which conceptualises social capital as ‘the sum of actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by individuals or social units’. As these definitions are largely consistent, Bourdieu’s approach to social capital is relevant to and drawn upon by numerous entrepreneurship studies (cf. Anderson and Jack, 2002; Batjargal, 2003; Hernández-Carrión et al., 2017; Maurer and Ebers, 2006).

Scholars have shown an enduring interest in exploring the impact of social capital on entrepreneurs (Cope et al., 2007; Gedajlovic et al., 2013; Yli-Renko et al., 2001). Extant studies reveal that possession of social capital facilitates a range of

activities involved in entrepreneurship, such as opportunity recognition (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Hmieleski et al., 2015), business start-up (Liao and Welsch, 2005; Semrau and Hopp, 2016) and venture growth (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Hernández-Carrión et al., 2017). Furthermore, prior research demonstrates that adopting a social capital perspective enables investigations of various constructs and concepts related to entrepreneurship, such as entrepreneurial intention (Edelman et al., 2016), innovation (Dakhli and De Clercq, 2004), creativity (Shalley and Perry-Smith, 2008), finance (Shane and Stuart, 2002) and performance (Stam et al., 2014). These studies highlight that social capital plays an important role in achieving entrepreneurial success (Aarstad et al., 2010; Steier and Greenwood, 2000).

Despite the prevalent acknowledgment of its significance, the concept of social capital has been inconsistently applied (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Payne et al., 2011), which is largely due to the multitude of definitions employed within the literature (for detailed reviews, see Bowey and Easton, 2007; Portes, 1998). It has also been argued that its designation as a single ‘capital’ is in itself problematic, given the range of phenomena described by the concept (Anderson et al., 2007). Nevertheless, there is growing consensus that social capital resides within networks (Liao and Welsch, 2005; McKeever et al., 2014) and provides entrepreneurs with access to resources that can be utilised to achieve desired outcomes (Batjargal, 2003; Smith et al., 2017). Indeed, it has been suggested that the concepts of social capital and networks are inextricably intertwined (Casson and Della Giusta, 2007; Kwon and Adler, 2014). Accordingly, in its analysis of social capital conversions, this study focuses primarily on the business networks, such as guilds and support groups, and the interpersonal ties, including followers, suppliers and friends, upon which craft entrepreneurs draw to gain access to resources (see Chapters 7). Building on Anderson et al. (2007: 264), who argue that ‘social capital is more akin to a key, rather than the resource itself’, this study interprets social capital conversion as the process of unlocking resources that reside in the nexus between network partners.

One reason for the variation of definitions of social capital is its latent nature: it can be accrued and released (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998), but its actual value is uncertain until entrepreneurs deploy it (Smith et al., 2017). Thus, it is hard to measure social capital objectively (Adler and Kwon, 2002) and to ‘determine if a



stock of resources (e.g. knowledge) can be fully attributed to network relationships' (Gedajlovic et al., 2013: 459). As Lester et al. (2008) argue, it can be difficult to delineate social capital from other forms of capital (e.g. human capital). Furthermore, as social capital is context-specific, the transferability of research findings cannot be assumed (Foley and O'Connor, 2013). For example, it has been shown that the norms governing relational interactions and the processes required to access available resources within networks differ between contexts (Batjargal, 2010; Lee and Jones, 2008; Zhang, 2015).

Scholars usually differentiate between two forms of social capital: bonding and bridging (De Carolis and Saporito, 2006; Portes, 1998). The bonding perspective, which is primarily based in Coleman's (1988) work, proposes that the value of social capital to businesses emanates from strong connections and frequent interactions between actors who share similar values, resulting in reciprocity and trust (Lee and Jones, 2008; Light and Dana, 2013). This perspective suggests that social capital is collectively owned and that it creates solidarity among network members, which may otherwise be unobtainable (Gedajlovic et al., 2013). However, the resulting 'network closure' (i.e. the presence of cohesive ties, see Gargiulo and Benassi, 2000), which is usually enforced through social norms, has been shown to limit entrepreneurial agency (Foley and O'Connor, 2013). In contrast, the bridging perspective, which builds on Burt's (1992) work, highlights the benefits of open networks that feature diverse connections and provide access to non-redundant resources (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Lans et al., 2015). Research within this vein has found that entrepreneurs employ brokers to bridge structural holes in their networks and to link them to non-overlapping clusters of people (Mosey and Wright, 2007; Steier and Greenwood, 2000).

There has been considerable debate regarding the importance of bonding versus bridging social capital (Anderson et al., 2007; Lee et al., 2011). Scholars increasingly recognise that their efficacy depends on both the contexts in which firms are embedded (Stam et al., 2014) and their stages of development (Burt and Merluzzi, 2016). As 'bridging social capital is closely related to the concept of weak ties' (Hernández-Carrión et al., 2017: 65) and bonding social capital is associated with strong ties, this study refers to the strength of ties connecting network members

rather than their bridging/bonding qualities. As discussed in the review of embeddedness theory (see below), scholars do not only differentiate between bonding and bridging social capital, which mainly describe structural characteristics of networks, but also between structural and relational embeddedness in networks (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Payne et al., 2011) and their effects on entrepreneurs (Batjargal, 2003; Gedajlovic et al., 2013: 459). Furthermore, an emerging body of research explores the cognitive dimension of social capital (Lee and Jones, 2008; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998), which encompasses the ‘similarities in actors’ cognitive schemes and systems of meaning’ (Maurer and Ebers, 2006: 264). However, as Light and Dana (2013: 606) convincingly argue, this multidimensional view of social capital increases ‘conceptual clutter’ and conflates aspects of social and cultural capital. Thus, this study does not distinguish between these different dimensions of social capital in the analysis of data.

Concerning social capital conversions, a considerable number of studies have explored ways in which entrepreneurs can access and develop other forms of capital by drawing on network ties (Ozdemir et al., 2016; Semrau and Werner, 2014; Sullivan and Ford, 2014). For example, it has been shown that social connections can provide entrepreneurs with access to economic capital in the forms of financial gifts (Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998; Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998) and loans provided under favourable conditions (Le and Nguyen, 2009; Uzzi, 1999). Furthermore, prior research highlights the ability of entrepreneurs to access embodied cultural capital (in the form of knowledge) through network members (Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Hughes et al., 2014), which is particularly important during the early stages of venture development (Huggins et al., 2015; Yli-Renko et al., 2001). Knowledge sharing can be achieved through participation in informal events, including ‘receptions, club meetings, or even through conversation at the school gates’ (Casson and Della Giusta, 2007: 231), and through more formal arrangements, such as mentoring relationships (Grossman et al., 2012; Ozgen and Baron, 2007) and inter-organisational collaborations (McAdam et al., 2014; van Burg et al., 2014). Becerra et al. (2008) emphasise that, because such exchanges of knowledge can involve a degree of risk, they rely upon trust between partners. Entrepreneurs can also benefit from connections with government support agencies, which can provide them with

economic and cultural capital (Casson and Della Giusta, 2007; Lee et al., 2011). As cultural capital is socialised within family networks (Anderson and Miller, 2003; Jayawarna et al., 2014), membership in upper-class families can bestow entrepreneurs with cultural understanding (Harvey et al., 2011a; Wright and Zammuto, 2013) and grant them access to elite schools (Maclean et al., 2010; 2014), which, in turn, facilitates the development of knowledge, skills and abilities.

Furthermore, by acting as brokers, network partners connect entrepreneurs with other parties and, in so doing, increase the available stock of social capital (Ozdemir et al., 2016; Stam, 2010). According to Wong and Boh (2010: 129), ‘an individual’s affiliation with third parties affects that person’s reputation because observers tend to evaluate connected individuals similarly’. Thus, social capital can be converted into symbolic capital not only through endorsements of network partners (Navis and Glynn, 2010; Stuart et al., 1999) but also through the simple act of associating with reputable others (Pollock et al., 2010; Svejenova et al., 2007). Such affiliations usually create positive spill-over effects (Partanen and Goel, 2017; Reuber and Fischer, 2005), but they can equally send negative signals should the reputation of the network partner be tarnished (Fischer and Reuber, 2007) and consequently impede a firm’s status enhancement (Barlow et al., In Press). Nevertheless, extant research indicates that the advantages entrepreneurs derive from connections with network partners far outweigh the risks associated with developing and converting their social capital (Semrau and Werner, 2014; Sullivan and Ford, 2014).

#### ***4.2.5. Symbolic Capital and its Conversions***

According to Bourdieu (1984: 251), symbolic capital represents ‘name, renown, prestige, honour, glory [and] authority ... everything which constitutes symbolic power as a recognized power’. Entrepreneurship research that employs the concept usually refers to Bourdieu’s work as its source, either directly by citing Bourdieu (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Stringfellow et al., 2014) or indirectly (Lewis, 2013) by citing the work of De Clercq and colleagues (cf. De Clercq and Honig, 2011; De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a), who discuss Bourdieu’s theories in detail. Furthermore, a number of studies employ similar concepts, such as reputation (Dimov et al., 2007; Reuber and Fischer, 2005), status (Packalen, 2007; Ruef et al., 2003) and prestige

(Jung et al., 2017; Pollock et al., 2010), often in explanations of how firms gain legitimacy (Bitektine, 2011; Fisher et al., 2016). Accordingly, this section discusses research progress on these related concepts in its review of relevant literature.

Symbolic capital (also termed symbolic resources, see Ertug et al., 2016) can significantly benefit entrepreneurs (Fuller and Tian, 2006; Lee and Shaw, 2016; Scott, 2012), as it facilitates crucial entrepreneurial activities, such as attracting customers (Clarke, 2011; Reuber and Fischer, 2009), gaining access to finance (Dimov et al., 2007; Shane and Cable, 2002) and growing business (Abeysekera, In Press; O'Cass and Sok, 2014). Scholars generally agree that, by accumulating symbolic capital, entrepreneurs can gain power (Harvey et al., 2011a; Shaw et al., 2013), which allows them to increase product and service prices (Rindova et al., 2005; Svejenova et al., 2007) and influence other agents in the field (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a; Stringfellow et al., 2014). In fact, De Clercq and Honig (2011: 362) argue that 'the concept goes beyond the mere notions of quality, visibility or prestige ... [It] represents the ultimate basis of power through which actors can impose their vision of the way the field should be organized'. Furthermore, once acquired, symbolic capital can compel established businesses to acknowledge the quality, or even superiority, of products and services offered by entrepreneurial firms (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b).

While prior research recognises the need for entrepreneurs to engage in symbolic management to maintain and increase their symbolic capital (Garud et al., 2014; Überbacher et al., 2015), little is known about what 'entrepreneurs actually do to distinguish themselves from their competing peers' (Zott and Huy, 2007: 71). A number of studies highlight the importance of positive reputation for gaining competitive advantage (Barney, 1991; Partanen and Goel, 2017) and for achieving entrepreneurial success (Abeysekera, 2017; Reuber and Fischer, 2011; Svejenova et al., 2007). However, Lange et al. (2011) lament that 'multiple definitions, conceptualizations, and operationalizations ... have emerged across studies'. Scholars employ the concept of reputation variously to connote being known (Rindova et al., 2005), being known for something (Fischer and Reuber, 2007) and generalised favourability (Love and Kraatz, 2009). Yet, most studies agree that reputation relies on subjective evaluations by external stakeholders (Bitektine, 2011;

Fisher et al., 2016), which are based on a firm's past performance and comparisons to other businesses in the same category (Dimov et al., 2007; Shane and Cable, 2002). Thus, drawing on Gioia et al. (2000: 67), this study defines reputation as 'relatively stable, long-term, collective judgments by outsiders of an organization's actions and achievements'.

It has been shown that entrepreneurs can develop their reputation by displaying signifiers, such as 'founders' track records, high-status partners, or wins in certification contests' (Fischer and Reuber, 2007: 54), as well as favourable media coverage (Deepphouse, 2000; Schultz et al., 2014). Indeed, status is considered a primary means for signalling positive reputation (Ertug et al., 2016) and studies often combine both concepts in empirical analyses (Dimov et al., 2007; Milanov and Shepherd, 2013). However, as Sauder et al. (2012) note, while reputation is based on prior behaviours and accomplishments, status derives from the position that actors or firms occupy within a hierarchy (e.g. a social order or market place). Still, research has found that they reinforce one another as long as the information conveyed is consistent (Ertug et al., 2016). It has been shown that the status of firms can be increased by improving the perceived quality of products or services in relation to competitors (Podolny, 1993) and by associating the business with influential partners (Lin, 1999; Pollock et al., 2010). Importantly, possession of high status can lead consumers to purchase outputs from producers with whom they have not previously done business (Packalen, 2007), which highlights its importance for entrepreneurs (Stuart et al., 1999).

Scholars generally argue that entrepreneurs seek to acquire symbolic capital in the form of reputation, status and other symbols of prestige (e.g. awards, see Anand and Watson, 2004; Reuber and Fischer, 2007) in order to gain legitimacy (Fisher et al., 2016; Navis and Glynn, 2010; Stringfellow et al., 2014). Defined as a 'generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions' (Suchman, 1995: 574), legitimacy is crucial for acquiring resources, overcoming the liability of newness and achieving entrepreneurial success (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994; Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002). Accordingly, a large body of research explores legitimacy and its various effects (for

reviews of this literature, see Suddaby et al., 2017; Überbacher, 2014). As Bitektine (2011) notes, research has identified 18 distinct types of legitimacy which impact business survival and success, including procedural (Suchman, 1995), moral (Greenwood et al., 2002) and regulative legitimacy (Kostova and Zaheer, 1999). Thus, given the considerable amount of existing research on the subject, this study explores how symbolic capital can be transformed into other forms of capital (and vice versa), rather than investigating how it can be used to generate legitimacy (for in-depth discussions, see De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c).

Prior research identifies several conversions of symbolic capital conducted by entrepreneurs (Scott, 2012; Shaw et al., 2013). Regarding transformations into economic capital, positive reputation and high status have been shown to increase sales (Abeysekera, 2017) and facilitate access to other financial resources (e.g. through IPOs, see Martens et al., 2007; Pollock et al., 2010). Possession of prestige can also reduce business expenses, as ‘those with high status receive overt deference, gifts, hospitality, and services from others who have lower status’ (Packalen, 2007: 877). Reputation can increase social capital by raising external stakeholders’ awareness of a firm (Fuller and Tian, 2006) and by supporting the development of industry-specific networks (Shaw et al., 2017). It has also been shown that high status generates an ‘accumulative advantage’, providing its holder(s) with a disproportionate share of network ties compared to those with low status and amplifying ‘future changes in the structural characteristics of past networks by reinforcing the brokerage position of prominent actors over time’ (Zaheer and Soda, 2009: 4). Regarding conversions into cultural capital, extant studies demonstrate that positive reputation can provide access to exclusive opportunities for education (Lawrence, 2004; McLeod et al., 2009).

It has been shown that accumulation of symbolic capital is particularly beneficial for entrepreneurs in the cultural industries (O'Connor, 2015; Townley et al., 2009), as it helps create ‘buzz’ (i.e. ‘rumours and recommendations circulating through dense cultural intermediary networks’, see Scott, 2012: 244), which increases exposure to customers and reduces the amount of economic capital spent on advertising. Furthermore, agents endowed with symbolic capital can influence understanding of what forms of artistic expression are desirable and thus enhance

the perceived value of their own products (Jones et al., 2016). They are also more likely to be invited to award ceremonies (Anand and Watson, 2004), which can provide them with further symbolic capital. Contrary to widely held assumptions, research has also demonstrated that winning awards and gaining reputation can impede business growth, as it can raise the expectations of customers and thus induce more critical assessments of business performance (Kovács and Sharkey, 2014). Furthermore, it has been shown that reputation can ‘stick’ (Love and Kraatz, 2009: 314), leading to ‘evaluations (positive or negative) becom[ing] entrenched such that they have an ongoing impact on the firm’s performance’ (Fischer and Reuber, 2007: 67). Finally, there is a danger that consumers may associate similar organisations and products with one another (Barlow et al., In Press), which can result in entrepreneurs being negatively affected by the mistakes of other firms in the same category (Zhao et al., 2013).

### **4.3. Households and Families**

Entrepreneurs are not ‘lone heroes’, but ‘social animals’ (Drakopoulou Dodd and Anderson, 2007) who are affected by a range of actors, including customers (Reuber and Fischer, 2005; Shepherd and Zacharakis, 2003; Yli-Renko et al., 2001), business advisors (Jack et al., 2010; Ram et al., 2015; Smallbone et al., 2003) and policy makers (Casson and Della Giusta, 2007; Lee and Shaw, 2016; Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2006). Among their closest connections are family members (Belenzon et al., 2016; Jack, 2005; Renzulli et al., 2000), who have been shown to impact various entrepreneurial processes (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Dyer, 2003; Jennings and McDougald, 2007), including opportunity recognition (Khavul et al., 2009; Ram et al., 2001), resource management (Anderson et al., 2005; Bird and Wennberg, 2016) and venture development (Fletcher, 2010; Nordqvist and Melin, 2010). Thus, family business research has emerged as a separate field of study (for detailed reviews, see Evert et al., 2015; Gedajlovic et al., 2012; Sharma et al., 2012), which has greatly advanced understanding of the role of family members in entrepreneurship (Karra et al., 2006; Miller et al., 2011; Morris et al., 2010b). However, research in this domain investigates family-owned firms and it has been shown that its findings are not

readily transferable to businesses not operated by families (Bird and Wennberg, 2014; Miller et al., 2008; Zahra et al., 2004).

As this study explores the experiences of sole proprietors, it therefore primarily draws on family-related theory from outside the family business literature. Heeding the calls for research into the immediate family units (i.e. households) of entrepreneurs (Alsos et al., 2014; Baines et al., 2002; Wheelock and Oughton, 1996), this study explores *how household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs*. This section reviews extant literature on the household context, before discussing the resources of the household and examining the role of emotions.

#### ***4.3.1. Household Context***

There is a growing recognition within the entrepreneurship literature that business and private spheres are often blurred (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Cruz et al., 2012) and that households play an influential role in the development of entrepreneurial businesses (Baines and Wheelock, 1998; Gras and Nason, 2015; Oughton et al., 2003). Accordingly, an emerging body of research explores the ways in which interactions within the household affect venture creation and growth (Alsos et al., 2014; Carter, 2011; Sonnenberg, 2008). As this study seeks to contribute to these contemporary debates, it reviews research progress in this domain. Specifically, this section explores conceptualisations of entrepreneurial households, the interwoven relationship between household and business, and household-based entrepreneurship research.

The household perspective of entrepreneurship involves viewing and exploring entrepreneurs ‘within the context of their immediate family unit’ (Carter et al., 2017: 93). However, such investigations confront challenges, as the size and shape of households can vary significantly, from nuclear families (Baines and Wheelock, 1998; Livingston, 2014) to extended household units, which can include wider kin, such as grandparents and parents-in-law (Ram et al., 2001; Sanders and Nee, 1996), and unrelated individuals, such as tenants (Ellickson, 2006). In addition, the composition of households can change over time (Sund and Smyrniotis, 2005), through transitions such as marriages, divorces and births (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003). Consequently, it is difficult to generalise empirical findings from one household



context to another (Gras and Nason, 2015). Furthermore, there is no universal definition of a household that applies across contexts (as cultural differences can affect perceptions of its meaning, see Peng, 2004). Similarly, definitions of the concept of family vary (Rodriguez et al., 2009). This study considers ‘all individuals related by blood, marriage, or adoption’ (Distelberg and Sorenson, 2009: 69) to be family.

Within the small firm literature, Wheelock and Oughton (1996) offer two commonly applied definitions of households. First, a household can be described according to its function, as ‘the basic unit of society in which the activities of production, reproduction, consumption and the socialisation of children take place’ (Roberts, 1991: 61). Second, it can be characterised as a ‘group of people, their relationships and activities, who acknowledge a common authority in domestic matters ... [and] who have a common fund of material and human resources and rules for practices and exchange within it’ (Messer, 1990). This study adopts the latter conceptualisation, as it accounts for the resources that are exchanged within households as well as the rules that guide the behaviours of its members, which is consistent with Bourdieu’s (1996) perspective. Focused on the ‘owners and occupants of a dwelling space’ (Ellickson, 2006: 230), this study recognises that household contexts are permeable, can include both kin and non-kin and are a product of the shared histories and cultures of their members (Wheelock and Oughton, 1996).

This research explores entrepreneurial households (Oughton et al., 2003), which are distinguished by the fact that at least one of its members is a business owner or self-employed individual, who generates resources required by the household (e.g. income or necessities) through these business activities (Carter et al., 2017). While this definition incorporates both family-owned (Miller et al., 1999) and home-based businesses (Vorley and Rodgers, 2014), this study is particularly interested in households where a single member engages in entrepreneurial activities outside of the family home. By focusing on this specific form of entrepreneurial household, this study seeks to minimise the likelihood that participants are impacted by factors which prevail in family-owned and home-based businesses, such as ulterior motives for altruistic behaviours (Karra et al., 2006; Schulze et al., 2001) and time

management issues (Thompson et al., 2009; Winter et al., 1993). This study also contends that selecting sole proprietors as research participants facilitates exploring the ways in which households affect entrepreneurial practices, as prior studies have shown that cohabitants have especially pronounced effects on solo entrepreneurs (Jennings et al., 2010; Oughton and Wheelock, 2003; Renzulli et al., 2000).<sup>5</sup>

While scholars have acknowledged that household members both enable and impede entrepreneurial processes (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Jennings and McDougald, 2007), ‘the entrepreneurial household remains under-researched’ (Carter et al., 2017: 92). A primary reason for this lack of attention is the prevailing understanding of economic and family domains as separate realms, rather than interconnected spheres (Mwaura and Carter, 2015). While businesses are usually portrayed as result-driven and objectively managed, families are often depicted as emotion-driven, unpredictable and even irrational (Dyer, 2003). Accordingly, scholars have recently suggested that households should instead be considered as contexts ‘where normative systems (affect, altruism, tradition) and utilitarian systems (economic rationality) are combined’ (Brannon et al., 2013: 111). Outside entrepreneurship research, in such fields as sociology, development studies and rural studies, the economic importance of households has long been established (Mulholland, 1997; Ram, 2001; Wheelock and Oughton, 1996). However, as most research in these domains does not differentiate between employed, unemployed or entrepreneurial households, there is a need for further investigations into the role of households in the decision-making of entrepreneurs (Alsos et al., 2014; Carter et al., 2017).

By adopting the household as the unit of analysis, scholars are able to address the call for entrepreneurship research to adopt a family embeddedness perspective (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Arregle et al., 2015; Cruz et al., 2012). Aldrich and Cliff (2003) base the need for this perspective on their analysis that socio-historical developments in the sizes, structures and compositions of families affect the roles of and relationships between family members and how families impact businesses. As families change over the course of the lifetimes of their members, business opportunities may arise as a result of shifting dynamics in the household structure (Alsos et al., 2014; Discua Cruz et al., 2013; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Accordingly,

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<sup>5</sup> Following Ellickson (2006) and Sonnenberg (2008), this study uses the terms ‘household member’ and ‘cohabitant’ interchangeably.

Aldrich and Cliff (2003: 592) suggest ‘focusing on households, regardless of size, and not simply multi-person units in which two or more people are related’, and present a framework to facilitate such research. This framework proposes that family system characteristics (i.e. household transitions, resources and norms/values) influence venture creation processes/outcomes and vice versa. Despite their persuasive argument that ‘families and businesses truly are ... inextricably intertwined’ (p: 590), only a limited number of studies have adopted a family embeddedness perspective (e.g. Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Powell and Eddleston, 2013; Wiklund et al., 2013). Furthermore, the majority of these studies focus on individuals or family businesses rather than on households (Carter et al., In Press).

Within the field of entrepreneurship, households are mainly considered sources of data for exploring and measuring the activities of individual entrepreneurs (cf. Boden and Nucci, 1997; Petrova, 2012; Reynolds et al., 2004), resulting in a disregard of household settings and their impacts on entrepreneurial activities. Entrepreneurship studies that do focus on household settings tend to employ them as contexts for analysing (1) ethnic minority businesses in western societies (Ram et al., 2001; Rodriguez et al., 2009), (2) portfolio entrepreneurship in rural areas (Alsos et al., 2014; Carter, 1998) and (3) entrepreneurial activities in developing countries (Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Gras and Nason, 2015). In comparison, there is a dearth of research on households which are located in industrialised regions (Parker, 2008) and which contain entrepreneurs commonly explored in the literature, such as founders of ‘high-growth, technology-enabled, venture capital-backed businesses’ (Welter et al., 2017: 312).

First, research on ethnic minority enterprise highlights that familism (defined as ‘family ideologies and practices that privilege collectivism’, see Valdez, 2016: 1620) is a common feature in ethnic households and encourages its members to prioritise the (economic) interests of the family over the concerns of any individual (Karra et al., 2006; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Among the first to study this subject was Ram (1994), who illustrated this behaviour with the example of an ethnic-minority business which was split into five firms, not in response to market needs, but rather to occupy several male members of the household. A further example is provided by Mulholland (1997), who investigates an ethnic-minority family that

expanded its business in order to accommodate the siblings of the firm founder. As Ram et al. (2001) note, such practices can protect minority groups from discrimination within the labour market and provide clear paths for career advancement to its members.

Second, studies of portfolio and farm-based entrepreneurship have similarly demonstrated the significant impact of households on entrepreneurial actions (Anthopoulou, 2010; Carter, 1998). As discussed by Iacobucci and Rosa (2010), portfolio entrepreneurs develop sets of (usually small) companies, which remain connected through joint ownership and/or management and draw on the resources of the more established businesses within the portfolio to support the development of new ventures (see, Sieger et al., 2011). Such clusters of firms are often found in farm contexts (Carter and Ram, 2003; Carter et al., 2004) and can involve complex ownership arrangements, especially when multiple people from the same household are engaged in portfolio entrepreneurship (Discua Cruz et al., 2013; Rosa, 1998). Even when organised as independent entities, it has been shown that firms operated by members of the same household are greatly interconnected (Alsos et al., 2014), providing less experienced members with opportunities for relational learning (Plate et al., 2010).

Third, the most recent body of research to embrace a household perspective explores entrepreneurship in developing economies (Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Khan et al., 2007). These studies highlight the crucial role that households play in starting and growing businesses in impoverished settings (Khavul et al., 2009; Ramachandran et al., 2012). For example, Gras and Nason (2015) reveal that diversity of skills, perspectives and knowledge within the household can foster business creativity. However, it should be reiterated that understandings of households within developing economies may differ (Peng, 2004). As Verver and Koning (In Press) note, such studies often move beyond conventional conceptions of the household and incorporate members of the wider community, who are considered kin on the basis of other forms of relatedness, such as shared dialect or descent, and who ‘mimic the ties and transactions within the family’ (Iyer, 2004: 247). Consequently, scholars are hesitant to generalise findings from developing countries to developed contexts (Gras and Nason, 2015).

Beyond household-based studies of ethnic minority entrepreneurship, portfolio entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship in developing countries, ‘the adoption of a household perspective remains relatively unusual within the entrepreneurship research domain’ (Carter et al., 2017: 123). Thus, further empirical research is required to explore the impact of households on entrepreneurs.

#### ***4.3.2. Resources of the Household***

Resource transactions within households and families have attracted sustained scholarly interest (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Coleman, 1988; Khayesi et al., 2014), as they can help entrepreneurs overcome resource scarcity and thus facilitate entrepreneurial activities (Kotha and George, 2012; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Sieger et al., 2011). Households can provide their members with access to a range of resources, such as human and social capital, which support venture development and growth (Danes et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2006; Renzulli et al., 2000). To date, research has focused on the effects of household income (i.e. financial capital) on entrepreneurs (De Clercq et al., 2013; Klyver and Schenkel, 2013; Newbert and Tornikoski, 2013). Consequently, there have been repeated calls for entrepreneurship research to investigate other types of resources that become available through embeddedness in households (Rodriguez et al., 2009; Steier, 2009). This section reviews research progress in the domain of household capital, its exchange norms and its effects.

While prior research has explored the relationships between individual forms of capital provided by household and family, such as financial and human capital (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998) or financial and social capital (Edelman et al., 2016; Niehm et al., 2008), a broader range of resources is rarely incorporated into empirical analyses (Matzek et al., 2010). Thus, Rodriguez et al. (2009) and Steier (2009) developed the concept of household capital to encourage explorations of the various resources that become accessible to entrepreneurs through embeddedness in households. As household capital represents an extension of the concept of family capital (Danes et al., 2009; Sorenson and Bierman, 2009), this concept is introduced first.

For the purposes of this study, family capital is defined as ‘the human, social, and financial resources that are available to individuals or groups as a result of family affiliation’ (Dyer et al., 2014: 266). Alternatively, it has been conceptualised as a special form of social capital, which is more enduring, intense and readily available than other forms (Hoffman et al., 2006) and it ‘has been more or less equated’ with the concept of ‘familiness’ (Dyer et al., 2014: 267).<sup>6</sup> A few studies have also focused on family human capital (Sirmon and Hitt, 2003) or family financial capital (Harvey and Evans, 1995), leading to a largely disjointed body of research. Thus, it has been suggested that all three forms of capital should be combined in future analyses (Sorenson and Bierman, 2009). Prior research shows that family members continuously draw on and add to the available stock of resources within their family circle (Rodriguez et al., 2009), indicating that levels of family capital are constantly in flux. Danes et al. (2009) also highlight that the value of the resources possessed by the family can be greater than the sum of its individual amounts of capital, as combinations of resources can amplify their overall worth and volume. At the same time, debts of family members, such as educational loans or lawsuit settlements, can reduce the level of family capital, as the liability for their repayment can rest with or fall to other members of the collective (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Edelman et al., 2016).

The concept of family capital is similar to Oughton and Wheelock’s (2003: 7) ‘household endowments’, which encompass the ‘physical and financial assets, human and social capital’ accessible to the household. However, their concept and approach are largely focused on the constraints that derive from limited stocks of capital and the impacts of associated insecurities and risks. This study therefore employs the concept of household capital, which emphasises that access to jointly created and held resources can support firm development (Steier, 2009). By highlighting that resources are not only shared by family members, but also other individuals living within the same household, household capital extends the concept of family capital (Rodriguez et al., 2009). Furthermore, by focusing on household

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<sup>6</sup> Habbershon et al. (1999) introduced the term ‘familiness’ to family business research to describe the unique bundles of resources that are created by involvement of family members in the business and which provide family firms with strategic advantages over other firms.

members only, this approach avoids the inherent difficulties in operationalising the concept of ‘family’ (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Carter et al., 2017).

Household capital represents the financial, human and social capital possessed by the household and accessible to entrepreneurs (Rodriguez et al., 2009; Steier, 2009). Several studies explore the financial resources (i.e. household income, see Petrova, 2012; Reynolds et al., 2004) and associated benefits that become available to entrepreneurs through their households (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Carter, 2011). Importantly, *household financial capital* incorporates not only monetary assets, but also ‘other tangible assets such as the family home as the business office, family vehicles, phones, and computers that may be used to start a new business’ (Dyer et al., 2014: 269). As such, the concept is markedly similar to Bourdieu’s (1986) economic capital. It has been shown that financial means are usually provided by household members without an expectation of repayment, but in exchange for gratitude and love (Arregle et al., 2007; Edelman et al., 2016). Household financial capital therefore creates an invaluable safety-net for entrepreneurs as it acts as a buffer against external shocks (Dyer et al., 2014; Sirmon and Hitt, 2003). If it is not provided for free, accessing this type of capital usually holds lower transaction costs and fewer strings attached than alternative forms of funding (Steier, 2003). However, feelings of indebtedness may still arise and lead entrepreneurs to indirectly pay household members back, such as by taking care of those who are ill or unemployed (Steier, 2009). Danes et al. (2009) argue that small firm owners are particularly likely to draw on the savings of the household to develop their firms, as it is harder for them to acquire funding from external lenders (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Sanders and Nee, 1996). Thus, it has been suggested that this type of support from household and family is the ‘lifblood of new ventures’ and crucial for entrepreneurs (Edelman et al., 2016: 431).

*Household human capital* is another important asset that is available to entrepreneurs (Coleman, 1988; Kotha and George, 2012). It has been interpreted either as the labour that household members are able to provide (Rodriguez et al., 2009) or as the combined abilities, skills and values of cohabitants (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998). This study adopts the latter conceptualisation, as labour in the form of time used to work in the entrepreneurial firm is considered a manifestation of

economic capital. Human capital theory suggests that individuals with considerable skills and specialist knowledge are more likely to achieve entrepreneurial success (Marvel et al., 2016; Shane, 2003), which implies that entrepreneurs who have access to households with larger amounts of human capital (i.e. partners who possess valuable skills) possess a competitive advantage (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Coleman, 1988). As Danes et al. (2009) note, entrepreneurs can develop household human capital by passing on firm-specific knowledge to their partners and children, which, in turn, enables these household members to provide better support to the business. According to Dyer et al. (2014: 267), such processes often involve ‘informal conversations over the dinner table’, watching the entrepreneurs work or helping them, which can lead subsequent generations to adopt the trades and professions of the entrepreneurs (Laspita et al., 2012). At the same time, knowledge of cohabitants can ‘spill over’ to entrepreneurs and expand their horizons (Kim et al., 2013). Given that advice and information provided by family members is considered to be more trustworthy than from other sources (Bird and Wennberg, 2016), such support tends to be highly valued by entrepreneurs.

*Household social capital* can also provide entrepreneurs with considerable advantages (Coleman, 1988; Steier, 2009). It refers to the household’s ‘networks of relationships in which personal and organizational contacts are closely embedded’ (Edelman et al., 2016: 431). Thus, it resides in the relationships between cohabitants and their external networks (Danes et al., 2009) and it can grant entrepreneurs access to discounted or complimentary resources, such as financial or material contributions (Bullough et al., In Press; Edelman et al., 2016). Dyer et al. (2014) argue that, by drawing on the long-term relationships of cohabitants, entrepreneurs can acquire valuable, rare assets, such as technological innovation or insider information, which can provide them with competitive advantage. In other words, entrepreneurs are able to utilise (or ‘borrow’) the strong ties of household members, which would otherwise be unavailable to them or require extended periods of time to develop (Arregle et al., 2007; Khavul et al., 2009). As Edelman et al. (2016) note, access to existing social networks, including supplier and customer contacts of household members, is particularly important for young entrepreneurs, who lack the social connections that can help them achieve entrepreneurial success. However, there is an inherent danger



that extant trust can be damaged during this process if entrepreneurs do not adhere to the norms and values that were established between household members and their external ties (Danes et al., 2009), indicating that successful utilisation of household social capital requires entrepreneurs to access the human capital of cohabitants.

Household capital can therefore provide entrepreneurs with a variety of advantages, including access to resources which are inimitable, readily available and free from (or requiring low) transaction costs (Dyer et al., 2014). Nevertheless, it requires entrepreneurs to abide by norms and expectations set by household members, which need to be taken into consideration. A number of factors can influence access to household capital and reduce the ability of entrepreneurs to acquire its benefits (Dyer et al., 2014; Pearson et al., 2008).

First, resource exchanges rely on trust, which is usually considered to be high within families (Arregle et al., 2007), but can differ between individuals and be affected by negative past experiences, such as breaches of confidence. If portrayals in the media are to be believed, the archetypal entrepreneur is a ‘lone hero’, who is ‘isolated and rather remote from even his closest relatives ... a person under a lot of stress who often upsets [others] by his seemingly “irrational”, impulsive activities’ (Kets de Vries, 1977: 35-36). Such depictions have, of course, been challenged (Drakopoulou Dodd and Anderson, 2007; Nicholson and Anderson, 2005), but if entrepreneurs are to act in this manner, they are unlikely to engender trust and generate support from their household members. Furthermore, it might be expected that levels of trust and the willingness to exchange resources are lower for unrelated cohabitants than for family members living in the same household (Kim et al., 2013; Rodriguez et al., 2009).

Second, extant norms and obligations can reduce the ability of entrepreneurs to draw on the resources of the household. As Stewart (2003: 385) notes, relationships between family members are directed by an order that is ‘at odds with the amoral logic of markets’. Prior research has shown that this order consists of norms which encourage openness, teamwork, egalitarianism, altruism and reciprocity (Arregle et al., 2015; Karra et al., 2006) and thus promote collective actions over self-seeking behaviours (Pearson et al., 2008). However, strong norms which emphasise reciprocity may dictate that entrepreneurs provide help or access to

required resources, preventing them from engaging in entrepreneurial activities (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Prevailing household values may also discourage the use of household financial assets for business purposes (Carter, 2011), necessitating the use of external funding provided at higher costs to entrepreneurs (Carter et al., 2007; Khayesi et al., 2014).

Third, a lack of time spent within the household can reduce the willingness of cohabitants to impart their resources to entrepreneurs (Pearson et al., 2008). Limited interactions with cohabitants can also negatively impact opportunity identification, as it can prevent awareness (and therefore utilisation) of available resources (Carter et al., 2017). In addition, conflicts between household members can temporarily, or even permanently, affect their relationships, which can reduce the willingness of cohabitants to engage in altruistic behaviours and result in inferior resource exchange rates (Miller et al., 2003; Shelton, 2006).

Changes in the composition of the household can also affect access to resources (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Jaskiewicz et al., 2017). On the one hand, alterations such as marriages, adoptions or accommodations of lodgers, can extend the pool of resources available to entrepreneurs (Khavul et al., 2009; Matzek et al., 2010). On the other hand, losses within the household, induced by divorces, deaths or the relocation of children or tenants, can reduce the supply of available resources (Baines et al., 2003; Dyer et al., 2014). As Mwaura and Carter (2015) note, such transitions impact the overall needs of the household and can put emotional strain on entrepreneurs (Shepherd, 2009). Furthermore, household members can choose to withdraw resources in order to use them outside of the business of the entrepreneur. Thus, household capital is not fixed in scale, size and availability (Alsos et al., 2014), but rather fluctuates over time.

It has been also argued that over-reliance on the support of household members can lead entrepreneurs to discount alternative sources of capital and increase the risks of business failure (Dyer, 2006). As Alsos and Carter (2006) note, the resources household members provide may be inferior to those available from external suppliers. By relying on household capital, entrepreneurs may therefore sacrifice some of their competitiveness in terms of product or service quality. Significant reliance on the resources of the household may also result in a lock-in

situation, which can affect performance (Sanders and Nee, 1996). Furthermore, by withdrawing resources from the household, entrepreneurs can put the wellbeing of their families at risk, which in turn can negatively affect their business operations (Carter et al., 2017). In other words, household capital not only provides benefits that can help entrepreneurs develop their firms; it also poses certain risks and incurs costs that entrepreneurs must weigh.

#### ***4.3.3. The Role of Emotions***

In addition to providing financial, human and social capital, household and family members are important sources of emotional support for entrepreneurs (Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998; Renzulli et al., 2000). While prior research has shown that starting and developing businesses are emotional processes (Cardon et al., 2005; Patzelt and Shepherd, 2011; Welppe et al., 2012), the role of emotions has, until recently, been largely overlooked in the field of entrepreneurship (Baron, 2008; Foo, 2011). In response to repeated calls for more dedicated research on the subject (Cardon et al., 2012; Morris et al., 2012; Shepherd, 2015), there has been significant interest in the powerful emotions experienced by entrepreneurs, such as entrepreneurial passion (Biraglia and Kadile, 2017; Cardon et al., 2009; Stenholm and Renko, 2016) and grief from business failure (Byrne and Shepherd, 2015; Cope, 2011; Shepherd, 2003). In comparison, little attention has been afforded to the emotions aroused by others in entrepreneurs (Biniari, 2012; Foo et al., 2009). As Jennings et al. (2015: 114) argue,

many fundamental questions remain ‘sorely in need of study’ ... some of the most important of these enduring questions stem from the field’s historic glamorization of the lone entrepreneur – a preoccupation that is out of step with the increased recognition that much entrepreneurial activity occurs within teams or at least relies upon inputs from other individuals. This preoccupation is reflected in the entrepreneurial emotion literature, as evidenced by the relative preponderance of studies addressing *intra* rather than *interpersonal* questions.

Thus, research on the emotional impacts of household members on entrepreneurs can make valuable contributions to knowledge. While the importance of emotions within families has long been recognised by family business research

(Berrone et al., 2012; Gómez-Mejía et al., 2007; Holt and Popp, 2013; Kellermanns et al., 2012), empirical investigations outside of family-run firms are rare (Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Powell and Eddleston, 2013). Although many studies touch upon this process by acknowledging the emotional support that household members provide to entrepreneurs (cf. Alsos et al., 2014; Danes et al., 2009; Steier, 2009; Stewart, 2003), there has been scant dedicated research on the subject (Arregle et al., 2015; Edelman et al., 2016). Consequently, to analyse and interpret its empirical findings regarding the emotional impact of household members, this study draws on theories from outside the field of entrepreneurship, which are examined in this section. First, the social support perspective is introduced, before research on the work-family balance is reviewed. Subsequently, the concept of psychological capital is presented.

There has been sustained scholarly interest in exploring the effects of mental health in the workplace and its role in preventing stress (Cobb, 1976; Cohen and Wills, 1985; Uchino, 2004). Prior research has shown that embeddedness in social contexts not only causes stress, but also helps alleviate it through the provision of support from social relationships, which can promote well-being and thus reduce health risks (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Social support has been defined as ‘the perception or experience that one is loved, cared for by others, esteemed, valued, and part of a mutually supportive social network’ (Edelman et al., 2016: 430). According to Uchino (2004) social support encompasses both the structures of the social lives of individuals, such as family and work relationships, and the functions served by these structures.

Social support functions are either instrumental (i.e. tangible), such as through the supply of resources and assistance in problem solving (Cohen and Wills, 1985; McIntosh, 1991),<sup>7</sup> or emotional, including through the provision of encouragement, attention and understanding (Adams et al., 1996). Social support can be received in the work domain from coworkers and supervisors (Abbas et al., 2014) and in the family domain from partners, children and other kin (King et al., 1995). The latter context is of primary interest to entrepreneurship research (Arregle et al., 2015; Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998), as it is considered the ‘bread and butter’

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<sup>7</sup> This study employs the concept of household capital instead of instrumental social support, as it facilitates a more nuanced differentiation of the various types of resources that cohabitants provide to entrepreneurs.

source of social support for entrepreneurs (Powell and Eddleston, In Press: 3). Emotional social support in particular has been shown to be common among family members (Renzulli et al., 2000). It can influence how individuals think about events, solve problems and adapt to difficult situations (Uchino, 2004) and thus represents an essential asset for facilitating entrepreneurial success (Edelman et al., 2016; Powell and Eddleston, 2013).

Cohen and Wills (1985) propose that emotional social support helps create a buffer that alleviates or prevents the negative outcomes of stress and has an overall beneficial effect on well-being, irrespective of the stress levels that individuals experience (Taylor, 2011). This argument influenced scholarly debates on the work-family balance, as discussed below. While emotional social support from family members can benefit any working individual, it is particularly important for entrepreneurs (Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998), as many entrepreneurial firms are owned and run by enterprising individuals, who lack the opportunity to exchange empathy and encouragement with coworkers (Powell and Eddleston, In Press). Indeed, the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS, 2016: 2) estimates that ‘76% of [UK] businesses [do] not employ anyone aside from the owner’.

According to Edelman et al. (2016) emotional social support is particularly strong in families with high cohesiveness, meaning that family members have a deep connection and emotional bond with one another (Laspita et al., 2012). High cohesiveness is usually found in families that share strong norms and understandings and it creates a feeling of ‘togetherness’ and solidarity in the pursuit of common goals (Sharma, 2008; Wiklund et al., 2013). In other words, cohesive families are likely to be reliable sources of emotional social support for entrepreneurs. However, risk-adverse families that value stability and salaried employment may not support new venture creation (Arregle et al., 2007), which suggests that high cohesiveness can also impede entrepreneurial efforts should entrepreneurs seek to avoid relational conflicts with relatives who subscribe to such a perspective (Edelman et al., 2016).

Social support theory has generated considerable scholarly interest and debate, most notably concerning the effects on work-family balance (Adams et al., 1996; Greenhaus and Powell, 2006; Livingston, 2014). According to Jennings and McDougald (2007: 747), research on work-family balance represents ‘a rich and

relevant body of literature that remains relatively untapped by entrepreneurship scholars' and has the potential to shed new light on the intertwined relationship between entrepreneurship and family. Research in this domain can generally be classed into one of two competing views. The dominant conflict perspective suggests that the needs of work and family are largely incompatible, causing various problems and tensions (Powell and Eddleston, 2013). Frequently observed issues include strain-based conflicts (e.g. spillovers of stress from one domain into the other), behaviour-based disputes (e.g. clashes between personal and professional conducts) and time-based issues (Boswell and Olson-Buchanan, 2007; Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Shelton, 2006). In contrast, the less espoused enrichment perspective proposes that fulfilling multiple roles can be advantageous for individuals, creating spillovers of positive behaviours, emotions and attitudes between work and family domains (Carlson et al., 2014; Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Gudmunson et al., 2009).

Prior studies have focused on exploring subjective outcomes, such as well-being, and revealed that work-family conflict generally increases stress and reduces satisfaction with family, work or both (Higgins and Duxbury, 1992; Parasuraman et al., 1992). While the majority of studies have examined employment contexts, entrepreneurship research has made similar observations concerning the perceived effects of work-family conflict (Parasuraman et al., 1996). Objectively measurable outcomes include increased absenteeism, decreased work performance and reduced commitment (Graves et al., 2007). A number of strategies have been identified which can be employed to minimise the potential for work-family conflict (Jennings and McDougald, 2007). Couples may adopt (1) a traditional approach, where one partner assumes the responsibilities of the household in a stay-at-home role, (2) a one-career/one-job approach, where one partner's career is prioritised over the other's job, or (3) a dual career approach, which usually necessitates certain concessions, such as postponing or forgoing children, hiring housekeepers and nannies or scaling back either in the work or the home domain. Indeed, it has been argued that those entrepreneurs who employ effective strategies to reduce work-family conflict are better able to achieve business success (Shelton, 2006).

An emerging body of research has begun to focus on the ways in which families enrich the entrepreneurial experience by nurturing work-family balance

(Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Powell and Eddleston, In Press). Originating in role theory (Kahn et al., 1964), enrichment theories explore how ‘experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role’ (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006: 72). Enrichment can transfer from work to family or from family to work, the latter of which is considered to have significantly stronger effects on individuals (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006). This ‘family-to-business enrichment’ perspective has generated interest within entrepreneurship research (Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Powell and Eddleston, In Press), as it is compatible with the family embeddedness perspective (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003), which highlights the importance of family for successful entrepreneurship and proposes that the well-being of entrepreneurs can be enhanced by participation in the family. Similar to the concept of social support (see above), family-to-business enrichment incorporates both instrumental and emotional components (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006). Individuals experience instrumental enrichment when they transfer behaviours and skills gained in the family to the business, whereas emotional enrichment occurs when positive affect (e.g. happiness) is transferred from family to work (Powell and Eddleston, 2013). It has been suggested that emotional enrichment is particularly beneficial for entrepreneurs, as positive affect can stimulate creativity, improve problem-solving abilities and support opportunity identification (Foo et al., 2009; Hayton and Cholakova, 2012).

Prior research suggests that experiences of work-family balance differ for male and female entrepreneurs (Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Powell and Eddleston, 2013). Gender roles which are instilled through socialisation processes over time (cf. Ahl, 2006; Bird and Brush, 2002; Elam, 2008) have been shown to prompt women to start firms in order to gain the flexibility required to fulfil their perceived family responsibilities and achieve better work-family balance (Brush, 1992; DeMartino and Barbato, 2003). In addition, traditional gender roles may encourage female entrepreneurs more than male entrepreneurs to develop positive connections between their work and family roles (Eddleston and Powell, 2012). Female entrepreneurs tend to bear higher family demands, which are rarely reduced following start-up (Cliff, 1998; Jurik, 1998), whereas male entrepreneurs usually find relief from domestic responsibilities upon establishing their ventures (Parasuraman et al., 1996). Accordingly, it has been suggested that female

entrepreneurs adopt different coping strategies than men, often in the form of prioritising home life over work (Jennings and McDougald, 2007). Empirical research in this vein has been limited and findings have not been conclusive (Jennings et al., 2010), but it is anticipated that such strategies would serve to constrain growth of female entrepreneurs' businesses (Shelton, 2006).

Emotional support from family members has been shown to help individuals understand risks, cope with uncertainty (Cohen and Wills, 1985; Cordes and Dougherty, 1993) and overcome exhaustion by improving motivation, confidence and commitment (Baruch-Feldman et al., 2002; Lee and Ashforth, 1996). While these processes have frequently been observed for employees of larger organisations, there is limited understanding of the effects of emotional social support on entrepreneurs (Arregle et al., 2015; Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998). Specifically, little is known about the psychological strengths and capabilities that are developed with the help of household and family members. Thus, to analyse and interpret the experiences of participating entrepreneurs, this study draws on the concept of psychological capital (Luthans and Youssef, 2004; Luthans et al., 2007), which has only recently been introduced to the entrepreneurship literature (cf. Baron et al., 2013; Zou et al., 2016).

