LIFESTYLING ENTREPRENEURS' SOCIOLOGICAL EXPRESSIONISM

MAJELLA SWEENEY

and

JOHN DOCHERTY-HUGHES

Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh

and

PAUL LYNCH

Corresponding author: p.lynch@napier.ac.uk

Edinburgh Napier University

Craiglockhart Campus Room 4/26

Edinburgh EH14 1DJ

United Kingdom

Tel. +44(0)131 455 4621

Fax. +44(0)131 455 6269

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This study explores the tourism host-home relationship investigated through documentary analysis of photographs choreographed through mutual negotiation between hosts and researcher (collaborative auto-driving) and participants' spoken narratives (photo-elicitation interviews); we identify the significance for tourism product construction. Major findings concern the sociological expressionism of the tourism lifestyle entrepreneur who creates a certain personal brand identity or 'lifestyling' through their commercial home presentation; 'private', 'inclusive' and 'temporal' classification categories of hosts' favourite spaces in the home are identified, based upon the individual spatial management strategies employed. Depictions of favourite spaces emphasised emotional and sensorial dimensions rather than material things present, and were described as spaces of contentment and tranquillity essential for energising hosts in the ongoing production of the commercial home.

Keywords: host-home relationship; commercial home; collaborative auto-driving; photo-elicitation; tourism lifestyle entrepreneur; material/immaterial.

Highlights

- Critical research inquiry lifestyle entrepreneur host-commercial home relationship
- Identifies important immaterial dimensions of tourism commercial home
- Collaborative photo-elicitation method reveals hosts create personal lifestyle brands
- Elaborates sociological expressionism of tourism lifestyling entrepreneur hosts
- Identifies tourism host types reflected in spatial management strategies

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INTRODUCTION

The lifestyle entrepreneur is particularly associated with small and very small tourism businesses and suggests a business where the owner's lifestyle is viewed as of at least similar importance to the achievement of financial gain (Saxena, 2015). The various discourses surrounding this contested concept of 'lifestyle' often reflect the different disciplinary traditions of the interlocutors. The term 'lifestyle' applied to a business or an entrepreneur is often used imprecisely and based upon an assumed shared usage and understanding by the audience. 'Lifestyle entrepreneur' is a culturally-bound term associated with developed rather than developing economies where the same entrepreneurial activity might be classed as driven by 'necessity' (Getz, Carlsen and Morrison, 2005). This paper considers lifestyle entrepreneurship as a distinct mode of living that reflects a socially constructed concept of self that symbolically communicates a socio-political ideology/value position. The study reported here explores one dimension of the host lifestyle through focusing upon the host-commercial home relationship. The commercial home is chosen as it is often associated with lifestyle entrepreneurs and owing to the nature of a home being intimately associated with showcasing lifestyle. The research responds to comments on under-theorisation of small firms in tourism (Thomas, Shaw and Page, 2010) and to calls for more critical and qualitative research approaches needing to be employed with regard to entrepreneurship (Blackwell and Kovalainen, 2009).

There has been a tendency to focus on the more material aspects of small tourism accommodation such as economic importance, owner profiles, organisational characteristics (Wu and Yang, 2010), at the expense of the more immaterial dimensions. This study helps deepen understanding of the nature of hospitality and tourism provision, the ways that products are constructed, here in terms of the relationship between host and space. More broadly, the study contributes to ongoing interest in relation to place, home and identity in tourism and hospitality settings (Neilsen, 1999) and its links to business management (Hallak, Brown and Lindsay, 2012). We explore the host-home relationship through interviews and documentary analysis of photographs taken in conjunction with the hosts, and identify the significance for product construction. Although the guest is not a focal point of the study, reflective comments are given on implications for host-guest relations as the host-commercial home relationship is intimately bound up with the reception of guests. Furthermore, we offer reflective comments on the utility and management of the collaborative relationship between the researcher and participants surfaced through using collaborative auto-driving. Brief consideration is now given to the theoretical issues that frame the study: commercial home, meanings of home and the nature of commercial home space.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A commercial home refers to:

> types of accommodation where visitors or guests pay to stay in private homes, where interaction takes place with a host and/or family usually living upon the premises and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared. 'Commercial home' therefore embraces a range of accommodation types including some (small) hotels, bed and breakfasts…, and host family accommodation, which simultaneously span private, commercial and social settings.' (Lynch, 2005a:534).

Lynch (2005a) highlights the way the commercial home product is constructed and the centrality of host politics of identity and spatial relationships, and describes the way that the guest (but not the host) interacts with the space. The term commercial home has found increasing multidisciplinary usage as an umbrella term for types of small tourism

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accommodation business where the home is an important dimension (for example, Brandth and Haugen, 2012; Harris, McIntosh and Lewis, 2007; Lashley 2008; Seymour, 2015); many properties marketed through Air BnB fit with a commercial home definition. The commercial home concept reflects newer theorisation of types of small commercial accommodation and places host and home at the centre of understanding this type of tourism accommodation. It is helpful to explore the nature of the small accommodation affording primacy to the emotional and personal concept of the 'home' in commercial hospitality provision. Home is receiving growing attention in the tourism literature (Uriely, 2010; Pearce, 2012) as its significance is increasingly recognised. The literature on the home in the broader social sciences is quite extensive and here, cognisant of Mallett (2004) who argues home is best researched from a multidisciplinary perspective, salient characteristics of the private home are described before considering the nature of commercial home space.

