



LUND UNIVERSITY

People making things happen

Visiting the inter-action of lifestyle enterprising

Reid, Stuart

2021

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Reid, S. (2021). *People making things happen: Visiting the inter-action of lifestyle enterprising*. Paper presented at 37th EGOS Colloquium, Amsterdam. https://www.egos.org/jart/prj3/egos/main.jart?rel=de&reserve-mode=active&content-id=1610525130808&subtheme_id=1574543968838&show_prog=yes

Total number of authors:

1

General rights

Unless other specific re-use rights are stated the following general rights apply:

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Read more about Creative commons licenses: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

LUND UNIVERSITY

PO Box 117
221 00 Lund
+46 46-222 00 00

People making things happen: Visiting the interaction of lifestyle enterprising

For 37th EGOS Colloquium

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

July 8-10, 2021

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

Stuart R. M. Reid

Doctoral Candidate

Department of Service Management and Service Studies

Lund University, Sweden

Abstract

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

An Interactionist Approach to Lifestyle Enterprise

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

Faces and Face Work

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

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

Deference and Demeanour

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

Avoidance rituals concern what is not to be done; they are "forms of deference which lead the actor to keep at a distance from the recipient" (ibid., p. 62), describing taboos or proscriptions or "acts that

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

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

Social Construction

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

METHODS AND MATERIALS

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

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

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

methodological choice, leading to the blending in of the researcher as customer, as close to the natural enterprising situation as practically possible – bearing in mind that the action remains a co-construction.

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

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

RESULTS

Observational Setting

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

Observing Interaction

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

Act 1: Tasting Cheese

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

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

Figure 1. Act 1, Scene 1 (Business)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Act 2: Requesting Help

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

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

Seen only in the commercial realm, the woman’s action in directing me to the toilet could be construed as a deference of minor service (Goffman, 1967) in the commercial sense of doing business by serving a needy customer. However, such assumption misses an important (sequential) detail that it was the

reframing of the interaction following my parental line. In particular, by offering that the toilet need is for my daughter offers a new “line” (Goffman, *ibid.*), recasting me as ‘parent/dad’ and reframing the interaction. It is this line to which the woman promptly responds, by inviting me to join her in the pseudo backstage of the shop and directing me to the private space of the family home, a deference of minor service in the personal domain linked to a deference of trust (Goffman, 1956). The minor service afforded in the private domain stemmed from the relation of parent-parent, in the personal domain of family, no longer cast only in the role of ‘customer’ to be served in the commercial domain of business, but also as fellow ‘parent’ who is trusted to enter the personal space of home in the realm of family. Rendering the minor service in the personal domain of family, the minor service deviates from the script of commercial service to become a non-commercial service.

Figure 3. Act 2, Scene 1 (Family)

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

Act 3: Ordering Food

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

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

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

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

Act 4: Serving Food

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

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

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

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

Figure 5. Act 4, Scene 1 (Interest and Business)

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

Act 5: Rescuing

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

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

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

Figure 6. Act 5, Scene 1 (Business)

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

Act 6: Buying Cheese

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

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

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

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

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

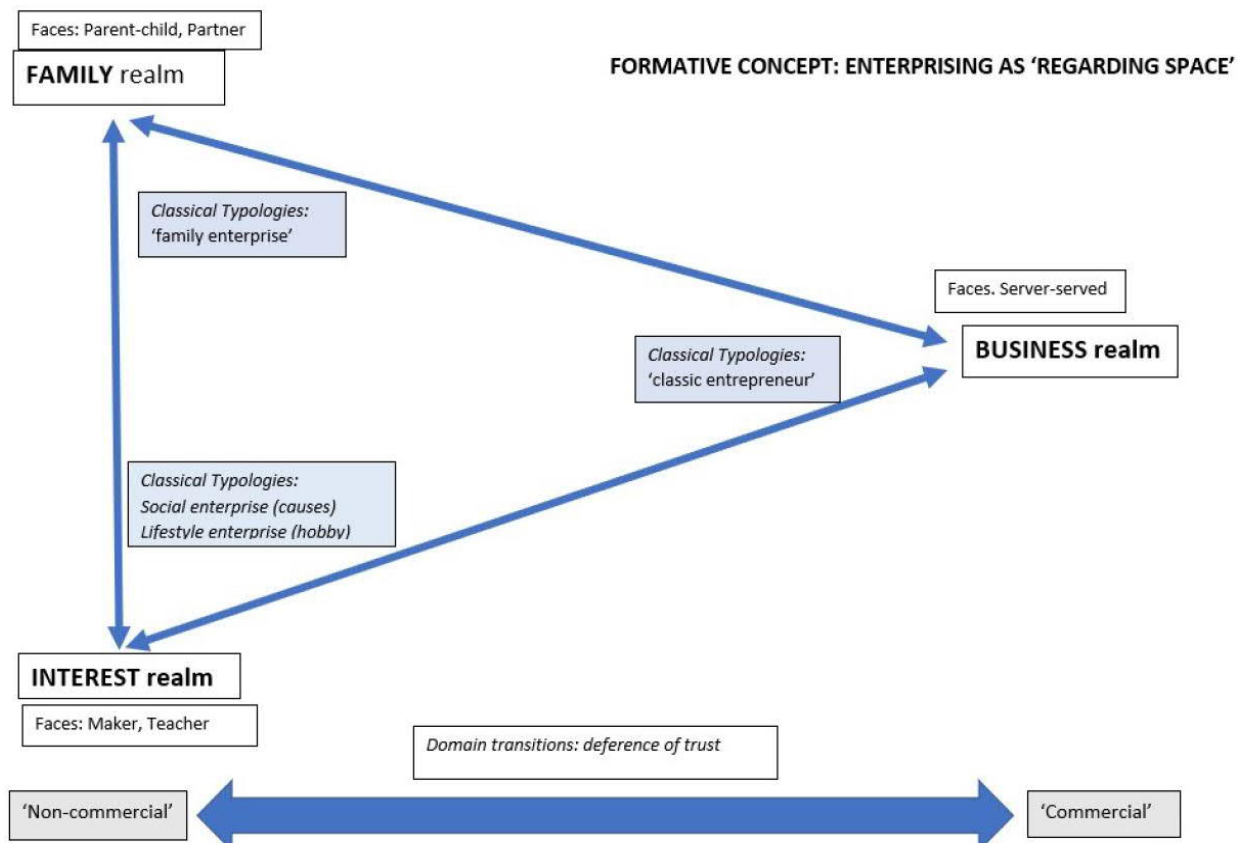
Although the “here and now” moments of Goffman’s interactionism are just mini acts in an ongoing performance of the doings of enterprising, mere snippets witnessed partially and fleetingly by co-present actors who are privy to and variously part of the action, these moments reveal the intricacies of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