Psychological capital was developed as part of a new movement called positive psychology, which redirected the focus of psychological research from fixing the problems of people (i.e. concentrating on the negative) towards making their lives more productive and rewarding by enhancing their extant qualities and strengths (Luthans, 2002; Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Psychological capital was originally conceived to facilitate positive organisational behaviour through proactive management and workplace interventions (Luthans and Youssef, 2004). Luthans et al. (2007: 3) define psychological capital as

an individual's positive psychological state of development that is characterized by: (1) having confidence (self-efficacy) to take on and put in the necessary effort to succeed at challenging tasks; (2) making a positive attribution (optimism) about succeeding now and in the future; (3) persevering toward goals and, when necessary, redirecting paths to goals (hope) in order to succeed; and (4) when beset by problems and adversity, sustaining and bouncing back and even beyond (resiliency) to attain success.



As such, psychological capital represents emotional, cognitive and behavioural resources upon which individuals can draw to respond to challenging circumstances (Avey et al., 2010; Newman et al., 2014b). For example, entrepreneurs who have high levels of *self-efficacy* believe that they can ‘get the job done’ and accomplish what they set out to do (Baron et al., 2013: 747). A number of studies have shown that self-efficacy increases both entrepreneurial intentions and new venture performance (Bullough et al., 2014; Cardon and Kirk, 2015; Forbes, 2005). Similarly, entrepreneurs high in *optimism* think that they will experience favourable conditions and outcomes in most situations (Hmieleski and Baron, 2009). They take credit for their successes and consider setbacks as opportunities rather than failures, allowing them to mitigate potential stresses (Anglin et al., In Press; Dushnitsky, 2010; Ucbasaran et al., 2010). Entrepreneurs who have large amounts of *hope* maintain both short and long term business goals, motivation to achieve these objectives and the ability to envision multiple ways to overcome potential challenges (Snyder et al., 1996), all of which supports business start-up and development (Baron et al., 2013; Hmieleski et al., 2015; Zou et al., 2016). Finally, highly *resilient* entrepreneurs are able to encounter challenging situations, develop means of overcoming them and draw on those experiences to cope with future difficulties (Bullough et al., 2014). Within entrepreneurship research, such capabilities have mainly been explored in the contexts of business failure and dealing with adversity (Byrne and Shepherd, 2015; Cope, 2011; Williams and Shepherd, 2016).

Given that self-efficacy, optimism, hope and resilience all help prevent stress (Abbas et al., 2014; Avey et al., 2010), it may be assumed that strategies employed to maximise these psychological capacities will facilitate achieving work-family balance. Interestingly, this link has not previously been explored in the literature. While self-efficacy, optimism, hope and resilience have individually been explored within the entrepreneurship literature (see above), there is a lack of research incorporating more than one of these psychological assets (Bullough et al., 2014; Newman et al., 2014a). Furthermore, those studies that do employ the concept of psychological capital tend to focus on the experiences of individual entrepreneurs (Baron et al., 2013; Hmieleski et al., 2015; Zou et al., 2016). Consequently, little is known about the effects of collectively developed capacities, such as ‘collective

optimism [which] impacts individual decision making because decisions are frequently made in a social context where individuals are influenced by the views, expectations, and beliefs of others' (Anglin et al., In Press: 2). Accordingly, 'calls have been made to investigate the potential for a collective version of the construct' of psychological capital (Dawkins et al., 2015: 926). Research into the role of household members in developing positive psychological capacities would therefore make value contributions to the literature.

#### **4.4. Embeddedness in Communities**

Entrepreneurs are embedded in and affected by a 'multiplicity of contexts' (Welter, 2011: 168). Prior research has not only explored the influence of embeddedness in families and households, but also in networks (Hite, 2005; Ozdemir et al., 2016; Simsek et al., 2003), places (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006; Korsgaard et al., 2015) and institutions (Battilana, 2006; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Kisfalvi and Maguire, 2011). Among others, it has been shown that embeddedness in these contexts can provide entrepreneurs with access to resources (Batjargal, 2003; Grichnik et al., 2014; Newbert and Tornikoski, 2013), opportunities for collaboration (Coulson, 2012; Kuhn and Galloway, 2015; Sorenson et al., 2008) and valuable information and advice (Gras and Nason, 2015; Johannisson et al., 2002; Shaw et al., 2017). In comparison, there is limited understanding of the effects of embeddedness in communities on entrepreneurs (Martí et al., 2013; McKeever et al., 2015), particularly in those which are not bound by geographic proximity (Piva et al., 2012; Reuber and Fischer, 2011). Thus, this study seeks to advance understanding by exploring *how and why embeddedness in communities affects the practices of entrepreneurs*. This section therefore reviews extant literature on embeddedness theory and on communities and entrepreneurship. Subsequently, it examines research on social value creation, as it was found to be significant for the findings of this study (see Chapter 9).

#### ***4.4.1. Embeddedness Theory***

The term embeddedness was first introduced to the business literature by Polanyi (1944: 46), who proposed that ‘man’s economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships.’ Drawing on this perspective, Granovetter (1985) argues that economic theory has adopted an ‘undersocialised’ approach and that researchers should account for the social contexts in which economic exchanges occur. Rather than being seen as impersonal and strictly rational, transactions in the marketplace should be understood as embedded in ongoing systems of social relations (Uzzi, 1997). Entrepreneurship scholars have echoed this assertion, suggesting that entrepreneurs should be studied within their contexts to better understand their behaviours (Aldrich and Fiol, 1994; Welter, 2011; Zahra et al., 2014). While individual definitions of the term embeddedness vary (for a detailed analysis and comparison, see Vestrum, 2014), there is a general consensus that ‘embeddedness is broadly defined as individuals’ exposure to social relationships that may facilitate or impede economic action’ (Bird and Wennberg, 2016: 690).

Zukin and DiMaggio (1990) were amongst the first to provide a typology to differentiate between four types of embeddedness. First, cognitive embeddedness refers to ‘the regularities of mental processes that limit ... economic reasoning’ (Hess, 2004: 171). Second, cultural embeddedness relates to the shared meanings and beliefs about appropriate behaviours, which direct economic actions (Greenman, 2013). Third, structural embeddedness involves the contextualisation of economic exchanges in interpersonal relationships (i.e. social networks) (Granovetter, 1985). Finally, political embeddedness refers to the impact of social institutions (e.g. tax policies or legal codes) which affect individual behaviours (Kistruck and Beamish, 2010). As Hess (2004) argues, this typology is useful for analytical purposes, but it has contributed to a fuzziness around the concept of embeddedness. Indeed, classifications are becoming increasingly complex (Vestrum, 2014) as additional forms of embeddedness are being identified, such as emotional (Biniari, 2012), placial (Korsgaard et al., 2015) and venture-identity embeddedness (Fisher et al., 2016).

Within the entrepreneurship literature, research has focused on exploring how entrepreneurs become embedded in social structures in order to access opportunities

and resources (Hite, 2005; Jack and Anderson, 2002; Uzzi and Gillespie, 2002). Early studies developed understanding of the importance of *structural embeddedness* (i.e. the position of an entrepreneur in a broader network) by investigating the characteristics of ego-centred networks, including their diversity, density and size (Donckels and Lambrecht, 1995; Dubini and Aldrich, 1991; Simsek et al., 2003). However, results have been mixed, with some studies highlighting the value of closed networks (consisting of dense groups of actors) that engender trust, reciprocity and continuity (Coleman, 1988; Steier and Greenwood, 2000) and others demonstrating the benefits of sparse networks, which are rich in structural holes and thus facilitate the exchange of non-redundant information (Burt, 1992; Zaheer and Soda, 2009). Consequently, there has been a growing recognition that the effects of structural properties of networks are dependent upon context and venture development stage (Batjargal, 2010; Hite and Hesterly, 2001).

Entrepreneurship research has also investigated the role of *relational embeddedness*. According to Hite (2005: 114), ‘ties that enable exchange and influence the firm’s economic choices on the basis of the relationship are relationally embedded’. Within the entrepreneurship literature, there has been considerable debate concerning the importance of weak versus strong ties (Elfring and Hulsink, 2007; Granovetter, 1973; Jack, 2005), which are differentiated by the amount of intimacy, emotional involvement, time and reciprocal services that characterise the tie. As explained in Chapter 1, no consensus has been reached on this subject, as different ties have been shown to be useful for different purposes at different times (Jack, 2010; Rasmussen et al., 2015). Trust (conceptualised as the ‘willingness to be vulnerable’, see De Carolis and Saporito, 2006: 44) plays an important role in these discussions, as it facilitates the exchange of valuable information (Welter and Smallbone, 2006) and eliminates the need for costly, legal contracts (Newbert and Tornikoski, 2013). Embeddedness generates a specific form of trust, called relational trust, which engenders the confident belief that trusted partners (i.e. strong ties) will act beneficially towards one another because they care about each other’s welfare (Jonsson and Lindbergh, 2013). It has been shown that entrepreneurs can develop ‘arm’s length ties’ (i.e. weak ties) into relationally embedded ties by expressing goodwill, earning trust and developing personal relationships over time (Hite, 2005:

132). This process has been found to increase the access to resources for entrepreneurs (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003), particularly to knowledge and financial capital (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Uzzi, 1999).

Indeed, there has been considerable interest in the impact of embeddedness on the abilities of entrepreneurs to access and utilise different resources (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Grichnik et al., 2014). As Steier and Greenwood (2000) point out, the fact that a contact is in possession of a valuable resource does not guarantee the dispensation of that resource to the entrepreneur. Ozdemir et al. (2016) provide a detailed analysis of the implications of structural and relational embeddedness for resource acquisition. They propose that, while relational embeddedness helps create the trust and mutual understanding necessary to facilitate resource exchanges, it requires significant amounts of time and energy to maintain the requisite strong connections. Accordingly, it has been argued that structural embeddedness (in sparse networks) is a cost-effective alternative, as it provides entrepreneurs with links to agents who can act as brokers and character references without requiring significant investments into relationship development (Ahuja et al., 2012; Stam, 2010).

As Aldrich and Zimmer (1986) note, embeddedness not only facilitates, but also impedes entrepreneurial actions. Prior research reveals that embeddedness can turn into a liability when social responsibilities override economic imperatives, which Uzzi (1997: 57) considers a result of 'overembeddedness' (i.e. a state where a group of people is connected through a dense network of intensive relationships, which leads them to avoid building new connections with outsiders). For instance, friendships and social obligations can lead entrepreneurs to distribute and share resources that they should instead use to develop their own ventures (Khayesi et al., 2014; Stewart, 2003). In addition, being 'trapped-in-one's-own-net' (Lechner and Leyronas, 2009: 658) by overly relying on existing strong ties can restrict the abilities of entrepreneurs to exploit new opportunities and grow their businesses (Gargiulo and Benassi, 2000). Furthermore, the ability of entrepreneurs to influence groups (by themselves) was found to be limited (Lechner and Leyronas, 2009), highlighting the interdependency of embedded agents (Anderson et al., 2007; Chell and Baines, 2000). Despite these advances in understanding, there have been calls for research to further explore the ways in which embeddedness can inhibit

entrepreneurial actions (Battilana, 2006; Kilduff and Brass, 2010) and how entrepreneurs respond to the constraints that result from embeddedness (Maurer and Ebers, 2006).

#### ***4.4.2. Communities and Entrepreneurship***

As explained above, extant research has focused on exploring the structural and relational embeddedness of entrepreneurs (Jack, 2010; Slotte-Kock and Coviello, 2010). Thus, considerable knowledge has been developed regarding the ways in which certain network characteristics (i.e. structures and tie strengths) either enable or impede entrepreneurial processes (Aarstad et al., 2010; Jack et al., 2010; Ozcan and Eisenhardt, 2009). However, while Granovetter's (1985: 487) embeddedness in 'concrete, ongoing systems of social relations' is usually interpreted as embeddedness in networks (Kilduff and Brass, 2010; Simsek et al., 2003; Uzzi, 1996), it can also refer to other contexts, such as families (see above), regions (Kalantaridis and Bika, 2006) and cultures (Greenman, 2013). Of particular interest to this section is embeddedness in communities (McKeever et al., 2015; Vershinina et al., 2011), which has received limited attention within the entrepreneurship literature (Jennings et al., 2013). As Hindle (2010: 600) notes, 'different communities, at different times, will affect different entrepreneurial actors and processes in different ways', indicating that research findings are not readily generalisable across communities. There have therefore been calls for research to explore a wider variety of community contexts in order to extend knowledge of their influences on entrepreneurs (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004; Parkinson et al., 2017).

Martí et al. (2013: 13) criticise existing studies for tending 'to reduce communities to geographical arenas', such as local communities (Johannisson, 1986; Mair et al., 2012) and regional clusters (Aldrich and Kim, 2007; Tan et al., 2013). This spatial focus is due to the prevailing conceptualisation of communities as geographically bound groups of people (Jennings et al., 2013). Consequently, there is limited knowledge of the impact of embeddedness in virtual (Morse et al., 2007; Piva et al., 2012) and common interest communities (Biraglia and Kadile, 2017; Reuber and Fischer, 2011) on entrepreneurs, despite their increasing prevalence in the modern age (Smith et al., 2017). In order to account for these contexts, including

craft communities, this study employs the definition of Marquis, Lounsbury and Greenwood (2011: xvi):

Communities are collections of actors whose membership in the collective provides social and cultural resources that shape their action. Membership can result from a number of factors including propinquity, interest in a common goal, or common identity.

This approach incorporates communities which share interests other than economic gain, such as a passion for crafts (Biraglia and Kadile, 2017), and whose members do not necessarily reside in close proximity to each other. Furthermore, though this research does not limit itself to discussing only social and cultural capital, this conceptualisation takes into account such resources becoming available through membership in a community.

Research has demonstrated that embeddedness in communities allows entrepreneurs to access local resources (Besser et al., 2006). Based on a conceptual discussion of regional communities, Hindle (2010: 600) differentiates between the physical resources (e.g. land and infrastructure), human capital (i.e. skills embodied in the local labour force) and social capital (e.g. network contacts) that communities provide to entrepreneurs. In addition, Ring et al. (2010) propose that ‘smaller communities ... may offer a multitude of resources such as volunteer labor, access to ... donated equipment, technical information, and advice that may make very significant contributions to ... new enterprise[s]’. However, most of these scholarly discussions are theoretical in nature and there are only a limited number of empirical studies which focus on the provision and sharing of resources within communities.

Such studies have shown that embeddedness in local communities grants entrepreneurs access to financial support (Khavul et al., 2013) and provides them with contacts, knowledge and advice (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Zhang et al., 2016). Furthermore, they highlight the willingness of community members ‘to share information about new techniques, suppliers, customers [and] technology’ (Miller et al., 2007: 653). Indeed, this type of knowledge exchange has also been observed in virtual communities (Kuhn and Galloway, 2015), where posted information (e.g. on blogs or forums) becomes available to a broad range of users (O'Mahony, 2003). In

comparison, there is scant empirical evidence of other resources that community members exchange with each other (Vershina et al., 2011).

Prior research has shown that entrepreneurial activities can help develop local communities (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004; Maclean et al., 2013) and that communities can, in turn, ‘rally around and support entrepreneurial ventures to the benefit of the local areas’ (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 574). The relationship between communities and established entrepreneurs has been described as one of ‘reciprocity, mutuality and common purpose’ (McKeever et al., 2015: 61), which relies on the fairness and trust of community members (Miller et al., 2007; O'Mahony, 2003). As Greenman (2013) argues, the commitment to shared values and reciprocities leads to the creation of community boundaries, which can result in the exclusion of outsiders (Martí et al., 2013) despite the efforts of policy makers to promote openness (Lee et al., 2011; McKeever et al., 2014). By developing standard patterns of interaction, communities act as protective shelters which enable community members to distinguish themselves from others (Martí et al., 2013).

Entrepreneurs who seek to join such communities must learn accepted norms in order to ‘fit in’ (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009b). According to Lave and Wenger (1991), individuals can acquire understanding of the nature and identity of a community by participating in its shared practices.<sup>8</sup> Thus, they argue that it is through a process of situated, collective learning and practice-based apprenticeships that newcomers can become ‘practice masters’ and ‘legitimizers of practice’ within communities (McLeod et al., 2011: 116) – activities which entrepreneurs in craft industries have been shown to pursue (Slavich and Castellucci, 2016). Furthermore, institutional theorists (Bruton et al., 2010) have suggested that ‘community’ represents an institutional logic (i.e. a set of ‘material practices and symbolic constructions’ which constitute the organising principles of a society, see Friedland and Alford, 1991: 248), which ‘competes with or compliments the governance systems of other orders of the interinstitutional system’ (Thornton et al., 2012: 71). However, as this perspective suggests that different communities act in similar ways

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<sup>8</sup> Lave and Wenger (1991) formulated a dedicated theory called ‘communities of practice’ (for detailed reviews, see Omidvar and Kislov, 2014; Pyrko et al., 2017). Mutch (2003: 396) highlights the contradictions and ‘tension between this perspective and Bourdieu’s’ (e.g. in relation to the different uses of such concepts as practice and habitus), which is why this study does not draw on this theory in order to avoid potential misinterpretations.



(Barth et al., 2015; Marquis et al., 2011), it contrasts with the context-focused approach adopted by this study and was therefore not selected as a conceptual lens through which to explore the experiences of participants.

Importantly, becoming embedded in a community does not only facilitate value creation (Di Domenico et al., 2009; Korsgaard and Anderson, 2011) and opportunity discovery and exploitation (Khavul et al., 2013; Vershinina et al., 2011); it can also inhibit entrepreneurial efforts (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004; Parkinson et al., 2017). As Hindle (2010) notes, strict governance mechanisms (i.e. processes by which communities are directed, controlled and held accountable) and certain institutional arrangements can limit the entrepreneurial potential within communities (see, O'Mahony and Ferraro, 2007). Furthermore, Jack and Anderson (2002) emphasise that social and moral obligations can constrain entrepreneurial processes, such as when business relationships deteriorate because entrepreneurs fail to meet the expectations of community members. Accordingly, it has been shown that violations of community norms can be punished through the exclusion of non-conforming parties from necessary resources and support (Maurer and Ebers, 2006). Thus, communities have been described as 'apolitical spheres which develop unconditional acceptance of prevalent structures of power' (Martí et al., 2013: 11) that discourage open forms of protest and can hinder entrepreneurial efforts. In addition, it has been shown that the need to develop trust and durable connections with community members increases the risk of overembeddedness (due to the isolation from outsiders) and reduces the incoming flow of novel information required to facilitate innovation (Burt, 1992; Uzzi, 1997).

Interestingly, it has been argued that virtual communities are spared from some issues which affect local communities (Fowler et al., 2004). Virtual embeddedness (defined as 'the establishment of interorganizational connections through the use of electronic technology', see Morse et al., 2007: 142) connects entrepreneurs with people from all over the world (Kuhn and Galloway, 2015; Smith et al., 2017) and enables the sharing and archiving of expert knowledge by various contributors (Fowler et al., 2004) who often come from different backgrounds and are therefore able to add unique perspectives (von Krogh et al., 2003). While local communities may achieve information richness, they usually lack substantial reach –

an issue that virtual communities rarely face due to their global connections (Morse et al., 2007). In addition, the ability to provide and receive online reviews and rankings (Clemons et al., 2006), which are available to community members at any time and do not require personal connections between them (Füller et al., 2008), can help entrepreneurs engender trust in their products and signal positive reputation (Reuber and Fischer, 2011). Embeddedness in virtual communities also allows entrepreneurs to become ‘instant internationals’ and stay connected with customers from around the globe, which has been shown to help craft entrepreneurs who might otherwise struggle to find collectors (Fillis, 2004). Despite these recognised advantages and the increasing engagement of entrepreneurs in online communities (Fischer and Reuber, 2014; Piva et al., 2012), research has not paid adequate attention to embeddedness in virtual contexts (Cumming and Johan, 2010; Morse et al., 2007). Specifically, there is a need for empirical studies into the online context because it ‘is so different that offline research findings may not apply’ (Smith et al., 2017: 22). Thus, dedicated analysis of virtual communities is both timely and warranted (O'Mahony and Ferraro, 2007).

#### ***4.4.3. Social Value Creation***

One catalyst for the emerging interest in embeddedness in communities and its effects on entrepreneurial behaviours (Hindle, 2010; Jennings et al., 2013) is the realisation that ‘enterprising people [develop] small-scale and simple collaborative solutions to address the social needs that exist in their local communities’ (Zahra et al., 2009: 525). While, historically, ‘there has been a strong tendency to see the value being created in entrepreneurship processes as solely economic’ (Korsgaard and Anderson, 2011: 135), scholars have become more aware of the social value that is created by entrepreneurs who are embedded in and affected by their communities (McKeever et al., 2015; Vestrum, 2014). Similarly, there is an increasing recognition that the concept of growth, which is an important part of entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1942) and typically understood to refer to economic expansion (Audretsch et al., 2006; Shane et al., 2003), should incorporate social and community growth (Haugh, 2007; Niehm et al., 2008), both of which play significant roles in the advancement of society (Zahra and Wright, 2016). Consequently, there

has been growing interest in exploring the social value and social wealth creation of entrepreneurs (Chell et al., 2010; Dacin et al., 2011; Mair and Martí, 2006).

The most notable advances in understanding of social value creation have been achieved within the field of social entrepreneurship (Bacq and Janssen, 2011; Short et al., 2009; Zahra et al., 2009). While there is no single agreed upon definition of what social entrepreneurship entails (Nicholls, 2010; Shaw and de Bruin, 2013), scholars generally understand the driving motivation of social entrepreneurs to be the desire to create social value (Dacin et al., 2010; Nicolopoulou, 2014). As Peredo and McLean (2006: 59) propose, ‘the social entrepreneur aims in some way to increase “social value,” i.e. to contribute to the welfare or well being in a given human community’. Within entrepreneurship research, there is a growing recognition that the lines between social and commercial activities are often blurred (Austin et al., 2006; Pache and Santos, 2013) and that businesses adopt ‘hybrid’ organisational forms (Battilana and Lee, 2014; McMullen and Warnick, 2016), which combine ‘value systems ... and agendas that traditionally were seen as incompatible’ (Markman et al., 2016: 676). Accordingly, scholars are becoming increasingly aware of the various co-existing motivations which can drive entrepreneurs (other than economic gain, see Jayawarna et al., 2013; Rindova et al., 2009). Furthermore, it is more widely appreciated that entrepreneurs may engage in social value creation, but not consider it their first and foremost goal (Dacin et al., 2010; Wry and York, 2017). As shown in the analysis of findings (see Chapter 9), this study will therefore argue that craft entrepreneurs engage in a form of social entrepreneurship.

Compassion and personal conviction are usually understood to be main causes of an entrepreneur’s desire to create social value (Grimes et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2012). However, recent studies have shown that context-related factors can also encourage social entrepreneurial activities (Tapsell and Woods, 2010), particularly in the aftermath of disaster (Lewis, 2013; Williams and Shepherd, 2016). As Smith and Stevens (2010: 583) argue, ‘relatively little attention has focused on how and why an embeddedness perspective may be useful in the domain of social entrepreneurship’. Consequently, there have been repeated calls for research to investigate the effects of embeddedness in ‘the heterogeneous contexts in which social enterprise and social innovation can occur’ (Shaw and de Bruin, 2013: 742).

Prior research has explored the impact of embeddedness in social networks (Kistruck and Beamish, 2010; Ko and Liu, 2015; Shaw and Carter, 2007) and institutional contexts on social entrepreneurs (Barth et al., 2015; Pache and Santos, 2013; Tracey et al., 2011). In comparison, little is known about the effects of embeddedness in communities on social entrepreneurial practices (Maclean et al., 2013; Peredo and Chrisman, 2006). Specifically, there is limited understanding of how and why social and moral obligations within communities may compel entrepreneurs to adopt socially oriented business practices. As De Clercq and Honig (2011: 354) argue, ‘social entrepreneurship [is] a phenomenon that is intrinsically intertwined with the very fabric of contemporary society ... [and] linked with the need to both comply with and challenge existing expectations.’ Thus, it has been suggested that further research into social norms and their influences on social entrepreneurial activity is needed (Di Domenico et al., 2009; Mair et al., 2012).

As outlined above (see also Chapter 3), there has been sustained academic interest in exploring how entrepreneurs gain legitimacy (Fisher et al., 2016; Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Stringfellow et al., 2014) by achieving a balance of ‘fitting in’ (i.e. conformity) with dominant norms, as well as ‘standing out’ (i.e. distinctiveness) as acceptably deviant innovators (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Based on a review of the extant literature, Suddaby et al. (2017) differentiate between three main strategies used to signal *conformity*. First, existing pressures and uncertainties can lead entrepreneurial firms to adapt their characteristics and practices to meet prevailing standards, regulations and norms (Glynn and Abzug, 2002) and thus partake in isomorphism (defined as ‘a constraining process in which organizations in a population resemble one another when they face the same environmental conditions’, see Tan et al., 2013: 84). Second, firms may choose to engage in ‘decoupling’ by superficially conforming to normatively mandated business practices (e.g. by aligning their hiring and organisational policies, see Choi and Gray, 2008), while actually conducting activities which are closer aligned with the core functions and goals of their businesses (a closely related concept is ‘selective coupling’, see Pache and Santos, 2013). Third, entrepreneurs may gain acceptance of their innovations from audiences and stakeholders by integrating novel (or superior) ideas with existing designs and approaches (Slavich and Castellucci, 2016).

While displaying conformity can provide entrepreneurs with certain benefits, such as resource acquisition (Djupdal and Westhead, 2015; Fisher et al., 2016) and approval from customers and critics (Beverland, 2005; Voronov et al., 2013), it has been shown that there are also advantages to acquiring and demonstrating a degree of *distinctiveness* (Drakopoulou Dodd, 2014; Überbacher et al., 2015). For example, by creating products or services that are valuable, rare, inimitable and nonsubstitutable (Alvarez and Busenitz, 2001; Barney, 1991) and by staking out a unique position in the marketplace (Porter, 1996), entrepreneurs can gain valuable competitive advantage (Brush et al., 2001; Kellermanns et al., 2016). Scholars have developed three concepts that focus on the achievement of distinctiveness. First, ‘legitimate distinctiveness’ ensues from a firm associating itself with a certain category of organisations (Navis and Glynn, 2011), while simultaneously highlighting its differences from extant rivals (van Werven et al., 2015). Second, ‘contextual distinctiveness’ is attained by distinguishing a firm from organisations in the same basic category through membership in a specific subcategory (Gehman and Grimes, In Press). Third, ‘optimal distinctiveness’ (Alvarez et al., 2005; Zhao et al., 2017) is achieved by positioning a firm ‘as different[ly] as legitimately possible’ (Deephouse, 1999: 147) from its competitors.

As van Werven et al. (2015) note, in practice, it can be difficult for entrepreneurs to achieve a balance between conformity and distinctiveness. Furthermore, while there is an abundance of conceptual research on the subject (Deephouse, 1999; Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Navis and Glynn, 2011; Zhao et al., 2017), empirical studies are comparatively rare (Stringfellow et al., 2014; Voronov et al., 2013). Thus, there is a need for research to empirically explore the ways in which entrepreneurs decide how to fit in or stand out in different contexts (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2011). Given that the strategies and approaches developed through theoretical analyses are not context-specific, it might be expected that they will not apply to all communities.

As Downing (2005) points out, ‘entrepreneurship, like the rest of social life, is a collaborative social achievement’. Accordingly, it has been suggested that collaboration between organisations has the potential to increase their positive impacts on society (Austin et al., 2006; Di Domenico et al., 2009). As Pearce and

Doh (2005: 32) note, 'each partner [venture] benefits when the other brings resources, capabilities or other assets that it cannot easily attain on its own.' Consequently, there have been repeated calls for research to investigate how collaboration among entrepreneurs facilitates the creation of social value (Daskalaki et al., 2015; Zahra et al., 2009). Within the social entrepreneurship literature, community-based enterprise has been identified as a distinct form of collaboration which seeks to create social wealth (Short et al., 2009; Vestrum, 2014). Community-based enterprises are conceptualised as communities of people who act corporately as both entrepreneurs and enterprises in order to provide sustainable benefits to individuals and groups (Peredo and Chrisman, 2006). They are typically registered as not-for-profit businesses and emerge in rural or disadvantaged areas to revitalise local communities (Haugh, 2007; Vestrum et al., In Press). As a result of their non-profit status, the economic value that community enterprises create rarely covers the costs of the resources they use, requiring them to rely on reciprocity and non-economic exchanges to continue their operations over time (Shaw and Carter, 2007). As such, the sharing of resources within communities has been shown to play an important role in supporting local development and social entrepreneurial efforts (Dana and Light, 2011; Morris et al., 2011).

Indeed, collaboration and resource sharing has been found to facilitate social value creation, not only for community enterprises, but also for individual entrepreneurs (Barth et al., 2015; Ko and Liu, 2015). According to Smith and Stevens (2010), a common exchange between entrepreneurs 'consists of the provision of various forms of capital for the creation of social value'. However, the particular resources that entrepreneurs exchange to facilitate these processes are not well understood (Barth et al., 2015). Di Domenico et al. (2009: 888) propose that social entrepreneurs may draw on the 'local knowledge, social capital and social legitimacy' of their partners. Furthermore, collaboration among social entrepreneurs has been found to grant access to financial support (Maclean et al., 2013) and tacit knowledge (Chalmers and Balan-Vnuk, 2013). As entrepreneurship research has mainly focused on exploring the commercial benefits that derive from business collaboration (cf. Larson, 1991; Maurer and Ebers, 2006; Sorenson et al., 2008), further research is required to gain a better understanding of the collaboration and resource sharing practices that entrepreneurs employ to create social value.

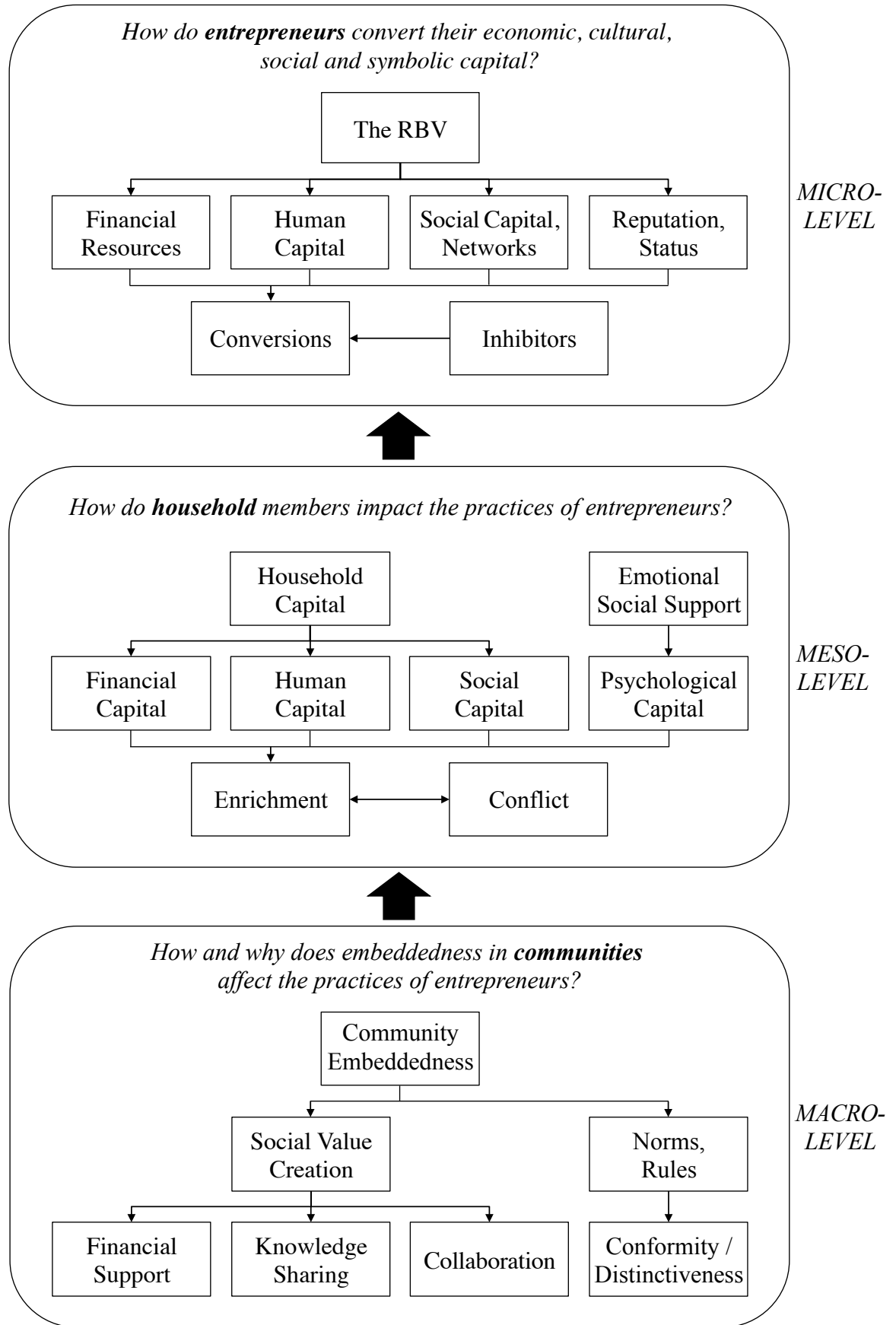
## 4.5. Conclusion

This chapter examined entrepreneurship research on resource and capital management, households and families, and embeddedness in communities. As shown in Figure 4.1, this chapter brought together a diverse range of literature upon which this study draws in order to link its findings to contemporary scholarly debates. This review of the literature revealed a number of enduring gaps in understanding, which are summarised below.

On the subject of resource and capital management, this chapter demonstrated that, while it has long been established that access to resources is essential for entrepreneurial success, comparatively little is known about the ways in which entrepreneurs combine and convert their available forms of capital. The importance of economic capital, in the form of financial assets, is taken-for-granted and a multitude of studies explore how entrepreneurs can gain access to financing. In comparison, few studies investigate the ways in which entrepreneurs employ various types of tangible and intangible economic assets to augment their other resources. Similarly, there has been sustained interest in the effects of human and social capital on entrepreneurs, but further empirical research into their convertibility is required. Prior research also highlights the benefits of reputation and status for entrepreneurial activities, but understanding of what entrepreneurs actually do to acquire these types of symbolic capital is limited. Furthermore, the existing body of capital-related research is disjointed, using various, sometimes conflicting, definitions of key terms, and the majority of studies examine only one or two forms of capital. This study therefore seeks to extend knowledge by exploring *how entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital*.

Regarding entrepreneurship research on households and families, this chapter revealed that business and private spheres are often blurred for entrepreneurs. While entrepreneurship research has included households in empirical analyses, they are mainly utilised as sources of data for measuring the activities of entrepreneurs, rather than as subjects of research in their own right. It has been argued that access to the resources of household and family members can help entrepreneurs overcome resource scarcity and thus facilitate venture start up and development. However,

**Figure 4.1.** Overview of Relevant Entrepreneurship Theories





prior studies have primarily focused on the effects of household financial capital on entrepreneurial activities, rather than incorporating a wider range of resources into their investigations. Accordingly, the concept of household capital was developed to encourage explorations of the financial, human and social capital of cohabitants and their effects on entrepreneurs. It has been acknowledged that household and family members can also serve as valuable sources of emotional support, but this has rarely been explored by entrepreneurship research. Instead, there is a tendency to employ a conflict perspective and consider business and family as ‘rivals’. Thus, this study seeks to adopt a more broad-minded approach and account for both positive and negative effects by investigating *how household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs*.

On the subject of embeddedness in communities, this chapter revealed that entrepreneurship research has focused on exploring the structural and relational embeddedness of entrepreneurs (i.e. network-related characteristics). In comparison, limited attention has been afforded to communities, especially virtual and common interest communities, and their impacts on entrepreneurs. Prior studies have shown that embeddedness in communities can provide entrepreneurs with access to resources, such as financial support and knowledge, but there is lack of empirical research on the subject. Furthermore, there is a growing recognition of the social value that can be created by entrepreneurs as a result of community interaction. However, there is limited understanding of the ways in which social and moral obligations within communities may compel entrepreneurs to adopt socially oriented business practices. Prior research suggests that entrepreneurs modify their behaviours to fit in with prevailing norms and meet the expectations of community members, but empirical research of these practices is rare. Accordingly, this study seeks to address these gaps and advance knowledge by exploring *how and why embeddedness in communities affects the practices of entrepreneurs*.

Overall, this chapter provided a detailed analysis of research progress on the capital management of entrepreneurs, as well as the effects of embeddedness in households and communities on their practices. The following chapter presents an in-depth review of the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of this study and discusses the adopted data collection and analysis techniques.

## CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODS

### 5.1. Introduction

Empirical research should adopt a philosophical position and a methodological approach that facilitates its objectives (Gartner and Birley, 2002; Jennings et al., 2005). The overarching goal of this study is to *develop a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs* which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs' resource management practices. As this study deals with 'soft issues, which are not amenable to quantification' (Jack and Anderson, 2002: 473), it will not attempt to measure the experiences of participants or address research questions of 'how many'. Rather, it seeks to gain an understanding of 'how and why' people live their lives the way they do (McKeever et al., 2015; Pratt, 2009) by investigating the subjective views of participants.

Consequently, this study adopts a phenomenological approach (Conklin, 2007; Smith et al., 2009). As Berglund (2007) explains, phenomenological research explores the meanings that participants attribute to their lived experiences in order to gain in-depth knowledge of their personal and social worlds. Inherently qualitative in nature, phenomenological studies generate theory inductively, from the 'bottom-up', through analyses of individual experiences (Cope, 2005). Given that phenomenological approaches are comparatively rare in entrepreneurship research (Grant and Perren, 2002; Hlady-Rispal and Jouison-Laffitte, 2014), the purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to introduce and discuss phenomenological research and its underlying assumptions and (2) to present the specific research approach adopted in this study. This chapter is structured as follows. It first explores philosophical assumptions of phenomenological research, before the research aim and objectives are recounted. Next, the research design is explained, followed by a discussion of the data collection and analysis. Finally, methodological reflections are provided and conclusions are drawn. This chapter demonstrates the rigorous process used to gather and analyse the data presented in the findings chapters (Chapters 7-9).

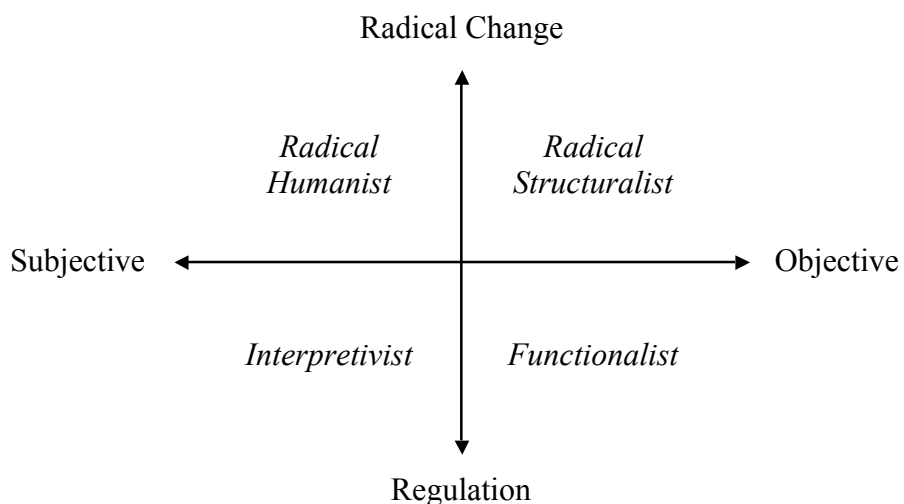
## 5.2. Philosophical Assumptions

Whether implicitly or explicitly, scholars base their research on ‘philosophical assumptions regarding ontology, epistemology, and human nature, which have methodological consequences’ (Jennings et al., 2005: 145). It is important to acknowledge and discuss these underlying assumptions, as they generate different philosophical research paradigms which represent fundamentally different approaches to interpreting and analysing social phenomena. Accordingly, this section first examines major research paradigms and explains the differences between their perspectives, before reviewing phenomenological approaches and considering associated paradigmatic concerns.

### 5.2.1. Philosophical Research Paradigms

Kuhn (1962) introduced the term ‘paradigm’ to scientific inquiry as a means of describing the philosophical assumptions and practices that dominate a research field. Within the social sciences in general and entrepreneurship research in particular, Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) paradigmatic taxonomy (see Figure 5.1) is commonly applied to position research along two continuums: subjective-objective and radical change-regulation (Howorth et al., 2005; Pittaway, 2005).

**Figure 5.1.** Burrell and Morgan's (1979) Paradigmatic Framework



Adapted from Grant and Perren (2002: 187)

As shown in Table 5.1, Burrell and Morgan (1979) identify several philosophical assumptions that underlie the subjective-objective dimension. First, on an ontological level, they distinguish between scholars who consider reality a socially constructed product of the mind (nominalism) and those who view it as an objective entity (realism). Second, with respect to epistemology, Burrell and Morgan (1979) differentiate between researchers who recognise that all observations are value-laden (anti-positivism) and those who aim to accumulate knowledge through neutral observations (positivism). Third, in relation to human nature, actions can be interpreted as directed by either the free will of an individual (voluntarism) or the environment (determinism). Fourth, concerning methodologies, scholars either deploy methods that reveal the internal logics guiding human behaviours (ideographic) or derive their methods from the natural sciences (nomothetic) (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Burrell and Morgan (1979) propose that radical humanists and interpretivists adopt a subjective perspective, while radical structuralists and functionalists take an objective stance.

**Table 5.1.** Subjective-Objective Dimension of the Paradigmatic Framework

	<b>Subjective</b>	<b>Objective</b>
Ontology:	Nominalism	Realism
Epistemology:	Anti-positivism	Positivism
Human Nature:	Voluntarism	Determinism
Methodology:	Ideographic	Nomothetic

Importantly, scholars also hold differing views regarding the nature of society, represented by the radical change and regulation dimensions of this paradigmatic framework (see Figure 5.1). Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest that researchers interested in radical change explore ‘structural conflict, modes of domination, contradictions, emancipation, deprivation and potentiality’ (Grant and Perren, 2002: 188). In comparison, those who investigate how society is regulated are concerned with the ‘status quo, social order, consensus, social cohesion, solidarity, individual or system needs satisfaction, and actuality’ (Jennings et al., 2005: 145). Importantly, the latter perspective also accounts for conflict, but it

considers it to be a temporary aberration. It has been shown that most research in the social sciences adopts a regulation-focused approach and is positioned either in the interpretivist or functionalist paradigm (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

As might be expected, Burrell and Morgan's (1979) framework has been criticised for a number of reasons (for an in-depth discussion, see Deetz, 1996). Within the entrepreneurship literature, Pittaway (2005) examines prevailing debates, including questions of whether paradigms should unify fields of study and whether they over-simplify complex philosophical positions. Another frequently mentioned criticism of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) work is the theme of incommensurability: they argue that paradigms are mutually exclusive and their boundaries immutable. Scholars who disagree with the proposition that paradigms develop independently have devised models that allow for paradigm communication (Aram and Salipante, 2003; Watkins-Mathys and Lowe, 2005) and multiple-paradigm research (Howorth et al., 2005). Despite these criticisms and alternative approaches, paradigms are useful tools for exploring the dominant philosophical orientation within a field of research (Grant and Perren, 2002). As this study is firmly set within the interpretivist paradigm, it elects to draw upon Burrell and Morgan's (1979) perspective.

Kuhn (1962) argues that research fields go through prolonged periods of 'normal science', during which an established paradigm prevails, interrupted by episodes of 'revolutionary science', during which an alternative paradigm challenges and eventually supersedes previous conventions. Unlike the natural sciences, which have largely adopted the functionalist paradigm, Kuhn (1962) considered the social (or human) sciences a pre-paradigmatic field. As Kenworthy and McMullan (2013) note, there is some debate whether this belief still holds true, but many scholars agree that some fields of social science, including entrepreneurship research, have yet to establish distinctive boundaries and legitimate methods and are therefore 'pre-paradigmatic' (Busenitz et al., 2003; Maclean et al., 2015; Nicholls, 2010). However, opinions differ as to whether it is beneficial to agree on a single paradigm in an 'applied discipline', such as entrepreneurship research, which focuses on exploring the issues of practitioners (Pittaway, 2005).

Indeed, there have been repeated calls for entrepreneurship research to embrace greater paradigmatic and methodological diversity (Karataş-Özkan et al.,

2014; Shepherd, 2015; Welter et al., 2017), ‘to enable debate, friction, creativity and ultimately new theories and understandings’ (Grant and Perren, 2002: 202). Given that the majority of entrepreneurship studies are functionalist in orientation (Grant and Perren, 2002; Hlady-Rispal and Jouison-Laffitte, 2014) and ‘overly reliant on quantitative methods and positivist thinking’ (Suddaby et al., 2015: 2), this study contributes to the paradigmatic diversity of the field by adopting an interpretivist stance.

### ***5.2.2. Phenomenological Approaches***

This study adopts a phenomenological approach, which is firmly set within the interpretivist paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), because (1) it rejects the ontological separation of reality and consciousness and instead asserts that reality is a product of the mind (nominalism); (2) it appreciates that all observation is value-laden (anti-positivism); (3) it believes that human actions are not pre-determined, but a product of human will (voluntarism); and (4) it seeks to uncover the internal logics that drive individual practices by accessing cultures (ideographic methodology) (Aram and Salipante, 2003).

Phenomenological research has a long tradition, most notably perpetuated by German philosophers Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and his student Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) (Sanders, 1982). Phenomenology literally means ‘the study or description of phenomena as experienced by people’ (Lewis, 2015: 667). Accordingly, phenomenological studies aim to portray the essences of experiences (phenomena) that cannot be revealed through ordinary observation and to uncover their underlying foundations and meanings (Cope, 2005). In a phenomenological sense, things do not exist in themselves, but in the meanings that people attach to them (Berglund, 2007). This does not, of course, mean that phenomenologists reject the notion of a material world, but rather that the world is understood and interpreted through the meanings that individuals develop through their experiences (Conklin, 2012). In other words, while objects, such as craft items, may exist as concrete entities, it is through interactions with and interpretations of these objects that reality is created. Phenomenological research is therefore particularly useful for exploring

‘what meaningful experiences and strategies are associated with different situations’ (Berglund, 2007: 76), such as exchanging resources or developing a craft business.

As shown in Table 5.2, a number of entrepreneurship studies have adopted phenomenological and interpretivist approaches. Apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Kisfalvi, 2002), most of these studies were published following Cope’s (2005) seminal article, which first advocated the use of phenomenological perspectives in entrepreneurship research and established methods for its implementation. This table highlights the range of subjects that can be investigated using phenomenological approaches, from networking and embeddedness to entrepreneurial leadership and learning. Accordingly, the findings of these studies are broad and provide insights into such varied topics as the ways in which knowledge is shared between business partners and how and why entrepreneurs adopt certain strategic behaviours.

Interestingly, theoretical articles, which largely examine knowledge creation, still incorporate empirical elements in their explanations of conceptual ideas (a notable exception is Sanders, 1982). As might be expected, all empirical studies that adopt a phenomenological perspective are qualitative in nature and perform in-depth analyses of the subjective experiences of participants. Notably, some entrepreneurship studies are not based in the interpretivist paradigm, but still adopt phenomenological interview techniques (e.g. McKeever et al., 2015; Spivack et al., 2014), which highlights that ‘qualitative methodologies and analytical procedures are not ... mutually exclusive’ (Cope, 2005: 172). Finally, phenomenological studies have been conducted across the world, although the UK and USA appear to be particularly popular contexts.

### ***5.2.3. Paradigmatic Concerns***

There are several underlying paradigmatic issues associated with phenomenological research which require further exploration. Cope (2005) suggests that the presuppositionless philosophy and the concept of the lived-world are in need of explanation, because they are antithetical to prevailing functionalist assumptions. Thus, this section examines these aspects before addressing Bourdieu’s criticisms of phenomenology.