Home is a place imbued by the occupant with social meaning and significance, "a human institution which offers rest, peace, quiet, comfort, health and personal expression" (Gilman, 1903:82) and where social and spatial dimensions are interlinked. Rather than the physical space, it is the manner of inhabitation that makes the home (Boym, 1994), a cultural process which establishes the identity of the occupant (Wise, 2000). As a site of expression, it enables construction and communication of identity through 'visual/visible and material/tangible practices of home decoration" (Gullestad 1993:146). Indeed, home has been likened to a mirror of the self (Cooper, 1995), as well as a site of family display (Seymour, 2015). The home provides an arena for the composition, accomplishment and contextualisation of 'particular kinds of social relations and activities' (Saunders and Williams (1986:82). While home carries psychological significance, the meaning to the individual will vary according to socio-cultural and historical context. Different meanings of home may be identified according to factors such as gender, race, class, age, disability and sexuality (Gorman-Murray, 2007). For example, amongst gays and lesbians, private homes may become "key sites of resistance to heteronormativity" (2007:241). Home is a key setting in which broad social, political and economic relations link to the personal, sexual and emotional lives of individuals, households and kin (Saunders and Williams, 1986).

The garden forms part of and reflects similar issues to the rest of the home. Francis and Hestor (1990) have proposed four dimensions for examining the garden: as idea, place, action and experience, aspects reflected in the following overview. The garden is perceived to enable insights into the micro social worlds of the individual created in response to tensions and conflicts in wider society (Bhatti, Church, Claremont and Steiner, 2009). In the context of their UK-based study, it is a place for privacy at the same time as it is usually a semi-public social space (through being overlooked). Bhatti et al. (2009) suggest the garden is also associated with being a haven as well as an escape from the world of (domestic) work, yet it may also represent a place of conflict, compromise or disappointment over its use, in part owing to the socially inhibiting presence of neighbours. The garden appears to be contested gendered territory with the literature suggesting it is both a masculine place of control (Hunt 1989) as well as a feminine place (Rose, Kinnaird, Morris and Nash, 1997). Bhatti and Church (2000:192) suggest the garden is "shaped by the continual restructuring of gender relations", a thing to be viewed, used and appreciated, as well as for working in (Mintel, 1999). The garden may be both artful and creative and also plays a key role in the search for identity (Bhatti and Church, 2000). Part of that identity quest is reflected in the garden as a place of 'enchanting encounters', providing treasured sensory and emotional moments during the course of the everyday (Bhatti et al., 2009:61).

Mallett (2004) suggests that the home encompasses strangers. Symbols as markers of space have a key role to play in engaging people: "it attracts or repels others, drawing some together around the same theme" (Wise 2000:300). In commercial homes the symbols and artefacts displayed may be there to attract people to stay at that property. Gram-Hansen (2004) associates the symbols of social life (home, furniture and other things [objects] in the

house) with conspicuous consumption (Veblen 2007). Ordinary consumption is concerned with the practical use of the home premises. The idea of conspicuous consumption resonates with the work of Darke and Gurney (2000) on the private home and the extrinsic owner who requires an audience for their home on which considerable labour has been spent. Thus, symbols and artefacts displayed in commercial homes have significance; they display a message to the guests. The commercial home may be read by the guest as a site of possibility and pleasure (Ainley, 1988) and a cultural interpretation applied (Wise, 2000).

The commercial home is distinctive in the way space and place are managed. Hosts will have different relationships to their commercial homes and this will affect the customer experience (Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney, 2007). While this important relationship is showing some signs of investigation, it is still very much under-explored. Some hosts may see the property as a home first and business second or as a business first and a home second (Lynch, McIntosh and Tucker, 2009). Allowing family and business to co-exist within the same space confuses the naïve simplicity of economic theory, of going out of the home to earn money. Couples and families running a business can face numerous challenges for balancing work and family, especially when there is physical overlap between home and space devoted to the guests (Brandth and Haugen, 2012). It may be difficult keeping family life separate from the business, because of spatial issues, and this will therefore have an impact on the guest's experience. Ram, Deakins and Smallbone (1997) suggest that through management of space and time people create and maintain different identities. In commercial homes certain spaces may be marked out for guests and parts of the home designated specifically for work or for personal use by the hosts.

Uriely (2010) proposes a conceptual model with three dimensions in evaluating the tourist's sense of home: familiarity with place (Schutz 1944); situational control and privacy (Goffman 1959); sociability in associations (Simmel 1949). Uriely's framework resonates strongly with dimensions of the commercial home product: setting, artefacts, sequences, social control, space, discourse and politics of identity (Lynch 2005a) although it arguably underplays the performative role of the setting and artefacts. Lynch et al. (2009) suggest that the commercial home guest acts as a kind of forensic psychological profiler who interacts with the commercial home environment, seeking to interpret symbols, the presentation of the home, in order to explore the politics of identity of the host identified as the embodiment of the commercial home space (Brandth and Haugen, 2012). Tucker and Lynch (2004) identify internet promotion of commercial homes as portraying the host's lifestyle and conveying information on the nature of the stay. Making sense of the commercial home plays a functional role since setting has a behavioural effect enabling rule interpretation, promoting social conformity, encouraging role-plays, but which may also create dissonance (Lynch et al., 2009). While Lynch (2005b) has focused on *sociological impressionism*, a research method employed to capture the effects of the commercial home engagement on the guest, focusing on the host-home relationship helps to explore the *sociological expressionism* of the host. Such a perspective broadly complements the suggestion of Chang (2010) regarding the production (sociological expressionism) and consumption (sociological impressionism) of architourism landscapes and adds a more nuanced understanding of the notion of Williams, Shaw and Greenwood (1989:1650) that involvement in small firms in tourism 'is as much a form of consumption as… of production' .