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

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

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

Figure 8. Conceiving Interaction of Enterprising as a Regarding Space



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

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

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

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

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

References

- Ateljevic, I., & Doorne, S. (2000). ‘Staying within the fence’: Lifestyle entrepreneurship in tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 8(5), 378-392.
- Bardone, E. (2013). My farm is my stage: A performance perspective on rural tourism and hospitality services in Estonia. (PhD). University of Tartu.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). The logic of practice. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Buhalis, D., & Cooper, C. (1998). Competition or co-operation: Small and medium sized tourism enterprises at the destination. In B. Faulkner, E. Laws, & G. Moscardo (Eds.), *Embracing and managing change in tourism: International case studies* (pp. 329-352): Routledge.
- Cederholm, E. A. (2015). Lifestyle enterprising: The ‘ambiguity work’ of Swedish horse-farmers. *Community, Work & Family*, 18(3), 317-333.
- Cederholm, E. A. (2018). Relational work in lifestyle enterprising: Sustaining the tension between the personal and the commercial. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 4, 3-17.
- Cederholm, E. A., & Åkerström, M. (2016). With a little help from my friends: Relational work in leisure-related enterprising. *The Sociological Review*, 64(4), 748-765.
- Cederholm, E. A., & Hultman, J. (2010). The value of intimacy—negotiating commercial relationships in lifestyle entrepreneurship. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 10(1), 16-32.
- Collins, R. (2004). Interaction ritual chains. Princeton University Press.
- Dimov, D. P., Schaefer, R. A., & Pistrui, J. (2020). Look who is talking ... and who is listening: Integrative “we” voice in entrepreneurial scholarship. *Academy of Management Proceedings*. 2020.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (2nd ed.). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*, (4th Ed., pp. 301-316). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2016). Five misunderstandings about case study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.
- Flyvbjerg, B., Landman, T., & Schram, S. (2012). Important next steps in phronetic social science. In B. Flyvbjerg, S. Schram, & T. Landman (Eds.), *Real social science: Applied phronesis* (pp. 285-297). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gartner, W. B. (1988). “Who is an entrepreneur?” is the wrong question. *American Journal of Small Business*, 12(4), 11-32.
- Gelderen, M. V. (2000). Enterprising behaviour of ordinary people. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 9(1), 81-88.
- Getz, D., Carlsen, J., & Morrison, A. (2004). *The family business in tourism and hospitality*: CABI.

- Goffman, E. (1956). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. University of Edinburgh.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Goffman, E. (1970). *Strategic interaction*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order. American Sociological Association, 1982 Presidential Address. *American Sociological Review*, 48(1), 1-17.
- Helgadóttir, G., & Sigurðardóttir, I. (2008). Horse-based tourism: Community, quality and disinterest in economic value. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 8(2), 105-121.
- Hill, I. (2020). Spotlight on UK artisan entrepreneurs' situated collaborations: Through the lens of entrepreneurial capitals and their conversion. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 27(1), 99-121.
- Hill, I. (2018). How did you get up and running? Taking a Bourdieuan perspective towards a framework for negotiating strategic fit. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 30(5-6), 662-696.
- Hultman, J., & Cederholm, E. A. (2010). Bed, breakfast and friendship: Intimacy and distance in small-scale hospitality businesses. *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, 2(3), 365-380.
- Johannisson, B. (2011). Towards a practice theory of entrepreneuring. *Small Business Economics*, 36(2), 135-150.
- Maton, K. (2008). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp. 49-66). Stocksfield, UK: Acumen.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist* (C. W. Morris, Ed.). Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.
- Ramoglou, S., Gartner, W. B., & Tsang, E. W. K. (2020). "Who is an entrepreneur?" is (still) the wrong question. *Journal of Business Venturing Insights*, 13.
- Reid, S. R. M. (2020). The generative principles of lifestyle enterprising: Dialectic entanglements of capital-habitus-field. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 27(3), 629-647.
- Shaw, G., & Williams, A. (1987). Firm formation and operating characteristics in the Cornish tourist industry — the case of Looe. *Tourism Management*, 8(4), 344-348.
- Steyaert, C. (2007). 'Entrepreneuring' as a conceptual attractor? A review of process theories in 20 years of entrepreneurship studies. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 19(6), 453-477.
- Thompson, N. A., Verduijn, K., & Gartner, W. B. (2020). Entrepreneurship-as-practice: Grounding contemporary theories of practice into entrepreneurship studies. 32(3-4), 347-256.
- Williams, A. M., Shaw, G., & Greenwood, J. (1989). From tourist to tourism entrepreneur, from consumption to production: Evidence from Cornwall, England. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 21(12), 1639-1653.