**Table 5.2.** Phenomenological and Interpretivist Entrepreneurship Research

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Key Finding</b>	<b>Main Method</b>	<b>Country</b>
Embeddedness	McKeever et al. (2015)*	Social bonds enable entrepreneurship to create a positive identity of place.	Qualitative	Ireland
	Shaw et al. (2017)	Embedding a firm in its industrial context is an emergent, evolving process.	Qualitative	UK
Internationalisation	Lamb et al. (2011)	Phenomenography enables investigations of collective understandings.	Qualitative	Australia
Knowledge Creation	Conklin (2007)†	Doubt and reflective inquiry facilitate deeper understanding of phenomena.	Theoretical	USA
	Leitch et al. (2010)	Quality must be internalised within the underlying research philosophy.	Theoretical	UK
	Sandberg (2005)†	Epochés help demonstrate the validity and reliability of interpretive studies.	Theoretical	Sweden
	Sandberg & Dall'Alba (2009)†	Adopting a life-world perspective helps show how practice is constituted.	Theoretical	Multiple
	Sanders (1982)†	Phenomenology facilitates exposing frequently overlooked phenomena.	Theoretical	N/A
Leadership	Leitch et al. (2013)	Leaders' human capital is enhanced through development of social capital.	Qualitative	UK
	Lewis (2015)	Entrepreneurial leader identity evolves in tandem with firm development.	Qualitative	NZ
Learning	Cope (2005)	Phenomenological commitment to research translates into deep knowledge.	Theoretical	Multiple
	Cope (2011)	Recovery from failure is a function of distinctive learning processes.	Qualitative	Multiple
Marketing	Lam & Harker (2015)	Entrepreneurs interact with customers to shape their marketing activities.	Qualitative	China
Networking	Al-Dajani et al. (2015)	Collaborative networks enable women to challenge constraining situations.	Qualitative	Jordan
	McAdam et al. (2014)	Horizontal SME networks enable open innovation and knowledge sharing.	Qualitative	UK
	Shaw (2006)	Small firm networking relationships are multiplex and informal in nature.	Qualitative	UK
Professions	Conklin (2012)†	Experiencing a job can help individuals discover their 'calling' for it.	Qualitative	USA
Repeated Start-up	Fiet et al. (2013)	For a search to be systematic, it must relate to specific prior knowledge.	Qualitative	USA
	Spivack et al. (2014)*	Start-up experiences can create behavioural addiction to entrepreneurship.	Qualitative	USA
Social Value Creation	Korsgaard & Anderson (2011)	Entrepreneurship is as much a social as an economic phenomenon.	Qualitative	Denmark
	Parkinson & Howorth (2008)	Social entrepreneurs draw legitimacy from a local or social morality.	Qualitative	UK
Strategy	Kisfalvi (2002)	Entrepreneurs pursue strategic directions that reflect their set of life issues.	Qualitative	USA
	Zou et al. (2016)	Entrepreneurs choose conflict management strategies according to context.	Qualitative	China

\* Article employs a phenomenological interview technique, rather than a phenomenological philosophy.

† Article does not study entrepreneurship, but provides a seminal argument regarding phenomenology in business and management research.

Selected articles were published in journals ranked at ABS Grade 3 or higher (Wood & Peel, 2015)



Husserl's work was driven by a desire for a *presuppositionless philosophy*, where all judgements and assumptions about the nature of activities are suspended until they can be founded on the experiences of individuals (Conklin, 2012). He argues that suspending all prior knowledge about phenomena is necessary for scholars to perceive things as they are and to provide authentic descriptions free from prejudice (Cope, 2005). Husserl claims that accounts of experiences are all too often biased by what the researcher assumes they would be like, rather than being understood 'from within' (Moran, 2000). To achieve a state free from presuppositions, Husserl proposes that scholars should adopt a 'natural attitude' and engage in a process of bracketing (Conklin, 2007). Sanders (1982: 355) defines bracketing as 'the temporary suspension of all existing personal biases, beliefs ... or assumptions in order to get straight to the pure and unencumbered vision of what a thing "essentially is"'. As Cope (2005) points out, detaching oneself from personal beliefs about the subject under investigation facilitates going beyond the 'natural standpoint' of the attached observer, which is why Husserl's approach is often described as 'transcendental'. His technique of phenomenological reduction and detachment is also called epoché (Throop and Murphy, 2002).

While Heidegger (1962) endorsed much of the ideas of his teacher, he opposed the concept of bracketing as a means of gaining true knowledge. Instead, Heidegger believed that human beings always already exist in the world and that 'the world has always already had natural meaning for us' (Berglund, 2007: 90). Meaning is located in situated, ongoing activities, which are affected by prior learning and historical understandings of the world (Seymour, 2006). Thus, Heidegger (1962) argues that, to gain a deep understanding of phenomena, scholars must acquire knowledge of the wider contexts in which individuals are embedded. The ability to acquire privileged access and the capacity to understand the stories of others therefore have significant influence on the depth and quality of scholars' analyses of human experiences (Berglund, 2007). In a sense, the researcher becomes an interpreter who needs to be immersed in a context to fully understand it. In Finlay's (2009: 11) words, 'it is precisely the realisation of the intersubjective interconnectedness between researcher and researched that characterizes phenomenology'. In other words, scholars' expert knowledge can guide their enquiries and make them more

revealing (Lopez and Willis, 2004). Nevertheless, it is important that researchers remain open to the meanings participants attribute to their experiences and strive to see the world through their eyes.

While this study initially adopted Husserl's approach, including the practice of bracketing, the researcher quickly realised that his industry knowledge made it almost impossible to entirely remove himself from the topic under investigation. Participants frequently asked the researcher about his experiences as a craft maker and drew on his understanding of craft processes to explain their perspectives. In addition, as Cope (2005: 181) points out, 'one's perceptions of the phenomenon in question are [always] influenced, both explicitly and implicitly, by exposure to extant theory prior to engagement with the participants'. Not only is this inevitable, but without such prior knowledge, it would be difficult to make meaningful contributions to understanding. Thus, Heidegger's approach was embraced after the first round of interviews was completed.

Another essential aspect of phenomenology is 'Die Lebenswelt', which is translated as '*the lived-world*' (Moran, 2000). First introduced by Husserl (1954), the lived-world refers to 'the world of the ordinary, immediate experiences and is the background for all human endeavours' (Cope, 2005: 167). Heidegger (1962) places particular emphasis on this concept and the impact of 'Dasein', or 'being-in-the-world', on individual practices. He argues that human beings need to be studied in their lived-world to fully explicate their behaviours, as their subjective experiences are inextricably intertwined with cultural, social and political contexts.

Seymour (2006) highlights several aspects of 'being-in-the-world' that can help inform phenomenological research. First, Heidegger proposes that humans learn from the past, which evokes instinctive feelings that attune them to their present surroundings (e.g. fear can reveal potential threats). Second, he suggests that being entangled in the present situation leads humans to fall into routines and accept existing conventions, which affects their decision-making. Third, he contends that humans are not static, but always in the process of becoming and of anticipating future possibilities that can be seized. Thus, Heidegger's (1962) approach calls attention not only to the impact of embeddedness in context, but also to temporal dimensions (individual's past experiences, present involvements and future opportunities).

Heidegger also emphasises that interpretations are revelatory and allow scholars to go beyond their initial, unreflective understanding of phenomena (Seymour, 2006). As Lopez (2004) points out, meanings are not always apparent to research participants, but can be deduced by interpreting their stories. Heidegger's (1962) approach is therefore often described as 'hermeneutic' or 'interpretive' phenomenology. Rather than focusing on what participants consciously know, phenomenological studies are supposed to explore their lived experiences in context. This appreciation of context and its effects on individuals is the main reason why this study adopts an interpretative phenomenological approach.

Finally, *Bourdieu's criticisms of phenomenology* require discussion. Essentially, Bourdieu (1977) argues that phenomenologists focus too much on the immediate experiences of individuals and their interpretations of the social world. As several studies provide in-depth analyses of Bourdieu's stance on phenomenology (cf. Atkinson, 2010; Throop and Murphy, 2002), only his most important and relevant critiques are outlined below.

First, Bourdieu suggests that phenomenological research 'remains decidedly deficient in its ability to penetrate the obscuring veils of doxa' (Throop and Murphy, 2002). However, it could be argued that, despite being labelled 'descriptive' phenomenology (Finlay, 2009), Husserl's approach in particular facilitates exposing taken-for-granted assumptions (doxa) through the suspension of all prior knowledge of a phenomenon. Second, Bourdieu contends that phenomenologists place too much emphasis on the conscious decisions and actions of individuals (Throop and Murphy, 2002). As such, it is important to consider the potential subconscious motivations that affect the decision-making of participants. Third, Bourdieu (1977) proposes that phenomenological approaches focus too much on individual agency, rather than on structural dimensions. Indeed, while this study explores the role of context in entrepreneurial practices, it does not seek to analyse structural arrangements within social fields. Thus, agency-related considerations are given priority in this study. Furthermore, Bourdieu criticises phenomenologists for failing to account for the impact of durable dispositions (habitus) on subjectivity. However, this seems to overlook Husserl's exposition that lived experience 'results in forgotten "traces" or "substrates" that may later direct our attention to similar objects in a horizon of

“typical familiarity and precognizance” (Throop and Murphy, 2002: 193). In other words, Husserl did express an appreciation for the influence of personal dispositions on individual practices. Similarly, Heidegger (1962) emphasises the impact of prior knowledge and learning on the creation of meaning.

It has been suggested that phenomenological approaches could, in fact, help remedy some of the criticisms of Bourdieu’s own work (Atkinson, 2010). For example, Throop and Murphy (2002) argue that Bourdieu’s focus on habitus and subconscious decision-making leads to a flawed model of human mentation. In comparison, a phenomenological perspective promotes exploring the consciously felt ideals, objectives and emotions of diverse agents. Bourdieu has also been criticised for not adequately accounting for the heterogeneity of habitus within fields. A phenomenological approach, which seeks to reveal the subtleties of human lives, can help explain such diversity (Atkinson, 2010). Finally, Bourdieu’s underlying assumption that human behaviour is generally driven by a deep-seated, competitive inclination and a desire for power has similarly been critiqued (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005). Phenomenological research, with its emphasis on examining individual goals and experiences, is able to provide a more nuanced and complex picture of motivations and behaviours. Thus, while there are differences between phenomenological and Bourdieusian perspectives, they are able to complement one another. A phenomenological study may never be able to achieve Bourdieu’s (1977, 1984) goal of bridging the gap between subjective and objective positions, but its findings can nevertheless make significant contributions to knowledge.

### **5.3. Research Aim and Objectives**

Having discussed the philosophical assumptions underlying phenomenological research, this section recounts the research aim and objectives which influenced the design of this study. The overarching goal of this research is to *develop a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs* which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs’ resource management practices. Thus, this study is exploratory in nature and seeks to generate new knowledge about phenomena (Cope, 2005; Leitch et al., 2010), rather than to (dis-)prove hypotheses derived from a review of the extant literature. Accordingly, it examines the lived experiences of

entrepreneurs to gain in-depth understanding of their contextualised practices (Berglund, 2015). In order to extend knowledge of the behaviours of ‘everyday entrepreneurs’ (Welter et al., 2017) and to support ‘ordinary people who want to become entrepreneurs’ (Sarasvathy et al., 2015: 227), this study chose to investigate craft entrepreneurs, who are under-researched, despite having been shown to find creative ways of mobilising resources and exploiting opportunities (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Kuhn and Galloway, 2015). The analysis of participants’ experiences determined this study’s focus on how embeddedness in household and community contexts affects the resource management practices of craft entrepreneurs. A review of the relevant literature revealed several gaps in understanding, which this study was able to address with its empirical evidence. Three research questions were therefore developed to focus the analysis of data and the presentation of findings:

- 1) How do entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital?*
- 2) How do household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs?*
- 3) How and why does embeddedness in communities affect the practices of entrepreneurs?*

In answering these research questions, this study is able to develop a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs’ resource management practices. Chapter 6 presents the conceptual model of this theory and explicates the connection between the subsequent findings chapters (Chapter 7-9), each of which is dedicated to the discussion of one of the research questions. Chapter 7 focuses on the micro-level, discussing the various capital conversion processes that craft entrepreneurs conduct, many of which have been overlooked in the entrepreneurship literature. Chapter 8 explores the meso-level, revealing ways in which household members support craft entrepreneurs, particularly through the provision of psychological capital, and also inhibit their practices. Chapter 9 is concerned with the macro-level. It demonstrates how craft entrepreneurs adapt their behaviours to fit in with community norms and how such norms can lead entrepreneurs to engage in socially-oriented business practices. Importantly, this study’s aim and objectives are based on the phenomenological commitment to understanding what it feels like to run and develop a craft enterprise.

It should be noted that entrepreneurship scholars have adopted various alternative ways of defining micro-, meso- and macro-levels (Greenman, 2013; Kim et al., 2016; Kloosterman, 2010). For example, while Shepherd (2009) agrees that the micro-level refers to individuals and the macro-level to groups of people, he conceives of the meso-level as the emotions that connect individuals and groups. Another variation is presented by Özbilgin and Tatli (2005: 860) who draw on Bourdieu's work and regard 'the concepts of capital and dispositions at the individual [micro] level, habitus at the meso level, and the field at the macro level of analysis'. Acknowledging these other conceptualisations, this study chooses to follow: (1) Kloosterman (2010: 27), who perceives 'the micro-level [as] the individual entrepreneur and his or her resources', (2) Gras and Nason (2015: 559), who 'introduce the meso-level institution of the family household' and (3) Kwon et al. (2013: 980), who conceive of the macro-level as 'units such as communities or regions'. This paradigm was selected as it best suited the research context studied.

#### **5.4. Research Design**

This study conducts an interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith et al., 2009). First introduced to entrepreneurship research by Cope (2011), this approach is gaining traction within the field (cf. Lewis, 2015; Shaw et al., 2017; Zou et al., 2016), as it allows researchers to explore various dimensions of phenomena and processes as they unfold. This section reviews methodological concerns associated with phenomenological research, before discussing the interpretative phenomenological analysis technique and explaining the participant selection process.

##### ***5.4.1. Methodological Concerns***

This section explores a number of methodological issues surrounding the use of interpretive phenomenological approaches. According to Cope (2005), relevant concerns are related to (1) adopting a qualitative approach, (2) interacting with participants and (3) working within the context of discovery.

Given that phenomenological studies seek to explore the lived experiences of individuals, they must adopt methods that enable the collection of rich qualitative

data (Berglund, 2015). As Thompson et al. (1989) argue, individual experiences of the world can differ significantly from ‘objective descriptions’, as all human experience is linked to distinct contextual settings. Thus, it is impossible to provide generalisable accounts which are ‘true’ across diverse contexts and times. Instead of stripping participants from their context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), phenomenological research embraces methods which allow for the exploration of participants’ subjective, situated views. According to Cope (2005), this is best achieved by employing various techniques to decipher, translate and interpret the meaning, rather than the frequency, of phenomena which occur in the social world. In other words, qualitative methods are required to gain sufficiently deep insights into phenomena and to account for the individual nature of human experience (Gartner and Birley, 2002).

While qualitative methods are no longer considered a ‘special case’ in entrepreneurship research (Suddaby et al., 2015), they are still comparatively rare in highly ranked journals (on average, only 10% of articles published in *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* and the *Journal of Business Venturing* employ qualitative methods, according to Hlady-Rispal and Jouison-Laffitte, 2014). Nevertheless, there is general consensus that qualitative methods are preferred when exploring social phenomena that require detailed analysis (Bansal and Corley, 2012; Pratt, 2009). They are particularly well suited for investigating complex issues, processes and practices (McKeever et al., 2015) and addressing research questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ (Jack, 2010; Pratt, 2009). Yet, exploring the lived experiences of participants through qualitative methods is demanding and brings with it a number of issues.

First, it can be challenging to interpret the accounts of individuals, as they are always partial and no single method is able to ‘grasp the subtle variations in ongoing human experience’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 12). Second, real-life phenomena are rarely neat and organised, but rather cluttered and confusing, which complicates the analysis and presentation of findings (Gartner and Birley, 2002). Third, even longitudinal studies are only able to collect data in certain intervals and each communication with participants represents only a snapshot in time (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Consequently, interpretations of the stories of participants may vary depending on the circumstances surrounding a research visit and participant perspectives may change over time (Cope, 2005). Given that certain events and

experiences will stand out in the minds of participants, phenomenological research is always contextually and temporarily situated, as it represents their ‘being-in-the-world’ (Thompson et al., 1989).

Furthermore, scholars are situated in the lived-world in the same way as their participants. Accordingly, researchers can never be impartial, neutral or detached observers; their perspectives are always subjective and limited by their own knowledge (Heidegger, 1962). Thus, to gain a deep understanding of the meanings that participants associate with different phenomena, scholars must build relationships with them (Cope, 2005). A close connection to both the subject of study and participants can greatly improve the quality of phenomenological research, as knowing is created through the interactive relationship between scholar and participant (Larkin et al., 2006). As this study collected data over the course of 18 months, the researcher was able to form durable connections with participants. To facilitate the rapport-building process, the researcher disclosed information about himself during informal conversations, which allowed participants to learn more about his background and motivations. In addition, the researcher purchased craft items of participants (e.g. his wedding rings) to gain a deeper appreciation for their work. These efforts led participants to become more invested in the research and thus open up more, allowing deeper insights into their lives. Still, it is important to note that phenomenological descriptions always represent the researcher’s interpretations of how participants interpret their own experiences (Smith, 2004). Readers need to be aware of this, as they will, in turn, interpret the findings of such research.

Phenomenological research is firmly set in ‘the “context of discovery” rather than the “context of justification”’ (Cope, 2005: 171). In other words, phenomenological approaches are inductive; they describe phenomena based on the analysis of participants’ perspectives, rather than engaging in hypothesis testing (Parkinson and Howorth, 2008). As such, their techniques contrast with the hypothetico-deductive framework which prevails in entrepreneurship research (Leitch et al., 2010). Indeed, phenomenological research facilitates the discovery of new and unforeseen insights into social phenomena (Gartner, 2008). It is therefore important that scholars adopt a holistic approach and ‘relate descriptions of specific experiences to each other and to the overall context of the lived-world’ (Thompson et



al., 1989: 137). In so doing, phenomenological approaches enable the development of interpretive theories from the 'bottom-up' (i.e. grounded in the lived-world, see Cope, 2005). Such theories are not expected to be generalisable to a variety of contexts, but should instead create 'local knowledge' (Steyaert, 1997) and provide a trustworthy account of phenomena (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It is through the iterative process of applying such theories to new contexts that their descriptive power is improved, which entails that theory-building should be understood as an evolutionary process in which multiple scholars are engaged (Kempster and Cope, 2010). In the case of this study, the developed theories are applicable to craft makers, but it is expected that entrepreneurs in related fields, such as other cultural industries, may experience similar issues and employ comparable strategies. By providing 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973), which scholars can draw upon and compare to others contexts, this study seeks to facilitate knowledge creation and accumulative theory development.

#### ***5.4.2. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis***

This study adopts an interpretative phenomenological analysis approach, which was conceived by Smith (1996) to conduct psychological research. After 20 years of application, this qualitative approach is still comparatively new, but has been successfully employed within a range of contexts (for a detailed review, see Smith, 2011) and been subject to in-depth analysis (e.g. Giorgi, 2010; Larkin et al., 2006). As Zou et al. (2016: 450-451) explain, 'this research design posits that the meanings an individual ascribes to events are of central concern but are only accessible through an interpretative process'. A particular strength of interpretative phenomenological analysis is the systematic set of procedures that it provides for interpreting the perspectives of participants. These procedures are explained throughout the remainder of this chapter. It is therefore considered a rigorous method that facilitates analysing the lived experiences of entrepreneurs (Cope, 2011; Lewis, 2015) and obtaining an 'insider's perspective' of their lives (Smith et al., 2009). Unlike other, more descriptive forms of phenomenological analysis, this technique seeks to go beyond 'first-order' analysis and, instead, reach a higher level of conceptualisation (Larkin et al., 2006). Interpretative phenomenological analysis

follows Heidegger's (1962) hermeneutic tradition, as it appreciates both the active role that researchers play in the analysis and interpretation process and the impact of social worlds on individual practices (Smith and Osborn, 2008).

Its goal of providing an insider's perspective into reality differentiates interpretative phenomenological analysis from other forms of qualitative research (Millward, 2006). Grounded theory, for example, is also both interpretative and inductive in nature, but focuses more on the investigation of social and cultural processes (Suddaby, 2006). Furthermore, several methods can be employed within grounded theory research, whereas interpretative phenomenological analysis entails a particular philosophical and methodological approach (Smith and Osborn, 2008). Discourse analysis is another inductive and interpretive technique, which is often compared to phenomenological methods (see Berglund, 2015). However, discourse analysis 'is concerned with the social functions of language in precisely defined linguistic contexts or narrative analysis, which look[s] to identify particular forms of narrative used by people as justifications for their behaviour' (Millward, 2006: 319). Thus, while there are a number of approaches which facilitate interpreting the perspectives of entrepreneurs, none are as well suited for exploring their lived experiences and 'living experience' as interpretative phenomenological analysis (Steyaert, 2007).

Regarding criticisms of this approach, Giorgi (2010) provides an overview of commonly raised concerns. First, interpretative phenomenological analysis has been criticised for being unscientific, as it is neither prescriptive nor replicable. However, as Smith (2010) points out, while the approach does not dictate precisely how to perform its methods (e.g. interviews), it does provide scholars with guidance on best practice concerning data collection techniques to help them generate high quality findings. Furthermore, Leitch et al. (2010) argue that replication and generalisability of results are not a concern to idiographic studies of individuals. Instead, such research allows for the deduction of common mechanisms and practices within specific contexts based on the analysis of several individual experiences (Kempster and Cope, 2010). It therefore enables inductive theorising and 'a degree of theoretical generalisation' (McAdam et al., 2014: 849). Another criticism of interpretative phenomenological analysis is 'that it is a "simply descriptive" methodology' (Larkin

et al., 2006: 102). Thus, this study compared emerging findings to extant research to gain a higher level of conceptualisation (Cope, 2011). Finally, Giorgi (2010) also criticises interpretative phenomenological analysis for a weak grounding in the philosophy of hermeneutics. However, this criticism seems to overlook the vast body of research which explores the relationship between the method and its underlying philosophical assumptions (e.g. Larkin et al., 2006; Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2009).

### ***5.4.3. Participant Selection***

Interpretative phenomenological analysis suggests employing ‘purposive’ sampling (Patton, 2002) and defends the use of small sample sizes to generate in-depth understanding (Zou et al., 2016: 451), as long as a ‘variety of contextual experiences’ are considered (Kempster and Cope, 2010: 12). Thus, participants should be selected based on their knowledge of a phenomenon (in this case, craft entrepreneurship) to enable the researcher to gain deep understanding of related issues. Patton (2002: 169) suggests selecting interesting and ‘information-rich cases’ that maximise the potential for learning from the data analysis. Distinctive to interpretative phenomenological analysis is ‘a commitment to producing a fine-grained interpretative account that is grounded in, and does justice to, each participant’s unique lived experience’ (Cope, 2011: 608-609). Accordingly, Smith (2004) suggests using a maximum of 10 participants and emphasises that scholars should be pragmatic during the selection process. This study heeded this advice and explores the perspectives of 10 craft entrepreneurs.

While it has already been established why the stories of participants are deemed interesting and worth studying (see Chapter 2), this section seeks to provide further insights into the participant selection process. Given that the study was initially conceived to follow in Husserl’s tradition (i.e. including the bracketing of any prior knowledge and presuppositions), the search for participants commenced before an in-depth review of the literature was conducted. In terms of location, issues of convenience affected the decision to approach participants in South West Scotland and North East England. Apart from the fact that these areas share several similarities (see Chapter 2), both were easily accessible to the researcher. In Scotland, it was possible to meet various craft makers within one location (Artisan

Village). The researcher first advertised the proposed study there by e-mailing local makers in January 2013, before travelling to various studios in the area to judge the owners' interest in the project and to gain initial insights into their perspectives. In England, an acquaintance circulated the call for participants via e-mail to makers across Craft County. The researcher then followed up with those who responded via telephone and video-chat. These initial, unrecorded discussions lasted between 20-60 minutes each. As there was considerable interest in the research project, these conversations helped determine which participants to select for this study.

As explained in Chapter 1, this study drew upon Fillis (2004: 71) to identify craft entrepreneurs (i.e. makers who are willing to take risks, recognise the significance of developing a customer base and exhibit ambitions for growth). Thus, in choosing a sample, the researcher sought to identify craft owner-managers who embodied these traits, practised craft as their primary profession and operated their businesses from a dedicated studio or workshop. Table 5.3 provides an overview of the 10 participants who fulfilled the inclusion criteria. Specifically, this table illustrates the breadth of perspectives that participants bring to this study. For instance, participants were aged between 29 and 64 years at the start of the data collection and they engage in a broad range of crafts, from contemporary artistic teddy bear making to more traditional basket weaving and pottery making. Similarly, the levels of reputation of participants, which are based on a subjective evaluation by the researcher, are spread between emerging, national and international.<sup>9</sup> The variation in business age (the oldest business was started in the late-90s and the youngest in 2013, only weeks before the start of the study) further enriches the study's consideration of a 'variety of contextual experiences' (Kempster and Cope, 2010: 12).

Other characteristics of the sample reveal commonalities that are equally significant. Notably, the sample consists of eight women and two men. As is typical for phenomenological research, participants were chosen irrespective of their sex (cf. Cope, 2011; McKeever et al., 2014). However, this distribution is (inadvertently) reflective of the craft industry in the UK, where makers are '69% female [and] 31% male' (Burns et al., 2012: 18). The majority of participants share their households

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<sup>9</sup> This evaluation involved considering various reputation-related aspects, such as invitations to exhibit craft pieces at national or international shows and exposure in craft magazines.

**Table 5.3.** Overview of Research Participants

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Craft</b>	<b>Start-Up</b>	<b>Studio Opening</b>	<b>Reputation</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Household Member</b>	<b>Cohabitants Since</b>
Amy*	29	Accessory making	2011	2012	National	0	Adam (Partner)	2006-2013
Betty*	32	Book making	2013	2013	Emerging	0	Brenda (Partner)	2013
Carol	36	Yarn dyeing	2006	2007	International	0	Clara (Partner)	2001
Diana	39	Silversmithing	2001	2004	International	0	Daniel (Partner)	2010
Emily	44	Hand stitching	2003	2007	National	1	Evan (Spouse)	1990
Frank*	46	Pottery making	2012	2013	Emerging	0	Felix (Friend)	2014
George	50	Basket weaving	1999	2004	International	2	Grace (Spouse)	1986
Holly	52	Teddy bear making	1998	2013	International	2	Henry (Partner)	1988
Isla*	63	Souvenir making	2010	2010	National	1	Iain (Spouse)	1975
Julie*	64	Printmaking	2006	2010	National	2	Jack (Spouse)	1984

\* Denotes the five participants who are based in England. The other five are located in Scotland.

with partners or spouses and half of them have one or two children, most of whom still live at home (only Isla's and Julie's daughters have left home). As participants are all sole-traders, these household members have significant impacts on their practices (see Chapter 8). Overall, as Table 5.3 indicates, selected participants provide a broad range of perspectives, while also holding similarities which facilitated the deduction of common practices.

## **5.5. Data Collection and Analysis**

Following the selection of research participants, data were collected over the course of 18 months starting in March 2013. As such, this study adopts a longitudinal design, which is regarded as under-represented within entrepreneurship research despite its capacity to generate valuable insights into entrepreneurial processes (Jack, 2010; McMullen and Dimov, 2013). Thus, it is not only able to portray the subjective views of participants, but also to distinguish how external factors influenced them over time. This section first explains the data collection process, paying particular attention to the phenomenological interviewing technique, before reviewing ethical concerns. Subsequently, the data analysis and interpretation are discussed.

### ***5.5.1. Data Collection Approach***

This study sought to gain in-depth understanding of the practices of craft entrepreneurs and therefore employed methods which facilitated 'getting close' to participants (Greenman, 2012) and gathering detailed descriptions of their lived experiences. As interviews are considered the most powerful tools for exploring the lived-worlds of participants (Cope, 2011; Thompson et al., 1989), data collection was conducted primarily through four rounds of interviews, which were carried out in intervals of around six months starting in March 2013. This longitudinal approach enabled the researcher to penetrate the realities of participants and to build rapport with them (Shaw, 2006). Table 5.4 provides a detailed overview of the 40 in-depth interviews, which produced a total of 63.5 hours of audio recordings. These interviews lasted an average of 95 minutes each and their transcripts provided large amounts of information-rich data (over 1,000 single-spaced pages).

**Table 5.4.** Overview of Interviews

Participant	Interview 1			Interview 2			Interview 3			Interview 4		
	Date	Duration	Words	Pages	Date	Duration	Words	Pages	Date	Duration	Words	Pages
Amy	12/04/13	90min	16,470	31	26/09/13*	50min	7,698	16	11/03/14*	56min	8,068	17
Betty	10/04/13	121min	17,307	29	11/10/13*	70min	8,770	16	28/02/14*	70min	8,272	15
Carol	13/03/13	125min	18,768	35	18/09/13	71min	10,917	19	28/03/14	80min	12,053	22
Diana	20/03/13	157min	24,686	42	10/10/13	84min	12,910	22	27/03/14	91min	13,349	24
Emily	22/03/13	147min	24,125	36	19/09/13	98min	15,572	23	21/02/14	80min	12,312	22
Frank	18/04/13	159min	23,917	35	03/10/13*	59min	8,549	16	10/03/14*	81min	12,472	21
George	21/03/13	138min	21,772	49	30/09/13	60min	8,395	18	25/03/14	51min	7,507	20
Holly	19/03/13	113min	17,173	36	15/10/13	63min	11,454	26	20/02/14	56min	8,010	18
Isla	02/04/13	153min	20,058	32	25/09/13	72min	8,545	15	04/02/14*	94min	10,176	27
Julie	03/04/13	142min	20,601	31	27/09/13	98min	15,437	24	16/02/14*	70min	9,379	15
Totals	-	1,345min	204,877	356	-	725min	108,247	195	-	729min	101,598	201
Averages	-	135min	20,488	36	-	73min	10,825	20	-	73min	10,160	20

\* The interview was conducted via video-chat or telephone.

Overall totals: 63.5 hrs (3,810 min) of recordings      On average: 1.6 hrs (95 min) per interview  
572,210 words across all interviews                      14,300 words per interview  
1,041 pages of interview transcript                        26 pages per interview (single-spaced)

In addition to these 40 in-depth interviews and the 10 initial discussions during the participant selection process (which were not tape recorded, but documented through field notes), 10 further interviews were conducted with the household members listed in Table 5.3. These interviews were not originally planned. Instead, the idea emerged from conversations with participants during the second round of interviews. These 10 interviews lasted an average of 20 minutes each and primarily served to produce further insights into the ways in which household members affect the practices of participants. They were all carried out via video-chat or telephone in October and November 2013, between the second and third rounds of participant interviews. Chapter 8 presents excerpts from these interviews to better explain the influence of household members on entrepreneurs.

A total of 60 interviews thus provided the primary source of data for this study and offered deep insights into the perspectives of participants. While interpretative phenomenological analysis does not require nor, in fact, encourage the use of additional data collection methods (see Larkin et al., 2006; Smith and Osborn, 2008), it does acknowledge that ‘under certain circumstances other approaches such as ... participant observation (where the activity being observed includes discussion of experience) may work’ (Smith et al., 2009: 73). Observational data were therefore collected in the studios (on the days of the interviews) and at craft shows, when participants invited the researcher to attend these events. During these observations, the researcher took note of participants’ working practices and interactions with community members (McKeever et al., 2014). These field notes were handwritten and primarily served to enhance understanding of the behaviours of entrepreneurs. In addition, when participants referred to other sources of information during interviews, such as blogs and online forum discussions, these were later accessed as well. These online sources extended knowledge of the contexts in which participants are embedded (Lewis, 2015). While this thesis provides a multitude of quotations from the interviews ‘to allow the participants’ voices to be heard’ (Cope, 2005: 174) and it refers to observations in the discussion of findings (Chapters 7-9), it does not quote material from online sources. As most information on the internet is freely available for anyone to access, it would not have been appropriate to include quotations from websites, as doing so may have compromised the anonymity of participants, which had to be maintained (see the below section on ethical concerns).



In-person interviews were conducted in the workshops or homes of participants, using everyday language to make them feel comfortable (Patton, 2002). As shown in Table 5.4, there were only a few occasions where video-chat and telephone conversations took place instead, particularly when participants became too busy to meet in their studios. As this study initially embraced Husserl's (1954) phenomenological approach, it adopted Cope's (2005) associated interviewing technique for the first round of interviews. Thus, prior knowledge of entrepreneurial practices was bracketed to facilitate a discovery process, rather than imposing assumptions from the literature. The goal of these interviews was to gain first-person descriptions of entrepreneurial experiences (McKeever et al., 2014). Accordingly, participants were allowed to steer the conversations towards topics that mattered most to them (Thompson et al., 1989). Interviews were therefore unstructured and began with the broad, open-ended questions, 'Tell me about your background' and 'Tell me about your business'. Follow-up questions were developed ad-hoc, which enabled participants to expand upon their stories (Cope, 2005). The level of openness and emotion displayed by participants was surprising. They seemed to welcome the opportunity to discuss their experiences and share privileged information, knowing that their personal details would be kept confidential (see below).

Having the interviews directed by what the entrepreneurs wanted to share also presented difficulties. As some control over the interviews was given up (Thompson et al., 1989), participants frequently recounted topics unrelated to their business activities. For example, when asked about her background, Julie launched into a 4,820-word monologue (lasting 30 minutes), before the researcher was able to ask any follow-up questions that emerged from her descriptions. However, while some topics, such as discussions of former workplaces, shed comparatively little light onto the business practices of craft entrepreneurs, other seemingly unrelated subjects had significant impacts on the development of this study. Stories about spouses and children, for example, led to the exploration of the effects of household members on entrepreneurs. Thus, these unstructured interviews were critical in shaping the overall focus of this study.

During the analysis of the first round of interviews, it became clear that a Heideggerian approach to phenomenological research was more appropriate for this study. Specifically, Heidegger's (1962) appreciation of the impact of embeddedness

reflected the significance of context to the stories of participants. Furthermore, his recognition of the value of the researcher's prior knowledge appeared more suitable to this study. Thus, the researcher discontinued the practice of bracketing and embraced his understanding of the craft world during subsequent interviews, which adopted a semi-structured format to explore topics that emerged during the first round of interviews. Each interview commenced with the opening question, 'What has affected your work over the last 6 months?' Several participant-specific questions were then asked to pursue issues raised during the prior interview, such as outcomes of award ceremonies or successes at craft exhibitions. After these initial 15 to 30 minutes of conversation, topic guides were used to direct the discussions.

As shown in Appendix 1, the second round of interviews primarily explored questions related to the support that participants receive from their family members, their connections with other craft makers and the effects of working in rural areas. The third round of interviews covered a broad range of subjects, including the reasons for participants to pursue their craft, their interactions with customers, their relationships with family members and their past and present practices. The final round of interviews explored such issues as participants' connections with local traders, embeddedness in the creative community and opinions about education. While most questions emerged as a result of the data analysis process, others were included because a topic was raised by participants during a prior interview. For example, Amy and Frank referred to the importance of photographs of their products during the first round of interviews, which is why all participants were asked about the subject during the second interview. Not all topics discussed with participants are included in this thesis. For instance, the final round of interviews included questions about the creative practices of participants, which turned out to be largely irrelevant for this study. However, given that phenomenological research engages in a process of discovery (Cope, 2005, 2011), it was important to pursue a range of topics which might have been important to participants.

### ***5.5.3. Ethical Concerns***

When undertaking research that seeks to get close to participants and explore their lived experiences, it is important to consider associated ethical concerns (Easterby-

Smith et al., 2012). Prior to commencing this study, ethics approval was attained from the University of Strathclyde. This process required the researcher to develop a strategy to ensure the appropriate conduct of this study. The participant selection procedure, outlined above, was helpful in ensuring voluntary participation and informed consent. It introduced the study to craft makers via e-mail, allowing them to form an opinion about participating prior to meeting the researcher. During the initial, unrecorded conversations with interested craft makers, the researcher explained the broad aim of the study, which was to explore the practices of craft business owners. The researcher assured the craft makers that their anonymity would be maintained. Accordingly, all names presented in this study have been anonymised (including those of towns, firms and family members).

All interested craft makers were then presented with a participant information sheet, which reiterated that participation in the study was voluntary and that withdrawal from it was an option at any time and did not require explanation. Furthermore, it highlighted that private information would not be disclosed and that no identifying information would be made publicly available. Makers who were selected to participate in this study were then asked to provide a signed copy of the form to the researcher. In so doing, participants also gave permission for the interviews to be recorded and transcribed. In addition, participants were reminded at the start of each interview that their details would be kept confidential. Participating household members were introduced to the study by the core participants. They were given the same explanations and their consent to participate was also sought prior to conducting interviews. The researcher took great care to anonymise all interview transcripts and to ensure that the identities of participants would be kept private, including from fellow participants. Research outputs, such as journal articles and conference papers, were shared with participants. They all appeared satisfied with the work of the researcher and it is anticipated that the same will hold true for this thesis.

### ***5.5.3. Data Analysis and Interpretation***

As recommended for inductive research approaches (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously. Following each interview, audio recordings were transcribed verbatim to enable systematic analysis of raw data

(Cope, 2011). The data analysis adhered to the principles of interpretative phenomenological analysis, which set forth a series of clear, accessible guidelines (Smith et al., 2009). While the approach allows for flexibility and individuality in its procedures, interpretative phenomenological analysis follows a basic systematic process, which starts with detailed analyses of individual interviews and proceeds with comparisons between the different perspectives of participants (Larkin et al., 2006). As explained below, this process requires the researcher to move from descriptive to interpretative activities (Smith and Osborn, 2008). Kempster and Cope (2010) provide a detailed discussion of the analysis approach, which involves performing the six steps described in Table 5.5.

**Table 5.5.** Data Analysis Process

<b>Step</b>	<b>Description</b>
1. Familiarising (Material reading)	Interview transcripts, observation notes and other documents are read and re-read to gain an appreciation for the participant’s whole story and to recall the interview(s) both cognitively and affectively (Zou et al., 2016).
2. Sense-making (Note taking)	Transcripts are annotated employing a ‘free-textual analysis’ technique (Smith and Osborn, 2008: 67), which involves writing up notes to summarise, form associations and develop preliminary interpretations.
3. Categorising (Theme developing)	Initial notes are used to develop emerging themes that appear salient to a particular interview. This process is completed for each individual transcript, leading to a range of idiosyncratic coding schemes (Cope, 2011).
4. Associating (Theme clustering)	A meta-level analysis is conducted across interviews. Coding schemes are compared between participants to search for links between their accounts, identify patterns and develop superordinate concepts (Leitch et al., 2013).
5. Interpreting (Summary writing)	Interpretive summaries are written up, consisting of narrative accounts of each participant’s experiences (Marlow and McAdam, 2015). They are shared with participants to gain their feedback on the interpretations of the researcher.
6. Explaining (Theory building)	Emerging findings are compared to concepts in the literature. This abstraction process involves moving iteratively between existing theory and the data to gain a higher level of conceptualisation (Edmondson and McManus, 2007).

Adapted from Kempster and Cope (2010: 15).

Following each round of interviews, transcripts, observation notes and other documents were (re-)read to achieve familiarisation with the stories of participants (Lewis, 2015). Potentially significant passages in the transcripts were then highlighted and annotated with notes to facilitate the discovery and coding of emerging themes (Leitch et al., 2013). This process was crucial, as interviews often

went into different directions than anticipated, resulting in disjointed accounts, which are representative of the messy and complex nature of human experience (Cope, 2005). The preceding steps were completed with the data from each participant, prior to comparing emerging themes between individual entrepreneurs and searching for patterns from which superordinate concepts could be developed (Smith et al., 2009). Each round of interviews uncovered instances of similar phenomena affecting multiple participants, leading to the identification of several aggregate themes. As explained above, topic guides were consequently developed to explore emerging themes and to direct subsequent rounds of interviews. The most influential concepts that were revealed during the analysis of data informed the foci of the findings chapters (Chapters 7-9); they relate to (1) the capital management and conversion practices of craft entrepreneurs, (2) the impact of household members on their behaviours and (3) the influence of embeddedness in communities on their practices.

After each round of interviews, interpretive summaries were written and shared with participants to gain their feedback (see Appendix 2 for an example). Participants mostly agreed with the researcher's interpretation and frequently expressed a desire to follow up on aspects of the previous discussion. Accordingly, any misunderstandings were corrected and participants were reminded of follow-up topics during subsequent interviews. The final stage of analysis involved 'putting the new knowledge about the phenomena and relations back into the context of how others have articulated the evolving knowledge' (Marlow and McAdam, 2015: 800). In other words, emerging findings were compared to existing theories to gain a higher level of abstraction (Cope, 2011). This iterative process of going back and forth between the data and the literature ensured that resulting findings made a valuable contribution to current academic debates, 'whilst remaining sensitive to the unique situated experiences of the participants' (Kempster and Cope, 2010: 15).

The data coding process changed over time as a result of the developing experience of the researcher and suggestions from co-authors and reviewers. Initially, data coding was conducted manually on printed out versions of the interview transcripts using highlighters and sticky notes. Based on the analysis of the first round of interviews, the researcher decided to submit a paper related to the capital management and conversion practices of craft entrepreneurs to the Institute

for Small Business and Entrepreneurship (ISBE) Conference in 2013. During the development of this paper, it quickly became apparent that the data would benefit from the application of a theoretical framework. As Lopez and Willis (2004: 730) note, ‘an interpretive approach does not negate the use of a theoretical orientation or conceptual framework as a component of inquiry’. Rather than using theory to develop or test hypotheses, theoretical frameworks can help focus phenomenological research (Cope, 2011). Based on the analysis of the experiences of participants, Bourdieu’s (1986) capital theory was selected as an appropriate conceptual lens through which the behaviours of entrepreneurs could be interpreted. Thus, the data were re-coded, this time utilising the computer-based data processing tool NVivo.

Table 5.6 illustrates how the researcher moved from the raw data to the refined themes and shows how the different types of capital were operationalised. As suggested by Corley and Gioia (2004), this table presents ‘first-order concepts’ that are directly linked to raw data. ‘Second-order themes’ connect several of these concepts and are themselves amalgamated into ‘aggregate theoretical dimensions’, which, in the example shown, represent the different forms of capital. It should be noted that the use of this method, which was first developed to demonstrate the rigour of grounded theory research (Gioia et al., 2013), was chosen in response to the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer of the ISBE paper. As Suddaby (2006) argues, grounded theory and interpretative phenomenological approaches share similarities, as they both seek to develop theory inductively, grounded in the lived experiences of participants. Thus, it appeared sensible to illustrate the data coding and analysis process using Gioia et al.’s (2013) approach, which is gaining popularity in entrepreneurship research (cf. Hampel and Tracey, In Press; Phillips et al., 2013).

The themes included in Table 5.6 are part of the overarching concept of capital conversion (see Chapter 7). While the approach of Gioia et al. (2013) advocates for the presentation of three levels of analytical abstraction, NVivo allows for myriad sub-themes. Consequently, the ‘coding tree’ that this thesis employs is more complex than Table 5.6 suggests. To provide an indication of the various sub-themes included within a single concept, Figure 5.2 depicts all themes subsumed under ‘symbolic capital’. Concepts and themes that are featured in both Table 5.6 and Figure 5.2 are highlighted to show the link between these two illustrations.

**Table 5.6.** Data Coding Example

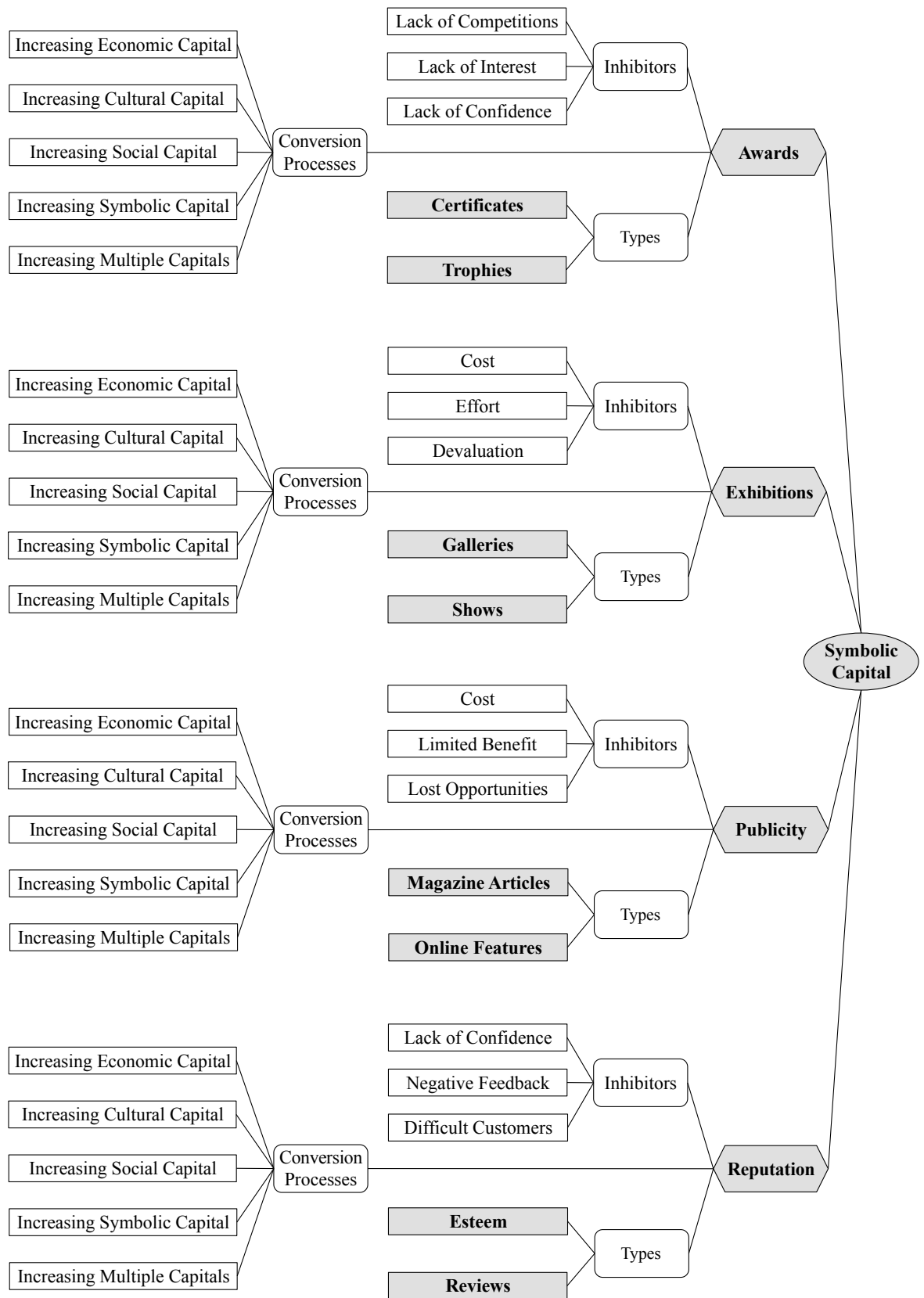
<b>Examples from raw data</b>	<b>First-order concepts</b>	<b>Second-order themes</b>
<i>Aggregate theoretical dimension: Economic Capital</i>		
‘There are big highs and lows ... some months you could make thousands of pounds and other months ... not so much.’ (Emily)	Income	Financial Assets
‘I’ve always been careful with my money, because ... if I had the money, then I knew I could do my own thing’. (Amy)	Savings	
‘Anything written, you have copyright over. But once you do a pattern it’s much more difficult ... even if you actually register it’. (Julie)	Designs	Intangible Assets
‘You can’t make stuff ... unless you’ve got enough equipment’. (Frank)	Equipment	Tangible Assets
‘From when I was a student ... silver has quadrupled in price’. (Diana)	Materials	
‘At least we’re not paying that rent anymore. We bought it [studio] outright, so ... in terms of cash-flow, it’s spectacular’. (George)	Property	
‘I can’t go into creating product ranges and ordering stuff if I can’t sell it, ’cos the last thing I want is ... a load of stock that I can’t shift’. (Isla)	Stock	
<i>Aggregate theoretical dimension: Cultural Capital</i>		
‘I don’t pretend to be all-knowing, but when you’ve got a few years under your belt ... I think it’s [very] valuable’. (Julie)	Experience	Embodied Cultural Capital
‘If you collect bears, your group of bears is called a hug, it’s a hug of bears – see, all this knowledge ... is important’. (Holly)	Knowledge	
‘It helps that I can draw ... cos some people come in ... and they’ve got a specific thing in their head and we design it together’. (Emily)	Skills	
‘It’s very personal, as well, a piece of pottery ... it’s sort of personal taste and experience and all sorts of things come into it’. (Frank)	Craft Items	Objectified Cultural Capital
‘People want ... to do things that are unusual ... they are not ... keen on doing commercial kits that everybody else can get’. (Julie)	Craft Kits	
‘I studied English literature ... even if you can’t find immediate use for it ... you never know when it’ll come in handy’. (Carol)	Education	Institutionalised Cultural Capital
‘I went to, like, a workshop ... and had a go at binding books’. (Betty)	Training	
<i>Aggregate theoretical dimension: Social Capital</i>		
‘There may well be a fellow who’s worked all their life in that field and could give insights’. (Isla)	Guilds	Business Networks
‘If there is anything you want in the newsletter, you get in touch with them [business incubator]’. (Betty)	Support Groups	

‘I have some of the nicest collectors ... I call them my lovely collectors, Henry calls them my stalkers - somewhere in between I think’. (Holly)	Collectors	Followers
‘Some people don’t even look at websites, they... [use] Facebook, you know, “Does anybody know somebody who can do baskets?”’ (George)	Online Followers	
‘I get wholesale requests all the time ... people that have bought stuff from me for personal use may also own a yarn shop’. (Carol)	Wholesalers	
‘It’s good to have a little network of a few people and you can ask people things, ’cos it’s quite technical’. (Frank)	Makers	Peers
‘If I’m having a problem with something technically, I know I could phone up my old tutor to ask him [for] advice’. (Diana)	Teachers	
‘I’m gonna get some interns as well ... who will help me’. (Amy)	Apprentices	Novices
‘I go back to the same sort of people ... lots of people want to know what’s next. I have a database of people for workshops’. (Julie)	Students	
‘If you can, talk to them [suppliers] ... they can unwittingly give you help and ideas for all sorts of things, even new stuff’. (Isla)	Material Suppliers	Suppliers
‘My web hosting [is] provided by the same people and it’s a small independent company as well, which is really, really helpful’. (Carol)	Website Developers	
‘My boyfriend was a massive, massive help!’ (Amy)	Family	Confidantes
‘I have a friend, who is a hotel inspector, who is trying to get them [products] into different hotels and places, which is quite fun’. (Emily)	Friends	
<i>Aggregate theoretical dimension: Symbolic Capital</i>		
‘So the accolade, I’ve got the certificates up there on the wall’. (Diana)	<b>Certificates</b>	<b>Awards</b>
‘That’s my award cabinet over there ... [I’m] very pleased with the top shelf of the cabinet!’ (Holly)	<b>Trophies</b>	
‘You can see a piece in [Scottish art museum] ... one in [national gallery], you can see one in [London art museum]’. (Diana)	<b>Galleries</b>	<b>Exhibitions</b>
‘I’m doing another, a trunk show ... in this kind of small world ... people know who you are and they are excited to meet you’. (Carol)	<b>Shows</b>	
‘I’ve done articles for magazines ... which has publicised the book ... it’s also obviously got my name out there’. (Julie)	<b>Magazine Articles</b>	<b>Publicity</b>
‘She is quite a prominent knitwear designer, she blogged about how fabulous the studio was and I got an order off the back of that’. (Emily)	<b>Online Features</b>	
‘She said she could always recognise the baskets when they came in, because they were so much neater and more beautiful’. (George)	<b>Esteem</b>	<b>Reputation</b>
‘It would only take one negative review ... you need to make sure you are customer orientated the whole time’. (Betty)	<b>Reviews</b>	

Adapted from Pret et al. (2016: 1019-1021)



**Figure 5.2.** Coding Tree for Symbolic Capital



The figure indicates how difficult it is to portray multiple layers of coding in a non-digital format, which is why the researcher decided to provide only representative examples of the wider coding process. Accordingly, additional tables are included throughout the presentation of findings (Chapters 7-9) to demonstrate the link between the raw data and refined themes.