Belk (1988) views objects in an individual's physical environment as part of an extended self and enables an engagement with one's past. Likewise, Penman and Omar (2011:340) perceive an interrelationship between 'self, memory and objects'. Harris and Brown (1996) argue that the home can communicate individual and social aspects of resident identity and suggest that the choice of home, personalisation, upkeep, and physical evidence of activity potentially convey information about the residents. They argue that the symbols need to be able to be interpreted by observers and is part of a co-constructed process (Chang 2010). Such a perspective resonates with the idea that hospitality spaces generate emotional

affects (Roessler, 2012) and supports Cederholm and Hultman (2010) who advise that the production and negotiation of intimacy are key dimensions of the lifestyle entrepreneur. Gavira and Bluemhuber (2010:127) argue humans have a preoccupation with achieving coherency in their 'personal life-narrative', an 'autobiographical concern' leading to the concept of 'desire-assemblage' wherein the desire for various elements such as people, things, events, facilitates the construction of a narrative self. Evaluation of this narrative is by the self and their 'community'. The way a home is presented it is argued here can be read as a narrative of the lifestyle entrepreneur.

METHODS

Since Collier's (1967) seminal work, photo-elicitation has been used in qualitative research across different disciplines and there is a growing body of research which employs the photo-elicitation technique in hospitality and tourism studies (Scarles, 2010). Photo-elicitation involves using photographs to evoke comments, facilitate memory and stimulate discussion in the course of a semi-structured interview. Specific examples of social relations or cultural form depicted in the photographs can become the basis for a discussion of broader abstractions and generalities; conversely, vague memories can be given sharpness and focus, unleashing a flood of details (Flick, 2009:65). Harper (2002) advocates the use of photo-elicitation because images evoke deeper elements of human experiences than words alone. Collier and Collier (1986:106) suggest that photographs, when used in interviews, "sharpen the memory and give the interview an immediate character of realistic reconstruction" and that "photographs are charged with psychological and highly emotional elements and symbols" (Collier and Collier, 1986:108). The emotional content extracted from and projected onto the photographs affords the researcher a greater understanding of a participant's experiences than from the spoken or written word alone (Carlsson, 2001) as well as different information (Samuels, 2004).

Photo elicitation can be implemented in a range of ways, ranging from evoking discussion based upon pre-existing photographs provided by the researcher, by the participants, or photographs which have been generated by participants during the research process. Auto-driving entails participants "driving" discussion regarding photographs typically provided by the researcher (Collier, 1967); this is the most common form of photo-elicitation (Harper, 1994). Clark-Ibanez (2004) is an advocate of using photographs produced by the researcher to explore participants' communities, but is mindful that particular nuances may well be missed by researchers who are not immersed in those particular communities. In response to these particular challenges, the approach adopted here is *collaborative* auto-driving, in which the photographs of the hosts' favourite spaces were produced through a process whereby the identification and, indeed, choreography of the photograph were achieved through mutual negotiation between the hosts and the researcher. The data discussed in this paper emerged from a broader study which examined hosts' relationships with their commercial homes. A sample of 25 commercial home hosts from across Scotland participated. The study involved the researcher visiting hosts in their commercial home, taking photographs of the commercial home, followed by in-depth qualitative interviews with the hosts during a second visit, employing photo-elicitation.

A phenomenologically-inspired analysis of hosts' favourite spaces in the commercial home enables researchers to offer greater depth in their interpretations of the immaterial dimensions of the experience of social space than traditional methods of data collection, such as interview or observations, would allow (Kusenbach, 2003). Indeed, within phenomenological enquiries, that which at first appears taken-for-granted or trivial can often prove crucial (Sokolowski, 2000) in terms of making sense of the individuals' motivations and behaviours that give the hosts' favourite spaces in the commercial home meaning. The collaborative visual approach adopted here affords the development of meaningful, intersubjective understandings of the physical and social aspects of the host's favourite space in the commercial home. An articulation of the processes through which hosts'

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favourite spaces contribute to their sense of self in the commercial home is dependent upon thick descriptions of hosts' lived, embodied experiences of those spaces (Rakić and Chambers, 2012). This research is designed to "identify, represent and enhance" (Wang & Burris, 1997:1) aspects of the host's relationship with the commercial home through visual and spoken data meaningful at the individual and subjective level. Mallett (2004) suggests that place identity and meaning are the subject of construction and negotiation. Further, the study of home is value laden. Therefore one can see photo-elicitation narratives as involving the co-social construction of meaning between hosts and the researcher. The authors use both phenomenological and social constructionist theories as discussed by Mallett (2004), following an approach adopted by Gurney (1997) and involving both cognition and experience (Somerville, 1997). The focus on the commercial home host provides a relatively novel perspective given the customary attention to the tourist consumption and experience. This work addresses Rakić and Chambers' (2012:19) call for research into 'cognitive and affective processes involved in… locals' [in this case the hosts'] embodied experiences of [touristic] places and is in line with Pearce (2012) who recognises the potential value of visual research methods in offering insights into visiting home places.