Naturally, with each additional round of interviews, new data were collected and further codes were created. As the questions of later interviews were directed by topic guides, the researcher was able to explore emerging concepts, particularly those regarding the effects of household and community members on the practices of craft entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the researcher continued to attend academic conferences to gain feedback and disseminate emerging findings. Table 5.7 provides an overview of the conferences attended and articles published, which affected the analysis process. For example, in 2013 an anonymous reviewer for the ISBE paper made the constructive suggestion to employ Bourdieu’s full theory of practice rather than only his capital theory. This advice positively affected the analysis of data, as the introduction of the concepts of habitus and field helped explain the effects of different contexts on entrepreneurial practices.

**Table 5.7.** Conference Papers and Journal Articles

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Conference/Journal</b>	<b>Location</b>
Capital Conversion	Pret & Shaw (2013)	Institute for Small Business and Entrepreneurship (ISBE) Conference	Cardiff
	Pret et al. (2016)	<i>International Small Business Journal</i>	Online
Household Context	Pret & Shaw (2014a)	Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Seminar	Glasgow
	Pret et al. (2014)	Babson College Entrepreneurship Research Conference (BCERC)	London, Canada
	Pret & Shaw (2014b)	Institute for Small Business and Entrepreneurship (ISBE) Conference	Manchester
Community Context	Pret (2016)	Social Innovation and Entrepreneurship Research Conference (SIERC)	Auckland, NZ
	Pret & Carter (2016)	Academy of Management (AoM) Conference	Anaheim, USA
	Pret & Carter (In Press)	<i>Entrepreneurship &amp; Regional Development</i>	Online

## 5.6. Methodological Reflections

The preceding explanations about the study's underlying philosophical assumptions, research design and data collection/analysis provide a wealth of information about the research approach of this study. However, further methodological reflection is required to provide a balanced picture and to address common criticisms of phenomenological methods. Accordingly, this section reviews limitations of phenomenological research, explains the validity and reliability criteria adopted in this study and considers the importance of reflexivity.

Hycner (1985) provides an in-depth discussion of various *criticisms* levelled against phenomenological research. First, phenomenological research is criticised (primarily by positivists) for a lack of *randomness* in the participant selection process. Indeed, participants are typically selected because they had particular experiences and are able to articulate them (Cope, 2005). However, this approach is consistent with the phenomenological goal of investigating phenomena in a detailed and revealing manner, rather than developing generalisable findings (Sandberg, 2005). Second, a related concern is the *limited number of participants* that phenomenological studies investigate, which further inhibits generalisability of results (Lewis, 2015).

Furthermore, phenomenological interview techniques are criticised for providing a *retrospective viewpoint* (Seymour, 2006). However, from a phenomenological perspective, this is not of particular concern, as descriptions of experiences are always considered different from the experiences themselves (Cope, 2011). An associated concern is the practice of *confabulation* in which participants engage when trying to fill gaps in their memory (i.e. recall bias) or when altering descriptions in an effort to please the researcher (Hycner, 1985). While this is usually a subconscious practice, it does affect the collection of data. Nevertheless, as phenomenological research is interested in the ways in which participants think they have experienced situations, the potential effects are of limited concern (Cope, 2011). In addition, it is believed that longitudinal research approaches minimise 'distortion, omission and (self)-deception' (Lam and Harker, 2015: 328).

Phenomenological research is also often criticised for the *subjective influence of the researcher*. As Smith et al. (2009: 3) highlight, phenomenological research

relies upon ‘double hermeneutics’: scholars interpret events as relayed to them by participants who have themselves interpreted these experiences. However, as Leitch et al. (2010) emphasise, research in the social sciences can never be free from interpretation. Thus, it could be argued that, by embracing the resulting subjectivity, phenomenological approaches adhere to a fundamental principle of the field. Another criticism of phenomenological studies is their lack of *replicability* (Sandberg, 2005). Scholars are likely to interpret the same interview transcripts in different ways. Once again, given that interpretivist approaches embrace subjectivity, differences in interpretation are generally appreciated by phenomenologists (Smith and Osborn, 2008). Similarly, concerns about the *absence of hypotheses, control groups and prediction* are based on a functionalist understanding of the principles of research (Hycner, 1985). It is therefore important to evaluate phenomenological research based on its underlying assumptions, which is why this study provided such a detailed discussion in this respect.

As this study does not conform to the ‘dominant positivist-quantitative orthodoxy’ (Smith et al., 2013: 366), its value cannot be judged according to traditional positivist criteria, such as objectivity and generalisability (Leitch et al., 2010). Instead, interpretivists must adopt alternative approaches to demonstrate the *validity and reliability* of their work (Finlay, 2006). While several different approaches have been developed to achieve this goal (cf. Leitch et al., 2010; Sandberg, 2005; Yanow, 2006), they all serve to verify the empirical findings of interpretivist research (for a detailed comparison, see Finlay, 2006). Heeding Berglund’s (2015) advice, this study employs Sandberg’s (2005) well-established technique, which involves the use of four criteria: communicative, pragmatic and transgressive validity (Kvale, 1989; Lather, 1993) and reliability as interpretive awareness (Sandberg, 2000).

First, *communicative validity* was established by pursuing consistent interpretations of the perspectives of participants (Kvale, 1989). This entailed allowing participants to explain their experiences in detail by asking open-ended questions and subjecting the resulting interpretations ‘to critical appraisal as a result of the [supervisors’] reviewing process and presentation at conferences as well as openly discussing findings with participants’ (Lamb et al., 2011: 679). Second, to

achieve *pragmatic validity* (Kvale, 1989), emerging knowledge was tested by asking participants probing questions and by taking into account their reactions to the researcher's interpretations of their experiences. This process facilitated correcting any discrepancies and enabled participants to clarify their thinking (Sandberg, 2000). Third, *transgressive validity* was attained by exploring the differences between individual views, rather than solely investigating the similarities between the perspectives of participants (Lather, 1993). This approach helped account for the diverse and complex nature of lived experiences. Fourth, to ensure *reliability as interpretive awareness* (Sandberg, 2000), the researcher acknowledged the subjectivity that derives from prior knowledge of a subject and from gaining a profound understanding of the lived-worlds of participants. The stories of all participants were treated as equally important and the researcher continuously checked to ensure that emerging themes could not be better explained through alternative conceptualisations (Sandberg, 2005). This comprehensive approach was employed to verify the findings of this study and to demonstrate the quality of its research design.

As Finlay (2006: 321) points out, 'the role of the researcher needs to be acknowledged and accounted for in the documentation of ... research'. **Reflexivity** is particularly important in phenomenological studies, where researchers interpret the experiences of participants (Heidegger, 1962). Thus, the researcher shares relevant personal reflections below. In Finlay's (2006: 319) words, these critically self-aware evaluations are intended to 'show you, the reader, different dimensions of my thinking'. It is important to recognise that, whether consciously or subconsciously, researchers always bring a 'hidden agenda' to the research process (Cope, 2005). By making readers aware of the researcher's involvement in a study, underlying goals and beliefs can be revealed. In addition, Alvesson and Sandberg (2013) argue that a reflexive attitude encourages one to consider alternative explanations for phenomena, which can lead to greater analytical insight. However, as Conklin (2007, 2012) notes, reflexive practices are not without their challenges and it is essential that the focus of phenomenological research remains on the perspectives of participants rather than those of the researcher.

Bourdieu (1977) also highlights the role of reflexivity in the research process (for in-depth discussions, see Karataş-Özkan and Chell, 2010; Swartz, 2008). According to Golsorkhi et al. (2009: 786), Bourdieu suggests that ‘researchers must be able to become aware [not only] of the *illusio* and the *doxa* of the fields they investigate but also of that of their own scientific fields’. Drakopoulou Dodd et al. (2014) provide a detailed analysis of the *doxa* and *illusio* in the field of qualitative entrepreneurship research. They find that the need to fit-in with the prevailing positivist perspective affects the abilities of qualitative scholars to tell the stories of their participants, so much so that some abandon the pursuit of journal publication in favour of writing book chapters and books. Fortunately, this study is not limited by the need to meet the expectations of journal reviewers, but rather is addressed to those who appreciate the importance of adopting alternative paradigms and approaches in entrepreneurship research.

*Personal reflections: First, it is important to consider my own engagement in the craft field. When I moved to the UK in 2005, I was trained in woodworking and later taught this craft to students at a college in England. Although I never started my own firm, I did seize several opportunities to apply and develop my skills in a range of capacities, including being a theatre technician in Scotland, a set designer in the USA and a carpenter in Australia. These experiences provided me with deep insights into cultural production and fuelled my interest in exploring the practices of craft entrepreneurs. While my perceptions of craft practices will have inadvertently influenced my understanding of the accounts of participants, my embeddedness in this context helped me establish rapport with participants and allowed them to build on my knowledge in order to explain their perspectives in more detail.*

*Second, my upbringing affected my choice of exploring entrepreneurship in rural surroundings. I grew up in a village east of Berlin, which is why I am aware of the peculiarities of living in an accessible rural area. Among other things, I received help not only from my neighbours and friends, but many other people, including local business owners, postal workers and even the mayor, who knew me personally and took an interest in my life. However, this interest in the affairs of other people did, of course, also encourage gossip and inhibit privacy. Thus, I am familiar with the benefits and drawbacks of residing in a rural area. After moving to the UK, I*

*have also spent time living and working in smaller towns in England and Scotland, so my experience goes beyond the German context. Accordingly, I was able to draw on this understanding in my discussions with participants, but it will also have affected my interpretations of their experiences.*

*Third, it is also important to reflect upon my learning experience throughout the research process. Over the course of this study, I honed many crucial skills (e.g. interviewing techniques) and advanced my knowledge of research practices based on experiential learning – particularly from challenges and failures. For instance, I learned that adding participants, such as household members, to an ongoing study is challenging. While participating entrepreneurs were surprisingly open and happy to share their experiences, I found that their household members were much less eager to divulge personal information. I suspect that this was mainly due to a lack of rapport (the importance of which I learned to appreciate more as the research progressed). Despite my reassurances that all information would be kept confidential, it struck me that some household members still feared that they might say ‘the wrong thing’ about the entrepreneurs. Thus, I have come to the conclusion that any future research which incorporates the accounts of household or family members should be designed as such from the beginning.*

The reflections presented in this section provide insights into the researcher’s personal engagement in the craft industry, his background and the experiential learning that emerged from conducting this study. By introducing the researcher’s lived experience and highlighting how it impacted the development of this study over time, these reflections demonstrate a deeper level of temporal embeddedness within this study. Not only did the researcher analyse how participants’ lived experiences shape their actions over time, but also considered how his own history impacted that analysis. It should be noted that while the selected examples of reflections presented above are not exhaustive, they were chosen because they represent the reflective approach that was adopted in this study.

## **5.7. Conclusion**

This chapter provided an in-depth review of the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of this study. In line with its overall objectives and the researcher's own beliefs, this study adopts an interpretivist stance and employs an interpretative phenomenological analysis approach. Thus, it interprets the subjective views of participating entrepreneurs to create situated, local knowledge, rather than generalisable findings. Theory is developed inductively, based on the lived-experiences of participants. Consequently, this study is able to generate new theoretical constructs, particularly in relation to entrepreneurs' management of various forms of capital and the impact of household and community members on their practices. Furthermore, it enhances existing theories, especially Bourdieu's theory of practice, through analysis of the real-life behaviours of entrepreneurs. In adopting a phenomenological approach and collecting data over the course of 18 months, this study addresses repeated calls for more paradigmatic and methodological diversity as well as for more longitudinal designs in entrepreneurship research. In explaining the study's purposeful participant selection, in-depth interviewing technique and systematic data analysis, this chapter demonstrated the quality of the adopted research design and the validity and reliability of the resulting findings discussed below.



## **CHAPTER 6: A THEORY OF PRACTICE FOR CRAFT ENTREPRENEURS**

### **6.1. Introduction**

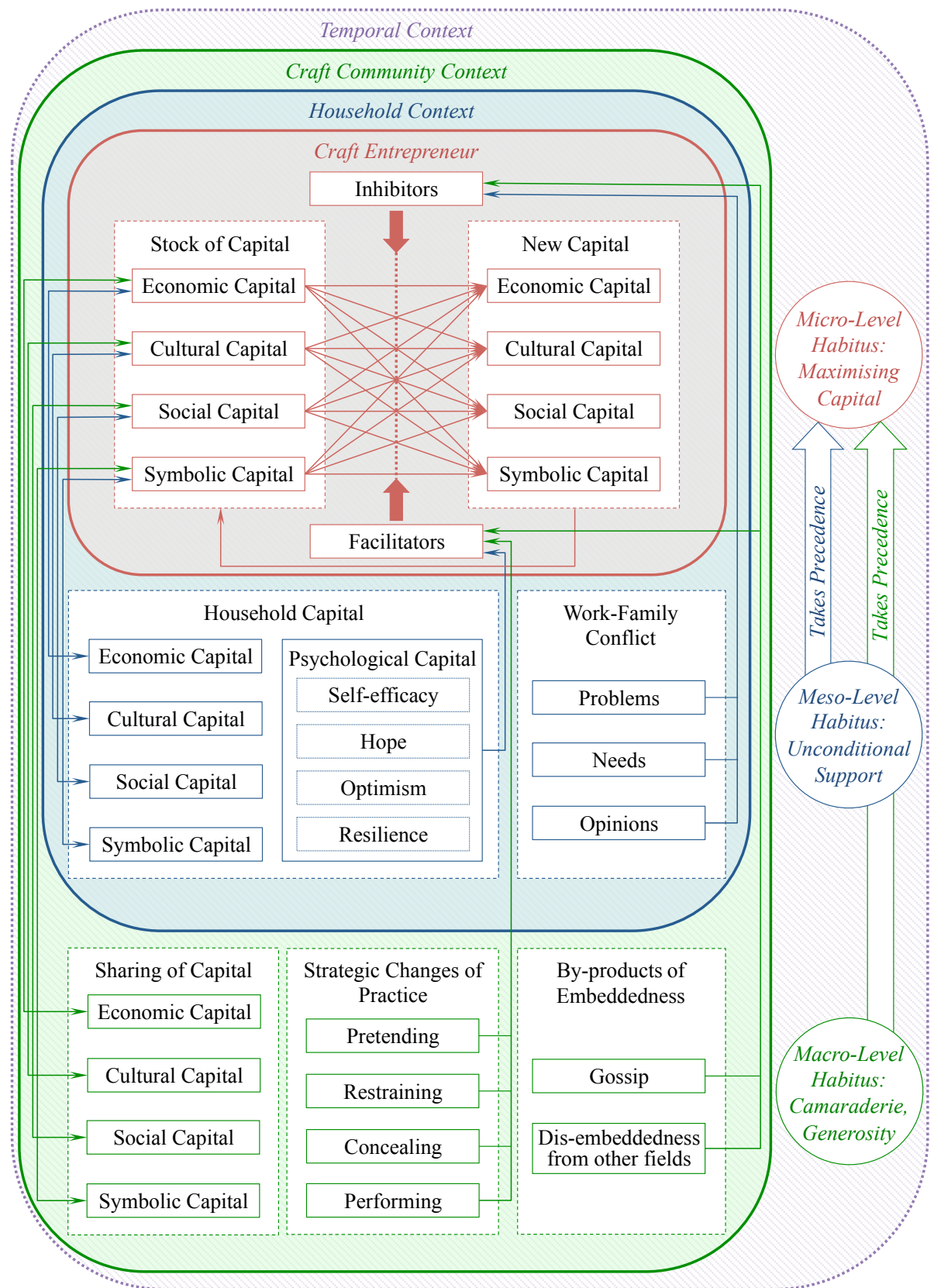
In proposing a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs, this chapter seeks to fulfil the overarching goal of this thesis. Whereas the findings chapters (Chapters 7-9) present the empirical data collected and discuss them in relation to the extant literature, this chapter provides a conceptual synthesis of the results of this study. As such, it does not draw directly on examples from the raw data to justify its arguments, but rather refers to the following chapters, which provide detailed analyses of the behaviours of participants.

The conceptual model presented in this chapter explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts impacts entrepreneurs' resource management practices. It demonstrates how micro-, meso- and macro-level contexts, subsumed within the overarching temporal context, affect the behaviours of craft entrepreneurs. In so doing, it illustrates the connections between the subsequent findings chapters. While generalisability of the results cannot be assumed (Leitch et al., 2010), future research can compare the theory of practice presented in this study to the experiences of entrepreneurs in other industries, adapt (or confirm) the conceptual model and thus engage in accumulative theory development (Cope, 2005). This chapter is structured as follows. The conceptual model is introduced in the next section, which discusses the aggregate stock of capital, inhibitors and facilitators of capital conversion, competing habitus and the temporal context. Next, the relationship to Bourdieu's theory of practice is examined. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

### **6.2. Conceptual Model**

Figure 6.1 displays a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs, which was developed through an analysis of the experiences of participants. This conceptual model integrates multiple contexts and facilitates investigations that transcend micro-, meso- and macro-levels, addressing calls for research to develop multilevel theories of entrepreneurial practice (De Clercq et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2016; Shepherd, 2009). Specifically, this model shows that the resource management practices of craft

**Figure 6.1.** A Theory of Practice for Craft Entrepreneurs



entrepreneurs are affected by embeddedness in household and community contexts, and that the interplay between these contexts is in turn governed by the temporal context. Given that accumulation and conversion of capital are crucial for the successful operation of craft enterprises (e.g. crafting products for sale involves the conversion of cultural into economic capital) and that the day-to-day activities of participants revolve around these practices, they permeate this model.

### ***6.2.1. Aggregate Stock of Capital***

The stock of capital available to craft entrepreneurs greatly affects their ability to develop sustainable businesses. Accordingly, participants were found to engage in a range of conversion processes that allow them to maximise their amount of capital. Chapter 7 discusses in detail how craft entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. It provides a multitude of examples of various conversions, which are shown to lead to the development of individual as well as multiple forms of capital. As indicated in Figure 6.1, this study finds that each form of capital is convertible into all other forms, as well as different variations of the same form of capital. Since prior research has mainly focused on only one or two forms of capital (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Davidsson and Honig, 2003) and conceptual discussions of their convertibility have rarely been verified by empirical research (Scott, 2012), the findings of this study advance contemporary debates. Importantly, Figure 6.1 illustrates only the conversions between Bourdieu's (1986) generic forms of capital. Chapter 7 provides a more nuanced account of different variations of these capitals and their conversions. As explained in Chapter 3, the term 'capital conversion' is understood to entail the creation of new capital and does not necessitate the loss of the original form of capital (apart from economic capital which is usually lost during its conversion). As shown in Figure 6.1, newly created capital is therefore added to the entrepreneur's available stock of capital.

It should be noted that the processes discussed in Chapter 7 present only a partial picture. Without accounting for the household and community contexts in which craft entrepreneurs are embedded, their aggregate stock of capital cannot be determined. As shown in Chapter 8, household members provide entrepreneurs with a multitude of readily available resources, which are free from (or require low)

transaction costs. Whereas prior research on household capital is limited to analyses of financial, human and social capital (Rodriguez et al., 2009; Steier, 2009), this study demonstrates that cohabitants supply craft entrepreneurs with a much broader range of resources. Thus, these household resources become part of the stock of capital that entrepreneurs draw upon to engage in capital conversion processes. Indeed, Chapter 8 provides examples of crucial activities (e.g. website design and maintenance), which participants can only conduct with the help of cohabitants and their various capitals.

In addition, Chapter 9 reveals how embeddedness in craft communities leads to the open sharing of resources among community members. This study shows that entrepreneurs not only gain access to financial support, network contacts and tacit knowledge, as demonstrated by the extant literature (Chalmers and Balan-Vnuk, 2013; Maclean et al., 2013), but a number of additional resources, including co-created cultural and symbolic capital. Craft entrepreneurs were found to collaborate with and draw upon the support of community members regularly, allowing them to increase their aggregate stock of capital. However, this support is not unidirectional: craft entrepreneurs also provide household and community members with resources, which can reduce their amount of capital. Thus, in order to understand the mutable stock of capital available to craft entrepreneurs, the evolving resource contributions and needs of household and community members over time need to be considered.

### ***6.2.2. Inhibitors and Facilitators of Capital Conversion***

As shown in Figure 6.1, there are both inhibitors and facilitators to capital conversions. Based on the analysis of participants' experiences, Chapter 7 identifies a range of conversion-specific inhibitors, which have largely been overlooked in the literature. Among others, the findings show that economic capital conversions can be inhibited by associated risks, cultural capital conversions by lapses in memory, social capital conversions by the high expectations of contacts and symbolic capital conversion by a lack of self-confidence. As shown in Figure 6.1, the list of these factors is extended once household and community contexts are taken into account.

Concerning additional inhibitors of capital conversion, Chapter 8 highlights that the problems, needs and opinions of household and family members can

negatively impact craft entrepreneurs. Cohabitants' problems, such as job insecurity or illness, can lead entrepreneurs to temporarily relegate their business operations to a secondary role and therefore neglect vital activities such as capital conversions. Similarly, household members' needs, including those related to scheduling and relocation, are found to restrict the abilities of entrepreneurs to engage in the development of new capital. Furthermore, expressions of disapproval, doubt and disregard from wider family members are shown to inhibit craft entrepreneurs, as they decrease their self-confidence, which is crucial to successful creative practices. As most of these inhibitors result from temporary circumstances, they highlight how the temporal embeddedness not only of entrepreneurs, but also of their household and family members affects entrepreneurial actions.

Embeddedness in communities can further inhibit the abilities of craft entrepreneurs to engage in capital accumulation and conversion. Chapter 9 shows how gossip acts as a control mechanism which ensures that community members adhere to extant norms. This compels participants to refrain from a number of activities, including copying ideas, which prevents them from conducting certain cultural capital conversions. In addition, Chapter 9 reveals that embeddedness in craft communities can lead to a dis-embeddedness from local communities, which limits access to local resources. At the same time, Figure 6.1 indicates that these by-products of embeddedness can also act as facilitators of capital conversion. This study shows that the control mechanism of gossip can free craft entrepreneurs to engage in collaborative and relational creative practices without fearing plagiarism. Similarly, by focusing exclusively on their craft communities, rather than local communities, participants can avoid spending resources on business unrelated activities.

Regarding other facilitators of capital conversion, Chapter 8 shows that household members do not only provide instrumental, but also emotional support to craft entrepreneurs. By boosting their self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience, cohabitants increase the psychological capital of entrepreneurs (Baron et al., 2013; Zou et al., 2016). As such, they provide them with the means of combating inhibitors to conversion processes, such as a lack of self-confidence. Furthermore, Chapter 9 reveals that participants engage in a range of strategic changes of practice, which

allow them to temporarily adapt their conduct to meet the expectations of community members, depending on the surrounding temporal context. These strategic actions facilitate a number of crucial activities, such as finding and maintaining collectors and gaining invitations to shows and exhibitions, which can increase their social and symbolic capital. In other words, embeddedness in household, community and temporal contexts both inhibits and facilitates the practices of craft entrepreneurs.

### ***6.2.3. Competing Habitus***

As craft entrepreneurs are embedded in multiple contexts, they are affected by each context's divergent 'rules of behaviour' (habitus). On a micro-level, Chapter 7 shows that their actions are driven by the need to accumulate new resources and to maximise available capital. Thus, the practices of participants are aligned with those of most business owners who operate in capitalist societies (Calás et al., 2009; Schumpeter, 1942). Craft entrepreneurs convert their capital not only to generate income, but also to create new resources that can be reinvested into the business and support the development of the firm. As personal dispositions, these underlying objectives affect the practices and agency of entrepreneurs.

However, the fields in which entrepreneurs are embedded feature their own habitus, which can oppose one another and create conflict (Friedland, 2009). In the case of the household context (Chapter 8), this study shows that habitus prescribes an open and free exchange of resources and that cohabitants are expected to provide unconditional support to one another. Similarly, embeddedness in craft communities leads entrepreneurs to engage in collaboration and social value creation because the prevailing habitus requires community members to demonstrate high levels of camaraderie and generosity (Chapter 9). As shown in Figure 6.1, this study finds that, depending on participants' temporal contexts, they will prioritise meso- or macro-level habitus over micro-level habitus, as they seek to maintain active membership in their households and craft communities. For example, when they are in contact with members of either field, such as on the weekends with their families or when interacting with other makers at craft shows, the maximisation of capital is often relegated to a secondary role. This does not mean that participants do not continue to engage in capital conversion processes, but rather that the importance of

fitting in with these contexts is valued more than the need to accumulate new capital. As explained in Chapter 9, however, compliance with extant norms is also a prerequisite for enjoying the benefits that membership in communities provides, including access to a range of capitals. As such, though entrepreneurs may, at times, prioritise the habitus of one field, this does not necessarily entail a complete neglect of the habitus of another.

#### ***6.2.4. Temporal Context***

In line with this study's main findings, and thus the discussions presented in Chapters 7-9, Figure 6.1 focuses on the social and spatial contexts in which participants are embedded. However, the model also illustrates how these contexts exist within an overarching temporal context. Thus, this temporal dimension of craft entrepreneurs' practices needs to be taken into consideration. As time and history are highly abstract concepts, it is difficult to directly observe their impacts upon daily activities (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b). However, throughout this study, it became clear that participants' actions within myriad contexts are shaped by their temporal contexts. First, craft entrepreneurs' lived experiences (i.e. their personal histories, traditions, shared memories and collective identities) are what enable them to enact the habitus of the different fields in which they are embedded. Second, the constantly fluctuating temporal context, in which micro-, meso- and macro-level contexts are subsumed, affects how participants negotiate these competing habitus and manage their resources.

The generative function of temporal context becomes clear when viewed as lived experience. Taking first its role on a micro-level, craft entrepreneurs' non-material capitals are largely the products of past experiences (Lee and Shaw, 2006). They are the result of investments into education (cultural capital), connections (social capital) and reputation (symbolic capital) – the products of a lifetime spent building upon knowledge, competencies, relationships and values. Within the meso-level and macro-level contexts of the household and craft community, it is the sharing of experiences and memories with others, and the resulting collectivism, which enables craft entrepreneurs to successfully operate within and benefit from these contexts. For example, as discussed in Chapter 8, the value of psychological

capital provided to participants by their household members is dependent upon a sense of mutual understanding created through collective memories of shared experiences. Similarly, Chapter 9 finds that habituation into the craft community is contingent upon past participation in collective activities and sharing of collective history. Thus, entrepreneurs' embeddedness within these contexts is a consequence of their temporal embeddedness.

Furthermore, as indicated in the above discussion of competing habitus, the manner in which participants prioritise one field over another when habitus clash is determined by their temporal context. While both meso- and macro-level habitus were found to naturally take precedence over that of the micro-level (see Figure 6.1), this process occurs within specific temporal contexts, as mentioned above. Similarly, the conscious prioritisation of habitus was found to be dependent upon surrounding circumstances. During peak times (e.g. in the lead up to major exhibitions or holidays), when craft entrepreneurs focus on the creation of products, they interact less with their peers and households and, as a result, engage in fewer mutual support activities. At times when members of the household are in particular need, however, participants were found to focus their energies and capital on coping with these problems. Periodically, participants' and other community members' businesses slow, which is when they tend to share more resources with one another and undertake collaborations. As such, entrepreneurs' temporal contexts not only impact their prioritisation of competing habitus, but also their resource management practices. Thus, accounts of entrepreneur's aggregate stock of capital, as well as inhibitors and facilitators of capital conversion, are always only snapshots in time.

### **6.3. Relationship to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice**

This study draws on Bourdieu's (1977, 1982, 1986) work to develop a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs. Thus, it is important to examine the differences between the conceptual model presented in this study and other interpretations of Bourdieu's work.

First, Bourdieu's theoretical framework allows for investigations of a multitude of fields in addition to family and creative communities, such as religion and education. As explained in Chapter 1, this study focuses on the impacts of



household and community contexts on entrepreneurs' resource management practices as a result of the analysis of participants' perspectives. Incidentally, none of the participants are active members in religious groups. Furthermore, their engagement in their respective craft communities leads them to experience a degree of dis-embeddedness from their local communities. Thus, only two influential social and spatial contexts are featured in this study's theory of practice, as shown in Figure 6.1. However, other entrepreneurs (e.g. religious individuals) will be influenced by a greater number of contexts, as suggested by Bourdieu (1977).

Second, Bourdieu (1984, 1986) argues that human behaviour is generally driven by a struggle for power within different fields. While the findings of this study suggest that, on an individual level, craft entrepreneurs seek to accumulate and maximise their available capital, Chapter 8 and 9 clearly show that the habitus of household and community can override such conventional market-driven behaviours. As such, the theory presented in this study allows for a more nuanced picture of entrepreneurial practices to emerge.

Third, while convertibility of capital is an important aspect of Bourdieu's (1986) theory, only a limited number of conversions are discussed in his work (see Chapter 3). In comparison, this study accounts for a multitude of conversions that craft entrepreneurs conduct on a regular basis. Furthermore, this study offers a more detailed list of inhibitors and facilitators of capital conversion than presented by Bourdieu, who focuses on the time required to engage in transformation processes. In addition, while Bourdieu (1984) considers capital to be the 'stakes of the game' that individuals both strive for and possess, he pays little attention to the impact of capital sharing among agents (a notable exception is in his discussion of the family field, see Bourdieu, 1996). Thus, the conceptual model presented in this study extends Bourdieu's theorising.

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are a number of studies that employ Bourdieu's theory of practice in the context of entrepreneurship. However, the majority of these studies draw on individual aspects of his framework, such as capital theory, to explain the behaviours of entrepreneurs. Consequently, there are few comprehensive Bourdieusian theories within the field of entrepreneurship to which this study's theory of practice can be compared. Within transnational

entrepreneurship scholarship, Drori et al.'s (2006) work has sparked several empirical studies which account for multiple contexts. For example, Patel and Conklin (2009) examine the importance of bifocality (i.e. the ability to operate in two different environments) and Terjesen and Elam (2009) explore macro-environment related factors, such as cultural repertoires and power relations, which affect the practices of transnational entrepreneurs. However, neither of these studies considers the influence of household or family members on entrepreneurs and both largely overlook the importance of cultural and symbolic capital in their empirical investigations. In comparison, De Clercq & Voronov (2009a, 2009b, 2009c), who engage in in-depth conceptual discussions, focus on the importance of cultural and symbolic capital for generating entrepreneurial legitimacy, but at the expense of economic and social capital. Furthermore, Karataş-Özkan (2011) examines entrepreneurial learning, which she interprets as a meso-level construct, and capital transformations, but omits field-related considerations. Thus, while there are a number of entrepreneurship studies that draw on Bourdieu's work to develop theories of practice, the conceptual model presented in this study differs in its depth and focus on micro-, meso- and macro-level environments.

#### **6.4. Conclusion**

This chapter presented a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs. It illustrated how entrepreneurs accumulate and convert their various forms of capital and how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects these practices. This chapter demonstrated that the stock of capital available to entrepreneurs is an aggregate of the various resources generated by the individual and shared by members of the household and community. It also showed that there are a number of inhibitors and facilitators to capital conversion, which derive from micro-, meso- and macro-level factors. This chapter highlighted that the competing habitus, which results from embeddedness in multiple fields, leads craft entrepreneurs to prioritise fitting in with the norms of household and community over the individualistic desire to maximise available capital. Furthermore, this chapter revealed that these contexts, and entrepreneurs' actions within them, exist within a wider temporal dimension, which needs to be taken into consideration. Craft entrepreneurs' temporal contexts are what enable

them to enact different fields' habitus and affect how they negotiate these competing habitus and manage their resources. By presenting a comprehensive theory of practice, this study adapts Bourdieu's work to better describe the context of craft entrepreneurship. It differs from prior work that has employed Bourdieu's theoretical framework and facilitates future investigations into other contexts and industries.

## CHAPTER 7: CAPITAL CONVERSIONS - MICRO-LEVEL

### 7.1. Introduction

As explained in the previous chapter, which introduced the theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs, each of the findings chapters explores a different environment. This chapter focuses on the individual actions of participants (micro-level), before the following chapters examine the influences of household (meso-level) and community contexts (macro-level) on entrepreneurs. Given the paucity of empirical research into the convertibility of capitals (Scott, 2012), this chapter seeks to advance knowledge by addressing the research question: *How do entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital?*

This chapter is structured to demonstrate the distinctive conversions found between each form of capital. First, it discusses conversions of economic capital, revealing their comparatively minor role in the wider capital transformation processes conducted by craft entrepreneurs. Second, it examines conversions of cultural capital, highlighting their high exchange rates and resulting value for participants. Third, the chapter investigates social capital conversions, demonstrating the significance of network ties to the accumulation of resources and the brokerage of new connections. Finally, it explores symbolic capital conversions, illustrating the transmutability of awards, exhibitions and publicity, which have largely been overlooked in the entrepreneurship literature. Importantly, this chapter examines not only direct conversions from one form of capital into another, but also accounts for more complex transformations which result in the accumulation of multiple forms of capital. Furthermore, it exposes various inhibitors to capital conversion processes. In so doing, this study advances the findings of prior research on capital conversion (Nicolopoulou, 2014; Scott, 2012).

### 7.2. Economic Capital Conversions

As illustrated in Table 7.1, craft entrepreneurs utilise their economic capital to expand their available stock of resources. For example, participants were found to

employ profits from sales to acquire tangible business assets (economic capital). Furthermore, they acknowledge that the payment of fees can be a prerequisite for learning new skills (cultural capital), obtaining memberships in business networks (social capital) and securing publicity (symbolic capital). These conversions of economic capital appear to be purposeful and considered; participants do not spend their business income without weighing the costs and benefits of doing so.

**Table 7.1.** Conversions of Economic Capital

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	‘Everything I bought, you know, the chairs, tables and things ... it all came from the money I made selling the prints’. (Julie) ‘If a bear sells and I need stuff, I’ll buy it out of the profit from that bear’. (Holly)
Cultural Capital	‘I have paid to go on workshops ... ones that teach me a new technique ... I’ve always updated my professional skills’. (Julie) ‘I paid tuition fees for that course ... [and] I did learn stuff from it’. (Frank)
Social Capital	‘You have to pay ... an annual fee for that [membership], but I would say it’s worth it, even just for having met [new supplier], you know’. (Diana) ‘It’s [membership] not very much. It’s only £22 a year or something like that’. (Carol)
Symbolic Capital	‘For actual product shots you do need to pay to get some professional photography done ... you have to go the extra mile [for publications]’. (Isla) ‘You pay to get into that one [magazine] and it’s very important for me to be seen to be in that’. (Holly)

Indeed, participants communicate that their investments of economic capital can generate more than a single form of capital, making such conversions even more lucrative. For instance, Isla shares,

[Guild] membership is £160 a year ... they do some seminars ... and you get the use of the society house in London ... you can use their library, their business room ... they have their own website and you can ... put your project up and ask for input or help.

Thus, the returns on investment into membership include learning new skills and gaining creative advice from peers (cultural capital), as well as complimentary access to tangible and intangible business assets (economic capital), rendering it more beneficial than costly to Isla. Similarly, Diana explains,

You pay for that [service] ... You get photographs done at a reduced rate with ... the best craft photographer in Scotland ... I've been taking advantage of that ... images are very important, if you're submitting for shows ... They [also] put your images forward to design magazines and write a little article on you.

In other words, paying a single service charge provides Diana with valuable contacts (social capital) and affordable, high-quality photographs, which are assets in their own right (economic capital) and which facilitate show attendance and publicity in magazines (symbolic capital).

While conversions of economic capital may appear effortless and straightforward, the data also show that such activities can be impeded, as demonstrated in Table 7.2. At times, the complexity of the process, the risk involved and the sheer cost convinces participants against transforming economic capital into other forms of capital. Once again, these decisions are the result of participants appraising the benefits of pursuing such conversions and, in some instances, determining that the benefits do not offset the costs.

**Table 7.2.** Inhibitors to Economic Capital Conversions

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Complexity	<p>'I thought about applying to be a member ... of the society of master craftsmen ... but it's expensive and ... you have to jump though so many hoops'. (Julie)</p> <p>'You have to fill out an application form and ... apply with images and ... pay a fee and ... you're still not guaranteed to get in [the course]'. (Amy)</p>
Risk	<p>'Because the material is so expensive, just to make pieces on spec that are not commissioned ... it's trying to weigh up whether it's worth doing'. (Diana)</p> <p>'To buy the Harris Tweed [in bulk] ... it's an expensive thing to do'. (Emily)</p>
Cost	<p>'The issue there was that they [gallery] wanted to charge a kind of membership fee every month, and I said, "I can't do that ... I'm not selling enough"'. (Frank)</p> <p>'Exhibiting in the new gallery space ... it's too expensive'. (Carol)</p>

### 7.3. Cultural Capital Conversions

While participants approach economic capital conversions as necessary activities, which are a 'means to an end' rather than a particularly enjoyable practice, they seem to embrace cultural capital conversions much more emphatically. Specifically,

craft entrepreneurs were found to readily transform their embodied, objectified and institutionalised cultural capital into other forms of capital.

Table 7.3 provides examples of how craft entrepreneurs benefit from converting their *embodied cultural capital*. For instance, knowledge and skills enable participants to apply for grants and garner orders for commissions (economic capital). They also allow craft entrepreneurs to run workshops and give talks, through which they can obtain feedback on existing products, develop ideas for new techniques (cultural capital) and spread recognition for their ventures (symbolic capital). Furthermore, participants draw on their experience in their respective craft worlds to gather industry contacts and collectors (social capital). Due to the tacit nature of embodied cultural capital, its conversions were found to occur almost organically.

**Table 7.3.** Conversions of Embodied Cultural Capital

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	‘I applied for a start-up grant ... you had to include ... a business plan, which I knew how to do ... so that was very fortunate’. (Diana) ‘She [wholesaler] thought my baskets ... were so much neater and more beautiful ... so anything funny [orders] that came in ... they were given to me’. (George)
Cultural Capital	‘I’m running some workshops, so ... I’m hoping to get some feedback on the new [products]’. (Julie) ‘The workshops are quite fun to run ... ’cos when somebody else ... tries something that I don’t normally do ... that sometimes gives me ideas of how to do stuff’. (Carol)
Social Capital	‘I got a job at a fashion house ... which wasn’t my thing, but at least I made really good contacts’. (Amy) ‘The longer you’ve been making, the more people get to know you’. (Holly)
Symbolic Capital	‘I’m going to give a talk at [museum] ... it’s all about, you know, lifting my profile ... you never know, they might invite me for an exhibition in the future’. (Julie) ‘I did more workshops ... which started to get my name out there’. (Emily)

Skills in particular seem to be well-suited for conversion into multiple forms of capital. For example, the skill of pitching allows craft entrepreneurs to generate myriad benefits for their businesses, as demonstrated by Julie: ‘I’ve sent in a proposal to [gallery] ... to do a weekend there ... it’s good exposure and I feel they are going to be a good fit ... profitable in a marketing sense ... and in a financial sense’. Thus, through her aptitude for proposal writing, Julie managed to secure an

opportunity to exhibit her products at a reputable gallery (symbolic capital), which she is confident will lead to sales (economic capital). Similarly, Frank ‘pitched an idea to [museum], which is a big museum, and it has hundreds of thousands of visitors every year and ...that got them interested in selling my mugs, which is really good’. In this way, Frank used his skills not only to gain a valuable wholesaler (social capital) but also to associate his work with a popular, well-established museum (symbolic capital).

Despite these benefits and the apparent ease with which participants engage in converting their embodied cultural capital, they can also be hindered from performing this activity. As shown in Table 7.4, craft entrepreneurs are affected by IT ineptitude, lack of time and lapses in memory, which can prevent them from being able to capitalise upon their skills, knowledge and experience. Interestingly, participants appear to view all of these inhibitors as inherent and unavoidable, rather than conditions they could work to correct, further demonstrating the organic nature of such capital conversions.

**Table 7.4.** Inhibitors to Embodied Cultural Capital Conversions

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
IT Ineptitude	‘I had a few videos to put on, but I’m not really good with this technology ... I just dread ... when things don’t work for me’. (George)  ‘I’m not really that happy with my website ... it doesn’t show the intricacy of my stitching ... but it never seems a priority, because I’m not very computer literate’. (Emily)
Lack of Time	‘It was a lot more work obviously than two hours ... my first class, it [took] most of the day to ... plan it and then I had to fire [their] stuff in the kiln’. (Frank)  ‘It’s not that easy ... because you’ve gotta prepare everything ... if you teach’. (George)
Memory Lapses	‘I ran a workshop ... and then I came in here and then I was busy catching up with the orders and by the time, you know, I was ready to work on the [new range], I’d forgotten most of the [students’] ideas’. (Carol)

Craft entrepreneurs have ready access to *objectified cultural capital*; it is the very basis of their ventures in the form of the craft products they create. The ubiquitous nature of this form of capital enables participants to profit from its conversion in several ways, as illustrated in Table 7.5. Not only are cultural goods transformed into sales (economic capital), which is a core business function, but participants also convert them into more ideas for products (cultural capital). In



addition, the cultural worth of their craft products facilitates developing relationships with collectors and wholesalers (social capital) as well as accumulating awards and generating media attention (symbolic capital).

**Table 7.5.** Conversions of Objectified Cultural Capital

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	‘The kits really are the way to go as far as money making is concerned ... because people want original [work] ... and they don’t want to have to think for themselves’. (Emily) ‘The whole point about it is that you’re kind of selling a lifestyle ... a piece of pottery ... it’s sort of personal taste and experience and all sorts of things come into it’. (Frank)
Cultural Capital	‘Well, it started really with the book ... and the realisation that people wanted that, which generated this one [book] and this one has generated these products’. (Julie) ‘I had made something for Valentine’s Day with lots of different colours of felt and then ... that kind of developed into other things’. (Emily)
Social Capital	‘They [collectors] said, “I’ve looked at loads of websites, and yours [baskets] are the best”, you know, they can see somehow ... that integrity [that’s] in the work’. (George) ‘I took along some examples of my work ... and one of them said ... “You’ve got talent ... I know some people who might be interested in selling your work”’. (Isla)
Symbolic Capital	‘You send in photographs of your creations and ... the sort of big wigs in our world ... vote on them and then the top five ... get through to the public choice awards’. (Holly) ‘Magazines sometimes call and say, “We like this basket, can we put it in and give you a mention?”’ (George)

Indeed, objectified cultural capital is highly versatile in the hands of craft entrepreneurs, as demonstrated by Carol:

Every year I do a new ... colourway collection ... and the club is a preview of the new collection ... it’s limited places. They give me £200 each ... on the expectation that I’m gonna give them something good ... and it seems to be quite popular ... the first year I had 49 people ... and then the third year I had about 80 people apply.

In other words, Carol uses an objectified cultural resource (i.e. a unique colour scheme of yarns) to generate considerable profits (economic capital), increase her reputation (symbolic capital) and attract a growing number of collectors (social capital). Thus, a single cultural good can provide craft entrepreneurs with access to various other forms of capital.

Given that objectified cultural capital is a central component of craft ventures, its conversion is an essential activity which is vital to entrepreneurial success. However, the ability to transform this type of capital can be impeded by the amount of time it takes to create cultural goods, the cost of such valuable, luxury items to customers and the years of practice required to produce quality crafts (see Table 7.6). As such, while converting cultural goods into other forms of capital represents the foundation of craft enterprises, it is a process that involves considerable effort and relies upon the purchasing power of consumers.

**Table 7.6.** Inhibitors to Objectified Cultural Capital Conversions

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Lack of Time	‘The main factor is time ... it’s all hand made and I’m the only person doing it, so there is only so much I can physically produce as one person’. (Carol) ‘There is a lot of potential there for [new] kits, ... but I haven’t got the time ... there is a whole lot of work to do there, to get that off and up and running’. (Julie)
Product Cost	‘It is a luxury... you do have to have a certain amount of disposable income to be able to afford to buy hand-made stuff at hand-made prices’. (Betty) ‘Indie hand-dyed stuff is not cheap, it’s not a cheap hobby, so to be able to kind of invest time and money in it, you need to have a reasonable income level’. (Carol)
Required Experience	‘To produce high quality products ... it’s just years of making I would say ... years and years of just making and experience really, more than anything else’. (Diana) ‘I don’t think I was a natural at it. I just I had to persevere with it ... I don’t think my first stuff was brilliant or that I had an innate skill for it ... I had to practise’. (Frank)

As shown in Table 7.7, there are several ways in which craft entrepreneurs convert *institutionalised cultural capital* into other resources. Qualifications allow entrepreneurs to charge more for their products and undertaking degrees provides them with access to physical business assets (economic capital). University and college attendance also confers important business knowledge and skills (cultural capital) and facilitates building contacts with wholesalers and suppliers (social capital). Furthermore, the lifelong association with respected institutions allows participants to raise their standing in the community and reinforce their reputation (symbolic capital). Importantly, the ability of craft entrepreneurs to transform their degrees into other resources appears to be rooted in the cultural value that others place upon these qualifications and what they represent (e.g. standards, principles and identity).

**Table 7.7.** Conversions of Institutionalised Cultural Capital

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	‘The idea is that once ... I’ve got a qualification you know, I’ll be able to [get] ... a bit more money’. (Betty) ‘Being at [art school] ... got me the workshop straight way’. (Diana)
Cultural Capital	‘I think any degree ... makes you quite good at writing short articles ... it doesn’t matter how good my pottery is, if I can’t write a good little tweet or article about it’. (Frank) ‘Studying at [university] involved business studies and accounts. I never had anybody else do my accounts, cos I studied it at college, so that helps’. (Emily)
Social Capital	‘There’s a girl who I lived with when I was at uni. I still keep in touch with her ... She’s a freelance stylist and she’s got a lot of contacts in London, which I use’. (Amy) ‘He came and mended the kiln ... [and] I know him originally through college’. (Frank)
Symbolic Capital	‘I kind of bring it up sometimes ... you kind of mention, you know ... “I went to [prestigious university]”’. (Emily) ‘I’ve been to art school, so if people ask how I got into it, then I’ll talk about it’. (Amy)

Despite these benefits, the capacity of participants to convert institutionalised cultural capital can also be restricted (see Table 7.8). For instance, a dearth of degree programmes within a specific craft, the failure to undertake relevant training and variations in course quality can undermine the value of qualifications. Thus, for a degree to sufficiently equip craft entrepreneurs with the cultural capital required to support their acquisition of other forms of capital, it must be relevant to their business activities.