During interviews, participants used the photographs of their favourite spaces as sense-making vehicles, to allow them to reveal the intrinsic meaning, not only of *what* the favourite place means to them, but also the processes in which cognitive, emotional and pragmatic reasoning resulted in the space being identified as central to the meaning of 'home' to them. We employed a documentary method of analysing visual data (Bohnsack, 2008) which enables researchers to move from an understanding of *what* social phenomena are produced (in this instance, the host's favourite place or space within the home) to *how* they are produced. Following this transitional analytical technique, there are specific practical strategies for conceiving of, considering and interpreting photographs. For example, firstly, to consider the contextual, pre-iconographic stage of a photograph, in which the two-dimensional, physical aspects of an image are described. Second, to add further meaning to the pre-iconographic dimensions of the image, we reflected upon the language used by participants to describe the spaces illustrated in the photographs to allow us to achieve an iconographic level of interpretation, as well as reflecting on the researcher's own impressions of the space. Accordingly, the documentary method of analysis of photographs is a form of semiotics, a method that allows researchers to distinguish between photographs as visual 'signifiers' of something, and that which is being signified (Marvasti, 2004); or, more simply, what the photograph actually *means*. Bohnsack's (2008:6) example is of a photograph of a gesture from one acquaintance to another which, at the pre-iconographic level is understood as the 'tilting of a hat', but at the iconographic level can be interpreted as a 'greeting'. To make the transition from pre-iconographic to iconographic understanding, a number of issues were considered. What are the fundamental visual elements? How was the scene choreographed? What is represented? What specific knowledge do we have of the motivations of the actors? What generalised knowledge do we have of relevant institutions and roles? And finally, how is the presentation produced? (Bohnsack, 2008:5). In addressing these questions, we are able to move from pre-iconographic description of the visual dimensions of the commercial home and, more specifically, the hosts' favourite spaces, to an iconographic understanding of *why* the space is so significant to the host, *how* the space has become so significant, and ultimately, to an understanding of *what* the intrinsic meaning of the host's favourite space is.

The documentary method of analysis complements the collaborative auto-driving approach because participants' experiences have been drivers in *every* key stage of the analytical process: 'selecting' (selecting a space in which to be photographed that most accurately describes their favourite space in the home), 'contextualising' (telling a story about the significance of that photograph) and 'codifying' (considering hosts' subjective narratives in identifying the themes and issues to have emerged in analysing the photographic images) (Wang and Burris, 1997:380). Throughout the research process, participants provided their

explicit, informed consent to having the photographs taken, analysed and published. Participants' real names have been replaced by pseudonyms.

RESULTS

Thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998) of the narratives to emerge from interviews with the hosts revealed three distinct conceptual categories which capture the essence of hosts' relationships with the commercial home and their guests: 'private', 'inclusive' and 'temporal'. Hosts identified within the 'private' category have very distinct, clearly demarcated spaces in their homes which guests are not permitted to enter. Typically, these hosts are very clear about which areas of their home guests are free to use and which areas out of bounds. Participants whose relationship with their commercial home and guests have been characterised as 'inclusive' have an extremely liberal attitude to guests' use of space in their home; almost all spaces of the home are open for guests to enjoy and the narratives of participants in this category reveal that boundaries between public and private space in the commercial home are, at the very least, blurred. Those hosts whose relationships with commercial home and guests are captured in the 'temporal' category, identify certain spaces which are private to them and not routinely accessed by participants, but these spaces are often made available to guests at certain times of the day or, depending on the structure of the home, are necessarily entered in order to access public spaces in the commercial home. The divergent depictions of how space is managed in the commercial home is further contextualised by the commonalities in participants' narratives on their favourite spaces, which consistently emphasised the emotional, experiential, immaterial dimensions of their interactions with those favourite spaces.

Private: Liam

This Victorian house is located in Edinburgh. The host (Liam) is under 40 years of age with no children. His partner has a job not associated with the guesthouse. Liam bought the property because of the location and the garden; he was motivated by the lifestyle associated with running a guesthouse (such as meeting new people, being his own boss and the convenience of living and working in the same place). Liam advertises the guesthouse in local and national lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) publications. The property, graded four stars by VisitScotland, has five guest bedrooms. The host does not share any private space with guests.

INSERT PHOTO 1 ABOUT HERE

Throughout the process leading up to Liam selecting the garden as his favourite place, there was considerable focus on the material dimensions of the spaces which were accessible to his guests on the one hand, whilst on the other hand, Liam's depiction of his favourite, private space is framed by a focus on the more emotional, sensorial dimensions (Pink, 2004) of the space. The presentation of the commercial home was strategically managed and staged. Liam was very proud of the property and was keen to show it off. The host explained the inspiration behind each room's design and emphasised the consistent theme of circles and squares which manifested itself in the art and décor. Emphasis was placed on the number three as significant in maximising visual impact of the design of the property, for example, three identical plants or three pieces of art work in a similar style on display in a row. The host was very happy for photographs to be taken, evidently proud to use his home as a vehicle through which to display the detailed intellectual and emotional investments which he engaged in giving rise to the material production of the commercial home. To access the garden the host invited (sic) the researcher into the kitchen, a private space not

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accessed by guests. Whilst the kitchen maintained the theme of order and structure it was less styled than public spaces accessed by guests. Liam determined the choreography of the photograph from the outset, clearly indicating a desire to be photographed sitting at the table. Once Liam was content with his position and the location of the researcher, he was happy to be photographed. Liam's emotive relationship with the garden and home is communicated above through the terms employed by the researcher here 'happy', 'proud', 'keen', as well as Liam's explanatory narrative.