**Table 7.8.** Inhibitors to Institutionalised Cultural Capital Conversions

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Lack of Courses	‘There aren’t that many [pottery] courses, there are none in Scotland anymore ... I was going to do one [in Wales] ... and then I got a letter to say it had been cancelled’. (Frank) ‘There is no degree in dying yarn’. (Carol)
Lack of Training	‘It’s a bit unfortunate that I don’t actually have any qualification to back up what I’m doing, you know ... it would be good just to have one under my belt’. (Betty) ‘I haven’t done any courses, my paperwork is a nightmare ... I only just scrape by on my tax return’. (Holly)
Course Quality	‘I don’t think they [teachers] got me at all. They were used to dealing with people, who wanted to set up, I don’t know, businesses to sell paper plates’. (Julie) ‘I did learn stuff from it [course], but ... there wasn’t enough practical stuff’. (Frank)

## 7.4. Social Capital Conversions

In addition to transforming economic and cultural capital, participants were found to engage in a range of social capital conversions. As the impacts of family and peers on craft entrepreneurs' practices are the subjects of dedicated discussion (see Chapters 8 and 9), they are omitted from this section. Instead, this section focuses on the ways in which business networks, followers, suppliers and friends enable craft entrepreneurs to access and develop various resources.

Table 7.9 demonstrates how craft entrepreneurs draw on *business networks* to expand their stock of capital. Membership in guilds and networks provides participants with reduced rates for tangible resources and access to funding (economic capital), as well as opportunities to showcase their products (symbolic capital). Network members were also found to impart valuable knowledge and skills to craft entrepreneurs (cultural capital) and act as brokers for relationships with collectors and suppliers (social capital).

**Table 7.9.** Conversions of Social Capital: Business Networks

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	'They [business network] gave me a deal on the rent ... it was only £300 a month, when it was supposed to be £390 ... it's a fantastic, it's a really good deal'. (Carol) '[Business network] have ... funding available through grants and things'. (Betty)
Cultural Capital	'They [business network] have been really helpful with marketing ideas ... I do get some business support and advice, which has been really helpful'. (Amy) 'I'm keen to go to as many sessions with them [business network] as I possibly can ... free workshops on selling, setting up a business plan'. (Betty)
Social Capital	'It was excellent for networking ... I met [IT supplier] at [business network] ... so that's how I got that ... help with my website'. (Isla) '[Guild members] were very kind, they ... gave me customers when I set up'. (George)
Symbolic Capital	'I probably get more publicity because ... although I don't like my photograph taken ... I realise it's important for the [business network] ... so she uses me'. (Diana) 'The woman that organised it [guild event], she said, "We're organising this exhibition ... do you want to be involved?"' (Isla)

Indeed, the data show that a range of resources can simultaneously become available to craft entrepreneurs through such memberships. As Diana explains,

They [craft guild] paired us with Scottish celebrities ... to make an item ... It's been in Japan, New York, high-profile places ... a lot of free on-going publicity ... one gentleman who saw the collection commissioned a coffee pot ... people have seen the images of [celebrity] with the piece and have gone, 'Oh, you were the girl who made the piece for [celebrity]'.

In this way, becoming a guild member opened up the opportunity for Diana to undertake a high-profile project she would not have managed to attract on her own, which resulted in long-lasting publicity (symbolic capital), payment for her work and subsequent commissions (economic capital).

While membership in business networks can therefore be a valuable means of developing available resources, conversions of this type of social capital were also found to be impeded by both entrepreneurs and the organisations themselves (see Table 7.10). For instance, business networks can suffer from disorganisation and members who lack expertise. Equally, by not setting aside sufficient time for involvement, entrepreneurs can miss out on resulting benefits. Such factors limit the abilities of participants to transform membership into additional resources, demonstrating the importance of selecting high-quality, reputable business networks and investing time into participation.

**Table 7.10.** Inhibitors to Social Capital Conversions: Business Networks

Inhibitor	Representative Quotation
Disorganisation	'It's difficult, 'cos they [business network] tend to say, "We've got an exhibition in two months' time". Well, I can't work towards an exhibition that quickly'. (Diana)  'They're [business network] a bit lackadaisical, I would say. Not following through on things that they said they would do'. (Amy)
Lack of Time	'I should use, make use of them [business network] more, I suppose, but ... I'm just too busy'. (George)  'One of the business support groups that I'm in ... I went along, but I haven't done much with them ... it was too much ... [I] don't have the time'. (Amy)
Lack of Expertise	'You don't necessarily have to be a brilliant embroiderer to become a member of the [guild] ... so I don't get much from them'. (Julie)  'Their website people couldn't help me ... there is a hell of a difference between doing a business website and doing somebody's creative business website'. (Isla)

*Followers* are another source of social capital that craft entrepreneurs utilise to generate additional resources (see Table 7.11). For example, collectors not only supply a steady stream of orders and commissions (economic capital), but also

encourage the creation of new product ideas (cultural capital). As active members of their respective craft communities, they can widen the networks of entrepreneurs by acting as relationship brokers (social capital). Furthermore, wholesalers and online followers were found to promote the businesses of participants through providing exposure in other regions (symbolic capital).

**Table 7.11.** Conversions of Social Capital: Followers

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	<p>‘I’ve got a good customer base on the internet, I’ve got some really nice collectors, who come back to [buy from] me time and time again’. (Holly)</p> <p>‘I was taking orders for bespoke things, because that’s what people wanted me to do, so the way that the business built up was that I was taking orders from [regulars]’. (Emily)</p>
Cultural Capital	<p>‘I don’t want people who come in quite regularly, I don’t want them to get bored of the same styles, so I’m always trying to develop a different range’. (Diana)</p> <p>‘I get a lot of repeat customers asking for different things ... and I think, “If somebody wants it, then somebody else will want it”, so I make so many different products’. (Amy)</p>
Social Capital	<p>‘I get wholesale requests all the time ... people that buy stuff from me for personal use may also own a yarn shop or their friend owns a yarn shop’. (Carol)</p> <p>‘A lot of collectors come from word of mouth ... I’ll get a few, say, from Ireland, within a couple weeks, and think, “Oh, well, that person must’ve told that person”’. (Holly)</p>
Symbolic Capital	<p>‘Next month I’m gonna send stuff to [wholesaler], which is in a town about 15 miles south ... I probably won’t sell lots but it’s good exposure’. (George)</p> <p>‘I have never advertised anywhere ... people who buy my yarns go on to the forums and say, “You should buy from this person, because her yarn is really nice”’. (Carol)</p>

The data show that followers can provide access to multiple resources, as illustrated by Emily,

[Collector] came in ... and said, ‘Is there any chance that you could make a [new product] for my daughter?’ ... So I came up with the design ... and when she came to pick it up, she told me her daughter worked for [national magazine] ... and they put it in the magazine and ... I’ve made over 100 now, because people are still ordering them ... they are a best seller.

Emily’s experience demonstrates how a single repeat customer can generate new product ideas (cultural capital), connections to publishers (social capital) and publicity for craft products (symbolic capital), which results in numerous sales (economic capital). Consequently, the value of a dedicated collector is not limited to direct sales, but encompasses the generation of various forms of capital, indicating the significance of maintaining such relationships.

As important as followers are for obtaining resources, fulfilling their special requests, confronting their sometimes impossible demands and neglecting creative work in favour of satisfying their needs can reduce their utility in developing other forms of capital (see Table 7.12). Thus, it appears that, when cultivating followers, craft entrepreneurs recognise that not all will equally facilitate capital conversions.

**Table 7.12.** Inhibitors to Social Capital Conversions: Followers

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Special Requests	‘Commissions can get a wee bit stifflingly ...you’re trying to get what’s in somebody’s head into your head ... and it’s not gonna look like what’s in their head’. (Holly) ‘I have a couple of regulars ... who will say, “I’ve thought of this thing you can make” ... and I’ll come up with a design and they’ll say ... “Well, I want this instead”’. (Emily)
Impossible Demands	‘Everything I make is one-off ... I had to tell her that she will get a different variation of it, just by the techniques that I do ... she was very stubborn about it’. (Diana) ‘She just wanted that [specific] piece ... [and] it wouldn’t have been the same’. (Julie)
Creative Frustration	‘It’s just ... what people want and I’m making it for them ... [If] I didn’t have so many commissions ... I would have more time to do more creative things. (George) ‘It wouldn’t bother me ... if I never had to stich a name on anything ever again’. (Emily)

As shown in Table 7.13, participants draw upon their *suppliers* not just to purchase materials, but also to gain access to a range of resources. Building relationships with suppliers encourages them to provide craft entrepreneurs with free goods and reduced rates on services (economic capital) and to share valuable business knowledge (cultural capital). In addition, suppliers maintain large networks of makers and collectors (social capital), which they can make available to craft entrepreneurs. Friendly relationships can also motivate suppliers to help promote craft ventures by providing them with bespoke materials and augmenting their online visibility (symbolic capital).

Furthermore, the data show that a single supplier relationship can generate multiple forms of capital. For example, Julie shares, ‘I told [supplier], “I made something out of the fabric” ... and he said, “Send me an image” ... They put it on their website ... and I had about 1,000 hits and ... got lots of orders and a commission in America’. In this way, Julie’s interactions with her supplier prompted him to publicise her products (symbolic capital), which provided her with sales and commissions (economic capital). Accordingly, participants seek to create goodwill in their suppliers so that they can gain advantages from these relationships.

**Table 7.13.** Conversions of Social Capital: Suppliers

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	‘I order from the [fabric supplier] quite regularly and she sends me down [free] samples and bits and pieces ... which is great, which is really nice’. (Emily) ‘I got a quote from this company ... and it was £400 or £500 to mend the kiln ... and then [clay supplier] came and did it and it was £250’. (Frank)
Cultural Capital	‘The company that I buy dye from ... when I first started ... they were super helpful, sent me out leaflets [on] how to do stuff, you know, what the process was’. (Carol) ‘[Suppliers] know lots about things and they are really enthusiastic and if you build up a relationship with them ... you kind of get their knowledge’. (Isla)
Social Capital	‘I get to know people through [supplier] ... especially in London when I go down there to get fabric, you see the same faces ... [and] they’re good contacts to have’. (Amy) ‘She [supplier] has a huge network ... and that’s where I got all these orders from’. (Julie)
Symbolic Capital	‘[Supplier] looked at the website, optimised it ... [and] overnight I was on the first page for “willow baskets” ... and there’s millions of websites there [laughs]’. (George) ‘I’ve got 2, 3 yarns that are from a smaller mill in England and those are spun specifically for me, they don’t produce them for anyone else’. (Carol)

Nevertheless, the data analysis showed that there are also instances where these capital conversion processes are unsuccessful. As Diana explains, ‘The chap who did the website disappeared on me after doing it ... When I wanted images put online, he wasn’t available ... I couldn’t get a hold of him’. Thus, the unreliability of suppliers can be an impediment to craft entrepreneurs’ abilities to convert social capital, emphasising the significance of building goodwill in order to fully benefit from all the resources suppliers can provide.

While participants spend comparatively little time with *friends* outside of their craft communities, those with whom they do interact appear to be valuable sources of capital for their business operations (see Table 7.14). The data show that friends offer craft entrepreneurs free services (economic capital) and business advice (cultural capital). Some friends can even broker contacts with wholesalers and suppliers (social capital) and provide participants with publicity through advertising their products in local publications and other media (symbolic capital). Accordingly, participants were found to maintain certain friendships for the express purpose of gaining access to the resources they possess.



**Table 7.14.** Conversions of Social Capital: Friends

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	<p>‘A friend of ours ... is just in university doing media studies ... he’s gonna do a cool video for us and that might get us started ... on YouTube’. (George)</p> <p>‘My closest friend is like ... “Just ask me if you ever need a pair of hands” ... so when I do need an extra pair of hands ... I’ve got some really good people’. (Betty)</p>
Cultural Capital	<p>‘[Friend] gave me really good advice ... you can use postage discounts as a way of encouraging people to spend more ... so I’m trying that out’. (Frank)</p> <p>‘He [friend] is very supportive ... he’s got a lot of experience with running a business and he’s ... helped me become more commercial’. (Julie)</p>
Social Capital	<p>‘She told him [wholesaler], “My friend ... makes [product] from Harris Tweed,” and he said, “Oh, I’d really be interested in speaking to her”’. (Emily)</p> <p>‘I have an old friend ... and she’s been looking at suppliers for things ... and she put me in touch with [supplier], who’s turned out to be great’. (Isla)</p>
Symbolic Capital	<p>‘I put an advert into [magazine] ... the editor is a friend and gave me a little bit of editorial, so there’s that and a nice photo of one of my mugs in [magazine]’. (Frank)</p> <p>‘He [friend] product places for television and films ... he [said] to me, “Send me two or three of your [products] and I’ll see where I can get them.”’ (Emily)</p>

When utilising their friends in social capital conversions, craft entrepreneurs can generate multiple forms of capital at a time. As Emily explains, ‘My friend got me a contract ... she is a quality and standards advisor ... I had all these different samples and she would take them to big meetings with her ... [and] they ordered from me ... I’m an approved supplier now’. As such, Emily was able to capitalise upon her friendship to secure sales (economic capital) and gain access to a valuable wholesaler (social capital), without having to pitch the products herself. Importantly, these types of social capital conversion appear easily accomplished, requiring little input from craft entrepreneurs.

Despite the ease with which friendships can be transformed into other forms of capital, the data show that this process is not entirely unconditional. As Betty notes, ‘Occasionally somebody will come in and they will be a friend and they will want something quite quickly and I will do it at home at night ... I don’t think they even realise’. Thus, when friends are utilised in social capital conversions, they can hold expectations of reciprocity or the entrepreneurs can maintain feelings of indebtedness. This requires investments of time and materials into returning favours, which can lead craft entrepreneurs to refrain from capitalising upon these easily convertible sources of capital.

## 7.5. Symbolic Capital Conversions

Unlike economic, cultural and social capital, which are considered useful in their own right, craft entrepreneurs value symbolic capital almost exclusively for its convertibility. Specifically, participants highlighted the importance of awards, exhibitions, publicity and reputation for generating other forms of capital, illuminating why their conversions are significant for venture growth.

Table 7.15 illustrates how *awards* expand craft entrepreneurs' stock of capital. Entering and winning competitions gains them both one-off commissions and sustained sales (economic capital). Attending awards ceremonies also provides participants with knowledge and further habituates them with the norms in the craft field (cultural capital). In addition, awards are a useful means of attracting new collectors (social capital), whether through providing the opportunity to meet them at competitions or through convincing them of the quality of the craft products. Furthermore, awards help promote the businesses of entrepreneurs by boosting their reputations and providing media exposure (symbolic capital), which is especially beneficial during venture start-up.

**Table 7.15.** Conversions of Symbolic Capital: Awards

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	<p>'I can certainly see a difference, even in the last couple of years I have been making more profit. I think the awards have definitely helped'. (Julie)</p> <p>'There was a sort of competition there for new potters and ... I didn't win, but somebody ordered two of my little bowls through that, so that was definitely worth doing'. (Frank)</p>
Cultural Capital	<p>'Winning a couple of the awards ... made me realise, actually, I can do this ... when I won the big awards ... it made me realise ... I can make a living from it'. (Diana)</p> <p>'I quite fancy doing it [international awards ceremony] just for the experience'. (Holly)</p>
Social Capital	<p>'There is like a gala evening, after the awards and a dinner and ... it's all about getting out [there] and meeting collectors and hopefully picking up new collectors'. (Diana)</p> <p>'They [awards] are important ... especially new collectors might say, "Oh, I really like the bear, but ... is it made well?" so being able to say, "I'm an award winner" helps. (Holly)</p>
Symbolic Capital	<p>'It's also really good publicity for your business ... The fact that people know I'm nominated is ... brilliant, absolutely brilliant'. (Betty)</p> <p>'I did win a prize once ... the competition was ... not really my thing ... but when I first came to [town] ... I was looking for a way of sort of promoting myself'. (George)</p>

Awards were also found to enable the accumulation of several forms of capital simultaneously, as exemplified by Isla’s experience:

I entered a design prize ... [and won] a travel bursary, so ... I got into the studios in Milan and ... was given letters of introduction to [famous designer] ... that was very useful experience ... I learned a lot.

Winning a single award therefore gained Isla a monetary prize (economic capital), the addition of a high-profile maker to her network (social capital) and the opportunity to learn new skills (cultural capital). Similarly, upon entering a national silversmithing competition, Diana ‘won first prize ... and the piece was presented to [museum] ... it’s on permanent display, so the accolade ... people took note and ... from one commission came the next commission’. Thus, the benefits of Diana’s award included permanent exhibition in a prestigious national museum, which expanded awareness of her talents (symbolic capital) and resulted in sustained commissions (economic capital).

While entrepreneurs can convert awards into various resources, this process was found to be inhibited by both internal and external limitations (see Table 7.16). In addition to there being few competitions for certain crafts, participants were found to impede their own abilities to gain and convert awards by their lack of interest or confidence in doing so. As such, it appears that the convertibility of such symbolic capital is dependent upon the appreciation by craft entrepreneurs of its benefits.

**Table 7.16.** Inhibitors to Symbolic Capital Conversions: Awards

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Lack of Competitions	‘I have never heard of any competitions for yarn ... it’s not really seen as an art and a lot of the kind of, the creative awards are for kind of more artistic stuff’. (Carol) ‘I haven’t found anything [competition] ... that’s a good fit’. (Isla)
Lack of Interest	‘I have never put myself forward for anything [awards] ... I’m not that bothered about things like that’. (Amy) ‘Maybe I should be more bothered about that kind of thing [awards], but I’m really not’. (George)
Lack of Confidence	‘I’d never win it, it’s, you know, my stuff is fairly solid and basic and just it’s nice pottery, but it’s not gonna win any prizes’. (Frank) ‘They sent a polite rejection, you know ... that was it, I just gave up after that’. (Emily)

The symbolic capital that participants accrue from presenting their products at *exhibitions* is also highly convertible (see Table 7.17). Displaying their crafts at fairs enables entrepreneurs to sell stock (economic capital) and attending shows with fellow makers leads them to learn new skills, develop new product ideas (cultural capital) and grow their networks (social capital). Not only does showcasing products at exclusive shows provide craft entrepreneurs with prestige, but the very act of exhibiting work raises their esteem (symbolic capital).

In addition, exhibitions were found to facilitate the attainment of multiple resources, as illustrated by Amy:

At [show] ... [maker] also had a stall ... we got talking and she said, "Oh, you should get in touch with [head of business network]" ... so I got her e-mail address and she said, "I could support you, business-wise" ... and she was brilliant, just full of ideas ... and they run all these courses.

In other words, a simple conversation with a fellow stall-holder generated Amy's involvement in a business network (social capital) and provided her with useful business advice and knowledge (cultural capital). It thus appears that physical attendance is a crucial facilitator of such symbolic capital conversions, which explains why participants prefer attending shows in person, rather than simply sending products out for exhibition.

**Table 7.17.** Conversions of Symbolic Capital: Exhibitions

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	'By the end of it [show] I had two bears left ... people were, like, grabbing bears, going, "I'll have this one," and throwing money at me ... absolutely amazing'. (Holly) 'I sold about £1,000 worth of stuff at [festival] ... in three days'. (Frank)
Cultural Capital	'This big festival of basket making ... there are some makers coming from other countries that will be teaching ... [I'll] learn different materials, different things'. (George) 'When I go to a ... fair or anything I always like to pick people's brains, find out ... what's new, what's trending'. (Amy)
Social Capital	'[Show] is the biggest in Britain ... [makers] come from all over the world, so that is a lot of different contacts and ... new collectors and possibly some new shops'. (Holly) 'I did a craft fair ... and then [customer] rung me ... she said, "I bought a bowl off you and I've got a shop ... and we like your things", so that was good'. (Frank)
Symbolic Capital	'I make them aware that it is not just ... you fill out the form and send it off. They [show] have to send the invitation to you to apply ... the customer really likes that'. (Diana) 'Exhibiting ... is a way of showing people that you're serious about what you do'. (Julie)

In spite of the marked benefits of transforming symbolic capital derived from exhibitions, a number of inhibitors to such conversions were discovered. As demonstrated by Table 7.18, the cost involved, the amount of effort required and the variation in exhibit quality can all impede the ability of entrepreneurs to undertake such capital conversions. Consequently, participants were found to evaluate the costs and benefits of exhibition attendance and seek out low-risk, reputable outlets for displaying their work.

**Table 7.18.** Inhibitors to Symbolic Capital Conversions: Exhibitions

Inhibitor	Representative Quotation
Cost	<p>‘I had my fingers burned, as far as ... a few shows are concerned. I wasted quite a lot of money doing the [festival] in 2010 ... lost about £700’. (Julie)</p> <p>‘It’s such a big outlay ... it is expensive to go to a show and obviously your stay and everything down there [in London], so you do think, “Is it worth it?”’ (Diana)</p>
Effort	<p>‘Talking to people and going to places ... loading the car ... especially if you have to load it again on the way back, that’s the worst thing, if you don’t sell much’. (George)</p> <p>‘It is a lot of work ... If I’ve got an exhibition coming up then I’ll probably be there till 8, 9 at night, you know, I’ll spend long days there’. (Julie)</p>
Devaluation	<p>‘At a lot of [fairs], the majority of people are selling jewellery for £5 ... and they bring the whole thing down to a kind of, it’s just crap really’. (Frank)</p> <p>‘If I pitch myself with my £40 [product] next to somebody else who has made something else and it’s a fiver ... it brings down the value of my work’. (Emily)</p>

Table 7.19 demonstrates that *publicity* can also be easily transformed into other forms of capital. Specifically, the data show that media coverage leads to increased sales (economic capital) and sets expectations which require entrepreneurs to enhance their skills and develop new product ideas (cultural capital). Furthermore, it draws the attention of wholesalers and collectors, adding these contacts to the networks of participants (social capital). Media attention can also generate opportunities for further publicity and product promotion (symbolic capital).

In addition to enabling the accumulation of individual resources, media coverage allows craft entrepreneurs to generate several forms of capital simultaneously. For example, Carol reports that ‘[Magazine] is London-based, it’s

really well-known, really classy ... so I'm happy to be featured in it ... [major collectors] found me through that'. Thus, media coverage provides Carol not only with publicity, but it also raises her status through affiliation with a high-class institution (symbolic capital) and attracts collectors from a wealthy demographic (economic and social capital). Accordingly, the data analysis showed that participants' strategic positioning of articles and online features is essential to the success of this capital conversion process.

**Table 7.19.** Conversions of Symbolic Capital: Publicity

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	'I was in quite a lot of magazines ... and lots and lots of blogs, and I think that will have helped, definitely, with the sales'. (Amy) 'By putting the article about the [product] in the magazine, I've sold a lot'. (Betty)
Cultural Capital	'They put it in the magazine ... [and] there was this huge flurry ... [so] I had to figure out a way to make [product] much quicker'. (Emily) 'Because it's a stitch magazine, I knew that they were looking for unusual stitches, so I made them specifically different ... and people, you know, were drawn to that'. (Julie)
Social Capital	'I got into [magazine] and through that ... [wholesaler] ordered my [product] ... and they have gone really well immediately, so she has ordered some more'. (Isla) 'When I was featured in [magazine] ... I did get some people who said ... "I saw this and I really wanted to come"'. (Carol)
Symbolic Capital	'The American magazine had done a feature on me ... and they [British magazine] saw that ... so that's how that got lined up'. (Holly) 'I've done articles for magazines ... which has publicised the book ... it's also obviously got my name out there'. (Julie)

The ability of entrepreneurs to conduct such transformations was found to be hindered by several factors (see Table 7.20). Media attention that is of high enough quality to facilitate capital conversions can be costly to attain. Furthermore, available media outlets may be substandard and promised opportunities for publicity can fall through. Importantly, media attention also carries a degree of risk, as published stories may not find approval with target audiences, potentially driving customers away. Consequently, participants are careful in selecting outlets in which to be featured.

**Table 7.20.** Inhibitors to Symbolic Capital Conversions: Publicity

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Cost	‘I haven’t actively tried to get it into any publication, primarily because ... it’s hugely expensive’. (Isla) ‘To me ... to be in a magazine seems to be quite a big investment ... I don’t think I would want to do it’. (Betty)
Limited Benefit	‘I kind of have to assess whether or not it would be beneficial to me ... ’cos there is some, I suppose, some publications that aren’t as well thought of’. (Carol) ‘We do have kind of trade magazines ... I can’t think of their names at the moment ... yeah not necessarily magazines that you buy’. (Diana)
Lost Opportunities	‘There was a television programme ... somebody from the BBC said he was gonna come ... that would have been quite an exposure, but it didn’t happen’. (George) ‘A lot of people say a lot of things about [promotion opportunities] ... to me and 90%, 99% of the time, nothing comes of it’. (Emily)

Finally, *reputation* was found to be highly convertible into other forms of capital (see Table 7.21). It is vital for convincing potential customers of the quality of products and for generating sales (economic capital). Reputation also provides craft entrepreneurs with access to training opportunities and expert advice (cultural capital) and helps attract wholesalers and collectors (social capital). Furthermore, the data show that reputation can raise the esteem of entrepreneurs within their craft communities and facilitate their procurement of media coverage (symbolic capital).

**Table 7.21.** Conversions of Symbolic Capital: Reputation

<b>Outcome</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Economic Capital	‘They can buy with confidence because they know I’m not just gonna disappear tomorrow ... there is some reputation behind the business’. (Holly) ‘I have noticed a lot of people buying stuff that haven’t bought stuff off me before ... which means that my reputation is spreading’. (Carol)
Cultural Capital	‘All these [famous] projects kind of brought me into their attention ... I was very fortunate to spend a couple of days with him [expert] ... giving me a bit of tutoring’. (Diana) ‘She had heard about me ... [so] I could ask her for advice on how to do it’. (Amy)
Social Capital	‘16 years I have been doing this and you know ... I’m quite well known ... shops come to me, people come to me’. (Holly) ‘The people who are buying from me, because they know that ... my product is well received ... keep coming back, and so I have more repeat custom now’. (Emily)
Symbolic Capital	‘Although that reputation is quite hard to live up to, it’s a good place to be, because people appreciate you’. (Julie) ‘Because I’ve been going at it for so long, if I want anything in the magazines ... I phone them up and say, “Can I have this in please,” and they usually do it’. (Holly)

Reputation is one of the most significant sources of symbolic capital for craft entrepreneurs and participants consider it essential to business growth. Accordingly, they were observed expending considerable efforts to earn and maintain a good reputation, both online in their presentation of work and communication with craft community members and in person at shows and exhibitions. The extent to which craft entrepreneurs value reputation indicates their appreciation for the myriad resources it makes available to them.

Despite the importance of reputation to craft entrepreneurs, the data show that its conversion into other forms of capital can be impeded. As Table 7.22 illustrates, entrepreneurs themselves can inhibit the conversion process. At times, participants can lack confidence in their reputation, preventing them from drawing upon it to acquire additional resources. Furthermore, in spite of craft entrepreneurs' considerable efforts, customers can maintain impossible expectations, project unrelated aggravation upon entrepreneurs or simply be ignorant of the consequences of their online reviews, all of which reduce the convertibility of reputation. It therefore appears that, as crucial as craft entrepreneurs believe reputation to be, it is a comparatively fickle source of symbolic capital to rely upon for needed resources.

**Table 7.22.** Inhibitors to Symbolic Capital Conversions: Reputation

<b>Inhibitor</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Lack of Confidence	‘If I had a big reputation and was well established, then I think that would be, you know ... that would be something else’. (Betty)
	‘Reputation is something that worries me, ’cos I think people will think, “Oh that’s rubbish” ... I am always worrying about, “Oh, is this good enough?”’ (Frank)
Negative Feedback	‘Reputation is everything, everything ... [and] it would only take one negative review to mess it up’. (Betty)
	‘I’d rather give the money back ... than have even neutral feedback, it’s just a disaster ... she probably didn’t realise how damaging it was’. (Frank)
Difficult Customers	‘It just takes one person who’s having a bad day [at a workshop] ... You have to work really hard to stop them from ... having a bad experience’. (Carol)
	‘The woman said, “The colour wasn’t as bright as in the photo” ... I mean, the colour won’t necessarily be exactly the same ... as on the computer monitor’. (Amy)



## **7.6. Analysis and Interpretation**

The findings presented in this chapter show that craft entrepreneurs engage in a multitude of capital conversion processes in order to expand their stock of capital. Indeed, it appears that the maximisation of capital represents a main goal that craft entrepreneurs pursue to develop sustainable businesses. Given that such practices are common in capitalist societies (Calás et al., 2009; Schumpeter, 1942) and usually inculcated in children through their upbringing in such contexts, they represent personal dispositions (i.e. micro-level habitus) that affect the behaviours of entrepreneurs over time. While prior research has acknowledged the convertibility of capital (Shaw et al., 2009; Vershinina et al., 2011), empirical studies of this entrepreneurial practice are rare (Scott, 2012). This study thus advances knowledge in a number of ways. First, it provides a more comprehensive account of capital transformations than prior research by distinguishing between different types of cultural, social and symbolic capital. Consequently, this study not only identifies a wider range of capital conversions, but also accounts for transformations which result in the accumulation of different variations of the same form of capital (e.g. conversions of objectified into embodied cultural capital). Second, this chapter presents a range of conversions which lead to the development of multiple forms of capital simultaneously. Third, this study reveals various inhibitors to capital conversion, which have been overlooked in the extant literature. Following the structure of the above presentation of findings, this section compares the economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital conversions conducted by craft entrepreneurs with those discussed in the literature.

### ***7.6.1. The Convertibility of Economic Capital***

Conversions of economic capital into other forms of capital are largely taken-for-granted (Drakopoulou Dodd et al., 2016) and have thus received scant empirical attention within the entrepreneurship literature. The findings of this study therefore advance understanding by demonstrating how craft entrepreneurs employ their economic capital to increase their stock of resources. Rather than securing loans and accumulating debts (Riding and Haines, 2001), participants were found to rely on the

profits from their business operations to acquire needed materials (Hoegl et al., 2008) and other tangible business assets (Alsos and Carter, 2006), which suggests that they engage in a form of bricolage (Baker and Nelson, 2005; Stenholm and Renko, 2016). Craft entrepreneurs also pay to be featured in prestigious media outlets in order to raise and maintain their standing in the community (Reuber and Fischer, 2009). In addition, they regularly invest into further education and business network memberships to develop their cultural and social capital, corroborating the findings of extant research (Harvey et al., 2011a; Shaw et al., 2013). Whereas prior studies identify time and effort as the inhibitors to such transformation processes (Greve and Salaff, 2003; Jayawarna et al., 2014), this study highlights that associated costs and potential risks can also prevent entrepreneurs from engaging in these conversions. Although participants do not necessarily lack economic capital, they are still purposeful and deliberate in choosing how to best invest their economic resources (Grichnik et al., 2014; Winborg and Landström, 2001).

A surprising and significant finding is that craft entrepreneurs appear to give no primacy to economic capital when converting the various forms of capital at their disposal. Rather, its transformations were found to be only one element of a much larger process of capital conversion. Participants discussed a multitude of ways in which they employ and convert their available resources and it appears that economic capital does not play a dominant role in this process. As such, the findings of this study contradict Bourdieu's (1986: 252) proposition that economic capital is the underlying 'currency of exchange', which is 'at the root of all the other types of capital'. The enduring focus on the importance of economic capital is, in fact, likely to obscure transformation processes which do not involve economic exchanges at all. Based on the experiences of craft entrepreneurs, this study identifies a large number of such conversions and highlights their potential for supporting venture development and growth.

The interest in economic capital and its significance is, of course, not unique to Bourdieu; it also prevails in much of the entrepreneurship literature (Rosenbusch et al., 2013; Shane and Cable, 2002). Indeed, it has been suggested that economic capital is the most important asset for entrepreneurs (Allison et al., 2015; De Bettignies, 2008) and research has expended considerable efforts to examine the

various ways in which entrepreneurs can acquire different types of financing (Huang and Knight, 2017; Uzzi, 1999). Given the growing number of studies which demonstrate the influence of alternative forms of capital on entrepreneurship (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Grichnik et al., 2014), this fixation with economic capital does not appear warranted. It could be argued that, by focusing on the financial stakes of the ‘economic game’, entrepreneurship scholars have bought into the *illusio* of market rhetoric. It is time to question these taken-for-granted assumptions (*doxa*) regarding the primacy of economic capital (Amit et al., 2001; Rindova et al., 2009) and account for the impact of different contexts on the valuation patterns of various capitals (Golsorkhi et al., 2009; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005).

Particularly within the cultural industries, economic capital may play a secondary role (Scott, 2012). While achieving sales is a core business function, this study shows that transformations to and from economic capital represent only a portion of the conversions conducted by craft entrepreneurs. Thus, the rules of the game (*habitus*) in this context appear to favour commitment to alternative stakes (*illusio*), such as cultural, social and symbolic capital. It is therefore essential to consider *habitus* and *illusio* when exploring the capital transformations and exchanges conducted in different fields (De Clercq and Voronov, 2011; Vincent, 2016). By maintaining an economic-centred approach, scholars risk importing a neo-classical, market-driven perspective into contexts which may have different priorities and patterns of practice.

### ***7.6.2. The Convertibility of Cultural Capital***

The findings of this study confirm the importance of cultural capital for entrepreneurs who seek to start and develop firms in the cultural industries (Drakopoulou Dodd, 2014; Jones et al., 2016; Randle et al., 2015). Specifically, the data show that cultural capital in its various guises is crucial to the operations of craft entrepreneurs and highly convertible into a number of resources. Drawing on the concept of human capital (Becker, 1964), entrepreneurship scholars have shown that knowledge (Markman and Baron, 2003), skills (Chell, 2013) and abilities

(Jayawarna et al., 2014) significantly influence entrepreneurial success. This study contributes to these scholarly debates by demonstrating that craft entrepreneurs transform such embodied cultural capital into economic (Brinckmann et al., 2011; Haber and Reichel, 2007), cultural (Scott, 2012), social (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Mosey and Wright, 2007) and symbolic capital (Beverland, 2005; Clarke, 2011). As such, this research also demonstrates the explicit role that entrepreneurs' temporal contexts – their past lived experiences, knowledge gained and skills obtained – play in their everyday lives and entrepreneurial practices.

In addition, this study extends knowledge by highlighting that, in the context of craft entrepreneurship, objectified cultural capital plays a similarly important role. To date, even studies that do employ Bourdieu's multifaceted perspective of cultural capital tend to emphasise the value of embodied cultural capital (Karataş-Özkan, 2011; Patel and Conklin, 2009). For example, while acknowledging the existence of objectified and institutionalised cultural capital, Lehner (2014) focuses almost exclusively on the impact of knowledge and understanding on venture sustainability and success. In contrast, the findings of this study show that objectified cultural capital, in the form of cultural goods, represents the very basis of venture activity for craft entrepreneurs. It is not only convertible into sales, but also facilitates the acquisition of knowledge, social connections and awards. Furthermore, cultural goods are a vital aspect of craft entrepreneurs' personal histories and experiences: they form the tradition of their craft from which new, innovative goods can be developed (De Massis et al., 2016). Thus, cultural goods are significantly more transmutable than extant research suggests (Barlow et al., In Press).

Furthermore, craft entrepreneurs were found to employ their institutionalised cultural capital to develop their stock of resources. In line with the findings of prior research (Jayawarna et al., 2014; Shaw et al., 2009), the data show that craft entrepreneurs consider their academic qualifications and further education to be valuable. However, participants emphasise that formal schooling in itself is not sufficient; it needs to be related to their craft and business responsibilities in order to provide substantial benefits. Thus, rather than acquiring broad functional experience (Kacperczyk and Younkin, In Press) and becoming 'jacks-of-all-trades' (Lazear, 2004: 208) to perform a range of tasks independently (Åstebro et al., 2011),

participants were found to acquire task-specific knowledge and qualifications (Estrin et al., 2016). Importantly, while transforming objectified cultural capital usually involves the release of the resource and its loss to the entrepreneur (similar to employing financial assets to purchase memberships or education), conversions of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital do not deplete the stock of existing resources. As such, investments into either type of cultural capital can provide exponential and sustained benefits to craft entrepreneurs, further reinforcing their value in this context.

The findings show that cultural capital can be transformed into multiple resources concurrently. Among others, participants were found to turn their pitching and proposal writing skills not only into economic capital (Chen et al., 2009; Foo et al., 2005), but also into new connections with wholesalers and access to prestigious museums. Similarly, objectified cultural capital was shown to be convertible into income, collectors and reputation at the same time. These practices suggest that transforming cultural capital is a more organic and multifaceted process than might be assumed based on prior scholarship (DiMaggio, 1979; Nicolopoulou, 2014).

Despite the apparent ease with which participants engage in cultural capital conversions, the findings show that there are also a number of factors that can impede this process. For example, lapses in memory (Anheier et al., 1995) and IT ineptitude (Martinez Dy et al., 2017) can inhibit conversions of embodied cultural capital. Furthermore, high product costs and a lack of time or experience were found to limit the abilities of craft entrepreneurs to produce and sell cultural goods. Similarly, a dearth of degree programmes, failure to undertake relevant training and variations in course quality impede conversions of institutionalised cultural capital. In comparison, this study does not find evidence of academic qualifications being seen as irrelevant or disparaged by field members, as suggested in the literature (Vershina et al., 2011). Neither does a lack of cultural understanding or sophistication affect participants' abilities to transform their available cultural resources (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a; Perry-Rivers, 2016). Craft entrepreneurs consider inhibitors to cultural capital conversions as largely inherent and unavoidable, which could explain why prior research has paid little attention to them.

### ***7.6.3. The Convertibility of Social Capital***

This study provides substantial evidence of the importance of network ties to the accumulation of various resources (Ozdemir et al., 2016; Semrau and Werner, 2014; Sullivan and Ford, 2014). Although a number of studies discuss the positive effects of social capital on entrepreneurs (Cope et al., 2007; Gedajlovic et al., 2013; Stam et al., 2014), it has been noted that the processes required to access resources within networks differ between contexts (Batjargal, 2010; Lee and Jones, 2008; Zhang, 2015). Thus, the findings of this study contribute to scholarly discussions by demonstrating the various social capital conversions conducted by entrepreneurs in the cultural industries (Antcliff et al., 2007; Jones et al., 2016).

First, the data show that membership in guilds and business networks grants craft entrepreneurs access to financial resources (Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998), knowledge (Davidsson and Honig, 2003), customer contacts (Casson and Della Giusta, 2007) and opportunities to showcase their products. Second, followers were found to provide participants not only with income (Shepherd and Zacharakis, 2003) and knowledge (Yli-Renko et al., 2001), but also new contacts and publicity. In addition, their needs can compel entrepreneurs to develop new patterns and product ideas (Lam and Harker, 2015; Marvel, 2013). Third, friends represent rich sources of support (Bullough et al., In Press) and advice (Hmieleski et al., 2015) and were found to broker business connections (Aldrich and Kim, 2007) and enhance the reputations of entrepreneurs (Jack, 2005). While many of these capital conversions have been individually observed by prior research, few studies have considered the wide applicability and convertibility of social capital (Scott, 2012). Furthermore, little attention has been afforded to suppliers and their influence on entrepreneurs (Le and Nguyen, 2009). Thus, the data expand existing knowledge by highlighting that relationships with suppliers can provide craft entrepreneurs with access to free goods, contacts to customers and peers, market knowledge and highly prized, bespoke materials.

The findings also offer insights into conversion processes that result in the accumulation of multiple forms of capital. For example, business network memberships were shown to provide participants with opportunities to create high-profile products, which are linked to celebrity endorsements (Stuart et al., 1999),

large remunerations and subsequent commissions. Similarly, interactions with collectors were found to not only produce sales (Dalpiaz et al., 2016), but also facilitate the development of cultural, social and symbolic capital (Crossland and Smith, 2002; Ertug et al., 2016). Given that these types of network connections represent weak ties (Granovetter, 1973), the findings of this study indicate that high intimacy and emotional investments are not essential for craft entrepreneurs to derive substantial benefits from their social capital (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Vardaman et al., 2012). However, the findings also show that even these weak ties are founded through shared experiences and histories, and are thus rooted in entrepreneurs' temporal contexts. While extant research suggests that entrepreneurs tend to develop arms-length ties into relationally embedded ties (Hite, 2005; Larson and Starr, 1993; Steier and Greenwood, 2000), the data show that craft entrepreneurs usually seek to maintain their weak ties over time, as they help them gain access to a broad range of resources (Uzzi, 1997) and potential opportunities. Indeed, the findings demonstrate that, regardless of the strength of ties connecting network members, most social capital conversions are easily accomplished and require less input from craft entrepreneurs than might be assumed based on prior research (Becerra et al., 2008; McAdam et al., 2014).

Despite the relative ease with which participants transform social capital into other forms, the data show that there are also factors which can impede these processes. To date, scholars have argued that maintaining ties with significant conversion potential is demanding (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Newbert et al., 2013) and that developing knowledge through relational learning can be time-consuming (Hughes et al., 2014; Yli-Renko et al., 2001). The findings contribute to these discussions by highlighting that the quality and reliability of business networks affects entrepreneurs' abilities to accrue benefits from network memberships. Furthermore, high expectations of both collectors and friends can compel craft entrepreneurs to prioritise their needs (Coleman, 1988; Kim et al., 2013), which can lead them to neglect their creative practice and therefore negatively affect their abilities to develop cultural and economic capital. Consequently, entrepreneurs sometimes refrain from capitalising upon these easily convertible sources of capital because they recognise that not all connections equally facilitate capital

transformations. Nevertheless, participants generally display a positive attitude towards social capital conversions, which is in line with the findings of prior research (Semrau and Werner, 2014; Sullivan and Ford, 2014).

#### ***7.6.4. The Convertibility of Symbolic Capital***

The data show that symbolic capital is a particularly mutable resource, which is readily transferable into economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Entrepreneurship research has demonstrated that possession of symbolic capital can facilitate various significant activities (Fuller and Tian, 2006; Scott, 2012), such as attracting customers (Clarke, 2011; Reuber and Fischer, 2009) and gaining access to financing (Dimov et al., 2007; Shane and Cable, 2002). However, the extant literature on related concepts, such as reputation (Reuber and Fischer, 2005), status (Packalen, 2007) and prestige (Pollock et al., 2010), is largely disjointed (Bitektine, 2011) and has paid scant attention to the management of symbolic resources (Zott and Huy, 2007). This study therefore contributes to contemporary debates by reconciling these fragmented discussions and advancing knowledge of the symbolic capital conversions conducted by entrepreneurs.

First, the data highlight the value of awards, which help generate sales, attract new collectors, boost reputation (Partanen and Goel, 2017) and facilitate habituation with field-specific norms and conventions (*habitus*) (Anand and Watson, 2004). In comparison, entrepreneurship research has largely overlooked the importance of awards and their transmutability into other resources (Zhao et al., 2013), apart from their reputation-building capacity (Reuber and Fischer, 2007; Svejenova et al., 2007). Second, the findings show that exhibitions are highly convertible into income, contacts (Hjorth, 2005), esteem and opportunities for learning. While the positive effects of presentations at exhibitions have long been recognised by management research (Alexander, 1996; Le Breton-Miller and Miller, 2015), they have received little consideration within the entrepreneurship literature (Hjorth and Holt, 2016).<sup>10</sup> Third, the data show that media coverage is an effective means of developing not

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<sup>10</sup> This lack of attention could be explained by the ‘excessive and exclusive interest in high growth ... businesses in entrepreneurship’ (Welter et al., 2017: 312), which are less likely to present their work at exhibitions.



only economic and social capital (Lehner, 2014; Lewis, 2013) but also cultural and symbolic capital. As extant research has focused on entrepreneurs' abilities to employ publicity to gain legitimacy (Fisher et al., 2016; Navis and Glynn, 2010; Überbacher, 2014) and only recently begun to examine the effects of social media attention on entrepreneurs (Fischer and Reuber, 2014; Nambisan, In Press), the findings of this study offer new insights into the convertibility of this type of symbolic capital.

In contrast, prior research provides abundant evidence of the value of reputation to entrepreneurs (Dimov et al., 2007; Milanov and Shepherd, 2013; Reuber and Fischer, 2005) and its transmutability into economic (Abeysekera, In Press), cultural (McLeod et al., 2009) and social capital (Fuller and Tian, 2006). The scarcity of research into alternative types of symbolic capital, such as awards and media attention, could be explained by scholars' prevailing interest in nascent and early stage entrepreneurs (cf. Davidsson and Honig, 2003; Dimov, 2010; Reynolds et al., 2004), who are less likely to have accumulated such recognition. As participants ranged in their level of experience from new entrants to established entrepreneurs, this study was able to present a more comprehensive picture and account for the accumulation and transformation of symbolic resources in multiple temporal contexts. Furthermore, as the value of symbolic capital differs highly between contexts (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009c; Shaw et al., 2017) and has been shown to matter greatly in the cultural industries (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Svejenova, 2005), the focus on craft businesses facilitated the exploration of these under-studied resources. In doing so, it revealed a cause for symbolic capital's context-specific nature: the worth of awards, exhibitions, publicity and reputation are dependent upon collective notions of value, which are created through shared experiences and traditions. Symbolic capital is thus a temporally, as well as socially and spatially, specific product.

Within this context, the data demonstrate that symbolic capital can be converted into multiple forms of capital simultaneously. For example, individual awards were found to not only carry cash prizes (McLeod et al., 2011), but also provide opportunities for learning (Karataş-Özkan, 2011) and for exhibiting work in prestigious venues. Similarly, publicity was shown to generate economic, social and

symbolic capital at the same time (Ertug et al., 2016; Svejenova et al., 2007). Although these findings highlight the convertibility of symbolic capital, the data demonstrate that these processes can also be inhibited by several factors. This study agrees with prior research (Kovács and Sharkey, 2014), which suggests that winning awards can raise the expectations of customers and increase their critical assessments of business performance. The findings also show that a lack of relevant competitions, as well as a lack of confidence, can discourage award submissions and prevent access to resulting benefits. Furthermore, not only can the effort required to gain admittance into exhibitions be prohibitive, but the variations in exhibit quality can also limit their value and utility. Thus, the data support the view that entrepreneurs are affected by the mistakes of other makers in the same category (Zhao et al., 2013). The findings also show that customers' unrealistic expectations and personal aggravations can lead to negative online reviews, which can impede the abilities of entrepreneurs to draw on their reputation to gain access to other resources (Reuber and Fischer, 2011). The gravity of the repercussions of others' actions upon entrepreneurs further attests to the role of context in influencing entrepreneurial activities.

## **7.7. Conclusion**

This chapter set out to answer the research question: *How do entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital?* It provided abundant evidence of the various capital conversion processes performed by craft entrepreneurs and highlighted their positive effects on entrepreneurial activities. In so doing, this study identified a range of transformations which have not previously been observed in the academic literature. This chapter also revealed that craft entrepreneurs give no primacy to economic capital when converting the various forms of capital at their disposal. Instead, transformations of economic capital were found to be only one part of a much larger process of capital conversion. Indeed, the findings demonstrated the high convertibility of cultural, social and symbolic capital and their significance to entrepreneurs in the cultural industries. Importantly, the data showed that previously under-explored manifestations of these capitals, such as objectified and institutionalised cultural capital, are as, if not more, convertible than the resources

commonly investigated by the extant literature (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Davidsson and Honig, 2003). However, this study also highlighted that valuation patterns and commitments to the stakes at play (*illusio*) are field-specific, which suggests that empirical results cannot readily be transferred between contexts. Furthermore, the data showed that conversions are not only direct, from one form of capital into another, but also result in the accumulation of multiple forms of capital. Finally, this chapter revealed a range of inhibitors to capital conversion processes, which have not previously been considered by entrepreneurship research.

## CHAPTER 8: HOUSEHOLD CONTEXT - MESO-LEVEL

### 8.1. Introduction

Following discussion of the capital conversion practices of craft entrepreneurs (micro-level), this chapter explores the effects of household contexts on participants (meso-level) before the next chapter investigates their embeddedness in community contexts (macro-level). This chapter seeks to shed new light on the interwoven relationship between work and family (Eddleston and Powell, 2012; Jennings and McDougald, 2007) by addressing the research question: *How do household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs?*

This chapter is structured as follows. First, it describes the household contexts in which participants are embedded. Second, it discusses ways in which household members support craft entrepreneurs through the provision of various forms of capital. Specifically, this study provides rich examples of how participants develop their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital with the help of cohabitants.<sup>11</sup> Third, this chapter highlights the importance of the emotional support that household members provide. Drawing on the concept of psychological capital (see Chapter 4), this study explains how cohabitants can help craft entrepreneurs cope with stress and respond to challenging circumstances by boosting their self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience. Fourth, this chapter reveals ways in which household members impede entrepreneurial practices. As such, this study demonstrates that the lines between private and business spheres are often blurred (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Dyer, 2003) and that household members both facilitate and inhibit entrepreneurial processes (Alsos et al., 2014).