> *Our part of the house is very separate, it's at the back of the house and guests are not allowed… we have our own private back garden and they're not allowed in… and I think that's very important.*

The back garden is a place that Liam likes to keep private, although not completely free from the guest gaze:

> *…this is very much our private space…. It would be very rare that I let a guest come out there even though we are actually slightly, we're overlooked by two of the rooms so they look down longingly! I even have the odd guest that comes down and says I just need to find the door to the back garden. There isn't one, not for you! In the nicest possible way sorry, that's my garden!*

Liam's main motivation for choosing to be photographed in his garden was to demonstrate to the researcher the importance of maintaining a sense of privacy in parts of the commercial home. The garden is a favourite space devoid of guests where Liam could escape, a place to be himself:

> *It's very important to have private space, it's important for me because I need to see that… there's a line and guests can't step over that line… what in the past what happened was that people always felt that they were imposing, they were staying in somebody's house and they felt a bit awkward, and now I think a lot of guest houses and B&B's have become much more of a business… having that element of well this is actually my business and this is the area that you are allowed in and you're allowed to feel comfortable in this area, it gives them some kind of security and some kind of … they're happier about that, you know, because they know that this is their space, and they're not imposing on you and it's important, I think it's really important for guests to know that.*

Integral to Liam's business is a very refined sense of the boundaries between the public, highly stylised, material dimensions of the commercial home and the host's emotional, sensorial and pragmatic relationship especially noticeable with his own private, guest-free places and spaces. Having a space to retreat to from the rigours of maintaining the highest standards of materiality in the presentation of the public spaces of the commercial home is equally important in ensuring the success of Liam's business. Liam's articulation of the garden as a place for him to escape the action, a release from the challenges of being a lifestyle entrepreneur, affirms Bhatti et al.'s (2009) association of the garden with identity construction and emotional engagements.

Inclusive: Edith

The property is in a suburban area of Edinburgh. Edith is over 50 years of age, with no children resident. She hosts international students throughout the year and stays last from one week to several months. One bedroom of the three-bedroom home is dedicated to the students. The students are occasionally able to use the hosts' bedroom in order to work on the computer located there. Otherwise there are no boundaries in terms of places and spaces in the home to which students can gain access. Both Edith and husband, Frank,

have other jobs and hosting income is supplementary. They encourage students who stay with them to be part of the family.

INSERT PHOTO 2 ABOUT HERE

The hosts' favourite space was the first to be photographed. The hosts led the researcher from the entrance hallway, through the living room and kitchen, into the adjoining conservatory. Unlike the minimalist style of the hosts' favourite space, in which intimate aspects of the self were not on display, the living room was full of personalised artefacts including pictures, paintings, photographs, plates, ornaments, gifts that the hosts had received from guests which had been arranged on the walls and furniture of the room. There was a strong animal theme with an emphasis on cats. Whilst the living room walls were painted in relatively neutral colours, the overarching impression was one of a multitude of colours, fabrics, styles and textures. The kitchen was similarly eclectic in style, with repeated references to cats. Standing in the entrance to the conservatory, the hosts explained that this was her favourite space in the home because of the good view of the garden. Few artefacts are on display other than the occasional candle, small lamps and bottles with scented liquid, all of which contribute to the relaxing air of the hosts' favourite space. A selection of romantic novels is arranged neatly on the side table. The focus of the photograph is very much on the hosts as being at the centre of the commercial home, unlike Liam, who chose to be photographed in an outside space which was the main subject. The notion that Edith and Frank are the heart of this commercial home is accentuated by the way they cuddle together and engage smilingly with the camera, rather than a focus upon the interior of the hosts' favourite space.

The affection the hosts have for each other is revealed in this photograph. The conservatory is evidently a place in which the hosts feel they can freely express their emotions, and the pleasure that the hosts get from using the space and, more generally, from undertaking their roles as host family is evident. This is in stark contrast to the carefully managed and staged compartmentalisation of host and guest spaces in Liam's home. Edith commented on ways in which she was keen to use natural materials to enhance the feeling of relaxation engendered by this space:

> The décor… I just wanted to keep that simple… I wanted somewhere nice to sit and chill out, so the décor… we built it all ourselves, so I wanted the wood to remain consistent through the house and again, I like wicker, it's natural… and the blinds are natural so it's really natural things I like, you know, natural woods, natural flagstones and anything that's natural.

The focus is very much on Edith and Frank emphasising the immaterial dimensions of their favourite place. It is not the décor or artefacts that give this room its special meaning, but rather the emotional connection that the hosts have with the space and its connection with nature. Edith loves to, *'look on my garden'* and says *'I feel relaxed there'*. Light is very important to her, *'I hate anywhere dark and dingy, it depress[es] me'*, *'I love sunshine'*. The views make this place special for Edith, *'looking out in the garden when it's in bloom and the evening just goes on and on, the sunsets, it's all surrounded with glass, it's just lovely, I love it!'* Whilst there is no clear demarcation of public and private spaces in Edith's home, the depiction of Edith's favourite place here resonates with Liam's focus on the emotional, sensorial aspects of what the favourite place means to them, rather than the concrete, material objects which characterise the space. Edith explains that her role as a host family is not focused on personal economic gain or business growth. The emphasis is on integrating the students into her home, on extending an inclusive, warm, hospitable welcome into the host's family and home, including use of the host's favourite place. In terms of Cederholm

and Hultman (2010) the emphasis is upon the production of intimacy. Edith is very keen to share the everyday aspects of her own life and Scottish culture with the international students; for example, she plays the piano for the students and teaches them Scottish songs, celebrates Scottish traditional events and festivals, cooking traditional Scottish cuisine. Further, Edith very much enjoys learning about the cultures from which the students themselves have come.