It should be noted that this chapter not only presents data gathered from participants, but also from their cohabitants to better explain their impacts on entrepreneurial practices (see Chapter 5). Excerpts from interviews with household members are presented in cursive to highlight that their perspectives are being presented, rather than those of the entrepreneurs. However, given that this study

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<sup>11</sup> Although cohabitants also participated in this study (see Chapter 5), the term ‘participant’ is only used in reference to craft entrepreneurs to avoid any misunderstandings.

focuses on the experiences of craft entrepreneurs, it primarily draws upon and analyses their accounts.

## **8.2. Household Characteristics**

Before exploring the ways in which cohabitants impact the practices of craft entrepreneurs, this section describes the characteristics of participants' households. Specifically, it presents key attributes and discusses the involvement of household members in the craft field.

As explained in Chapter 5, participants were not selected based on the composition of their households. During the data analysis process (following the first round of interviews) it emerged that cohabitants significantly affect the practices of craft entrepreneurs and therefore warrant further investigation. The households portrayed in this study are comparatively similar. Most participants share their households with spouses or partners (apart from Amy and Frank, who broke up with their respective partners either during or immediately prior to the start of the study) and half of them have one or two children, most of whom still live at home. Thus, participants describe their households in similar ways, as 'a very, very small family' (Isla) or as 'only Henry [partner] and the boys ... that's kind of it really' (Holly).

Since most participants made the conscious decision to move into a rural area to enjoy the natural surroundings (see Chapter 2), they do not reside in close proximity to their wider families. As Frank notes, 'only my mother has actually visited up here of my family', and as George explains, 'in terms of other family, they have very little influence, I mean they all live down in England and [the Baltics]'. Still, participants do contact wider family members, mainly via telephone. Frank reports that, 'occasionally, I speak to them [parents], 'cos it is a bit isolated otherwise'. Furthermore, they visit one another, as Diana describes, 'during the summer, my parents, they are retired, they will come down and visit'. In comparison, cohabitants have a significantly bigger and more immediate impact on participants, which is why this study focuses on their influences on the practices of craft entrepreneurs.

Participants reside in close proximity to their studios (less than a 10-minute drive) in small houses or flats. The researcher was invited to visit several of these residences, mainly towards the end of the study once the relationships with participants had been developed. These properties might best be described as modest buildings with distinctive interiors. In Diana's words,

if you go into a maker's home, it's always different to somebody who works in an office ... everything is just a bit more quirky or they don't follow fashion ... they figured out their own individual mind and their houses just reflect that.

Participants 'live quite a frugal lifestyle' (Amy) and often bring work home with them, as described by Emily: 'every night I'm stitching, you know, I bring my business home with me'. Consequently, as Carol explains,

it is quite messy ... if she [partner] is coming home in the winter and going, 'Oh, I'm freezing and I really would love to soak in the bath', I'm thinking 'No you can't', because there is yarn drying there [laughs].

The households of participants all rely on more than one income (while Julie's spouse does not work, he receives a small pension), which entails that cohabitants primarily connect in the evenings after work hours and during the weekends. According to Betty, 'I definitely try to have Sunday off'. The children of participants are all in their late teens or early twenties and, as such, 'they are fairly independent' (George). As Holly describes, 'because they are older, they're 18 and 16 ... I felt I could take this place [studio] and get me out the house ... so now they don't really affect me'. Emily agrees that 'the reason I took the studio in the first place was because I could be away from the house ... [my daughter] is hardly at home anymore'.

Table 8.1 demonstrates that cohabitants can be differentiated by their degree of involvement in the craft field and their own creativity. First, household members who consider themselves to be creative were also found to actively engage with the work of participants. For example, in Holly's case, the researcher was able to observe Henry (partner) prepare props for teddy bear displays and pre-cut fur in the lead-up to a major craft show. Second, there are cohabitants who do not consider

themselves creative, but who show an interest in the craft field. As Grace (spouse) recounts, *'I've made some baskets, but ... I don't think they were any good'*. They still get involved and help the craft entrepreneurs, but they do not usually engage in creative activities. As Evan (spouse) admits, *'as somebody who is not really creative and who doesn't stitch ... I don't particularly have an eye for colour and things like that'*. The majority of partners and spouses fall into this category. Third, some cohabitants were found to be non-creative and not involved in the craft field. As Clara (partner) notes, *'She probably wishes sometimes that help would be a bit more forthcoming, but in being totally honest ... I find it hard to get over excited about what she does ... but I do support her, that's only natural'*. In other words, these household members still support participants, but do not show much interest in crafts. Interestingly, none of the participating craft entrepreneurs have cohabitants who consider themselves creative but are not interested in the craft field.

**Table 8.1.** Cohabitants' Involvement in the Craft Field and Perceived Creativity

<b>Involvement</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Involved and Creative	<i>'My other half [Henry], well he's a scenic artist, so he can paint on 32 foot by 16 foot backdrops. He also makes props and things like that ... for me'</i> . (Holly) <i>'I would see myself as a creative person in the art side of thing. As I said, I used to make bags and used to do some designs on it'</i> . (Adam, partner)
Involved, but Non-Creative	<i>'She always says that she is not creative, but she definitely does, like, appreciate my hand made things'</i> . (Betty) <i>'I have respect for creative people and ... for what they do'</i> . (Evan, spouse)
Uninvolved and Non-Creative	<i>'Daniel [partner] isn't really involved and doesn't really go to any of the shows, he doesn't really see anybody else's work. Sometimes I come home with things and he looks at it and goes, "Why have we got this?" ... but then he gets used to it'</i> . (Diana) <i>'It's not a world that she [partner] has ever really been interested in. She is just not into crafts at all'</i> . (Carol)

Participants are also highly aware of their children's creativity and involve them in craft production. Craft entrepreneurs actively encourage their children to develop their creativity and describe them in ways similar to Julie: *'Both my children are very good artists as well'*. While none of their children have taken up their crafts as a profession, participants are generally open to this idea. George explains that *'my son is a little bit interested ... He's not got much staying power at the moment. I don't know whether that's just his age ... [but] he is quite artistic'*.

Accordingly, participants are proud of the creative work of their children. As Isla notes, ‘as a mother with a daughter who is ... working in the fashion industry ... I’m very pleased to report she has been exceedingly successful’. As discussed below, children support craft entrepreneurs in a variety of ways, including by attending craft shows and contributing creative ideas.

Importantly, the perspectives of household members were also found to change over time. For example, Daniel (partner), who was observed at the start of the study actively avoiding entering Diana’s studio during a special display of her work, suddenly developed an interest in the silversmithing community. As Diana explains, ‘it’s only in the last couple of months that he has gone [to shows] and actually is really kind of understanding why it’s important for me to go to these events and he really enjoys them’. Similarly, Brenda (partner) admitted that her perspective changed, due to her relationship with Betty:

*I’m not a very creative person and I’m quite sort of logical ... so when she talks about things, I could quite ... easily kind of think, ‘Oh well, that just sounds like crazy creative things, like, I don’t know anything about that’ ... which might be the way I might have reacted in the past, but I think ... I have changed and I appreciate her work a lot more.*

Concerning other household members, Frank explains that ‘Felix [cohabitant, non-family] is always interested in what I’m doing. He came to the workshop the other day ... to see my new range of mugs’. Similarly, Amy, who moved back in with her family after breaking up with her partner, describes her parents as ‘just very supportive in any way’. Thus, while cohabitants may be ‘always wearing suits and things’ (Amy), they are still found to encourage the craft work of entrepreneurs. Furthermore, regardless of whether cohabitants are involved in crafts or not, there appears to be a feeling of joint responsibility for the success of the ventures of craft entrepreneurs. As Jack [spouse] explains, ‘it’s very much, you know, her leading it, but I think, yeah, we feel very much part of it’. Accordingly, participants are grateful for the support their household members provide. As Holly notes, ‘Henry [partner] is a big help, I must admit, he really is a big help – grumpy, but a big help [laughs]’.



### 8.3. Provision of Capital

Craft entrepreneurs in this study benefit from the support of their household and family members in a variety of ways. Adopting Bourdieu's (1986) approach, this section differentiates between the economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital that participants develop with the help of cohabitants.

The data show that cohabitants facilitate the development of *economic capital* of craft entrepreneurs. Table 8.2 presents an overview of common types of economic capital support that household members provide. First, a number of participants were gifted financial assets during the venture start-up phase, which they valued as this helped them maintain their independence. As Julie explains, 'I would never take a loan, I would never spend money that I didn't have'. Similarly, Carol declares that 'I would sooner be putting that money out there myself rather than getting a loan ... and running up debts'. Importantly, participants were found to reject financial business support post start-up, mainly because they want to avoid breaking into the savings of the household: 'I'm not dipping into the family coffers' (George), and to remain in complete control over their businesses: 'I don't want somebody else coming in and telling me what to do' (Diana).

**Table 8.2.** Economic Capital Support

Type	Representative Quotation
Money	'Clara [partner] supported me financially, especially at the start, 'cos I wouldn't have been able to ... start the business if she hadn't had a decent paying job and been willing to live on one income to start with'. (Carol) 'A few years ago he [partner] helped me with rent for the workshop'. (Diana)
Equipment	'Evan [spouse] helped me to pay for the refurbishment of the studio'. (Emily) 'I changed my car, [ex-partner] helped me with that, with nearly all of it [cost] ... so that's really helpful, 'cos ... I do need a reliable car for the business, because, you know, I do go around and deliver things'. (Frank)
Material	'Like yesterday, he [Adam, partner] said, "Do you want some legs?" [laughs], 'cos he is at college at the minute and they are getting rid of a load of mannequins, so he's bringing me some mannequin legs'. (Amy) 'I got lots of Harris tweed and different things from him [spouse]'. (Emily)
Labour	'My husband now posts them [products] out, because, you know, it's something he can do, 'cos things were getting rather hectic'. (Julie) 'I wouldn't want pay 'cos I kind of see us as a team ... I've now spent two weekends helping her out at [craft shows]'. (Brenda, partner)

Second, participants receive tangible assets from their cohabitants. They are given equipment, as discussed by Frank: ‘he’s [ex-partner] given me ... the pug mill, which is worth a lot of money ... it was really nice of him ... really supportive’. They also obtain free materials, as illustrated by Betty: ‘She’s [partner] got big, massive dresses that she inherited from her grandma ... which I can use’. Furthermore, craft entrepreneurs benefit from the free labour that their household members are willing to contribute to their businesses, such as ‘*helping her out over the weekends*’ (Iain, spouse). By providing free labour, household members accomplish tasks that craft entrepreneurs would otherwise need to spend time performing, enabling them to instead create more products that they can sell.

Even members of the wider family were found to provide such benefits. As Emily explains, ‘my mum volunteers in the studio for me when I’m busy [before Christmas]. She comes, she stays in my house ... and goes to the studio ... every day to handle the customers’. Craft entrepreneurs also valued the childcare support that their wider families provided during the school holidays when their children were younger. As Isla reports, ‘I didn’t have family nearby that could do school pick-ups or whatever, but my husband’s parents loved to have my daughter ... in the school holidays’. Participants shared that they appreciated such support as it allowed them to focus on their businesses.

Furthermore, participants value the knowledge that cohabitants contribute an income to the household. As Holly explains in reference to her work, ‘it’s not like a guaranteed wage at the end of the week ... you never know how much it’s gonna be ... whereas Henry [partner], although it’s contractual, we know exactly how much he is getting in’. However, participants also highlight that ‘he [spouse] financially doesn’t support my business ... [but] he kind of regulates our [household] cash flow’. In other words, the regular wages of partners and spouses provide a sense of stability, which allows entrepreneurs the freedom to concentrate on practicing their crafts.

Craft entrepreneurs also draw on the *cultural capital* of household members to develop their businesses. As shown in Table 8.3, participants particularly benefit from the skills and advice of cohabitants.

**Table 8.3.** Cultural Capital Support

Type	Representative Quotation
Skills (corollary)	<i>'I usually do her tax return for her, 'cos she is even worse at accounting than me'. (Brenda, partner)</i>  <i>'I have helped her physically sort of painting the place when she first got it and fitting the units that she uses, kitchen units and things like that'. (Clara, partner)</i>
Skills (essential)	<i>'He [son] put the website together and ... he did all the photography for my books, he is very good at editing, he is much better at spelling and grammar than I am'. (Julie)</i>  <i>'On a more practical level, it's making stuff... making little bits of dressing and props ... to help present her products in a, hopefully, flattering light'. (Henry, partner)</i>
Advice (business)	<i>'The majority of my customers are so nice that when you get one who is a problem customer you kind of don't know how to deal with that almost ... so yeah, there have been a few times where I have said, "I can't believe this e-mail, you [partner] have to read it and tell me how to answer it"'. (Carol)</i>  <i>'I sort of ask him [partner] for advice sometimes, 'cos he is not a creative person, but he is very practical, which I'm not always'. (Diana)</i>
Advice (creative)	<i>'He [cohabitant] gives me criticism of what I'm doing and things and says what he likes and stuff'. (Frank)</i>  <i>'I've always sort of tried helping out in a sense, if I've looked at something and said 'Have you ever thought of, I don't know, changing that buckle?' or I've sent her through inspirational pictures that I thought she might like'. (Adam, partner)</i>

Participants often utilise the technical skills of their household members. While most of these skills are used for corollary business operations, such as 'doing up the studio ... a lot of building it up and decorating' (Iain, spouse) or dealing with 'the accounts at the end of the year for the tax office' (Jack, spouse), some skills are essential to the daily operations and success of craft entrepreneurs. For example, several participants require their partners to manage their websites. Amy admits, 'I couldn't do that without him [partner], I mean I'd end up spending a fortune buying, well paying someone to make a website, so I'm really lucky that he can do that'. However, Amy's evolving situation equally reflects the disadvantages of dependence on household or family members for such integral skills. After breaking up with Adam (partner), she explained that 'I can't really rely on him anymore'. Consequently, she had to invest into enlisting a graphic designer to help develop her website.

Emily describes another disadvantage that arises from reliance on the skills of cohabitants for day-to-day business activities: 'with the website, I've got to wait until Evan [spouse] comes home'. Surprisingly, participants do not attempt to learn these essential skills from their household members, but rather depend upon their

continued help over time. As Holly explains, ‘I don’t have time and I don’t have any interest’. The only types of skills that craft entrepreneurs seem to value enough to acquire themselves relate to their creative practice. As Adam (partner) recounts, ‘*I have shown her how to properly use a couple of tools for the leather*’. Certain skills are also imparted to entrepreneurs by members of their wider families, particularly during their upbringing. As Emily describes, ‘my grandmother was a dressmaker and so she passed on certain skills to me, and my mum knitted and so I picked that up’.

The second main form of cultural capital support that cohabitants provide is advice. Participants regularly benefit from business advice, as illustrated by Carol:

Financial stuff I will ask her advice about because she [partner] is more sensible than I am ... I think often you find with creative people they are not always the most business savvy, or the most organised people [laughs], so yeah sometimes, if I’m struggling to organise my workload ... I’ll ask for her advice.

Participants also obtain creative input and opinions from cohabitants. As Diana explains, ‘it’s sometimes helpful for someone who is not involved in this [craft] world in any way to kind of bring a different perspective to it’. Furthermore, Grace (spouse) discloses, ‘*I think he probably appreciates my help more than he would most people, simply because I probably understand ... his creativity better than most people do*’. In many cases, household members also inspire the development of new work or have even triggered the establishment of the craft business in the first place. As Isla describes, ‘it was just my husband saying, “That’s really nice, you should be doing something with that!” was the absolute trigger that took it forward’. Nevertheless, participants also note that they frequently ignore the advice given to them. As Betty reveals, ‘I’ll ask her [partner] for advice about stuff, but I don’t always listen’. Henry (partner) makes a similar observation that he will often ‘*suggest how she might want to do things and then she does something totally different*’. This behaviour underscores how important autonomy is to craft entrepreneurs (see Chapter 2).

**Social capital** support, in the form of new ties brokered by household members, seems to be of lesser importance to participants than other forms of capital support. For Carol and Diana, this is due to the fact that their partners are ‘not involved in the art world at all’ (Carol). Still, as shown in Table 8.4, participants do gain business contacts

though their cohabitants. As Amy describes, ‘He [supplier] designed the logo at a cheaper cost than normal, but his work was amazing ... and if I hadn’t known Adam [partner] I wouldn’t have got that’. Similarly, Isla explains that ‘of course we share contacts ... we help each other out’, and Holly notes that ‘I will maybe get contacts through ... people he [partner] knows through different [business] clubs’.

**Table 8.4.** Social Capital Support

Type	Representative Quotation
Business Contacts	<i>‘I’ve managed to put her in contact with a few fairs, sort of children’s fairs and craft fairs ... in the area’.</i> (Adam, partner) <i>‘There have certainly been a few contacts that I’ve passed on to her’.</i> (Iain, partner)
Customers	<i>‘Daniel [partner] is quite a sociable person and probably through him, he has introduced me to new clients and things’.</i> (Diana) <i>‘She has had sales from me just mouthing off and being generally proud of what she does’.</i> (Evan, partner)

Household members also help craft entrepreneurs gain new customers. As Emily reports, ‘I get custom through him [partner]. He works at the council and it’s a big kind of office building ... a lot of people found out about my business’. Felix (cohabitant) makes a similar remark: *‘I know people who may be interested in buying things, or going for lessons, and I will pass his contact details to them’*. Indeed, the provision of new clients is also fostered by wider family members. As Betty explains, ‘I think my mum and dad ... they tell their friends about [business name] and then they go online ... and buy things’. According to Frank, ‘when people ask “What does your son do?” then they [parents] will say, “Well, he does ... [pottery]”, “Oh right, I didn’t know. Could he do this?” “Yes, go and see him”’.

As shown in Table 8.5, craft entrepreneurs also develop their *symbolic capital* with help from cohabitants. Household members support participants in this endeavour by attending shows and exhibitions where collectors expect to meet the partners or children of craft entrepreneurs. As Carol explains,

It’s not just about the making [at shows], it’s the kind of family as well ... Even [famous maker] goes along with his wife and you meet ... his son, you meet ... the whole family and it is one big happy family really, everyone gets along.

The importance of family attendance at such exhibitions demonstrates how significant perceptions are to successful craft ventures and the role that ‘family values’ play in the craft field. In other words, family seems to be connected to reputation in this context.

**Table 8.5.** Symbolic Capital Support

<b>Type</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Exhibitions	‘At the convention, it was very much ... we were sort of on show as a couple’. (Holly) <i>‘We’ve done fairs together occasionally ... where I play the role of supportive husband, which I like to think I am actually’.</i> (Evan, spouse)
Reputation	<i>‘Some people aren’t really aware of teddy bears, what it is as a product, they just think, “Oh cuddly toy”, and you’ve really got to say, “Well it’s hand made, it’s been designed by the person that made it and there has been a lot of work going into the actual bear and it’s not a toy for kids, it’s for collectors”’.</i> (Henry, partner)
Promotion	‘My son put pictures [of baskets] up on Twitter and he’s got a ridiculous amount of followers’. (George) <i>‘I’ve also been ... promoting her work through the likes of social networking, like Facebook and Twitter’.</i> (Adam, partner)

Family members can also help improve the reputation of entrepreneurs through positive word-of-mouth, as described by Brenda (partner): *‘All my friends ... are people who can put her name out there ... so yeah, I definitely talk to my friends about what she is doing’*. Julie reports that her daughter has actively helped promote her work at fairs: ‘she is very good with people, she is very charming ... an artist came around and said ... “Your daughter has been talking about your work all morning ... I’m really interested”’. Similarly, Diana explains,

Something as simple as you’re out of an evening, you are never really able, especially when you are self-employed, you are never really away from your work, there is always somebody who wants to talk about what you do and if it’s people that we’ve just been introduced to and they don’t know about my work ... I’m just kind of like, ‘This is what I do’, and that’s it, whereas Daniel [partner] will be the one who will say, ‘Well, you know, she has done this and she has done that’, and ... he will be the one promoting.

Thus, by highlighting their achievements and praising the quality of their work, household members can help develop symbolic capital for entrepreneurs.

## 8.4. Emotional Support

Though largely absent from Bourdieu's (1977, 1984, 1986) theory of practice, emotional support is amongst the most highly valued forms of support that participants receive from household members. This section illustrates ways in which cohabitants provide emotional support and explains when and why entrepreneurs value this support most.

The data analysis revealed that cohabitants provide emotional support to craft entrepreneurs by developing their self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience. Table 8.6 offers deep insights into the perspectives of participants and explains the specific ways in which entrepreneurs benefit from these forms of emotional support from their household members.<sup>12</sup>

First, by expressing their admiration for entrepreneurs and their products and by providing reassurance, cohabitants boost the confidence of craft entrepreneurs in their abilities (i.e. self-efficacy). For example, Evan (partner) expresses his pride for Emily by *'applauding her from the side lines'*, and Jack (partner) explains that he dispels Julie's doubts by assuring her, *'You've always made the right decisions for your business and for yourself and for our family'*.

Second, household members offer encouragement and invigoration to entrepreneurs. In so doing, they motivate craft entrepreneurs to achieve their goals and thus generate hope. As Amy expresses, *'He [partner] is just encouraging me ... which is really, I think that's the main thing'*. Furthermore, Frank explains that *'It's quite hard in the workshop to get motivated ... when it's cold and damp ... so in some ways, you know, Felix [cohabitant] ... getting ready and going to work every day kind of motivates me ... [to] get started'*.

Third, cohabitants share their belief in the quality of the work of craft entrepreneurs and provide them with validation. As a result, they foster expectations of positive outcomes for the businesses of craft entrepreneurs (i.e. optimism). For instance, Brenda (partner) proclaims her conviction that Betty will succeed by declaring, *'the stuff she designs is amazing ... she just has all these ideas that come out of her head and ... when she executes them they are really good'*. Holly also emphasises the importance of counsel offered by household members, *'even if it's*

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<sup>12</sup> The design of Table 8.6 was inspired by McKeever et al. (2015: 55).

**Table 7.6.** Emotional and Moral Support

Descriptive Categories	to	Analytical Categories			
Examples from raw data		This tells us about entrepreneurs:	Core to this is:	This in turn produces:	The consequence is:
'I like to think that he [partner] is quite proud of my achievements'. (Holly)					
'Grace [spouse] sometimes reads me praise about my baskets ... e-mails from happy customers'. (George)			Admiration		
'It wasn't until somebody said ... 'she [daughter] is very proud of the fact that you ... [own] a studio' that I realised ... how she felt. (Emily)					
'I'm very proud of what she does, amazingly proud'. (Clara, partner)					
'You will have odd moments and that's when you do need ... [cohabitants] to help you and say ... "You're on the right track" ... just to bridge that gap of confidence'. (Isla)					
'I know she struggles sometimes with the feeling of pressure ... so again, it's just - I have to give her reassurance'. (Jack, spouse)			Reassurance	Confidence in one's abilities	Self-efficacy
'I think she needs a bit of a confidence boost; she needs to be told how artistic she is'. (Henry, partner)					
'I comment on how nice things are, how well executed they are'. (Evan, spouse)					
'They are brilliant really ... they are always very encouraging'. (Amy)					
'Clara [partner] is very supportive ... She can, you know, kind of encourage me to keep doing the thing that I'm doing'. (Carol)					
'Sometimes you can get a wrap over the knuckles and ... "For goodness sake, mum, what's your problem? Just get on with it!" which is quite often what you need'. (Julie)			Encouragement		
'I just supported her and gave her a little push to say "What's the harm in trying it, you can always back out if it doesn't work out"'. (Brenda, partner)					
'Sometimes I just need him to ... kind of go, "Yeah, that is a good plan"'. (Diana)					
'When you see your child have ... a large degree of success, that gives you a huge amount of buzz ... it's almost as if someone [says] ... "You can do it, too"'. (Isla)					
'My partner ... sometimes passes on comments, which can be useful in the sense that they are either triggers or kicks up the arse'. (Betty)			Invigoration		
'It's always a help if he [cohabitant] compliments my work, 'cos that kind of helps to keep you motivated and keep you going with it'. (Frank)					
		The value of expressions of pride			
		The importance of dispelling doubt			
		The powers of persuasion			
		The effects of arousing enthusiasm			
				Motivation to achieve goals	Hope



Descriptive Categories	to	Analytical Categories
<b>Examples from raw data</b>		
'She [partner] ... has tremendous belief in me, even if I don't have belief in myself sometimes'. (Betty)		
'They support me in whatever I choose to do ... They trust that I'll do well at it'. (Amy)		
<i>'The finished products that he comes up with, they are always amazing ... stuff that blows me away every time'. (Grace, spouse)</i>		
<i>'Letting her know that I'm happy with what she is doing, I'm glad that she is happy and anything she produces is amazing and people do like it'. (Iain, partner)</i>		
'It's nice that Felix [cohabitant] is always interested in what I'm doing ... and what I've managed to get done ... He makes me feel good about my work'. (Frank)		
'Sometimes I just need people to validate the decision that I've made or to, you know, kind of go "Yeah, that is a good plan"' (Emily)		
<i>'I helped her talk it through, so more of a sounding board I think'. (Adam, partner)</i>		
<i>'He sounds things off me sometimes ... I think he doesn't always have somebody else to talk to about it ... to get positive feedback'. (Felix, cohabitant)</i>		
'I know it's there when I need it [emotional support], so, you know, if it wasn't, I would probably flounder quite a bit'. (Holly)		
'It's nice to know that they are there and you can always go [to them]'. (Amy)		
'Emotional support, it's - I suppose I'm always working ... but it's there anyway ... it's kind of a part of life, part of family, part of living together'. (George)		
'The fact that she [daughter] offered it [help] and it was there if I did need it was quite a source of comfort and support'. (Isla)		
'He [spouse] is very calm. When I ring up, when I'm in a panic and think ... 'I've bitten off more than I can chew,' he is emotionally very supportive'. (Julie)		
'I do work on quite high adrenaline levels ... [so] when I hit a brick wall ... that's when my family probably has to pick me up and put me back on my feet'. (Emily)		
'She [partner] is a lot calmer than I am ... I tend toward the anxious and I tend to kind of panic unnecessarily over things'. (Carol)		
'You need to be able to go home ... if something hasn't gone the way you expected or wanted it to ... and have somebody tell you "It will be ok"' (Diana)		
<b>This tells us about entrepreneurs:</b>	<b>Core to this is:</b>	<b>This in turn produces:</b>
The impact of conviction in one's success	Belief	Expectation of positive outcomes
The benefits of interest and counsel	Validation	Optimism
The value of unconditional support	Security	Ability to bounce back and adapt to changes
The power of consolation	Sympathy	Resilience

just asking Henry's [partner's] opinion ... it's just, there is somebody there as a sounding board ... to tell me that what I'm doing is alright'.

Fourth, by providing a sense of security and expressing their sympathy, cohabitants increase the ability of craft entrepreneurs to bounce back from setbacks and adapt to changes (i.e. resilience). As Emily explains, 'they [cohabitants] are very kind and very supportive whenever I'm doing anything', highlighting the value of this unconditional support. Participants also rely on consolation from their household members, as illustrated by Isla: 'I think everybody needs their wailing wall occasionally ... to unload and vent and then move on'.

Participants require the support of cohabitants to respond to challenging circumstances and to gain the motivation and persistence required to succeed in their crafts. Implicit in the shared stories of entrepreneurs is the importance of trust to building self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience. Without a strong degree of trust, it is questionable whether participants would value and be convinced by their household members' expressions of admiration, reassurance and invigoration. This indicates that transactions of emotional support depend upon entrepreneurs placing trust within others and that a lack of trust can diminish the effects of such support.

Participants explain that they value the emotional support from household members most when they are anxious, such as when they are struggling with stress or a lack of confidence. For Holly, emotional support is imperative 'when I am stressed before a show', and for Amy it is 'when I'm all stressed out and running into a deadline'. Carol needs this type of support 'when it's been a bad day, you know, when something has not gone quite right or a client is not quite happy'. As craft entrepreneurs need to continuously develop their styles to retain the interest of customers, they need to believe in their abilities to create new products that are aesthetically pleasing. Therefore, Isla expresses, 'I think it's when your confidence is knocked, that probably is the most important time when you need emotional support from family'. Similarly, Julie explains that

the pressure of continuing to create something new when you're feeling well and on top of things, you know, it's not an effort, but when the pressure starts to get to you, I suppose that's when you need emotional support the most

There are several reasons why participants value this type of support so highly. For Emily it is ‘because I’m a very emotional person ... and because I know that my work is so much linked to my personality’. Crafting products alone in their studios all day can cause certain difficulties for craft entrepreneurs, which emotional support can help overcome. As Betty notes, ‘I had sort of moments with depression ... and without that support, you know, I don’t think I would have ... gone through them or I wouldn’t have got through them as well’. Frank agrees that ‘sometimes it can be such a lonesome job, working away by yourself, that you just want that reassurance’. Participants thus see emotional support as integral to their abilities to craft products for their business. Diana most clearly reveals why it is the emotional support of household members that she particularly values:

because he [partner] has been there from the very beginning ... he has seen how I have grown and how the work has grown ... and [therefore] has a greater understanding and knowledge of what’s involved.

In other words, the understanding that household members have of the entrepreneurs, their crafts and their businesses is what makes their emotional support so valuable. As Julie describes, ‘he’s [spouse] always there for me, ... he knows how I can get carried away and get quite chaotic sometimes ... he will just sit me down ... [and] help me see things in perspective’.

The importance of understanding is also evident in the distinction participants make between the emotional support provided by cohabitants and members of their wider families. Craft entrepreneurs open up more to cohabitants mainly because they are much closer to them. As Amy notes, ‘the other family don’t really have a clue ... what’s going on’. George explains that this is due to ‘I suppose distance ... I don’t really have huge amounts of contact with them ... I’ll sort of speak on the phone or e-mail occasionally, but not on a day-to-day basis’. Negative experiences in particular appear to be discussed more with household members, as illustrated by Emily:

there is a lot I don’t tell my parents, ... I tell them the good stuff, but I don’t tell them any of the bad stuff, so I don’t go to my parents for so much, for emotional support any more, I used to go for more ... but that was when I was younger.

As Carol explains, ‘I sometimes think that they don’t really get what I do, my parents in particular ... I think a lot of the time they haven’t really understood, you know, couldn’t understand what ... I go through’. Thus, it appears that craft entrepreneurs mainly draw on the emotional support of their household members, because they are the ones who truly understand them.

### **8.5. Impediments**

As beneficial as such moral support is for participants, cohabitants were found to not only facilitate, but also impede entrepreneurial processes. The data analysis highlighted a number of ways in which the needs, problems and opinions of household and family members negatively affect participants, as discussed in this section.

Amongst the most influential factors that impede entrepreneurial practices are the *needs* of household members. As shown in Table 8.7, when their children were younger, craft entrepreneurs were greatly affected by the need to either organise childcare or supervise their children themselves. As Julie explains,

The fact that you were at work and they [children] had to be picked up and go to a child minder and ... it was an absolute minefield trying to get good childcare ... That was a very tricky thing to handle and caused me personally quite a lot of anguish.

The data also show that there is an expectation that craft entrepreneurs schedule their work according to the needs of household members, as their jobs are usually more flexible. As Carol notes,

In terms of taking time off ... because my job is the one that’s adaptable, you know, with Clara [partner], unless something really badly goes wrong, she has to be at work Monday till Friday 9 till 5, whereas mine is a little more flexible ... [so] if and when stuff does come up ... I’m the one that kind of has to deal with it.

In the most extreme cases, this perceived flexibility can even result in an expectation that craft entrepreneurs relocate whenever the jobs of cohabitants demand it. As Betty describes, ‘Brenda [partner] just wants me to pack everything in

and go live in Aberdeen’. Participants were found to accommodate such requests, despite the potential negative impacts on their businesses. As Isla complains, ‘It’s the fact that you can’t do what you want to do when you want to do it and that can be ... frustrating’.

**Table 8.7.** Needs of Household Members

<b>Need</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Supervision	‘It did impact work life, because you can’t just ... treat them [children] like a piece of work ... and say, ‘I’ll put you in that tray and deal with you later’. (George) ‘If you’ve gotta work full time and you’ve got small children you are hugely conflicted, there is just no two ways about it’. (Isla)
Scheduling	‘He [partner] works on the local ferries and ... because he is week-on and then he is off for a week, so the week that he is on, I can work late if need be and then the week that he is off, I have to be nine till five’. (Diana) ‘I’ve had to adjust my time with the children’s holiday’s and things’. (George)
Relocation	‘If he [partner] had to be relocated with his work, I would ... move with him’. (Amy) <i>‘Because she is self-employed, we’ve been able to set up wherever my job took us, so she has been able to follow me and take her work with her’.</i> (Evan)
Housekeeping	‘House work is very low on my priority list ... I’ll do the bare minimum ... so we’ve all got clean clothes and ... we don’t get diseases and things [laughs]’. (Holly) ‘Clara [partner] cooks, I don’t cook at all, I’m really bad at it ... I tend to do a lot of the hoovering and laundry ... [but] it doesn’t take that long. Our house is really tiny, so it takes like 20 minutes to Hoover – you can do it all from one plug’. (Carol)

While the need to carry out chores around the house does take the attention of participants, they were found to have a minimal impact on craft entrepreneurs, mainly because participants share such responsibilities with their household members. As Emily reports, ‘Evan [partner] does a lot of stuff ... so we kind of share the responsibility’. In addition, most participants do not consider such tasks to be particularly essential, as illustrated by George: ‘We don’t pay too much attention to tidying everything, cleaning, I don’t have to iron my shirts and things like that, so we’re kind of relaxed about it’.

The *problems* of household and family members can further impede entrepreneurial practices (see Table 8.8). As the households of participants all rely on more than one income, potential threats to the job security of cohabitants were found to greatly affect craft entrepreneurs. As Carol explains,

At Clara's [partner's] work ... an entire department came in two weeks ago to be told, 'None of you have a job anymore'. No warning ... "You can all go home". So the people that are keeping their jobs are the people that come in early and leave late and ... if they don't, they're gonna be the ones that are classed as under-performing and ... are gonna lose their jobs, so ... I kind of just have to hope that people keep buying yarn, 'cos otherwise we're in trouble.

According to Diana, such uncertainty is unsettling and distracting: 'it cuts into time, it cuts into concentration'.

**Table 8.8.** Problems of Household and Family

<b>Problem</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Income Insecurity	'We did have quite a worrying summer, because in her department ... she [partner] is a team leader basically and what they did was restructure ... which means that a lot of the team leaders were no longer required ... [so] yeah, it was a bit of a worry'. (Betty)  'He [son] has a small benefit, disability allowance ... which is under review at the moment. I don't know what we'll do if that disappears, because obviously he lives under our roof ... if we weren't around, I don't know how he would survive'. (Julie)
Illness	'I haven't really marketed them [products], again, lack of time. My daughter has not been very well, so there is a whole lot of work to do'. (Emily)  'When the kids were younger, I was always there if they were ill ... if there was an emergency I would always be there'. (Holly)
Loss	'I had a certain amount of [product] developing that I was doing when the shit hit the fan with Iain's [spouse's] mum dying and all the rest of it'. (Isla)  'There's always a hole then, which sometimes gets, you know, kind of fills up again, but other times it doesn't ever go away'. (Frank)

Craft entrepreneurs are also impacted by the illnesses of cohabitants. As George notes, 'If somebody is seriously ill or something, then obviously you're gonna be distracted'. Permanent disabilities of household members can be even more disruptive, as discussed by Julie:

My son's illness affects me and has done for, you know, 20 odd years, the fact that he, although he is very, very bright, he can't ... hold down a job or, you know, he doesn't achieve ... the potential that I know he has, because of his illness, so that has a negative impact most of the time.

Furthermore, the loss of family members significantly impacts craft entrepreneurs, as observed for Amy, who lost her mother around six months into this study. She discontinued all work and broke off contact with her craft community for

several months. In Amy’s words, ‘I had to take time out when my mum [died] ... for two months I’ve really, I’ve been cut off from everything, we [household] went abroad for a little while’. Thus, craft entrepreneurs need to adjust their work to support household and family members and to deal with grief and uncertainty.

As explained above, advice and constructive criticism can help craft entrepreneurs develop their products. However, dissenting *opinions* can also impede their practices (see Table 8.9).

**Table 8.9.** Opinions of Family Members

<b>Opinion</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Disapproval	‘My parents’ sort of default setting seems to be, they are a bit anti-change, they don’t really think outside of the box ... whereas I’m all about that and ... sometimes they can be a bit full-on with their criticism of, “Why do you want to do that?”’ (Betty) ‘My mum railed against it from the minute I said I really wanted to do technical drawing at school ... I had to fight to do art’. (Emily)
Doubt	‘My mum kept saying ... “You’re gonna have to get a part-time job, you’re not getting enough from it”. I mean, it was paying for my studio rent, but that was it, so she was saying, “Could you not just do, like, cleaning?” ... and I was like [gasps]’. (Amy) ‘I don’t know if they [parents] think I can make any kind of living out of it’. (Frank)
Disregard	‘She [mother] actually said ... “Why can’t you do something normal like your sisters? Why can’t you just do secretarial studies or something like that?”’ (Diana) ‘I think she [mother] just thought ... I was wasting my time ... she wanted me to get a real job’. (Carol)

The data show that participants are particularly affected by family members’ expressions of disapproval, doubt and disregard for their chosen profession. For example, Frank recounts that ‘I did talk to my father ... when I was thinking about ... [getting] a workshop and he said that it would be too expensive for what I’d make ... [and] he thought it was ... too much exposure for me’. Consequently, Frank delayed getting his own workshop for over a year, passing up the chance to move into a property which would have been more suitable for his business than the studio he later obtained. Similarly, Betty describes that ‘I think she [mother] just thinks it’s, like, something I’m not really that serious about. It’ll pass, it’s a phase that’ll pass’. These expressions of disapproval, doubt and disregard were found to reduce the self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience of craft entrepreneurs. As Julie explains,

The creative side, that's difficult because what you're doing is you're tapping into your emotions and it's your emotions that are driving ... your creativity, so if you're disturbed emotionally, you are not able to settle into the creative aspect of the job.

Interestingly, such critical opinions are predominantly expressed by members of the wider family, rather than cohabitants.<sup>13</sup>

With regards to household members, participants are more worried about unvoiced concerns than outright expressions of displeasure. As Holly explains, while her family members do not complain about her working hours, 'I do feel guilty when I'm working late and I haven't – we spent like, we live in the same house and I have seen them, like, 5 minutes a day'. Similarly, Julie notes that 'I'm very aware, you know, I can't just ... be doing my own thing all the time and not spending quality time with them'. As George describes, 'That's what relationships are, isn't it, you kind of have to think about other people'.

This distinction between household members and family further highlights the impact of emotional support upon participants. Whereas the emotional damage caused by unsupportive family members impedes the creative abilities of entrepreneurs and their motivation to drive their businesses forward, it is the strength of relationships with household members that encourages entrepreneurs to turn their attention away from their ventures for periods of time. Though both can be seen as impediments, the latter is arguably less damaging to business operations than the former.

## **8.6. Analysis and Interpretation**

Following the presentation of household-related findings, this section 'recontextualises' the findings 'by putting the new knowledge about the phenomena and relations back into the context of how others have articulated the evolving knowledge' (Marlow and McAdam, 2015: 800). Mirroring the structure of the above

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<sup>13</sup> Participants were asked several times, both directly and indirectly, about potentially negative impacts of household members on their practices (particularly during informal, unrecorded conversations) to confirm this observation. Only Isla acknowledged that occasionally fighting with her spouse affects her work: 'Yesterday, I had a row with my husband ... and that really rattles the cage'.



findings, this section first discusses ways in which households can be explored, before suggesting how the concept of household capital should be extended. It then evaluates the role of psychological capital in this context, followed by considerations about work-family conflict.

### ***8.6.1. Exploring Entrepreneurial Households***

In introducing the households of participants, this study took an approach different to that which prevails in the literature (cf. Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Sonnenberg, 2008). Instead of presenting distinguishing socio-economic features, such as household income or social class, this study drew on the experiences of participants to provide insights into their subjective views (Berglund, 2007; Cope, 2005). In other words, rather than engaging in ‘an economic (capitalistic) evaluation’ (Johnstone and Lionais, 2004: 218), this study provided ‘an evaluation ... in relation to lived life and experience’ (Korsgaard et al., 2015: 579). The differences between these techniques are therefore similar to the distinction between spaces and places, which has been explored in regional entrepreneurship research (Steyaert and Katz, 2004; see also Chapter 2). While space-related factors may demonstrate the capacity for profit of a region or, in this case, a household, a focus on place-related aspects provides insights into the meanings that entrepreneurs connect with a location (or home).

Participants in this study share similar experiences in that they are embedded in small households which are largely removed from their wider families (both emotionally and geographically). Consequently, they lack extended social support mechanisms available to other entrepreneurs, who live closer to their kin (Khayesi et al., 2014; Verver and Koning, In Press). Participants often continue their work at home in the evenings and on weekends, which can lead to some degree of tension between work and family (Harrison and Wagner, 2016; Shelton, 2006). As the children of participants are now relatively independent, they rarely restrict entrepreneurial practices. Indeed, the increasing independence of their children was a main factor in the decisions of participating craft entrepreneurs to open their own studios, demonstrating the influence of temporal contexts on entrepreneurial activities, including entry. In Holly’s case, the liberation from childcare responsibilities led to the development of a previously home-based business into a

firm based outside of this physical location (Markantoni and van Hoven, 2012; Mason et al., 2010). As such, the findings highlight the impact of shifting dynamics in the household structure (Alsos et al., 2014; Mwaura and Carter, 2015), which are caused by transitions in the family (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003), on the practices of entrepreneurs.

This study also offers a new approach to differentiating the household members of entrepreneurs in cultural industries. To date, the limited number of studies which have focused on the households of entrepreneurs typically classify their members according to such features as their level of business experience (Gras and Nason, 2015), ethnicity (Ram et al., 2001; Rodriguez et al., 2009) and formal involvement in the businesses of the entrepreneurs (Baines and Wheelock, 1998). In comparison, prior research has paid little attention to alternative approaches, which focus on providing context-specific descriptions of household members (Alsos et al., 2014). The analysis of the perspectives of participants suggests that cohabitants can be distinguished based on their involvement in the cultural field of the entrepreneurs (i.e. crafts) and their perceived level of creativity. Figure 8.1 captures the four types of household members based on participants' reports.

**Figure 8.1.** Household Members of Entrepreneurs in Cultural Industries

		<b>Involvement in the Cultural Field of the Entrepreneur</b>	
		High	Low
<b>Creativity</b>	High	<b>Contributor</b> (Creative, Involved)	<b>Bystander</b> (Creative, Uninvolved)
	Low	<b>Promoter</b> (Non-Creative, Involved)	<b>Nonparticipant</b> (Non-Creative, Uninvolved)

First, the 'contributor' is creative and helps entrepreneurs develop their products or services. In addition to some partners, the children of participants could be classified in this way, mainly due to their upbringing in a creative household and

their resultant habituation with the work of their parent(s). Second, the ‘promoter’ is an individual who is not creative, but is involved in the cultural field, usually due to the influence of the craft entrepreneur. Most partners and spouses of participants fall into this category, as well as some parents and non-family cohabitants (i.e. flatmates). Third, ‘the bystander’ is creative but not interested in the cultural field or work of the entrepreneur. This study did not encounter such household members, but they may still exist. For example, non-family cohabitants who are not on friendly terms with the entrepreneurs could fall into this category, as could children who seek to emancipate themselves from their parents. Fourth, the ‘nonparticipant’ is neither creative nor interested in the cultural field. While some partners or spouses may fit this description, even nonparticipants were found to support craft entrepreneurs in some way, mainly through the provision of emotional support.

To date, research has focused on the gendered nature of support that cohabitants provide to entrepreneurs (Baines and Wheelock, 1998; Bittman et al., 2003). Such studies have shown that female partners tend to support male entrepreneurs in a variety of ways, including through managing childcare responsibilities and domestic chores (Livingston, 2014; Parasuraman et al., 1992). In comparison, male partners of female entrepreneurs are often only expected to provide a steady income to support the household (Bittman et al., 2003; Grunow et al., 2012). As this study is based on the experiences of both male and female entrepreneurs, some of which live in same-sex cohabiting households, the typology developed transcends normative gender divisions. Its transferability to other contexts cannot be assumed, given the small sample upon which this study drew to devise this typology. However, the findings do suggest that involvement of cohabitants in the fields of entrepreneurs may be based on attributes other than gender.

#### ***8.6.2. Extending the Concept of Household Capital***

The findings show that craft entrepreneurs highly value the various resources that become accessible through their households. To date, entrepreneurship research has focused on the importance of financial capital (i.e. household income, see Boden and Nucci, 1997; Petrova, 2012; Reynolds et al., 2004) and its effects on entrepreneurs (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Carter, 2011). In contrast, little is known about the

influences of other resources, such as the human (Bird and Wennberg, 2016; Coleman, 1988) and social capital (Arregle et al., 2007; Edelman et al., 2016) that household members provide to entrepreneurs. Accordingly, the concept of household capital, which consists of the financial, human and social capital of cohabitants (Rodriguez et al., 2009; Steier, 2009), was developed to encourage investigations of a broader range of resources. However, there is a lack of empirical studies applying this approach to different contexts (Sorenson and Bierman, 2009). Drawing on Bourdieu's (1986) perspective, this study demonstrates that the concept of household capital should be expanded to incorporate the economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital of the household.

First, the findings show that household members provide craft entrepreneurs with money, equipment, material and labour. Importantly, the data highlight that craft entrepreneurs are willing to accept direct financial contributions only during the venture start-up phase, not because they fear indebtedness (Steier, 2009), but to protect the savings of the household (Carter, 2011) and to maintain their independence. This finding challenges prevailing beliefs that entrepreneurs are willing to draw on financial support from their households over time (Bird and Wennberg, 2016) and consider doing so crucial to their success (Edelman et al., 2016). Thus, it highlights the temporality of entrepreneurial action and decision-making (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016b). Although participants do not seek monetary support from cohabitants post start-up, they do value knowing that there is another, regular income which helps sustain the household. Participants also highlight the value of free labour that household members provide, which is in line with the findings of prior research (Alsos et al., 2014; Baines and Wheelock, 1998; Ram et al., 2001). Furthermore, they are happy to receive other tangible resources (e.g. materials) from the household that they can use to create products. Thus, although household financial capital accounts for the use of shared assets, such as cars and phones (Danes et al., 2009; Dyer et al., 2014), the findings of this study suggest that the concept of household economic capital may be better suited to explain the range of material contributions that cohabitants can make to the businesses of entrepreneurs.

Second, the data show that craft entrepreneurs value receiving advice from and drawing on the skills of their household members. Rather than teaching their

household members craft-related skills in order to gain additional support from them and increase the overall level of household human capital (Danes et al., 2009; Dyer et al., 2014), the findings of this study demonstrate that entrepreneurs appreciate receiving an ‘outsider’s perspective’ from trusted partners (Bird and Wennberg, 2016) who are not involved in making the products (e.g. through the provision of judgements about product quality). Instead of acquiring essential skills from cohabitants (e.g. website design), the data show that participants rely on the support of household members over time. Only those skills which relate to the creative practice of participants appear to be considered worthwhile learning. This suggests that craft entrepreneurs are more dependent on the human capital support of household members than is currently assumed (Caputo and Dolinsky, 1998; Kotha and George, 2012). Given that participants emphasise the importance of receiving creative advice and opinions from cohabitants, the quality of which depends on their ability to evaluate cultural goods (i.e. on their embodied cultural capital, see Bourdieu, 1984), the findings also suggest that it would be more appropriate to explore household cultural capital than household human capital, which does not account for the habituation of individuals with cultural norms.

Third, household members were found to pass on client and business contacts to craft entrepreneurs. However, this type of support is much less common in the craft industries than in other contexts (Bullough et al., In Press; Edelman et al., 2016). While household social capital can help entrepreneurs develop their businesses (Arregle et al., 2007; Khavul et al., 2009), it appears that the lack of embeddedness of cohabitants in the craft field prevents them from providing significant support in this regard.<sup>14</sup> In comparison, household members were found well-positioned to improve the abilities of participants to develop symbolic capital. Specifically, the data show that, since family members are expected to attend craft shows and exhibitions, they help the entrepreneurs maintain and raise their status in this field. Furthermore, cohabitants were found to augment the reputation of participants through positive word-of-mouth and by promoting their work. Accordingly, this study proposes that symbolic capital should also be incorporated into the concept of household capital.

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<sup>14</sup> As shown in Chapter 9, embeddedness in the craft field is required to gain access to various agents, such as collectors, who enable entrepreneurial success.

Whereas extant research points towards a range of factors that can negatively impact access to household resources, such as the impulsive behaviours of entrepreneurs (Kets de Vries, 1977) or the deliberate withdrawal of capital by cohabitants (Alsos et al., 2014), participants made little or no reference to such inhibitors. Prevailing norms and rules (i.e. habitus) within their households encourage altruism, openness and reciprocity (Arregle et al., 2015; Karra et al., 2006), but do not lead or require entrepreneurs to relinquish resources needed for their businesses (Adler and Kwon, 2002). In fact, the resources provided by household members are drawn upon freely and regularly, which suggests that craft entrepreneurs consider them a part of their aggregate stock of capital.

Furthermore, although participants spend significant amounts of time in their studios and bring work home with them, this does not seem to result in an unwillingness of cohabitants to support the entrepreneurs, as proposed in the literature (Pearson et al., 2008). Neither do such behaviours seem to provoke major conflicts between household members (Miller et al., 2003; Shelton, 2006). This indicates that collective identity and collaboration are based upon shared experiences reified by ‘technologies of memory’ (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016a) – the strength of social units, including households, cannot be measured by time spent, but rather in emotions and history shared (Holt and Popp, 2013). Thus, the experiences of participants suggest a more positive outlook on the resource support practices within entrepreneurial households than is currently held. Indeed, the findings indicate that the ‘rules of the game’ (habitus) within entrepreneurial households prescribe an open and free exchange of available resources to support entrepreneurs in their business endeavours.

### ***8.6.3. Reliance on Psychological Capital***

The findings of this study highlight the importance of emotional support provided by household members to entrepreneurs (Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998; Renzulli and Aldrich, 2005). While there is growing recognition of the role that emotions play in entrepreneurial processes (Baron, 2008; Cardon et al., 2012; Foo, 2011), scant attention has been afforded to the interpersonal aspects of emotions, including how emotional states are affected by others (Jennings et al., 2015). Within the household

context, the value of emotional support from cohabitants has been acknowledged (Alsos et al., 2014; Danes et al., 2009; Steier, 2009), but still remains woefully under-explored (Arregle et al., 2015). Prior research suggests that emotional support involves listening and empathy (Adams et al., 1996) and that it can influence how entrepreneurs think about events, solve problems and adapt to difficult situations (Edelman et al., 2016; Powell and Eddleston, 2013). The findings of this study advance understanding by demonstrating that emotional support from household members increases the psychological strengths and capabilities of entrepreneurs. The ‘dance of data and theory’ (Anderson et al., 2010: 129) revealed that there is a concept in the extant literature which helps to explain the experiences of participants. Specifically, the data analysis showed that cohabitants provide entrepreneurs with psychological capital (Luthans and Youssef, 2004; Luthans et al., 2007) by developing their self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience (see Table 8.6).

First, by expressing admiration for their products and providing them with reassurance, cohabitants boost the confidence of craft entrepreneurs in their abilities. As Baron et al. (2013) argue, high levels of self-efficacy can help entrepreneurs accomplish what they set out to do and improve venture performance (Cardon and Kirk, 2015; Forbes, 2005). Second, by offering encouragement and invigoration, household members impart hope to entrepreneurs. According to Zou et al. (2016), feelings of positive expectation (i.e. hope) motivate entrepreneurs to achieve their business goals and therefore facilitate entrepreneurial success (Hmieleski et al., 2015). Third, by providing validation and sharing their belief in the entrepreneurs, cohabitants generate optimism. As shown by prior research (Dushnitsky, 2010; Hmieleski and Baron, 2009), anticipating favourable outcomes leads entrepreneurs to consider obstacles as opportunities, which promotes venture sustainability and growth (Anglin et al., In Press). Fourth, by providing a sense of security and expressing sympathy, cohabitants increase the abilities of craft entrepreneurs to adapt to changes and recover from setbacks. As Bullough et al. (In Press) note, high resilience enables entrepreneurs to handle challenging situations and develop means of overcoming them (Williams and Shepherd, 2016).

Thus, by providing entrepreneurs with the emotional, cognitive and behavioural resources (i.e. psychological capital) required to cope with stress and

respond to challenging circumstances (Avey et al., 2010; Newman et al., 2014b), household members facilitate the business activities of entrepreneurs, such as conversions of capital. The findings of this study highlight the communal way in which these strengths and capacities are developed in craft entrepreneurs, which suggests that the concept of psychological capital is not an individual construct, but a collective one (Dawkins et al., 2015). Furthermore, given that emotional support within the household context is of such high importance to craft entrepreneurs, the data indicate that the concept of household capital (Rodriguez et al., 2009; Steier, 2009) should incorporate psychological capital. Drawing on the above discussion, this study therefore proposes that household capital be (re-)defined as *the economic, cultural, social, symbolic and psychological capital accessible to entrepreneurs through their households*. It is expected that adopting this definition will lead to a more holistic understanding of the resources that household members provide to entrepreneurs.

The data analysis showed that craft entrepreneurs value the emotional support of cohabitants most at times when they are anxious and that they consider such support integral to their abilities to carry on crafting products. In this way, it is the temporal context surrounding entrepreneurs that drives them to seek emotional support from their co-habitants. While extant research suggests that entrepreneurs can learn to deal with emotional challenges over time (Arregle et al., 2015: 334), the findings of this study demonstrate that craft entrepreneurs continue to rely on their household members for emotional support. It was also shown that understanding of entrepreneurs is key to useful support (Powell and Eddleston, 2013). Whereas cohabitants usually possess the necessary access and insights into the lives of entrepreneurs to provide meaningful support, members of the wider family, who do not share the same household, were found to lack the required understanding. As such, the data support the view that strong feelings of togetherness (i.e. high cohesiveness, see Laspita et al., 2012) increase the quality of emotional social support exchanged within families (Edelman et al., 2016). It is due to a history of shared experiences and resultant mutual understanding that entrepreneurs value, and therefore benefit from, the support of their household members (Holt and Popp, 2013). Consequently, this finding suggests that a focus on the household (Baines et



al., 2002; Wheelock and Oughton, 1996), rather than family, can provide richer insights into the emotional support received by entrepreneurs.

#### ***8.6.4. Work-Family Conflict***

The analysis of data showed that household members not only facilitate, but also impede the practices of entrepreneurs. To date, only a limited number of entrepreneurship studies have explored the ways in which household members interfere with entrepreneurial processes (Jennings and McDougald, 2007; Shelton, 2006) and their conceptual ideas have rarely been empirically verified (Forson, 2013). As such, the findings of this study shed new light on the interwoven relationship between household and business (Baines and Wheelock, 1998; Ram et al., 2001). Specifically, the data show that the needs, problems and opinions of household and family members can have negative impacts on entrepreneurs and inhibit capital conversion processes.

Concerning the needs of household members, certain norms (*habitus*) of reciprocity appear to govern the practices of craft entrepreneurs (Stewart, 2003; Verver and Koning, In Press). Craft entrepreneurs receive a range of resources from cohabitants, which encourages them to make accommodations in their work and help out around the house (Bird and Wennberg, 2016). As Carter et al. (2017) argue, it is important to consider the power relations between household members to understand their decision-making processes. Participants in this study share the responsibility for generating household income with their partners, though they acknowledge that the income from their businesses is less stable than that of their partners' salaried employment. However, this does not mean that their partners take a dominant position in the household, as suggested by extant research (Fine, 2010). Instead of being seen as providing a secondary income (Bittman et al., 2003) or being locked into a subordinate role (Grunow et al., 2012), participants and their businesses are on (more or less) equal footing with their partners and their jobs.

Although participants did not consciously choose to start their own craft firms to accommodate the needs of the household (DeMartino and Barbato, 2003;

Thompson et al., 2009),<sup>15</sup> but rather because they spotted specific opportunities in the market and wanted to stay in complete control over their creative outputs (see Chapter 2), their chosen professions do allow for a degree of flexibility (Tregear, 2005). Consequently, participants were found to accommodate the scheduling and relocation needs of their household members, despite potentially negative affects on their businesses (Livingston, 2014). As such, the temporal contexts in which the family members of entrepreneurs are embedded also affect entrepreneurial decisions and actions. Furthermore, as suggested in the extant literature (Forson, 2013; Rouse and Kitching, 2006), the data show that organising childcare and dealing with unexpected issues with their children can put strain on craft entrepreneurs. Participants engage in ‘role-sharing’ with their partners to manage childcare responsibilities and domestic chores (Shelton, 2006: 290). Thus, while they maintain some household responsibilities, participants were generally found to adopt an approach of ‘scaling back within the non-work domain’ (Jennings and McDougald, 2007: 749) to minimise potential work-family conflict. These practices help them achieve work-family balance (Eddleston and Powell, 2012).

Regarding the problems of cohabitants, the data show that potential threats to the income security of their partners can impede the abilities of craft entrepreneurs to concentrate on their creative practice. Given that the financial rewards of entrepreneurship are generally variable and irregular (Carter, 2011), such situations compound income uncertainty and increase the level of risk within entrepreneurial households. Similarly, illnesses and losses of household and family members can have distracting effects on craft entrepreneurs and lead them to temporarily prioritise their families over their businesses. Although such occurrences are comparatively rare, they do affect entrepreneurs. Whereas extant research highlights the reduction of available resources that accompanies the loss of a household member (Baines et al., 2003; Dyer et al., 2014), the findings indicate that the resultant emotional impact is equally, if not more, harmful (Shepherd, 2009).

Relating to the negative influence of others’ opinions, the data show that participants are particularly affected by expressions of disapproval, doubt and disregard from family members (Forson, 2013). Such critical opinions were found to

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<sup>15</sup> Holly is the only participant who operated her enterprise from her home before moving into a studio because she wanted to be closer to her children while they were younger and more dependent.

reduce the self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience (i.e. psychological capital, see Luthans and Youssef, 2004) of craft entrepreneurs and thus impact their abilities to develop new products. While participants worry about unvoiced concerns of their household members, outright expressions of disagreement and scepticism from wider family members have much stronger effects on their practices. Once again, it is the lack of understanding of these relatives which leads participants to fear their criticism and cause emotional disconnection from them. If their kin were more involved in their lives and resided in closer proximity, they might have a more positive impact on the practices of entrepreneurs, as suggested in the literature (Alsos et al., 2014; Khayesi et al., 2014; Verver and Koning, In Press). Overall, the experiences of participants are that household members primarily support their business activities, whereas members of the wider family are more likely to impede them. Thus, the findings show that it is beneficial to differentiate between household and wider family members when exploring the relationship between business and family and its impact on entrepreneurs (Carter et al., 2017; Wheelock and Oughton, 1996).

## **8.7. Conclusion**

This chapter sought to answer the research question: *How do household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs?* In so doing, it first introduced an alternative approach to differentiating the household members of entrepreneurs in cultural industries, which challenges the current assumptions about the gendered nature of familial support. Second, it provided evidence that the habitus within households prescribes an open and free exchange of resources and that, contrary to prevailing beliefs, the cultural and symbolic capital provided by household members are more highly valued by craft entrepreneurs than access to their financial resources. Third, this chapter highlighted the importance of the psychological capital that household members help entrepreneurs develop, demonstrating that such support is most needed in times of anxiety and stress and that household members' ability to provide it is reliant upon their understanding of the entrepreneur. Furthermore, this chapter revealed that the needs, problems and opinions of household and family members can negatively impact entrepreneurs. While cohabitants mainly help entrepreneurs

build up their psychological capital, it was shown that wider family members can disrupt this process by expressing doubt and criticism. The findings of this chapter thus demonstrate that household and family members significantly influence the practices of entrepreneurs, both positively and negatively, adding to research which recognises that the lines between work and family are often blurred for entrepreneurs (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Arregle et al., 2015).

## CHAPTER 9: COMMUNITY CONTEXT - MACRO-LEVEL

### 9.1. Introduction

Having discussed the individual capital conversions that participants conduct (micro-level) and the influence of household members on their practices (meso-level), this chapter focuses on the impact of community contexts on craft entrepreneurs (macro-level). As discussed in Chapter 4, there is limited understanding of the effects of embeddedness in communities, especially virtual and common interest communities, on entrepreneurs (Jennings et al., 2013; Piva et al., 2012). Thus, this chapter seeks to advance knowledge by addressing the research question: *How and why does embeddedness in communities affect the practices of entrepreneurs?*

This chapter is structured as follows. First, it describes the craft communities in which participants are embedded and explores the effects of their embeddedness in co-existing fields. This section highlights that embeddedness in one field can lead to dis-embeddedness (i.e. disconnection from a field, see Leca and Naccache, 2006; Zietsma et al., 2017) from another. Second, this chapter examines the importance of fitting-in with community norms and ‘rules’ (habitus). It shows that craft entrepreneurs achieve compliance not only by learning accepted norms, but also by performing strategic actions which allow them to temporarily modify their practices to meet the expectations of community members. Third, this chapter explores the role that social value creation plays in craft communities. It demonstrates that community norms (e.g. camaraderie and generosity) can lead entrepreneurs to embrace the creation of social value by collaborating with peers and sharing resources with potential competitors. This chapter provides rich examples of the sharing of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. It also explains why participating craft entrepreneurs are considered to be social entrepreneurs. Based on the analysis of the experiences of participants, this chapter seeks to present a realistic picture of the actions of craft entrepreneurs, highlighting both their virtuous behaviours, such as collaboration and social value creation, and their darker practices, including pretending, concealing and performing.

## 9.2. Embeddedness in Communities

This section first presents primarily descriptive findings which shed new light onto the characteristics of craft communities, before exploring their effects on participants' embeddedness in rural communities.

The data show that craft communities share a number of common features which differentiate them from other creative communities and suggest that the craft sector is a distinct entrepreneurial sub-culture. First, craft communities are primarily virtual. In Amy's words, 'it's all online. So, without the Internet ... I would have to move away, I would be totally cut off out here'. As Holly explains, 'I would say about 80 per cent [of community members] live in America ... then Australia, this country and sort of bits like, Lithuania ... and Russia'. Thus, while community members do meet at events, such as craft shows, they almost exclusively communicate through dedicated community websites. In Carol's case, the main portal is 'like Facebook for knitters, but it's a lot more than that ... it brings people together from all over the world'. In other words, craft fields combine elements of local, virtual and transnational communities. Thus, knowledge of embeddedness in these under-explored contexts can be advanced by research into craft communities.

Second, the blending of consumers and producers is a distinctive characteristic of craft communities. In Diana's words, 'they are all kind of mixed in somehow'. Participants not only create, but also collect craft pieces. Similarly, many customers are interested in learning how to design products and could therefore be described as hobbyists. Accordingly, participants run classes to show community members how to craft their own items, which is a demanding process. As an example, the researcher observed the preparation for a class that Holly runs on an annual basis for her collectors. This process is significantly more time consuming than might be expected: it involves not only developing a special design that hobbyists are capable of making and preparing the materials (i.e. pre-cutting the fur for the bears), but also requires organising the teaching space and frequent communication with attendees and others who want to be involved, but cannot make it in person. George, who weaves baskets, explains his reasons for tutoring as 'just for them to see that they can make something ... that's really good out of a bunch of little twigs – [to] come out with a basket'. While participants usually charge a small fee for tutoring community

members, financial rewards were not a primary motive for engaging in this activity. In fact, the income participants lose by not crafting products themselves is generally greater than any fees they charge for instructing others.

Third, craft communities are close-knit despite being spread across large geographic areas. Participants portray their craft fields in similar ways – as ‘a very small, but very well-populated world’ (Julie). As Frank explains,

the crafting community is very small and even if they [customers] are not gonna buy stuff, they might go away and say ... ‘Oh I was in this interesting shop’ ... You never know where your customers are gonna come from.

Holly describes her community as ‘mainly mental people [laughs], seriously, there is some really odd people who collect bears and I would say 99.9 per cent are absolutely lovely, just a wee bit kinda off the radar’. This sentiment was reinforced for the researcher upon the observation that collectors would travel for hundreds of miles and queue up hours before the start of a craft show in order to get a chance to meet the makers and be the first customers at their stands. In Carol’s case, they brought along items they had knitted with the hand-dyed yarn as well as pictures to show where they had travelled to and worn their pieces to demonstrate their passion for the craft. Thus, as explained below, it is essential that craft entrepreneurs gain an understanding of the norms and expectations within these intimate and idiosyncratic communities.

Embeddedness in online communities carries several implications (see Table 9.1). Although it enables entrepreneurs to operate businesses from remote locations while still staying closely connected to a variety of customers, developing aesthetic and user-friendly websites requires a high level of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) skill and diverts attention from local customers. Interestingly, craft entrepreneurs were found to adopt a simple, yet effective solution to address the issues that result from divided loyalties between craft and rural communities: they consciously prioritise one field over the other. Chapter 2 provided detailed descriptions of the place-related meanings that participants associate with the areas in which they reside and indicated that participants enjoy living in their rural areas. Nevertheless, the analysis of data showed that participating craft entrepreneurs rarely interact with local community members, which is a significant finding of this study.

**Table 9.1.** Implications of Embeddedness in Virtual Communities

Implication	Representative Quotation
Flexibility	<p>‘Because I’m internet based ... I could be in the middle of a field, as long as I have an internet connection and a post office in the field with me’. (Holly)</p> <p>‘In this day and age, basically you can work anywhere ... There is so many makers who are out in the middle of nowhere, working away and making a living. You can send your work to galleries, so you don't have to be in the big smoke’. (Diana)</p>
Connectivity	<p>‘It's all user-built [website] ... It's free and once you join ... you can upload details and photographs and if you had any problems with the pattern or that kind of thing ... there are forums, where you can chat to other people ... It's quite an amazing ... resource and it brings people together from all over the world’. (Carol)</p> <p>‘In terms of online businesses, we do stuff online because we want it to be immediate, so ... I maintain a level of communication that I would like to receive as a customer. So if people do e-mail me, I will e-mail them back straightaway’. (Amy)</p>
IT literacy	<p>‘My website is my online window. I didn't want a business website, I needed [one] that would attract people who were visually attracted by what they saw, not just ... a list of products, and it was really hard, I got quite dispirited at one point’. (Julie)</p> <p>‘Some people don’t even look at websites, they just do it through Facebook ... so I had to get the Facebook and the Twitter and Pinterest and ... I’m taking photographs now of everything’. (George)</p>
Divided loyalty	<p>‘There is a dilemma, between your [online] shop looking nice and your [studio] window looking nice ... if there aren’t many things in the window it’s because I’m sending things out and doing things online all the time’. (Emily)</p> <p>‘I’m online, but ... I want to still encourage people to come, so it’s hard’. (Frank)</p>

Due to their dedication to their crafts, participants spend most of their days making products and communicating with craft community members online. As Julie explains, ‘I’m working here from sort of 10 in the morning till 9 ... sometimes 10 o’clock at night and getting home and having something to eat and then crashing out, going back in again’. Even at home, participants often find that they are ‘kind of always thinking about the business’ (George). According to Isla, ‘the downside of an online business, particularly with international customers, is that you have to be always available’. As discussed in the previous chapter, participants mainly use their remaining free time to engage with household members. Rather than spending time socialising with others (e.g. in pubs), participants describe their time off in similar ways: ‘I usually have a fairly quiet evening, just in front of the fire, just watch some telly or something’ (Frank). In addition, most participants practise individual, rather than team sports, such as running or swimming to secure some ‘alone time’. Amy even keeps gym equipment in her studio: ‘I do a workout, ’cos I feel that clears my head ... I’ve got the rebounder, the little trampoline, [so I] just have a bounce’.



Consequently, this study shows that the independence which embeddedness in a virtual community affords, can lead to a dis-embeddedness from local communities. While the studios of participants are open to the public, their products are so specialised that locals are rarely interested in them. In Carol's words,

unless you are a serious knitter you're not just gonna come in off the street and buy something, but I do have people that have found me online and that then make a trip out to the studio or ... some of my international customers, if they're gonna be in Scotland ... they'll e-mail me and arrange a visit.

In addition to lack of interest, lack of knowledge about the craft community can add to the detachment between the entrepreneur and the local community. According to Diana, 'your average man in the street, not used to thinking and working in that way, would just go, "Oh, that looks nice" [laughs] and think that it was just hummed up in five, ten, fifteen minutes' and therefore be shocked at the high prices. As Holly explains,

it's a kinda high end, luxury product, it's like, people don't understand, they just think of teddy bears and don't understand everything that goes into them and making them and designing them and things like that, so I'm not too bothered if, you know, people off the street come in and don't understand it, because ... my main source of income is the internet and it always will be.

As Emily notes, 'I think there will be people who will completely forget that I'm there'. Similarly, Betty explains that 'people do say to me "Why are you here?"' Indeed, during observations in the studios, the researcher was rarely witness to interactions between rural community members and craft entrepreneurs. In reference to the frequency of her interactions with locals, Isla responded positively, 'absolutely none ... they don't sort of tend to come around the corner, which is why this studio is perfect for me'. Consequently, most participants designed their workplaces to look and function more like workshops than studios. As Julie admits, 'I haven't even put out a poster. I know I should have done, but I don't really, I don't really fit in'. In contrast, participants make significant efforts to fit into their craft communities, as explained in the following section.

### 9.3. The Importance of Fitting-in

The data analysis revealed the importance of compliance with community norms and expectations for gaining the support of community members. This section first reviews the habitus in craft communities, before analysing the strategic changes of behaviour that participants practise.<sup>16</sup>

Habitus in craft communities was found to have a significant impact on the practices of embedded entrepreneurs. As participants cater to ‘such a very niche market’ (Amy), it is crucial for them to join these communities and to continue their active membership over time. Consequently, the data show that craft entrepreneurs must adhere to a number of conventions in order to be accepted into their respective communities (see Table 9.2).

**Table 9.2** Craft Community Conventions

Convention	Representative Quotation
Positivity	‘They don’t like to hear [the] negative ... everything is supposed to be rosy ... [and] I get the impression that nobody ever has any problems and once you had a problem ... you’re almost, like, tarnished’. (Diana) ‘You just have to be nice and ... sometimes that can be quite exhausting’. (Emily)
Camaraderie	‘I do feel a connection with people who make things ... it’s quite sort of close, you know, their needs and their concerns ... are the same ... [so] I help out’. (George) ‘I value their [peers’] friendship and ... I know what it’s taken to get mine [business] off the ground, so I, you know, I try and help’. (Julie)
Moral Support	‘When your confidence is knocked, that is ... when you need emotional support from ... colleagues maybe working in a similar field ... You will have odd moments and that’s when you need somebody to help you and say ... “You’re on the right track”, you know, and you just bridge that gap of confidence’ (Betty) ‘People that have got good ideas ... if they’ve got ... the courage and get up and do something with it ... I think all credit to them, because it’s not easy! ... Whenever I come across ... [peers] I will always make a point of congratulating them’. (Isla)
Generosity	‘I think people who make crafts, I mean obviously there are always nice and nasty people, but generally it’s like a little community ... everybody knows nobody is making a lot of money, but ... people do try and help, people help out a lot’. (Frank) ‘A lot of people come to me for advice of varying kinds and I give it freely’. (Holly)

<sup>16</sup> Adopting Bourdieu’s (1977) terminology, this chapter refers to habitus instead of ‘established norms’ or ‘rules of the game’ that influence the behaviours of community members. As such, this chapter utilises the concept in its meaning as a constraining social structure (Friedland, 2009), rather than as personal dispositions.

Once accepted within the community, there appears to be a sense as well as an expectation of camaraderie among craft makers. As will be discussed in the following section, this fellowship results in a number of benefits for craft entrepreneurs, specifically related to collaborative work and the sharing of resources. At the same time, the need to demonstrate solidarity with community members also imposes obligations. As Carol explains,

part of the reason that people ... come to see stuff in person [at shows] is so they can meet you ... hang out with you ... it seems really conceited to say ... but in this kind of small world, the people who are the makers and the designers ... are sort of famous and people know who you are and they are excited to meet you, and so if something happened and ... even if I just got somebody else to take my stuff ... and sell it for me, it kind of diminishes the experience ... [so] I can't afford to get sick ... because I have to do this [attend].

Individuals who fall short of the expectations of community members become the subjects of gossip. As Betty describes, 'it is such a small community and, like living in a small town, people like to gossip ... It's just human nature. People like to talk about bad stuff a lot more than they like to talk about good stuff'. As a result, as Julie notes, 'I'm quite ... careful about reputation ... [so] I need to be wary, because I don't want to upset people, so I have to be quite cautious about ... what I do'. As such, it is the fear of being punished by becoming the subjects of gossip which drives participants to comply with habitus. In other words, gossip represents a control mechanism which enforces compliance with existing conventions and ensures that community members seek to fit in.

Entrepreneurs who learn their crafts at a dedicated vocational school or university are introduced to the prevailing habitus by their instructors and more experienced peers. In Diana's words, 'it is drummed into you at art school'. In comparison, lateral entrants were found to engage in both relational learning (e.g. when they met other makers at shows) and experimentation, which helps them figure out accepted practices. Amy explains that she learned by 'just kind of ... looking at what other people were doing'. As Frank notes, 'having contacts is really useful because you learn, you get ideas and you can start doing things, you know, without treading on other people's toes ... 'cos I wouldn't want to do that'. This learning and habituation process can be time-consuming, but participants consider it essential for

legitimising their operations. Furthermore, not only must craft entrepreneurs learn about the existing habitus; they must also be seen complying with it over time. In George's words, 'you need some patience for a start', as 'people want to see you out there for a few years' (Diana).

Interestingly, the data show that, because craft entrepreneurs adapt their behaviours to meet the expectations of community members, they frequently experience a feeling of 'standing out' from the habitus of other fields. In particular, the expectations and conventions in craft versus rural communities can cause difficulties for participants. In order to illustrate the tensions that result from the differences in habitus between co-existing fields, participants referred to the example of acceptable dress:

If you're ... kind of an arty, crafty person, there is an expectation that you're going to look interesting ... if I had ... a really normal hair cut and just standard glasses and wore neutral clothes, I think people would be a bit disappointed in a way 'cos there is this expectation that you're going to be quirky or different. (Carol)

I found when I first moved to the village, there was lots of people saying, 'Gosh all those [colourful] tights ... what in earth is that?' ... people will look and go, 'What's that all about?' (Diana)

The other day when I was on the bus, the driver asked where I was from ... and I was like '[Here!]' and he said 'Really? I thought you were like German or Polish or something' ... so I think maybe I'm a bit different to the people around me. (Amy)

Once again, in such situations, craft entrepreneurs choose to prioritise fitting into one field over the other. Complying with the habitus of craft communities is paramount to participants. There are, of course, other ways in which craft entrepreneurs stand out from the members of other communities. For example, innate attributes, including a different accent or birthplace, can lead entrepreneurs to stick out from their surroundings. As Julie explains,

people, sometimes are, because of my accent, put me in a pigeon hole where I don't belong and think that because I speak the way I do, that I come from a wealthy background, which of course I don't and they have misconceptions or bad perceptions of who the southern-accent-person is, you know, they assume all sorts of things, which of course aren't true.

Consequently, participants do their best to adapt their practices to facilitate fitting in with existing conventions and to conceal unconventional traits.

The analysis of data highlighted a range of strategic actions that participants carry out to change their conduct and meet the expectations of community members (see Table 9.3).

**Table 9.3** Strategic Changes of Practice

Strategic Action	Representative Quotation
Pretending	<p>‘If you are running an online business the persona that you are presenting online, even if it does get a little bit personal, is still your kind of business persona. You ... paint this picture ... so they think that you are this very interesting person’. (Carol)</p> <p>‘I can pretend to be very confident - doesn't mean I am ... but people believe it and that's what counts’. (Isla)</p>
Restraining	<p>‘I don't swear as much ... I'm trying to be more professional and stuff. I'm still quite chatty, ... but I think that sort of ... make[s] people feel at ease’. (Betty)</p> <p>‘Obviously with clients I have to be totally professional ... I can be more upfront with family, 'cos you know, you can say what you mean’. (Amy)</p>
Concealing	<p>‘Generally, I put a positive spin on everything that is happening ... especially if I'm talking to people that I don't know particularly well’. (Emily)</p> <p>‘You don't want people to know that, when nobody sees you, you sit about wearing slippers shaped like dogs ... [so] you take the picture of the bit of the house that looks nice ... so you do have to edit to a certain extent’. (Carol)</p>
Performing	<p>‘At shows and things like that, I'm always delightful and happy and a little ray of sunshine, and at home I'm horrible [laughs]’. (Holly)</p> <p>‘I'm aware, when I'm talking to somebody who's always lived here, that I probably sound quite posh, so ... I change ... how I speak to people’. (Frank)</p>

Importantly, participants were found to adapt their practices only temporarily, rather than permanently changing their behaviours. Specifically, they engage in activities, such as pretending, restraining, concealing and performing, in an effort to, as Holly puts it, ‘play the game’. Most of these changes of practice were subtle and it took some time for the researcher to realise that they were occurring. It was particularly helpful to observe participants at craft shows and to compare these behaviours to their conduct in the studios. This process revealed that participants constantly judged how community members expected them to behave and adjusted their practices accordingly.

This study also found there to be limits to the abilities of craft entrepreneurs to join certain fields by adapting to their habitus. For example, regarding access to local family networks, Isla notes that,

In the North East, the families ... are very close ... it comes through the sort of ... pit villages, there is a community network of inter-social family networks, they are so closed ... It sounds very strange, but they don't need you, an outsider. You are a nice enough person and, if they had met you in the street they would be perfectly polite and friendly, but you would never get close to them.

Thus, although strategic changes of practices allow participants to fit into certain fields, such as craft communities, this study finds that, in some cases, fields are too exclusive to join or the expectations of members are too high to fulfil.

#### **9.4. Social Value Creation**

The need to comply with the habitus of communities therefore greatly affects the behaviours of craft entrepreneurs. Significantly, the data demonstrate that it leads participants to engage in collaboration and social value creation. This section explores the reasons for participants to adopt these socially-oriented business practices and reviews the capital sharing of craft entrepreneurs.

The data analysis showed that entrepreneurs' embeddedness in craft communities can compel them to disregard 'traditional' business practices, such as fiercely competing for clients and resources to increase profits (Kirzner, 1973; Knight, 1921), and instead embrace social value creation by collaborating and sharing resources with community members. As Isla describes, '[despite] two very bad experiences in terms of time wasting and no feedback whatsoever ... there is an expectation that you will help and demonstrate what you can do'. In spite of such experiences, participants continue to support their peers, because 'we are all in the same boat and we just have to get on' (Diana). As Frank notes, 'everyone knows how difficult it is to make a living from it, but we're all doing something that ... we love doing and [that] gives pleasure to people, so we all help each other out'.

Participants were found to collaborate with other makers in various ways. Among other activities, they co-create craft items, such as 'collaborating on making

some buttons' (Emily), and develop shared projects. As Carol recounts, 'I did the [yarn] club with ... [designer]. That was a collaborative effort, because she was designing the patterns and ... then I was dying things and giving them back to her to see what she thought'. Furthermore, 'people are [always] sharing ideas and helping other people develop their ideas' (George). Although participants emphasise that they try not to offer unsolicited advice, they are keen to help. As Julie explains, 'if people [peers] ask me, I'm delighted to help them ... [but] I always think they know what they're doing, so it's only when people say, "But, I can't do that", I think, "Wow, I'll help you"'. Above all, craft entrepreneurs support each other through the provision of free resources. For example, Carol explains that,

If you're providing yarn support, you are giving it away for free ... It's generally a designer ... who contacts me and asks if I provide yarn support and then ... [I'll] decide whether or not it's something that I would like to do ... If I like their patterns, then I'll offer them yarn support.

There are a number of reasons why craft entrepreneurs share their resources and collaborate (see Table 9.4). Although these reasons are individual and vary between participants, they embody general principles to which craft makers must adhere and which they seek to inculcate in others. Participants highlighted the need to advance their respective industries, ensure that skills get transferred to the next generation of makers and sustain a genuine interest in hand-crafted products. While participants generally believe in the importance of these goals, they acknowledge that they also feel compelled to pursue them, as illustrated by Emily: 'I think there is an expectation that, because you make art ... keeping it alive has to ... [come] before your business'. In other words, participants act selflessly not only out of an internal desire to do good, but also because of the perceived external pressure of their field's habitus.

Importantly, while participants appreciate help from members of the community, they generally do not expect reciprocity for their actions. In Betty's words, 'I won't necessarily get back something for my efforts ... [but] that's totally fine by me'. Furthermore, the data show that, while collaboration and resource sharing help participants expand their networks (social capital) and maintain their standing in the community (symbolic capital), these are secondary reasons for craft

entrepreneurs to adopt such practices. Instead, participants perceive industry preservation and the support of peers to be their social responsibilities. They are made aware of these conventions through the habituation process of learning to fit into their respective craft communities (see previous section). As Holly explains, ‘I think that it’s the responsibility of all the people [craft makers]’.

**Table 9.4** Motivations for Capital Sharing and Collaboration

<b>Motivation</b>	<b>Representative Quotation</b>
Conservation	‘People doing things well and passing on those skills ... that’s something that is really important for our generations to come, that there are still people who do that’. (Julie) ‘If we don’t kind of help each other out when we can there is not gonna be any makers left. It’s all gonna be stuff that you buy at Primark for two quid’. (Carol)
Solidarity	‘I think it’s because we’re all in the same boat, we are all individual makers, that you want to kind of help one another out’. (Emily) ‘You tend to find ... you want to help one another out, because you would hope ... that somebody else would do the same for you’. (Diana)
Altruism	‘I give free time, free design-work, to help [others] ... It’s not driven to pay the mortgage ... it’s nice ... I’ve got a real buzz going on inside’. (Isla) ‘I think it’s important to help people and to give back in some way’. (Betty)
Empathy	‘I’ve ... spoken to the fashion class, ... ’cos I know how hard it is when you’re a student. ... I would have loved somebody to have told me how they set up on their own, so I think the knowledge ... I can offer will be invaluable’. (Amy) ‘When you’ve made things that you sell, you know how much work goes into [it]. ... I always feel like, empathy for people [peers] at craft fairs ... [so] I always talk to them and take their cards and show an interest’. (Betty)

Even when the open exchange of ideas between makers generates considerable potential for plagiarism, this study found that craft entrepreneurs are not discouraged from helping others. Table 9.5 highlights a number of reasons why participants are willing to accept such risk. They believe that, as their styles are developed through their past experiences and training (cultural capital) and their individual personalities, nobody else would be able to create the same products. In Julie’s words, ‘nobody can copy exactly what I do, ’cos they don’t have the same history that I have of how I got to that place’. More importantly, ‘the unwritten rule is that you, you don’t ... sell the same things as another maker. You try to come up with your own original ideas’ (Emily). All participants made similar statements, such as Isla:



the most important rule is [that] you don't pinch anybody's ideas ... you're always going to find people who have better ideas than you do. It's the way of the world, that's how things progress and move on. You think you might be doing quite well and then, you turn around, you look at somebody else and think, 'Crumbs, how did they come up with that? That's fantastic!' But what you can't do is ... plagiarise their idea into your work. You can be influenced by them, and there's difference of ... taking that influence and developing it in your own way - that's fine, but to take the idea and parody it ... that's an absolute no-no.

If craft community members are found plagiarising, they are excluded from the community. Such events occurred on a few, rare occasions during the course of the study, but the response of the craft communities was the same: the offending parties were flagged up in the online forums and community members warned one another not to buy their products. As Julie explains, 'nobody likes somebody who tries to copy, you know, and everybody becomes aware of that person'.

**Table 9.5** Reasons for Indifference Concerning Plagiarism

Reason	Representative Quotation
Individuality	<p>'I'm not worried at all, 'cos hopefully there will be other customers out there. ... There is obviously the chance that they [students] will then start making and selling, but they are still not me and ... they will never do what I do'. (Holly)</p> <p>'We're all art school trained, but you can see ... there are so many different styles and hopefully there will be something [customers] for everybody'. (Diana)</p>
Experience	<p>'Somebody else might see that and think, "Oh, right, I'll copy that", but they wouldn't be able to copy it with the same ... sort of precision and skill'. (George)</p> <p>'I've noticed on Pinterest ... people have pinned my wallets and ... put things like "I'll try later", but nobody has done it ... I don't know that anyone would be able to do quite as good a job, 'cos it has taken me years to develop it'. (Amy)</p>
Integrity	<p>'The integrity of the design has to be right and you can't ... copy other people, ... it's my design reputation on the line if I copy something else'. (Emily)</p> <p>'As a small business owner, you need to, you are ... the face of the brand ... so it's important ... to do things in a way that reflect [your] personal beliefs'. (Frank)</p>
Exclusion	<p>'I've been doing it [style] for years and there was somebody who had stuff [copies] up on Etsy ... I had customers messaging me saying, "Do you know this person is doing this?" ... So, I don't think you can [plagiarise], really ... because it is such a small community and ... people like to gossip about the negative things'. (Carol)</p> <p>'If you work over time, you get to know people. ... If you behave unethically I can tell you it will come around and bite you in ... years to come'. (Isla)</p>

As mentioned above, craft entrepreneurs were found to freely share a number of resources, including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. With regard to economic capital, there appears to be a convention among makers to buy each other's products. As Frank explains,

When I make money ... I do try to spend [some] ... on buying something from another crafter because ... we kind of have to encourage each other ... [so] I do have, mentally, this sort of unwritten rule that when I have a bit of extra money I buy something from another maker.

In addition, craft entrepreneurs were found to engage in charitable giving. Participants give free labour, as illustrated by Betty: 'I've volunteered ... there are these things in the [town hall] ... they have, like, an exhibition in the library ... I was making books with people that came in'. Furthermore, participants donate their products to help their communities. As Emily describes, 'I have done craft fairs where it's for charity'. Thus, the norms of craft communities can also lead entrepreneurs to support their local communities.

The sharing of cultural capital was also found to be a common practice among craft entrepreneurs. Participants engage in knowledge exchange and the co-creation of products through a variety of means, such as online forums, guild meetings and craft shows. As Diana explains, 'we'll discuss things or moan about things ... always kind of ask each other's advice ... online or if we go to a show'. Indeed, within craft communities it is common practice that 'everybody is ... sort of feeding off each other' (Betty) and 'passing on skills' (Holly). Craft entrepreneurs continue to benefit from this custom over time, as illustrated by Amy:

When I first started, in fact even now, when I go to a ... fair or anything, I always like to pick people's brains, find out how they got started and where they sell ... like their lines of sale. Yeah, I think it's really important to communicate with other makers.

Participants were found to perpetuate this practice. As George reports, 'a couple of them [hobbyists] are becoming self-employed and they're asking me for business advice ... [and] I'm happy to help'. In Betty's words, 'in a way, we all work as a team, you know, to do crafts ... we pass on tips and that sort of thing'.

Concerning the exchange of social capital, the data show that craft entrepreneurs become brokers of relationships, as well as receivers of such support from community members. As Isla notes, 'you pass on contacts, networks, that kind of thing'. For example, participants introduce peers to individuals who can help them develop their businesses, as explained by Frank: 'I said, "Well, I don't do marketing, but I know a lady in [Craft County] Business Club who's been quite helpful and supportive to me, personally. I'll put you in touch with her"'. This privilege was also extended by peers to participants and, surprisingly, was found to involve not just the exchange of supplier contacts, but also the sharing of customer contacts. As George recounts, 'like the other day, she [customer] said, "He [peer] just gave me your number, because he doesn't really make square baskets ... it's not really his thing", and so she got in contact with me'. It appears that membership in craft communities is generally beneficial in this regard, as illustrated by Emily:

I do actively say to them, "Oh, you should go check out this place" ... and I kind of encourage people to go look at other stuff, as well ... I don't know if they [peers] are doing the same thing for me, but I hope so [laughs].

Regarding the sharing of symbolic capital, participants were found to support less established peers by affiliating with them. As Julie explains, 'she [newcomer] is quite insecure, I think, about her own skills, so ... any time she publishes a new design ... I put it up on my website'. Similarly, participants have benefitted from association with more well-known community members. In Carol's words,

Being associated with designers helps ... she [designer] has quite a massive following ... she is really talented and has quite a lot of people that really love her designs and she used one of my yarns in one of her patterns, when I was first starting out and that ... helped to raise my profile quite a bit.

Furthermore, prominent craft entrepreneurs draw on their reputation to improve the standing of the community as a whole. Holly describes her motivations for organising a dedicated bear show as, 'For our little, small world, to try and expand it ... to get more people interested in what the artist bear is ... to kind of raise the awareness'. As an observer of the event, the researcher was made aware of the amount of effort required to stage a craft show, which appears to greatly outweigh

the sales (economic capital) and standing in the community (symbolic capital) that the organiser earns. Instead, craft entrepreneurs were found to conduct such activities to help new makers, as well as the whole community.

## **9.5. Analysis and Interpretation**

Following the presentation of community-related findings, this section compares the results of this study with current scholarly debates, demonstrating their contributions to knowledge. This section analyses field-, habitus- and capital-related issues and, as such, mirrors the structure of the preceding sections.

### ***9.5.1. Craft Fields***

The analysis of data highlighted a number of characteristics of craft communities which have received scant attention in the academic literature. To date, craft research has predominately focused on marketing (Fillis, 2004; Paige and Littrell, 2002), branding (Beverland, 2005; Verhaal et al., 2015) and tourism-related topics (Cohen, 2001; Revilla and Dodd, 2003) and explored the engagement of entrepreneurs in local fields (Blundel, 2002; Tregear, 2005) and in high society (Slavich and Castellucci, 2016; Svejenova et al., 2007). In contrast, there is a paucity of research which considers the online activities of craft entrepreneurs (Kuhn and Galloway, 2015). Thus, this study expands knowledge by revealing that craft communities interact primarily through virtual channels. Advances in ICT allow entrepreneurs to connect with a variety of customers and peers while residing in rural areas (Anderson et al., 2016; Cumming and Johan, 2010). As a result of such developments, craft communities transcend national boundaries and unite enthusiasts from around the world.

Another distinguishing feature of craft communities is the blending of consumers and producers. Particularly in the context of craft brewing, prior research has highlighted the engagement of hobbyists in the creation of products (Biraglia and Kadile, 2017). However, most entrepreneurship studies into craft brewing focus on ‘coopetition’ (Mathias et al., In Press; Ofstein et al., 2017), which ‘describes situations where two companies compete in some areas while cooperating in others

for mutual benefit' (Kuhn and Galloway, 2015: 576). Outside of the craft field, entrepreneurship research has demonstrated the value of brand communities, which connect consumers and producers, for facilitating opportunity discovery, evaluation and exploitation (Füller et al., 2008; Reuber and Fischer, 2011). Still, this research has paid little attention to community contexts in which producers collaborate with consumers who engage in their own product creation and may turn into potential competitors. It might be argued that open source software communities (Bianchi et al., 2012; O'Mahony, 2003; O'Mahony and Ferraro, 2007) are closely related, as they blend producers and consumers, but these contexts differ from craft communities in that they bring together developers who collaborate, but who do not usually buy each other's products. Thus, this study explores a context which has received limited consideration within the entrepreneurship literature.

The data also highlight that virtual communities can be close-knit despite being spread across large geographic areas. Indeed, the sense of shared history and collective identity expressed by participants, even with field members whom they have never physically met, echo the collective memories of generational units referred to by Lippmann and Aldrich (2016a). To date, entrepreneurship research has focused on the advantages that virtual embeddedness provides, including global market reach and the expansion of networks (Cumming and Johan, 2010; Smith et al., 2017), which have been shown to help entrepreneurs overcome the liabilities of newness (Morse et al., 2007). In comparison, little is known about the wider effects of embeddedness in international, online communities which unite a relatively small number of people and which follow distinctive rules of behaviour. Thus, given the increasing importance of online markets for entrepreneurs (Drori et al., 2009a; Fischer and Reuber, 2014; Hallen and Eisenhardt, 2012), the findings of this study make valuable contributions to knowledge.

Embeddedness in virtual communities has both positive and negative implications. While the resulting flexibility and connectivity allows craft entrepreneurs to freely choose their base of operation while staying connected with community members, it requires a considerable level of ICT literacy and can cause divided loyalties between local and virtual communities. Indeed, this study shows that embeddedness in an online community can lead entrepreneurs to prioritise one

field over another. In the case of craft entrepreneurs, this phenomenon was found to create a degree of dis-embeddedness from the rural communities in which participants reside. As Dacin et al. (1999: 343) note, there is a lack of research exploring dis-embeddedness and ‘the relative “strength[s]” of different types of embeddedness’. Prior studies argue that dis-embeddedness can free entrepreneurs from institutional pressures and therefore facilitate innovative and disruptive behaviours (Battilana et al., 2009; Leca and Naccache, 2006). The findings of this study indicate that dis-embeddedness from one field can also be an unintended consequence of commitment to another. By prioritising their embeddedness in virtual communities, entrepreneurs may lose the advantages associated with local embeddedness (Hindle, 2010; Ring et al., 2010), such as financial support (Khavul et al., 2013), contacts and advice (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Zhang et al., 2016). Thus, their embeddedness in craft communities can inhibit capital accumulation and conversion. This is a downside of embeddedness, which has attracted little prior attention in the literature. At the same time, by focusing their efforts on their craft communities, entrepreneurs can avoid spending resources on business unrelated activities. As such, it could be argued that dis-embeddedness from local fields can also facilitate strategic resource management.

Dis-embeddedness from local contexts is compounded by the fact that the products of craft entrepreneurs are so specialised that customers are unlikely to be found in their immediate surroundings. Misperceptions of local community members about the value of craft items further reinforce the predisposition of craft entrepreneurs to focus their activities on their virtual communities. Thus, virtual embeddedness appears to be significantly stronger than local embeddedness for participants. Given the amount of time that craft entrepreneurs spend at work and with members of their virtual communities, it might even be argued that virtual embeddedness is stronger than household embeddedness. However, as the problems and needs of household members affect the way participants develop their businesses (see Chapter 8), it is likely that valuations of these two contexts are highly idiosyncratic.

In drawing attention to the co-existing nature of different contexts and the resulting effects on entrepreneurs, this study also advances understanding of the

concept of fields. Bourdieu (1977, 1984) argues that fields are organised in a hierarchical order within an overarching field of power (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Maclean et al., 2014). While this perspective implies that there is tacit agreement among field members concerning the value of different fields (e.g. that conventional business fields dominate artistic fields, see De Clercq and Voronov, 2011), the findings of this study suggest that the valuation of distinct fields will differ between individual agents. Craft entrepreneurs regard the craft community and its prevailing habitus of camaraderie and generosity to be more important than business fields and their traditional competition- and profit-oriented practices. In comparison, local community members appear largely unaware of the ‘hidden’ (i.e. virtual) world of crafts and, as such, are likely to give higher value to other fields. In other words, this study suggests that field theory should account for the individual nature of agents’ valuations of fields.

### ***9.5.2. Habitus of Craft Communities***

This study contributes to debates in the academic literature concerning the role of habitus and its impact on entrepreneurial practices (Barrett and Vershinina, 2017; McKeever et al., 2014; Patel and Conklin, 2009). First, the findings confirm that compliance with extant conventions within communities is a prerequisite for enjoying the benefits that membership provides (Coleman, 1988; Khavul et al., 2013; O'Mahony, 2003). Furthermore, this study produces deeper insights into the practices that entrepreneurs employ to achieve fitting in. To date, scholarly discussions have been primarily theoretical (Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001; Navis and Glynn, 2011; Zhao et al., 2017) and have suggested that entrepreneurs should seek to achieve a balance of ‘fitting in’ with dominant norms, as well as ‘standing out’ as acceptably deviant innovators (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). In comparison, the findings of this study indicate that conformity with habitus is significantly more important for craft entrepreneurs than achieving distinctiveness. Within craft communities, entrepreneurs must exhibit significant camaraderie, generosity and positivity to gain the support of community members. In addition, while compliance with conventions was shown to provide considerable advantages for participants, including access to resources, it was also found to put certain pressures on them.

The analysis of data highlighted that, when craft entrepreneurs fail to conform to the habitus of communities, they adopt a range of strategic actions, including concealing, performing, restraining and pretending, which allow them to adjust their conduct. Prior research proposes that entrepreneurs achieve conformity by adapting their practices permanently (isomorphism, see Tan et al., 2013), by superficially complying with mandated practices (decoupling, see Überbacher et al., 2015) or by integrating new ideas into existing practices (Slavich and Castellucci, 2016). Although the concept of decoupling may appear similar to the behaviours of craft entrepreneurs, it differs in that participants do not employ such strategic actions to hide activities which are closer aligned to their core business functions and goals (Suddaby et al., 2017). Instead, they seek to conceal certain traits and practices which fall short of the expectations of community members. In other words, their changes of behaviour are mostly temporary and geared towards other individual community members, rather than to the community at large. By allowing entrepreneurs to gain and maintain new collectors and invitations to craft shows and exhibitions in this way, these strategic changes of behaviour represent facilitators of capital conversion. Prior conceptual studies have proposed that when entrepreneurs are unaligned with the habitus of a community, they either seek to effect change within the field (Battilana, 2006) or obtain all the resources required to fit in (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009c). In contrast, craft entrepreneurs were found to circumvent issues by hiding unconventional behaviours and traits, as opposed to pursuing change in themselves or their communities. As such, this study portrays entrepreneurial behaviour in a more complex and perhaps less complimentary way than commonly done in entrepreneurship research (Calás et al., 2009).