Temporal: Margo

The Georgian Farmhouse Bed and Breakfast is located in a rural setting outside Edinburgh. Margo is over 50 years and has no children resident. She has been living in the property 15 years and started the business as extra income, but has become dependent on the business as farming has declined. Most space within the home is given over to guests with the host moving out of her own bedroom for several months of the year. There is a living room just for the family, although guests have to walk through it to access the dining room. It is un-graded as the host did not want to make changes to her home to comply with the tourist board scheme.

The central feature of Margo in her favourite space, a conservatory, is the proliferation of floral imagery. Margo was very keen to ensure that the researcher was involved in how the photograph was produced, always ensuring that she was comfortable with her positioning, and seeking reassurance that the one she had selected was what the researcher was looking for. Nevertheless, the informal pose assumed by Margo occurred naturally. After being shown the entirety of the inside of the host's home, Margo introduced the researcher to her favourite place, the conservatory. The conservatory is situated at one end of the living room which guests have to walk through to reach the kitchen, where they will eat breakfast. The living room and conservatory are largely not used by guests.

> They come through it [private lounge] to go to the breakfast, to go to the conservatory they don't use it as such, no.

Margo was very clear that this was usually 'her space', where she enjoys reading, relaxing, and observing her guests in the garden. Margo advises that guests are not able to use the conservatory and comments that guests often look in longingly. She was keen to highlight how much she 'loved' relaxing on the sofa and admiring her extensive garden, of which she is extremely proud. The conservatory is a place of peace, somewhere Margo can escape from her official duties as a commercial host and farmer's wife. She is a keen gardener, and this particular space represents a bridge between the natural beauty of the exterior garden and the privacy of the interior of the home.

INSERT PHOTO 3 ABOUT HERE

Of all the participants, Margo gave especially careful thought to identifying a distinctively favourite space, particular to her own needs and portrayed a clear sense of her identity and role as a commercial host. Margo is a busy woman, given competing demands of being a commercial host and being responsible for the day-to-day activities associated with a working farm. Her main motivation for identifying and using the conservatory as her favourite place was to escape from the travails of work, to relax and experience a degree of separation from her duties, and indeed guests. The conservatory evokes emotional states of being that Margo does not get anywhere else in her home; she loves her conservatory because she can *'disappear through'* to it and she feels *'very lucky'* to be able to do so. Much like Liam and Edith, Margo's depiction of her favourite space depriotises the material

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things which are present in the space and the focus is on the feelings, emotions and immaterial dimensions of how she experiences and interacts with the space.

Margo is solely responsible for the running of the commercial home, whilst her husband takes a lead in running the farm. However, she has to combine her duties in the commercial home with helping her husband run the farm. Evidently, Margo's role is multi-faceted and challenging: business woman, host, cook, cleaner, gardener, farmer's wife, and mother. Appreciating the multiple tasks which Margo undertakes daily is central to understanding *why* the conservatory, a private space, is such a special place for her. Margo adopts a slightly laissez-faire approach to guest spatial management, by occasionally allowing guests to access and enjoy her 'private' spaces, and trusting guests not to make use of those spaces which are not, generally, for their use:

> *I hope perhaps that if a door is closed then people won't walk in.*

DISCUSSION

Sociological Expressionism

The Expressionist 'movement' popular during the late 19th/early 20th century is especially associated with art, literature, poetry, film, music, dance, theatre and architecture. Expressionism is concerned with the expression of emotions and also ideas that convey emotions. It is notable that the home has been likened to an idea, for example, Rybczynski (1987) and Douglas (1991); certainly, the commercial home can be likened to an idea that conveys emotions as is most clearly seen in all the above three hosts' relationships with their favourite spaces in the home. Whilst Lynch (2005) proposed sociological impressionism as a way of capturing the commercial home guest's engagement with the commercial home, here we propose sociological expressionism to refer to the host's expression of self, communicated through the presentation and display of home and self. The Expressionist movement is particularly associated with Germany and emerged in reaction to the dehumanizing effect of industrialization and the growth of cities. Expressionism was partly a reaction to impressionism which is characterised as concealing, repressing emotions and idealising the subject of the gaze (Shait, 2014). Such emotive repression Shait (2014) refers to as Freud's (1995) concept of the 'uncanny', 'an emotional affect… transformed by repression into morbid anxiety' (Shait, 2014:167). 'Uncanny' is a translation of the German word *unheimlich* which is composed of *Heimlich* meaning home-like, prefixed by *un* the negative form, thereby referring to 'repression, the transformation of what was once familiar to a frightening source of anxiety' (Freud, 1995:241-245). The 'uncanny' may sometimes emerge through the interaction between the 'opposing forces' of expressionism and impressionism, a kind of visceral reaction of the impressionist idealism to the expressionist realism (Shait, 2014: 165). Adorno (2009) associates expressionism with 'dissonance' and such dissonance is described in relation to the commercial home experience. For example, Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney (2007:140) refer to 'the strange familiarity of being in someone else's [commercial] home'. They develop this thought:

> 'This space… beckons to our instincts of homeliness, familiarity, stability and the desire for genuine welcome. Yet the experience may also prove bitter-sweet as the visitor must negotiate a passage through the personalities, personal possessions, routines and norms of its more permanent residents, and resist any yearnings for anonymity and solitude that the space may not allow' (140).

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We suggest that what Lynch et al. (2007) refer to as the 'bitter-sweet' emotional affect is akin to Freud's concept of the 'uncanny' and a certain guest anxiety at aspects of the commercial home experience which are somehow '*Unheimlich'*, unhomely, the 'uncanny' experience of the 'strange familiarity'. For example, the garden or conservatory the guest cannot enter. By contrast, many larger forms of accommodation which lack the owner-manager self (and possibly family) communicated through the sedimentary processes of habitation might be considered to avoid the uncanny experience of the guest through the creation and presentation of (emotionally desensitizing and perhaps dehumanizing) 'blandscapes' (Bell, 2007:97).

We associate sociological expressionism with production and sociological impressionism with consumption. The sovereignty of the host in their commercial home is communicated through their sociological expressionism and may take form literally and metaphorically in the arbitrary choice of colours and disharmonies often associated with expressionist art, for example, Edith's living room and its 'multitude of colours, fabrics, styles and textures' and the kitchen's 'eclectic… style'. The sociological expression of the commercial home was produced in different ways by participants in this study, ranging from Liam's deliberate strategies to stringently demarcate spaces which were publicly available to guests and those which were not, to Edith whose entire home was available to guests to use. In spite of these differences, all three hosts identified strong emotional and sensorial relationships to their favourite spaces, which were an integral part of how all the participants articulated the process through which their commercial homes are produced. Arguably, these spatial havens secure the home-like status of the home devoid of the guests whose presence make the rest of the commercial home somehow '*unheimlich*' and more '*arbeitlich*', 'work-like' or '*üffenlich*', public-like, for the host.

The lifestyle entrepreneur hosts are engaged in the production of their lifestyle and lifestyle ideas through the commercial home sociological expressionism which serves as a multivocal text for consumption by the guests; the text is communicated through the various material and especially immaterial (including emotions and ideas but also house rules and practices) expressionist elements of the commercial home setting and lifestyle host's presentation. However, the hosts are themselves also impressionist consumers of the lifestyle they produce in line with Williams et al.'s (1989) and Cederholm and Hultman's (2010) theses that the hosts are both producers and consumers. Thus each of the three hosts featured identified their favourite space and described their embodied, affective and imaginative consumption of place: Liam (garden); Margo and Edith (conservatory). Whilst the home setting of the businesses is associated with being a haven and a place of escape (Bhatti at al., 2009) from the outside world, the host may also need a place of escape from the inside world of the (commercial) home and its 'strange unfamiliarity' engendered by the presence of guests. Goulding (2009) discusses how commercial home hosts will close sometimes or say they are full in order to get a break from guests. This study reveals how hosts variously get a mental break *whilst* hosting through their engagement with and management of the commercial home. Of interest is that all the favourite places participants identified within the home related to spaces either shared with or in view of the guests i.e. front stages (Goffman, 1959). Nevertheless, these private spaces were places of relaxation and distance from the formalities of the host role contributing to what Ram et al. (1997) associate with identity differentiation.

Ritzer, Dean and Jurgenson (2012) suggest that rather than being passive consumers of brand messages, consumers help to create the shared meanings which constitute the brand. This creation process Ritzer et al. (2012) support with reference to Arvidsson's (2005:237)

concept of an "'ethical surplus"… a social relation, a shared meaning, an emotional involvement that was not there before', akin to Cederholm and Hultman (2010)'s argument regarding the commercial home owners' production of intimacy. We would suggest that the hosts consciously or unconsciously seek to engender in the guest such an ethical surplus through the commercial home multivocal text or 'lifestyling brand'. We might expect guests to not only consume but also to a degree (re)produce the host's lifestyle through their imaginative impressionist (and possibly behavioural) consumption (Grit, 2010). Accordingly, the findings support the (prosumption) proposition of producers-as-consumers (Ritzer, 2015) and we think it is suggestive of supporting the proposition of consumers- as-(imaginative and behavioural)-producers i.e. involved in co-creation as suggested by Cederholm and Hultman (2010). It is noteworthy however that both Liam and Margo's favourite spaces are entirely, or almost, guest-free zones. Effectively, they deny the guests the opportunity to experience a certain spatial and emotional engagement in order to preserve their own sense of home and emotional well-being. In so doing they demarcate the limits of the guest's consumption and potentially create an '*unheimlich*' experience, for example, the guests who 'look down longingly'.

The study has revealed the importance in tourism entrepreneurship research of sensitivity to the physical environment in which tourism is enacted. The idea of the sociological expressionism of the host supports the argument of Tucker and Lynch (2004) of host-guests who 'date' online whereby the host profile i.e. the host self-presentation in terms of the property, and sometimes themselves, is a vehicle to match guests with similar lifestyle preferences, a form of targeted marketing but also, like dating, an emotional relationship. While emphasis is often placed upon the uniqueness of small tourism accommodation businesses, on an individual basis they nevertheless create a certain 'personal brand identity' or 'lifestyling' through their presentation as well as their spatial management strategies. In the commercial home, in a Chinese cultural context, Wang (2007) argues guest house owners produce customised authenticity reflected in guest-specific modifications to the traditional Naxi home. In the Scottish context of this study such significant changes as Wang describes were not identified. However, if the study had been concerned with properties with a higher number of letting rooms, such modifications might have been present owing to tourism agency expectations required of letting properties of a certain size. What emerges from the study here is how the home presentation and organisation is a reflection and construct of the host.