The data shed new light on the habituation process of learning to conform to prevailing conventions (Anderson et al., 2010; Ocasio et al., 2016). Specifically, it shows that this process is not only social – dependent on the willingness of community members to impart information about the peculiarities and expectations of a field, but also temporal – requiring extended participation in collective activities and sharing of collective history (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016a). According to Lave and Wenger (1991), habituation can be achieved through practice-based apprenticeships, which allow newcomers to become ‘practice masters’ (McLeod et



al., 2009; Slavich and Castellucci, 2016). While the analysis of data confirms that such situated learning is a viable route towards understanding how to fit in, it also shows that experimentation is an alternative technique which craft entrepreneurs employ to determine accepted practices. Despite their various efforts to achieve or portray conformity, there appear to be limits to the abilities of entrepreneurs to fit in by adapting their behaviours (Mair et al., 2012; Solebello et al., 2016). Among others, innate attributes, such as lack of kinship within a location, can prevent access to certain community contexts. In addition, embeddedness in multiple, co-existing fields can create difficulties for entrepreneurs (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009b; Kislov et al., In Press). By seeking to conform to the habitus of one field, entrepreneurs may defy that of another. Craft entrepreneurs consider the costs and benefits of fitting in and standing out to decide which field to prioritise.

Prior studies have demonstrated that 'reciprocity, mutuality and common purpose' (McKeever et al., 2015: 61) and commitment to shared values (Greenman, 2013) can result in the creation of community boundaries, which can lead to the exclusion of outsiders (Martí et al., 2013). In comparison, the habitus of craft communities was found to encourage the inclusion of new members, while simultaneously discouraging debate about prevailing conventions (Parkinson et al., 2017). In other words, in an effort to increase their size, craft communities actively promote membership on the condition that new members abide by established rules. Extant research has examined the negative impacts of embeddedness, including the effects of social and moral obligations on entrepreneurial activities (Jack and Anderson, 2002; Uzzi, 1997), but there have been calls for research to further explore the potential downsides of embeddedness (Battilana, 2006; Kilduff and Brass, 2010). Whereas prior studies have highlighted the influence of structural characteristics, including the tight-knit nature of communities, which can impede information flow (Kwon et al., 2013; Tan et al., 2013), this study emphasises the significance of relational dimensions. Specifically, it shows that, once entrepreneurs are embedded in their communities, their behaviour is monitored and their conformity with its habitus is enforced through the control mechanism of gossip. By limiting the behaviours of entrepreneurs, gossip represents an inhibitor of capital conversion. As Rooks et al. (2016: 113) note, gossip 'deters uncooperative and

selfish behavior because other members ... [will] learn about this undesired behavior'. In other words, this study demonstrates that craft entrepreneurs conform to the habitus of communities because of the benefits that doing so provides and the penalties it precludes.

### ***9.5.3. Capital Sharing***

Although embeddedness can have negative impacts on entrepreneurs, this study also demonstrates that it provides a number of benefits, both to entrepreneurs and society at large. Specifically, this study shows that embeddedness in craft communities leads entrepreneurs to share available resources and to collaborate in an effort to create social value (Di Domenico et al., 2009; Korsgaard and Anderson, 2011). Craft entrepreneurs were found to share their various capitals and provide frequent, generous support to members of the community in order to sustain a genuine interest in hand-crafted goods and to ensure the preservation of craft skills over time. This study shows that craft entrepreneurs consider such collaborative and supportive practices a social responsibility, which is shared among community members and passed down from one generation to another. As such, these findings challenge descriptions of entrepreneurs as lone heroes who are driven by profit and competition (Knight, 1921; Schumpeter, 1942) and highlight the roles of social and temporal contexts in shaping entrepreneurial behaviour. Rather than merely following personal gratification, entrepreneurs are driven by their shared experiences and resulting sense of collective identity (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016a). Thus, the findings confirm the need to look beyond economic motivations (Bourdieu, 1986) to understand the behaviours of entrepreneurs (Jayawarna et al., 2013; Rindova et al., 2009).

It is, of course, important to acknowledge that social entrepreneurship research recognises the ability of entrepreneurs to advance society (Chell et al., 2010; Zahra and Wright, 2016). However, while most social entrepreneurship scholars consider compassion and personal conviction to be the main causes of an entrepreneur's desire to create social value (Grimes et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2012), the findings show that socially oriented business practices can also be embraced as a result of the habitus of communities. This study therefore contributes to emerging

debates concerning the influence of context on encouraging social entrepreneurial practices (Shaw and de Bruin, 2013; Tapsell and Woods, 2010). Furthermore, it demonstrates that entrepreneurs who would not describe themselves as social entrepreneurs and who operate in an industry that is not typically associated with social entrepreneurial practices (Dacin et al., 2010), can still devote considerable effort to creating social value.

The data highlight the range of resources that craft entrepreneurs share in order to create social value (Ko and Liu, 2015; Smith and Stevens, 2010). To date, entrepreneurship research has mainly focused on exploring the commercial benefits that derive from business collaboration (Larson, 1991; Maurer and Ebers, 2006; Sorenson et al., 2008). Within the social entrepreneurship literature, access to financial support (Maclean et al., 2013) and tacit knowledge (Chalmers and Balan-Vnuk, 2013) have been emphasised as the main outcomes of resource exchanges. In comparison, the findings show that entrepreneurs embedded in craft communities share a much wider range of resources. They were found to provide (1) economic capital, in the form of products and money, (2) cultural capital, through passing on skills and ideas, (3) social capital, by sharing customer and supplier contacts, and (4) symbolic capital, by using their standing in the community to support new members. Consequently, the data demonstrate the need to account for a broader range of capitals when seeking to comprehend social entrepreneurial practices (Di Domenico et al., 2009; Nicolopoulou, 2014). They also highlight that the aggregate stock of capital available to entrepreneurs is augmented by the resources that community members are willing to share.

Prior research has argued that intellectual property protection is of significant importance in most industries (Kale et al., 2000; O'Mahony, 2003). In contrast, the findings show that craft entrepreneurs are not particularly concerned about the plagiarism of their ideas. Participants believe that their past experiences and training (cultural capital) lead them to create products which are so individual that they are difficult to copy, accentuating how an entrepreneur's personal history 'shapes their perception, strategies and actions' (Hess, 2004: 180). More importantly, they also feel protected by the habitus of the craft field, which sanctions members who plagiarise through loss of standing and even ostracism from the community (Kotha

and George, 2012). As such, the data highlight that ‘the rules of the game’ within community contexts can have not only restricting, but also liberating impacts on entrepreneurs. This suggests that the control mechanism of gossip, which helps enforce the community habitus, represents a facilitator of capital conversion, as well. Thus, these findings advance scholarly debates, which have focused on the negative effects of norms within communities on entrepreneurial activities (Coleman, 1988; Kandori, 1992; Parkinson et al., 2017). Given how insistent participants are that plagiarism is out of the question in craft communities, it might even be argued that this represents part of the doxa of the field. As Spigel (2013: 808) notes, many rules ‘appear to be so natural and unremarkable that they are unquestionable’ (i.e. doxic). However, as some community members do challenge this rule (albeit mainly unsuccessfully) and as participants point it out so vigorously, it does not appear to be invisible. As such, for the purposes of this study, it is considered to be part of the habitus, rather than the doxa of the craft field.

#### ***9.5.4. Craft Entrepreneurs as Social Entrepreneurs***

Drawing on both academic research and the findings presented above, there are several reasons why participating craft entrepreneurs are considered social entrepreneurs. First, their embeddedness in virtual communities allows them to operate sustainable businesses in rural regions, which have suffered from deprivation. Although their interactions with local community members may be limited, running businesses in such deprived areas supports their economic recovery. According to McAuley and Fillis (2002; 2004), craft firms typically employ one to five workers, which indicates that, as the businesses of participating craft entrepreneurs grow over time, they are likely to generate employment opportunities. In addition, this study found that craft entrepreneurs promote tourism to their rural areas, as their virtual communities consist of devoted collectors who go to great lengths to meet craft makers in person. Furthermore, as Schwarz and Yair (2010) discuss, by offering classes, which help raise the confidence levels of attendees, and by encouraging social inclusion through shared activities, craft entrepreneurs create social value in their local communities.

Prior research also shows that craft makers are driven by a number of motivations, including the creation of products that are not only commercially viable, but which stay true to their artistic self-expression (Al-Dajani et al., 2015; Fillis, 2004). Thus, they must find ways to reconcile diverging interests (Eikhof and Haunschild, 2007), such as ‘goals of lifestyle, community involvement and commercial success’ (Tregear, 2005: 11), which is a challenge most social entrepreneurs face (Wry and York, 2017). This study reveals that, by sharing resources and collaborating with community members, craft entrepreneurs enable the continued existence of their respective industries and, by extension, have a positive impact on their rural surroundings. Furthermore, it could be argued that maintaining diverse types of artistic expression for future generations is a social good in itself. Consequently, while the label of craft entrepreneurs was employed throughout this study, participants are also considered to be social entrepreneurs.

## **9.6. Conclusion**

This chapter set out to answer the research question: *How and why does embeddedness in communities affect the practices of entrepreneurs?* First, this study showed that entrepreneurs are embedded in multiple, co-existing fields, rather than a single, homogenous context. Participants were found to make deliberate decisions regarding prioritisation of these fields, because embeddedness in one has repercussions on their ability to conform to the expectations of another. Second, it highlighted that the habitus of communities affects entrepreneurial practices, as the need for entrepreneurs to fit in can override conventional market-driven behaviours. Indeed, this study found that this need drives entrepreneurs to employ strategic actions to temporarily adapt their behaviours in order to comply with community expectations. Third, it revealed that the habitus of the craft world compels entrepreneurs to openly share resources, including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Field members are taught that such support is a social responsibility. Thus, this study shows that social value creation and collaboration can be embraced due to a community’s habitus. As such, the findings indicate that social entrepreneurial behaviour can only be understood within context and that such

practices are more widely practiced than is currently assumed. This chapter therefore demonstrates the significant impacts of embeddedness in communities upon entrepreneurial activities.

## CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

### 10.1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to *develop a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs* which explains how embeddedness in multiple contexts affects entrepreneurs' resource management practices. Given the prevailing focus on high-tech and high-growth entrepreneurs within the academic literature (Welter et al., 2017), this research set out to examine craft entrepreneurs, who engage in everyday entrepreneurship and who represent an under-studied entrepreneurial sub-culture. The analysis of participants' experiences revealed that embeddedness in households and communities has significant impacts on their practices. In addition, it showed that entrepreneurs' actions within these contexts are affected by the wider temporal context in which they are embedded. In comparing the accounts of participants to the extant literature, it became clear that the empirical data, gathered through four rounds of interviews over the course of 18 months, could address enduring gaps in understanding of the influence of household and community members on the capital conversion and sharing practices of entrepreneurs. As such, this thesis advanced knowledge of how micro-, meso- and macro-level environments impact the practices of entrepreneurs. The purpose of this chapter is to draw conclusions from this study. It first presents key findings, before considering limitations of the research. Subsequently, it examines implications for theory, practice and policy and summarises the contributions of this study.

### 10.2. Key Findings

This thesis developed a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs. The conceptual model presented in this study demonstrates that the accumulation of capital is a core entrepreneurial activity. To maximise their available stock of capital, craft entrepreneurs do not only engage in capital conversion processes, but also draw on the resources provided by household and community members. These meso- and macro-level contexts were shown to affect craft entrepreneurs in a number of ways, such as by both facilitating and inhibiting capital conversion processes. Indeed, the 'rules of behaviour' that prevail in these contexts were found to contend with the

micro-level habitus of maximising capital, leading craft entrepreneurs to prioritise different fields at different times. Furthermore, entrepreneurs' embeddedness within these contexts was found to rely upon their lived experiences and shared histories with field members. Thus, the conceptual model also highlighted the impact of an overarching temporal context on entrepreneurial practices. In order to present a more detailed account of the results of this study, this section reviews the findings related to individual, household and community contexts in turn.

Prior research has highlighted the crucial role that access to resources plays in facilitating entrepreneurial processes (Baker and Nelson, 2005; Mosakowski, 1998) and scholars have shown growing interest in investigating the different resources accessible to entrepreneurs (Newbert and Tornikoski, 2013; Ozdemir et al., 2016). While financial, human and social capital have received considerable attention (Bhagavatula et al., 2010; Davidsson and Honig, 2003), the importance of cultural and symbolic capital has largely been overlooked (Shaw et al., 2017). Furthermore, as most empirical studies focus on individual forms of capital (Gedajlovic et al., 2013; Marvel et al., 2016), there is limited understanding of how entrepreneurs convert the variety of resources available to them (Scott, 2012). This study therefore sought to advance understanding by addressing the research question: *How do entrepreneurs convert their economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital?* The findings highlighted the transmutable, multifaceted nature of different forms of capital.

Conversions of economic capital were found to be necessary activities, which craft entrepreneurs consider a 'means to an end' rather than a particularly enjoyable practice. Indeed, transformations of economic capital were shown to be part of a much larger process of capital conversion and it appeared that participants give no primacy to economic capital when transforming their various resources. Thus, the findings challenge Bourdieu's (1986: 252) proposition that economic capital is the underlying 'currency of exchange'. Instead, this study argued that a focus on economic capital is likely to obscure conversion processes that do not involve economic exchanges at all.

For example, this study demonstrated a range of conversions from cultural capital directly into social and symbolic capital. In so doing, the data confirmed the



high transmutability of cultural capital and its value to entrepreneurs in the cultural industries. Despite the scant attention it has received in the extant literature, objectified cultural capital was shown to play an important role and to be simultaneously convertible into profits, collectors and esteem. Furthermore, when developing their embodied cultural capital through training, craft entrepreneurs were found to prefer acquiring task-specific qualifications, rather than becoming ‘jacks-of-all-trades’ (Lazear, 2004: 208). Due to their unique set of lived experiences, entrepreneurs are able to create products that are individual in nature and connected to their personal histories, providing them with a distinct craft tradition, which imparts greater value to their cultural goods.

This study also provided substantial evidence of the importance of network ties to the accumulation of various resources. Guild members, followers, friends and suppliers were shown to supply finances, knowledge, contacts and publicity through both linear conversions and dynamic ones which provided access to multiple resources at once. As most of these network connections represent weak ties, the findings suggested that high intimacy and emotional investments are not essential for craft entrepreneurs to derive substantial benefits from their social capital. However, it was also shown that even these weak ties are founded through belonging to communities with shared histories – real or imagined (Anderson, 1983) – and therefore impossible to separate from entrepreneurs’ temporal contexts.

Furthermore, symbolic capital was found to be a highly mutable resource. The analysis of data revealed that awards, exhibitions, publicity and reputation are particularly useful to craft entrepreneurs, as they help them generate sales, gain opportunities for learning and attract collectors, among other resources. Similar to the other forms of capital, symbolic capital was shown to produce several resources simultaneously, highlighting its value and explaining why participants spend so much time developing it. The amount of time required to attain it reflects the temporal embeddedness of symbolic capital. Awards, exhibitions, publicity and reputation are all dependent upon collective notions of value, which are created through shared experiences. While devoting time and effort towards gaining awards and presenting at exhibitions are relatively secure investments, publicity carries a degree of risk and reputation is highly dependent upon positive online reviews. Thus,

craft entrepreneurs were found to be strategic when selecting media outlets and especially careful when dealing with customers.

Importantly, this study also revealed a number of inhibitors to capital conversion. For instance, it was shown that transformations of (1) economic capital can be inhibited by associated costs and risks, (2) embodied cultural capital by lapses in memory and IT ineptitude, (3) social capital by the high expectations of contacts and (4) symbolic capital by a lack of self-confidence. These inhibitors can change in severity over time and can lead craft entrepreneurs to adapt their practices and draw on the support of household and community members to counteract their negative effects. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that valuation patterns and commitments to the stakes at play (*illusio*) are field-specific, which suggests that empirical results regarding capital conversions cannot be readily transferred between contexts.

Indeed, there is growing recognition among scholars that entrepreneurs need to be studied within their contexts to gain deeper insights into their behaviours (Autio et al., 2014; Zahra et al., 2014). Despite the resulting increase in context-focused research (Audretsch et al., 2010; Wright et al., 2014), understanding of social contexts outside the business world remains limited (Welter, 2011). Specifically, little is known about the role of households in the development of entrepreneurial businesses (Alsos et al., 2014; Gras and Nason, 2015). Thus, this thesis sought to contribute to scholarly debates by addressing the research question: *How do household members impact the practices of entrepreneurs?* The findings showed that cohabitants significantly and continuously influence entrepreneurial practices, both positively, by providing entrepreneurs with a range of material and non-material resources, and negatively, by burdening them with problems and requiring them to accommodate their needs.

As a result of this exploration, this study introduced an alternative approach to describing the households of entrepreneurs. Instead of distinguishing the socio-economic features of households, it was proposed that research should draw on the subjective views of participants to provide insights into the meanings they associate with their households. In so doing, this study offered a new method for differentiating the household members of entrepreneurs in cultural industries.

Specifically, it developed a framework that distinguishes cohabitants based on their level of creativity and their degree of involvement with the work of entrepreneurs. This approach challenges current assumptions about the gendered nature of familial support and encourages research to consider context-specific factors which impact household members' support.

The data analysis also revealed a range of resources that become available to entrepreneurs through their households. In combining the concept of household capital (Rodriguez et al., 2009; Steier, 2009) with Bourdieu's (1986) capital theory, this study showed that cohabitants provide craft entrepreneurs with economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Whereas access to the financial means and social networks of household members was found to be of limited value to craft entrepreneurs, participants depend upon the skills and advice of cohabitants over time. Furthermore, it was shown that they appreciate the help of household members in maintaining and raising their status by attending craft exhibitions with them. Resources provided by household members are therefore part of the aggregate stock of capital available to entrepreneurs and they are drawn upon regularly. As such, the data suggested that the habitus within entrepreneurial households prescribes an open and free exchange of available resources to support entrepreneurs.

The findings also highlighted the importance of emotional support provided by household members to entrepreneurs (Brüderl and Preisendörfer, 1998; Renzulli and Aldrich, 2005). Specifically, the data showed that cohabitants help develop the self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience (i.e. psychological capital) of craft entrepreneurs and, in so doing, provide them with the emotional, cognitive and behavioural resources required to cope with stress and respond to challenging circumstances. Furthermore, as such support allows entrepreneurs to compensate for inhibitors of capital conversion, such as a lack of self-confidence, it represents a facilitator of conversion processes. It was shown that participants require emotional support most when they are anxious and that the key to successful support is the level of understanding household members have of the entrepreneur. These two aspects highlight the temporal embeddedness of entrepreneurial behaviours: not only is emotional support sought out during particular circumstances in an entrepreneur's

life, but the value of this support is contingent upon a sense of collective memory which ensues from shared experiences.

In addition, the data analysis revealed that the needs, problems and opinions of household and family members can negatively impact entrepreneurs. Participants were expected to accommodate the scheduling and relocation needs of their partners and to contribute to childcare and domestic duties within the household. They achieve a work-family balance only by role-sharing with their partners and scaling back as much as possible within the home domain (Jennings and McDougald, 2007; Shelton, 2006). Still, major problems of cohabitants were found to lead entrepreneurs to temporarily relegate their businesses to a secondary role. As such, embeddedness in the household context can also generate inhibitors of capital conversion processes. Furthermore, it appeared that while household members are largely supportive of participants, wider family members are more likely to express doubt and criticise entrepreneurs, which can cause emotional disconnection. Thus, the findings demonstrated the considerable impact of household and family members on entrepreneurs, adding to research which recognises that the lines between work and family are often blurred (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003).

As entrepreneurs are affected by a ‘multiplicity of contexts’ (Welter, 2011: 168), it is important to consider how embeddedness in different contexts influences their practices. To date, entrepreneurship research has focused on the effects of structural and relational embeddedness (Batjargal, 2010; Hite and Hesterly, 2001) in network contexts (Jack, 2010; Slotte-Kock and Coviello, 2010). In comparison, understanding of the impacts of embeddedness in communities is limited (Korsgaard et al., 2015; McKeever et al., 2015). Thus, this thesis sought to answer the research question: *How and why does embeddedness in communities affect the practices of entrepreneurs?* By revealing the profound effects of such embeddedness on entrepreneurs, this study advanced knowledge in a number of ways.

The findings indicated that entrepreneurs are embedded in multiple, co-existing fields, rather than a single, homogenous context. If embeddedness in one context is stronger than in another, this was shown to have repercussions upon the memberships of entrepreneurs in divergent fields. Specifically, this study demonstrated that embeddedness in virtual communities can lead to a dis-

embeddedness from local communities and, consequently, a lack of local support, representing an inhibitor to capital accumulation and conversion. While dis-embeddedness may be an unintended consequence of commitment to another field, participants were found to make deliberate choices when prioritising one field over the other.

Furthermore, the data highlighted the significant effects of habitus on entrepreneurial practices. To date, entrepreneurship research has focused on Bourdieu's forms of capital (Lehner, 2014; Nicolopoulou, 2014; Vershinina et al., 2011) and has rarely examined habitus in depth (Anderson et al., 2010; McKeever et al., 2014). The findings demonstrated that the habitus of craft communities leads entrepreneurs to experience a sense of camaraderie and fellowship, rather than a desire to gain competitive advantage. Indeed, as a result of this collective identity and their shared situated experiences (Lippmann and Aldrich, 2016a), craft entrepreneurs were found to collaborate and share resources with community members to create social value (Mair and Martí, 2006; Smith and Stevens, 2010). This suggests that field-specific habitus can override conventional market-driven behaviours.

This study also showed that, instead of seeking to simultaneously fit in and stand out (De Clercq and Voronov, 2009a, 2009b), entrepreneurs prioritise achieving conformity over gaining distinctiveness within craft communities. The findings revealed that, when craft entrepreneurs fail to meet the expectations of community members, they employ a range of strategic actions, such as pretending, restraining and performing, which are hidden from the community and facilitate the conversion of capital. This further attests to the temporal embeddedness of entrepreneurial action: entrepreneurs shift their behaviours depending on the situation at hand, requiring attention to be paid to the temporal context in order to understand entrepreneurial decision-making and activities.

Furthermore, this study highlighted that, by achieving embeddedness in a camaraderie-oriented community, entrepreneurs can pursue their crafts without the worry of product plagiarism, as the habitus of the field prohibits such disreputable behaviour. Thus, the control mechanism of gossip does not only limit entrepreneurial practices, it also facilitates capital conversions. In addition, the habitus of craft

communities was shown to encourage the open sharing of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. As such, the aggregate stock of capital available to craft entrepreneurs is not only increased by embeddedness in households, but also by embeddedness in community contexts. There appeared to be a general understanding among craft community members that the provision of resources and generous support is a social responsibility, which ensures the preservation of craft skills and interest in hand-crafted products over time. In other words, this study revealed that collaboration and social value creation can be embraced due to the habitus of communities. This supports the view that social entrepreneurial behaviour cannot be fully understood without accounting for the contexts in which entrepreneurs are embedded (Lewis, 2013; Shaw and de Bruin, 2013).

Running throughout the findings regarding how micro-, meso- and macro-level contexts affect entrepreneurs' behaviours is the impact of the temporal context on their practices. Entrepreneurs' adherence to different habitus depends upon their temporal contexts, which require them to adapt their behaviours and shift priorities. Their temporal embeddedness is also the very basis of their connections to social and spatial contexts and their actions within them. It is due to their personal histories, traditions, shared experiences and collective memories that entrepreneurs are able to learn, abide by and enact the habitus of these contexts. As such, the temporal context is the overarching context in which entrepreneurship is embedded.

### **10.3. Limitations**

While this study extended knowledge of the influence of contexts on entrepreneurial practices, it also carried with it limitations which must be taken into consideration. First, the research approach and phenomenological perspective of this study limits the generalisability of its results to wider populations (Berglund, 2015). Due to its small sample size (Smith, 2004) and its interest in providing nuanced understandings of the subjective views of participants (Cope, 2011), interpretative phenomenological research does not produce findings that are readily transferable across contexts (Smith et al., 2009). Instead, such research seeks to generate in-depth knowledge of individual behaviours in order to facilitate the inductive development of theory (McKeever et al., 2014).

Second, qualitative research risks falling into the trap of ‘anecdotalism’, which Silverman (2013: 284) describes as the ‘use of data extracts (like spectacular quotes from participants) out of context’. Accordingly, this study sought to present several representative quotations for each analytical theme to demonstrate that the data presented were not exceptional or taken out of context. Furthermore, the exploratory nature of this study gave rise to alternative explanatory positions, necessitating the prioritisation of some interpretations over others. In order to combat this potential weakness, this study attempted to strike a balance between presenting the voices of participants and critically analysing their stories. In addition, the researcher continuously checked that emergent themes could not be better explained through alternative conceptualisations (Sandberg, 2005).

Third, it might be argued that the researcher’s personal experience in the craft industry and the close rapport he developed with participants over time introduced a level of researcher bias. However, as Leitch et al. (2010) emphasise, phenomenological research embraces the subjective influence of scholars on the research process and considers it an opportunity to improve the quality of empirical findings. Furthermore, in line with the suggestions of prior research (Alvesson and Sandberg, 2013; Conklin, 2007, 2012), the researcher sought to be reflexive and present a balanced view of participants, portraying their darker practices along with their virtuous ones.

A fourth criticism that could be levelled against this study is for what it did not explore. While it investigated the embeddedness of craft entrepreneurs, it did not examine the structure of networks in which they are embedded. It also did not explore gender differences in depth, despite the majority of participants being female. Indeed, on the whole, this research focused on similarities between participants, rather than their differences. The decision to examine the aspects presented, instead of other possibilities, was based on the analysis of data. The data collected did not suggest itself for an analysis of structural aspects of networks. Similarly, differences between gender groups were not discussed in detail because few discernible differences were discovered between participants. It was also an effect of the data analysis process, which focused on themes that applied across

participants, that this study primarily presented findings that were relevant to various craft entrepreneurs.

Despite these limitations, the phenomenological approach adopted by this research allowed for the development of an in-depth, comprehensive understanding of entrepreneurial behaviours that could not be reached through positivist methods. Thus, this study provided evidence of the effectiveness of interpretivist phenomenological analysis techniques for exploring the impacts of different contexts on entrepreneurial practices. The interest of phenomenological research in delving beyond numbers and 'objective' descriptions enabled this study to truly appreciate the multifaceted interplay between agents and contexts.

#### **10.4. Theoretical Implications**

A number of avenues for future research emerged from this study. Most importantly, given that interpretivist phenomenological analyses are not generalisable (Lewis, 2015), it is recommended that future studies test the conceptual model presented in this study within different settings. Specifically, quantitative research could test the relationships and patterns identified for a larger sample and qualitative research could adapt the theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs by applying it to entrepreneurs in other contexts.

On the subject of capital conversion, this study highlighted the range of transformations that craft entrepreneurs conduct on a day-to-day basis and identified a number of conversions which have not previously been considered. It would therefore be interesting to examine the degree to which such transformations occur outside of the cultural industries and whether economic capital may play a similarly minor role in the capital conversion processes conducted within other contexts. While the high value of objectified cultural capital may be limited to the cultural industries, it is likely that institutionalised cultural capital, as well as awards and publicity, will affect a broad range of entrepreneurs. More detailed research into inhibitors to capital conversion is also encouraged. This study revealed a range of factors that can prevent entrepreneurs from transforming available resources into other forms of



capital, but these inhibitors have received scant consideration by entrepreneurship scholars, rendering further research in this area both timely and warranted.

Concerning the impact of household members on entrepreneurial practices, this study demonstrated the range of resources that cohabitants provide to entrepreneurs. While prior research has focused on financial, human and social capital, this study showed that household members help entrepreneurs develop cultural and symbolic capital, as well. Accordingly, it is suggested that future studies account for these forms of capital and incorporate them into conceptualisations of household capital. Psychological capital is also a recommended addition, as it successfully frames the emotional support that cohabitants provide entrepreneurs. Given that this study explored the experiences of sole proprietors, it would be interesting to investigate whether institutional entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial teams also rely on such support from their household members. Furthermore, the data illustrated differences between household and family members with regard to their emotional impact on craft entrepreneurs. Thus, it is recommended that future studies not only distinguish between cohabiting family and external family, but also purposefully explore the differences between cohabitants and wider kin.

The community-related findings of this study have additional theoretical implications. It was shown that the habitus of communities can lead craft entrepreneurs to create social value by freely sharing their resources with peers. Accordingly, scholars should investigate whether field-specific rules in other market-driven contexts may prescribe such counter-intuitive behaviours. As craft entrepreneurs are not usually associated with social entrepreneurship, this study suggests that social value creation be examined in other domains not traditionally associated with such activities. This study also demonstrated that craft entrepreneurs perform strategic actions to temporarily adapt their behaviour and hide non-conforming traits. Given the covert nature of this entrepreneurial practice, further exploration into this subject is needed to increase understanding of such deceptive behaviours. In addition, the findings showed that entrepreneurs face challenges when seeking to fit in: there are limits to entrepreneurs' abilities to adapt their behaviours and, by fitting in with the norms of one field, they may simultaneously defy those of

another. Thus, further research into the associated struggles and opportunities that emerge from embeddedness in co-existing fields is encouraged.

Based on the findings of this study, it is also suggested that future research explore the importance of the temporal context in more detail. The data showed that entrepreneurs' embeddedness within different contexts – their connections to field members and commitment to the rules and stakes of the game in each field – is grounded in their lived experiences. Embedding was revealed as a temporal process that relies upon shared history, memory and collective identities. Thus, future research should investigate the shared experiences, histories, traditions and memories that facilitate embeddedness. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that the social and spatial contexts in which entrepreneurs are embedded are themselves subsumed within an overarching temporal context which influences how entrepreneurs negotiate these fields at different times. As such, it is recommended that studies which seek to comprehend the dynamics between the divergent contexts in which entrepreneurs are embedded pay attention to the temporal dimension of this relationship.

By drawing on Bourdieu's work to develop a comprehensive theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs, which can be tested and adapted through future research in other settings, this study engages in accumulative theory development (Cope, 2005). First, this study confirmed the utility of Bourdieu's conceptual framework for investigations into entrepreneurial practices. It provided myriad examples that illustrate how the concepts of field, habitus and capital are applicable and advantageous to explorations of the various dimensions of context. Second, while Bourdieu (1977, 1984) proposes that struggles for position and power drive agents across contexts, this research showed that field-specific habitus can override such self-serving practices and lead to an open exchange of resources. This study therefore calls for research to incorporate habitus when adopting a Bourdieusian perspective in order to develop comprehensive understanding of the inner logics of various fields. Third, as Bourdieu's theory of practice pays little attention to the importance of emotions, it is suggested that future research which seeks to account for emotions and their impact on entrepreneurial practices include psychological capital in analyses of different forms of capital. Fourth, although Bourdieu

introduces the concept of capital conversion, he provides only a limited number of examples of this crucial activity. This study offered a much more detailed account and also identified a range of inhibitors and facilitators to capital conversion, which are likely to affect entrepreneurs in different contexts, as well. Compared to other research that has applied Bourdieu's theoretical framework to entrepreneurship settings, this study developed a more comprehensive theory of practice, as it accounts for micro-, meso- and macro-level environments and their effects on the behaviours of entrepreneurs. It is recommended that future research follow the example of this study to develop multilevel theories of entrepreneurial practice.

### **10.5. Implications for Practice and Policy**

As noted by Kenworthy and McMullan (2013), there is a need for entrepreneurship research to provide more practical knowledge which is useful to practitioners and policy makers. This section therefore presents recommendations for entrepreneurs, especially craft entrepreneurs, to aid them in developing their businesses and for policy makers to help guide the creation of programmes to support entrepreneurship.

The findings concerning capital conversions offer numerous suggestions for entrepreneurs. By highlighting the convertibility of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, this study indicated that a lack of individual resources should not discourage entrepreneurs from starting a business. For example, the data showed that sustainable development can be achieved without first obtaining high levels of economic capital, as other forms of capital can be just as, if not more effective at supporting entrepreneurial growth. Thus, entrepreneurs should actively leverage their available capitals in order to gain access to additional resources. Based on the lived experiences of craft entrepreneurs, this study proposes several specific recommendations for how entrepreneurs can increase and manage the various forms of capital at their disposal.

First, regarding economic capital, it is suggested that entrepreneurs critically evaluate whether the benefits of converting this capital outweigh potential risks involved. Indeed, while economic capital conversions were found to reward entrepreneurs with high returns on investment, such occurrences are not guaranteed and require strategic decision-making to ensure that resulting gains offset expenses.

Second, this study recommends that entrepreneurs, particularly in the craft industries, consciously develop and draw upon their cultural capital, as this resource is especially versatile. While embodied cultural capital is often tacit and its transformations organic, entrepreneurs are encouraged to purposefully work to overcome impediments to its conversion, including perceived ineptitude and lack of time, and prioritise the acquisition of crucial skills. Similarly, it is suggested that craft entrepreneurs appreciate their goods as worth more than direct sales and instead deploy them to generate further products, relationships and business recognition. As demonstrated by this study, this can be accomplished through drawing inspiration from existing cultural goods, making quality goods visible to potential connections and entering products into competitions. Furthermore, entrepreneurs are encouraged to be discerning when selecting educational qualifications to pursue. This study found that the quality of the course and its relevance to core business activities affect the convertibility of the degree.

Third, entrepreneurs are called upon to rise above feelings of inferiority, especially at the start-up stage, and pursue awards, exhibit their products, seek publicity and draw upon their reputation to increase their stock of available capital. Entrepreneurs should appreciate that doing so generates more than monetary rewards: such instances of symbolic capital also stimulate entrepreneurs' abilities to attain knowledge of industry norms, skills and ideas, new industry connections, exposure and prestige. In addition, entrepreneurs are encouraged to physically attend awards shows and seek out low-risk, reputable outlets (media and retail) for featuring their products and business. Furthermore, while it is recommended that entrepreneurs maintain confidence in their reputation in order to capitalise upon it, they should also be careful when interacting with customers, as negative or even neutral online feedback can have significant repercussions on business development.

Household-related findings carry further practical implications. Entrepreneurs are encouraged to view their household members not only as potential sources of funding for their ventures, but as partners in business growth. Cohabitants were shown to help craft entrepreneurs develop their ventures by providing free labour, offering business advice, sharing business contacts and promoting their businesses. Even if cohabitants are not knowledgeable about core business activities, this study

demonstrated that their support can still benefit entrepreneurs. Understanding of the entrepreneurs and their businesses appears to determine the value of the emotional support that household members provide. Expressions of admiration, reassurance and encouragement (among others) facilitate the development of self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience only if cohabitants are seen to truly understand what the entrepreneur is going through. As such, entrepreneurs should ensure that they maintain strong household relationships. While these can distract from business operations, as household members' problems and needs can sometimes require entrepreneurs to prioritise family over business, they are central to entrepreneurs' emotional health and motivation to continue innovating and growing their ventures.

Based on the findings regarding the impacts of embeddedness in communities, nascent entrepreneurs are encouraged to allocate time towards learning community norms and discovering the consequences that may result from infringing upon these conventions (e.g. gossip or ostracism). Once entrepreneurs are aware of extant rules within the community, they can employ strategic actions to conceal traits that are incompatible with expectations. Pretending, restraining and performing practices were all found to help entrepreneurs fit into different community contexts. Furthermore, the findings suggest that craft entrepreneurs should approach their peers for advice and help, as sharing appears common in many craft communities. In addition, nascent entrepreneurs are urged to draw upon the close-knit networks of people available to them through online craft communities, who can provide helpful support without expecting or requiring reciprocity.

While the majority of this study's practical implications benefit entrepreneurs, policy makers should also heed its findings. For example, the data showed that there is a need for more relevant training courses. Instituting more comprehensive business courses for entrepreneurs coming from non-business backgrounds and (re-)introducing courses that are currently lacking in the cultural sector would be an important first step towards aiding the expansion of craft entrepreneurship. Similarly, the provision of networking opportunities for entrepreneurs would do much to facilitate the development of valuable social capital. Bringing together members of cultural fields from across the supply chain would make such events especially rewarding. In addition, the current reduction of funding

for cultural institutions threatens the abilities of craft entrepreneurs to pursue vital activities, such as displaying their work in museums and meeting other makers in person. Thus, it is recommended that further support be provided to facilitate such pursuits. Given the lack of award shows in certain industries, the development of new competitions and associated prizes for underrepresented crafts (e.g. print making and yarn dying) is also suggested, as it would provide craft entrepreneurs with further opportunities to establish and maintain their reputation.

Furthermore, the findings demonstrated that both entrepreneurs and their household members could benefit from outside support. Policy makers are encouraged to help offset the loss of benefits that entrepreneurs encounter when they become self-employed. For example, subsidised childcare programmes and business relocation assistance would do much to relieve some of the household pressures entrepreneurs face. In addition, policy makers are urged to recognise the role of the household in successful entrepreneurship and provide entrepreneurial households with support mechanisms, such as paid leave to care for ill family members. The public sector could also emulate the emotional support that cohabitants provide by offering services, such as therapeutic counselling, to allow entrepreneurs who lack family support to gain similar assistance.

Finally, policy makers should appreciate the significant impacts that community members have upon entrepreneurial processes and work to aid supportive community activities. If attention continues to be limited to individual entrepreneurs, the potential for community members to foster entrepreneurial activities will not be exploited. The role of craft entrepreneurs in perpetuating the arts should also be acknowledged if we wish to ensure that their efforts continue over time. By supporting the resource sharing practices of craft entrepreneurs, policy makers can help sustain a range of artistic expressions as well as valuable cultural goods for future generations to come.

## **10.6. Contributions of the Research**

This thesis made a number of contributions, which are summarised in this section to demonstrate the relevance and impact of this research. Most importantly, it proposed

a theory of practice for craft entrepreneurs which incorporates multiple levels of context to explain how social, spatial and temporal embeddedness affects entrepreneurs' resource management practices. Future research will be able to compare the conceptual model presented in this study to the experiences of entrepreneurs in other contexts and adapt it accordingly. As such, by drawing on Bourdieu's work to present a context-sensitive theory of practice that can be tested in other settings, this study engages in accumulative theory development (Cope, 2005).

Regarding capital conversions, this study brought together a diverse range of largely disjointed literature on the various resources accessible to entrepreneurs. It produced empirical evidence of capital transformations which have previously received only conceptual attention (cf. Adler and Kwon, 2002; Nicolopoulou, 2014) and revealed hitherto unidentified capital conversion processes. By presenting a range of transformations which result in the accumulation of multiple forms of capital, this study highlighted the complex nature of capital conversion, which has largely been overlooked. The findings also showed that non-material capitals are temporal products (outcomes of entrepreneurs' personal experiences and histories) and that the values of different forms of capital vary with context. While prior research emphasises the importance of economic and social capital for entrepreneurial success (Jonsson and Lindbergh, 2013; Steier and Greenwood, 2000), this study revealed that cultural and symbolic capital hold particularly high conversion rates and value for craft entrepreneurs. In addition, the findings showed that craft entrepreneurs give no primacy to economic capital when undertaking capital conversions. Thus, this study demonstrated that economic capital does not play a dominant role in all forms of entrepreneurship (Rindova et al., 2009).

Concerning the impact of households on entrepreneurial practices, this study found that entrepreneurs benefit not only from access to household financial, human and social capital (Dyer et al., 2014; Rodriguez et al., 2009), but also from cohabitants' advice, creative inspiration and support in maintaining reputation. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that cohabitants provide entrepreneurs with psychological capital by helping them develop their self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience. In so doing, it added to the growing body of research which calls attention to the role of emotions in entrepreneurship (Baron, 2008; Cardon et al.,

2012), generated new insights into the interpersonal, rather than the intrapersonal, aspects of emotions (Jennings et al., 2015) and highlighted the temporal foundations of household relationships and support. Importantly, this study also showed that the problems and needs of household members can impede entrepreneurial processes. As such, it highlighted the importance of investigating the interwoven relationship between business and family to better understand entrepreneurial practices (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003; Jennings and McDougald, 2007).

With regard to embeddedness in communities, this study revealed that craft entrepreneurs carry out a range of strategic actions to temporarily adapt their conduct and disguise practices that fail to meet the expectations of community members. Thus, it shed light onto the temporal nature of entrepreneurs' adaptive behaviours, as well as their covert practices, which are often disregarded when portraying entrepreneurs in a more favourable light. In addition, this study illustrated that embeddedness in craft communities leads entrepreneurs to experience a sense of fellowship and camaraderie, instead of a desire to gain advantage over others. As such, it challenged descriptions of entrepreneurs as lone heroes who are driven by profit and competition (Knight, 1921; Schumpeter, 1942). Rather, this study showed that craft entrepreneurs collaborate and share their various resources with community members in pursuit of social value creation. As these socially-oriented practices are embraced in response to community norms and expectations, this study supports the view that social entrepreneurial behaviour cannot be fully understood without accounting for the social, spatial and temporal contexts in which entrepreneurs are embedded (Lewis, 2013; Shaw and de Bruin, 2013). Contexts do indeed matter and must be explored by entrepreneurship scholars.



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## APPENDIX 1. Interview Topic Guides

### *Interview 1 Topic Guide*

1. Tell me about your background.
2. Tell me about your business.

### *Interview 2 Topic Guide*

1. How have family members helped you to get where you are with your business?
  - How have you been able to benefit from any of their contacts?
  - What other types of resources have you been able to access through your family?
2. Why do you choose to live and work in rural area?
  - What advantages do you gain from working out here?
  - How are you disadvantaged compared to makers in the city?
  - What type of business support groups do you access out here?
3. What type of connection do you feel with other crafts makers?
  - How do you help other makers?
  - How have you benefited from the help of others?
4. What happens if you are sick or unable to work?
5. What drives you to be self-employed?
  - How do you motivate yourself to work when you get into the studio?
6. What value do you place on the quality of photographs?
  - How do you take photographs of your products?

### *Interview 3 Topic Guide*

1. When does your family affect your work?
  - How have family members supported you when you have experienced difficulties?
  - Why do you value their emotional and moral support?
  - When do you need your family members' emotional support?
  - When have your family members held you back?
  - Emotionally, how have your family members affected you negatively?
  - How do you deal with family demands while at work?
2. What differences are there between your household and other family members?
  - In your household, who normally does the cooking, cleaning and washing?
3. What events in your life have had the biggest impact on your work?

4. How do you handle stress?
  - What do you do to relieve yourself from stress?
5. How do locals treat you and your business?
  - How do people treat you knowing that you were [not] born here?
6. Have you experienced differences in social class between you and your customers?
  - Do people make assumptions about you based on your appearance?
  - Have you experienced that people treat you differently because of your age?
7. Which groups of people do you interact with most?
  - How do you change your behaviour when you interact with different people?
8. What expectations do your customers have regarding your communications?
  - Do you share personal details with them?
  - How important is it for you to get on with your customers?
  - When do you highlight your experience or reputation to them?
9. Why do you do [Craft]?
  - What are your goals with your business?
  - How do your business goals change over time?
  - What are your long-term goals in life?
  - How does your business help you achieve these goals?
  - Do you grow tired of doing the same thing?
  - How do you tackle this issue?
  - What are your biggest worries with your business?
10. What do you think makes you successful?
  - How do you spot new business opportunities?
  - When and why do you change your craft practice over time?
11. How important is ethical practice and being environmentally friendly to you?
12. How are you planning to finance your retirement?
  - How does not having a pension scheme affect you?
13. How difficult would it be for others to acquire the skills to do your job?
14. Have you tried applying for government funding in the past?
  - What has prevented you from accessing government support?
  - What government support mechanisms do you feel are missing at the moment?

#### ***Interview 4 Topic Guide***

1. To what degree do local traders accept you as one of theirs?
  - How do your relationships with them affect your business practices?
  - How does gossip around town impact you?
  - How about gossip within your creative community?

2. How easy or difficult is it for you to fit in with other creatives in your field?
  - How do you adapt your behaviour to fit in?
  - What are the unwritten rules of behaviours you have to adhere to?
  - How do you establish the legitimacy of your work?
3. What motivates you to tutor or train others?
4. When are you most likely to ask other people for help?
  - Why do you value the help of friends and other makers?
  - When have friends helped you increase your reputation?
  - What impact does the loss of other people's support have on you?
5. How, do you think, does your work affect your family?
  - When does your business have a negative impact on your personal life?
  - When does it have a positive impact?
6. How do you deal with having to reply to customers during the day while also crafting products?
7. How important is the long-term sustainability of your business to you?
8. How did your past education prepare you for running this craft business?
  - What type of further education do you think you could benefit from?
  - What training courses are currently missing in this area?
  - What type of new training course could benefit younger craft makers?
9. Tell me about creativity.
  - What drives your creativity?
  - How do you tap into your creativity?
  - When are you most successful at accessing your creativity?
10. How would you describe your surroundings?
11. How important is honesty to you?
12. Roughly how much of your work do you not declare to the tax collectors?
  - Why do you choose not to declare some of it?
13. How important is confidence to you?
  - How would you describe your confidence levels?
  - How do they change over time?
14. How do the emotions you feel affect your creative practice?
  - Which emotions affect your work the most?
  - How does being happy impact your work?
  - How do negative emotions, such as anger or grief, affect your work?
  - How do you deal with emotional problems at work?
  - When do emotional issues affect your work the most?
  - To what degree do you compartmentalise your emotions when you are at work?

## APPENDIX 2. Interpretive Summary for Interview 1 with Julie

After finishing her bachelor's degree in English and Fine Art, Julie completed a postgraduate certificate in Education. This enabled her to teach English and Drama in her hometown, but upon divorcing her first husband, she moved and began working in setting up community initiatives. These experiences seem to have been critical in framing Julie's mentorship of nascent craftspeople and her current practice of running classes and workshops alongside making and selling her craft products.

Another aspect of her background, which appears to have figured largely in driving her business, was being taught how to sew and embroider by her maternal grandmother. Additionally, Julie was inspired by her mother, who taught her how to draw and whom Julie greatly adored and admired. She sees her formative years as the beginning of her path towards creative entrepreneurship, remembering that she was always making things and trying to sell them to her friends and relatives.

Julie went back to teaching when she had children, but decided to start her own business when she came close to retirement. Drawing on her contacts from working at the University, she attended free creative business classes which helped guide her in building up her business. Her years in the creative sector also enabled Julie to make many friends who help her out. For example, she currently leases her studio from a creative friend who provides the property in exchange for Julie and her husband fixing up the space. This shows how influential friends and relatives are in Julie's life.

Perhaps as a result of her academic background, Julie prefers utilising published media and workshops more than shows, exhibits or fairs to promote her business and products. In addition to writing articles for craft magazines, she has published two books on her craft, which not only yield profits themselves, but also increase demand for her kits and craft products. In contrast, her experiences with fairs have been largely negative, leading her to be cautious about which ones she attends. She seems to appreciate the fairs she does attend more for the exposure she receives and contacts she makes than for direct sales.

Julie has a strong independent streak that, along with being a main motivator for self-employment, also drives her desire to be self-sufficient: she takes no grants and borrows no loans, because she does not want to jump through anyone's hoops. When publishing her books, she received advice that she should approach a big publisher, but chose to self-publish because she did not want to dance to their tune. In other words, being in control is of high importance to Julie. This desire for control also prevents her from making use of friends' offers of help with production, even during busy periods.

The only people she admits to relying upon are her husband, son and daughter. Her son in particular is critical in helping her with her website and publishing, her daughter helps her with shows and exhibitions and her husband helps with fixing up her studio, managing her accounts, shipping out her products and running the

household, so she can work on her craft. She divulged that her family members have had and continue to have many personal issues. Crafting products is thus not only a creative outlet for her, but also helps her deal with the related difficulties. In addition to helping herself, it is clear that Julie believes that another great benefit of her business is that it provides a job for her son.

Julie's passion for spreading the wealth through her craft is visible in the degree to which she shares her skills, experiences and advice with fellow creatives. Drawing on her contacts from teaching at University, she founded a network of creatives that is geared towards learning both craft technique and idea generation. Many practicing craftspeople and artists participate in running seminars, where they share lessons learnt from their experiences. While Julie passed on the responsibility of running this collective, she still provides help whenever asked because she feels that her experience is valuable and she wants to share it with others. She also believes that crafts need to be perpetuated for generations to come and wants to do her part for that cause.

Reputation is highly important for Julie and she considers her reputation to be synonymous with the quality of her products. This is another place where her need for control comes through. She recounts, for example, that when she began making dolls, people suggested she use bright colours. Julie followed this suggestion at first, but then scrapped these colours and started over because she did not like them. She believes her personal style to be essential to the integrity and quality of her designs and what draws customers to her products. She takes much pride in being complemented on her products and being considered the best at what she does. Living up to other people's expectations is therefore very important to Julie.

Despite receiving positive feedback for her work, Julie suffers from lack of confidence, which can hinder her. When discussing the possibility of acquiring certificates to prove her reputation to customers, she explained that she decided not to apply to be a master craftsman, because she did not want to be rejected. This fear of failure thus impedes Julie's ability to communicate her expertise to potential clients, especially online customers who are not able to see the quality of her work first-hand.

Success for Julie entails making enough money to be sustainable, so that she knows she can carry on without worrying too much about it. Importantly, Julie does not want her business to become so big that she loses control over it. She wants to maintain a high quality of life for her family. Here again, Julie's reveals how closely her business is tied to her family: they not only motivate her to pursue her business and facilitate her business processes, but they also guide her business aims.