Spatial Management

The concept of family business blurs the separation of the home and business, which in turn demolishes the divisions of the private personal life from the public spheres of work (Munro 1996). It is hard to divide the home, which is usually a private space, into a commercial home that is private and public, although Liam has done this by having strict rules about how space is managed. The territorial parameters (Wise, 2000) of hosts' favourite spaces manifest themselves in opposing terms in both the collaborative process through which the photographs were produced and in the subsequent documentary analysis. Personal space is paramount in Liam's favourite space; the garden is not to be accessed by guests. Here, the interpretation of the spatial management approach adopted by Liam possibly challenges Munro's (1996) depiction of the commercial home as one characterised by an increasing blurring of the boundaries between business and family space. Conversely, Edith's home is the epitome of Munro's observations on the overlapping characteristics of public (work) and

private lives and spaces, since there are very few (if any) territorial boundaries between personal, family and work spaces within Edith's home (Getz et al., 2005). Margo's narrative represents the tensions between the need for hosts to maintain territorial parameters (Wise, 2000) in the commercial home, while simultaneously recognising the realities of the fluidity between private and public spaces in the commercial home (Getz et al., 2005).

The three categories of 'private', 'inclusive' and 'temporal' refine previous academic contributions to the meaning of the commercial home and our understanding of the life space styling of the tourism lifestyle entrepreneur. They further develop the meta-analysis of Lynch et al (2009) suggesting that lifestyle entrepreneurs operate on a continuum and can be differentiated by various factors such as degree of entrepreneurial orientation or degree of product commodification. Whilst it is evident that being a commercial host is central to the identities of all participants discussed above, the choreography, context and content of the photographs reveal that participants mobilise divergent conceptions of what it means to be a commercial host revealed clearly in the 'private', 'inclusive' and 'temporal' dimensions of participants' articulations of their relationship with the commercial home, their guests and their favourite spaces. For Liam, the commercial home is a highly stylised, structured, clearly demarcated and managed lifestyle business and public and private space (Wise, 2000), reflective of his desire to convey an intense interest in modern design and interior fashion. In his case, the objective, material dimensions of the home (Pink, 2004) and the decorative detail as representative of his own identity and style as a commercial host (Miller, 2001) are prioritised over the emotional dimensions of the home as a social space. In contrast, the photograph of Edith and her husband emphasises the ways in which her favourite space is depicted, not so much in terms of how the room looks, but by whom and how it is inhabited (Boym, 1994): as a place of peace and relaxation (Gilman, 1903), as a space in which senses are satisfied and emotional contentment is achieved (Chowers, 2002) and in which guests can feel included and welcome. When Edith talks about her favourite part of the home she emphasises immaterial elements: light, air, sunshine and views. Unlike Liam, she does not discuss the physical elements of the room or the tangible material, but focuses on the feeling her favourite place gives her and her husband. It is noteworthy that Liam's property has the highest number of letting rooms (five) and Edith's the least (one).

CONCLUSION

We have advanced the concept of sociological expressionism which we believe may be a useful sensitizing concept with regard to the commercial home setting, and is complementary to sociological impressionism. We suggest owners of commercial homes are lifestyling entrepreneurs who create their own personal lifestyle brands. We have identified three categories which capture the essence of hosts' relationships with the commercial home and their guests: 'private', 'inclusive' and 'temporal'. We have also introduced a variant on the photo-elicitation method we call collaborative auto-driving, in which the identification and choreography of photographs is a negotiated process between participant and researcher. Future research could usefully explore the prevalence of the three categories of commercial home hosts identified here as well as explore the home-host relationship in other cultural contexts in order to capture the diversity of meanings of home that exist, in addition to the home relationship of other members of the household and the extent to which they contribute to family display. Some potential may exist for enhancing online host-guest matching through deepening understanding of the personal lifestyling brands, and this is worthy of further exploration.

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Statement of Contribution

1. What is the contribution to knowledge, theory, policy or practice offered by the paper?

The paper explores the tourism host lifestyle entrepreneur-commercial home relationship focusing upon the relationship between host, space, identity and business spatial management. In so doing it offers a critical approach to understanding the tourism entrepreneur and adds to our understanding of product construction in the commercial home. The study draws upon interviews with hosts facilitated through a version of photo elicitation we call 'collaborative auto-driving'. We highlight the researcher-participant relationship in knowledge co-creation illustrated through analysis of three photographs of hosts in their favourite spaces. The three examples illustrate the essence of hosts' relationships with the commercial home reflected in spatial management strategies: categorised as 'private', 'inclusive' and 'temporal'. Whilst a previous study has drawn attention to the sociological impressionism of the guest, we draw attention to the sociological expressionism of the host entrepreneurs and consider the implications for product construction of the personal lifestyle brands identified. Recommendations are made for future research.

2. How does the paper offer a social science perspective / approach?

The paper adopts a critical research inquiry into tourism lifestyle entrepreneurship through focusing upon the commercial home-host relationship. While the private home is well explored in social scientific literature, the commercial home has been given much less consideration. Although locating the study within tourism entrepreneurship, the study is informed by a multidisciplinary literature heavily influenced by sociology, gender studies, geography as well as critical hospitality and tourism studies. The photo elicitation method used, collaborative auto-driving, employs a phenomenologically-inspired analysis which enables researchers greater depth in their interpretations of the immaterial dimensions of the experience of social space than traditional methods. The analysis surfaces the subjective emotional spatial relationship of the host giving rise to introduction of the concept of sociological expressionism which is elaborated, as well as proposing a classification of spatial management strategies.